BORDER
CROSSING

Labor Migration in Qatar: A Study on the Identity of Second Generation Migrants | Hazal Muslu El Berni [±]

Abstract

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

Keywords: *social identity; labor migration; second generation migrants; Qatari youth and middle class.*

Introduction

Qatar is ranked as a country with a high ratio of non-citizens in the world while the number of non-Qatari residents are 85,7% of total population (Qatar Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics 2017). Economically active population increased by 2.8% (2,108,881 million, 2,006,605 non-Qatari) while economically active Qatari population increased by 0.1% in the first quarter of 2017 (Qatar Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics 2017). Migrant labor workers are employed under a sponsorship system (*kafala)* that has been heavily criticized by human rights organizations and international media. This sponsorship system is highly unusual when we look at other countries that have migrant workers.

Unlike other countries in the world, migrant workers do not have the possibility of ever becoming citizens, no matter how long they remain in Qatar. Although there is an existing focus on the lower-income labor migration to Qatar, there is a lack of research which focuses on second generation of migrants who were born in Qatar or immigrated to Qatar at an early age, and subsequently, grew up in the same environment with Qataris and constitute an important part of Qatari society. Second

[±] PhD Candidate, Kadir Has University, Istanbul, Turkey. E-mail: hazalmuslu@gmail.com.

generation migrants, who were born in Qatar and studied in the same schools and grew up in the same environment with Qatari youth, constitute a different case to the other migrant laborers who moved to Qatar through a working sponsorship agreement. However, second generation migrants have emerged as a partial segment of Qatar society that shares similar values and interpretations, and their status in the society has become like each other. The driving objective of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the changing representation of migrants' identity in the light of the identity construction process of the second generation of middle class migrants in Qatar. The study is based on in-depth interviews that were conducted from January 2015 to June 2015 in Doha and aims to answer several research questions that can be stated as important to understand the realities and implications of the presence of the second-generation migrants in Qatar:

1. In what ways do the second-generation migrants construct their identity in Qatar? How do they reshape their identity?

2. To what extent can the young Qataris and second generation migrants narrow the social gap between each other? What are the obstacles that prevent them from becoming closer to each other?

3. How does the second-generation migrants interpret the issue of belonging to a country?

Literature Review

The existing literature on identity tends to focus on the foundations of how identity is formed and how it is reshaped in the light of identity theory. Identity can be defined in various terms and can mean different things to different people. Identity cannot be a static, eternal and essential object since it undergoes changes and shifts as it is being transformed over time (Alnajjar 2013). It can mean a sense of integration of the self or can be used as a reference to identity politics which is about the political positions of the members of ethnic and nationality groups (Deaux 2001). In contrast, Jenkins (2008:5) defines the identity as: "the human capacity which is rooted in language to know 'who's who' and this involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are". Burke (2004:1) defines the identity as: "identities are the sets of meanings people hold for themselves that define 'what it means' to be who they are as persons, as role occupants, and as group members". Likewise, Stryker (1987) views the identity as an internalized self-designation based on the role expectations attached to positions in social structure. Tajfel (1972:292) defines the social identity as "the individual's

knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership".

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

As Gardner, Pessoa, Diop, Al-Ghanim, Le Trung, Harkness (2013) mention, the discovery of petroleum had a transformative impact on GCC countries' economies. A flush of oil earnings rapidly paved the way for modernization and changed the region's sheikdoms into modern nation states (Farsoun 1988). Khalaf and Alkobaisi (1999) use the term of "dialectical paradox" to explain difference of Qatar as a small oil exporting society from developed capitalist industrial societies' difference. Wealth and prosperity which came with the oil resources, have paved the way for the dual characteristic of rapid economic modernization.

Attiya (2012) states that since labor is a predominant theme in Qatar, discussions need to go beyond how many foreign residents are present in the region. Moreover, migrant workers cannot be treated as possessing similar motivations. Malecki and Ewers (2007) argues that in the GCC countries, the segmentation and polarization of the labor force has been drawing sharp divisions between the national workers and foreign workers. The vast majority of national workers are employed in governmental jobs and do not prefer to work in private companies. Similarly, private companies tend to recruit foreign workers because they accept working in flexible hours with a lower salary than the nationals demand. Kamrava & Babar (2012) argues that migrant workers can be brought easier and quickly for project-basis jobs and can be sent back to their country when there is no more need, cultural and political costs of the migrant workers are potential threats to Qatar society which declares itself as conservative and family-oriented. These factors pave the way for the government to restrict the migrant workers' access to specific areas such as they are incorporated into the economic structure, but excluded from the social structure of Qatar, they are separated from the social life without integration or assimilation. Babar (2011) describes the regional migration management in Qatar today is shaped by the discussions based on the concept of a single

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

Methodology

This study is based on the results of a qualitative research. Since focus in qualitative research is to understand and explore the values, beliefs and experiences of a group of people, the elements that have contributed to the identity of second generation migrants in Qatar can be best examined through using this approach of (Kumar 2012). The starting point of this research is the review of the existing literature on the issue and earlier empirical findings. Underlying attitudes and identity construction of second generation migrants in Qatar have been analysed understood by conducting face to face in-depth interviews. The interviews were conducted in English and at the participants' convenience, mostly on Qatar University campus or at the participants' home. The ethical side of the in-depth interview was accomplished with the informed consent from the participants who had been informed about the confidentiality of their answers before the interview.

Participants

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

Interviews and Coding

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

Results

Influence of Nationality on Interaction with Qataris

One of the question asked to the second generation migrants in the context of interaction between the Qataris and them was whether they

would marry a Qatari citizen or not. Majority of the respondents answered the question by underlying that nationality is not a determinant factor for their marriage choice. This statement was very dominant both in the discourse of second generation migrants and majority of Qatari participants. Nevertheless, cultural issues, ethnic and family backgrounds were the major factors influencing their decisions. For instance, some of the second generation migrants stated that they would prefer to marry with someone from their home country or someone has the same nationality with them:

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

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

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

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

Qatari respondents' answers for the question of whether they would like to marry with a non-Qatari migrant are in accordance with the second generation migrants. The reasons for deciding to get marry a Qatari national mostly were related to their family acceptances, cultural differences and the consequences of a marriage with a non-Qatari in Qatar, especially for the female respondents. One of the female Qatari respondent's answer illustrates the influence of marriage regulations and social costs in the future:

> I don't have any problem to get marry with any nationality. But when you have babies, you will have problems. I prefer to marry with a Qatari because I want my children to have a Qatari citizenship. You

may not see the problem in the first years after the marriage, but after 5 years when your kids are getting older they will feel the difference between them and the Qatari citizens. This difference will cause problems. (Case 28)

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

When the second generation migrants were asked about if they have close friends form Qataris, majority of the respondents emphasized that they do not have close Qatari friends. Respondents who have close friends from Qataris underlined the closeness of their residences and the temporary nature of their migrant friends in Qatar. Respondents who do not have close friends from Qataris emphasized the differences between the past and present of their interaction with Qataris. They considered the self-awareness which they have gained as they get older as an important factor to understand the difference between themselves and Qataris. This difference can be interpreted as an influential element in their closeness with Qataris as close friends:

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

When the Qatari respondents were asked about if they have close friends from migrants, majority of the Qatari respondents said that their close friends are both Qataris and non-Qatari migrants.

When respondents were asked to describe their neighborhoods majority of them replied that they have neighbors both from Qataris and migrants. Case 5 compared the present and past in terms of their relationship with their Qatari neighbors:

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

In terms of their communication with their Qatari neighbors, it has been observed that majority of the second generation migrants do not

have an actual communication with their Qatari neighbors except in gatherings in the mosque. Comparing to the responses of the second generation migrants who described their neighborhood is consist of both Qataris and non-Qatari migrants, Qatari participants stated that their neighbors are mainly Qataris. For their communication level, the responses were not different than the second generation migrants; main interaction point is the mosque or in Ramadan or in Eid.

Family and Identity

This theme emerged from the questions related to the relation between the background of their family and linkages between their family and home country and between their relationships with the home country. In terms of job occupations of the families of second generation migrants, it has been observed that the second generation migrants' fathers tend to work in private sector jobs mostly engineers, pharmacists, banker and teachers while some of them occupy the public jobs dominantly in military and Divan. Almost all of the second generation migrants' mothers is housewife while some of them occupy the jobs in private sectors mainly as pharmacist, teacher and administrator.

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

When the second generation of migrants were asked about the family expenditure, all of them stated that their family spend their money on glossary, clothes and home necessities. Almost half of the participants said that their family spend their money on cars, restaurants, entertainment activities and education. Sending money back to their home country to help their relatives is a major theme:

> We have contact with our relatives in Sudan and my father send money to Sudan to help our relatives there. (Case 3)
>
> My father has been sending money to his sisters in Pakistan. It is very important for him. (Case 6)

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

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

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

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

In contrary to the second-generation migrants, majority of the Qatari respondents said that they prefer to travel abroad in the summer, mostly to European countries, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and other GCC countries.

When the second-generation migrants were asked if they would prefer to spend their life in Qatar, majority of the participants stated that they would like to spend the rest of their life in Qatar, mainly because of the educational purposes, better working conditions than their home country and wealth of the country. Additionally, due to the reason that Qatar is the country where they were born and their family is living in Qatar:

> I want to spend my life in Qatar, definitely. If I go anywhere else, I am sure that I will miss Qatar. All my memories are in Qatar and my friends are here. Even if I go to live in somewhere else, I will always want to come to Qatar. I believe that I do not belong to Pakistani society. (Case 16)

Some of them said that they want to move to other countries such as Western countries like Canada, the US, the UK, Australia or African

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

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

Majority of the Qatari respondents stated that they want to spend the rest of their life in Qatar. Some of the respondents explained the reasons that they want to live in Qatar with the privileges they have here as well as the family issues:

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

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

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

When the second-generation migrants and Qatari respondents were asked about their responsibilities relates to the home and family, majority of the participants said that they help their mothers and sisters such as taking them to shopping, cleaning their rooms, and helping for glossary. When Qatari participants were asked about if there is any certain time to arrive at home at night, almost all of them stated that they must be home around 9:00pm to 10:00pm. Comparing to the second-generation migrants and Qatari male participants, it has been observed that Qatari female participants have more restrictions on this issue owing to the role of traditions and conservative structure of the Qatari families.

Identity Crisis of Second Generation Migrants?

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

Table 1. *Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is Qatari?"*

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

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

Table 2. *Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is Qatari?"*

Key word	Raw Data
Culture Family structure	It depends on your family, actually. I grow up at a home with Palestinian culture. (Case 8)
Ethic origin Life opportunities	I feel myself very different than a Qatari. They are very conservative, they perceive the life differently. I have to spend time on studying and working hard but they don't need to. Qataris do not consider Sudanese as Arabs. Me too... I don't feel myself as an Arab. (Case 4)
Citizenship issues	I was born in Qatar and I feel belonging to here. I am one of the second generations here but I am still like a foreigner who just landed to Qatar. (Case 3)

Life opportunities Traditional-Modernity Materiality	A lot. Qataris tend to be very traditional and I am modern and open-minded. I do not mean to generalize but Qatari youth have less appropriation, they are spoiled and they get what they want. They care about cars, football. I like philosophy and thinking about the purpose of my life... I do not feel comfortable with them. I cannot be myself with them. I am from the middle class and I don't see a friendship possible with them. (Case 9)
Materiality	A lot. We are similar human beings but when it comes to be open to other cultures they are really different. I know what dollar means, they know what money means. I feel bad for them. They don't have different colors. They consume a lot. I feel sorry for them. (Case 12)
Citizenship issue Life opportunities Culture Family structure	Before I was feeling same as a Qatari. Before it was GCC and Qatari. Now it is Qatari and the foreigners. If you go to a hospital, they ask you if you are Qatari or not. In secondary school I could not say my friends that I am not a Qatari. I worked on my personality to change it. I feel myself more like an Omani. (Case 16).Yes, I feel myself different than a Qatari. I think family structures are different. If you are not Qatari, you do not need to have a Qatari persona. As a Palestinian, my culture is different than a Qatari (Case 7)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> On that day, I only put Seyh Tamim's picture to our home. I try my best to be successful at my job and give benefit to my country where I could have a free education. I think this is more than the celebrations. I don't believe in celebrations. (Case 22)

Attitude of Second Generation Migrants towards Qatar and Qataris

Table 3. *Second Generation Migrants' Answers to the Question, "How have you changed the way you look at people over time in Qatar?"*

Key words	Raw Data
Appreciation	I grow up here in Qatar. I am more appreciating other nationalities. I have a strong Palestinian identity but I accept the other. My interaction with people are more than someone who studied in segregated school. (Case 7)
Materialistic structure of the society	People in Qatar have changed a lot. Respecting the other changed here. People become more materialistic. When someone gets a luxury car, their behavior change suddenly. (Case 16)
Appropriation of the different cultures	I grew up in an Islamic school. At first I was very judgmental but now I see different cultures and opinions. I have become less judgmental. (Case 12)
Positive approach towards Qataris	Before I thought that Qatari people are bad guys. When I was a kid, I saw them in the school and I saw the reality that they have better chances than me. Now, I see that they are good guys. (Case 11)

Limitations of the Qataris	When I travel outside of Qatar I am very proud of Qatar. When I went to Turkey, I wore a Qatari shirt… There are some negative things also; Qataris are very limited. They have to go abroad and see the real life. … Also high standards here made me less appreciate the small things. When I go to Lebanon, I compare the infrastructure with Qatar. (Case 9)
Less conservative Qatari society	Qataris changed; they were more conservative, now they became more open to the world. Girls have become different than their mothers, they don't have responsibilities. They only study, they don't suffer economically, and they have housemates to do everything for them. (Case 14)
Engagement with the different cultures	I become more interested in knowing different cultures here. There are large communities but I don't know them. I want to know how and why they came here. (Case 3)
Consumer society	People have started consuming a lot here. (Case 5)
No major changes	People here didn't change much. Foreign people came here to work and they dedicate their time for working. (Case 1)
Stereotypes in the society	When I was young, I don't even remember thinking about people. Now I see people and I judge them also. There are stereotypes of different nationalities. I do my best not to judge people but those stereotypes come to my mind…I see that young people do not have a vision in Qatar. When I go to Pakistani schools here, I speak with young people and I want them to change the way that they look at life. (Case 6)
Materialistic structure of the society	I can see that people have become materialistic. I more care about humanity. If people treat badly to the workers, I cannot stand this even if these people are my friends. I don't like racist people here. (Case 13)
Discrimination Importance of the nationality	Society is weird here. It has circles; Qataris, Asians and Indians whom you never have interaction with, Arabs and European expatriates… Our most interaction with Qataris was at school. When you start working, you cannot find friends from other nationalities. It is weird to talk to people in the street here…Discrimination between nationals and non-nationals make you feel unsecured. I feel of anger as well. People work and leave from here, they cannot handle living here. (Case 4)
Importance of nationality	When I was in high school, I didn't concentrate on different identities. When I came to the university, I had a strong relation with Qataris. I look at them as someone who is very similar to me but they look at me as someone different than them. Although the situation bothers me, I became more understanding. I was more critical before. (Case 15)
Discrimination	In secondary school, I started seeing people as Qataris and non-Qataris. Some people are really racist here but some Qataris are not. (Case 8)
Materialistic structure of the society	I started to see that people are slave for dollar here. (Case 2)
Positive approach towards Qataris	Before I was thinking that Qataris are not nice and friendly. They weren't speaking English much but now they learn. When I grow up in interaction with them, I understood that they are nice and helpful. (Case 10)

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

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

Table 4. *Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is a second generation migrant in Qatar?"*

Key words	Raw Data
Life opportunities Living standards	Yes, we have different lives. As Qataris, everything is provided to us by the government. Everything is easy for us to get but non-Qataris needs to fight to get the things they need. We have different living standards. I don't say I feel different but financially we are not the same. (Case 22)
Culture	A little… in terms of mentality. Some cultural things are not negotiable. There are some cultural things that are normal to non-Qataris b ut not to us. Here
Culture Some similarities	I see that cultural habits are different but we have many similarities as well. I don't mind the religion or language to be friend with someone. (Case 19)
Job occupation	Yes. In the construction for example we don't see Qataris. (Case 26)

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

Table 5. *Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "Do you feel yourself different than someone who is a second generation migrant in Qatar?"*

Key words	Raw Data
Talking about same issues	We talk about the same things. I do not see myself different than a non-Qatari migrant. In the high school we were all the same for instance, there were Egyptians, Palestinians etc. We weren't feeling ourselves different than each other. (Case 29)
Nationality is not determinant	I was born here and I lived with many nationalities. My teachers were from Syria, Lebanon etc. I don't see any difference between us. (Case 25)
Criticism of the Qataris	Here some Qataris treat other nationalities on a different way. In rare situations, I feel that I am Qatari but I believe that we are all the same in Qatar. (Case 30)
Cultural practices Appearance	I don't think that I am different than a migrant. I think people who were born here are the same. Some of my non-Qatari friends wear *abaya* and have the same cultural practices. (Case 18)

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

Table 6. *Qatari Participants' Answers to the Question, "How have you changed the way you look at people over time in Qatar?"*

Key words	Raw Data
Criticism of the Qatari society	I grew up in a very racist community. They basically fed us with the racist words. Even my mother says we are coming from Prophet's family, we are Arab, we are Muslim etc… When I grew up I understood that we are not better than others. I have no difference than the non-Qatari migrants. (Case 27)
Changing perceptions about the friendship Criticism of the Qatari society	My personality started to develop after I joined the Qatar University. Now I have a different perspective. Our parents don't teach us what is going on in the outside. We only sit at home, have dinner and spend time together. When you go out of your home and have education, you come across different cultures and people. (Case 21)

Criticism of the Qatar society and tribal structure Necessity for the equality	In the Gulf region, you raise up in a tribal environment. If you are not from a certain tribe, you are nothing. Sometimes people don't make friends with you if you are not from a well-known tribe. As I grow up, I realize that things shouldn't be like this, it is even contradictory with Islam. Everyone is equal. (Case 22)
Criticism of the Qatar society Criticism of material mentality	Qatar itself changes a lot… There was not much foreigners before, life was normal. Now I feel that people are competing a lot through their life styles, clothes and other material things. (Case 30)
Criticism of the Qatari society	I believe that people need more education here to change the way they look at other people. (Case 24)
Changes in the vision of new generation Financial differences Cultural practices	People were very strict before but now new generation has become more open-minded. Non-Qataris who were born here are like us. Yes, we have more benefits but we are the same. Qatar is giving many benefits to people to come here and work. Non-Qatari migrants are raised here in the same environment with us. They speak the Qatari dialect, they know our culture and everything… They are not different. They are our neighbors. (Case 18)

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

Discussion

The components of identity can come because of a racial, national, religious, geographical framework or a shared language as well as it can also unite individuals from distinct ethnicities or languages if they have any component in common (Al-Najjar 2013). The concept of identity has been understood in this study as a complex process shaped by the impact of the context (place) and a definition of the self that is produced by the society. Identity has been considered as related to who the individuals are and who they are seen to be. The importance of the relationship between the identity and the context have shaped the framework of this study through arguing that identity of the second generation migrants has emerged as responses to the dynamics of this link and also as a part of interaction with the native society. Additionally, this study gave more credits to the role of individual agency in order to understand the identity of the second generation migrants about the way that they have articulated the discourses of the self, how they reconcile the identities surrounding them and how they operate the distinctions relevant to achieving identification in the given context, Qatar (Scurry, Rodriquez & Bailouni 2013). Different social expectations, different cultural values and patterns of the interaction with the Qatari nationals have been observed through the in-depth interviews.

As the findings of this study suggest, second generation migrants adopt some components of their identity such as ethnicity and language from their families who are the first generation migrants in Qatar. On the other hand, identities related to the values of the home country that they inherited from their family enters conflict with the host country that

consists of distinct economic, social, cultural practices and sometimes distinct religious contexts. This conflict paves the way for the identity transformation of the second generation migrants while they tend to attach themselves more and more to the host country rather than their home country where most of them have never been.

However, this study has shown the fact that the second generation migrants consider their identity both different from the Qatari identity and the identity inherited from their family. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that they combine the elements from their family identity and the one that they have gained in Qatar society. Despite the fact that second generation immigrants have closer links to the society that were born in and grew up in, they also include some components of their home country's identity to their constructed identity such as religion, language, cuisine and the names that they will give to their children (Al-Najjar 2013). Their situation cannot basically be defined as being in between those identities. In that sense, the situation of the second generation migrants in Qatar differs from the second generation migrants in Europe where they can be recognized as citizens and can be included to both the economic and social structure of the country to some extent depending on their level of education, occupation etc. This study tends to define the identity crisis of the second generation migrants as a conflict emerging from the articulation of the ideas of the self, articulation of the structural and institutional frameworks within the context of Qatar and the self-construction process that contains both the individual diversity and similarities with the Qatari counterparts.

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

life in Qatar. Some others also stated that they do not feel themselves belonging to the society of their home country. These arguments of the participants have demonstrated their attachment to Qatar because Qatar is the country where they were born, raised and where interacted with the society and their Qatari counterparts.

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

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

Conclusion

Identities of second generation migrants are fragile, fluid and on the move rather than belonging either to the home or host country. The second generation migrants who find themselves in identity crisis between the identity they inherited from their family and the identity that they gain from

the Qatar society are experiencing a process of articulation, enactment and reconstruction of their identities (Scurry, Rodriquez & Bailouni 2013). The reciprocal relationship between the self and society has been found out in the case of second generation migrants in Qatar. It has also been understood that Qatar society as a social context where the selves and others exist influences the second generation migrants consisting of different nationalities through shared language, religion, habits, life style or meanings. Hence, this influence enables the people to engage in social interaction. This study has revealed the important link between the individual agency and the role of the context on the identity construction process of the second generation migrants. It has been observed that the second generation migrants consider their identity both different from the Qatari identity and the identity inherited from their family. As they gain self-awareness, they question more about where they are belonging to and how they should position themselves in the Qatari society where class fragmentation and alienation are the major characteristics of it.

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