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Kazakhstan

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**SOFT POWER AS SMALL STATE'S FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY:
THE CASES OF QATAR AND SINGAPORE**

Educational Program "7M03111 - International Relations"

In the direction of training "7M031 Social Sciences"

Master's degree project for master's degree in International Relations

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The project is approved for defense "_____" _____ 2023

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Astana, 2023

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to everyone who has contributed and supported to the completion of my Masters project. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Elmira Joldybayeva, PhD, Associate Professor at the Institute of Diplomacy, whose guidance, support and insightful feedback were invaluable throughout the entire research process. I am grateful for her unwavering patience, encouragement and motivation which kept me going during the most challenging times.

I would also like to thank the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan for providing such unique opportunities such as internships that greatly helped me to collect information and meet with academic professionals that eventually helped me to complete the project successfully.

I am also grateful for my family and friends, especially all of my classmates for their love, support and encouragement.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

Abbreviation	Explanation
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
EU	European Union
GNH	Gross National Happiness
US	United States
FOSS	Forum of Small States
UN	United Nations
3G	Global Governance Group
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island Developing State
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
US	United States
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
SCP	Singapore Cooperation Program
QU	Qatar University
UAE	United Arab Emirates

Introduction

After the end of the Cold War, the entire world witnessed a new reality which was focused on more economic resilience and cultural preferences. The War which kept the world apart was ended and the tranquility and comfort of peace became more attractive and common to the entire world. Hence, countries began to put more cooperated effort into strengthening their economies and providing a better and more peaceful life for their citizens. Military capacity no longer became the only priority or the top priority of the country. With these changes came the prominence of soft power which became part of the foreign policy of many countries especially the small states.

Small States have always stayed behind shadows of some powerful or dominant states in international relations. But with the newfound respect to the sovereignty of states and the importance of economic growth, numerous small states found themselves as much valuable as any other state. The resources, the geographical location and the vibrant cultures of the small states became their strength to create a place for themselves in the global sphere.

This research is aimed to analyze and study about the use of soft power in small states and whether it has been beneficial for the small states to hold its place in the current competitive international relations. Also the success of soft power diplomacy of small states in making the lives of its people better and its ability to create an attractive foreign policy will be analyzed as well. As soft power of small states can be such a wide topic given the number of small states in the world, this research is focused on 2 main countries, Singapore and Qatar which are considered to be small states in the world and the story of their foreign policy with regard to soft power.

The objectives of this research include the following:

- To understand the concept of soft power and its relevance to small states;
- To explore and explain the way how soft power is used by Singapore and outcome;
- To explore and explain the way how soft power is used by Qatar and outcome;
- Offer policy recommendations on how to enhance the soft power capacity of Singapore and Qatar;

As there are numerous research done and article written about the soft power and its use by small states, there are very few literature which fully analyze the benefit of the use of soft power by small states. Therefore this research will describe the detailed benefits of the use of soft power by small states while analyzing the challenges as well.

Research novelty

The main aim of the entire project is to investigate the utilization of soft power as a foreign policy strategy by small states, focusing on specific cases of Singapore and Qatar. While soft power has been extensively studied in context of major powers, its application and effectiveness in foreign policy of small states remain relatively underexplored. Therefore, this project is intended to shed more light on soft power use by small states. In order to be more specific it is designed as a comparative analysis to do a comparison between Singapore and Qatar as both of these countries are considered as small states.

Expected results

The expected outcome of this entire project is to conduct a comparative analysis of Singapore and Qatar's use of soft power to achieve their foreign policy objectives. Moreover, by comparing 2 geographically and culturally distinct small states, this research aims to identify commonalities and differences in their soft power strategies, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. This project will also contribute to the existing literature by filling gap in knowledge regarding the use of soft power by small states as a foreign policy strategy. It is also expected to provide a deeper understanding of the effectiveness and challenges associated with soft power approaches in the context of small states. At last, the project is expected to be valuable for policymakers, scholars and practitioners interested in small state diplomacy and dynamics of soft power in international relations.

Literature Review

Power as defined on a dictionary says it is the ability to do what a person wants and also the ability to possess certain control over others and make them do things even if it is something that they don't want to do (Nye, 1990). The ability to control others also comes with the possession of certain resources and in the international system when a country is considered as powerful, they are to be in possession of territory, population, economy, natural resources, military force and also political stability. For a long time the test of great power was the victory and strength in wars. However, since the end of cold war, this particular notion of power has lost its emphasis. Globalization and multiple other processes that happened over the course of time has given importance to multiple other factors such as education, technology, economic growth and cultural diversity. This shift in power suggested more attractive way of exercising power, where the states were able to achieve outcomes preferred in world politics because other states want to. This particular shift introduced the concept of soft power.

Soft Power is basically the ability of countries to obtain their preferred outcomes through attraction rather than coercion (Nye, 1990). Small states use of soft power is more significant and visible as they make their own position in international relations with the use of soft power in their foreign policy strategy. Small states have to play to their own strengths to make an environment where they can compete with other states with the use of their resources which contribute to softer means of power. Also the perspectives of small states in international relations are largely diverse but they also share common characteristics as international actors. These common characteristics are mostly in the form of soft power such as prioritizing and excelling in multilateral diplomacy and increasing their influence through cooperation within the region and like-minded partners (Suilleabhain, 2014). It is also said that small states stabilizes the international order as they address moral and humanitarian issues that larger or more powerful states does not pay attention to. By doing this they are also demonstrating their capability of steering significance in global affairs (Chong & Maass, 2010).

Norway, a known small state in the northern Europe has been known as a peace promoter in international relations. Norway has been a peace facilitator for multiple countries in their conflicts, even in conflicts which has no direct self-interest for Norway (Stokke, 2010). This has been the way Norway has made its significance in global sphere. It is a small country which has very little impact on international relations and also a very limited influence on conditions of international relations that can affect the sovereignty. Therefore, these are factors which makes the country weak with regard to international

power relations. The construction of peace engagement in the foreign policy of Norway is basically Norway's desire to pursue value and interest in international relations (Stokke, 2010).

Malta which is another small island country in the continent Europe has showed that the potential is not mirrored on the size of the country. As a member country of the European Union (EU) Malta has been vocal on the significance of soft power. The geopolitical tensions in the world and especially the challenges within the region have been handled by Malta through suitable frameworks for promotion of dialogue (Zammit, Grech, & Zammit, 2020). Moreover, the strategic location of Malta in the Mediterranean and the rich cultural heritage has also been utilized in the best way possible by Malta to exercise their soft power and to promote the country on the world stage (Zammit, Grech, & Zammit, 2020).

Bhutan a small Himalayan kingdom in South Asia located in between India and China has a unique way of implementing soft power strategy in their foreign policy. In 1972 the King of Bhutan who was also known as the "dragon king" introduced the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) which is ideally used to measure the country's growth and it is based on the economic development that is associated with resource preservation and enhanced harmony with Buddhist spiritual values. This concept was formally adapted into Bhutan's constitution in 2008 and since then it remains as a powerful strategy and it has enabled Bhutan to make itself received in the international society (Mathou, 2016). Bhutan also exerts its soft power strategy through promotion of its beautiful landscapes, its endearing personalities, its longstanding unique traditions and the magnificent humanity. All of these things were seen through a film which was released in 2019 which was a finalist in 2022 Oscars and it gained a lot of attention on Bhutan by the global society (Wong, 2022).

Maldives, a small archipelagic state in South Asia, has made its name in international society to the level that almost people from every single corner of the world knows the Maldives. It is a country which does not have any resources but what it has is the beautiful nature comprised of beautiful blue lagoons surrounding each island, pure white sandy beaches and the rich marine life. The image Maldives has built on the world stage is merely based on its tourism industry. The tourism industry is the biggest industry in the country and also the one which contributes most to its GDP (Worlddata.info, 2020). Also the tourism industry of Maldives largely depends on its environment hence, it has also been one of those countries which plays a pivotal role in the debates on environmental issues and climate change (Montazemi, 2021). These factors of Maldives is what makes the country popular in the international relations and it is also the way how soft power is implemented by Maldives in its foreign policy strategy. Climate change is considered as

a foreign policy priority of Maldives as it is considered as the biggest threat to the country as it is an existential threat (High Commission of the Republic of Maldives in London, n.d.). Therefore, soft power of Maldives is used for promoting dialogue on climate change in the multilateral platforms and also through the tourism campaign “sunny side of life” carried out by Maldives bilateral missions.

Soft power is not only a concept that is used by small states. There are many growing powers or bigger countries that use soft power in their foreign policy strategies constantly. This is mostly due to the growing significance of soft power in the international relations. Persuasion through military tactics had outgrown a lot since the end of cold war. The new world order required persuasion through softer means which made it vital for the growing powers and bigger states in the world to utilize the concept of soft power.

China has become a state that has utilized soft power as its state policy. China’s soft power are categorized into 5 different areas which includes investment, exchange programs, humanitarian aid, diplomacy and its participation in numerous multilateral institutions. Through diplomacy china exerts soft power as it establishes its diplomatic missions, carry out high level visits and meetings and also its tours to different countries in order to boost its bilateral and multilateral relations (Gupta, 2013). The exchange programmes of China where Chinese students travelling abroad to study and china providing scholarships to other countries is also a very important way in which China use its soft power (Herr, 2019). However, the best use of China’s soft power is currently seen through its investment strength. China is the world’s largest exporter and second largest importer (Gupta, 2013). Also the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China is a significant factor in its rise in international relations. Through BRI China has invested billions into different infrastructure projects all over the world. It has become a way for China to build its trade and financial sector, increase people-to-people connectivity and also promote its growth in the world (Bush, 2021).

India as a country in South Asia has been growing significance in international relations due to its fast growing economy and also its dominance in the Asia region. The foreign policy of India gives a great emphasis on its neighbors who are mostly smaller powers. The way how India attracts its neighbors are mostly through its vibrant rich cultural values, democracy and secularism. But at the same time it also provides financial assistance to its neighbors in the forms of aids, loan and line of credits. All of these are considered as part of their soft power strategy. Moreover, India also exerts its soft power at global levels. The main areas where India globally exercises its soft power is through democratic credentials, Bollywood, tourism and yoga (Mishra, 2016). Also, the economic development was a key priority for India and it has forged closer relations with all major western powers. As China’s BRI has become prominent in the international stage, India

takes this as a challenge for its own economic cooperation and its utilization of soft power (Gupta, 2013).

The use of soft power as a strategy of foreign policy in United States of America (US) is abundant. The fact that US is home to Google, Boeing, McDonalds, Microsoft, Hollywood, Starbucks and in short most of the major products that dominate our daily life is enough to state that US puts great emphasis on soft power. Throughout the years US has used its soft power in policies of multilateralism, cooperated dialogues and its multiculturalism (Gupta, 2013). Moreover, as US has more top-ranked educational universities than any other country, it hosts a large number of foreign students. As home to Silicon Valley US also promotes its soft power through digital diplomacy to a great extent (The Soft Power 30, 2019).

Kazakhstan, a developing country in Central Asia which is also a post-soviet country, has made a remarkable place for itself in the international relations with its brilliant use of soft power in diplomacy. The multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan which puts the country in good relations with its powerful neighbors such as Russia and China and as well as with the rest of the world has brought numerous economic and developmental benefits to the country. Kazakhstan is also known for its active participation in multilateralism as it is part of many regional and international organizations. Through multilateral platforms, Kazakhstan advocates for cooperated dialogue, peace and also cooperation on various global issues such as nuclear disarmament and regional stability (Taubayeva & Umirzakova, 2022). Moreover, the recent focus on sports diplomacy through taking part and hosting international tournaments has further helped the country to make mutually respected relations with other countries, while making a name for itself. The soft power of Kazakhstan is also very visible through its economic sectors as it has opened up to many foreign investments and has made economic partnerships with some of the great economies in the world. Education is another area in which Kazakhstan has recently started to exert its soft power diplomacy. Kazakhstan's Bolashak Scholarship to its own students and also giving scholarships to foreign students through programs by Astana Hub and Ministry of Science and Higher Education are quite significant and is a well-known soft power of the country (Taubayeva & Umirzakova, 2022).

The most significant thing about soft power is that it is targeted to human beings with all their individual complexities. Thus it is a concept that is hard to measure. Unlike hard power which have more measureable factors such as money, soldiers, attacks, soft power aims in persuasion which is very difficult thing to give a number or to measure (Seymour, 2020).

Consequently, soft power is a widely used concept and many scholars have analyzed the use of soft power by countries in the international relations. It is not only a concept that is limited to small states but major powers of the world along with growing powers use the concept of soft power in their foreign policy strategies. This growing significance is also related with many changes that overtook the world after the end of cold war. The current geopolitical situation of the world and the dynamics of international relations has made it nearly impossible for countries to rely just on hard power and hence caused a growing importance of soft power.

While analyzing the concept of soft power in comparison with hard power, there is also the question of whether soft power or hard power alone is enough in the current international system. As it has been mentioned that the soft power gained its significance mostly after the end of cold war, it is also important to analyze this concept with regard to current geopolitical situation of the world. Even when the entire world has been embroiled in soft power diplomacy, conflicts that could change the entire world order are very much ongoing in different parts of the world. This is when the ultimate combination of soft power and hard power which is known as smart power comes into picture.

Smart power is also a concept developed by the same American Political Scientist Joseph Nye who developed the concept of soft power. According to Nye (2009) smart power was introduced to clear the misconception, that soft power alone is sufficient in the foreign policy strategy. Originally soft power was introduced against the use of military, however, with time the type of resources that contributed to soft power became abundant and military even became part of soft power. An example of this can be when the US sent their military to Indonesia to help with the relief efforts after the devastating tsunami that hit Indonesia in 2004, it was called as a soft power effort of US. Where on the other hand it is also important note that US soft power in 1990s did not get Taliban government of Afghanistan to draw away from Al Qaeda but it was the hard power in 2001 which eventually ended that alliance. At the same time, the fact that, the leader of North Korea Kim Jong likes Bollywood movies has not stopped him from being a dictator or develop the nuclear weapon program (Nye, 2009). Therefore, the literature that criticizes the use of soft power alone in foreign policy strategy puts the small states who does not acquire enough military power to have smart power in a difficult position.

Moreover, there are numerous criticisms to soft power concept as scholars argue that the concept of soft power is yet to gain credibility with regard to national security of countries (Seymour, 2020). Also, the changing global landscape has made the soft power concept irrelevant in certain situations of international relations. As the world is said to be in a midst of change in structure, the concept of power is also likely to be reexamined (Manor & Golan, 2020). This mainly comes from the endless limitation of soft power in dealing

with regional and global conflicts that can escalate into a more serious conflict or even a war.

Therefore, the literature on soft power is broad and it includes the branching concepts of power such as hard power and smart power. As this research is mostly focused on the concept of soft power with regard to small states, it is still safe to come to the conclusion that when it comes to small states, the soft power strategy has more credibility. The analysis made above after analyzing numerous literature on soft power has also mostly concluded that soft power is used generally in similar areas of countries. Soft power is mostly exerted through culture, education, economy, digital advancements and cooperated dialogue. However, the difference with each country and its use of soft power in its foreign policy strategy comes from their need to use soft power in international relations and the significance a country makes in international relations with the use of its soft power. Therefore, there is need to understand the level of the use of soft power and its effectiveness to countries in global sphere. Especially among countries that share similar geographical features such as being small states.

Research Methodology

The research methodology is a structured approach for solving research problems. In collecting research data, this project applies qualitative research methods such as document analysis, interviews and archival research. The study has relied on secondary data, which has been gathered from various sources such as books, journal articles, reports, blogs, newsletters, and internet websites. Other than this the research also received feedbacks from supervisors and researchers as part of resources. The analysis of this data has been conducted using the discourse method. The research began in October 2022 and took approximately 9 months to complete.

The research explains in details the concept of soft power and the use of soft power by small states. The major analysis is made on both Qatar and Singapore's use of soft power in their foreign policy strategy. A comparison is made in similar aspects while also highlighting other potential areas in which soft power can be implemented. At last the research presents policy recommendations based on those finding as conclusion of this research.

1. Reexamining the concept of soft power

1.1 Introduction of Soft power

Soft power is a concept which was coined in 1980s by Joseph Nye who is an American political scientist, currently a Professor at Harvard University and also former US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. According to him, soft power is a country's ability to influence others without any military power or any coercive pressure (Nye, 1990). In simple terms soft power can also be defined as impact by influence. When we apply soft power into foreign policy strategy it is a country's ability to exert influence by its appealing image or its attractiveness. While this definition is simple and forward, the concept of soft power is wide and includes numerous elements in it.

Joseph Nye's book and article on soft power describes certain way how this concept came into the international political system. Even though unknowingly soft power existed a long way back in history, it gained its significance mostly during and after cold war. After the end of cold war, America was trying to figure out their place in the world as there was no other defining threat. For a long period of time countries made its place in the world by either diffusing another power through war, taking a side during a war or trying to figure out ways to be as far as possible from the war and conflicts. Countries found a reason to be involved in this chaotic global affairs which mostly is their national security and protection of their sovereignty. However as cold war ended and the world started becoming more independent, it also became a challenge for countries to figure out what place they hold in international affairs and how to navigate their foreign policy strategies to fit in the current international system. This trends somehow suggested and lead to a more attractive way of exercising power in international system which is the soft power. This meant that states may try to achieve its preferred outcome in world politics because other states also wants it. So basically when a country becomes successful in making other countries want what it wants it is called co-optive which is also what we call as soft power (Nye, 1990).

The changes in world politics made the concept of soft power more significant. The instruments of power was changed as it included diplomatic notes and economic threats as part of power instruments. Soft power is also not a type or form of power that can be applied or threatened to be applied to other countries by a particular country. It is more of a passive kind of power and it stays in place while other countries come under its influence and become ready to bring changes in their behavior in international relations (Erdil, 2022). There are many methods and many areas in which soft power is used. In general it is used in economics of the country, international competitiveness, democracy, value of freedom, human capital, richness of culture, history, music and cinema, educational

system, capacity of innovation, digital infrastructure, technological advancements, diplomatic skills and also its own ability to express itself on world stage (Erdil, 2022).

Culture

Culture is a broad concept which comprises materials and spiritual wealth amassed throughout the course of human society. It also included systems and organizations such as ideas, political beliefs, laws, morality, religion, art and science (Hanes & Andrei, 2015). The cultural universality of a country in its ability to determine its own norms and rules to govern its behavior in international system represents key resources of that particular country's power. Joseph Nye who coined the concept of soft power recognizes that a country's level of cohesion, the appeal of its culture abroad, and its standing in international organizations can all be used to assess its intangible power. Because without a strong sense of national identity a country cannot cope efficiently with a foreign crisis. And a country definitely cannot voice in international affairs if it lacks cultural assets and does not use culture to exert global impact (Hanes & Andrei, 2015).

Culture as part of soft power is significant as it is also part of the national power. There are many countries who have decided to strengthen international competitiveness and their influence in international relations through cultural development. Ever since the concept of soft power came into light countries associate this with their culture to promote the country in global stage. The former president of France Jacques Chirac, suggested establishment of European Cultural community in order to achieve cultural Europe. Nakasone, the former prime minister of Japan proposed a strategic plan called as “creating a culturally developed country”. Moreover, the president of Russia, Vladimir Putin started to implement “cultural expansion” strategy in the country ever since he assumed office. Also back in 1992, George Bush, the former American president also emphasized on the significance of using American culture as new type of “soft” culture in his agenda called “Agenda for America’s Revival. Later in 2000, American president Clinton held a seminar in white house on the topic of American culture and of foreign relations (Hanes & Andrei, 2015).

The importance of cultural power grew throughout in international relations as it is a knowledge filter which plays an important role in the decision making process of political leaders. Because one way or other leaders, people and states are deeply affected by their cultural differences in the world stage as culture reflects their own perspectives, values, customs and interests. Therefore, if these differences are not embedded in the decision making process of countries in world stage it can lead to misinterpretations. Therefore, using and embracing the cultural aspect of a country, it can make a huge impact on international system as it not only promotes a country but it deeply influences the strategic

decision making aspect of a country in world stage which is designed to be more beneficial to that particular country (Kanji, 2016).

Education

Education is considered a powerful tool for soft power because it can shape the beliefs, values, and attitudes of individuals and societies, and it can promote the exchange of ideas and understanding between different cultures.

One of the main ways in which education can be a soft power is through the promotion of cultural exchange programmes. Through these programs students and educators from different countries can interact with each other, learn about each other's cultures, and build relationships that can last a lifetime. Cultural exchange programs can take many forms, such as study abroad programs, language immersion programs, and international internships. By facilitating these programs, countries can promote mutual understanding and respect, and can build a positive image in the eyes of foreign citizens (Amirbek & Ydyrys, 2014).

Another way in which education is considered as a soft power is through the promotion of academic partnerships and collaborations. By forming partnerships between universities and research institutions, countries share knowledge and expertise, and work together to solve global challenges such as climate change, public health, and poverty. These partnerships also lead to joint research projects, degree programmes, and publications, which can enhance the reputation of both countries and their institutions in the global academic community (Amirbek & Ydyrys, 2014).

In addition, education also acts as a soft power by promoting democracy and human rights. By teaching students about the principles of democracy and human rights, countries promote these values in their own societies and in the international society. This can lead to greater political stability, economic development, and social progress, as well as improved relations with other countries. Countries also use education as a means of promoting freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and other democratic values, which can enhance their reputation as champions of democracy and human rights (Avricevic, 2021).

Furthermore, education also promotes economic development. By investing in education, countries create a highly skilled workforce that drives innovation, entrepreneurship, and economic growth. This led to increased trade, investment, and tourism, as well as improved relations with other countries. Education also help to reduce poverty and inequality, which improve social stability and reduce the risk of conflict and extremism (Avricevic, 2021).

Education becomes a soft power by promoting global citizenship. By teaching students about the interconnectedness of the world, and the importance of being responsible global citizens, countries promote a sense of shared responsibility for addressing global challenges such as climate change, poverty, and conflict. This can lead to greater international cooperation, and enhance the reputation of countries as responsible members of the global community. By investing in education, countries shape the beliefs, values, and attitudes of individuals and societies, and also promote mutual understanding and respect between different cultures. These aspects make education a valuable soft power as it not only lead to improved relations between countries but also foster international cooperation for a stable and prosperous international society (Avricevic, 2021).

Economy

Economic factors are also considered as a form of soft power in international relations. Economic factors, such as trade, investment, and aid, are used to promote a country's interests and values, and to build relationships with other countries in international relations.

One way in which economic factors act as soft power is through trade. Trade is the exchange of goods and services between countries, but in the contemporary world it is also used to build relationships and promote cooperation. By engaging in trade with other countries, countries demonstrate their commitment to free markets and economic liberalization, and build economic interdependence. This further promote greater stability and peace, as countries are less likely to engage in conflict with countries they have economic ties with (Erdil, 2022).

Investment is another economic factor that act as soft power. By investing in other countries, countries demonstrate their commitment to global prosperity and development. Investment also is used to build relationships with other countries in global society, as countries that receive investment are more likely to have positive views of the investing country (Carminati, 2022).

Aid is another economic factor that act as soft power. By providing aid countries can demonstrate their commitment to helping those in need, and build mutually respected relationships with other countries. Aid also is used to promote country's values, such as democracy, human rights, and development (Carminati, 2022).

In addition to trade, investment, and aid, economic factors can also act as soft power through the use of economic sanctions. Economic sanctions are measures taken to restrict trade, investment, or financial transactions with a country. They can be used as a means of applying pressure on a country to change its behavior, such as to stop engaging in human rights abuses or to stop developing nuclear weapons. Economic sanctions are also

used as a means of promoting a country's values, such as democracy and human rights, by holding economic benefits from countries that do not hold these values. As such, economic factors play an important role in shaping international relations and promoting global cooperation and stability (Anguelov, 2015).

Technological advancements

Technological advancements have become another important form of soft power in international relations. As countries continue to innovate and develop new technologies, they are able to influence the behavior of others and promote their interests and values on the world stage. This is because technological advancements have a significant impact on economic growth, social progress, and national security, making them an attractive area for investment and cooperation (Bettine, Picoli, & Bin, 2022).

One way in which technological advancements act as soft power is through the promotion of innovation and entrepreneurship. Countries that are leaders in innovation, such as the United States and China, influence other countries to adopt similar policies and practices that encourage innovation and entrepreneurship. This led to greater economic growth and development, as well as improve the quality of life for people around the world (Bettine, Picoli, & Bin, 2022).

Technological advancements are also used to promote environmental sustainability and renewable energy. Countries that invest in renewable energy technologies, such as wind and solar power, influence other countries to adopt similar practices that promote sustainability and reduce dependence on fossil fuels. This led to greater environmental protection and improved relations between countries (Bettine, Picoli, & Bin, 2022).

Overall, technological advancements have become an important form of soft power in international relations by promoting innovation, education, research, environmental sustainability, and national security, through which countries build relationships with other countries and promote their interests and values throughout the world stage.

1.2 Soft Power use by Small States

Soft power's ability to efficiently advance a state's objectives is one of its main benefits. Soft power is mostly reliant on a state's culture, values, and policies, as opposed to military and economic power, which both need substantial resources. Thus, small states, who frequently have low resources, can use soft power to further their objectives without spending a fortune.

Soft power can be used by small governments to form partnerships and alliances with other nations. Small governments can attract other nations who share their principles or perceive them as valued partners by presenting a positive image of themselves and their values. By doing this, small governments may be able to create networks of partners and allies that will back them on the international platforms (Karki & Dhungana, 2020).

The promotion of minor states' cultures and values is another way for these states to employ soft power. Small states can raise their profile and influence by exposing the world to their culture. For instance, the little nation of Iceland, which has a population of just over 300,000, has projected its impact on the world stage through its exports of culture. Internationally acclaimed and actively promoting Icelandic culture and values are Icelandic music, literature, and film (Laxdal, 2016). Similarly many other states use their diverse and vibrant culture to promote their use of soft power in international relations. Mostly the biggest advantage for small states in their use of culture as soft power comes from the reservation of the culture due to the small population of the country.

Small governments also utilize soft power to promote their policies and values in addition to their culture. For instance, Costa Rica, a small nation in Central America, has influenced the world stage through its dedication to environmental protection. Costa Rica has put measures in place to safeguard its forests, wildlife, and water resources, and has utilized this success to spread its ideals and political system throughout other nations. Similarly countries such as Maldives also uses soft power to promote their commitment to environmental causes in different multilateral platforms which also helps to create a place for the country in international system (High Commission of the Republic of Maldives in London, n.d.).

Finally, soft power can help minor governments gain more clout in international institutions. Small states can affect these organizations' decisions and set the global agenda by advocating for their values and policies within them. As bigger and developed nations are more focused on bigger issues, the small states pay their attention to minor issues which can eventually become a huge issue in global sphere. These include issues such as environment and sustainable development. For instance, the little nation of Norway, which has a population of just over 5 million, has utilized its clout at the UN to advance peace, human rights, and sustainable development (Stokke, 2010).

1.3 Challenges with the use of soft power by Small States

Small states often find themselves faced with challenges in using soft power in their foreign policy strategies due to their limited resources. The fact that they need soft power in their foreign policy is positively correlated with their lack of resources. But at the same

time this becomes a challenge for small countries for their ability to use soft power. This mostly comes as they have to compete with larger states that have greater resources and more extensive range of soft power tools at their disposal.

Soft power can be expensive as it often requires significant investments in educational programmes, public diplomacy, and culture and media outlets. Therefore, it becomes highly important to allocate funds to support these programmes. But for small states to allocate this fund becomes a struggle. Especially as most of the small states are dealing with other pressing national priorities such as national security and economic development. Hence, financial inability becomes a limitation in small states use of soft power.

Also, to develop effective soft power strategies, small states needs human capital and expertise which are also most of the time lacking in these states. To develop a strong culture and media presence, it requires very skilled professionals who are knowledgeable about the cultural nuances of different regions and also the latest media and communication trends. Biggest challenges in finding such professionals come from the country's inability to provide adequate salaries and also fewer opportunities in job markets for such professionals (Heider & Charlier, 2016).

Moreover, lack of institutional capacity to implement soft power strategies is also a challenge faced by small states in their use and application of soft power (World Bank, 2023). To establish effective soft power strategies, it requires certain level of coordination and collaboration among government and cultural institutes and also media outlets. However, as most of the small states have weaker institutional structures it limits their ability to coordinate and implement cohesive soft power strategy.

In addition to these limitations, it is also important to note that small states have limited global reach compared to larger states which eventually limit the impact of their soft power efforts. As most of the larger states have strong economies, extensive diplomatic networks and also large populations it becomes easier for them to have greater global reach. The limit in global reach can also mean that it limits small state's ability to attract foreign investment and tourism. For an example to improve the tourism industry it is highly significant to attract people from all over the world. But at the same time if awareness and promotion of tourism industry is not done accordingly it can affect the industry. Therefore, without having a sufficient global reach, small states are unable to attract such investments and tourism. Furthermore, influencing global debates and shaping international norms is a part of effective use of soft power. But then again small states struggle to achieve such influence due to their limited global reach (Suilleabhain, 2014).

Small States are often dependent on other larger states which is also a challenge to their use of soft power. Small states that rely heavily on larger states for economic or military support can be forced to adopt policies and values that align with those of their larger allies. As a result, they may be less able to present their own distinctive culture, values, and policies and may come across as "puppets" of more powerful states. Also it becomes challenging for small states to successfully project their own soft power when they are caught in the crossfire of competing interests from larger states (Suilleabhain, 2014). As a result, it becomes challenging for these small states to project their own distinctive soft power because they must negotiate the intricate political and economic ties that exist between their more powerful partners. At last, it also becomes challenging for small states that are largely dependent on a single larger state, to form alliances and partnerships with other nations because they may be perceived as being too closely connected with their larger ally. This eventually makes it harder for these small states to project soft power and create networks of influence on international stage (Kurecic, 2017).

2. Singapore's soft power diplomacy

2.1 Key issues in Singapore's foreign policy

Singapore, a small island-city state situated in Southeast Asia was known to the world mostly after it gained its independence in 1965. Ever since then, Singapore has worked so hard to make its place or to expand itself in the international space where it can function as a sovereign state. The foreign policy of Singapore is guided by principles which calls for its respect for national sovereignty, rule of law and the relevance to international community (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore, n.d.).

Singapore also lists down fundamental principles of its foreign policy which includes that as a small state, Singapore has no illusions about the state of its region or the world. Despite of being a small state, Singapore has not turned its back on all the challenges that comes with being a small state. In fact the foreign policy of Singapore is modified as such to accommodate its size in international relations. Singapore established Forum of Small States (FOSS) in 1992, which is a non-ideological and informal grouping of small states which currently has 108 member countries and they hold meetings multiple times in a year to discuss and find solutions to issues which are faced by small states. Singapore also in 2009 established another informal grouping of 30 small and medium states in United Nations (UN) known as Global Governance Group (3G) which promotes inclusiveness and transparency in the G20 process by encouraging states to engage in dialogue (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore, n.d.)

Singapore is also an active member of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) and Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS). Through SIDS, Singapore is focused on capacity building programmes which covers various areas such as climate change, economic development, sustainable development and public governance. Also as many SIDS countries are faced with very different and diverse challenges, Singapore has provided with certain specific technical assistance packages which included custom made and targeted programmes (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore, n.d.).

Singapore's foreign policy is established to address numerous key issues that the country faces such as climate change, counter-terrorism and cybersecurity. As a low lying small city state, Singapore is met with vulnerability from climate change which requires committed multilateral and rule-based solution. Singapore launched its Climate Action Plan in 2016 and it has been putting great effort to minimize its carbon emissions. Another issue faced by Singapore as similar to rest of the world is the threat from increasing terrorism. Through international platforms such as UN, Commonwealth, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, Singapore

has put a lot of efforts and dedication to work together to overcome these issues (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore, n.d.).

However, issues such as climate change and terrorism cannot be tackled or reduced by single or few countries. It needs global commitment and effort to tackle such issues. Here comes the challenge for Singapore and other small states as the commitment required for these issues are hard to get from bigger and powerful countries. As a small state, no matter how much multilateral platforms are used by Singapore to raise these issues it can never be enough. Therefore, to receive global attention towards such issues countries such as Singapore requires to make a rigid place for itself in international relations.

Moreover, as a country that is greatly dependent on trade Singapore also has to maintain closer and good relations with greater trading powers in the world. In this regard, it does maintain a good relation with both United States of America (US) and China who are known as greatest economic powers in the world. US is Singapore's biggest foreign investor while China is its greatest trading partner. Therefore, no matter Singapore has refrained from commenting on these powers, it has become a huge challenge for the country to maintain a balance in its foreign policy when it comes to greater powers such as US and China (Panda, 2020).

2.2 How does Singapore exercise soft power?

Singapore advertises itself as a nation of opportunity and employs a variety of tactics to strengthen and deploy its soft power. One of the main goals of its foreign policy is to demonstrate to the rest of the world its attractiveness and security. It does this by demonstrating its capacity to appreciate the values it stands for, its strong financial and networking connections, its commitment to the future, and its success in a variety of endeavors (Hong, 2016). Additionally, by utilizing soft power in its foreign policy, it has taken advantage of its geographic location, which has made it a significant hub in the worldwide movement of trade, goods, minerals, and people (Burke & Saramago, 2018).

Singapore uses its enticing economy as one of the most noticeable and significant means of incorporating soft power into its foreign policy. Singapore is renowned for having a discreet and honest worldwide financial hub, which attracts numerous investments to the nation. The nation is renowned for its capacity to provide venture capital to and assist new businesses (Hong, 2016). Additionally, as part of its foreign economic policy, Singapore invests a significant amount of its resources on economic diplomacy efforts. Developments in both global and regional economic multilateralism have been made in

this area. Due to its well-known role as a significant worldwide shipping hub for maritime trade, it is frequently referred to as a global maritime hub. Singapore's policy of constantly separating politics from business has contributed to its commercial success, making it a vehicle for the country's soft power diplomacy to engage in relations with other nations (Sadasivan, 2007).

The use of Singapore's technocratic resources at various levels of economic diplomacy also plays a significant role in Singapore's foreign policy, which aggressively engages the global economic system. Utilizing a country's resources and traits to its advantage is one of the fundamental pillars of foreign policy in the framework of employing soft power in order to obtain worldwide recognition and to maintain a stable and advantageous position in international affairs. As a result, Singapore takes this approach, utilizing its geopolitical location and resources in the most advantageous manner for trade and economic growth (Dent, 2001).

Singapore is renowned for providing top-notch education while running educational initiatives around the area. In discussing a nation's appeal in terms of political principles, it applies Joseph Nye's three concepts of soft power. These characteristics include a nation's capacity to uphold norms both at home and internationally, moral authority, and the capacity for legitimate politics (Burke & Saramago, 2018).

Unlike religious and political values, which are more likely to be culture-specific, education is understood and regarded as a universal value in Singapore. The Singapore Cooperation Program (SCP), started in 1992 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is one instance of how Singapore integrated education into its soft power diplomacy. The major goal of this program is to share Singapore's economic and social development model while offering training programs primarily focused on capacity building in areas including the judiciary, trade and economy, governance and leadership, public administration, and sustainability (Burke & Saramago, 2018).

Furthermore, SCP offers third-world nations scholarships for postgraduate study at Singaporean higher education institutions. One of the key objectives of this program is that the beneficiary return to their home country after completing their educational program and use the knowledge and information they have just acquired to advance their society and economy (Burke & Saramago, 2018).

Also under FOSS, Singapore launched FOSS Fellowship Programme which invites Ambassadors in FOSS countries to come to Singapore to participate in study visits where they can exchange views on challenges with development and can have productive dialogue with policy makers of Singapore (Karki & Dhungana, 2020).

Thus, as a model for foreign aid, education serves as a soft power in Singapore's foreign policy. It also illustrates Singapore's success story, which was built on a properly and thoroughly educated, maintained, and trained populace that also serves as the cornerstone of long-term socioeconomic growth.

2.3 Challenges of Singapore's Soft Power diplomacy

Singapore's soft power has been very valuable and significant. However, there are also many challenges for Singapore in its use of soft power in their foreign policy strategy. Soft power is exerted by countries through numerous different ways and areas such as through resources and culture. Likewise the politics of the country as well as global dynamics along with regional politics and competition largely affects the soft power diplomacy of a country.

The culture of Singapore is diverse as its population is also a diverse population as the result of past immigration. Largest ethnic group is Chinese which makes up three-fourths of total population while Malay is second and India is third. Also within these ethnic groups there are many diverse groups such as Indian ethnic group is composed of Tamils, Sikhs and Malayali. The diversity has also made 4 languages as official languages of the country. There are also multiple religions within the country due to diverse ethnic groups (Ho, Kennard, Winstedt, & Leinbach, 2023). Therefore, the culture of Singapore is largely diversified. Culture is an important part of soft power on its own as well as in other areas as well. Singapore's use of soft power in its vibrant economy also includes traces of its culture. Multiculturalism as attractive as it sounds, it can also cause certain problems such as difficulty in forming national unity, understanding the notion of equality which is sufficient for everyone and also competition among cultures due to dominance of a particular group's culture (Eagan, 2023). Hence, cultural diversity of Singapore poses as a huge challenge for its use of soft power in the foreign policy strategy.

To have a successful foreign policy especially to promote foreign policy strategies through soft power it is highly significant to have a stable and well maintained political and social system. Singapore has many political constraints which limits to certain extent, the ability of government to deliver their foreign policy strategies through soft power. It has been perceived that certain aspects in Singapore's political process, human and political rights and civil liberties are lacking. In fact in a report published by Economic Intelligence Unit has ruled that Singapore is a flawed democracy (Economic Intelligence Unit, 2022). Hence, these constrains also limits and challenges the use of soft power by Singapore.

Moreover, the constant change in geopolitical landscape also impact Singapore's use of soft power in international system. The technology, global economy and politics are consistently changing and these affects the strategies adopted in foreign policy to a great extent. At the same time soft power is used by numerous countries in the world. Singapore is located among multiple countries such as Thailand and Indonesia who also promotes themselves through soft power in their foreign policy. Hence, this creates a competition for Singapore, especially in Southeast Asia region, which makes it hard for Singapore to stand out and make a place in such a region.

3. Qatar's soft Power diplomacy

3.1 Key issues in Qatar's foreign policy

Qatar, is an Arab peninsular country in Middle East which shares border with Saud Arabia and lies basically in Western Asia. Qatar was also a British protectorate from 1916 to 1971 until it gained independence. Qatar is a unitary, authoritarian parliamentary semi-constitutional monarchy with an Emir and a Prime Minister (Crystal, Anthony, & Zeidan, 2023).

According to the constitution of Qatar, the foreign policy is based on the principles of maintaining independence and sovereignty, upholding international agreements and covenants, safeguarding human rights and the freedoms of the public and private spheres, and preserving the Arab and Islamic nations' identities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar, n.d.). It also calls for resolution of conflicts peacefully and to prevent interference in internal affairs of other countries while cooperating with all the other countries that pursue peace (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar, n.d.).

However, despite of having strong economic resilience, Qatar is also vulnerable due to the fact that it is one of the least populated and smallest countries located in the Gulf. On top of this, Qatar is geographically located between two large competing regional powers which are Saudi Arabia and Iran (Alvarez-Ossorio & Garcia, 2021). Also, Middle East is known for its conflicts between different countries which has created a politically unstable situation which becomes an obstacle for other Middle Eastern countries, which needs to be tackled. The Syria and Israel conflict is also another serious conflict in Middle East. Qatar as a small state in Middle East trying to make a positive image of itself in the international community is faced with numerous challenges due to these conflicts. Especially as Qatar highly promotes investment opportunities, it needs to convince other nations that despite of being located in such a conflicted region it has potential to be an excellent investment partner.

Moreover, despite of being an active mediator in conflicts in Middle East, the foreign policy of Qatar is not appeared as a coherent political strategy. Due to this lack of coherence its political strategy suffers greatly from discrepancy between actions and image. Also it not only affects the internal policies of Qatar but it greatly affects the foreign policy of Qatar as it makes Qatar susceptible to international instabilities. Also the mediation role played by Qatar was during a period when Middle East was dominated by different authoritarian regimes. Therefore, as these authoritarian regimes started to fail mostly during the Arab spring Qatar has to change its methods and adopt new strategically improved methods to stay ahead of the political game in the region. This has also made

the foreign policy of Qatar weak as it was perceived as non-rigid due to the constant changes that was brought to the foreign policy (Khatib, 2013).

Another key issue in Qatar's foreign policy is despite of being a champion democracy in Arab peninsular, it lacks political party system, independent civil society organizations and an independent legislature. At the same time navigating the political system of the country while being located in one of the conflicted regions has made it a huge challenge for the government of Qatar to have stable political or party system. These eventually affects the long-term political future planning of Qatar which eventually could lead to political turmoil.

3.2 How does Qatar exercise soft power?

Qatar, is considered a vital political and economic player in the Gulf region due to its vast natural gas reserves and wealth per capita. Its foreign policy is intertwined with its economic success, particularly as the world's third largest natural gas reserve and the world's largest gas exporter (World Population Review, 2022). Qatar consistently promotes its foreign policy through the soft power of its rich economy. As a rapidly expanding business center in the Gulf, Qatar has proven resilience during certain economic crises such as oil price failing throughout the world. Qatar's foreign policy is in line with that of other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), an intergovernmental body that supports the unity of Gulf nations in a variety of areas, including the economic sector. The GCC is particularly focused on expanding global investments. As Qatar is surrounded by rapidly growing economies, the leadership's understanding of the vulnerability of the wealth that the nation has amassed is directly reflected on its foreign policy. Qatar continuously uses soft power of its robust economy to further improve its foreign policy strategy (Feiler & Zeev, 2017).

Qatar has also succeeded with its established educational policies that play an essential role in its soft power diplomacy. With Qatar's educational reforms, there are many educational possibilities that seek to deliver the highest possible education. In order to promote and support the educational opportunities provided by public financed Qatar University (QU), the Qatar foundation developed the idea of Education City in 1997. Through this Education City concept, Qatar exerts its soft power diplomacy as it has opened branches of prestigious international universities such as Virginia Commonwealth University School of the Arts, Georgetown University School of the Arts, Texas A&M University and Weill Cornell Medical College (Augustine, et al., 2007). Through these

universities Qatar attracts foreigners, especially Middle Easterners to study in Qatar which further contributes to enhance Qatar's recognition in global affairs

Furthermore, Qatar also signed multiple different agreements with other countries to establish their campus branch which not only contributes to Qatar's education system, but also provided opportunities for neighboring countries to pursue education. Also, in order to make its educational framework more appealing, Qatar hires Western faculty members to teach in its top notch universities and organizes conferences and seminars that focus on priority areas listed in Qatar's foreign policy. Numerous academics and scholars from all over the world, including the resident ambassadors are invited to attend these conferences and seminars that focus on Qatar's foreign policy priority areas. This eventually contributes to shape the foreign policy of Qatar.

Qatar also exerts soft power in its foreign policy via public diplomacy. The establishment of Al-Jazeera news was one of the biggest successes in Qatar's foreign influence. Al-Jazeera gained fame quickly after its establishment as it was the only Arab alternative to other global news challenges such as CNN. It also had a dynamic engagement with Middle East's politics while it criticized Arab leaders and their politics. It was a great use of Qatar's soft power in public diplomacy sphere. Through Al Jazeera Qatar presented itself to global community as it was a success story of a small Arab state in their use of global platform to magnify its significance to the world (Khatib, 2013).

3.3 Challenges of Qatar's Soft Power diplomacy

The use of soft power in foreign policy by Qatar is faced with numerous challenges which are related to its politics, culture and also the geopolitical location of the country. Qatar as a country located in Middle East where there are numerous conflicts, the relationship Qatar maintains with its neighbors are perceived very differently by other international powers and also the international community. Qatar's support for certain Islamist groups and also its relation with countries like Iran are perceived negatively especially by the West. This perception of other countries is also linked with the culture of Qatar. As a Muslim country in Arab world the cultural norms of Qatar are according to the Islamic religion. Hence, these cultural norms are not well understood or accepted by other countries, especially by non-Muslim countries. This particular notion was visible even during the World Cup which was held in Qatar in 2022. The organizing committee of Qatar prohibited certain things during the World Cup which goes against the religion of Islam. Hence, the large populations of foreigners who came to Qatar despite of their religion or their beliefs were asked to adhere to these rules. However, this again was not

perceived well by Western countries and Qatar received numerous criticisms due to these rules.

In addition to this, Qatar is also faced with competition from neighboring countries in Qatar's exertion of soft power diplomacy. As Education is one major area in which Qatar exerts soft power, countries around Qatar also has developed world class education initiatives which challenges the educational initiatives of Qatar. An example of this can be the United Arab Emirates (UAE) as it established Abu Dhabi Education Council and Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum Foundation to promote the educational policies. Moreover, as Qatar also heavily invests in culture and arts by developing world-class artistic and cultural institution such as Museum of Islamic Arts and Qatar National Library to promote its identity and cultural heritage, other Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia and UAE have also invested in cultural initiatives such as Misk Art Institute and Louvre Abu Dhabi which challenges Qatar's initiatives. Saudi Arabia's Al Arabiya and UAE's Sky News Arabia was formed to challenge Qatar's Al Jazeera as it was promoting Qatar and was gaining global recognition. Therefore, such competitions with its large neighbors challenges Qatar's use of soft power in its foreign policy.

Another factor that challenges Qatar's soft power is the governmental structure of Qatar. As Qatar is a monarchy on certain international platform Qatar may not be seen as conducive to promote democratic values and human rights. Especially when it is an Islamic monarchy the rules of Qatar are often challenged by these democratic values. When it comes to democratic and human rights values, the West sees its own values as universal and these values needs to be accepted by other countries in the world, in order to be known as countries that respects democracy and human rights. Therefore, Qatar is faced by these criticisms which affects its use of soft power in foreign policy strategies as well.

Analyzing whether Soft Power is enough

Soft power, as much as effective it is in foreign policy strategies of small states, it is not enough on its own because it does not provide a complete toolkit for a country to pursue its national interests and protect its security in a complex and competitive international environment (Nye, 2009).

Soft power is limited in its ability to prevent aggression. As a country's soft power is its ability to influence other nations to adopt similar values and policies, it may not be enough to deter aggression or protect the country's security in the face of threats or military aggression. In such cases, hard power such as military strength is required to certain extent in order to protect the country's sovereignty and interests.

Soft power is also not effective in dealing with hostile regimes. Some regimes in the world are hostile to the values and policies that a country represents. These countries are less likely to be persuaded or influenced by soft power alone. Therefore, in such cases, a combination of hard power and soft power along with diplomatic efforts may be necessary to address the situation effectively.

At last, soft power may also not be enough to achieve economic goals of a country. While soft power can be used through different ways to influence other countries to adopt similar economic policies and practices, it may not always be enough to achieve specific economic goals such as opening up markets or gaining access to resources. Especially when a country is small with lack of resources it becomes quite challenging to reach to a certain level which can provide them economic benefits.

Therefore, while soft power is an essential tool for countries to pursue their interests and influence others in international system, it is not enough on its own, especially in the current geopolitical situation of the world. A combination of hard power, diplomatic efforts, and economic policies may be necessary to achieve a country's objectives in a complex and competitive international environment.

With this also comes the concept of smart power which was also coined in 2004 by same American Scholar Joseph Nye, who coined the concept soft power. Smart power is a strategy that combines the use of both hard power and soft power to achieve foreign policy objectives. It involves the use of a variety of tools, including military, economic, diplomatic, and cultural means, in a coordinated and integrated manner to achieve strategic objectives depending on the situation or environment.

Smart power is often considered more effective than soft power or hard power alone because it leverages the strengths of both approaches while mitigating their weaknesses.

Soft power, which relies on attraction and persuasion, may not be sufficient to address certain security challenges, while hard power, which relies on coercion and force, can lead to unintended consequences and damage to relationships. As the political landscape of the world keeps constantly changing, situations arise where neither soft power nor hard power alone brings a solution or stability.

Smart power recognizes that in today's complex and interconnected world, addressing global challenges requires a multifaceted approach. For example, addressing climate change requires not only the use of soft power tools such as diplomatic engagement and cultural outreach, but also the use of hard power tools such as investment in clean energy technologies and military preparedness for natural disasters.

Therefore, by using a combination of hard and soft power tools in a coordinated manner, smart power can achieve better outcomes and a more sustainable impact than either approach alone. It also allows for a more nuanced and adaptable approach to foreign policy challenges, enabling policymakers of countries to respond to changing circumstances and achieve strategic objectives more effectively.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the concept of soft power has been increasingly recognized as significant foreign policy strategy of small states like Singapore and Qatar. As Joseph Nye (1990) has stated, the soft power has greatly minimized the confusion surrounding the international relations mostly after the end of cold war. While the concept of soft power was adopted by almost countries all over the world, one of the most noticeable use of soft power is by the small states that have formulated their foreign policy goals and objectives that almost completely surrounds the soft power concept.

As soft power is exerted through a state's values, culture, policies and economics, small states who have disadvantages in global society due to lack of resources, its position and size, use soft power in numerous ways such as to form partnerships and alliances with other countries that can be in advantage for those states in international platforms. Through promotion of culture and value, small states raise their image and make their place in international relations. Establishing policies with regard to a niche area such as environment or human rights and also advocating on minor issues which are often ignored by bigger states, are also ways in which small states exert their soft power to influence other countries.

Singapore's use of soft power is mirrored by the issues in its foreign policy such as counterterrorism, climate change, cyber security and creating balance between its greatest trading partners the US and China. Appreciating values and using the geopolitical location and richness of the country is clearly seen best from Singapore's foreign policy. The most important areas in which the country uses soft power is through its attractive position as financial and investment hub. Being referred as a global maritime trade hub, Singapore uses soft power to attract trade opportunities and investments to the country which increases the economic prosperity of the country.

Moreover, the attractive education system of the country is another well know soft power of Singapore. Education is regarded as a universal value in Singapore, unlike the religious and politics which goes towards more culture specific values. Through programs such as SCP, Singapore offers educational programs which will be sharing the attractive economic and social development model of Singapore. Furthermore, through FOSS and similar organizations Singapore also launches programs that are focused on specific training programs for different target groups such Ambassadors of other countries accredited to Singapore. Providing educational scholarships to foreign students also makes the education a strong soft power of the country.

However, the use of soft power by Singapore is not as easy as it seems. There are numerous challenges linked with the use of soft power which even Singapore could not escape from. The diverse population of Singapore acts as a challenge in promotion of its diverse culture due to risk of being misrepresented or risk of offending a particular ethnic group of the country. The fact that certain international research groups such as Economic Intelligence Unit's research (2022) showing that Singapore lacks some of the human and political rights, civil liberties and political processes makes the politics of Singapore unstable and puts constraints on its political process. This eventually ends up limiting the use of soft power, especially in the foreign policy. Also, the constant change in geopolitical landscape of the world also imposes challenges to Singapore's use of soft power in its foreign policy. This also does not exclude the fact that similar foreign policy strategies adopted by neighboring countries of Singapore also poses as a challenge to Singapore's use of soft power.

Qatar's use of soft power is also a direct reflection of the key issues and priorities in the foreign policy of the country. Being the smallest country located in a region such as Gulf, while being closer to regional powers puts Qatar in a very delicate position in the international relations. While Middle East is known for its regional conflicts, navigating through these challenges became the ultimate test for Qatar. However, being able to get through these conflicts brought another set of uncertainty to Qatar as its foreign policy was constantly changing and it was regarded as unstable to certain extent. Along with these issues also came the lack of political party system in Qatar which correlated with its democracy being not very acceptable to the rest of the world, especially the west.

Therefore, to overcome these challenges and to make a steady position for itself in international relations, Qatar adopted soft power in its foreign policy strategy. Being the world's largest gas exporter and having a rich economy, Qatar proved its resilience during certain economic crisis and used this economic power as its soft power to attract business and investment opportunities. Through organizations such as GCC, Qatar promotes its economic stability to the region and also to the international sphere as well.

Moreover, education is also a strong soft power of Qatar as similar to Singapore. The establishment of Education City in Qatar which bring branches of prestigious international universities to Qatar where, it then gives scholarship opportunities to foreign students to study in these university branches by coming to Qatar. In order to make the education system of Qatar more attractive, it also employs foreign academic professionals which further acts as a soft power of country. The public diplomacy of Qatar also has touched upon the soft power concept and this can be clearly seen through Qatar's establishment of Al-Jazeera which is a leading news channel in the world.

However, Qatar's use of soft power is also not challenge free. The same issues which made the country to adopt soft power such as being located in conflicted region also acts as a challenge to its use of soft power. The rest of the world's acceptance of Qatar's soft power often is clouded by the seriousness of conflicts in Gulf. Also the fact that Qatar is an Islamic Monarchy which has rules that abides to the Islamic religion is not very well perceived by the Western world, thus making the endless effort of Qatar to promote the country much more complicated.

On top of this, there are also challenges that Qatar faces from its neighboring countries as they are in a competition with each other in their use of soft power. Like UAE's educational policies and Saudi Arabia's public diplomacy stunts that are almost similar to Qatar pose as a huge challenge for Qatar to promote its use of soft power. Additionally, the governmental structure of Qatar and its lack of political parties also is an obstacle for the effective use of soft power by Qatar.

Soft power's effectiveness in foreign policy strategy with regard to current geopolitical situation has also become questionable. Using soft power alone is unideal to survive in international relations. In fact concepts such as smart power which is combination of soft and hard power is becoming more acceptable as it fills up the limitations of soft power (Nye, 2009). In order to make more sustainable impact in international relations, smart power is being considered as the ultimate option. However, there are small states that does not have the capacity or the resources to adopt such policies and can only rely on its soft power which has created partnerships and alliances with powerful states that can protect them in such situations.

Despite of the limitations and challenges, both Singapore and Qatar has demonstrated that soft power can be an effective foreign policy strategy for small states. Through their use of soft power, they have built their reputations and enhanced their influence in world stage. Soft power has also enabled Singapore and Qatar to shape perceptions of their countries and promote their values and interests in international community. The success and robustness of the economy of both Singapore and Qatar is a clear proof that soft power is definitely a strong concept of power regardless of any inferiority that is linked to it, by powerful states.

Policy Recommendations

1. Limited global reach can limit the impact of small states' soft power efforts. Small states can overcome this challenge by developing innovative strategies that prioritize key audiences and regions where they can have the most impact. They can also leverage their unique strengths, such as their cultural heritage and innovative approaches to governance, to build a distinct and effective soft power strategy that resonates with global audiences. Ultimately, the key to success for small states lies in their ability to be creative, resourceful, and strategic in their use of soft power.
2. Building strong alliance with other countries can eliminate the challenges faced by small states in their use of soft power as well. Finding like-minded states that can help to amplify small states voice and exert influence in world stage.
3. Finding a niche area of expertise will increase the success of soft power use in foreign policy. Areas such as renewable energy, disaster relief and cybersecurity can be chosen by small states to become more recognized in international society which can increase the influence of small states as well as attract foreign investments
4. Active participation in international organizations to amplify multilateral diplomacy can further help to promote the soft power
5. Start the focus in regional cooperation to make the foreign policy more solid when it moves to international cooperation.
6. Small states that largely depend on soft power can adopt the following policies to protect their national security
 - Investing in intelligence gathering capability to monitor and identify potential threats. This can also include forming partnerships with other countries in intelligence sharing

- Put great emphasis on conflict prevention by promoting cooperation and dialogue among countries in region. Addressing underlying tensions can further reduce the risk of conflict formation
 - Strengthen cybersecurity and promote cybersecurity best practices
 - Build strong alliance with other states to enhance collective security and to deter potential threats
7. Policy recommendations for Singapore to improve the use of soft power in their foreign policy strategy
- Use cultural diversity as part of soft power by promoting the diversity through cultural institutions and cultural exchange programs with other countries
 - Embrace sustainability by investing in renewable energy, promoting sustainable development practices and promoting eco-tourism initiative
 - Investing in sports diplomacy as it has become a significant area throughout the international community. This can include hosting sporting events and development of sports facilities and programmes
 - Expand international aid efforts by providing humanitarian aid and promoting social justice and human rights initiatives.
8. Policy recommendations for Qatar to improve the use of soft power in their foreign policy strategy
- Expanding cultural exchange programs to promote its culture and values abroad. This can include promotion of Qatari traditions, hosting international cultural and arts events and supporting cultural institutions
 - Develop more open media environment to increase soft power as media plays an important role in soft power diplomacy. Encouraging independent reporting and promoting diversity of perspectives can be included under this.
 - As Qatar has already hosted FIFA World Cup which has been a huge soft power success for the country, Qatar can find similar potential ways to improve the soft power diplomacy in sports.
 - Promoting a niche area such as sustainable development where investments can be focused on green technologies, renewable energy and sustainable tourism
 - Expansion of humanitarian efforts such as providing emergency aid and relief to countries in need, especially in the region.

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Analytical note

<p>Project idea</p>	<p>Evaluate the use of soft power by small states and specifically make a comparative analysis between Singapore and Qatar</p>
<p>Problem situation (case)</p>	<p>Soft power is a concept which became significant mostly after the end of cold war as countries became more attracted to the idea of peace and cooperation. The literature was mostly done for powerful or bigger states with regard to the utilization of soft power which lead to, not enough literature to be formed on the soft power use by small states who were historically known for staying behind the shadows of powerful and dominant states.</p> <p>Research problem The main research problem of this project is to explore and explain the use of soft power in foreign policy strategies of small states. It is a comparative analysis where two known small states Singapore and Qatar will be analyzed in their use of soft power within their foreign policy strategy and the challenges faced by these states in the utilization of soft power as well</p>
<p>Available solutions to this problem</p>	<p>The solutions of this project is more in the form of policy recommendations which is divided in 3 main parts where the first part is focused on policy recommendations for small states in general. The second part is policy recommendations for Singapore and third part is for Qatar</p> <p>Small States:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Investing in intelligence gathering capability to monitor and identify

	<p>potential threats. This can also include forming partnerships with other countries in intelligence sharing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Put great emphasis on conflict prevention by promoting cooperation and dialogue among countries in region. Addressing underlying tensions can further reduce the risk of conflict formation- Strengthen cybersecurity and promote cybersecurity best practices- Build strong alliance with other states to enhance collective security and to deter potential threats <p>Singapore</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Use cultural diversity as part of soft power by promoting the diversity through cultural institutions and cultural exchange programs with other countries- Embracement of sustainability by investing in renewable energy, promoting sustainable development practices and promoting eco-tourism initiative- Investing in sports diplomacy as it has become a significant area throughout the international community. This can include hosting sporting events and development of sports facilitates and programmes- Expand international aid efforts by providing humanitarian aid and promoting social justice and human rights initiatives. <p>Qatar</p>
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- Expanding cultural exchange programs to promote its culture and values abroad. This can include promotion of Qatari traditions, hosting international cultural and arts events and supporting cultural institutions
- Develop more open media environment to increase soft power as media plays an important role in soft power diplomacy. Encouraging independent reporting and promoting diversity of perspectives can be included under this.
- As Qatar has already hosted FIFA World Cup which has been a huge soft power success for the country, Qatar can find similar potential ways to improve the soft power diplomacy in sports.
- Promoting a niche area such as sustainable development where investments can be focused on green technologies, renewable energy and sustainable tourism
- Expansion of humanitarian efforts such as providing emergency aid and relief to countries in need, especially in the region.

Advantages

More available literature on application of soft power by small states along with the challenges faced by them and proposed policy recommendations

Disadvantages

	<p>Due to complex geopolitical situation of the world, use of soft power is more complicated and since it is something which cannot be measured precisely, it becomes challenging to apply policy recommendations without knowing exactly the outcomes in international relations</p>
<p>Suggested Solution to This Problem</p>	<p>The proposed solutions are mostly general and do not have major setbacks since the process is not too risky and does not involve major political constraints.</p> <p><u>Possibilities</u> More small states will explore their potential soft powers and implement policies to use them to make its place in international relations. Singapore and Qatar will also focus on increasing their use of soft power by exploring new areas in soft power and eliminating challenges faced by already existing soft power areas. Moreover, finding a niche area will become more common among small states with regard to their soft power use.</p> <p><u>Risks</u> Complexity of geopolitical situation of the world and soft power always being threatened of not being enough in international relations.</p>
<p>Expected Result</p>	<p>The expected outcome of this entire project is to conduct a comparative analysis of Singapore and Qatar's use of soft power to achieve their foreign policy objectives. Moreover, by comparing 2 geographically and culturally distinct small states, this research aims to</p>

	<p>identify commonalities and differences in their soft power strategies, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. This project will also contribute to the existing literature by filling gap in knowledge regarding the use of soft power by small states as a foreign policy strategy. It is also expected to provide a deeper understanding of the effectiveness and challenges associated with soft power approaches in the context of small states. At last, the project is expected to be valuable for policymakers, scholars and practitioners interested in small state diplomacy and dynamics of soft power in international relations.</p>
Literature	<p>I have used around 50 sources in this project such as articles, books, journals and websites as well.</p> <p>Alvarez-Ossorio, I., & Garcia, L. R. (2021). The foreign policy of Qatar: From a mediating role to an active one. <i>Revista Espanola de Ciencia Politica</i>, 97-120.</p> <p>Amirbek, A., & Ydyrys, K. (2014). Education as a Soft Power Instrument of Foreign Policy. <i>Social and Behavioral Sciences</i>, 501-503.</p> <p>Anguelov, N. (2015). Sanctions or Soft Power: Implications for Competitiveness. In N. Anguelov, <i>Economic Sanctions vs. Soft Power</i> (pp. 111-132). Palgrave Macmillan.</p> <p>Antwi-Boateng, O. (2013). The Rise of Qatar as a Soft Power and the Challenges. <i>European Scientific Journal</i>, 9(10), 39-51.</p> <p>Augustine, C. H., Brewer, D. J., Zellman, G. L., Ryan, G., Goldman, C. J., Stasz, C., & Constant, L. (2007). <i>Qatar and Its</i></p>

	<p><i>Education System</i>. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.</p> <p>Avricevic, A. (2021, August 5). <i>Education as Soft Power and Beyond</i>. Retrieved April 11, 2023, from Asfar: https://asfar.org.uk/education-as-soft-power-and-beyond/</p> <p>Bettine, M., Picoli, L., & Bin, A. (2022). Gaining soft power by fostering science, technology and innovation: dilemmas in international relations. <i>Sociology International Journal</i>, 6(2), 67-72.</p> <p>Burke, D. C., & Saramago, A. (2018). Singapore's Use of Education as a Soft Power Tool in Arctic Cooperation. <i>Asian Survey</i>, 58(5), 920-941.</p> <p>Bush, J. W. (2021). <i>China's Soft Power in the Context of the Belt and Road Initiative: Three Case Studies</i>. University of Vermont.</p> <p>Carminati, D. (2022). The economics of soft power: Reliance on economic resources and instrumentality in economic gains. <i>Economic and Political Studies</i>, 10(1), 19-43.</p> <p>Chong, A., & Maass, M. (2010). Introduction: the foreign policy power of small states. <i>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</i>, 381-382.</p> <p>Crystal, J. A., Anthony, J. D., & Zeidan, A. (2023, April 08). <i>Qatar</i>. Retrieved April 14, 2023, from Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/place/Qatar</p> <p>Dent, C. M. (2001). Singapore's Foreign Economic Policy: The Pursuit of Economic Security. <i>Contemporary Southeast Asia</i>, 23(1), 1-23.</p> <p>Note: This is not the entire reference list. The entire list is included in the project</p>
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