



# THE UGLY SIDE OF THE BEAUTIFUL GAME

EXPLOITATION OF MIGRANT WORKERS ON A QATAR 2022 WORLD CUP SITE

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*Qatar, DOHA - JANUARY 31, 2016: A general view of cranes and building works during the construction and refurbishment of the Khalifa International Stadium in the Aspire Zone, Doha, Qatar, the venue for group and latter stage matches for the 2022 FIFA World Cup.*  
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# 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

***“My life here is like a prison. The work is difficult, we worked for many hours in the hot sun. When I first complained about my situation, soon after arriving in Qatar, the manager said ‘if you [want to] complain you can but there will be consequences. If you want to stay in Qatar be quiet and keep working’. Now I am forced to stay in Qatar and continue working.”***

Deepak, metalworker on Khalifa International Stadium, a FIFA 2022 World Cup venue, speaking in May 2015

In 2010 FIFA awarded the 2022 World Cup to the Gulf state of Qatar. The country embarked on massive construction projects to build stadiums and other infrastructure necessary to host the tournament. One of these projects is an extensive refurbishment of the Khalifa International Stadium, one of Qatar’s main sporting venues. Khalifa Stadium is situated in the Aspire Zone, also known as Sport City, a public area that has a number of sporting fields and facilities.

In 2015 Amnesty International identified more than 100 migrant workers employed on the Khalifa Stadium who were being subjected to human rights abuses by the companies for which they worked. The organization also found that the labour rights of migrant workers involved in landscaping green spaces in the Aspire Zone surrounding Khalifa Stadium were being abused by their employer.

Migrant workers, mainly from South Asia, comprise more than 90% of Qatar’s workforce. The men and women who come to Qatar for employment do so under a sponsorship system that enables their employers to exercise significant control over their lives. Every migrant worker in Qatar must have a “sponsor”, who must also be his or her employer. Migrant workers need their sponsor’s permission to change jobs or leave the country. If a sponsor withdraws sponsorship migrant workers can be deported at any time, without any process to challenge their deportation. As many migrant workers take on large debts to finance their move to Qatar, and have families who are dependent on their salary, they are easily exploited.

Exploitation of migrant workers in Qatar, particularly in the construction sector, has been widely reported by human rights and trades union groups and the international media, particularly since 2010. Amongst the most frequently-reported problems facing migrant workers are: deceptive recruitment practices which see migrant workers promised more favourable conditions of work by recruiters in their home country than they are given on arrival in Qatar; employers compelling workers to live in squalid conditions; employers confiscating workers' passports and denying them the exit visa they need to leave Qatar; late or non-payment of wages; and employers not giving workers proper identity documents, which leaves them exposed to arrest. In extreme, but not exceptional, cases migrants are subjected to forced labour.

Amnesty International carried out research on the Khalifa Stadium refurbishment and the Aspire Zone between February 2015 and February 2016. Researchers visited Qatar three times and interviewed 234 men in total working for the companies responsible for the abuse. They visited the labour camps where the men were living, reviewed publically available documentation on the projects and met with the organization responsible for delivery of the World Cup in Qatar, the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy. Researchers also engaged in correspondence with companies responsible for the Khalifa Stadium and Aspire Zone projects.

## **COMPANIES AND ORGANIZATIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR KHALIFA STADIUM AND ASPIRE ZONE PROJECTS**

Work on all World Cup sites is carried out under the auspices of the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy, the body set up by the Government of Qatar to deliver the World Cup. The work on the Khalifa Stadium refurbishment involves a chain of contractors reporting ultimately to a single client. That client is the Aspire Zone Foundation, which, on the Khalifa Stadium project, operates on behalf of the Supreme Committee. The Foundation was created by Emiri decree in 2008 with the aim of establishing Qatar as a global centre for elite sporting events. Aspire Zone Foundation appointed a main contractor for Khalifa Stadium, a joint venture company involving Midmac, a Qatari construction company, and Six Construct, a subsidiary of the Belgian company Besix.

While the Midmac-Six Construct joint venture (JV) has overall responsibility for the work on Khalifa Stadium, other companies are employed on the site to carry out specific elements of the refurbishment. One of these companies is Eversendai Qatar, a subsidiary of the Malaysian company, Eversendai. For the work on Khalifa, Eversendai used at least two labour supply companies: Seven Hills and Blue Bay. Labour supply companies are small operations in which a sponsor brings a number of migrant workers to Qatar and then hires them out to other companies to do work. Labour supply companies generally do not engage in specific commercial activity themselves; essentially their business is the hiring out of people.

In 2014 the Supreme Committee established the Workers' Welfare Standards for all World Cup sites. These Standards are included in contracts awarded to companies working on World Cup sites. They cover all of the main labour issues that have been documented as problems in Qatar, including ethical recruitment, timely payment of salaries, and a complete prohibition of forced labour. Many of these issues are also covered in Qatar's laws. In particular Qatari law prohibits retention of passports, delayed payment of wages and deceptive recruitment.

The work on the Aspire Zone green spaces is being done by Nakheel Landscapes, a Qatari company. Aspire Logistics, a part of the Aspire Zone Foundation, is the client for this project. The landscaping of the Aspire Zone green areas is not an official World Cup project.

## **HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES ON KHALIFA STADIUM AND THE ASPIRE ZONE**

All of the men interviewed by Amnesty International said they had taken out loans to pay for recruitment-related fees – usually to recruitment agents in their home country. Qatari law prohibits charging migrant workers recruitment fees but the practice is widespread.

Many of the migrant workers who spoke to Amnesty International reported arriving in Qatar to find that the terms and conditions of their work were different from those that they had been promised by recruiters in their home country. The main form of deception that workers reported was with regard to salary. All but six of the 234 men interviewed told Amnesty International that, on arrival in Qatar, they learned that their salaries would be lower than the amount they were promised. Deceptive recruitment practices increase workers' vulnerability to trafficking for labour exploitation and forced labour. Having paid fees and, in many cases, taken on debt to move to Qatar they felt they had no option but to accept the lower salaries, although many were then left in very difficult situations, struggling to repay loans with less money than expected.

None of the companies contacted by Amnesty International had taken any effective action to combat this problem. Nakheel Landscapes told Amnesty International that it was shocked by the information and would take action. However Nakheel workers described telling their manager that their salary was lower than promised and being ignored. One man said that a Nakheel manager told him: "what you were promised in Bangladesh is not my problem".

When Amnesty International first encountered the men involved in the Khalifa Stadium refurbishment and the Aspire Zone landscaping projects in 2015, they were living in squalid labour camps, with overcrowded rooms and few facilities. In one case the main entrance road to the camp was flooded due to inadequate drainage, and smelled of raw sewage. All of the accommodation sites were clearly in breach of both Qatari law and the Supreme Committee's Workers' Welfare Standards.

Some of men interviewed by Amnesty International were later moved to better accommodation. This included men working for Eversendai, who were moved in mid-2015. Eversendai was awarded the contract on Khalifa Stadium in August 2014 but the Midmac-Six Construct JV only checked its labour camp in January 2015 and discovered the sub-standard conditions in which migrant workers were compelled to live. While the men who worked directly for Eversendai were rehoused, the men who worked for labour supply companies that Eversendai used on Khalifa Stadium were not. These men, brought onto the Khalifa site by Eversendai between October 2014 and June 2015, continue to live in the same appalling conditions as of February 2016.

The men working for Nakheel Landscapes on the landscaping of the green spaces in the Aspire Zone were also living in sub-standard accommodation in labour camps. Nakheel Landscapes moved its workforce to new accommodation at the end of 2015.

The vast majority of the workers whom Amnesty International interviewed had their passports confiscated by their employers, in contravention of Qatari law. Retention of passports can stop workers from exercising their right to leave a country and makes them more vulnerable to forced labour. Some of the companies subsequently returned passports to their employees; however, this appears to have only taken place after Amnesty International wrote to the companies.

Eversendai stated that workers had signed a release form to allow the company to hold passports. This is not a satisfactory explanation. The current law does not provide for employers holding passports under any circumstances and workers may not be in a position to refuse to sign a release form. Nakheel did not provide any explanation for retaining the passports of its staff, but stated it had now returned them.

Men working on Khalifa Stadium told Amnesty International about irregular and delayed payment of salaries which was a source of great anxiety for them, as most had large debts to pay off. For example, men working for the labour supply company Seven Hills told Amnesty International that their pay was several months in arrears. They reported not being paid for the first three or four months after arriving in Qatar. Although they were subsequently paid monthly, their pay was permanently several months in arrears. This practice is of significant concern because it appears to be used as a threat in some cases: the worker is told that if they do not continue working they will not get the pay that is owed to them. Arrears and delays in payment of wages constitute an abuse of labour rights and in particular the right to just and favourable remuneration.

Eighty-eight men told Amnesty International they were denied the right to leave Qatar. For example, seven men from Nepal, who were employed by Seven Hills but working for Eversendai on Khalifa Stadium, wanted to return home to check on families after the earthquakes that hit Nepal in April and May 2015, but Seven Hills did not allow them to do so. They told Amnesty International of their despair at not knowing if their families were alive and not being able to return home to see them. This occurred while the men were working for Eversendai on the Khalifa Stadium project. Amnesty International raised these cases with Eversendai but the company did not respond.

Amnesty International found evidence that some workers on Khalifa Stadium appear to have been subjected to forced labour. These men were working for the labour supply company, Seven Hills. The risk of forced labour was exacerbated by the fact that many migrant workers were unclear about the terms of their employment and faced contract substitution or lower pay than promised. The penalties used by company managers to exact work from the workers included the threat of non-payment of wages, being deported or, conversely, not being allowed to leave Qatar because the employer would not provide an exit permit. One worker recalled "I went to the company office, telling the manager I wanted to go home [back to my country] because always my pay is late. The manager screamed at me saying 'keep working or you will never leave!'" The manager also threatened that unless the man kept working the company would withhold the delayed salary owed to him. Another worker on Khalifa Stadium told Amnesty International, "I am an electrician and I agreed to electrician work but when I came to Qatar they gave me electrician work for only the first two months. After that they said I had to do iron fitting work." When he and others complained to a manager, the manager said "work for another 1-3 months and accept whatever you get. If you don't work, you won't get paid and you won't get your passport back."

Amnesty International considers that the existence of the exit permit system in its current form constitutes a violation of the right to freedom of movement. When employers use their power under this system to prevent migrant workers from leaving Qatar, they are responsible for breaching the workers' right to freedom of movement.

The men working on Khalifa also reported a number of other problems, including not having residence permits, which means they are at risk of arrest and deportation. It is up to employers to arrange with the authorities for these documents to be issued. When Amnesty International raised the lack of documentation with the companies and the contractors, they either denied it or did not address the issue.

## **CORPORATE DUE DILIGENCE FAILURES ALL ALONG THE CONTRACTING CHAIN**

Under international standards on business and human rights all companies must respect all human rights. This includes labour rights. This is articulated in the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs), an internationally-accepted set of standards endorsed by the UN Human Rights Council. The responsibility to respect human rights extends not only to the company's own activities but also to its business relationships, such as relationships with sub-contractors. The UNGPs note that a company's "activities" include both actions and omissions.

To meet the responsibility to respect human rights, companies should have in place a human rights due diligence process to identify, prevent, mitigate and – where necessary – redress human rights abuses connected to their operations. In the context of the construction sector in Qatar, companies are responsible for how they treat the men and women employed directly by them, but must also act with due diligence to ensure that companies they sub-contract do not abuse the rights of people working for them.

The exploitative labour practices that Amnesty International documented occurred in the context of the operations of Eversendai and Nakheel.

In the case of Eversendai, the company abused the rights of workers who it directly employed, including by housing them in a cramped and dirty labour camp and retaining their passports. Both of these abuses were subsequently rectified. Eversendai also failed to act with due diligence with respect to workers from the labour supply companies it used. Eversendai is responsible for bringing companies onto a World Cup site that clearly did not abide by the Workers' Welfare Standards. Of particular concern is the fact that Eversendai did not respond to evidence that migrant workers were subjected to forced labour while working for the company on Khalifa Stadium.

While the abuses were under the direct supervision of Eversendai the main contractor, Midmac-Six Construct JV has overall responsibility for the World Cup site. Despite the provisions of the Workers' Welfare Standards, which require the main contractor to ensure that sub-contractors are operating in line with the Standards, the Midmac-Six Construct JV did not examine the conditions in which Eversendai workers were living until months after the contract was agreed. Midmac-Six Construct was not aware of the labour supply company workers on the Khalifa site until Amnesty International raised the issue with them. Responding to the evidence that workers had been subjected to deceptive recruitment and delays in payment of salaries, the company said it asked companies to self-report on this issue. Although Amnesty International presented evidence that some of the men working for labour supply companies had been subjected to forced labour, and specifically that the powers given to employers under the sponsorship system to prevent workers leaving Qatar or, conversely, have them deported, had been used to threaten workers, Midmac-Six Construct JV did not respond to this issue.

Nakheel not only failed to house its workforce in decent accommodation until late 2015, the company failed to act with due diligence in the recruitment of migrant workers. Nakheel has operated in Qatar for 18 years. Deception in the recruitment process is widespread. To suggest, as Nakheel did to Amnesty International, that the problem has only come to its attention in 2015 represents a deeply problematic disregard for the rights of migrant workers it employs. While Amnesty International interviewed 102 men working for Nakheel, 99 of whom worked in the Aspire Zone, the failure to check on deceptive recruitment is likely to be systematic problems affecting the entire migrant labour workforce.

Aspire Zone Foundation, the ultimate client for both Khalifa Stadium and the Aspire Zone green spaces, said that while it denied any abuse had occurred it had ordered an investigation. The Foundation went on to say: "It is worth noting that our initial investigations do not show widespread infringement in the [Workers' Welfare] standards." This statement is not consistent with the facts. Some of the problems documented by Amnesty International, which must have become known to Aspire Zone Foundation in any reasonable investigation, represent serious and systemic infringements of the Workers' Welfare Standards and Qatari law. This includes the sub-standard accommodation in which two key contractors – Eversendai and Nakheel – housed migrant workers, and the retention of passports.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF QATAR'S RESPONSIBILITY

Ultimately the Government of Qatar is responsible for the human rights abuses occurring in the country. As noted above, Qatar's sponsorship system is at the heart of much of the most egregious labour exploitation. The sponsorship system gives employers significant power over migrant workers they employ. In October 2015 the Emir of Qatar approved Law No. 21 of 2015 which will replace the 2009 Sponsorship Law. It will come into effect from December 2016. The new law creates a system for migrant workers to appeal a sponsor's decision to refuse them an exit permit to leave the country. It also increases the state's oversight of the process by which workers seek to change jobs or leave Qatar. However, migrant workers were still required to obtain their sponsor's approval to change jobs or leave the country. The situation of migrant workers is made more precarious by the authorities' persistent failure to enforce the laws that do exist to protect workers' rights.

As far as Amnesty International is aware none of the workers whose cases are documented in this report brought a complaint to the authorities about the human rights abuses they were experiencing. Amnesty International raised the abuses at Khalifa Stadium and the Aspire Zone with the Government of Qatar, in writing. The government's response did not address any of the specific abuses, despite the fact that several of the cases involved breaches of Qatar's laws.

While the majority of the workers in Qatar have only the poorly-applied legal framework upon which to rely, those engaged on World Cup sites should be covered by the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy's Workers' Welfare Standards. The Supreme Committee has demonstrated a consistent commitment to ensuring the rights of workers on World Cup sites are respected and protected. In addition to developing the Workers' Welfare Standards, the Supreme Committee has met with Amnesty International and other human rights groups and sought input on the Standards and their application, and has reviewed progress and published data regularly. The Committee has also consistently responded to reports of abuse.

However, there are some fundamental problems with the Supreme Committee's approach to monitoring and enforcing the Workers' Welfare Standards, as demonstrated by the abuses discovered on the Khalifa Stadium project. Firstly, although the Standards are supposed to apply to all companies and workers on World Cup projects, the Supreme Committee has focused on compliance by the main contractors. This approach ignores the evidence that migrant workers' rights are generally at greater risk when they are working for small sub-contractors and labour supply companies. Some of the most egregious abuses that Amnesty International documented on Khalifa Stadium were perpetrated by labour supply companies that the Supreme Committee did not even know were involved with the project.

Second, the Supreme Committee's processes place significant reliance on self-auditing by companies. This approach is not sufficient to identify, prevent and remedy labour rights abuse. In Amnesty International's experience, it is the very companies that are most likely to abuse rights that also abuse self-reporting processes. In the case of Khalifa Stadium, self-audits do not appear to have detected serious problems.

Finally, the Supreme Committee's focus has been substantially on the quality of accommodation. While this is important, other serious issues including deception in the recruitment process, the practice of paying workers several months in arrears, and forced labour have not received sufficient attention.



## FIFA

While the Supreme Committee has shown a commitment to the rights of migrant workers on World Cup projects in Qatar, the same cannot be said for FIFA. Qatar's World Cup bid made clear that major construction work was needed to prepare for the tournament, including the refurbishment of Khalifa Stadium. In 2010, when FIFA awarded the 2022 World Cup to Qatar, it knew, or ought to have known, that most construction work in Qatar involves migrant workers and that migrant workers were subjected to serious and systemic labour exploitation. Yet FIFA did not put in place any measures to ensure that the men who would build the World Cup infrastructure would not be exploited.

Amnesty International presented the evidence of human rights abuses of migrant workers engaged on the Khalifa Stadium project to FIFA. FIFA did not engage with any of the specific abuses, and did not suggest that the organization would take any action to address them. FIFA instead pointed to some of the steps taken by the Supreme Committee.

Describing its current due diligence approach FIFA said it has had "preliminary meetings and inspection visits of construction sites. FIFA set up a 2022 FIFA World Cup Sustainability Working Group...the first meeting was held in November 2015." (emphasis added). FIFA also told Amnesty International that it is "in the process of formalizing its human rights due diligence process". FIFA did not provide any explanation as to why, when the World Cup was awarded to Qatar in 2010, it has taken five years to establish due diligence process.

Overall, Amnesty International found FIFA's response failed to demonstrate any genuine commitment to ensuring the rights of migrant workers on World Cup sites are not abused.

Having awarded the 2022 FIFA World Cup to Qatar, it is incumbent on FIFA to engage in a robust and ongoing process of human rights due diligence that addresses the specific risks and actual impacts on the rights of individuals. On the evidence presented, this is not happening. FIFA's continued failure to take any meaningful action on the issue of labour exploitation means that thousands of migrant workers involved in World Cup construction sites are at risk of exploitation. Moreover, as football fans who travel to Qatar for the World Cup will stay in hotels, eat in restaurants and otherwise engage with service industries in which migrant workers are employed, FIFA must consider the wider human rights context of migrant workers in Qatar as part of its human rights due diligence.

Amnesty International has made a number of detailed recommendations to the Government of Qatar, the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy, the companies involved in the Khalifa Stadium and Aspire Zone projects, and FIFA.

The organization continues to call on the Qatari authorities to end the system whereby employers have any influence over whether a person can leave Qatar and to ensure migrant workers can change jobs without seeking the permission of their sponsor. In addition, Qatar must significantly increase its capacity to detect and address breaches of the country's labour laws.

The Supreme Committee should revise its approach to monitoring and enforcement of the Workers' Welfare Standards to ensure it is looking at smaller contractors as a matter of urgency. The Committee should also take a more investigative approach to identifying breaches of the Standards. Specifically, Amnesty International is calling on the Supreme Committee to follow up on the cases of Seven Hills and Blue Bay.

The Aspire Zone Foundation plays a key role in the promotion of sports in Qatar. Its current approach to the abuse of the rights of migrant workers engaged on projects for which it is responsible is weak. The Foundation should develop a robust due diligence framework that ensures risks to human rights are identified and addressed.

Amnesty International has made detailed recommendations to the companies involved in the Khalifa Stadium refurbishment and the Aspire Zone landscaping with regard to each specific abuse documented. All of the companies have failed to exercise effective due diligence with regard to the rights of migrant workers. Amnesty International has also called on the companies to take action to remedy the abuses in a manner that respects the rights and dignity of the workers. All of the companies must address deception in the recruitment process by engaging directly with the recruitment agents they use. Asking recruitment agents to self-report is insufficient.

Finally, Amnesty International is calling on FIFA to make a step-change in the way it is addressing the rights of migrant workers on World Cup sites in Qatar. Having failed for more than five years to exercise due diligence, FIFA must now ensure that the processes it is putting in place are fit for purpose and will protect workers' rights. In addition, FIFA must consistently and robustly engage the Government of Qatar to call for an end of employer's control over the rights of workers to leave Qatar. If FIFA fails to do this, every woman, man and child who visits Qatar to see the 2022 World Cup is likely to directly encounter migrant workers – in hotels, sports venues, shops – whose human rights have been abused.

## 1.1 METHODOLOGY

Amnesty International carried out research for this report between February 2015 and February 2016. Researchers visited Qatar three times and interviewed 234 migrant workers (all men) working for companies carrying out work on Khalifa International Stadium and green spaces in the Aspire Zone. Interviews were conducted in English, Hindi, Nepali and Bangla. Researchers also visited the labour camps where the men were living.

The 234 men worked for different companies, the breakdown is as follows:

- 102 worked for a landscaping company, Nakheel Landscapes, which was carrying out landscaping work on the Aspire Zone green areas (99 of the men were working on the Aspire Zone project while three worked on other projects);
- 132 men told Amnesty International that they worked on the Khalifa Stadium refurbishment. 24 worked directly for a contractor, Eversendai Qatar; the other 108 worked for labour supply companies, which are small companies that hire migrant workers out to other companies. All of these men described their work Khalifa Stadium, and provided the names of the labour supply companies for which they worked. Four companies were named. Amnesty International was able to confirm the existence of two of the four labour supply companies, and to identify the company that hired men from these labour supply companies to work on Khalifa Stadium. In the case of the 34 men who worked for the other two labour supply companies, while their testimonies have informed this report, Amnesty International was unable to discover which company officially working on Khalifa Stadium had hired them. The main contractors and sub-contractors on construction projects did not make the full list of companies sub-contracted to work on the site available, despite repeated requests from Amnesty International for such information. In some cases the main contractors do not know that labour supply companies are on site. Amnesty International also requested that the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy provide a full list of companies subcontracted to work on the site but it was not provided. Some of this information featured in a Supreme Committee presentation at a meeting with Amnesty International in January 2016 however researchers' requests for a copy of the relevant content were declined.

Researchers met with representatives of the Government Communications Office, the Ministry of Interior (Search and Follow Up Department) and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, as well as representatives of the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy and the Aspire Zone Foundation.

Amnesty International engaged in detailed correspondence with the companies who employed the migrant workers interviewed, and reviewed publicly available documentation to establish certain facts regarding contracts and sub-contracts for the Khalifa Stadium refurbishment.


Almost all of the 234 workers interviewed were fearful of complaining about their situation, including to Amnesty International representatives, because they were concerned about reprisals from their employers, such as being turned over to the authorities as ‘absconded workers’ - a crime under Qatari law - and deported against their will. Because of this, Amnesty International has changed the names of the individuals quoted in this report to protect their identities.


This report builds on past work by Amnesty International on migrant labour abuse in Qatar, including: *Promising little, delivering less: Qatar and migrant labour abuse ahead of the 2022 Football World Cup (2015)*; *No extra time: How Qatar is still failing on workers’ rights ahead of the World Cup (2014)*; *My sleep is my break: Exploitation of migrant domestic workers in Qatar (2014)*; and *The dark side of migration: spotlight on Qatar’s construction sector ahead of the World Cup (2013)*.



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# THE UGLY SIDE OF THE BEAUTIFUL GAME

## EXPLOITATION OF MIGRANT WORKERS ON A QATAR 2022 WORLD CUP VENUE

Migrant workers on Khalifa International Stadium and the surrounding Aspire Zone, one of the main venues for the 2022 World Cup, have been subjected to a range of exploitative practices. This includes high recruitment fees for which many took out loans; false promises about the pay and type of work on offer; passport confiscation; dirty and cramped accommodation; and threats for complaining about their conditions. Some were subjected to forced labour.

The abuses documented in this report are the result of multiple failures: the businesses and organisations responsible for the venue failed to put in place adequate due diligence processes to identify human rights risks linked to their business activities. Several of the companies have improved the accommodation given to migrant workers but have done little to address other concerns such as exploitative recruitment and forced labour.

The Supreme Committee, the body responsible for delivering the tournament, has shown a commitment to workers' rights but its Workers' Welfare Standards failed to protect migrant workers on the Khalifa Stadium site. Labour reforms promised by the Qatari authorities have not delivered meaningful improvements, leaving migrant workers vulnerable to abuse. FIFA did not consider human rights before awarding Qatar the World Cup. After selecting Qatar it has done nothing concrete to address the risk of labour and other human rights abuse on World Cup sites.

Unless there is fundamental reform of Qatar's sponsorship system and respect for international human rights standards by all actors, the 2022 World Cup risks being built by an exploited workforce.