

**EXAMINING THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF CONSTRUCTION
WORKERS IN QATAR DURING THE 2022 FIFA WORLD CUP (2013-
2022)**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS



**UNIVERSITAS
ISLAM
INDONESIA**

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FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA**

2025

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Proposed to the Department of International Relations
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences
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As partial fulfillment of the requirements to earn a
Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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AUTHORIZATION PAGE

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in the Department of International Relations
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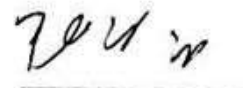


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No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

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Thursday, January 23, 2025



Muhammad Haqqan

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the correlation and effectiveness of the 4 concepts of International Labour Organization (ILO) Economic Security in the analysis of construction worker issues during the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar. The 4 concepts used are (1) Work Security, (2) Income Security, (3) Labour Market Security, and (4) Representation Security. Each security concept looks at a number of Economic Security issues related to construction workers during the construction of facilities for the 2022 FIFA World Cup, mainly stadiums. This thesis also looks at how Qatar and sports and organizations reacted to and addressed these issues. It also looks at the actions taken by construction workers and the consequences of the security issues faced by both the workers and Qatar. Qatar's view and implementation of security within the 4 concepts of Economic Security were used to discover where the problems lay and the correlation between the two. The findings are focused on the issues faced by the workers, the effectiveness of the 4 concepts of ILO Economic Security and Qatar's standpoint.

Keywords: Economic Security, construction worker, Qatar.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The 2022 FIFA World Cup hosted in Qatar was tuned into by millions from all over the world. Qatar is a prosperous country with a small population of about 3 million people and extreme heat temperature. In terms of football development and infrastructure, Qatar was far behind when the hosting bid was announced. Qatar won the hosting bid over more established countries such as the United States, Japan, and South Korea on December 2, 2010. At the time, Qatar was widely suspected of bribing FIFA, and FIFA was harshly criticized by the western media for caving into Qatar's demands and becoming corrupt (Dorsey, 2017).

In 2009, Qatar filed a bid to FIFA to host the World Cup. A year later, Qatar was chosen to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Being the first Middle Eastern nation to be successful in winning the privilege to host the FIFA World Cup, Qatar was praised for having the courage to pursue this course of action. In terms of financial capabilities and infrastructure, Qatar was the leading candidate country to host the most expensive 2022 FIFA World Cup in sports history. Qatar allocated USD 200 billion for the FIFA World Cup, while Australia allocated USD 2.29 billion, the United States USD 661.2 million, Japan USD 1.3 billion, and South Korea USD 877 million. This funding allocation is eighteen times that of Brazil and South Africa and ten times that of Russia for the 2018 FIFA World Cup. It also almost equals Qatar's 2013 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of USD 203 billion. It is well known that the construction industry controls the majority of jobs in Qatar, and

particularly did so in 2013 due to the industry's very quick growth. This resulted in Qatar being crowned the 2022 World Cup host nation, and hence Qatar's need for more construction workers to build extensive infrastructure. The Finance Minister of Qatar provided an explanation of the expenditure in 2017: \$500 million a week for the construction of highways, hotels, stadiums, and upgrading the state of its airports. Qatar has the highest risk record in event operations compared to its competitors based on a review by the FIFA inspection team after submitting a bid to host the FIFA World Cup (Gordon, Yadlin, and Heistein, 2017).

FIFA's president at the time, Sepp Blatter, is now notoriously known by the image of him in which a prankster is tossing money at him. This went viral at the time due to FIFA officials being discovered committing acts of corruption. After Sepp Blatter was re-elected as president in 2015, he resigned after only four days because he was lambasted for the corruption scandal involving FIFA executives (BBC News, 2015). This corruption controversy, however, had nothing to do with Qatar, but as the World Cup approached, things became a bit more heated when the US Department of Justice began to accuse Qatar of bribing certain officials in FIFA in return for votes. Qatar has consistently disputed all of these allegations, claiming that there has never been proof of Qatar bribing or abusing its hosting rights in any other way (Panja & Draper, 2020). The Qatari government rejected allegations from western newspapers, like The Guardian, and accused the west of often discrediting Qatar as the host of the World Cup without any confirmation from Qatar (Smith, 2015).

After the world cup, FIFA (the world's largest football organization) stated that this was the greatest world cup of all time, despite there being several issues

and controversies surrounding the event. The most notable one was the unjust and harsh treatment of construction workers who were part of the construction of key infrastructure, such as football stadiums and the buildings surrounding them. Other controversies, such as the anti-LGBTQ regulations and the prohibition of alcohol, were highly debated among nations and their football organizations. At the last World Cup, FIFA permitted national team captains to wear the one love armband to promote several initiatives, one of which was the LGBTQ rights campaign. Alcohol was also permitted at the previous World Cup; however, when Qatar unexpectedly made a u-turn and banned alcohol one month before the event started, people from the west were outraged, as viewers in the West were accustomed to drinking beer while watching the games (Jiménez, 2016).

This research will use the ILO's Economic Programme, which is made up of work-related security and fundamental social security, and is characterized by access to infrastructure for basic requirements linked to housing, information, health, education, and social protection. Four of the components will be used to analyze the correlation between the issues of construction workers during the World Cup and the Economic Security of the workers. As listed, these four of Labor Market Security, Work Security, Income Security, Representation Security have the similarities between the Economic insecurity the workers faced during the building of World Cup constructions. Having job opportunities is related to labor market security. Keeping safe and healthy working conditions is a component of work security. Having a sufficient and steady income is related to income security. The capacity to collectively negotiate and have a voice at work is related to representation security (International Organization, 2004).

There were numerous reports and accounts from families and organizations about the severe and brutal temperatures the workers had to work in. There were reports from several countries, such as Nepal, Bangladesh, and India, stating that more than 6500 of their people died as a result of extreme working conditions. Organizations such as Amnesty International and the United Nations cautioned Qatar about its ill treatment of migrant workers and urged it to reform its policies (Donini, 2019).

There was continuing back and forth tension between Qatar and the affected countries. India and Nepal recorded the highest number of fatalities; India being first and Nepal second. It was indisputable that the influence of Qatar's selection as the host of the 2022 World Cup resulted in an increase in the number of personnel required to finish all preparations for the big event. Countries with high populations like India tend to mishandle their labor forces that are sent abroad: agencies usually send vulnerable people who are desperate for jobs, with promises of contracts and statements that are false. Nepal is similar and also sends out thousands of labor workers each year. Nepal is reported to be the fifth most dependent country on remittance as it helps their people from household poverty and keeps the economy afloat. It is no secret that although Qatar is mostly responsible, originating countries are also partly at fault (Szymanski, 2011).

India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal and the Maldives. These foreign workers were subject to a sponsor system in Qatar called the Kafala System. When seen through the context of its origins in the 1950s, the British colonial authority launched a sponsorship and guarantee system in Bahrain, the Kafala system, which was then suggested and implemented in other Gulf countries. This

approach is believed to be a low-cost and simple method of controlling foreigners and holding local inhabitants accountable for them (Khan, 2014).

While the GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) members were still implementing this system, Qatar, another GCC country, made important adjustments. After coming under a lot of international pressure, Qatar signed an agreement with the ILO (International Labor Organization) in 2017, as a step to tackle widespread labor exploitation and harmonize laws and practices on the ground with international labor standards. Qatar ratified a number of human rights agreements. This was considered a step forward for Qatar in enhancing the new migrant labor regulations (Khatib, 2013). Controversial issues began to be filed against Qatar regarding the temperature in the Middle East which reached 40 degrees. This is also considered to be detrimental to the health of athletes. Issues of war in the Middle East, to the rejection of Qatar imposing Islamic law in its country were also put under a spotlight. Being in the spotlight of various actors around the world, of course, was a challenge in itself for Qatar. Western media, which were pessimistic about the 2022 World Cup, used news headlines that were quite controversial which made allegations of workers being neglected leading to hundreds of victim fatalities. Strict regulations made western and European countries increasingly put pressure on Qatar. This is because the policies implemented by Qatar are seen as against the liberal values or freedoms that are embraced by western countries. As superpowers, the Western countries tend to have a preconceived view that the World Cup should always be hosted in the West as for the past century football has thrived mostly in Europe (Bowersox, 2016).

1.2 Research Question

What did Qatar, as the host of the 2022 FIFA World Cup, do to address Economic Security issues of construction workers?

1.3 Research Objectives

This research is expected to explain Economic Security issues related to construction workers during the building of stadiums for the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar. This research will identify Qatar's role in implementing and carrying out its duties in regards to the Security of Construction Workers. This research also identifies the meaning of Economic Security using the 4 components of Economic Security from the International Labour Organization report. The four types are Income, Work, Representation, and Labour Market Securities. The objective for using these four is to address Economic Security concerns faced by the workers and find correlations between each of the types of Security and the research.

1.4 Research Scope

The study's unit of analysis is Economic security and construction workers for the FIFA 2022 World Cup infrastructure in Qatar. The study is focused on the years of 2013 - 2022. The mistreatment of construction workers in Qatar began to be noticed in 2013 when articles on the abuses the workers experienced were published by well-known news outlets, including the Guardian. When the World Cup ended in 2022, the articles from 2013–2022 became more intense and then eventually died out. The four Economic Security categories of ILO were used in

this study to analyze and explain the causes, feedback, and outcomes (International National Organization, 2004).

1.5 Literature Review

Using the literature, this study includes and identifies differences in the prominence of issues before and after the World Cup. The first piece of literature is Paul Micheal Brannagan's 'Qatar and the 2022 FIFA World Cup' (Brannagan, and Reiche, 2022). This literature deconstructs the discourse in order to identify accurate information about media and facts. It addresses the preparations for the 2022 World Cup in Qatar, and the issues raised in this study are significant to the phenomena of International Relations. This literature examines and compares phenomena such as humanitarian concerns, national interests, and labor exploitation between countries, as well as themes explored in International Relations. It explains how actors and non-actors have motivations to discredit certain countries before the event commences (Feiler, and Zeev, 2017).

Qatar's role through the pre-world cup years, which describes how Qatar has always tried to play a prominent and influential role in sports and has invested heavily in sports and at the international level. It analyzes the differences among the effects of Qatar previously hosting major international sporting events such as the 2006 Asian Games, 2011 Arab Games, 2011 Asian Cup, 2015 World Handball Championships 2016 World Cycling Championships and the annual Qatar Moto Grand Prix compared to hosting the biggest event in the world.

The second piece of literature 'Qatar: Rights Abuses Stain FIFA World Cup' by John Holmes (Holmes, 2022) analyzes most of the details addressed in this

present research: rights and migrant workers, specifically the mistreatment of migrant labor and criticism of FIFA's silence and inconsistencies. This piece was written by a western author who gave a detailed explanation of every issue with few flaws. This problem is one of the most frequently discussed issues in the international world until today. The piece also covers Qatar and the role of the Qatari government in dealing with the controversies, especially during preparations for Qatar to host the 2022 World Cup.

The third piece of literature entitled 'Access, security and diplomacy: Perceptions of soft power, nation branding and the organizational challenges facing Qatar's 2022 FIFA World Cup' by Joel Rookwood (Rookwood, 2019) analyzes the start of the FIFA World Cup which was first held in 1930 with Uruguay appointed as the host by the FIFA President at that time, Jules Rimet. It also detailed that since 1930, FIFA has organized and appointed the host for the World Cup twenty times. Of the twenty times the World Cup had been held prior to the Qatar appointment, FIFA had always received support for the choice of host country. The article analyzes why this time FIFA received much criticism and scrutiny from various media, which then led to reported indications of corruption within FIFA over the choice of Qatar to host the 2022 World Cup.

This thesis aims to fill the gaps left by the three previous pieces of literature by addressing the reality of construction workers and specifically the economic insecurities the workers faced with the expectation of Qatar's capacity to host a major international event while addressing the Economic conditions experienced by construction workers during the building of infrastructure for the FIFA 2022 World Cup using the concepts of the ILO components of Economic Security,

1.6 Research Framework

This thesis attempts to analyze the concept of Economic security by the ILO. This concept was first introduced by the ILO (International Labour Organization) in 2004. The ILO report explains the concept of Economic security which includes the following aspects: Income security, Representation security, Work security, and Labour Market Security.

The concept of Economic Security was utilized as an analytical tool in this study to evaluate how construction workers' Economic Security was addressed. This research also identified definitions of construction workers' security rights, which were assessed using the idea of Economic security to explore how the norms of security rights, particularly those related to construction workers' rights, have spread and been embraced or resisted by Qatar in the context of the 2022 FIFA World Cup (International Labour Organization, 2004). The concepts of Economic Security by ILO to be used are as follows:

1. **Income Security:** relates to having an adequate and reliable income (International Labour Organization, 2004).
2. **Representation Security:** relates to the ability to collectively unite and have a voice in the workplace (International Labour Organization, 2004).
3. **Labour Market Security:** relates to having opportunities for employment (International Labour Organization, 2004).
4. **Work Security:** relates to maintaining safe and healthy working conditions (International Labour Organization, 2004).

1.7 Provisional Argument

This research is to analyze the reasons of wages paid to construction workers in Qatar and whether they are sufficient to meet their basic needs and support their families. This will include issues of wage delays, withholding, and other fraudulent practices that affect workers' income security, and how The Qatari government is committed to improving wage protection systems.

Another prediction for this research is analyzing the conditions of construction workers by looking at working conditions. This will be done by analyzing the working conditions faced by construction workers in Qatar, including extreme heat, long working hours, and inadequate safety precautions. It is also important to explore whether workers have access to adequate health services and compensation for work-related injuries.

1.8 Research Method

1.8.1 Type of the Research

Using a qualitative approach, this research identified a number of events from various websites ranging from Western websites to official websites such as Qatar's Planning and Statistics Authority Qatar, which publishes statistics on everything related to Qatar, such as Qatar's population and statistics on births and deaths. Videos and documentaries were used as secondary sources for the thesis.

1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research

For the subject, this research utilizes the mid-level subject of States and construction workers. For the object, the research analyzes Qatar's viewpoint, and construction workers' human security are analyzed.

1.8.3 Method of Data Collection

For data gathering, this research depended heavily on ILO Economic Security Programme, Websites and pre- and post-World Cup planning documents..

1.8.4 Process of the Research

In the beginning this research discusses the issues of construction workers for the 2022 world cup in Qatar and background of the case. The third chapter will discuss the theory of Economic Security on application towards construction workers.

1.9 Thesis Outline

The introduction describes the country, FIFA, and the World Cup in general, from the beginning to the present. This also includes Qatar's motivation for hosting the World Cup, as well as FIFA's reasoning for hosting the World Cup in Qatar in 2022. There is a brief introduction to the human security to set up the context for the thesis. The following section is the main one, and it begins with an explanation of the human security theory of UNDP followed by 6 of the concepts of Human Security and analysis of their relation to construction worker security, events, and the actors involved. The conclusion contains a summary of the 6 concepts and analysis of the results obtained.

CHAPTER 2
QATAR AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS DURING THE 2022 FIFA
WORLD CUP

2.1 Human Security and FIFA in Qatar

The study of international relations places sport as a low political issue as a means of relations between nations. Nowadays, sport is not only defined as a game or competition, but has become a barometer of a country's development and is taken into account in international relations. Apart from that, sport is also an instrument of demonstrating existence and gaining international recognition. For example, FIFA has 209 members while the UN has 193 members and quite a few newly independent countries have registered for FIFA membership. This can be interpreted as obtaining FIFA membership is a means of gaining international recognition, including in all FIFA activities. Because of this, the offer to host mega sports events (such as FIFA) has become a trend among developing countries and is now not only exclusive to developed countries. Football is very popular all over the world, especially when there is a World Cup: millions of pairs of eyes are ready to enjoy it. Football has evolved into a valuable industry in the growth of a country's economy and its development. Organizing a sports competition can also be seen as an effort to achieve the national interests of a nation ("FIFA").

In 2009, Qatar filed a bid to FIFA to host the World Cup. A year later, Qatar was chosen to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Being the first Middle Eastern nation to be successful in winning the privilege to host the FIFA World Cup, Qatar was praised for having the courage to pursue this course of action. In terms of financial and infrastructure capabilities, Qatar was the leading candidate country to host the

most expensive 2022 FIFA World Cup in sports history. Qatar allocated USD 200 billion for the FIFA World Cup, while Australia allocated USD 2.29 billion, the United States USD 661.2 million, Japan USD 1.3 billion, and South Korea USD 877 million. This funding is eighteen times that of Brazil and South Africa and ten times that of Russia for the 2018 FIFA World Cup. It also almost equals Qatar's 2013 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of USD 203 billion. Qatar has the highest risk record in event operations compared to its competitors based on a review by the FIFA inspection team after submitting a bid to host the FIFA World Cup (Gordon, Yadlin, and Heistein, 2017).

FIFA is the organization in charge of selecting a host nation for the World Cup. FIFA will announce the event seven to eight years in advance, although they occasionally declare also the world cup that will follow the current one. Since the preparation for the World Cup requires more infrastructure, roads, and housing to accommodate the millions of visitors who will come to the country to witness the biggest sporting event in the world, FIFA may make early declarations, for instance, the decision to announce the hosting rights for both the 2018 and 2022 World Cups in 2010. In 2018, England, Russia, Belgium, and the Netherlands bid for the World Cup, with Russia gaining the rights to host, while in 2022, as previously stated, Qatar, Japan, the United States, and South Korea bid for the World Cup, with Qatar getting the hosting rights for the 2022 World Cup (Macdonald, 2010).

Sepp Blatter, FIFA's president at the time, was in command. Sepp Blatter is a Swiss businessman who was the former president of FIFA. Sepp was the Association's eighth president from 1998 until 2015. He has been re-elected president four times and is widely regarded as having had a significant impact on

the inclusion and growth of Asian and African countries into the football globe. Despite his reputation for producing a lot of money and power, Sepp Blatter has been caught on many occasions with issues of corruption and financial mismanagement. During Sepp's presidency, he received criticism from football organisations, and accusations of sexual assault were leveled against him. However, in response to all of the criticism and allegations leveled at Sepp Blatter, his spokesperson and team stated that the claims were irrational, which in the eyes of the football organizations was seen a poor reaction because the proof was obviously evident (*BBC News*, 2015).

The choice of Qatar as host for one of the most famous sporting events in history sparked various controversies from people around the world. Since it was first announced as host, Qatar and its track record of not fulfilling human rights was widely criticized by various parties, especially regarding the welfare of construction workers and the rights of women and minority groups (Debre, 2022). Qatar received a majority of 14 votes in the fourth round of voting for the 2022 games, making Qatar the first Middle Eastern country to host one of the biggest sporting events in history. As the main essence of the bidding, they proposed aims to raise the profile of Middle Eastern countries and bridge the gap that exists between the Arab world and the West. However, negative reactions increasingly emerged when Qatar decided to enact regulations that were deemed to violate the human rights of supporters who would come to watch. One of the regulations set by Qatar was the prohibition of using LGBTQ+ attributes for all parties coming to the 2022 FIFA World Cup, including the competing football teams and crews. This

made many parties, especially people from secular countries, question the reasons why these regulations were established.

Qatar was also seen as being too tiny for such a large event as the World Cup. Aside from that, there was also criticism regarding the climate. Because the World Cup is normally held during the summer months in the northern hemisphere (June, July, and August), it was expected that temperatures in Qatar would exceed 50 degrees Celsius. Athletes' performance may be impacted by the geographical environment since it might induce severe dehydration and hyperthermia. As a result, the implementation date was pushed back to November-December 2022, when Qatar would welcome winter. However, this date change was not without criticism because it was seen to have disturbed the training and league schedules of the contending clubs, particularly those from Europe. Furthermore, there were additional issues such as corruption claims, migrant construction abuse, and a lack of infrastructure .

Qatar, a tiny nation in the Middle East with a population of around just 2.7 million people, the majority of whom are foreigners and are largely Muslim, is a country that places a strong emphasis on Islamic traditions and values. It proclaimed independence from the United Kingdom in 1971 and has since grown from a newly established nation to one of the world's wealthiest nations. The country is widely recognized for its abundant oil and gas reserves, and it is currently one of the top 15 oil exporting countries as well as a significant fertilizer producing country of the globe. On the international scene, Qatar mostly serves as a mediating country, which is generally accomplished through negotiation between two nations, with Qatar acting as the negotiator. The head of state is known as the Amir, and the

current Amir of Qatar is Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad Al-Thani, who is from the Al-Thani family. The Al-Thani family has reigned over Qatar since before the British Empire's conquest. In general, the head of Qatar has authority over the country's governmental organizations and departments. Qatar became a more democratic country with many reforms on people's rights following the change of constitution in 2003 from the interim constitution to the permanent constitution, which happened in response to modern demands in the early twenty-first century. The country promoted equality, free expression, and free media and press publishing (Rookwood 2019).

2.2 The issues of Construction Workers in Qatar

Qatar's principal language is Arabic, and its religion is Islam. Qatar uses Sharia law and Sharia law also applies to family law and criminal offenses, such as robbery and murder. Great Britain ruled Qatar since the early 1900s and made efforts to reduce tensions between bordering countries in exchange for control over Qatar's foreign policy. Prior to the ruling of Great Britain, Qatar and its neighboring countries would clash as a result of territorial ownership conflicts. In Europe, Qatar is viewed as an unsuitable nation to host what is regarded as the world's largest sporting event, with one of the main reasons being that Qatar is an Islamic country, and an Islamic country is typically known by the west as a harsh and extremely strict nation that violates people's rights and abuses people, particularly migrants. When the 2022 World Cup hosting rights were awarded to Qatar, media outlets, particularly major Western media sites, began to steadily release news and stories on why and how Qatar is unsuited to host the World Cup. The main source of

contention was the severe treatment or mistreatment of migrant laborers employed as construction workers or, in a broader sense, blue collar employees. The West was also doubtful about how a little nation like Qatar could host a World Cup given that Qatar's footballing level and infrastructure were not only subpar, but also that a government that the west considers autocratic would have difficulties welcoming millions from all over the world (Yijiu, 2022).

After submitting a proposal to host the FIFA World Cup, the FIFA inspection team looked at Qatar's performance in event operations in relation to its rivals and found that it had the greatest risk record. The Qatar FIFA World Cup cluster idea, which was a paid accommodation for fans, had to be further researched as the majority of the amenities were reportedly intangible, and it took time for grass-growing and cooling technologies to gain approval. Football fans who traveled to Qatar and the participating teams were both said to have had disruptions in their plans due to the intense heat brought on by desert winds. From the start of its campaign until it was elected, Qatar's reputation was harmed by concerns about construction worker and human security issues as well as allegations of bribery in the FIFA World Cup selection process that were reported in western media.

In actuality, the most important deciding element in the FIFA World Cup hosting process is human security. This is regarded as prejudice and discrimination against the Middle East and Islam in Qatar. Qatar believes that the western media's articles and reports lack veracity and reliability. The charges leveled against Qatar are viewed as prejudiced attacks on Qatar and FIFA for decisions taken by both parties, rather than an accusation founded on evidence. The current FIFA president, an Italian called Gianni Infantino, who was in charge of overseeing Qatar's growth

in preparation for the World Cup, also stated that the claims against Qatar were unjust and incorrect. Furthermore, people from Qatar and foreigners residing in Qatar have publicly stated something similar to what Gianni Infantino said; the citizens in an interview mentioned that the West is being hypocritical towards Qatar and is basing their reports on the negative prejudice the West has towards the Middle East, specifically Islam (Baabood 2017).

Qatar intended to showcase its tourist potential as well as its cultural, economic, social, political, and sports variety to the globe by hosting the FIFA World Cup. Qatar had been working hard both within and externally to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Internally, the Qatari government was tackling concerns with human security rights while simultaneously enhancing infrastructure, security, and domestic political stability. Government, non-government, economic circles, society, and the media were all involved in the Qatari government's diplomatic efforts on the outside. The success of sports is supported by Qatar's expertise in organizing renowned sporting events like the Asian Games, Handball, and the FIFA World Cup, as well as via the naturalization of local players and investments in a number of well-known sports organizations.

As one of the Gulf nations in the Middle East, Qatar is blessed with a wealth of prospective oil and gas resources as well as hydrocarbon revenue. The fact that a nation with a population of under 2.7 million has the greatest GDP in the world is not unexpected. Qatar is a small nation in terms of size and population, but it possesses considerable economic resources. 90% of Qatar's population consists of foreign workers (migrants), who are employed in a variety of fields such as industry, construction, communications, services, homes, and so on. Following the

development of oil resources under broad and large-scale administration, a surge of international migrants started to arrive. The demand and need for labor has been considerable in order to maintain and propel the economy's growth and industrial development in numerous areas (Feiler, and Zeev 2017).

Since the 1970s, Gulf nations—including Qatar—have placed a significant emphasis on importing foreign laborers from different Asian nations. The sponsorship system, or kafala system, under which these foreign employees are employed binds them to the rules and laws that are applicable in Qatar. When a sponsorship and guarantee system was implemented by the British colonial authority in the Bahrain region in 1920, it quickly spread to neighboring Gulf nations, giving rise to the Kafala (sponsorship) system. This technique is reportedly a simple and affordable way to manage international visitors and persuade locals to take responsibility for them.

Along side maintaining the kafala structure that was in place before the World Cup, Qatar was thought to be treating its construction workforce inhumanely. Qatar, a member of the GCC, was said to have undergone considerable reforms. Qatar also ratified a number of agreements addressing child abuse and human trafficking. Naturally, this was an improvement for Qatar's new foreign labor legislation (Khatib 2014). There was no denying that this is a direct outcome of Qatar being chosen to host the 2022 World Cup, which required construction workers to finish all of the preparations for the major event. A number of foreign organizations also put a spotlight on how Qatar handles its labor issues. In fact, a fairly startling news item on the high fatality rate of 6,500 migrant workers—

indicated by Qatar's bad treatment of workers—was published by one of the major daily newspapers in England (Aboueldahab 2022).

The debate regarding the protection of construction workers in Qatar was hotly discussed. The reason was that there were reports from international organizations regarding human security violations during the preparations for the 2022 World Cup. Construction workers who worked in the construction sector, building World Cup facilities in Qatar experienced discrimination, where workers did not receive wages on time, and were made to work non-stop and under extreme weather conditions, among other human security violations. Efforts to resolve these issues and protect the workers were the responsibility of the Qatari government. In addition, the UN as the parent international organization and FIFA as the organizer of the World Cup were jointly contributing to efforts to prevent and resolve human security violations that occurred against construction workers in Qatar (Hanieh 2015).

For the 2022 World Cup, Qatar hired more than 1.5 million foreign construction workers. Numerous construction workers passed away, faced unpaid wages, and other breaches of their rights, according to reports from Amnesty International, the International Labor Organization, and the Business and Human Rights Resources Center (Carney, 2021). Through a number of laws, including the 2020 Employment Law and the kafala system, Qatar attempted to safeguard the human security of construction workers; however, this protection was judged inadequate. Problems with each of the six fundamental securities of construction workers—the right to work, the right to fair and favorable working conditions, the right to organize and join a union, the right to social security, the right to family

protection, and the right to a living standard that includes enough food, clothing, and housing—prove that this is the case. Hundreds of thousands of construction workers were required to work long hours for meager pay. Additionally, without any assurances of their health or workplace safety, these construction workers were housed in inadequate dorms. Due to laws prohibiting the formation and membership of labor unions for construction workers, these employees were unable to stand up for their rights. Workers were also compelled to work long hours in the 50°C-plus summer heat of Qatar (Holmes, 2022).

It was also necessary for tourists to Qatar to be mindful of local customs and traditions and to have cultural sensitivity. It was essential to comprehend and follow local customs, especially those pertaining to gender, in order to guarantee a courteous and good experience for all parties. Different nations showed differing degrees of support or opposition to the World Cup being held in Qatar. A number of countries publicly supported the event, pointing out that it had the ability to foster global cooperation and unite people via sports. There were, however, requests to boycott or move the tournament as a result of other people voicing concerns about working conditions, human security, and the selection process. Certain countries and organizations considered or called for a boycott of the World Cup in response to the controversies. This included discussions among some European nations and human rights advocates about the possibility of boycotting the tournament to pressure Qatar into addressing these issues (Henderson 2017).

CHAPTER 3

HUMAN SECURITY OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

3.1 Economic Security of ILO (International Labour Organization)

The International Labor Organization (ILO), is an international organization under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) that deals with international labor issues. The ILO was founded in 1919 as part of the Treaty of Versailles after World War I. The organization later became part of the United Nations after the dissolution of the League of Nations and the formation of the UN at the end of World War II. Economic security according to ILO is a state in which an individual or a country has a stable income and sufficient resources to maintain a standard of living now and in the future.

The ILO focuses on creating opportunities, protecting workers and decent incomes, and tackling poverty. In addition, the ILO seeks to extend social protection to all groups in society, including access to health services and income security in the event of old age, unemployment, sickness, disability, work-related injury, maternity or loss of main livelihood. The ILO also pays attention to fair wages, reasonable hours and safe working conditions, as well as a balance between work and life outside work. The main objectives of the ILO are to promote rights at work, and strengthen dialogue to address problems related to the world of work.

The ILO Economic Security Programme describes the seven components of work-related security from work-related risks: Income security, Representation security, Labour market security, Employment Security, Job Security, Work security, and Skill reproduction security. This chapter will analyze the economic security of construction workers during the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar using

four securities closely linked to their issues: Income, Representation, Employment, and Work securities (International Labour Organization, 2022).

3.1.1 Income Security

According to the ILO, income security includes a level of income that meets needs, the security of having it, and the expectation of adequate income both now and in the future. When assessed via a security framework, the situations experienced by construction workers can be classified as either individual or collective insecurity. In the case of construction workers, the analysis of Income Security is crucial to ensure their own financial security; bigger organizations like nations, societies, or international organizations are the ones that can guarantee or improve the security of Income to blue colored jobs like construction workers. Income security, at its core, refers to ensuring that individuals have a level of income sufficient to meet their basic needs and maintain a decent standard of living. This principle is particularly important for construction workers, who often perform physically demanding work in challenging conditions, and are able to achieve fair recompense for their efforts. However, for many construction workers involved in the 2022 FIFA World Cup projects in Qatar, income security remains elusive.

One of the main issues facing these workers is low wages, which often do not cover the cost of living in Qatar and send money home to support their families. According to reports from human rights organizations and labor agencies, many construction workers are paid wages that are far below the national average and often do not match the hard work and risks involved in their work. In addition, many workers must pay large recruitment fees to agents in their home countries, trapping them in a cycle of debt and reducing the income available to meet basic needs. In

addition to low wages, construction workers in Qatar also experience delayed and withheld wages, further threatening their income security. According to the same report, many construction companies routinely fail to pay workers in full and on time, leaving them struggling to pay rent, buy food, and meet other financial obligations. These delays and withholding of wages can have devastating consequences for workers and their families, as they can lead to poverty, hunger, and even homelessness.

In addition to issues related to wages and recruitment costs, construction workers in Qatar also face a lack of social protection, further threatening their income security. Many workers do not have access to health insurance, sickness benefits, or other forms of social protection, leaving them vulnerable to financial hardship if they become ill or injured on the job. This lack of social protection is particularly concerning given the hazardous nature of construction work, which can lead to serious accidents and permanent disability.

The former sponsorship system (kafala system) left construction workers vulnerable to exploitation and forced labor. Most construction workers are migrants, and they were frequently taken advantage of. Workers were unable to quit their positions without approval, which led to a system of exploitation. Employers frequently took construction workers' passports, limiting their freedom of travel. Construction workers were not allowed to organize or join unions in Qatar. This made it more difficult for construction workers to stand up for their rights as a group. Accessing the legal system to exercise their rights is extremely difficult for construction workers. Workers frequently refrain from reporting violations out of fear of deportation or employer punishment. Workers who try to organize or register

complaints run the possibility of being deported. For instance, some 60 migrant workers who were protesting unpaid pay were arrested and some of them deported in August 2022.

However, after reforming Kafala Law, employment contracts are now required to contain specifics such as requirements pertaining to yearly leave, minimum salary, and working hours. Restrictive agreements, on the other hand, may be included in employment contracts to stop former workers from going to work for other companies after their job term ends. Nevertheless, the length of the agreements cannot be more than a year (Tapp, and Pamela, 2021). It is also against the law for workers in Qatar to put in more than ten hours a day, or forty-eight hours a week. Employees who put in extra time must receive pay that is more than their regular day rate (Al-Kuwari, 2024).

Qatar still forbids trade unions and strikes; in fact, the creation of worker committees is only permitted in situations when there are more than 100 Qatari workers working in a single location. International safety requirements must now be met by all building contractors, according to Qatari legislation. By doing this, it was anticipated that the government and building associations would take a constructive step toward safeguarding the rights of construction workers both during and after the World Cup (Grossi, 2023).

In response to these concerns, the Qatari Government has taken a number of steps to improve income security for construction workers. These include introducing a minimum wage, strengthening labor inspections, and launching a Wage Protection System (WPS) to unify electronic wage payments. The Labor Ministry's Wage Protection System (WPS) in the past was unable to guarantee that

all workers received their wages on schedule. They were employed on minimum wages that were often not paid on time or not at all. This created economic uncertainty and worsened conditions, contrary to the principle of economic security which should guarantee adequate income to meet basic needs. Under criticism, Qatar began to gradually change its policy on construction workers. (Khatib, 2013).

In October 2017, the Qatari government declared its intention to adhere to ILO labor standards through a range of measures, one of which was to collaborate with the ILO in order to completely overhaul the system. The free exit permit policy for construction workers who wished to return to their home countries was then put into effect in October 2018 (Carney, 2021). FIFA and SCDL (Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy) took two specific actions as part of their cooperation to safeguard construction workers' rights in Qatar. These were the execution of worker welfare initiatives via the Worker Welfare Standards (WWS) and the execution of construction worker working conditions inspections for the 2022 World Cup project. These examinations were conducted as part of labor rights enforcement and monitoring programs to make sure workers' rights were upheld. In addition to executing these two initiatives, FIFA and SCDL engaged in policy reform discussions surrounding labor by meeting with the Qatari government.

SCDL and FIFA met with government officials to discuss the topic of reforming migrant labor policies. One of the most significant conversations took place in April 2016, when FIFA was invited to a meeting arranged by SCDL with the Prime Minister and Emir of Qatar. FIFA, a transnational player, used this summit to persuade government elites, highlighting how crucial it was that Qatar adhere to international labor standards and principles. The demands and ideas for

change presented by FIFA at the meeting went accordingly with the beliefs and goals of the policy-making elite. In December 2016, the Kafala system was finally reformed through a new policy called the "contract-based system" (Brannagan, and Reiche 2022).

However, the effectiveness of these measures has been debated, and reports suggest that the problems of delayed wages and high recruitment costs persist. Beginning in 2014, the Kafala system underwent its first revision. The outcomes of this reform were originally presented in 2015, and further modifications to other regulations were made gradually until 2020. Qatar took genuine action through the execution of this law reform, not just revising them (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

3.1.2 Representation Security

Security of representation refers to workers' right to have a voice and participate in decisions that affect their lives. This right is critical to ensuring that workers can advocate for their rights, improve their working conditions, and negotiate for fair wages and benefits. However, for many construction workers involved in the 2022 FIFA World Cup projects in Qatar, security of representation is severely restricted. One of the main obstacles to security of representation in Qatar is freedom of association. The country has strict laws governing the formation and functioning of trade unions, which makes it difficult for migrant workers to organize and advocate for their rights. As a result, many construction workers lack effective means to voice their concerns and negotiate for better working conditions.

Despite the foundation of freedom of association, Qatar also has a weak tradition of collective bargaining. Employers are often reluctant to negotiate with unions or other worker representatives, and there are few legal mechanisms to

compel them to do so. This lack of collective bargaining further limits the ability of construction workers to improve their working conditions and secure fair wages and benefits. Even when workers are able to make their voices heard, they often fear retribution from their employers. Reports indicate that workers who complain about working conditions, wages, or other abuses can face dismissal, deportation, or other forms of punishment. Fear of retribution can discourage workers from reporting abuses and advocating for their rights (International Organization Labour, 2020).

The ILO has worked with the Qatari government to improve representation for migrant workers. This includes promoting freedom of association, encouraging collective bargaining, and establishing a grievance mechanism for workers who experience abuses. However, progress in this area has been slow, and many construction workers in Qatar still face significant challenges in realizing their right to representation. For example, construction workers involved in construction projects in Qatar often face very poor economic conditions. Despite the implementation of a new minimum wage regulation in Qatar, the pay level remains low and has no effect on raising the living conditions of construction workers. Regular revisions to the minimum wage would make it more adaptable to changes in inflation and growing living expenses (BBC News, 2015).

Protection from community-related threats, such as social conflict, violence in society, and disturbances to community. Football's 2022 World Cup in Qatar was a highly esteemed sporting occasion. Unfortunately, there was a lot of evidence of corruption, misuse of authority, and disregard for the rights of construction workers around this historic event. Authorities in the US and Switzerland investigated claims of corruption involving FIFA, which brought the subject to the attention of

the world. These issues damaged the 2022 World Cup's organization, which ought to place a high value on sporting behavior. The primary issue that is brought to light is the mistreatment of construction workers in order to maintain the smooth operation of Qatar's plans to supply first-rate infrastructure for the 2022 World Cup.

The mistreatment of construction workers was combined with the unrelenting pursuit of profit via the construction of stadiums and other infrastructure components for major events. Several construction workers were hired and subsequently overworked due to the need for them to be able to work quickly and efficiently. Reports suggest that between 400 and 500 workers are estimated to have died during the preparations for the World Cup. Many of these deaths were categorized as “natural causes” by the Qatari government, although many of them could be attributed to extreme working conditions, such as exposure to high temperatures and physical stress (The Guardian, 2013).

The International Labour Organization (ILO) also recorded numerous serious injuries among workers, highlighting the safety risks at construction sites. The lack of proper protection for lower-class workers and the relatively broad pay polarization made it difficult for poor construction workers in Qatar to get fundamental rights and freedoms. Employers in the construction industry had complete control over salaries and working conditions, were able to keep their employees' identification cards, and were able to change employment or cancel visas to leave Qatar. The extravagant preparations for the 2022 World Cup, which included building billions of dollars' worth of infrastructure, were supposed to have Qatar ready to host and achieve notable accomplishments (International Labour Organization, 2022).

The case of construction workers intimidated in Qatar reflects a range of human security violations and systemic injustices. Workers often faced threats from employers and authorities if they attempted to raise complaints or protest about poor working conditions. The contract system, which governs the relationship between workers and employers, is often used to restrict workers' freedoms, making them afraid to speak out. This kind of intimidation not only affects individuals, but also creates an atmosphere of insecurity in worker communities, hampering collective efforts to assert their security rights.

FIFA believed that the momentum of the World Cup and all hosts adhering to international standards of behavior would lead to constructive social development in Qatar, including bettering the working conditions and security rights of construction workers. FIFA issued a request on November 21, 2013, asking "democratic and economic leaders to join the football community in contributing to ensure that the core labor standards of the International Labor Organization are introduced swiftly, consistently, and sustainably in Qatar" (The Guardian, 2013).

3.1.3 Work Security

The ILO believes that occupational security is concerned with safe working conditions and promoting workers' well-being. It encompasses traditional health and safety issues, but extends to broader issues such as violence, stress, overwork and disclosure in the workplace. Occupational security also includes issues addressed under the rubric of "occupational health and safety" The ILO recognizes that workers have the right to a safe and healthy environment, and to prevent and minimize risks arising from work. Recognizing newer health issues such as stress, overwork and disclosure is about promoting workers' well-being. Harassment and

violence in all forms in the workplace are unacceptable, and mechanisms must be in place to prevent them.

There were multiple reports of security and rights violations involving construction workers in spite of protective measures. Poor housing and exploitation were two major concerns harming the health of construction workers in Qatar (The Guardian, 2013). The living conditions of many construction workers were subpar, which had a negative impact on their health. Infections and other health issues were more likely to occur in homes with poor warmth.

Workers were subjected to exploitation which made it difficult for them to obtain quality medical treatment. There were several problems in Qatar's health policy concerning the safety of construction workers in relation to infrastructure development. The state of the employees' health was concerning. They worked lengthy shifts—up to 20 hours a day—in extremely hot conditions, with temperatures that frequently reached 50 degrees Celsius. This raised the possibility of both long-term health issues like kidney disease brought on by fatigue and dehydration, as well as work-related accidents. The high rate of workplace injuries and deaths indicates a breach of health and safety regulations.

The Guardian claimed that many of the victims' relatives were left in the dark about why their loved ones passed away in Qatar and were under the impression that natural deaths excused corporations from paying compensation in accordance with local laws. The families of construction workers were thus left unpaid due to these circumstances. According to a FIFA representative, the organization is totally dedicated to upholding workers' rights, as stated in its Sustainability Strategy. "In comparison to many other large construction projects

around the world, the frequency of accidents on construction sites was low," they continued. But the assertion was made without supporting data (The Guardian, 2013).

The case of construction workers intimidated in Qatar over security reflected serious challenges in protecting the human security and well-being of workers. Many workers faced intimidation from employers when they tried to complain about poor working conditions, including inadequate access to food and clean water. In this context, UNDP emphasized the importance of food security as part of broader human security, which includes access to basic needs. Instability in food provision can jeopardize workers' health and safety, which are often already under pressure from long working hours and dangerous working environments.

Although not directly mentioned, poor working conditions and limited access to nutritious food in labor camps can threaten food security. Many workers live in substandard conditions, with the food provided in poor condition. This can potentially lead to malnutrition, which is part of food security. The rights of individuals to life might be violated by the danger of a food crisis. When it comes to maltreatment and how it relates to the construction industry, the food problem typically begins with an employer taking advantage of employees through pay theft. Amnesty International claims that following the project's completion, one of the housing and food providers ceased to supply meals to construction workers. This explains the correlation between food crises in the UN Human Development Report and construction workers. It also explains the relationship between construction workers' health and the risk of a food crisis in their industry (Amnesty International, 2020).

Amnesty International urged FIFA President Gianni Infantino, in an open letter dated May 20, 2022, to contribute at least \$440 million in compensation to address worker exploitation. The letter was accompanied by an extensive paper outlining the rationale for it. Amnesty International Secretary-General Agnès Callamard stated, "While it may be too late to undo past mistreatment, FIFA and Qatar can and must act to provide redress and prevent further abuses." With some concerns, the Ministry of Labor in Qatar replied to the investigation, stating that "the new report undermined the goodwill that had been generated"(Amnesty International, 2020).

Qatar adopted a new policy that includes stricter regulations on occupational health and safety, including training for employers on how to create a safe working environment for workers. Qatar improved regulations that protected construction workers from heat stress. Among these regulations, an important feature was Peak Summer Work prohibition. The outdoor work prohibition was extended from 10:00 to 15:30 from June 1 to September 15, 2021. Compared to the old legislation, which merely forbade work between 11:30 and 15:00 during a certain time frame, this was an improvement.

Workers also had to have an annual health examination. However, issues like worker health and unsafe working conditions persisted despite advancements in health policies. Although the number of workers admitted to hospitals due to heat-related problems dropped from 1,520 in 2020 to 351 in 2021, questions still surrounded how well the laws were being implemented. The major hospital in Doha is situated on a building site, where over 1,000 patients were treated for falls from heights. The research also raises concerns about the facility's inadequate safety

regulations. The lack of proper safety equipment and procedures on many building sites raised the possibility of worker injury and illness (Adam, 2021).

3.1.4 Labour Market Security

Labour market security refers to an individual's ability to find new employment quickly and easily if they lose their current job. Labor market security is particularly important for construction workers, who often work in a highly volatile industry that is influenced by economic and political factors (International Organization Labour, 2004). However, for many construction workers involved in the 2022 FIFA World Cup projects in Qatar, labor market security is extremely limited. One of the main obstacles to labor market security in Qatar is restrictions on worker mobility. The country has a strict sponsorship system, known as "kafala," which requires migrant workers to be sponsored by an employer to work and live in Qatar. This system gives employers significant control over their workers, as they can prevent them from changing jobs or leaving the country without their permission. These restrictions on worker mobility can make it difficult for migrant construction workers to find new employment if they lose their current jobs, as they may be tied to their current employer and unable to seek other employment without their consent (International Organization, 2020) .

In addition to restrictions on worker mobility, construction workers in Qatar also face a lack of information and support services, which further limits their labor market security. Many workers do not have access to information about job opportunities, training services, or other support that could help them find new employment if they lose their current job. This lack of information and support

services can make workers even more vulnerable to unemployment and exploitation.

Construction workers in Qatar also face discrimination in the labor market, which further limits their labor market security. Employers may be reluctant to hire workers from certain countries or ethnicities, and they may offer lower wages and working conditions than local workers. This discrimination can make it more difficult for workers to find new jobs and secure a decent standard of living. The ILO has worked with the Qatari government to improve labor market security for migrant workers. This includes promoting worker mobility, providing information and support services, and combating discrimination. However, progress in this area has been slow, and migrant construction workers in Qatar still face significant challenges in realizing their right to a secure labor market (International Labour Organization, 2020).

Security is something that all people possess by nature. anxieties about day-to-day living seem to be more common causes of emotions of insecurity for most individuals than worry of catastrophic international occurrences. Have they and their family eaten enough food? Are they going to lose their jobs? Will people persecute them because of their ethnicity or religion? Some workers have staged protests to demand delayed salary payments be made and working conditions be improved. While these protests are often restricted by Qatari law, there are reports of workers attempting to voice their dissatisfaction with their employers and the government. Workers have also attempted to contact the media to share their experiences and draw international attention to their plight. Reports from media

outlets including The Guardian and the BBC have helped bring these issues to the global stage (The Guardian, 2013).

While there are no specific reports of issues with the personal safety of construction workers, the above conditions indicate vulnerabilities that may impact their personal safety and well-being. It is important to note that the lack of specific reports does not mean that there were no issues, but may reflect limitations in reporting or access to information about the conditions of construction workers in Qatar (Carney, 2021).

CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusion

Qatar recently became the focus of attention on a global scale due to the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Stadiums, hotels, and other infrastructural facilities were built in Qatar in advance of this event, naturally requiring a large number of construction workers. The football world was disrupted by controversies surrounding Qatar's hosting, which led to criticism from a number of sources. Security breaches and accusations of Qatari collaboration against FIFA officials in order to secure their appointment as hosts were among the many issues raised. Offenses against construction workers employed in Qatar, particularly those in the construction industry, were one of the security infractions that were brought up.

While the football tournament has been lauded for its athletic prowess and global entertainment, it has also raised deep concerns about the rights and welfare conditions of the workforce that contributed so much to its success. In this context, the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Economic Security framework, which covers income, representation, work and labour markets securities, becomes particularly relevant. Income security, in essence, refers to the assurance that individuals have a level of income sufficient to meet their basic needs and maintain a decent standard of living. Representation security refers to workers' right to have a voice and participate in decisions that affect their lives. Work security refers to the assurance that individuals have access to safe and secure work environment and dangers. Labor Market Security refers to the capacity to rapidly and easily locate new employment in the event that one's current job is lost.

The nation's reliance on construction workers grew as a result of the billions of dollars the Qatari government invested in infrastructure construction in anticipation of the event. Construction workers involved in the 2022 World Cup projects in Qatar faced significant challenges, both in terms of working conditions and human security protections. Although Qatar made some reforms to its labor system and implementation of policies, many workers still experienced exploitation and very poor working conditions.

4.2 Recommendations

In one way or another, people from different professions can still learn from this study because it covers the relevance of sport and life. However, this study may not meet everyone's standards because some of the data may be incomplete or lacking in authenticity. For this reason, readers and researchers are welcome to fill in any gaps or limitations that have left them dissatisfied with the information provided. This study can also serve as a suggestion or a list of references to further research that can be utilized to get resources for a more thorough investigation of the given topic. This research may be used as a reference to highlight various research issues on a wide range of areas.

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