

The Impact of Workers' Welfare Programme on the Migrant
Workers: Insights from Qatar 2022 FIFA World Cup

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my loving family and all people of Qatar, citizens and residents.

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ABSTRACT

For the past decade, FIFA's decision to award World Cup hosting rights to Qatar has placed the country in the spotlight of international scrutiny and criticism, particularly for the treatment of migrant workers delivering infrastructure projects and venues for the upcoming mega event. The Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC), chief body responsible for the successful delivery of the 2022 World Cup and post-event legacy, has taken steps beyond Qatar's current labour law requirements and created the Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP). It entails a unique and comprehensive approach to screening, auditing and retaining contractors that fulfil a specific set of requirements designed to protect migrant workers from abuse and provide them with working and living conditions of high standards.

Currently, research on the effectiveness of this Programme as well as other efforts to protect migrant workers – both in Qatar and globally – is rather limited in its scope and depth. Existing studies mainly focus on post-event analyses with inadequate primary data collection efforts, failing to give voice to all parties involved. This study aims to bridge this knowledge gap by investigating the factors affecting the migratory construction workers involved in the preparations for the 2022 FIFA World Cup. It does so by examining the implementation of various aspects of the SC's WWP and the extent to which it has impacted migrant workers and other relevant stakeholders.

The study adopted a mixed-method approach to data collection and analysis by conducting a quantitative survey of migrant workers and juxtaposing it with findings from qualitative interviews with high level stakeholders. The results indicate that great strides have been achieved in improving different aspects of migrant workers' lives such as their living conditions and workplace safety standards. However, a number of concerns remain to be fully resolved, including the illegal practice of levying recruitment fees, comprehensive training, salary satisfaction as well as access to healthcare. The study suggests a number of policy recommendations to effectively address the issues and preserve Qatar's post-World Cup legacy.

DECLARATION

I solemnly declare that this piece of work and the related research contained in this thesis document was carried out by me. It is unique to me and has not been submitted before by anyone to Bolton University or any other institution for the purpose of receiving a degree or any qualification.

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List of Abbreviations

BHRRC	Business & Human Rights Resource Centre
BWI	Building and Wood Workers' International
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GSAS	Global Sustainability Assessment System Certification
ILO	International Labour Organization
IT&T	Information Technology and Telecommunication
LLC	Limited Liability Company
LOC	Local Organising Committee
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MOADLSA	Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs
MOPH	Ministry Of Public Health
NBA	National Basketball Association
PPP	Public-Private Partnerships
PR	Public Relations
QNV	Qatar National Vision
Q22	FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 LLC
SAWP	Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program
SC	Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy
SESRI	Social and Economic Survey Research Institute
SME	Small And Medium Enterprises
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UN	United Nations
URS	Universal Reimbursement Scheme
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organisation
WPS	Wage Protection System
WWP	Workers' Welfare Programme

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter provides an introduction to the study and includes background information about the research, literature gaps, research objectives and questions, the motivation for the study, and a summary of the research methodology.

1.2. RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Over the past few decades, mega sporting events have gained a growing popularity across the world for their power of inclusivity in the age of globalisation. A few of these events are organised on a league basis, such as the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), Champions League or the National Basketball Association (NBA) championships in the United States, while others such as the Olympics and FIFA World Cup are envisioned as country-level competitions. They are known to evoke feelings of national pride, recognition and accomplishment and it is no wonder that millions of people watch and attend such events as they bring prestige and popularity to both the winners and the nations they represent. The magnitude of these events requires careful planning, management, execution and allocation of required resources to ensure that the benefits outweigh the costs.

1.2.1. The FIFA World Cup

FIFA was founded in Paris in 1904 following a meeting of representatives from eight football associations across Europe (FIFA, 2018). Only European football associations were included until South Africa joined in 1909, followed by Argentina (1912), Chile (1912), and the United States (1913) (FIFA, 2018). FIFA is now made up of six confederations comprising 211 national associations and is known for being one of the biggest and most popular sports federations in the world (FIFA, 2018).

The first FIFA World Cup was held in 1930 in Uruguay, who went on to win the competition. The competition was inspired by the Olympic football game, but certain limitations such as age or experience were removed from the laws (FIFA, 2018). In

later years, the rules of the competition changed to include group stages and knockout rounds. The competition has been held every four years since 1930, with the exception of 1939–1945 turbulent World War II period. Brazil is the only team to have won five times and participated in all 21 tournaments. The FIFA World Cup was last hosted in Russia in the summer of 2018 and the next World Cup is scheduled to be hosted by Qatar in 2022.

The FIFA World Cup is known for bringing together the global community, encompassing people, nations, and regions alike. The magnitude of the event inevitably affects all important aspects of the host country, including its economy and politics. It also greatly contributes to the leisure industry, creating new markets and business opportunities (FIFA, 2018, p. 24). The opportunity to host the event is one that many countries hope to get.

1.2.2. Hosting the World Cup

In order to win a bid to host the World Cup, a country has to submit a detailed documentation outlining its ability and intention to meet the requirements of the competition. The first section of the document is titled ‘Hosting Vision and Strategy’ and it is comprised of the integrated hosting vision and strategy, the legacy, and the political support in the host country (FIFA, 2017, p. 25). This section highlights all that the country hopes to achieve by hosting the event and serves as a guide for the remainder of the document.

The second section of the bid document is ‘Host Country Information’ which requires general, political, economic, media, and marketing information of the host country (FIFA, 2017, p. 25). This section is intended as an assessment of the current situation and resources within the country as well as their legacy and hosting vision, in order to determine the level of preparations required to host such a major international sporting event.

The third section is titled 'Technical Matters', which discusses plans for necessities such as stadiums, team and referee facilities, accommodation, FIFA headquarters, airports, transport infrastructure and general mobility, Information Technology and Telecommunication (IT&T), and safety and security (FIFA, 2017, p. 25). In particular, this section provides information in support of the required workforce, the infrastructure, and the resulting job creation in the country.

The fourth section of the bid document is 'Other Event-Related Matters' and it includes plans for communication, public relations (PR), event promotion, FIFA Fan Fests, host city services, volunteer management, competition-related events, health and medical services, expenditure budget, and ticket revenues (FIFA, 2017, p. 25).

The final section of the bid document is 'Sustainable Event Management, Human Rights and Environmental Protection'. This section outlines the policies and laws to be put in place to ensure that both the environment and human rights are upheld, and that the progress and development required to accommodate the World Cup is sought in a sustainable way (FIFA, 2017, p. 25).

1.2.3. Effects of the Sports Events on Host Countries

The concept of nation branding is a growing phenomenon that has been gaining traction over the past few years (Gripsrud et al., 2010, p. 1). Many cities and countries compete to host international sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games where they have an opportunity to project a desirable image of itself to the world due to the considerable media coverage. This can positively influence the demand for the country's products and various export goods, as well as its tourism industry. Other economic benefits include the short-term creation of new jobs and the attraction of spectators (Gripsrud et al., 2010, p. 2). Therefore, it is no wonder that developing countries are becoming ever more interested in hosting these types of events.

However, the cost of hosting such major events is considerable and it is usually the host country's government that is responsible for allocating much of the costs (Gripsrud et al., 2010, p. 2). There are other long-term impacts associated with the preparations, process, and aftermath of hosting major international sporting events, known as legacy. In addition to the physical aspects of building infrastructure, the host needs to protect its legacy by taking appropriate actions to protect migrant workers, including the need to publically adopt various commitments to human rights statues and monitor their proper implementation, as well as provide practical mechanisms that enable workers to express individual and collective grievances.

A major impact of hosting mega sporting events are the legacies left after completion, which will serve as a clear indication of the level of success of the event.

1.2.4. Proposed Legacies for Qatar FIFA World Cup 2022

Soon after winning the bid to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup, the State of Qatar established the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC) in 2011, a strategic body responsible for the delivery of the necessary stadiums and other related infrastructure, as well as ensuring that the tournament and its preparations contribute to Qatar's sustainable development (SC, 2020). Since its inception, the SC has been headed by the Secretary General, H.E. Hassan Al Thawadi, who was previously the CEO of the Qatar 2022 Bid Committee. The SC's Board of Directors is chaired by H.H. the Amir of Qatar, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, and board members include various crucial figures including H.E. the Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, H.E. the President of the Qatar Olympic Committee, H.E. the President of the Qatar Football Association, and representatives of several crucial ministries.

The SC is in charge of liaising the work of all contractors and validating their compliance with important industry standards, including proper treatment of migrant workers. The SC also collaborates with dozens of key local stakeholders and manages different legacy and community projects related to the tournament.

We Build Value (2017) stated that the 2022 World Cup necessitated spending US\$100 billion on infrastructure, especially for transportation to enable fans to attend matches and related venues. This would include: highways, parking lots, fly-overs, bridges and all of the other public works and hotels needed to host millions of visitors. There has also been an overhaul of the sewage system, including the construction of a major pipeline below Doha that is 40 kilometres long, with 70 kilometres of run-offs and catchments – for a total cost of US\$2.7 billion.

The country's most important road project is the New Orbital Highway, a ring road that will surround Doha on three sides (the fourth side faces the sea) and include a lane dedicated solely to truck traffic. The investment in this road alone is expected to reach US\$4.6 billion. Other important roadworks include the Lusail Expressway (costing approximately US\$960 million), which is approaching completion and links Doha to the newly built city of Lusail, as well as the East-West Corridor, another ring road that will cost approximately US\$460 million.

Qatar's population has grown from 700,000 to 2.2 million people over the past decade. This has led to an increased demand for housing and the development of new towns and satellite cities, such as Lusail, Msheireb, Downtown Doha, Airport City, and Energy City. According to the 2022 FIFA World Cup Bid Evaluation Report (2010), the event is envisioned to be carbon-neutral through the use of in-stadium cooling technologies and other eco-friendly solutions. After the event, the modular sections of the stadiums are designed to be dismantled and reconstructed as 22 new stadiums in developing countries around the world. Qatar 2022's legacy promises include: human, economic, social, and environmental legacies – these will be explored in Chapter 2.

The SC has always understood legacy as the most important outcome of the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar. These legacy plans are drawn up with the Qatar National Vision 2030 in mind. The four main pillars accounted in SC's planning and delivery are: Worker Welfare, Generation Amazing, Challenge 22, and Education and Research.

- **Worker Welfare**

The SC strongly believes that every worker deserves safe, healthy and humane working and living conditions, such that will contribute to a society based on justice, equality and the rule of law. They are committed to ensuring the welfare of all workers on their projects, and hence the Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP) was launched early into the World Cup planning stages. It is an all-encompassing initiative designed to protect the workers throughout their various stages of employment, particularly focusing on six areas: Ethical Recruitment, Training, Health and Safety, Accommodation, Outreach and Engagement, and Compliance and Auditing.

The accompanying Workers' Welfare Standards (WWS) came into effect in 2014, which is a set of regulations that all contractors and subcontractors applying for World Cup related tenders must abide by. The standards were formed following extensive consultation with the business community and numerous civil society groups, including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Building & Wood Workers' International (BWI), Engineers Against Poverty, Humanity United and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Since establishing the WWS, regular audits, inspections of bidding companies, service supplier inspections, inspections of contractors and subcontractors have been conducted. By taking a holistic approach to workers' welfare, the SC is creating a legacy of improved conditions for workers in Qatar, from recruitment to repatriation, thereby serving as a role model for other aspiring host nations.

- **Generation Amazing**

Through this programme, the SC uses football as a unifying tool to stimulate the development of impoverished communities across the globe, as well as to promote healthy lifestyles, self-confidence, and self-respect. Inaugurated during Qatar's bid to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup, Generation Amazing is a social development initiative designed to instil confidence in young people who are encouraged to initiate positive change in their communities. Target countries include Jordan, Palestine and other Arab as well as Asian nations like Nepal and Pakistan that send large numbers of

workers to Qatar. Generation Amazing consists of three main elements: people, pitch, and programme. People are represented by youth ambassadors who are offered football training as a development tool that targets their leadership skills so that they may benefit their respective communities. The pitch component involves building sustainable football fields which are in turn essential for the fulfilment of the programme element because they are used to deliver football trainings and practices in these underdeveloped communities. Overall, the programme is useful as a healthy entertainment option for the youth which simultaneously aides in enhancing various important skills, such as communication, respect, team building, and decision making. By 2022, Generation Amazing is expected to create 176 youth community leaders and reach 63,000 direct and more than 100, 000 indirect beneficiaries in the region and around the globe.

- **Challenge 22**

The SC launched Challenge 22 to change the face of innovation in the Middle East. For the first edition of the new innovation award, individuals and teams were asked to submit their innovative ideas for six challenges related to three key themes: Event Experience, Sports & Health, and Sustainability. All were focused on legacy – whether in creating a healthier Middle East, ensuring sporting events are accessible to all fans, or integrating eco-friendly and sustainable resources into the design and construction of stadiums. The main aim is to provide comprehensive support to start-ups from the region and use their ideas to improve the delivery of the World Cup.

- **Education and Research**

The SC is supporting various education and research projects with the aim of diversifying and developing knowledge-based economies in the region. Central to these efforts is the Josoor Institute which was created in 2013 to help develop human capital in Qatar and the region by offering targeted training programmes to talented youth, who will partake in 2022 World Cup delivery as well as long-term sustainability efforts in sports and events industry. Innovative disciplines such as behavioural

psychology are promoted and research is used to improve processes and policy outcomes.

1.2.5. The Research Problem

Since Qatar was awarded the bid to host the FIFA 2022 World Cup, their suitability as a host nation has been a topic of controversy. These global concerns stem primarily from the management of migrant labour in Qatar. The kafala system – the official and widely accepted management system for migrant labour in the Middle East – is opposed by many human rights organisations and governments in the Western hemisphere and all over the world. Thus, it is important to examine the state of labour, and particularly migrant labour, because this is a huge aspect of the World Cup preparations.

In addition to the migrant labour issues in Qatar, there has been a chequered history of human resource management in World Cup preparations. In instances like Brazil 2014, the negligence and mismanagement related to labour led to money and time being wasted and even to injury and death. Therefore, it is important to monitor the preparations and trends that may have led to these consequences and the different methods being used in the case of Qatar 2022.

Qatar is the first Middle Eastern country to host the FIFA World Cup. As such, the challenges it will face in preparing and delivering the event will be somewhat different from those faced by previous host nations, particularly in regards to the treatment of migrant workers. Therefore, this study is designed to review the implementation of the Qatar 2022 World Cup Supreme Committee's Workers' Welfare Programme.

1.2.6. Gaps in the Literature

There is a general lack of research on migrant workers and their conditions in general, in relation to delivering mega events in particular. The limited available literature focuses on different aspects of holding such major events, including the costs and benefits to the country's citizens and various legacies. This is because data on migrant

workers is usually not publicly available and in many cases their treatment is below legal standards, hence it is difficult to collect detailed data. While the treatment of migrant workers in Qatar and the broader Gulf region has been examined extensively by Jureidini (2014; 2016; 2017; 2018), Gardner et al. (2013) and Diop et al. (2015; 2016; 2020), the Workers' Welfare Programme and its long-term impact on the treatment of migrant workers in light of hosting a mega event have not yet been explored extensively. This is because, in many regards, the programme is very new and still being implemented. It will be interesting to observe the difference that this programme will make in migrant workers' welfare in the coming years and if it will have a long-lasting impact post-World Cup.

Another research gap is testimonials from migrant workers on how the SC's Workers' Welfare Programme has affected their lives since its implementation. A few critics have reported on the impacts of the programme thus far but there is very little feedback from the standpoint of the migrant workers themselves. These gaps will be explored further in Chapter 2.

Amnesty International (2018a) reported that the number of migrant workers in Qatar has rapidly grown in the recent years to reach 1.9 million, which is approximately 90% of the country's total population. These workers originate mainly from South and South-East Asian countries, including India, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Bangladesh. Qatar University's Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) carried out a representative survey of 1,015 blue-collar migrant workers in Qatar and found that the largest group of respondents came from Nepal (34%), followed by India (26%), Bangladesh (19%), Pakistan (7%), Sri Lanka (5%), and Egypt (4%) (SESRI, 2018). In terms of occupation, 82% of respondents were employed as construction workers (15%), drivers (11%), cleaners (11%), electricians (9%), masons (8%), security guards (8%), carpenters (8%), foremen (6%), and craftsmen (6%).

The Business & Human Rights Resource Centre (BHRRC), which participates in various private and public sector research, sent out a survey to 100 construction companies

operating in Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in order to assess what they were doing to prevent the exploitation of foreign workers. Indicative of the low priority given to protecting workers' rights, 78% of the companies declined to respond or comment thus revealing a lack of transparency regarding steps taken to protect the workers (BHRRC, 2016).

The BHRRC (2018) sent out a second survey to 50 construction companies operating in Qatar and the UAE to assess what progress had been made in terms of protecting migrant workers' rights. Unfortunately, the results have not yet been published. A wide range of literature is available on various aspects of World Cup hosting but very limited is available on the treatment of migrant workers. Hence, this study intends to address this gap in the academic published literature by investigating evidence from construction workers as well as construction companies and various stakeholders engaged in the delivery of the 2022 World Cup in Qatar.

1.3. LABOUR ISSUES IN QATAR

Past reports concerning the treatments of migrant workers in Qatar have not been favourable. Gibson (2014) noted that prior to arriving to Qatar and other Gulf countries, migratory workers take out loans to pay hefty fees to intermediaries who arrange for their deployment and work placements. They are forced into crippling debt due to excessive recruitment charges; they work long hours in temperatures up to 50 degrees Celsius; their passports are taken away, and they live in poor conditions with endemic human rights abuse. The number of work-related deaths of these workers are not publicised, but critics have reported that approximately four thousand migrant workers will have died before the first football match begins in 2022 (Foster, 2017).

However, such estimates are usually based on embassy statistics on the total number of deaths, including those by natural causes and chronic conditions and as such should be interpreted with caution. Qatar has always been aware and keen on providing an ideal working environment for migrant workers and has delivered consistent

improvements to its legislation. Meanwhile, the international press is often tasked with sensationalising issues surrounding Qatar's delivery of the upcoming World Cup.

The British Broadcasting Corporation reported that in light of international public criticism and after two years of protests by human rights activists, Qatar was abolishing its controversial kafala labour system and replacing it with a new contract-based law designed to ensure greater flexibility and protection (BBC, 2016). The ultimate aim is to leave workers better protected as one of the main legacies of hosting the World Cup, hence country-wide efforts are underway to hold employers accountable to higher labour standards and to bring about legislative reforms of migrant workers' working and living conditions.

1.4. RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study is to examine the factors affecting the migratory construction workers involved in the preparations for the 2022 FIFA World Cup. While many previous studies have examined World Cup preparations and their impacts on host countries, most have been conducted post-mortem of the event, discussing the reasons behind its success or failure. This study is intended to address following research objectives and questions:

1.4.1. Research Objectives

Objective 1 – To critically review the implementation of the Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP) and its components in Qatar.

Objective 2 – To analyse the level of satisfaction of migrant workers as a result of the implementation of the WWP.

Objective 3 – To recommend a strategy for the maintenance and enhancement of the WWP.

1.4.2. Research Questions

RQ1 – What are the factors influencing the satisfaction levels of migrant construction workers?

RQ2 – What is the impact of the implementation of the WWP on the various stakeholders, including migrant workers, companies, and relevant organisations?

RQ3- What is a best practice strategy for achieving higher level of migrant labourers' satisfaction in a developed nation?

1.5. METHODOLOGY

In order to respond to the research questions and objectives, a systematic literature review and an analysis of the relevant secondary data will be conducted prior to using a mixed methods approach of collecting both qualitative and quantitative data, thereby producing more robust results. Quantitative data was collected by surveying 1,000 migrant construction workers in person in Qatar (Appendix A).

The findings were then used to inform the development of semi-structured interview guides for interviews with the construction companies' representatives (Appendix B) and government officials in Qatar (Appendix C – Appendix F). The interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded prior to being analysed.

The survey phase began with a 10% pilot project to iron out any technical difficulties or misunderstandings (for example, through translation). The sample for the workers' survey was made up of construction workers, selected randomly within the four sampled contracting companies. The pilot study was employed to determine the accuracy of the workers' questionnaire and to identify if there was a need to improve the measures, as well as to determine how much time was required to manage the main data collection.

1.5.1. Research Ethics

The research ethics for this study is based on the University of Bolton's ethical guidelines for conducting research and the RE1 was submitted at the R1 stage of this study. All participants in this study were informed that the information they provide is completely anonymous and that they can withdraw from the study at any stage. The information they provide will be stored securely on a password-protected portal on the University of Bolton's network and destroyed three years after the completion of the study. Each participant will be fully informed about what is expected from them and who to contact if they have any concerns or complaints. Each participant will be asked to sign an official consent form before taking part in order to confirm that they have fully understood the details described above and agree to take part in the study.

1.6. RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

The contributions of this research include:

1.6.1. Contributions to Knowledge

Qatar is the first Middle Eastern country to host the World Cup and as such it has to deal with a wide range of challenges that have not been faced by previous host countries. The lack of literature directly related to the topic under study and large-scale events in the region is quite evident. Hence, this study will contribute to this knowledge.

A major aspect of this study will be its contribution to a better understanding of work and welfare issues in Qatar and enhancing the awareness of employers in various industry sectors of the economy in Qatar. This is particularly important due to the recent change in labour laws and policies in preparation for the World Cup 2022.

1.6.2. Contributions to Policy and Practice

This study could act as a blueprint for the Qatari government and similar countries in the region for organising, hosting, and managing major events. Thus, it can be used in making decisions for preparations – not only in future World Cups or other mega sports events but all large-scale events in the region. This knowledge will be specific to labour related to the preparations for such events and how governmental and private organisations as well as workers and the general public receive such events and respond to such issues. It will also demonstrate the contribution of such large-scale events to the legacy of the host country on a global scale.

1.7. THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis will be structured as follows. The first chapter introduces the background to the study by discussing the FIFA World Cup event and the issues associated with organising and hosting such events, in particular the use of migrant workers. Other components of this chapter include outlining the research questions, research objectives, and research contribution.

The second chapter focuses on the review of the literature, including articles, books, secondary data, and past studies. The chapter then critically reviews past World Cup events and their impacts, the major concerns for Qatar in preparation for 2022, and the steps that Qatar has taken thus far in addressing these concerns. It concludes by presenting the conceptual framework guiding this research.

The third chapter discusses the research methods that were used to gather and analyse the data. The chapter generally explains how the research was administered. It outlines the research philosophies, approaches and strategies, as well as the selection of research methods and the discussion of the research sampling. Lastly, it discusses what data collection and analysis procedures were used in the study.

The fourth chapter considers the results from the quantitative and qualitative data analyses and discusses the underlying factors affecting the migrant construction workers building the venues for the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar. It also discusses

the key emerging issues arising from the study and the evidence that supports the elements, hypotheses, research questions and objectives. The chapter responds to research objectives and questions and concludes by reviewing the conceptual framework.

The fifth chapter highlights the main conclusions from the study. It continues with a consideration of the implications of the study for both professional practice and for a scholarly understanding in the field and its recommendations for government officials, leaders, and managers. Lastly, it discusses limitations of this study and makes suggestions for future research.

1.8. SUMMARY

This chapter has provided an introduction to the study and includes: the background information about the research; the aims and objectives of the research; the research questions; the motivation for the study; the structure of the thesis; a summary of the research methodology; and the contribution that the study will make to knowledge and professional practice.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the history of the FIFA World Cup and considers elements of preparation and planning for hosting the event including; Qatar's bidding efforts, the structure and organization behind Qatar 2022 and the infrastructure and legacies of the event. The chapter goes on to discuss the shortcomings of recent FIFA World Cup host countries with specific reference to migrant labour concerns. The development of the Workers' Welfare Programme is then examined as well as various measures taken by Qatar to tackle the migrant workers' issues and protect their rights. The chapter concludes with conceptual framework that guides this research.

2.2. HISTORY OF MEGA SPORTING EVENTS AND THE FIFA WORLD CUP

The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) was founded in Paris in 1904, following a meeting of representatives from eight football associations across Europe (FIFA, 2018). Only European football associations were included until South Africa joined in 1909, followed by Argentina (1912), Chile (1912), and the United States in 1913 (FIFA, 2018). Today, FIFA consists of six confederations comprising 211 national associations and is known for being one of the biggest and most popular sports federations in the world (FIFA, 2018). The World Cup is historically very significant to FIFA as its primary revenue source and its cornerstone activity while serving as a global showcase for the football association (Tennent & Gillett, 2018). The event takes place every four years in two stages. The qualifying stage takes place among all eligible member associations across the six football confederations competing for the 31 spots available alongside the host. In the final stage of the competition, the qualified teams compete to become the next world champion (Paul & Mitra, 2008).

By staging the inaugural FIFA World Cup in Uruguay in 1930, FIFA established not only a tradition but what would later become the most important international sports team competition in the world. The FIFA Congress in Barcelona in 1929 assigned

Uruguay as the first host country of the FIFA World Cup, when a total of 13 nations participated – seven from South America, four from Europe and two from North America (Stewart, 1998). From the outset of the event planning, Uruguay was the favourite host candidate – not only for its 1924 and 1928 Olympic gold medal wins, but also because the World Cup would coincide with the country's 100th anniversary of independence.

The second and third editions of the World Cup took place in 1934 and 1938 and were successfully hosted by Italy and France, respectively. Germany had formally applied to host the 1942 FIFA World Cup at the 23rd FIFA Congress in Berlin and three years later in 1939 Brazil submitted their bid for the same event. Nevertheless, further preparations for the 1942 FIFA World Cup were halted at the outbreak of World War II, resulting in no tournament being held that year. When the war ended in 1945, it became clear that a single year of preparing and arranging for a 1946 World Cup would have very little success and hence it was the second consecutive time in history of the event that the FIFA World Cup did not take place (Lisi, 2011).

By 1966, FIFA had expanded to 124 full members but remained largely a Eurocentric organization with a broad global membership (Tennent & Gillett, 2018). In addition, the decolonization process and consequent independence of many African, Asian, Caribbean and Oceanian countries led to the expansion of FIFA membership to include most nations of the contemporary world.

The 2002 edition of the FIFA World Cup was significant because it was the first time in history that the event was jointly hosted by two nations (Japan and South Korea). Brazil having won the final match against Germany became the first and only country to win the World Cup five times, making the event additionally memorable (Kuper & Szymanski, 2010). The following World Cup held in Germany in 2006 ranks as one of the most watched events in the history of television, amassing a record of 26.29 billion views over the duration of the tournament. The final match itself drew in an estimated 715.1 million spectators (Whannel, 2009).

The 2010 FIFA World Cup was hosted by South Africa, first time in the African continent. Many critics argued that the opportunity to draw in investment and positive global attention was dimmed by the poor treatment of workers and the displacement of marginalised communities for the duration of the event (Cottle & Rombaldi, 2014). The following FIFA World Cup edition in 2014 hosted by Brazil for the second time had a similarly tainted outcome. Large economic expenditures were unjustified and unacceptable to poor communities living below the poverty line, causing anti-World Cup protests across the country (Elmi, 2017).

The 2018 FIFA World Cup was held in Russia from 14 June till 15 July. The matches were played in 12 venues across 11 cities and the country was praised for a successful and smooth execution of the event. Qatar formally submitted its bid to host the FIFA World Cup 2022 alongside bids from the United States, South Korea, Japan, and Australia. On 2 December 2010, FIFA announced that Qatar was chosen to host the 22nd edition of the World Cup. It will be the first time that the world's largest football competition is played in the Middle East, and the first FIFA World Cup where the stadiums are in such close proximity that fans can easily attend two matches in a single day. This will also mark the first time for a FIFA World Cup to take place between November and December, with the final match scheduled to take place on 18 December 2022 marking Qatar's National Day (FIFA, 2015). Table 2.1 provides a full list of previous and upcoming FIFA World Cup hosts.

Table 2. 1: Past and future hosts of the FIFA World Cup Finals

Year	Host Country
1930	Uruguay
1934	Italy
1938	France
1942 & 1946	- None – Cancelled because of World War II
1950	Brazil
1954	Switzerland
1958	Sweden
1962	Chile
1966	England
1970	Mexico
1974	Germany
1978	Argentina
1982	Spain
1986	Mexico
1990	Italy
1994	USA
1998	France
2002	Japan & South Korea
2006	Germany
2010	South Africa
2014	Brazil
2018	Russia
2022	Qatar
2026	Canada, USA and Mexico

Source: (Rossington, 2018)

2.3 . PREPARATION AND PLANNING FOR HOSTING THE FIFA WORLD CUP

All nations bidding to host a World Cup are required to submit a Bid Book, a comprehensive proposition according to which FIFA scores each bidder on various criteria including bid compliance and risk assessments, in addition to conducting a technical evaluation of the country's preparation and execution plan. These contain hundreds of pages with every detail about a nation's bid. It highlights specific characteristics of the aspiring host nation such as its current and developing infrastructure and its unique strengths and merits. Endorsements from football ambassadors and regional associations are also an important part of the proposal.

When submitting their bid, each nation must provide FIFA with a detailed plan for the delivery of both infrastructural (stadiums, transportation, accommodation and other facilities) as well as commercial components of the event (predicted costs of the event and revenue generated). These are then scored using an internal review system that guarantees no preferential treatment and lobbying activities are taken into account (FIFA, 2017). The host is usually selected several years in advance to give them ample time to prepare the necessary facilities and make logistic arrangements.

The bidding process itself is designed to be transparent and every aspect of it open to public scrutiny. This includes the content of each bidder's proposal and evaluation reports based on which the decision for selecting a host is made by the FIFA Congress. The infrastructural and commercial aspects of each bid are rated in an unbiased and precise process focusing on various key areas including sustainability, labour standards and various compliance, risk and technical assessments (FIFA, 2018). Since previous elections of World Cup hosts were questioned by various parties claiming that the process was unfair and that certain candidates engaged in vote-buying, FIFA recently appointed an independent audit company to conduct reviews of the entire bidding process and ensure full transparency (FIFA, 2017). BDO Ltd, a Swiss audit firm with clients across multiple industries and continents, concluded in their audit report that there were no indications of noncompliance with the most recent bidding process (BDO, 2018).

Hosting a FIFA World Cup requires substantial investments in infrastructure and stadiums, transportation for millions of people to matches and fan festivals, recruitment and training of thousands of volunteers — all while safeguarding the health and security of everyone involved (FIFA, 2018). This is no small feat for any nation and it is particularly challenging for developing countries who use the World Cup as an aspirational guide for rallying national support for the necessary infrastructure and economic developments. Therefore, countries that bid for hosting rights must carefully weigh the risks and benefits of such an endeavour and ensure that they have the human and financial capacity for a successful execution. The scale of the event will inevitably affect the host country's society and leave lasting legacies.

2.4. QATAR BIDDING FOR FIFA WORLD CUP 2022

Qatar went through the standard process of bidding before successfully securing the hosting title for the 2022 World Cup. Being the first Middle Eastern host will serve as a catalyst for the achievement of long-term development goals in Qatar and the broader region.

Qatar established a bid team on 16 March 2009 to officially kick off the application process to becoming the host of the World Cup 2022. It also announced the Generation Amazing football for development programme in the same year, declaring its mission to positively impact communities around the world through the power of sports. The programme's vision is to touch the lives of some of the world's most disadvantaged communities through the delivery of expert football training, community pitches and by promoting sustainable behaviour (Gulf Times, 2020).

On 13 May 2010, Qatar's bid to host the FIFA World Cup 2022 was officially submitted to FIFA in Zurich, along with bids made by the United States, Australia, Japan and South Korea. On 2 December 2010, it was announced that Qatar won the bid, prompting Qatari citizens and residents to come out in thousands to celebrate the occasion and welcome the triumphant bid team back to the country. Soon afterwards in April 2011, the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC) was established,

with the mandate to build the necessary stadiums and other related infrastructure and to ensure that the tournament as well as its preparations contribute to Qatar's long-term sustainable development. From the stadiums where football history will be made, to infrastructure, accommodation and transport, the SC and other important stakeholders will make sure that Qatar is ready to welcome the world.

The tournament is scheduled to take place from 21 November to 18 December 2022, when the average temperature in Qatar ranges between 24 and 28 degrees Celsius, which is significantly lower than the scorching summer heat when high humidity levels and temperatures upwards of 45 degrees Celsius. It will also have the most geographically compact footprint in the tournament's history since the inaugural single-stadium edition in 1930. Namely, all of the stadiums are built within 50 km distance from the capital city Doha, suggesting that both spectators and players will spend shorter amounts of time transiting between venues and will have a chance to tour more sites. It will also create opportunities to centralise the provision of some services and facilities (FIFA World Cup Qatar, 2019).

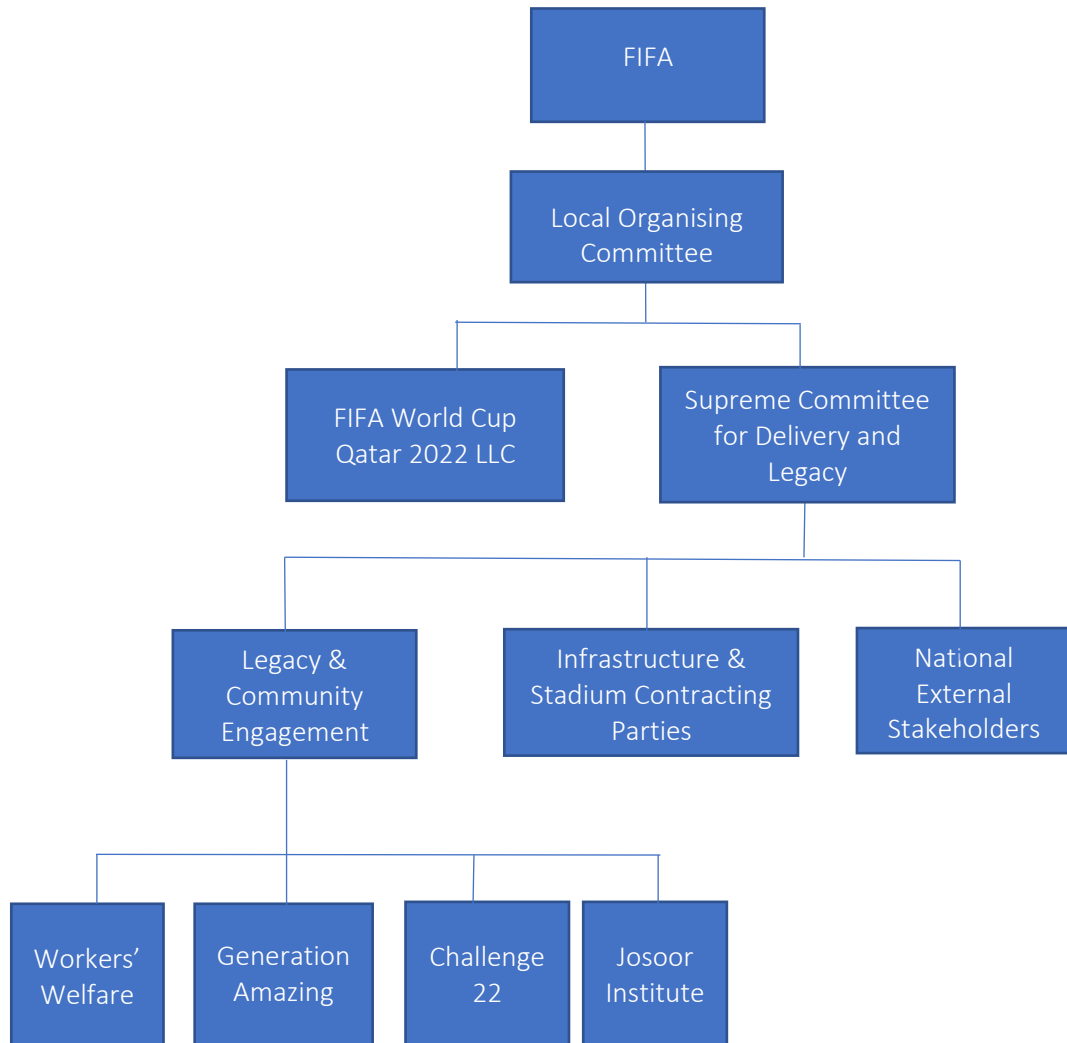
2.4.1. The Structure and Organisation behind Qatar 2022

The organisational structure responsible for the planning and delivery of the Qatar 2022 FIFA World Cup is illustrated in Figure 2.1. As the governing body of the World Cup tournament, FIFA is a key partner and stakeholder in the delivery of the 2022 Qatar World Cup. Qatar's Local Organising Committee (LOC) is charged with managing all operational planning, tournament preparations and coordinates with FIFA on all matters related to the competition aspect of the event. As part of the new FIFA vision to streamline the operational and delivery aspects of their World Cups, they launched a joint venture with the LOC in 2019 (FIFA, 2019). The newly formed limited liability company (LLC) called FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 LLC (Q22) was created to manage all aspects related to delivering the event's operations and services.

The purpose of this new joint venture system is to avoid inefficiencies: by having FIFA's integrated involvement and provision of extensive event experience, the

country's LOC is no longer solely responsible for the challenges that come alongside the delivery and operations of the event.

Figure 2. 1 Key Delivery Partners behind FIFA World Cup 2022 Qatar



Another key stakeholder is the Supreme Committee, which focuses on delivering tournament related infrastructure, coordinating with local stakeholders and creating a lasting legacy far beyond the FIFA World Cup – in line with Qatar National Vision 2030. The SC is tasked with liaising with all of the contracted parties engaged in delivering the stadiums and other related World Cup facilities. It also ensures their compliance with various industry standards, including adequate labour conditions for the migrant workers. In addition, the SC coordinates the work and involvements of

external stakeholders and is responsible for the legacy and community engagement aspects of the tournament, managing the Workers Welfare Programme, Challenge 22, Generation Amazing, Josoor Institute as well as many other educational and volunteering activities designed to keep the community involved.

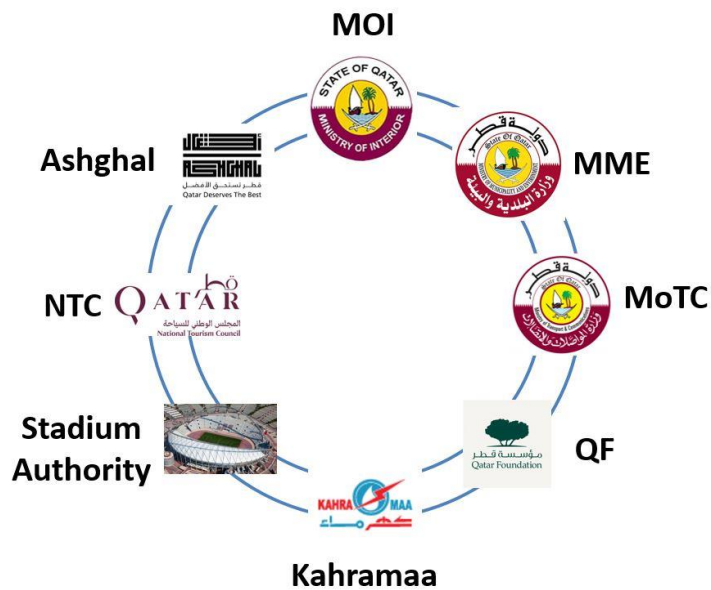
Generation Amazing aims to reach some of the world's most impoverished communities and empower them through football by building pitches and providing trainings (Gulf Times, 2020). Challenge 22 awards grants to aspiring start-ups from the Arab region in order to carry out research and develop innovative solutions for the World Cup (Supreme Committee, n.d.).

Josoor Institute provides training, education, professional certification, research and consultancy in the areas of sports and events. It supports the aims of the Qatar National Vision 2030 of diversifying the economy through the development of sustainable business ideas and offering educational and training opportunities to the Qatari people thereby allowing them to reach their full potential. The main aim is to support the country's legacy of economic and social development and to elevate the livelihood of its citizens (Josoor Institute, n.d.).

National external stakeholders are various institutions in Qatar, including high level government entities that support key delivery partners in all aspects of preparations for hosting the World Cup. The involvement of external national stakeholders is subject to change depending on the operational requirements during pre-tournament, tournament and post-tournament stages. Effective management and coordination of stakeholders requires careful planning to avoid overlaps as well as gaps in performance. For this purpose, the SC relies on a RACI matrix, a project management tool to help identify various roles and responsibilities between key delivery partners and external entities (The SC, 2020).

While there are 68 national external stakeholders identified, Figure 2.2 presents some of the most significant ones for the current stages of the event preparations. These include Ashghal (Public Works Authority), which is responsible for governing the design, construction, and management of major infrastructure projects in Qatar, NTC (National Tourism Council), Stadium Authority, Kahramaa (General Electricity and Water Corporation), Qatar Foundation, as well as several important ministries (Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Environment and Municipality, and Ministry of Transport and Communication). They each play a crucial role as local stakeholders and partners in preparing a smooth and successful World Cup execution. Other noteworthy stakeholders include Qatar Airways, Qatar Rail, Doha Port, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Hamad International Airport. For a full list of national external stakeholders, please refer to Appendix G.

Figure 2. 2 Key National External Stakeholders



Source: The SC (2020)

In addition to developing human resources, the SC and the State of Qatar have invested significantly to ensure that the country's infrastructure is capable of supporting the successful execution of the event. Some of the most important projects and infrastructure developments are discussed in the section below.

2.4.2. Infrastructure for Qatar 2022

Cornerstone Global (2017) estimated that Qatar will spend just over \$200 billion on hosting the World Cup, with average weekly costs of about \$500 million; this makes it the most expensive edition of the tournament in the event's history, costing five times more than the previous 8 World Cups combined. All of the 2022 Qatar FIFA World Cup projects are funded with mixed public-private partnerships (PPP). Qatar had originally planned in its bid to build 12 stadiums to host the tournament but early in 2017 FIFA was informed that they would scale back to build just eight, which is the minimum required.

According to Al Jazeera (2018), the new state-of-the-art stadiums with advanced open-air cooling technology are being built for the 2022 World Cup, as follows:

- The 40,000-capacity Khalifa International stadium, which was originally built in 1976 in Doha, had undergone renovations and upgrades and was the first tournament-ready venue.
- The 40,000-capacity stadium Al Janoub Stadium, located in the southern city of Al Wakrah, was opened in 2019 and was the second stadium to be completed.
- The 89,000-capacity Lusail Stadium, located in Lusail city, about 23km north of Doha, will host the opening ceremony and the final of the World Cup.
- The 60,000-capacity Al Bayt Stadium, located in Al Khor city, will have a stunning exterior resembling the Bedouin tents used in Qatar's deserts.
- The 40,000-capacity Education City Stadium on the outskirts of Doha is right in the middle of Qatar's leading universities. After hosting matches up to the quarterfinals stage, the arena will be reduced in half and 20,000 seats will be donated to build stadiums in developing countries.
- The 40,000-capacity Al Rayyan Stadium in Qatar's second-most populous city is being built on the site of the old Ahmed Bin Ali Stadium.

- The 40,000-seat Al Thumama Stadium is located 12km south of Doha's skyline. It is an architectural depiction of the ghafiya, a traditional headdress worn by Arab men.
- The 40,000-seat Ras Aboud Stadium is being built on the shores of the Gulf, with the Doha skyline in the backdrop. This venue will be completely dismantled and re-purposed for other sporting and non-sporting projects after the tournament.

In addition to stadium related projects, national and host city transport networks and utilities are being built and upgraded to support the successful execution of the FIFA World Cup in Qatar. This also includes accommodation facilities, team hotels, base camps and training sites, a FIFA Operational Headquarters, and many other essential elements of the event.

An important factor that affects many aspects of the 2022 Qatar FIFA World Cup is the socio-political and economic blockade set up against Qatar by several of its GCC neighbours. In June 2017, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt launched a diplomatic and trade boycott of Qatar rendering implausible the prospect of co-hosting the tournament. The countries accused Qatar of supporting terrorism, which the country has vehemently denied.

After the sanctions were first imposed on Qatar in June 2017, the country responded by establishing a new shipping import route running three times weekly from the ports of Sohar and Salalah in Oman to Doha's Hamad Port (Cornerstone Global, 2017). However, this new flow of raw materials has not been sufficiently rapid and efficient to meet the needs of companies working on the World Cup construction and has resulted in added costs.

Furthermore, Qatar's adversaries have made repeated attempts to sabotage the 2022 FIFA World Cup. For instance, there were recent moves to undermine the event and to have it relocated to another venue. Waterson (2019) alleged that a former UK

Conservative Party strategist's pitch detailed how his company would spread negative stories about the Qatari government and the World Cup bidding process, pressuring FIFA to "restart bidding process" for £300,000 per month for a period 18 months. At the time, Reuters (2019) reported that the President of FIFA, Gianni Infantino, revealed that the football's global governing body was exploring the possibility of including some of Qatar's Gulf neighbours as co-hosts for the 2022 World Cup. However, with the event fast approaching in two years, such arrangements are now unlikely.

2.4.3. Legacies

The objective of every World Cup host nation is to leave lasting legacies for its people and Qatar is no different in this regard. The main legacy of the Qatar 2022 FIFA World Cup has four components:

Environmental Legacy – The aim for Qatar 2022 FIFA World Cup is to achieve minimum environmental impact and carbon neutrality by reducing pollution and offsetting emissions with various eco-friendly projects. The Supreme Committee is planning to certify all of its stadiums and related infrastructure projects with the Global Sustainability Assessment System Certification (GSAS), since the game venues are designed to be self-sufficient, utilizing renewable or low-energy systems including proprietary active-cooling strategies. Advanced plans are in place to supply food and consumables to the expected 1.5 million visitors as well as waste management and recycling strategies for sewerage and refuse to minimise environmental impact.

Economic Legacy - The Qatar 2022 FIFA World Cup will enhance tourism and develop the economic diversification strategies embodied within QNV 2030. Furthermore, it will build the reputation of Qatar in the international arena and foreign relations and develop the state as a destination for sports tourism.

Social Legacy – Socially, the Qatar 2022 FIFA World Cup will further enhance the cohesiveness and identity of Qatari nationals under the spotlight of international

media. It will be an opportunity to play host to one of the largest international sporting events, a historic achievement which has been long sought by the Arab world. It will also stimulate young Qatari nationals to get more involved in sports.

Human Legacy - One of the main pillars of Qatar's long-term development plans is innovation. Therefore, the SC has focused on collaborating with both individuals and high level decision makers and planners from the Arab region to develop and sustain innovative businesses and research initiatives. In particular, young people are targeted with various incentives and support to propose pioneering ideas and solutions to further the efforts of making the 2022 World Cup more sustainable, hence contributing to a healthier and improved event execution and legacy. Work and research conducted by different youth teams and collaborations are in essence laying down the foundations for promoting the country and the broader region as an R&D innovation hub (Gulf Times, 2020).

Ensuring the protection of migrant workers' rights is another key element of leaving a positive human legacy for Qatar. The SC has exerted great effort to protect the workers and prevent employer exploitation by putting in place the Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP), details of which will be discussed further in section 2.6.

Prior to discussing the WWP and other measures taken by Qatar to protect the workers, it is necessary to examine the experience of previous World Cup hosts and how they have handled similar concerns. Doing so is useful for both the planning and execution stages since World Cup 2022 is Qatar's first attempt at hosting a sporting event of such proportions. The economic and social downsides of being a host country can be seen in the instances of South Africa in 2010 and Brazil in 2014, where improper planning and funding led to worker strikes and citizens' protests as well as incomplete and failed development projects. Differences in culture, population, geographical location and budget should also be considered when examining these countries since these factors contribute significantly to the outcome of particular measures and implementation.

2.5. SHORTCOMINGS OF PREVIOUS FIFA WORLD CUP HOST NATIONS

Brazil won the bid to host the 2014 World Cup in 2007 when their economy was experiencing considerable growth (Gaffney, 2010). At the time of the bid awarding, 80% of the population were supportive of the decision. However, a string of unfortunate events in the years leading up to Cup reduced the support to only 48% of the population in April 2014, mainly due to political and economic concerns which had additional consequences on the World Cup preparations (Elmi, 2017). Since the organizers had ambitious plans of building 13 airports, 7 ports and 37 transport projects as well as a total of 12 stadiums, the extreme delays caused by the economic downturn led companies to pressure workers to accelerate the delivery of the projects (Cottle & Rombaldi, 2013).

Based on a survey commissioned by the International Wood and Construction Workers' Federation, a review of Brazil World Cup hosting efforts found that there were many issues regarding migrant labourers and their treatment with blatant violations of human rights (Special Projects Office, 2017). There were increases in the pace of work, overtime and productivity agreements where workers had to work shifts longer than 12 hours and over 80 hours per week, violating domestic labour laws (Cottle & Rombaldi, 2014). The majority of labourers employed in construction for the 2014 World Cup came from rural and impoverished parts of Brazil, unaware of their labour rights and easily manipulated to suit the needs of contractors and employers (Rombaldi, 2019).

These practices also went against policies and guidelines created by trade unions and worker associations, who often acted as a source of management for such risks and issues and were a unified voice when negotiating with both private companies and the Brazilian government. Building and Woodwork International (BWI) stepped in to fight for labourers in Brazil as they had done previously in South Africa. In 2011, BWI launched a Campaign for Decent Work towards and Beyond 2014, which involved 17 trade unions, 6 federations and 2 confederations (Cottle & Rombaldi, 2013). They demanded a 10 per cent increase in salaries and the end to 12-hour work shifts (Elmi,

2017). The campaign enabled decentralised and uncoordinated regional unions of workers in Brazil to negotiate in a unified voice for better conditions. While not all of the demands were met, the mobilizations are considered successful since they managed to raise the minimum wage as well as to improve overall working conditions (Rombaldi, 2019).

Though BWI did assist in enhancing workers' conditions and in particular their wages, there was still a lot more that could be done. There were eight casualties as a result of stadium construction in Brazil and according to their Labour Ministry 62,000 worker accidents occurred in 2012 alone, most of which were on the World Cup construction sites (Elmi, 2017). Strike actions that took place did not leave a good reputation, and neither did many projects that were left incomplete and rendered a failed investment.

Moreover, thousands of people were left unemployed when the World Cup ended (Rombaldi, 2019). Trade unions could have done more to ensure that the government had plans to ensure sustainability in the longer term. Overall, Brazil's 2014 World Cup was considered unsuccessful in terms of its planning and execution, as well as its ability to create a positive legacy for the South American country. Therefore, it can serve as a useful case study for Qatar and its planning and event execution efforts.

Cottle and Rombaldi (2014) argued that the 2010 South Africa FIFA World Cup was notable in that the South African government and the five main construction companies acknowledged the trade unions for construction workers. First strike recorded at a World Cup construction site broke out at Green Point Stadium on 27th August 2007, initiating other strikes that resulted in negotiated agreements with employers across the country. However, despite the efforts of trade unions to fight for improved working conditions, the wage gap in the construction sector grew from 2004 to 2009, increasing social inequality within the South African society.

Human rights organisations and international trade unions have been vocal critics of the labour rights violations that take place when developing countries host

international mega-sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup (Dorsey, 2014). A major problem with the industrial relations is FIFA itself, pressuring host nations to comply with their profit-oriented sets of regulations and prioritising financial gains over the host's long-term socioeconomic sustainability (Jerabek, Andrade & Figueroa, 2017).

Leading up to the World Cup 2010 preparations in South Africa, issues were identified regarding workers' rights as well as broader social rights that caused a large number of protests and strikes threatening to put an end to the hosting of the event (Cornelissen, 2012). One year before the World Cup, over 70,000 South Africans working on the World Cup stadiums went on strike in order to protest the failed promise made by the government to raise their salaries by 12 percent. South African companies pleaded with authorities to outlaw the strikes, but South African judges refused to do so since it was within the workers' constitutional right, yet the local authorities failed to protect those who joined the strikes (Elmi, 2017).

Two construction workers lost their lives while building the stadiums and the total number of injuries was not reported (McCallum, 2011). After the end of the tournament, about 110,000 construction workers lost their jobs and the unemployment rate increased despite promises that the event would generate jobs in the long run; instead, the World Cup worsened the social and economic inequality in the country (Ngonyama, 2010).

Human rights organizations and international trade unions played a successful role in being vocal critics of the labour rights violations that were taking place, resulting in a number of important reforms. Qatar seems to be following in a similar vein, using this mega sporting event as a catalyst for positive change and promoting decent working conditions in the construction sector and other related fields (Dorsey, 2014).

2.6. BEST PRACTICES FOR MIGRANT WORKERS' TREATMENT IN DEVELOPED NATIONS

Migrant workers have been employed in developed countries for many decades. They have helped meet labour shortages in the West ever since the rapid economic growth in post-World War II era, as well as more recently in fast developing Asian countries. While developed nations have managed to export a great deal of their manufacturing activities to low-wage countries, local industries such as construction, hospitality and healthcare remain in need of foreign workers to compensate for the unwillingness of nationals to take up such low paid jobs (Castles, 2006).

The advantage of employing migrant workers stems from their willingness to accept lower hourly wages compared to local population who often consider these types of jobs as menial and with poor reputation. Yet despite their importance, migrant workers around the world have generally received insufficient levels of protection; their employment is most vulnerable to economic shocks and hence job security is almost non-existent (Fromentin, 2013). In addition, as a result of countries' strict regulations on the amount and type of work permits granted to low skilled foreigners, many end up as undocumented workers exposed to abuse.

However, while the global migrant workers' experience leaves a lot to be desired some good practices exist in different countries that are worth examining as potentially reproducible elsewhere. For instance, Germany prefers short-term seasonal workers and finds such foreign-worker programs legally and logistically most beneficial. The country has set up successful bilateral agreements with non-EU East European countries to allow seasonal workers in agriculture, hospitality and construction for a period of up to three months with strict regulations on the terms of employment and workers' rights protection (Castles, 2006). Migrant workers from EU member states do not require a work permit and are therefore free to take up employment – provided that no German citizens are available for the positions, thereby addressing the shortage of unskilled labourers. It should also be noted that

foreigners in Germany have the same social rights as citizens, including access to the country's social security system (Lee, 2013).

The UK has a similar Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS) which allows young people from Europe to take up to three months in the agricultural sector (Castles, 2006). Since health and safety are major concerns for migrant workers taking up employment in potentially hazardous conditions, the UK's Health and Safety Executive developed a nation-wide campaign targeting East European and other migrant workers in an effort to inform them about on-site health and safety measures. In the UK, all workers are protected under the HSE laws, including those who are undocumented and illegally employed; therefore, it is important to raise awareness among them so that accidents and injuries do not go unreported (Guldenmund, Cleal & Mearns, 2012). In addition, the UK had enlisted Chinese, Polish and other national outreach workers to act as intermediaries and spread awareness and support to their fellow migrant workers. Guldenmund, Cleal & Mearns (2012) proposed that similar pioneering approaches for migrant workers' health and safety should be implemented elsewhere in Europe as a preventive measure for unnecessary deaths and injuries.

In Singapore, the government has made active efforts to reform labour policies and legislation aimed at reducing migrant workers' abuse and mistreatment. Employers of migrant workers are provided with explicit guidelines on the frequency and mode of wage payments to ensure their regularity. They are also encouraged to provide periodic wage adjustments as well as end of service benefits as a reward mechanism for loyal and high-performing migrant workers (Devasahayam, 2010). In addition, recruitment agencies are strictly monitored and must be accredited; they are required to provide workers with orientation sessions as well as to inform employers about their obligations to protect the workers' welfare.

Based on evidence from studying construction workers in Singapore, Ling et al. (2013) recommended management strategies to deal with cultural diversity, such that are

inclusive of the feedback from highly skilled migrant workers and incentivise initiatives that ensure close administration of contracts and supervision to minimise unproductive attitudes. In addition to work-related strategies, project managers in Singapore also form concrete personal relationships with workers to create trust and organize social activities to engender inter-team spirit. This is particularly helpful when potential cultural differences arise between local project managers and foreign workers, preventing communication problems and mismanagement, and avoiding low productivity (Ling et al., 2013).

In the context of best practices for the management of temporary migration, Hennebry and Preibisch (2010) examined the elements of Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) that make it popular for both the employers and the relevant government bodies. Through their critical analysis of qualitative and quantitative data, the authors reviewed existing and offered additional best practice suggestions for the developing temporary migration programmes. Some of the key ones included cooperation between origin and destination countries, transparency in the selection criteria, and provision of health care for the incoming migrant workers. However, they also discovered that the Canadian programme does not adhere to the majority of best practices advocated in international fora, such as the recognition of migrants' educational qualifications, enabling skills transfer opportunities as well as paths to permanent residency.

Johns Hopkins (2012) explored ways to protect the rights of migrant construction workers and made the following recommendations in particular regards with the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region:

1. Providing educational, social and legal services for migrant workers
2. Raising awareness through online social media
3. Empowering women and children through legal reform and lobbying efforts
4. Supporting migrant workers through special government agencies
5. Providing consultation and legal aid to migrant workers
6. Providing legal aid, consultation and training to promote migrants' rights

7. Facilitating social initiatives for the integration of migrant workers.
8. Improving labour law coverage for domestic workers
9. Using Memoranda of Understanding to strengthen bilateral commitment to ethical labour standards
10. Training law students on migrants' rights
11. Promoting regional capacities to combat trafficking
12. Utilising public campaign ads to galvanise support for anti-violence legislation
13. Creating e-learning courses to reduce workers' risk of exploitation

The majority of forced labour reports in Qatar tend to be linked to recruitment agencies and contractors. While significant strides have been made in curbing forced labour, cases of abuse are still reported. Certain agencies and local employers continue to engage in practices such as induced indebtedness, false promises about work terms, withholding wages, physical and psychological abuse (Diop et al., 2020). These practices happen as a consequence of a lack of rigidity of the law and sufficient enforcement.

During the preparation stages, Qatar was well aware of the issues of management and wellbeing of migrant labourers as faced by previous hosts, and the history of migrant worker abuse in the Middle East as a whole. To tackle negative publicity and ensure a positive legacy, one of the most prominent initiatives that the SC has put in place was the development of the Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP).

2.7. THE WORKERS' WELFARE PROGRAMME (WWP)

Workers' welfare is a key consideration for the State of Qatar and the Supreme Committee. The Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP) was a major step in the right direction introduced by the Supreme Committee to address the concerns regarding Qatar's treatment of migrant labourers. It showed great promise in terms of the human resource management of migrant workers and their welfare in preparation for the World Cup and post-Qatar 2022. Al Thawadi (2018) stated, "Workers' welfare is of critical importance to the work of the Qatar Supreme Council with the potential to

create a transformative and truly global social legacy for the first FIFA World Cup to be held in the Middle East.” Compliance with the WWP and all relevant Qatari laws is a mandatory prerequisite to the selection and retention of SC’s contractors and subcontractors working on 2022 World Cup projects.

The Workers' Welfare Programme focuses on several important dimensions: Ethical Recruitment, Training, Health and Safety, Accommodation, Outreach and Engagement, and Compliance and Auditing. These elements are at the core of Workers' Welfare Standards (WWS), a set of regulations that all contractors and subcontractors commissioned on World Cup related projects must abide by. The standards were formed following extensive consultation with the business community and numerous civil society groups, including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Building & Wood Workers' International (BWI), Engineers Against Poverty, Humanity United and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The SC, their contractors, sub-contractors and partners are all accountable to uphold the Workers' Welfare Standards. They are supported by regular inspections and a rigorous 4-tier audit system independently monitored by an external body, Impactt Ltd. Below sections explain in detail the main dimensions of the WWP, and how they were used to inform respective hypotheses of this study.

2.7.1. Ethical Recruitment

IHRB (2018) stated that ethical recruitment of migrant workers includes addressing the following issues:

- a) Workers being charged excessive recruitment fees and related costs often resulting in huge debt
- b) Workers being deceived in either the country of origin or the destination country regarding working or living conditions
- c) Workers having their passports or personal documents removed
- d) Migrant workers being unable to change employers under Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) agreements

- e) Migrant workers being forced to live in company accommodation for which they are charged excessive fees
- f) Migrant workers being given limited access to representation, grievance and arbitration. World Employment Confederation (nd) stated that the Indian Staffing Federation investigated its members' views on ethical recruitment, concluding that 71% of respondents stated that ethical recruitment resulted in higher worker morale and 57% of respondents stated that ethical recruitment resulted improved organisational performance.

Under the SC's WWP, ethical recruitment is given considerate attention and compliance requirements are stipulated in great details. Employers are prohibited from retaining workers' passports (except for visa application and renewal purposes), and it is mandatory that workers always keep in possession their Qatar ID cards as well as bank account cards. Employers are mandated to pay all recruitment fees and it is prohibited for the worker to bear any cost. Employment contracts must be attested by MOADLSA and only recruitment agencies that are approved and registered with MOADLSA are allowed to work with SC's contracted companies. Letter of job offer must contain the same salary information as the actual employment contract, with a minimum basic salary of 750 QAR (£165) to be paid monthly via electronic bank transfers. Workers are not allowed to work more than 10 hours per day with guaranteed rest days and overtime pay. The ultimate aim of these regulations is to protect the migrant workers' rights and hence contractors who fail to abide by them are subject to penalties and cancelled projects.

Hypothesis 1

Migrant workers who undergo ethical recruitment are more satisfied than those who do not.

2.7.2. Training

There has been a paucity of research into the effect of staff training on migrant worker satisfaction levels. Liao (2016) identified a positive correlation between push

migration, pull migration, interpersonal satisfaction, salary satisfaction and organisational commitment. Trelova and Olsavsky (2017) identified a positive correlation between staff training and staff satisfaction. Lu (2016) stated that some staff training methods (such as initial job training, one-on-one training, and learner-friendly training) increase staff satisfaction, whereas other training methods (such as instructor-led training and computer-based training) actually decrease staff satisfaction.

The WWP prescribes a specific set of trainings and inductions that contractors must provide to all workers employed on SC's projects. This includes a mandatory induction to accommodation – to be delivered in a prescribed language of the worker's choice, first aid training and site specific security training. The Programme also requires the contractors to provide all workers with relevant skills training as per their job specifications and to implement regular refresher trainings throughout their employment period. Providing any types of trainings beyond those stipulated in the WWP – such as training on soft and transferable skills – is at the contractors' discretion.

Hypothesis 2

Migrant workers who undergo effective staff training are more satisfied than those who do not.

2.7.3. Health and Safety

Health and safety of workers is the SC's number one priority and as part of ensuring highest standards on all construction sites, the Committee engages with contractors to share knowledge that would minimise risks at work (Supreme Committee, n.d.). This process includes all phases of the projects, from conceptual stages of the stadium designs throughout the construction process. Construction sites are constantly monitored for the number of workers on site, work hours completed, and regular inspections to ensure appropriate working conditions are being met.

The WWP requirements clearly specify that health cards must be provided to all workers and that a licensed nurse must be present for work and accommodation sites with more than 100 workers and a medical doctor for more than 500 workers. Fire alarms must be operable at all times and food catering must be provided under specific safety and hygiene regulations.

In order to keep workers safe, the Supreme Committee has introduced a number of innovative policies and products. Cooling technology such as cooling towels and vests was recently launched on select number of work sites, as well as devices that measure temperature and humidity in order to alert workers when the conditions are not suitable to continue work (Supreme Committee, n.d). Health checks are performed on all workers before they start working, and regular screenings are undertaken throughout their employment period (The Peninsula Qatar, 2017).

Mihiravi and Perera (2016) investigated the impact of occupational health and safety practices on job satisfaction in Sri Lanka, concluding that there is a positive correlation between effective occupational health and safety practices and job satisfaction. Kheni (2007) investigated the impact of health and safety management on safety performance of small and medium-sized construction businesses in Ghana, concluding that effective health and safety management improves both physical and psychological wellbeing of workers on construction sites.

Hypothesis 3

Migrant workers who are protected by effective health and safety management are more satisfied than those who are not protected.

2.7.4. Accommodation

Migrant workers' accommodation around the world is known to be subject to few safety and hygiene standards with many workers living in overcrowded and poor conditions. Wong et al. (2006) investigated rural migrant workers in urban China, concluding that their poor living conditions caused the community to live a

marginalised life. Tao et al. (2014) investigated residential satisfaction of these migrant Chinese workers, concluding that they are not as dissatisfied with their poor residential environment as one would expect due to factors such as comradeship, friendship, mobility, family life, and housing facilities and services significantly affecting their overall satisfaction.

The WWP stipulates clear instructions for high accommodation and food standards that must be upheld by the contractors. For instance, fire alarms and extinguishers must be provided as well as continuous supply of electrical power. Maximum of four beds are allowed per room with specific furnishing, sanitation and privacy requirements. The contractors must also provide a social room of sufficient size with a TV set and appropriate air-conditioning capacity, as well as a minimum of one outdoor and one indoor sports recreation facility and a room with internet access. Likewise, food catering must provide three full meals per day for each worker and self-cooking facilities are prohibited to avoid fire and hygiene hazards.

Hypothesis 4

Migrant workers who live in high quality working and living conditions are more satisfied than those who do not.

2.7.5. Outreach and Engagement

Outreach and engagement are embedded as an essential part of the Workers' Welfare Programme to ensure that the workers feel as though they are a part of something greater than simply building stadiums. The workers are provided with recreational facilities and have access to events like the Workers' Cup, Workers' Thank You dinner and Iftar tents during Ramadan (Supreme Committee, n.d.). These events help to build a community-like atmosphere and encourage relationships. In order to provide these events, the SC engages with other government agencies and private organisations.

As part of the SC's outreach efforts, wearable cooling technology has been deployed in 2019 on several work sites with the aim to relieve heat stress. Initial feedback from workers has been overall positive and showed that it is possible to lower their body temperature with appropriate cooling attire. Plans are currently under way for the equipment to reach a larger number of SC's migrant workforce.

A nutrition programme has also been developed as an element of SC's official outreach. In 2019, they began implementing summer health screenings, nutrition trainings and mandating enhanced food menu options. So far, the programme has shown indications of success in both worker satisfaction and health benefits, and it has been accordingly expanded to reach higher number of workers in the coming two years.

The effectiveness of the SC's Workers' Welfare Programme should be assessed in light of what is currently known about the factors that influence migrant workers' satisfaction levels. International Labour Organisation (2016) identified the importance of bipartite initiatives between social partners in providing outreach and engagement to migrant workers. For instance, Hicks et al. (2014) stated that employees receiving coaching at work experience a positive impact on their perceptions of wellbeing, job satisfaction and engagement at work.

Hypothesis 5

Migrant workers who benefit from outreach and engagement are more satisfied than those who do not.

While the WWP is an initiative undertaken by the SC – guaranteeing improved conditions only for the workers operating under the World Cup related projects, Qatar as a country has also taken a number of steps and measures to tackle labour rights and related issues, which will be discussed in details below.

2.8. MEASURES TAKEN BY QATAR TO PROTECT MIGRANT WORKERS

With the entire world watching, Qatar has already learned a lot from the previous World Cup host nations with respect to the wellbeing of their migrant labourers and the effect it can leave on the country's legacy. Aside from pioneering the WWP that is specific to World Cup related projects, the country has made significant strides in introducing a number of legislative reforms that apply to all migrant workers. Various amendments were made in the recent years to reform the labour laws, including Law No. (1) of 2015 amending the Labour Law for the purposes of introducing the Wage Protection System (WPS), Decree Law No. 23 of 2019 amending some provisions of Law No. 21 of 2015 regulating entry, exit and residence of expats, Law No (22) of 2019 regulating workers' residency location, Ministerial Decision No. 95 of 2019 removing exit permits for all workers not covered by previous Law No. 13 of 2018, and several other important changes. For a full review and details of each amended law, please refer to Appendix H.

However, certain issues remain to be fully addressed such as human trafficking, which is defined as "the physical movement of people across or within borders through coercion or deception for the purpose of exploiting them when they reach their destination" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2014). While having recently adopted anti-human trafficking and forced labour legislation, Qatar has been lagging behind in enforcement. According to Jureidini (2014), there had been no prosecutions under the Anti-Human Trafficking laws before 2014. It is worth noting that while recruitment agencies are responsible for most of the trafficking cases, many government officials are either complicit in their actions or a key part in some cases. By taking bribes from these agencies, low-level government officials provide clearance papers that allow human trafficking to perpetuate while the wealthier recruitment agencies can even have an influence on the government policies through similar corruption tactics (Jureidini, 2016).

There is a variety of reasons as to why employers choose to use agency labour, such as gaining flexibility or adaptability to changes in demand, reducing recruitment and training costs, accessing specialist skills or avoiding union problems. Agency

employment is increasingly insecure internationally with a trend towards lower wages and worsened conditions, decreased access to representation and enforcing licensing/registration schemes (Keles, Markova & Fatah, 2019). In Qatar, two bodies controlling the recruiting agencies are Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Interior. Both ministries need to approve the national quota to hire migrant labourers from abroad, with the Ministry of Labour focusing on the number of migrant labourers and the Ministry of Interior deciding on the nationality quota (Rajan & Arokkiara, 2019).

Buckley et al. (2016) investigated migrant construction workers in the UK, Canada, Thailand, the UAE and South Africa and discovered that workers earning least were at a far higher risk of work-related injuries as well as fatalities. They were also more likely to be laid off during recessions, as well as hired on temporary or part-time basis. Similarly faced in Qatar, delayed and withheld wages were a recognized issue, particularly prevalent among migrant workers working on seasonal basis and those hired by subcontractors with lax regulations.

Two major recent developments that have occurred with regard to promoting the reforms of Qatar's labour laws are the introduction of the SC's Workers' Welfare Programme and the technical cooperation programme between the State of Qatar and the ILO.

2.8.1. Technical Cooperation Programme with the ILO

The State of Qatar has made unprecedented efforts at both legislative and practical levels to protect the rights of migrant workers. It has taken due measures to prevent them from falling victim to forced labour by working with different stakeholders to improve the legislation and to comply with international labour standards. In addition, increased international pressure has led the country to build nine new accommodation units to house 340,000 workers, three hospitals and four health centres (Heerdt, 2018). The International Labour Organization (ILO) has recognized these efforts and showed appreciation for the measures taken by the Qatari government. In that light, a three-year (2018-2020) technical cooperation agreement

was signed between the State of Qatar and the ILO as part of the country's extensive attempt to provide additional guarantees for the promotion and protection of migrant workers' rights. Main focus of their cooperation has been ensuring that international best practices are implemented, including cancelling exit permits for workers and no objection certificates for job transfers as well as setting a minimum wage (ILO, 2018).

Strategic objectives of the ILO cooperation outline the implementation of numerous reforms related to laws and regulations of employment and worker rights, covering following areas of concern: wage protection, labour inspection and occupational health and safety, employment contract system that will replace the broadly criticised sponsorship (kafala) system, forced labour issues and amplification of workers' voices (Jayakumar, 2019).

The wage protection aspect of the cooperation includes an enhancement of the wage protection program and its expansion to cover small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and subcontractors, with plans in place to also include domestic workers. Likewise, stricter enforcement of penalties for employers who do not pay wages is part of the objectives. The minimum wage is planned to be non-discriminatory and a wage guarantee fund is to be established (ILO, 2018). These added policies give migrant workers a sense of security knowing that their employers are bound by the law to fulfil their wage commitments.

In the labour inspection and occupational health and safety category of the programme, a major objective is the implementation of an upgraded labour inspection policy. It includes a clear strategy for public inspectors as well as a training plan that increases the enforcement powers of public inspectors and improves communication with migrant workers regarding their own sense of health and safety at the workplace (ILO, 2019). Another policy introduced under this section of the programme relates to occupational safety and health, outlining heat-related and other risks and includes a relevant awareness-raising campaign (ILO, 2018).

The new employment contract system replacing the kafala system allows laws to be implemented, reviewed and revised to allow for regulation of recruitment and employment terms and conditions of the migrant workers (ILO, 2019). It also ensures that stakeholders are trained and familiarised with the new law, implementation of fair recruitment guidelines, and removal of restrictions on migrant workers preventing them from changing employers or leaving the country. The agreement to put an end to the kafala system is a major step forward in Qatar's intentions to honour fair worker treatment, and it sets a new, higher standard for workers' rights protection in the Middle East.

The objectives of the programme with regard to forced labour include effective policies on human trafficking, using a proper definition of the term as well as indicators for forced labour (ILO, 2018). Assistance will be provided in the development of these policies and the coordination of international bodies on forced labour and human trafficking, as well as in setting up training plans to build the capacity of national enforcement personnel such as police, public prosecutors, judges, and labour inspectors (ILO, 2019). There is also an aim for the development of a national action plan outlining measures to target issues such as passport confiscation, contract substitution and impediments to accessing justice for victims (Jayakumar, 2019).

Another part of ILO's mandate in this cooperation is to provide technical assistance in the ratification of 2014 Protocol to the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No.29), and to raise public awareness of forced labour and fair recruitment through various activities in collaboration with the Qatar Chamber of Commerce (The Peninsula Qatar, 2019). These added policies serve to reduce the occurrence of forced labour and human trafficking within the country and the region at large. Penalising mechanisms are also put in place along with increased enforcement power, to ensure that those partaking in such illegal activities are appropriately punished.

A major issue to be solved in the promotion of workers' voices is the mechanism through which migrant workers can submit complaints. Monitoring systems are established to improve performance and strengthen national complaint outlets, as well as tools for ensuring that workers are aware of their rights regarding filing complaints, required documents and the relevant procedures (ILO, 2018). For workers who do submit complaints, support will be offered by the ILO and the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs; the process is designed to be as efficient as possible and to protect the workers from employer retaliation (ILO, 2019).

In addition, a national awareness campaign is to be carried out to ensure that all migrant workers are familiar with their labour rights in Qatar (The Peninsula Qatar, 2019). These policies and other activities aim to help workers become more educated regarding their own rights and empower them to speak out regarding employment concerns. Other measures taken by Qatar include the improved provisions of the occupational health and safety, as well as supporting mental wellbeing of migrant workers. However, while providing venues to file complaints such as hotlines and grievance committees is an essential step forward, certain globally recognized rights such as that of assembly are yet to be granted to foreign workers in Qatar. As per Article 116 of the Labour Law of Qatar, only Qatari nationals have the right to form worker committees, unions and similar collective organisations.

2.8.2. Occupational Health and Safety of Workers

Under Qatar's Labour Law, employers are required to provide workers with necessary personal protective equipment free of charge and to perform routine medical exams on regular basis, in addition to creating working conditions that minimise instances of injury or disease (ILO, 2015). However, not only does this law excludes domestic (i.e. household) workers, its enforcement for the types of occupation that it is supposed to cover is yet to be on a satisfactory level. As a result, migrant workers are often subject to poor working conditions that lead to hazard exposure and injury, as well as longer working hours that are frequently responsible for exhaustion and fatigue.

Carney et al. (2016) argued that this might be a particular source of concern for migrant workers employed in construction and extractive industries, such as those building eight stadiums and digging the underground metro system for the Qatar 2022 infrastructure. The authors suggest that there may be potential health implications for both the countries of origin and host nations. These workers face many occupational risks on a daily basis and are not appropriately protected by the law should anything happen. One particular risk is caused by the temperature and humidity during the summer months, which can get dangerously high and become unsafe for work. Many workers are forced to endure these types of weather conditions to avoid delaying project completion. This leads to heat-related problems such as cramps, oedema, rash, dehydration, heat stroke and even death (Backer & Shlim, 2017). A considerable number of Qatar's migrant construction workers were recorded as injured or killed in work-related incidents due to inappropriate occupational health and safety measures (Millward, 2017, p. 1).

2.8.3. Mental Wellbeing of Migrant Workers

In addition to physical wellbeing, researchers such as Adhikary et al. (2011) and Kronfol et al. (2014) have studied the mental health of migrant workers. They cite many examples of stressors that can lead to or exacerbate mental disorders and diseases, such as differences in culture and spending extended times away from their families (Wickramage & Siriwardhana, 2016). Prominent mental health disorders diagnosed in migrant workers include major depressive and anxiety disorders, which could be due to a number of factors including working condition and their treatment at the place of work.

Major depressive disorder is characterised by intense feelings of sadness and hopelessness for extended periods of time and can have side effects such as weight gain, weight loss, restlessness, a lack of energy and even suicidal thoughts. Anxiety disorders are characterised by extreme or excessive fear or worry that interferes with daily activities. There are many different types including generalised anxiety disorder, panic disorder and separation anxiety disorder. The last type may be the most

applicable to migrant workers and it is defined as excessive anxiety about separation from home or people with whom the patient has a strong emotional attachment, such as family.

However, psychological health is not addressed in Qatar's legislation for occupational health and safety in any way (ILO, 2015). Health assessments of migrant workers by employers and recruitment agencies often focus on physical health and pay little to no attention to psychological health. To further complicate matters, some employers restrict research on the mental health of their migrant workers because they believe that this could negatively affect the workflow (Wickramage & Siriwardhana, 2016). Nonetheless, mental health has gained increased attention in the recent years, with organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Health Organisation (WHO) facilitating research and providing forums for discussions.

One of the reasons why workers' mental health in Qatar is reported as poor is the lack of social relationships and low social capital overall (Diop et al., 2017). This is particularly true when it comes to their exposure to local Qatari culture and citizens, with whom they have very little interaction. In addition, Qataris often hold apprehensive attitudes towards these workers, as will be discussed in the section below.

2.8.4. Citizens' Attitudes toward Migrant Workers

In Qatar, citizens' attitudes heavily influence changes in policy and legislation. Their attitudes toward migrant labour in particular have been studied by prominent social researchers in order to determine the projected changes with regards to migrant labour policies in the future (Diop, Johnston & Le, 2015; Diop et al., 2016). Diop et al. (2016) surveyed a representative sample of Qatari citizens, who overall acknowledged the need for migrant workers and their contribution to the country's economic development through their hard work and talents. However, Qataris also contended that there are some negative aspects of having so many migrant workers in the country,

including threat to traditional customs and values, increased crime rates and traffic congestion, as well as added pressure on public services (Diop et al., 2016).

They also believed that migrant labour has negative socio-economic effects in various regards. Firstly, they create labour market competition that has an effect on the income distribution in the country, suggesting that the migrants are draining Qatar's resources (Diop, Johnston & Le, 2015). However, it could be argued that with the World Cup fast approaching there has been a slight shift in general attitudes toward the migrant workers. Citizens are increasingly aware of their importance and necessity for the successful execution of the upcoming World Cup, as well as other large-scale infrastructure projects. This is even more evident among the younger generation of Qataris who are globally oriented and more open to foreign influences.

In a survey of citizens' attitudes towards the sponsorship (kafala) system, Diop, Johnston & Le (2015) found that a significant majority of Qataris think that the system should be kept about the same or changed to make the workers more dependent on their sponsors, mainly opposing reform attempts that would loosen job mobility restrictions and promote workers' rights. This is very different from the worldwide perception of the kafala system, where it is seen as extremely exploitative and revealing an apparent lack of sympathy among the Qatari people towards the plight of the migrant workers. However, considering the fact that Qatar will continue to rely on foreign workers even after the World Cup, albeit to a lower extent, it is worth exploring how the country plans to manage the long-term sustainability aspects of its continued development.

2.8.5. Sustainability

In light of the upcoming World Cup, the country is focused on economic development through infrastructure and other major event-related projects. To achieve this, Qatar has employed a great number of foreign workers that is yet to further increase in the two years leading up to the 2022 World Cup. However, sustainable provisions for housing, food production, waste disposal, water resources and transportation are still

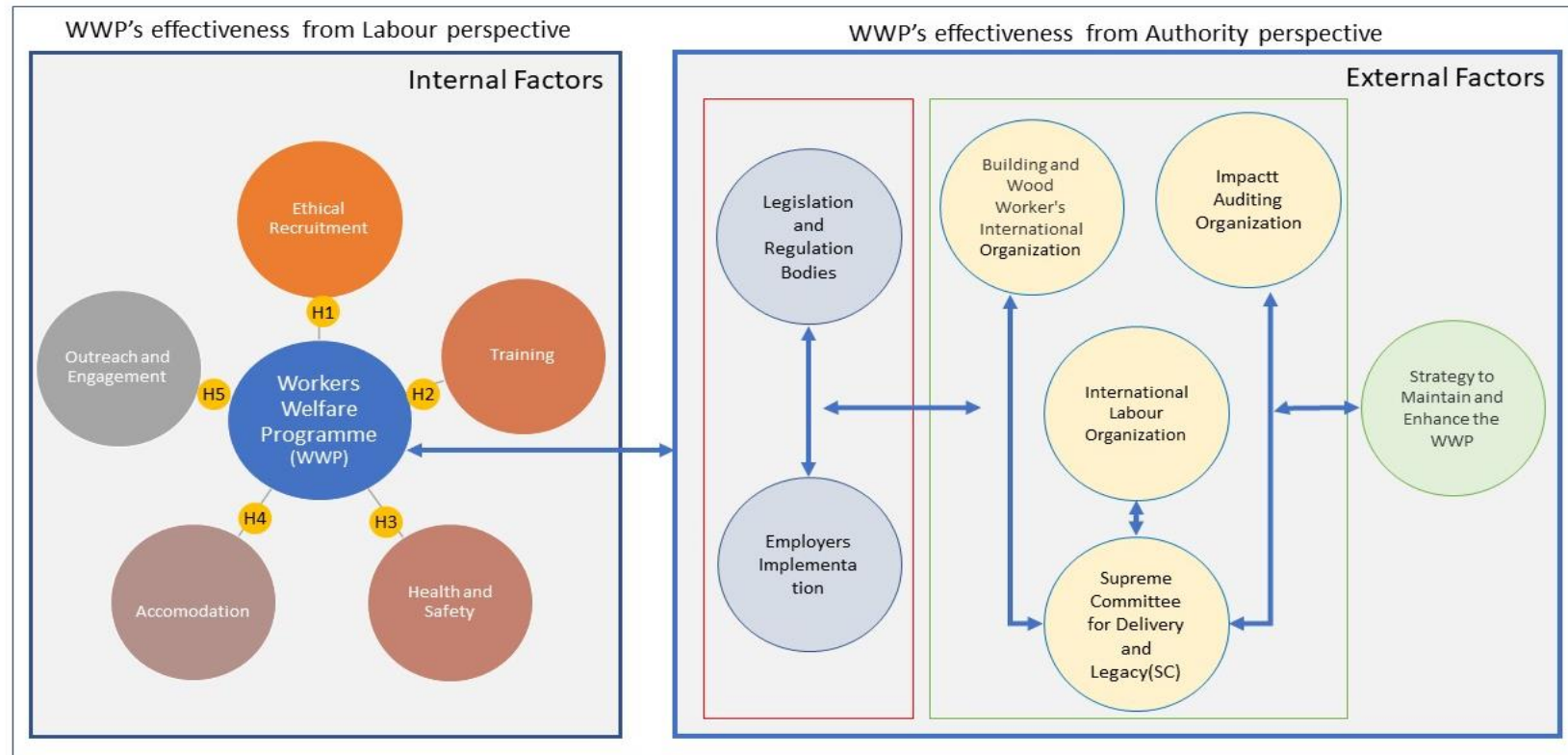
in the development stages (Richer, 2014). Upon the completion of the World Cup, the plan is to retrench the migrant worker population significantly, as most of major construction projects will be completed. While efforts are being made to make the 2022 World Cup the most eco-friendly edition of the event with self-sufficient energy and cooling technology in stadiums, concerns remain about the increased pressures on the already fragile local ecosystem brought about by the sudden and exponential population growth (Webber, 2014). This is another cause for concern for global critics, who believe that a lack of sustainability can cause food and water shortages and will decrease the quality of life for both the migrant labourers and Qatari citizens.

This potential lack of sustainability can have an impact on the 2022 World Cup legacy. Even though in the short term the influx of migrant labour can allow for successful project completion in a timely manner, they can also deplete Qatar's scarce resources. This can in turn have an effect on the economic, social, human and environmental aspects of life in Qatar. It remains to be seen how the aftermath of the World Cup will affect local demand for housing, food and water supplies, and whether measures planned to tackle the issues are appropriate for sustainable resource management.

2.9. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework below (Figure 2.3) linked with the concepts, previous research and theories related to the topic under study.

Figure 2. 3: The Conceptual Framework



The internal factors relating to the Workers Welfare Programme on the left-hand side of the conceptual framework are designed to investigate the WWP's effectiveness from the perspective of migrant workers. It does so by using quantitative data collected via a face-to-face survey with migrant workers. Each of the five factors are hypothesised to be correlated with the WWP satisfaction: the higher the workers' rating of each of the five programme aspects, the higher their overall satisfaction is hypothesised to be.

The external factors on the right-hand side of the conceptual framework will be investigating the WWP's effectiveness from the relevant authorities' perspective by using qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders. This includes an interview with a representative from the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA), as an important legislative and regulating body, going beyond the WWP and overseeing the entire workforce in Qatar.

Secondly, interviews will be conducted with contractor representatives coming from the same companies as the surveyed migrant workers, whose input will help place the workers' feedback in context and allow for cross-company comparison. A representative of ILO's Project Office in Qatar will be interviewed, as this organization is a crucial external partner to both the SC and the MOADLSA, and hence their view of the WWP's effectiveness is extremely valuable. External auditing company, Impactt, will also be approached to provide feedback on the WWP and the compliance progress. Finally, a representative of the SC will likewise be interviewed. Feedback from the different external stakeholders, as well as findings from the workers' survey will all be analysed and employed to suggest strategies for maintaining and enhancing the WWP.

2.10. SUMMARY

This chapter covered the history of the FIFA World Cup and considered elements of preparation and planning for hosting the World Cup, focusing on Qatar's bid and structural organization for the World Cup 2022 as well as its infrastructure and legacies.

It then discussed the 2010 and 2014 editions of the event held in South Africa and Brazil, respectively, as the two most recent cases that had significant controversy surrounding the planning, migrant labour issues and outcomes, and hence valuable lessons to be drawn from. The chapter then moved on to examine the efforts made by the SC through their WWP and overall measures taken by Qatar to help improve the migrant workers' conditions and leave a positive legacy. The chapter concluded by detailing the study's conceptual framework.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the research design and methodology used to gather and analyse the data for the study. It generally elaborates on how the research was administered. Research philosophies, approaches and strategies are outlined as well, in addition to discussing the research sampling procedures. These are followed by a discourse on the data collection and analysis procedures. Finally, the chapter concludes with a reflection on the ethical guidelines followed in this study.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

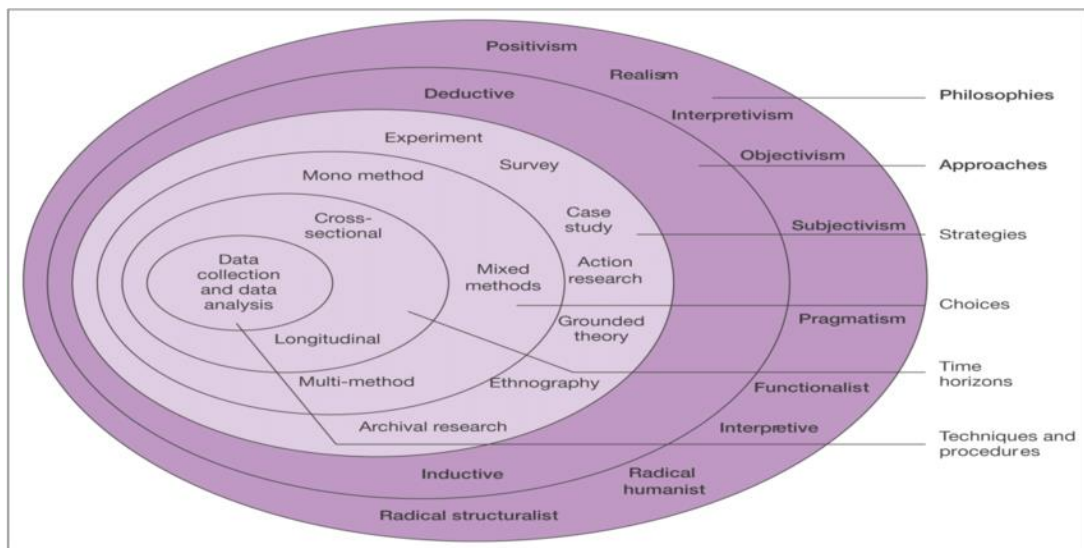
According to Zikmund et al. (2010), research design is a researcher's guideline or plan that outlines the processes and methods for data collection and analysis in order to attain the objectives and answer the research questions of the investigated topic. Simultaneously, Creswell (2009) defined research design as a plan to administer research that includes research philosophies, approaches and methods. Research philosophy selected to guide this study is pragmatism since it favours the use of mixed methods, where both quantitative and qualitative data procedures are combined. Such approach is adopted as most appropriate due to the fact that data collection for this study required quantitative surveys with migrant construction workers and qualitative interviews with high authorities involved in delivering the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar.

Quantitative research was used to examine the level of satisfaction of migrant construction workers, while interviews with high authorities and decision makers were considered as supporting information to better explain the context of the study from various perspectives. This approach is supported by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003), who propose pragmatism as compatible with mixed methods research design as it gives a chance to present a bigger variation of opinions and can yield robust feedback on the research questions.

3.3. RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

According to Creswell (2008), a research study's effectiveness and outcomes are improved when the researcher creates a distinct approach that will guide them throughout the research process. The researcher in this study considered a wide range of factors and ensured that all applicable facets were covered in the research process.

Figure 3. 1: The Research Onion



(Saunders et al., 2011)

The research onion is widely used by researchers and practitioners (Saunders et al., 2011). It has been a very beneficial and convenient tool in reasoning and navigating various stages of the research process. As shown in Figure 3.1, the research onion is composed of six layers. Each layer is indicative of approaches that the researcher may select or follow in his or her study.

Research philosophy encompasses beliefs or ideas that the researcher adopts with regards to perspectives or views about the world. When pondering on research philosophies it is vital to consider three extensive dimensions. The first dimension is ontology, which is the study of being and existence. It involves comprehending the nature of reality (Slevitch, 2011) and addresses the question of how the world is constructed

(Marsh & Furlong, 2002). According to Killam (2015), there are two fundamental and commonly adopted ontological positions which have opposing views. On one hand, the belief of having one unchanged and generalizable truth is called realism, a position that is typically studied by objective measurements. On the other hand, a position that can be studied by subjective assessments is called relativism, i.e. the belief of having multiple truths. These truths change over time as they are shaped by the context and thus are not generalizable. Relativists mostly search for meanings rather than truths.

The second dimension is epistemology which is described as the study of knowledge and involves views on true and legitimate knowledge (Slevitch, 2011). Epistemologists acquire new knowledge that is authentic and justified by using sound evidence. Additionally, Marsh and Furlong (2002) stated that our epistemological position reflects the “view of what we can know about the world and how we can know it” (p.9). Third dimension is axiology which addresses the nature of ethical behaviour and usually concerns the researcher’s judgments of values and ethics in all stages of the research enquiry from his own perspective (Creswell, 2013). In other words, one’s set of personal values can have an effect on their research in terms of what particular aspects of the findings they consider valuable (Dudovskiy, 2019). Since the aim of all researchers is investigation of true values, it is necessary to establish an environment where their results and output will be seen as credible, i.e. that they are considered honest in their reports of findings. Hence, keeping detailed track and storing raw collected data is essential for ensuring that the researcher’s credibility is unquestionable (Handriana, 2013).

According to Saunders et al. (2016), there are five paradigms that are commonly applied in research – positivism, realism, pragmatism, interpretivism and postmodernism. Positivism applies when the researcher perceives the world by focusing on observable social reality. As Sousa (2010) explained it, positivists “see the social world as a closed system wherein cause-effect relations can be readily observed or experienced” (p. 456). The researcher who manifests positivism justifies a phenomenon through an evaluation

of observed findings. Additionally, the researcher is highly sensitive about acquiring and using factual information instead of impressions (Saunders et al., 2011).

The second philosophy is realism which applies when the researcher conducts a scientific enquiry and holds the notion that senses are the foundation on which reality or truth is built. Realism has two forms – direct and critical. Direct realism, also known as naive realism, involves associating experiences from the use of one's senses to portray the world accurately, whereas critical realism adopts the belief that people's experiences are sensations that need to be critically evaluated in order to comprehend the underlying meanings they hold (Creswell, 2013).

Pragmatism is a philosophy which allows the researcher to be flexible and to perceive the world through an open perspective. The argument made is that the appropriateness of individual philosophies is influenced by the specific question that the researcher seeks to answer. In other words, pragmatic researchers consider research questions as the most significant determinants of the research philosophy (Dudovskiy, 2019). Unlike positivism and interpretivism, pragmatism can be adopted when the most appropriate approach calls for combining more than one research strategy and method in a single study.

Interpretivist philosophy allows the researcher to interpret different components of the study. This type of philosophy allows integrating human interest into a research. It also supports the perception that individuals are different and the roles they play as social actors are equally different. As such, the researcher utilises research subjects to comprehend his or her world view.

Lastly, postmodernism arose in the late twentieth century and it is a philosophy that permits the researcher to challenge organisational theories and concepts and determine what facts of existence not to include. A postmodernist researcher is open to deconstruction of any type of data (Saunders et al., 2016).

According to Creswell (2013), the researcher's views and concepts are vital because they influence the strategies and research methods that will be selected. In this study, pragmatism was adopted as the most suitable research philosophy due to the nature of research questions and problems posed herein. As stated by Saunders et al. (2016), "a pragmatist recognises that there are many different ways of interpreting the world and undertaking research, that no single point of view can ever give the entire picture and that there may be multiple realities" (p. 118). This is contemplated through the fact that the researcher has an open perception regarding the world view as they seek to evaluate the research topic and the fact that both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed in this study to investigate the issues at hand.

3.4. RESEARCH APPROACH

Research may adopt a deductive, inductive or a combination of the two approaches. According to Sekaran (2003), researchers may find solution to their concerns, matters or issues by using these approaches. Under the deductive approach, research begins by inferring hypotheses from the theory and forming a relationship between the two factors before consequently proceeding to test the hypotheses (Saunders et al., 2007). Conversely, in an inductive approach the researcher focuses on identifying the meanings that individuals associate with phenomena based on the context provided. The conclusions are derived according to the researcher's observations of a certain phenomenon.

Based on various research views, combining deductive and inductive approaches in one research project can be carried out with great advantages. Molina-Azorin (2016) argued that combining them is an opportunity to improve research studies and skills, while Creswell and Clark (2017) believed that it enables better comprehension of research problems and complicated phenomena as compared to adopting only a single approach. Moreover, Saunders et al. (2007) concluded that combining the approaches can clarify the results of the research to build better strategies.

In line with the research objectives, this study uses the inductive approach where the emphasis is on enhancing and improving the understanding of the study's context with the researcher embedded as part of the procedure (Saunders et al., 2007). Through the use of semi-structured interviews, this study strives to further analyse factors that affect the satisfaction of migrant workers with the Workers' Welfare Programme and how the main stakeholders are implementing the said programme. This procedure is envisioned to help the researcher in determining new compositions in the data and provide vital suggestions for recommendations.

3.5. RESEARCH STRATEGY

A research strategy is defined as “the general plan of how the researcher will go about answering the research questions” (Saunders et al. 2009, p. 92). Most importantly, scholars believe that a research strategy is a necessity in order to answer the research questions efficiently and to accomplish the goals of the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012; Yin, 2009).

There are a wide range of strategies to choose from when conducting research. These may include surveys, questionnaires, experimental research, ethnographic research, interviews, focus groups, case studies, action research, archival research, and others. Within each strategy there is a number of sub-categories to choose from, such as internet surveys, phone surveys, in-person surveys and observations. Each type offers its own advantages and disadvantages and therefore the choice will be dependent on the type of data analysis and output that the researcher would like to obtain.

In this study, two strategies were chosen to achieve research goals – an extensive survey to examine the factors influencing migrant workers' satisfaction followed by a series of interviews with main stakeholders to gather information on the success of the WWP.

3.6. RESEARCH METHODS

Methodology is referred to as the general approach of the research procedure which outlines the techniques on how the research is undertaken (Collis & Hussey, 2003; Howell, 2013). It is also defined as the process that involves data collection, description, explanation and prediction of phenomena by using a selected approach or methods (Bryman & Bell, 2003). Table 3.1 shows a brief comparison of the research choices, namely: quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods.

Table 3. 1: Comparative view of the research choices

Method	Quantitative	Qualitative	Mixed methods
Nature of data	Variables	Words, images, categories, patterns	Mix of variables, words, images
Data analysis	Statistical relationships	Search for patterns, themes and holistic features	Quantitative symptoms and qualitative support
Results	Generalising	Particularistic findings Representation of insider i.e. 'emic' view point	Corroborated findings may generalize
Final report form	Statistical report	Narrative even with direct quotations of research participants	Eidetic and pragmatic

Source: Creswell (2013)

Each type of research methods has its own strengths and weaknesses. However, when combined, they can complement each other and give a better understanding of the topic under study. In the following sections, different types of research methods will be briefly discussed.

3.6.1. Quantitative Research

Quantitative research is a systematic and objective type of research (Burns & Grove, 2005) which involves the use of numerical calculations, estimations and statistics in order to obtain explanations as measurable results (Zikmund et al., 2010). This type of research

can determine and observe causal relationships and calculate the relationship influences between research variables. This is supported by the study of Masue et al. (2013), who concluded that researchers who choose this method can assess the relationship among various case aspects. Major advantages of quantitative research include validity, reliability and objectivity. It can handle collecting a great number of data or responses (Masue et al., 2013; Wiid & Diggins, 2009) and the data can be generalised to large groups of people. However, a major disadvantage is that instruments may have a measurement error or error in sampling. Another notable disadvantage is that findings from certain research topics are difficult to quantify.

3.6.2. Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methods highlight the importance of words when gathering and analysing data. Masue et al. (2013) argued that researchers who use this method seek to clarify social phenomena through concentrating on verbal or visual data and not on statistics or numbers. This helps the researcher obtain a deeper understanding of the topic being studied. In addition, Creswell (2003) specified that qualitative research includes representation of various definitions of human experiences and those that are contrived in a social or historical way to create patterns or theories. A major advantage of qualitative research is that it allows the researcher to obtain a more thorough understanding of the topic of interest by having detailed the 'how' or 'why' questions during data collection.

According to Sekaran (2003), the most significant characteristic of qualitative research is the descriptive nature of the issues being studied. However, it is difficult to generalise data collected via qualitative methods, which is often pointed out as its major disadvantage. Other disadvantages include longer data collection time and the fact that there is a lack of scientific controls, which may lead certain researchers to dismiss such study results.

3.6.3. Mixed Methods Research

A mixed methods research is defined as the “collection or analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research” (Creswell et al. 2003, p. 212). Similar to other methods, mixed methods research has its own strengths and weaknesses, as described in Table 3.2.

Table 3. 2: Mixed methods – strengths and weaknesses

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The mixture of words, pictures, narratives and numbers add more meaning to the research findings• It has stronger evidence for research conclusion• It complements the strengths and weaknesses in quantitative and qualitative methods• The generalisation of research results is more complete	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• It is more complex to carry out the research• It is time consuming• It is resource intensive• It is risky as research findings in quantitative and qualitative methods may have conflict (e.g. Wagner et al., 2012)

Due to the nature of this study’s research objectives, as outlined in Chapter One, a mixed methods approach was deemed most appropriate.

3.7. SAMPLING

Among the most important matters to be considered in a research design is the selection of an accurate sampling technique. A sampling technique is used to gather an adequate number of responses from a subgroup of the population. In other words, it is the process of selecting a sample of units from the sampling frame. It plays a critical role since the ability to make any valid inference about the target population relies upon a rigorous

sample design. According to Sekaran (2003), there are two main types of sampling – probability and non-probability. Probability sampling implies that the elements from the selected population have a known and equal chance of selection, whereas non-probability indicates that the chance of the elements appearing in the general population is unknown and potentially unequal. In addition, probability sampling entails random selection whilst non-probability depends on the subjective discernment of individual researchers (Stephanie, 2015). Both sampling techniques have subtypes that researchers can choose from as the most appropriate (Daniel, 2012).

Sampling is divided into four extensive types: probability, purposive, convenience, and mixed methods (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The first type of sampling is probability, which is most frequently used in quantitative research. It involves choosing a great number of respondents from a population where the odds of being selected for the sample are known and can be calculated (Stephanie, 2015). The second type is purposive sampling where a non-probability sample is developed, a method generally opted for in qualitative research. It involves choosing entities that are most suitable to address the research questions. In other words, participants are selected based on research aims. Third type is the convenience sampling, a non-probability method that involves participants who are readily available and willing to take part in the study. The last type is mixed methods sampling which combines both probability and purposive samplings.

Since this research entailed both quantitative and qualitative data collection, two sampling approaches were used. Systematic random sampling as a subtype of the probability method was used to select participants for the survey of migrant workers. Outcomes from gathering and analysing this quantitative data informed the development of semi-structured interview guides. High authorities and stakeholders involved in preparations for the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar were selected to take part in interviews that would allow the researcher to gain a better understanding of the study

context. Selection of interview participants was undertaken using the purposive sampling technique.

3.7.1. Sample Frame

One of the components of a sample design is identifying the sample frame. Information such as the list of contractors and the list of workers were obtained from the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC). Before initiating the first phase of data collection, several meetings were held with the WWP team to attain a better understanding of the contracting companies and their operations. Details about their company profiles, manpower, and diversity were profoundly deliberated. At the time of the inquiry, there was a total of 292 companies engaged in SC projects out of which 32 were main contractors and the rest were subcontracted parties working on smaller scale operations.

As a result, four main contractor companies were selected for two important reasons. Namely, among all contracted companies these were the top four in terms of both size and workforce diversity. In addition, most subcontractors work for these major companies and have to comply with the regulations and policies stipulated by both the main contractors and the SC. Since they follow the same policies and procedures but operate on a smaller scale and on temporary basis, they were not included in this study's sample, choosing instead to focus on main contractors with large operations.

Furthermore, since most stadiums are approaching completion many contractors are in the process of scaling down the workforce engaged on those projects. Information about the companies selected for this study are kept confidential for ethical reasons, and hence they will be referred to as companies A, B, C and D. Respondents for the quantitative part of this study were migrant construction workers employed at the above-mentioned companies.

The next phase of data collection was the qualitative research. Selection of respondents for this method was dependant on the outcomes of the quantitative research. In order to triangulate the findings from the workers’ survey and gain more knowledge about the implementation of the WWP, decision makers of the four surveyed companies were selected for semi-structured interviews. In addition, representatives from the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA) as well as the ILO, the SC and the external auditing company were also interviewed in order to assess the effectiveness of the WWP in light of the factors that influence migrant workers' satisfaction.

3.7.2. Sample Size

This section outlines the sample size for the workers’ survey and the stakeholder semi-structured interviews.

3.7.2.1. Survey Sample Size

As seen in Table 3.3, the size of each of the four selected companies’ total migrant workforce varied significantly due to the companies’ differently sized operations and the extent of their involvement with the SC’s World Cup construction projects. A detailed list of all workers was used as the sampling frame for this study, from which random and proportionate subsamples were drawn.

Table 3. 3: Size of workforce by contracting company

Contracting company	Total migrant workers
Company A	473
Company B	2,583
Company C	274
Company D	2,101

In order to obtain an unbiased representation of the population at question, the researcher used systematic random sampling to retrieve a total of 1,000 individuals – proportionate to the size of each of the four companies (86 from company A, 471 from company B, 53 from company C and 390 from company D). According to Stephanie (2013), a systematic random sampling is a way of assigning a number to every population member and then choosing the n^{th} member from that population. To ensure unbiased selection, the researcher ordered the list by contractors and workers' nationalities. Secondly, every 5th person in the list was selected, where 5th is called the sampling digit. This was repeated until the desired sample of 1,000 was obtained.

3.7.2.2. Sample Size for Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviewees were selected based on purposive sampling. The researcher was able to make appointments with the four surveyed companies (A, B, C and D) and one decision maker from each was scheduled to participate in a semi-structured interview.

Two additional semi-structured interviews were conducted in a face-to-face mode with the ILO Head of Project Office in Qatar and with the Assistant Undersecretary of the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA). These institutions are considered as crucial stakeholders in the uptake of the WWP, as they have the power to recommend improved standards for the entire workforce in Qatar. A phone interview was conducted with a representative of the SC and similarly with a representative of the SC's external auditing company, Impactt.

3.8. QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

According to Jena (2012), designing a questionnaire is the most significant part of the study. For that reason, the researcher cautiously planned and devised the questionnaire instrument to achieve a successful study. The instrument designs for both quantitative and qualitative methods were reviewed and approved by the researcher's study

supervisor as well as senior researchers from Qatar University who are engaged in workers' welfare fieldwork.

The questionnaire for the quantitative data collection stage was designed based on the main dimensions of the WWP and reflects this study's research objectives (see Appendix A). It begins with a cover letter addressing the participants and stating the purpose of the study while also assuring anonymity of responses and voluntary nature of their participation. Basic details about the researcher were also included.

The questionnaire consisted of eight sections with nominal and ratio scales. All questions were devised in a close-ended multiple choice format with the respondent required to select only one answer. Individual questionnaire items are further discussed in the Data Analysis section of Chapter Four. The first section of the questionnaire was designed to collect the respondent's demographic information such as gender, age, marital status, occupation, highest education level, monthly income and years of experience. All questions in this section were designed in nominal scale.

Sections two to eight consisted of questions that were used for each of the factors examining the level of satisfaction of migrant workers. Specifically, the sections focused on Ethical Recruitment (ER), Training (T), Health and Safety (HS), Accommodation (A), Outreach and Engagement (OE), Compliance and Auditing (CA) and lastly on the Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP). The questions were designed in a mix of nominal and ratio scales. Filter questions were used to allow the respondents to either answer or skip items based on their previous answers.

Questionnaires for the qualitative part of the study were designed based on the gaps identified during the quantitative data analysis stage. In order to gain a deeper understanding on how the contracting companies implemented the WWP, the questionnaire consisted of a set of semi-structured questions. According to B2B Market

Research (2019), a semi-structured questionnaire includes a mix of both open and closed questions. This allows new ideas to spontaneously surface depending on the flow of the conversation and gives the researcher an opportunity to undertake an in-depth exploration of the subject.

The interview questionnaire for the four company representatives mainly focused on the Workers' Welfare Standards, which are comprised of the following dimensions: Ethical Recruitment (ER), Training (T), Health and Safety (HS), Accommodation (A), Outreach and Engagement (OE), Compliance and Auditing (CA) and the Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP). Each company representative was asked to comment on main performance gaps as identified from the survey of their workers, including topics such as training language, overdue salaries, food quality and healthcare access.

Interview with the Head of the ILO Project Office in Qatar was designed to gauge the ILO's perspective of the SC's Workers' Welfare Programme and their overall views and role in the country's labour reforms. Since MOADLSA is another important stakeholder in terms of policymaking and regulating employers, an interview was conducted with the Assistant Undersecretary to better understand their relationship with the SC and potential plans for including WWP regulations in the Labour Law.

Understanding the SC's perspective was considered a crucial element of the narrative and hence their representative was interviewed as well. Main interview topics included the SC's auditing system, views on the contractors' compliance rates, workers' concerns and the SC's approach in tackling them. The interview was conducted via telephone as a consequence of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and social distancing policies. Though telephone interviewing has been criticised by some scholars for its inability to establish high levels of rapport between the interviewer and interviewee (Sweet, 2002), others have defended its use arguing that there is no real difference and that the data collected via phone is of same quality as via face-to-face interviews (Tucker & Parker, 2014). Prior

to the pandemic outbreak, the researcher managed to build strong in-person rapport with the SC representative and therefore maintaining a natural flow during the phone interview was not an issue. After scheduling the interview and giving a reminder call with further details, the telephone interview was initiated by the researcher.

The call began with a brief informal exchange after which the interviewee was reminded of the confidential nature of the conversation and was provided with an overview of the questionnaire. Similar to the in-person interviews, the researcher prepared a set of questions and proceeded with posing them while allowing ample time for the interviewee to respond to each. The interview was concluded by thanking the SC representative and providing information on the further steps of the research.

Interview guides were customized and specifically developed for each interviewee to cater to their unique position and role vis-à-vis the WWP implementation. Finally, an interview was planned with a representative of the SC's external auditing company as well. However, despite initial enthusiasm they declined the invitation, citing conflict of interest and pointed the researcher to their publically available reports for further information.

3.9. PILOT STUDY

Prior to quantitative data collection, a pilot study was conducted to determine the effectiveness, clarity of instruction and appropriateness of the questionnaire, and to identify whether there is a potential need for altering the measurement items. Additionally, pilot data allowed the researcher to estimate how long an average interview would take and to manage fieldwork accordingly.

By utilising simple random sampling, the pilot study was self-administered on 50 respondents, 6% from each of the four companies' total number of interviews. Table 3.4 below shows the methodology used to select the respondents for the pilot testing.

Table 3. 4: Selection of pilot participants

Contracting company	Number of workers interviewed	6% of workers selected from each company
Company A	80	5
Company B	300	18
Company C	40	3
Company D	390	24
Total	810	50

The feedback obtained from pilot participants did not reveal any major issues which enabled the researcher to proceed with the main data collection phase.

3.10. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

This section highlights how the main data was gathered in two sequential stages.

3.10.1. Quantitative Data Collection

Quantitative data collection was conducted between 5th July and 2nd August, 2019, however initial work began several months earlier when necessary preparations were made in terms of recruiting native speaking interviewers, training them, as well as arranging data collection logistics and securing company approvals. Data collection took place at the respective companies' worker accommodation sites. Since these workers had diverse nationalities and their first languages were neither English nor Arabic, Qatar University helped the researcher overcome the language barrier by recommending a team of interviewers fluent in most workers' native languages. Prior to administering the questionnaires, interviewers were briefed on the purpose of each question and were trained by experienced field research academics on how to ask the questions without priming the respondent, as well as how to make them feel more comfortable when answering the questionnaire. Once the interviewers were qualified and tested on how

the exact process should be, the questionnaires were distributed. Please refer to Appendix J for photos taken during the fieldwork.

3.10.2. Qualitative Data Collection

The second stage of data collection was the qualitative research. The unit of analysis were decision makers of companies A, B, C and D as well as the representatives of other relevant authorities. The first step was to make preliminary contact with the target participants; once their consent was obtained, appointments were scheduled accordingly. Prior to meeting the participants, the researcher made follow up calls to remind them about the appointment timings and brief them on the rationale and content of the interviews. The researcher conducted the interviews at the construction site offices of the four respective companies while interviews with representatives of relevant authorities were conducted via phone and at respective headquarters. Interview duration was on average between 60 and 90 minutes and permission was obtained to audio record all of the interviews. Audio files were later transcribed and used alongside personal observation notes to analyse findings from each interview.

3.11. DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

The software used to analyse the quantitative data is IBM SPSS Statistics version 23. It was selected due to the researcher's familiarity with it, as well as its frequent use in social science studies for conducting complex statistical analyses on large datasets. Specific types of quantitative analyses executed in this study are outlined in the sections that follow.

Qualitative data collected during the stakeholder interview stage was thematically analysed, identifying patterns of meaning across the interviews. Deductive content analysis involved first scanning the interview transcripts for codes based on the study's themes, i.e. mapping the connections between the qualitative and quantitative data. Quotes that revealed recurring patterns, surprising facts or information that either

confirmed or countered previous research were all annotated with codes and examined across the interviews, with the purpose of referring to them later during discussion to support findings.

3.11.1. Frequency Analysis

Frequency analysis was applied to determine the level of plurality in the demographic section of the workers' survey. By measuring the returned and completed questionnaires, frequency of occurrences together with the proportions was retrieved. The results of the frequency analysis are reported in the next chapter (Section 4.2).

3.11.2. Descriptive Analysis

Descriptive analysis mainly gives details on the phenomena of concern. By presenting the proportion of responses for every question, the researcher was able to analyse the gaps and describe the respondents' insights for the items under the main themes. This also helped the researcher understand how the workers answered those questions.

3.11.3. T-test Analysis

T-test analysis was used to study the migrant workers' responses to survey questions which contained two answer categories, determining whether there were significant levels of satisfaction among the workers towards WWP. The results are discussed in more details in section 4.5.

3.11.4. One-way ANOVA Analysis

The researcher also applied one-way ANOVA analysis to examine the questions that have more than two answer categories and determine whether there was significant satisfaction among the workers with the WWP or not. The findings for this analysis are likewise discussed in section 4.5.

3.11.5. Reliability and Validity

Prior to delving deeper into quantitative data analysis, reliability and validity measures were used to evaluate the quality of the data. More specifically, Cronbach's alpha was used as a measure of internal consistency reliability to examine the extent to which survey items measure the proposed concepts under study (i.e. ethical recruitment, training, health & safety, accommodation, outreach and engagement and overall satisfaction ratings). Construct validity was ensured by utilising survey items that were well-established and previously operationalised in other studies that similarly explore migrant workers' conditions. Lastly, using a mixed method approach of collecting both quantitative and qualitative data strengthened the reliability and validity of the resulting findings.

3.12. RESEARCH ETHICS

It is vital to consider some basic principles and values of research ethics in every research study. Thus, all aspects of this study are in accordance with the University of Bolton's ethical guidelines. This includes the submission of RE1 at the R1 stage of this study. By following a set of guidelines and ethical principles, the researcher managed to maintain research integrity and ensure high ethical standards based on the university's regulations. Key ethical dimensions are conferred in the following discussion.

Prior to collecting the data, participants were briefed about the study's purpose and their consents were noted, assuring them of anonymity and voluntary nature of their participation. Since the study involved collecting data from migrant construction workers, one of the most important ethical considerations was to ensure that their managers or supervisors did not coerce them into participation for their own gain or reputation. To prevent this from happening, all parties involved were made aware of the potential risks.

Participant confidentiality was a crucial ethical consideration in this study. This includes personal records and confidential communications such as personal names, opinions and

feedbacks. It is vital to keep all these information undisclosed because it could result in serious consequences for the migrant workers, such as poor treatment at work, withholding of wages or even termination of employment. In addition, names of the four contracted companies are also kept confidential to avoid potential conflicts and disputes. As for the interviews with the representatives of relevant authorities, their personal information as well as audio recordings are also kept confidential. All interviews contained very sensitive data and since it involved other people, lack of confidentiality may result in protests, public outrage, dismissal from the position, loss of incentives, or other potential negative consequences that should be avoided.

Furthermore, other ethical values implemented were carefulness, integrity and objectivity. Throughout the study, the researcher carefully examined the work and made every effort to avoid careless negligence or errors. The researcher acted with sincerity with all parties and kept agreements as promised. In terms of objectivity, the researcher strived to avoid biasness in all aspects of the research and particularly so in the data analysis and interpretation stages.

With regards to storing information or data, the researcher ensured that it was safely kept and protected. The researcher observed data protection to ensure security for all participants involved. For instance, all the responses in the questionnaires and transcripts from the interviews were kept safe in password protected files on a laptop where the researcher is the sole person with access.

3.13. SUMMARY

This chapter summarized the methodology of the study. Beginning with a discussion on the research design, it justified pragmatism as the most suitable research philosophy for this study. Due to the viewpoints of various philosophies and context of the research, an inductive approach was adopted. Subsequently, the chapter elaborated on the use of mixed methods approach where the quantitative and qualitative data collection and

analysis procedures were done in sequential phases. Research strategies were also discussed, including the administration of questionnaires to the migrant construction workers, examining their level of satisfaction, and the utilisation of semi-structured interviews with the high authorities in order to broaden the knowledge and awareness on the context of the study. Finally, the chapter concluded with the discussion of research ethics, ensuring high standards and maintaining research integrity.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and discusses the results obtained from the quantitative survey of migrant workers and the semi-structured interviews conducted with different stakeholders. It is divided into two main parts. The first part will focus on quantitative data findings, beginning with a presentation of respondents' demographic information. It proceeds by elaborating on the various statistical analyses performed, including Frequency, Descriptive statistics, T-test and One-way ANOVA. This part will also include a discussion on a number of gaps in construction companies' performance vis-à-vis the Workers' Welfare Programme (WWP), as identified from the workers' survey feedback.

The second part of the chapter will shed light on the stakeholder interviews and their outcomes. This includes in-depth analyses of interviews with representatives from the four surveyed companies as well as interviews with other crucial stakeholders including the Head of the ILO Project Office, the Assistant Undersecretary of the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA), the SC's external auditor (Impactt) and the SC's own Compliance and Audit Manager.

Both the workers' survey and stakeholder interviews will be analysed under the five WWP themes that cover various aspects of the migrant workers' working and living conditions (Ethical Recruitment, Transportation, Health and Safety, Accommodation, and Outreach and Engagement), in addition to also examining their effect on the workers' overall satisfaction.

4.2. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

While there was a total of 292 contractors and subcontractors engaged in delivering various 2022 FIFA World Cup projects at the time of inquiry (Impactt, 2019), surveying all

would have been impractical and unnecessary since they all share common labour concerns. Hence, only the top four in terms of size and workforce diversity were selected to be examined. Out of 1,000 surveys conducted, 810 were complete, valid and usable (80 from company A, 300 from company B, 40 from company C and 390 from company D) indicating a high response rate of 81% (see Table 4.1).

Table 4. 1: Systematic random sampling of migrant workers by contracting company

Contracting company	Distributed questionnaires	Returned questionnaires	
		Incomplete	Complete
Company A	86	6	80
Company B	471	171	300
Company C	53	13	40
Company D	390	0	390
Total	1,000	190	810

The apparently large variance in the number of workers sampled in each company is owed to the fact that the four companies greatly differ in terms of workforce size.

Company A is one of the leading general contractors based in Qatar. Established in 1995 as part of [company name] Group – a major conglomerate with over 30 companies, it has successfully completed numerous large-scale projects for many prestigious clients including highways, roads and infrastructure, as well as oil and gas industrial complexes. They currently employ 473 migrant workers. In 2017, Company A formed a joint venture with Company C which was selected as the main contractor for one of Qatar 2022 World Cup stadium sites.

Company B is the only home-grown contracting company that has been chosen as a contractor engaged in delivering the Qatar 2022 World Cup. Established in 1970 to undertake civil construction projects in Qatar, Company B has historically been known to

embrace positive change and protect its workers; it was one of the early adopters of the SC's WWP regulations and the recruitment fee reimbursement scheme. Both as the main contractor and in joint ventures with other companies, it is involved in the construction of several 2022 World Cup stadiums with a large workforce of 2,583 migrant workers.

Company C was first established in 1956 as an engineering consulting company and has since grown to an international contractor with major accomplishments in Turkey, the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe. Its Qatar-based operations began more than a decade ago with awarded projects that include highways, oil pipelines and low-rise buildings. It has a reputation of delivering successful stadium projects elsewhere in the world and their joint venture with Company A is one of their most prominent projects at the moment. Company C's operations in Qatar currently employ 274 migrant workers.

Company D is one of the world's leading construction enterprises, currently active in Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. While the company exists since 1961, its Qatar-based subsidiary was established in 2005 to provide civil contracting for infrastructure, commercial buildings and heavy industries projects. It has a labour force of 2,101 migrant workers currently employed in Qatar.

Since Company B is largest in terms of workforce size it was allocated the greatest number of interviews; conversely, Company C had the smallest workforce and hence proportionate to the size had lowest number of questionnaires administered. Companies also varied in terms of survey completion rate; Company B had by far the greatest number of incomplete and unusable questionnaires (171), while others had only a few or none. This could happen for various reasons, such as inappropriate time allocated for the workers to read and fill out the survey, workers' providing incomplete or ineligible information rendering their questionnaires unusable, etc. However, since the overall response rate was 81%, number of incomplete cases did not pose an issue for data analysis.

4.2.1. Demographic Profile of the Respondents

The respondents in the present study were migrant construction workers engaged in building stadiums and other facilities in preparations for the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Table 4.2 summarizes the respondents' basic characteristics; gender, age, nationality, occupation, education, income and years of experience in Qatar.

Table 4. 2: Frequency of respondents by demographic variables

Variable	Category	Frequency (n=810)	Percentage %
Gender	Male	810	100.00
Age	22-32	248	30.62
	33-43	362	44.69
	44-54	155	19.14
	55+	43	5.3
	Others	2	0.25
Nationality	India	527	65.06
	Bangladesh	194	23.95
	Turkey	40	4.94
	Nepal	25	3.09
	Others	24	2.96
Current occupation	Labourer	800	98.77
	Engineer	2	0.25
	Supervisor	8	0.99
Highest education level	No education	87	10.74
	1-7 Class	210	25.92
	8 Class	110	13.58
	9-12 Class	59	7.28
	High School	303	37.4
	Two-year degree	18	2.22
	Bachelor	9	1.11

	Masters	1	0.12
	Refused	13	1.6
Income per month (£)	110- 219	112	13.83
	220-329	348	42.96
	330-439	274	33.83
	440-549	23	2.84
	550-659	8	0.99
	660-769	2	0.25
	770-879	3	0.37
	880-989	2	0.25
	990-1099	11	1.36
	≥ 1100	24	2.96
	Refused	3	0.37
Work experience in Qatar	0-3 years	75	9.25
	3-5 years	236	29.13
	5-10 years	280	34.56
	10+ years	206	25.43
	Refused	13	1.6

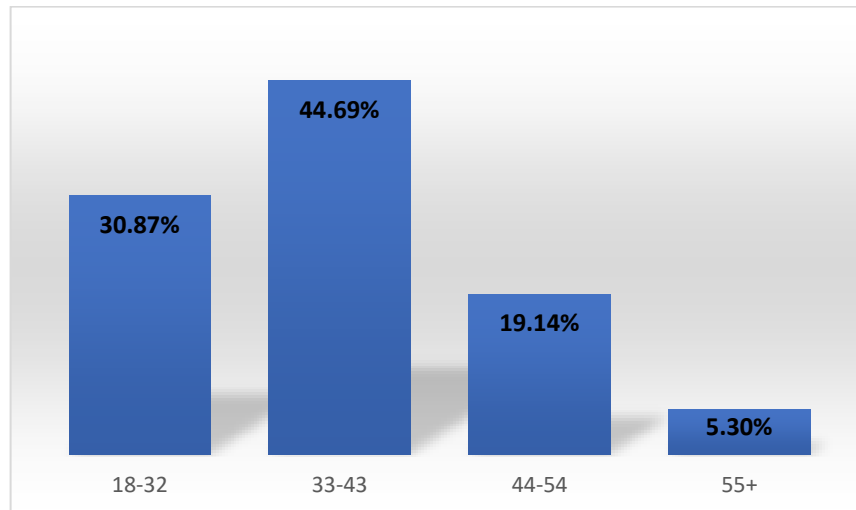
Results show that the construction industry in Qatar remains to be male dominated, confirming the findings of previous studies (Saleh, 2018). Although there are some women trying to break away from the stigma and stereotypes associated with working in construction (Alagos, 2018), they continue to face challenges. According to Younis (2019), women are exposed to discrimination and harassment and their abilities are often times undervalued solely based on gender. These could be some of the primary reasons as to why employers prefer to hire men over women in construction, which was also evident in our all-male sample.

Figure 4.1 shows that majority of the respondents were between 18 and 43 years old, with 30.87 % in the 18-32 cluster and 44.69% in the 33-43 cluster. Meanwhile, workers in the 44-54 age group represent 19.14% and those aged 55 and above represent 5.3% of the sample. Such age distribution closely matches that of the entire construction sector in Qatar where majority of labourers belong to younger cohorts. Although Kelly et al. (2019) made dubious claims about hundreds of migrant workers dying in Qatar due to heat stress, their conclusion in relation to age distribution is similar to that of this study. Namely, the first age group (18 – 32 years old) are mostly unskilled labourers with minimal experience and training prior to joining their current company.

The second age category (33 – 43 year olds) includes workers who have more experience and training and therefore are usually more skilled in their trade. The proportion of these two age groups represents the majority in our sample which accurately reflects the nature of the construction sector in Qatar; large numbers of unskilled workers are needed for tasks that are cognitively simple but physically demanding while more sophisticated tasks call for more experienced workers familiar with construction materials and equipment. The third group (44 – 54 years old) is smaller in proportion since they are mostly supervisors and are more highly skilled. The last age group (55+ years old) is the least represented as they are generally managers with many years of experience to manage the construction personnel.

Qatar's construction industry has expanded rapidly in the past few years to meet the growing development demands. As a result, the size of its migrant worker population has reached 1.9 million, composed mainly of young men from Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan who are engaged in building infrastructure and venues that will serve the 2022 World Cup tournament.

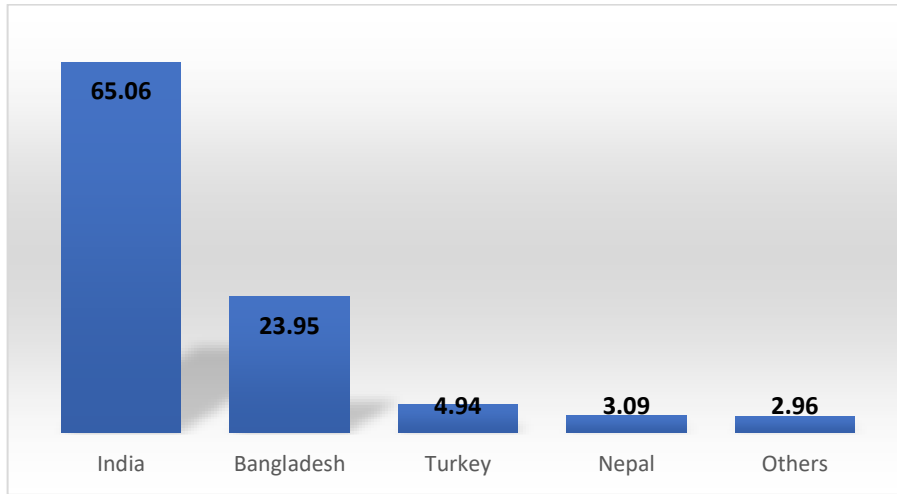
Figure 4. 1: Distribution of respondents by age



According to Human Rights Watch Report, 40% of Qatar’s total labour workforce is employed in construction (Gautam, 2019; Lewis, 2017). Figure 4.2 shows that more than half of the respondents in our sample were from India, almost a quarter from Bangladesh, 5% from Turkey, 3% from Nepal and 3% were from other countries (Pakistan, Kenya, Philippines and other). The majority of the workforce is from India due to the historic ties and reliance on the Indian subcontinent to provide (both skilled and unskilled) labour force to the Gulf region, facilitated by high unemployment rates in the workers’ place of origin (Diop et al., 2020).

This is mainly due to the lower wages offered in their home country for the same job which allows countries such as Qatar to attract them at marginally higher wages. In addition, the proportions of workers from certain nationalities are set by Qatar’s immigration quota system set up by the Ministry of Labour in coordination with Ministry of Interior, and it is based on internal policies and bilateral treaties with the respective countries.

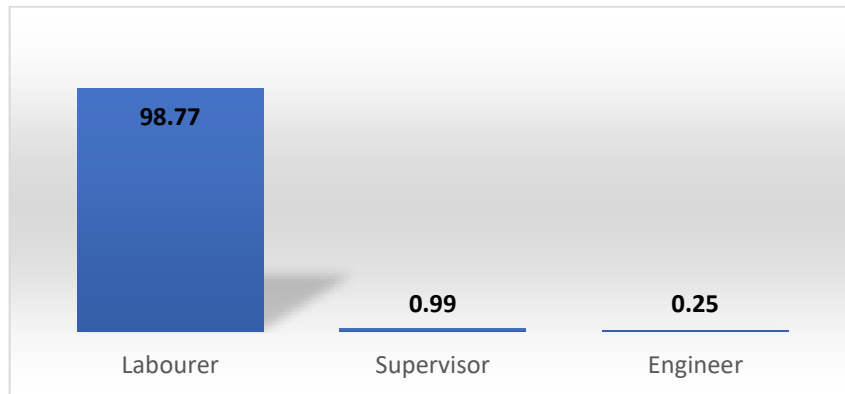
Figure 4. 2: Distribution of respondents by nationality



The respondents' current occupations are illustrated in Figure 4.3. Almost all respondents in the sample (98.77%) reported being labourers while only 0.99% and 0.25% were supervisors and engineers, respectively. Such distribution is partially due to the fact that undisputed majority of workers are labourers in the construction sector – mainly due to the overall nature of the job and to handle the SC's demand for completion of stadiums before 2022.

Additionally, since the survey was conducted at each of the companies' respective accommodation sites, workers of higher-ranking positions including engineers and supervisors do not normally reside there; instead, they are allowed to make private living arrangements. Yet, the demographic distribution reflected in our sample was found to be beneficial since the focus of this study is on migrant workers who hold blue-collar positions. Namely, low skilled labourers are usually the ones most likely to be uninformed about their rights and therefore face greater chances of abuse.

Figure 4. 3: Distribution of respondents by current occupation



As illustrated in Figure 4.4, more than a third of respondents (37.4 %) attained a high school degree. However, more than half (57.52%) did not reach this level of schooling, and completed only some elementary education. Approximately 1 out of 10 respondents reported not having any formal education (10.74%). Meanwhile, a handful of respondents reported having attained a two-year degree (2.22%), a bachelor’s degree (1.11%) and master’s degree (0.12%). As mentioned earlier, the fact that the majority of workers are low educated is considered as one of the key reasons for accepting the current low wages.

In addition, in comparison to what is available in the job market in their countries of origin, workers still consider that traveling to Qatar is more profitable, even in cases when the job position requires lower qualifications than their educational attainment. Moreover, workers who have little or no formal education are able to find gainful employment in the construction sector in Qatar, which would be far more difficult to do back home with fierce job competition.

Figure 4. 4: Distribution of respondents by highest education level attained

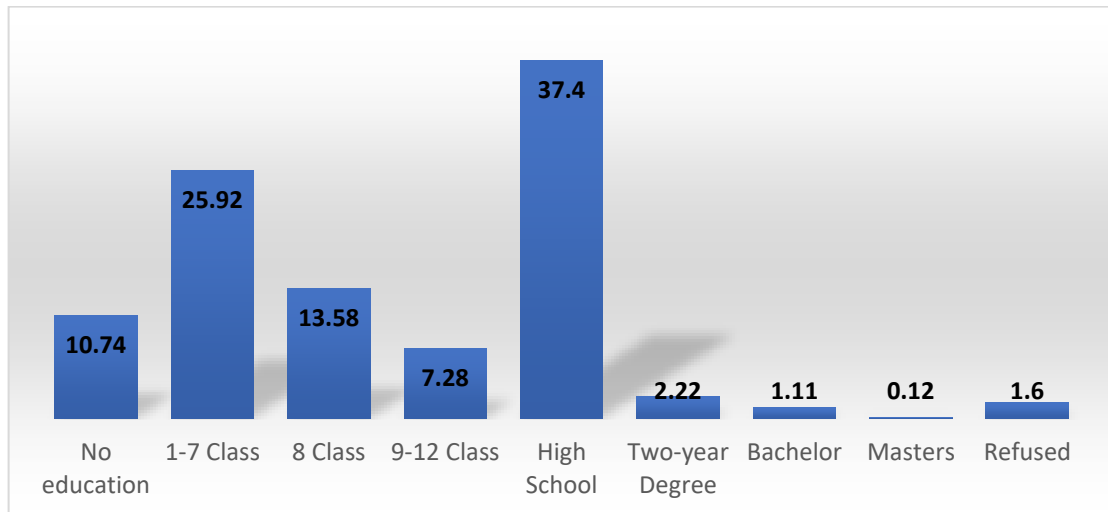


Figure 4.5 exhibits the approximate monthly income of respondents. Majority of workers have a monthly income ranging between £220 to £439, with 42.96% in the £220-£329 cluster and 33.83% in the £330- £439 cluster. This closely matches findings from previous studies about the average migrant workers' salary, which was similarly reported by Diop et al. (2020) at around £330. Meanwhile, 13.83% of respondents earn a monthly salary between £110 and £219, while few (9.02%) earn higher amounts (£439->£1100). Such distribution could be perceived as contingent on the average worker's amount of experience as well as their educational background.

Figure 4. 5: Distribution of respondents by approximate monthly income (£)

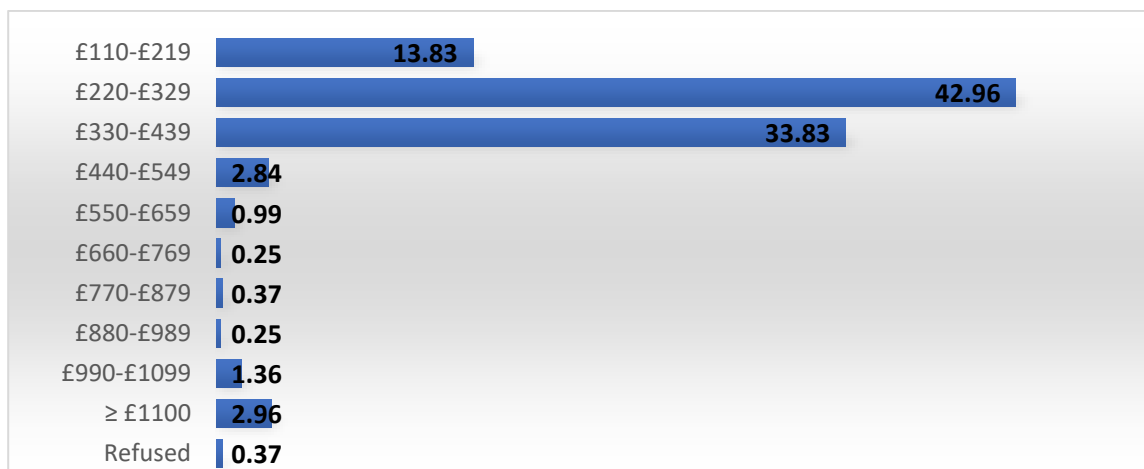
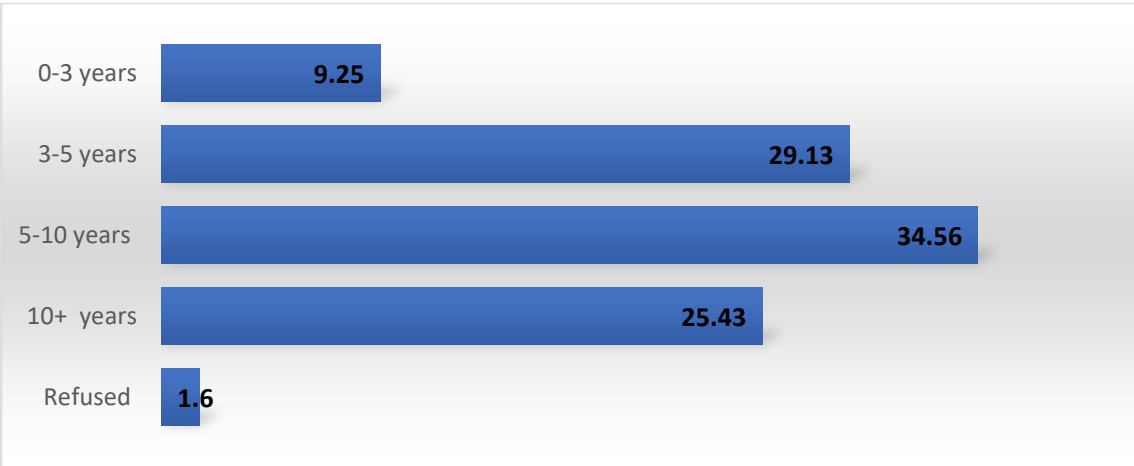


Figure 4.6 summarises the respondents' years of experience in construction projects in Qatar. The results show that the majority of respondents (73%) have less than 10 years of experience. More specifically, about a third (34.56%) have 5 to 10 years of experience and almost as many (29.13%) reported having 3 to 5 years of experience. Having less than three years of experience was the case for 9.25% of respondents, indicating that fewer new workers are being recruited in the past three years due to the fact that most World Cup projects are approaching completion and companies are phasing out their workforce.

Additionally, it also implies that those workers who have been in Qatar for longer than three years are considered more experienced and are retained in the company. Namely, construction companies in the country prefer that their workers have a minimum of 3 years of experience, since they would already be trained, experienced and adapted to the local culture and climate. Workers with more than 5 years of experience are retained as well, by providing higher salary, bonuses, etc. This clearly indicates that construction companies are willing to hire such experienced workers, as this will have a direct impact on the success of the stadium construction projects.

Figure 4. 6: Distribution of respondents by years of experience in construction in Qatar



The following section focuses on presentation and analysis of the quantitative research in relation to the main themes of the study: Ethical Recruitment, Training, Health & Safety, Accommodation, Outreach and Engagement, and WWP satisfaction.

The responses are here presented in a cross-tabulated form, to show differences across the four surveyed companies (A, B, C, and D). By evaluating the survey responses in this nuanced manner, the researcher was able to identify gaps in the implementation of the WWP regulations across the four companies. This approach sheds light on the actual situation as reported by workers versus the ideal and desired, i.e. full compliance with the WWP across all contracted companies. To facilitate the interpretation and analysis, a cut-off point was utilised to focus the discussion only on those issues where twenty or more percent of respondents (per company) provided answers that signal non-compliance with WWP regulations. The cut-off point was selected based on the researcher's consultations with relevant stakeholders who deemed it as most appropriate and worthy of further attention. The outcomes of the data analysis are presented below, discussed within each of the relevant survey section themes.

4.2.2. Ethical Recruitment

A total of 11 out of 16 questions in the Ethical Recruitment section of the survey were identified as revealing gaps in the implementation of WWP regulations (Table 4.3). The practice of signing a contract before arriving to Qatar remains widespread, with only a small proportion of respondents stating that they have not signed a contract or job offer with anyone (16.3% in Company A, 7% in Company B, 0% in Company C and 6.4% in Company D). Signing a contract before coming is a well-known practice in Qatar and the rest of the Gulf, previously noted in multiple studies as abusive and exploitative of incoming workers (Bedi, Rajan & Seshan, 2016; Jureidini, 2016; Gardner et al., 2013; Diop et al., 2020). Majority of workers from Company C (82.5%) reported signing a contract with their employer prior to coming to Qatar, while most workers from the other three companies signed their contracts with a contracting agency (48.8% from Company A, 69%

from Company B and 75.4% from Company D). Among workers who reported having signed a contract prior to arriving to Qatar (with either their employer, sponsor, or contracting agency), a substantial number from three out of four companies stated that it was not in their own language.

It is of crucial importance to provide the contract or job offer in the worker's own language prior to arrival to Qatar, as it sets the stage for the level of information that they will have once in the country. The WWP states, "The Recruitment Agent shall clearly inform the Worker in a language they understand the nature of the role and the working and living conditions in Qatar" (p.16). About a half (50.3%) of respondents from Company D reported that the contract was not in their own language while about a third of respondents from Company A (35%) and B (29%) stated the same. Nonetheless, high number of workers reporting that the offer they signed was not in their own language is not necessarily an indication of a lack of comprehension of the work conditions stipulated.

Namely, the WWP also indicates that "The Original Offer of Employment shall be in writing and must be explained to the Worker in a language that they understand" (p.19), suggesting that either a verbal or written explanation of the job conditions in a language that the worker understands (i.e. not necessarily their native language) is sufficient. If that were the case, it would be expected that the details of employment benefits were made clear to the worker regardless of the language of the written contract. Yet, 30% of workers from Company C said that the details were "not clear at all" while 40% from Company D stated that they did not understand the contract before signing, which indicates a true gap in upholding of the WWP Standards.

Company C seems to be in violation of another important regulation – passport withholding. While none of the respondents from the other three companies reported that the employer holds their passport, slightly more than half (52.5%) from Company C

reported that their passports are being withheld. The practice of passport withholding was reportedly widespread among employers in Qatar in the years prior to this study (Bedi, Rajan & Seshan, 2016). This was despite the fact that the Qatari laws have prohibited such practices for over a decade now, with the only exception to this rule being during the period of issuance or renewal of the residence permit when the employer is allowed to temporarily take possession of the workers' passports (Jaffari, 2009; Gardner et al., 2013). The WWP Standards reiterate this rule and prohibit the employers from holding onto the workers' passports beyond the period required to process their legal status. The WWP regulations also state that the only condition under which "the contractors are entitled to require the provision of the Workers passport and other relevant personal documentation" is "for the purpose of renewing the Workers visa and/or work permit" (p. 23). However, it seems unlikely that half of the randomly sampled workers from company C are all having their residence permits issued/renewed simultaneously. There might be other reasons that more accurately explain why their employer is holding onto their passports. Hence, this issue will be further discussed in the qualitative part of the study through the interviews with company representatives.

Majority of all surveyed workers reported working 6 days per week for their primary job, which is the norm for full-time employees. However, this was not the case for 4 out of 10 workers (39.7%) in company D who reported working "other" amount of days in a typical week. While almost all respondents from companies A, B and C reported receiving their salary via direct deposit or bank transfer, majority of those from company D (79%) receive their salary in cash, which is an apparent violation of the Wage Protection System (WPS).

One of the most common complaints by migrant workers employed in the Gulf countries concerns wages, which are reported at times as less than what was initially promised or as being withheld and delayed by the employer (Impactt, 2017; Gardner et al., 2013; Jureidini, 2018). In 2015, the Ministry of Labour established the WPS, mandating all companies operating in Qatar to deposit the workers' salaries directly onto their personal

bank accounts, in Qatari Riyals. The purpose of the WPS is to ensure that the workers are remunerated fully and on time, allowing the Ministry to keep a detailed record of the payments and punish offenders as appropriate (Jureidini, 2018).

Most surveyed workers in all of the four companies reported not receiving any bonus payment for their work. This is not necessarily an indication of the company not abiding by the WWP since the regulations make no prescriptions about having to provide the workers with any type of bonus payments aside from the payment for their regular and overtime working hours. However, not providing workers with bonuses suggests a lack of monetary incentives for improved performance.

Receiving salary in cash is a phenomenon that has been tracked over time as notably reduced (Diop et al., 2020); yet, it remains as a main method of payment in some companies. Workers paid in cash are known to report delayed salaries and altogether withheld payments (Bedi, Rajan & Seshan, 2016), which is the main reason why the Wage Protection System was introduced in the first place. Other researchers have noted serious flaws with the System itself, arguing that it allows some employers to engage in unethical and fraudulent practices. Jureidini (2018) pointed out that certain employers have been known to keep in possession their employees' bank cards, and upon depositing the salary they would be the ones to withdraw it, while the employee would eventually receive a delayed cash payment. Such practice is more difficult to track and prove unless the employee comes forward and files a complaint – which is rare due to fear of retribution.

Taking leave every two years was reported by more than half of respondents in each of the companies surveyed. As shown in Table 4.3, Company A had the highest proportion of workers taking such leaves (72.5%) compared to slightly more than half of workers in each of the three remaining companies (53.3% in Company B, 55% in Company C and 55.1% in Company D). However, the WWP regulations stipulate that employers are supposed to provide workers with annual leaves, not bi-annual. In cases where taking

leave every year is not feasible (either due to the work flow or worker's personal preferences), employers are mandated to provide the worker with the monetary equivalent in wages for the annual leave period that they are entitled to (SC, 2019).

Another fraudulent and yet very pervasive practice is having to pay money to come to work to Qatar (Bedi, Rajan & Seshan, 2016). Majority of workers surveyed in this study reported having to pay someone to come to work to Qatar (86.3% from Company A, 71.3% from Company B, and 86.9% from Company D); the only exception was Company C, where none of the workers reported paying such fees. The remaining three companies all had a strong majority of respondents who had to pay money to someone to be able to find work in Qatar. Representatives from these companies were asked to elaborate on such reports which will be discussed later in the qualitative part of the chapter. Having to pay certain fees to apply to work in the Gulf is usually an indication of corruption somewhere along the recruitment chain (Jureidini, 2016). However, despite being outlawed it remains a major concern for low-income workers who not aware that the practice is prohibited and hence take loans from family and moneylenders in order to pay the alleged recruitment fees.

The WWP set in place rules for the SC contractors to curb this practice: "The contract between the Contractor and its Recruitment Agent must stipulate that a Worker is not to be charged any Recruitment or Processing Fees including any upfront deposits or security-payments for the provision of recruitment services" (p. 16). If the worker has incurred costs during recruitment, the WW Standards prescribe a refund mechanism so that the employer must pay back the workers, stating that "The Contractor shall reimburse a Worker upon receiving substantiating proof of any Recruitment or Processing Fees paid by that Worker to a Recruitment Agent" (p. 17).

In 2019, the SC established a Universal Reimbursement Scheme (URS) under which 220 contractors agreed to pay back the workers fees that they have incurred, without a

burden of proof, even when recruitment agencies were the sole beneficiary. An estimated QAR 110 million (£24 million) will be paid back in monthly instalments over a period of three years, benefiting a total of 44,900 workers (SC Workers' Welfare Progress Report, 2019). Representatives surveyed in this study were asked to comment about the refund process, as will be discussed later in the qualitative part of the chapter.

Table 4. 3: Ethical Recruitment

Question	Response options	Co. A	Co. B	Co. C	Co. D
Before coming to Qatar, who did you sign a contract or job offer with?	Employer	32.5	21.7	82.5	16.4
	Sponsor or Kafeel	1.3	0.7	0	0.8
	Contracting agency	48.8	69	15	75.4
	Others	1.3	0.7	2.5	0.5
	Have not signed a contract or job offer with anyone	16.3	7	0	6.4
	Don't know	0	0.3	0	0.5
	Refused	0	0.7	0	0
Was the contract or job offer you signed before coming to Qatar provided to you in your own language?	0	16.3	7.3	0	6.4
	Yes	48.8	60	100	39.2
	No	35	29	0	50.3
	Don't know	0	0.3	0	
	Refused	0	3	0	4.1
Were you given time to read the contract?	0	16.3	7.3	0	6.4
	Yes	66.3	62.3	97.5	43.8
	No	17.5	26.7	2.5	46.9
	Don't know	0	2.7	0	1.5
	Refused	0	1	0	1.3
Did you understand the contract before signing?	0	16.3	7.3	0	6.4
	Yes	66.3	70.7	92.5	49.2
	No	17.5	18	2.5	40.3
	Don't know	0	2.7	0	3.6

	Refused	0	1.3	5	0.5
Were the details of employment benefits (working hours, salary, rest days, vacation or any other benefits) in your current contract very clear?	Very clear	100	89.3	0	15.4
	Somewhat clear	0	0	0	56.4
	Not clear at all	0	10.7	30.0	17.9
	Signed a blank contract or job offer	0	0	0	4.6
	Others	0	0	0	3.8
	Don't know	0	0	62.5	1.8
	Refused	0	0	7.5	0
Who is holding your passport?	Myself	100	99.7	37.5	99.7
	Employer	0	0	52.5	0
	Contracting agency	0	0	5	0
	Refused	0	0.3	5	0.3
How many days do you work in a typical week for your primary job?	6 days	97.5	84.7	97.5	60.3
	Others	1.3	15.3	0	39.7
	Refused	1.3	0	2.5	0
How do you receive your salary?	Cash	0	1	2.5	79
	Direct deposit (WPS) or bank transfer	98.8	99	95	21
	Check	0	0	2.5	0
	Refused	1.3	0	0	0
How often did you take your leave since you started working in Qatar?	Twice a year	6.3	2.3	0	2.8
	Once a year	15	26.7	12.5	21.0
	Every two years	72.5	53.3	55	55.1
	Never	1.3	2.7	2.5	1.8
	Others	5	14.7	27.5	18.2
	Don't know	0	0	0	0.5
	Refused	0	0.3	2.5	0.5
Did you have to pay money to anyone (family, friends, an agency, a sponsor or	Yes	86.3	71.3	0	86.9
	No	13.8	28.0	100	13.1
	Don't know	0	0.3	0	0

Kafeel) to come to work in Qatar?	Refused	0	0.3	0	0
Other than day-to-day living and paying off any migration loans, what goals do you and your family have with your savings from Qatar?	Starting a business	17.5	17.7	10	20.8
	Buying property	20	24.3	10	11.8
	Dowry	11.3	8.7	12.5	11
	Education	16.3	24.7	25	23.3
	No savings	22.5	11.3	20	20.3
	None	2.5	1.3	0	1
	Others	6.3	7.7	12.5	7.9
	Don't know	3.8	3	10	2.3
	Refused	0	1.3	0	1.5
Overall, how satisfied are you with your salary?	Very satisfied	15	59.7	32.5	20.5
	Somewhat satisfied	42.5	35.3	42.5	41.5
	Somewhat dissatisfied	15	3.3	15	18.5
	Very dissatisfied	27.5	1.3	10	19
	Others	0	0	0	0.3
	Refused	0	0	0	0.3

4.2.3. Training

Providing adequate orientation and job-specific training is crucial for any occupation – especially for construction-related ones as they are most often performed by low-skilled workers exposed to hazardous conditions (Buckley et al., 2016). The WWP clearly indicates that the employers are obligated to “provide workers with training on skills necessary to carry out their tasks, including areas related to their health and safety” (p. 33). As seen in Table 4.4, the Training section of the survey recorded fewer gaps in the WWP assessment. Almost all workers surveyed reported receiving orientation training in their language when they began working for the SC’s contracted companies (86.3% in Company A, 98% in Company B, 80% in Company C and 91.3% in Company D).

Company C had the highest number of respondents who reported not receiving orientation training in their language, though still relatively low (15%). Not having the training in their “own language” is not necessarily an indication of a complete lack of training or even training that is in a language that they understand, as many of them are bilingual (Jureidini, 2018). For instance, the WWP does specify that Health and Safety Policy needs to be displayed on construction site notice boards “at minimum in Prescribed Languages” (p. 73), which includes Arabic, Bengali, English, Tagalog, Hindi, Nepali, Tamil and Urdu, and it is highly probable that the workers will have the basic knowledge of at least one of those.

As part of induction to the company, workers are informed of ways through which they can file complaints concerning their workplace (SC, 2019). The WWP Standards state, “Workers must be advised by the Contractor of the support systems available where Workers can report grievances” (WWP Standards, p.44). Additionally, employers are strictly prohibited from retaliating against those workers who choose to file complaints. The SC has designed a three-level grievance mechanism so that the workers can express their concerns or suggestions either to their Worker Welfare Officer (WFO), through the Worker Welfare Forum (WWF), or through a dedicated grievance hotline number (SC Workers’ Welfare Progress Report, 2019).

Despite the availability of different grievance venues, one fifth of workers from Company C were not aware of ways to report complaints about their workplace and about 1 in 10 workers in each of the other three companies. This could be due to different reasons; the employees could be unaware because they have never needed the service, but it could also be an indication of negligence on the employer’s side. When asked to mention ways of reporting complaints, about a third of workers in each of the four companies did not select any of the existing categories in the survey; however, they did mention some other venues (e.g. through colleagues or a supervisor). About a half of workers in each company were aware of the SC workers’ welfare hotline, while only a few were familiar with the

hotline service offered by the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA).

Table 4. 4: Training

Question	Response options	Co. A	Co. B	Co. C	Co. D
Did you receive orientation training in your language when you began working for the Supreme Committee?	Yes	86.3	98	80	91.3
	No	12.5	2	15	8.2
	Don't know	1.3	0	0	0.5
	Refused	0	0	5	0
Are you aware of a way to report complaints about your workplace?	Yes	90	86	72.5	85.6
	No	10	13.7	20	13.1
	Don't know	0	0.3	0	1
	Refused	0	0	7.5	0.3
Which ways of reporting complaints are you aware of?	0	8.8	14	25	15.1
	Through SC hotline	51.3	46.7	50	49.7
	Through MOADLSA hotline	7.5	7.3	0	2.8
	Through Ministry of Interior	1.3	0	0	0.3
	Through NHRC	0	0.3	0	0.5
	Others	31.3	31.7	25	31.5

4.2.4. Health & Safety

Respondents were asked to think about safety at their current employment before answering the set of questions that relate to this topic. Majority of workers gave positive feedback about safe behaviour, training about summer heat and feeling that their employer cares about them. Workers are satisfied with their health and safety training and report being familiar with various procedures on how to handle emergencies and accidents at work. Majority of surveyed workers (77%) reported having a valid medical card; as per Qatar’s labour law and the SC’s WWP regulations, employers are obliged to provide access to health facilities either on site or through state health centres.

Some performance gaps were noted in the mental health set of questions (Table 4.5), as well as concerns about workplace rights (Table 4.6). When asked to rate whether they

feel tired or have little energy, about one third (32.8%) of workers from Company D said that they either agree or strongly agree with the statement, which was the highest reported proportion among the four surveyed companies (compared to 23.8% in Company A, 19.7% in Company B and 17.5% in Company C). This could be an indication of long working hours and overtime work, but also that their job duties could be too tasking for their physique.

Furthermore, a notable proportion in each company also reported feeling bad about themselves or that they are a failure and that they have let themselves and their family down (17.6% in Company A, 12.7% in Company B, 15% in Company C and 16.4% in Company D). Alarming, 17.6% of workers from Company A and 12.5% in Company C admitted to having thoughts that they would be better off dead or of hurting themselves in some way. Khaled and Gray (2019) noted that labour migrants in Qatar had greater odds of depression compared to white-collar workers and Qatari nationals; having a problem with their employer in the last 3 months was likewise linked to depressive symptoms. Similarly, Al-Maskari et al. (2011) found in their study of depression and suicidal behaviour among male migrant workers in the United Arab Emirates that both depression and suicidal intention were correlated with working in the construction industry, earning less than \$270 per month and working over eight hours per day. Policy reforms and further research are needed to better understand the causes behind this phenomenon and ways in which this vulnerable population can be better protected from mental health issues.

Table 4. 4: Mental Health

Questions	Response options	Co. A	Co. B	Co. C	Co. D
Feeling tired or having little energy?	Strongly Disagree	36.3	46	35	32.3
	Disagree	26.3	22	27.5	23.8
	Neutral	13.8	11.3	20	11
	Agree	17.5	18	15	26.9
	Strongly Agree	6.3	2.7	2.5	5.9
Feeling bad about yourself - or that you are a failure or have let yourself or your family down?	0	0	0.3	0	0
	Strongly Disagree	57.5	61	57.5	48.7
	Disagree	18.8	20.3	22.5	25.6
	Neutral	6.3	5.7	5	9.2
	Agree	13.8	10.7	12.5	11.8
	Strongly Agree	3.8	2	2.5	4.6
Thoughts that you would be better off dead, or of hurting yourself in some way?	0	0	0.3	5	0.3
	Strongly Disagree	70	88.7	52.5	88.7
	Disagree	5	6	22.5	8.7
	Neutral	7.5	3.3	7.5	1.5
	Agree	6.3	0.7	7.5	0.8
	Strongly Agree	11.3	1	5	0

When it comes to working conditions, Table 4.6 shows that more than a third of workers from each of the four surveyed companies complained that there was a lot of smoke, dust and fumes at their place of work (40.1% from Company A, 26% from Company B, 40% from Company C and 39% from Company D). More than half from each company also complained that it gets too hot at their place of work (66.3% from Company A, 60.3% from Company B, 55% from Company C and 64.3% from Company D). Finding their work stressful was the case for almost a third of all surveyed workers.

In a study of Nepalese migrant workers in Qatar, Pradhan et al. (2019) found that there was a strong correlation between the average monthly heat levels and deaths caused by cardiac arrest, indicating that heat stress is a major cause for health concerns. Additionally, Adhikary et al. (2017) found that almost half of surveyed workers perceived themselves to be at health risk at their workplace and one-fifth experienced work-related accidents. Poor knowledge about health and safety frequently leads to occupational health problems in Qatar and hence requires further scholarly and policy-making attention (Bener, 2017).

Table 4. 5: Rights at the Workplace

Question	Response options	Co. A	Co. B	Co. C	Co. D
There is a lot of smoke, dust, and fumes where I work	0	0	0.3	2.5	0
	Strongly Disagree	37.5	38.3	25	23.1
	Disagree	11.3	16.3	22.5	18.7
	Neutral	11.3	19	10	19.2
	Agree	28.8	18.7	25	28.5
	Strongly Agree	11.3	7.3	15	10.5
At the place I work, it gets too hot	0	1.3	0.3	5	0
	Strongly Disagree	11.3	11.7	10	9.5
	Disagree	7.5	14.3	20	11.8
	Neutral	13.8	13.3	10	14.4
	Agree	26.3	37	32.5	34.6
	Strongly Agree	40	23.3	22.5	29.7
I find my work stressful	0	0	0.3	5	0
	Strongly Disagree	35	37.3	20	29
	Disagree	12.5	26.7	17.5	21.3
	Neutral	25	18	25	20.5
	Agree	18.8	13.3	27.5	22.3
	Strongly Agree	8.8	4.3	5	6.9

4.2.5. Accommodation and Transportation

Workers in this study had a fairly good rating of their accommodation facilities in terms of quality, air-conditioning, plumbing and safety, which was similarly noted in previous studies (Gardner et al., 2013; Diop, Le & Ewers, 2016). As seen in Table 4.7, one major exception was the cafeteria, and especially so for company A where 40% of workers rated it as 'poor', followed by company D with 23.8% making the same rating of their cafeteria. The workers were most likely giving the poor rating in relation to the quality of the food, as a confounding variable suggestive of the cafeteria environment.

The workers were also asked to rate the quality of the food they receive on site, where large proportions from company C (42.5%) and company D (35.1%) rated it as 'poor'. The WW Standards stipulate specific food requirements asking the employers to ensure that "The menu is appropriate to the ethnic mix of Workers" (p. 59), and that "there is no provision for self-cooking in the Accommodation" (p. 59), as well as multiple food safety measures both at the accommodation and the work site. The WWP regulations make no mention of the quality and variety of food to be made available to the workers, though it may have been implied and expected as standard. However, lack of formal contractual obligation may be driving employers to prioritize profitability over quality, which could be the cause for so many poor food ratings. Furthermore, if workers are not allowed to prepare meals for themselves they have no way of rectifying the lack of food that they would consider to be of sufficient perceived quality.

A few transportation-related questions were also addressed in this section. While there were no major issues overall, almost half of workers from company C (45%) complained that their transportation was 'very crowded'. In addition, transportation was rated as 'somewhat crowded' by about a third of workers from company A (32.5%), 13% from company B, 42.5% from company C and 12.3% from company D. The WWP makes no provisions concerning the number of people per vehicle and focuses instead on safety

measures (such as seat belts, fire extinguishers, first aid kits, etc.). This finding indicates a potential area for further improvement.

Table 4. 6: Accommodation and Transportation

Question	Response options	Co. A	Co. B	Co. C	Co. D
How would you rate the cafeteria at your accommodation?	Excellent	6.3	17	17.5	6.9
	Good	23.8	49.3	37.5	40
	Fair	28.8	17.7	32.5	29
	Poor	40	13.7	10	23.8
	I don't have cafeteria	1.3	1.7	0	0
	Refused	0	0.3	2.5	0
How would you rate the quality of the food you received on site?	Excellent	33.8	12	7.5	4.1
	Good	33.8	38.7	10	23.1
	Fair	17.5	29	40	35.6
	Poor	13.8	18.7	42.5	35.1
	I don't receive food on site	1.3	0.3	0	2.1
	Refused	0	1	0	0
Overall, how crowded would you say the transportation is?	Very crowded	10	3.7	45	4.9
	Somewhat crowded	32.5	13	42.5	12.3
	Somewhat uncrowded	10	15.7	5	24.1
	Very uncrowded	47.5	66	5	55.6
	Don't know	0	0.3	0	2.6
	Refused	0	1.3	2.5	0.5

4.2.6. Outreach and Engagement

This section focuses on outreach and engagement efforts – as defined by the Supreme Committee and presented in their annual reports (SC, 2019). The focus is therefore mainly on the topics of promoting the use of innovative cooling technology to help

workers cope with heat stress, as well as the newly launched nutrition programme which emphasized the need to improve the quality of food provided to the workers.

Heat exposure at work is a major health concern (Pradhan et al., 2019) and is recognised as such by the SC. As part of their Outreach and Engagement activities, cooling suits and vests were rolled out in 2018 to thousands of workers employed on World Cup projects (SC, 2019). In this light, our survey inquired about the workers' experience with wearing the special cooling suit and the extent to which it improves their wellbeing. Table 4.8 shows that, with the exception of company B where almost all workers reported wearing a cooling suit (96%), more than half of workers in other companies reported not wearing it (52.5% from Company A, 47.5% from Company C, and 86.9% from Company D). While this could be an indication that they were not provided with cooling suits, it could also imply that the workers are simply not exposed to extreme temperatures at their workstations and hence do not require such equipment. Indeed, the SC's announcement of the introduction of cooling vests specified that steel fixers, carpenters, masons, foremen, scaffolders, banksmen and riggers are the types of occupations to whom the equipment has been distributed (Gulf Times, 2018). It should be noted, however, that the WWP regulations make no mention of the requirement to provide such equipment to workers, presumably because the document was published before the cooling technology was approved and made available. Since it is difficult to make conclusions based on the workers' responses to this question alone, the qualitative part of the study will further elaborate on the employers' feedback about this issue.

While the SC lauded the equipment's performance (SC, 2019), surprisingly more than a third of workers who reported wearing the cooling equipment in each company reported that they did not feel more comfortable working in the summer heat. The exception was company B, where almost all surveyed workers are wearing the equipment (96%) and indeed feel more comfortable (91%). Reasons for some workers not feeling more comfortable in other companies could be different; as per the manufacturer's

instructions, the equipment needs to be submerged under water for two minutes and excess water expelled in a certain manner for the vest to work, in addition to specific maintenance directions. If the workers have not been instructed fully on the proper use of the equipment, it could lead to lower performance.

Additionally, workers were asked whether they eat enough healthy food to keep their strength through the day. All companies had a rather high proportion of workers stating that they do not eat enough healthy food, with company B having relatively least reports (20.3%) and company D most reports of not eating healthy (40%). This could be related to the workers overall lack of satisfaction previously reported with the cafeterias and food quality. Subsequently, not eating enough healthy food could have compounding effects and lead to workers’ lack of comfort in the summer heat, as well as overall feelings over tiredness and fatigue.

Although this section was designed based on the information received from the Supreme Committee, the researcher was cognizant of the fact that it does not fully address the broader notion of outreach and engagement as it is more generally conceptualised. However, following the conduct of the interviews with company representatives, it became apparent that the more typical O&E initiatives and efforts are indeed ongoing, with contractors’ providing sports activities and facilities, organised leisure trips, etc., which will be further discussed in the qualitative part of the study.

Table 4. 7: Outreach and Engagement

Question	Response options	Co. A	Co. B	Co. C	Co. D
Do you wear a cooling suit?	Yes	47.5	96	47.5	3.6
	No	52.5	4	47.5	86.9
	Don't know	0	0	2.5	9
	Refused	0	0	2.5	0.5
	Yes	51.3	91	25	9.5

Do you feel more comfortable working in the summer heat while wearing the new cooling suit?	No	33.8	6	42.5	39.7
	Don't know	1.3	1.7	5	37.4
	Refused	13.8	1.3	27.5	13.3
Do you eat enough healthy food to keep your strength through the day?	Yes	65	77.7	50	69.7
	No	33.8	20.3	40	29.2
	Don't know	1.3	1.7	5	1
	Refused	0	0.3	5	0

Since one of the objectives of the study is to examine the satisfaction of the migrant workers with the WWP, any question where 20 or more percent of respondents provided answers that were indicative of conditions that go against what the WWP prescribes was considered as revealing a gap in performance. Thus, based on the results presented in Tables 4.4- 4.8, items with such gaps will form the basis for further statistical analyses (t-test and one-way ANOVA analyses) to hone in on survey items that revealed WWP compliance issues. These statistical tests enable the researcher to draw conclusions regarding the hypotheses of this study and test whether the workers' satisfaction with the WWP can be predicted with various elements of working and living conditions.

4.3. T-TEST AND ONE-WAY ANOVA ANALYSES

Upon conducting the calculations of means and standard deviations, the study moved on to apply the t-test and one-way ANOVA analyses, the use of which was determined by the type of the variables. These tests are frequently used for the purpose of hypotheses testing in statistics (Kenton, 2019) and they helped the researcher determine whether there were statistically significant differences among the responses of the migrant workers vis-à-vis their satisfaction with the WWP. The variable measuring satisfaction with the WWP is an aggregated average of means for the seven satisfaction variables used in the survey, capturing different aspects such as salary, housing, food, transportation, etc.

The researcher used 0.05 p-value as statistical significance cut off point to reject the null hypotheses. As demonstrated in Tables 4.9- 4.13, t-test was used to examine the questions that had two response categories, such as ER2, T1, and OE1-OE5. ANOVA test was used for analyses of variables that have more than two categories, such as ER1 (7 categories), T2 (5 categories) and HS1 (8 categories). When the data did not meet the normality requirements for a t-test or an ANOVA, Kruskal-Wallis and Mann-Whitney tests were performed instead (for example on ER5, T1, HS4.8, and A2).

4.3.1. Testing Hypothesis 1: Ethical Recruitment

Hypothesis 1: Migrant workers who undergo ethical recruitment are more satisfied than those who do not.

There was partial support for Hypothesis 1 as there were several items in the Ethical Recruitment section that had a significant effect on the respondents' overall satisfaction with the WWP. Namely, there was a significant difference in terms of satisfaction between those workers who reported that the details of employment benefits (working hours, salary, rest days, vacation or any other benefits) were very clear in their contract, versus those who did not report so. Likewise, whether or not the workers are in possession of their passports had a significant effect on their WWP satisfaction.

Data analysis additionally showed that those workers for whom the details of their contractual benefits were clearer had higher satisfaction, as well as workers who were in possession of their passports. Passport possession is one of many proxy variables that are indicative of whether or not the company is compliant with the WW Standards; hence, it is expected that items revealing higher compliance will predict higher overall satisfaction among the workers.

Number of working days in a typical week was another significant factor, with differences between those who reported working 6 days per week and those reporting other number of days. Those who worked six days a week were more likely to report being overall satisfied compared to those who reported working other weekly times. This could indicate that those who work more than six days a week are less satisfied due to having no time to rest, but also that those working less than six days a week might be on a lower pay hence affecting their satisfaction levels. This theory is partially supported by the finding that there was a significant difference in satisfaction between those who reported working various overtime hours: those who worked daily overtime had higher satisfaction than those who worked overtime less than that. In other words, working overtime is a likely proxy for higher salary and hence it is likely to increase the workers' overall satisfaction. Likewise, the satisfaction of those workers who reported receiving their salary "always" on time, as well as receiving payment for their air tickets was significantly different – it was more likely to be higher than among those workers who did not receive salary that regularly or their air ticket payment.

Frequency of taking leave was another significant predictor of satisfaction. Namely, workers who reported taking their leave every two years were more likely to have higher levels of satisfaction compared to both workers who reported taking leave more frequently and those taking leave less frequently than two years. However, it should be noted that majority of workers in this study reported taking leave every two years, so their subsample is much larger in comparison to other groups and limits deduction power.

There was significant difference between those workers who paid money to come to work in Qatar and those who did not in terms of their overall satisfaction; those who reported not having to pay had higher reports of satisfaction. Paying recruitment fees usually causes workers' indebtedness and therefore reduces their ability to save and reinvest earnings from Qatar. Indeed, those who reported having low savings were less

satisfied overall that those who reported saving for e.g. to start a business or buy a property. Since several Ethical Recruitment measures revealed that migrant workers who undergo ethical recruitment procedures are more satisfied than those who do not, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Table 4. 8: Ethical Recruitment T-test and ANOVA analyses

Code	Variables	Categories	P-value	Test	Findings
ER1	Before coming to Qatar, who did you sign a contract or job offer with	7	0.675	ANOVA	There is no significant effect on the workers' satisfaction with regards to whom they should sign a contract or job offer with before coming to Qatar
ER2	Was the contract or job offer you signed before coming to Qatar provided to you in your own language	2	0.571	T-test	There is no significant difference on the language of the contract towards the satisfaction of the workers
ER3	Were you given time to read the contract	2	0.535	T-test	The given time to read the contract has no significant difference towards the satisfaction of workers
ER4	Did you understand the contract before signing	2	0.873	T-test	Understanding the contract before signing has no significant difference towards the satisfaction of workers
ER5	Were the details of employment benefits (working hours, salary, rest days, vacation or any other benefits) in your current contract were very clear	7	0.001	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The details provided about the benefits in the contract have a significant effect on the level of satisfaction of workers
ER6	Who is holding your passport	7	0.001	Kruskal-Wallis Test	There is significant effect on the workers' satisfaction with regards to who holds their passports

ER7	How many days do you work in a typical week for your primary job	9	0.016	ANOVA	The number of working days in a typical week has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
ER8	In addition to your average working hours, how often do you work overtime	7	0.000	ANOVA	Working overtime has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
ER9	How do you receive your salary	6	.405	ANOVA	The way the workers receive their salary does not have a significant effect on their satisfaction
ER10	Thinking of the past 12 months, how often have you received your salary on time	7	0.011	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Receiving salary on time has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
ER12	Do you receive payment for your air tickets from your employer to visit your family	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Receiving payment from the employer for air tickets has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
ER13	How often did you take your leave since you started working in Qatar	7	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Frequency of taking leave has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
ER14	Did you have to pay money to anyone (family, friends, an agency, a sponsor or Kafel) to come to work in Qatar	2	0.043	Mann-Whitney Test	There is significant difference between those who paid money to come to work in Qatar and those who did not pay money
ER15	Other than day to day living and paying off any migration loans, what goals do you and your family have with your savings from Qatar	9	0.004	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Achieving the workers' goals with their savings from Qatar has a significant effect on their satisfaction

4.3.2. Testing Hypothesis 2: Training

Hypothesis 2: Migrant workers who undergo effective staff training are more satisfied than those who do not.

There was partial support for Hypothesis 2 with several items from the Training set of questions revealing significant differences in terms of overall satisfaction. There was significant difference between those workers who received orientation training in their own language when they began working for the SC’s contracted companies and those who did not. Namely, greater satisfaction was noted among those who had training in their own language as compared to those who reported not having one.

In addition, being provided with enough training about safety in the workplace by their management had a significant effect on the workers’ overall satisfaction; those who reported not receiving enough training about safety were more likely to be dissatisfied. Since several elements measuring effective staff training did have a significant effect on workers’ satisfaction levels, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Table 4. 9: Training T-test and ANOVA analyses

Code	Variables	Categories	P-value	Test	Findings
T1	Did you receive orientation training in your language when you began working for the Supreme Committee	2	0.000	Mann-Whitney Test	There is significant difference between those who received orientation training in their language and those who did not
T2	My management provides enough training about safety in the workplace	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Providing enough training about safety has a significant effect on the workers’ satisfaction

T3	Are you aware of a way to report complaints about your workplace	2	0.051	T-test	Reporting complaints about the workers' workplace has no significant difference towards their satisfaction
T4	Which ways of reporting complaints are you aware of	5	0.028	ANOVA	The ways of reporting complaints have a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction

4.3.3. Testing Hypothesis 3: Health and Safety

Hypothesis 3: Migrant workers who are protected by effective health and safety management are more satisfied than those who are not protected.

Data analysis showed full support for Hypothesis 3 as all of the items from the Health and Safety section had a significant effect on the workers' overall satisfaction ratings. There were significant differences in terms of satisfaction based on the workers' overall health rating; those who rated their health as very good or good were significantly more likely to also provide high satisfaction ratings and vice versa. Workers who agreed that the people they work with do not care about safety rules were more likely to be dissatisfied. Having co-workers and supervisors that are perceived as careless with safety affects the morale of the workers and hence their satisfaction. Similarly, when workers agreed that the management provides them with training about summer heat safety and that their employer cares about them they were more likely to be satisfied overall.

Mental health subset of items was expectedly revealing: workers who reported having sleep issues, feeling tired, stressed, bad about themselves, trouble concentrating, and having suicidal thoughts were all significantly less likely to report high levels of overall satisfaction.

Similarly, inadequate workplace conditions (smoke, dust, fumes, and high temperatures) as well as being under pressure to work harder negatively affected the workers' satisfaction. This finding was anticipated as it would be counterintuitive for the workers to rate their health and safety conditions low and simultaneously report high levels of overall satisfaction.

Conversely, feelings of safety at the workplace, respect, fairness, support and trust of the management as well as having good work breaks during the day were all indicative of higher levels of satisfaction compared to those workers who ranked items pertaining to these issues lower. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected as there was significant difference in satisfaction levels between workers who are protected by effective health and safety management and those who are not protected.

Table 4. 10: Health and Safety T-test and ANOVA analyses

Code	Variables	Categories	P-value	Test	Findings
HS1	Overall, how would you rate your health	8	0.000	ANOVA	The workers' health rating has a significant effect on their satisfaction
HS2.1	My supervisor encourages safe behaviour to prevent injuries and accidents at work	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Encouraging safe behaviour to prevent injuries and accidents has a significant effect on the level of satisfaction of workers
HS2.2	The people I work with do not care about safety rules	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The concern about safety rules has a significant effect on the satisfaction of workers
HS2.3	My management provides me with training about summer heat related safety measures	5	.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The training provided about summer heat related safety measures has a significant effect on the level of satisfaction of workers

HS2.4	My employer cares about me	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The concern of the employer has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.1	Little interest or pleasure in doing things	5	0.000	ANOVA	The level of interest or pleasure in doing things has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.2	Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless	5	0.000	ANOVA	Emotions like feeling down, depression or hopelessness at current employment have a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.3	Trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much	5	0.000	ANOVA	Having trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.4	Feeling tired or having little energy	5	0.000	ANOVA	The feeling of being tired or having little energy has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.5	Poor appetite or overeating	5	0.002	ANOVA	Having poor appetite or overeating has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.6	Feeling bad about yourself - or that you are a failure or have let yourself or your family down	5	0.000	ANOVA	Feeling bad or feeling like a failure has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.7	Trouble concentrating on things, such as reading or watching television	5	0.000	ANOVA	Having trouble concentrating on things has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.8	Feeling stressed at work	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Feeling stressed at work has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS4.9	Thoughts that you would be better off	5	0.000	ANOVA	Having thoughts of being better off dead or of hurting oneself in

	dead, or of hurting yourself in some way				some way has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.1	I feel safe at my work area	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Having feelings of safety at work has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.2	At the place where I work, I am treated with respect	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Being treated with respect at work has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.3	I trust the management at the place where I work	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Trusting the management at current employment has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.4	At my job, I know what to do in case of an emergency	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The level of knowledge on what to do in case of an emergency has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.5	The safety and health conditions where I work are good	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The safety and health conditions at current employment have a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.6	My supervisor treats me fairly	5	0.000	ANOVA	The fair treatment of the supervisor at current employment has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.7	My co-workers are friendly and help each other	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The friendliness of co-workers at current employment has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.8	There is a lot of smoke, dust, and fumes where I work	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The amount of smoke, dust and fumes at work has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.9	At the place I work, it gets too hot	5	0.020	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The hot conditions at work have a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction

HS5.10	I find my work stressful	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	Finding work stressful has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.11	I get the support and advise I need from my employer	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The support and advices given by employers have a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.12	I am happy working in this environment	5	0.000	ANOVA	Feeling happy while working in their environment has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.13	I am under pressure to work harder to meet targets	5	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The pressure to work harder to meet targets has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
HS5.14	The work breaks during the day are good	5	0.000	ANOVA	The work breaks during the day has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction

4.3.4. Testing Hypothesis 4: Accommodation and Transportation

Hypothesis 4: Migrant workers who live in high quality conditions are more satisfied than those who do not.

All of the items from the Accommodation section of the survey were shown to have a statistically significant effect on the workers' overall satisfaction levels and therefore Hypothesis 4 is accepted. Workers who rated the quality of their living space as excellent were significantly more likely to report higher satisfaction overall. Likewise, those who rated highly the air conditioning in their room, plumbing, access to clean drinking water and safety were all significantly more likely to have higher satisfaction levels.

Quality of the cafeteria at their accommodation and food on site were also found to have a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction; as expected, those who rated cafeteria and food more highly were also more likely to report higher overall satisfaction. Same was true for transportation – workers who gave higher ratings of the air conditioning and reported lower crowdedness of their transportation were more likely to have higher overall satisfaction levels.

Table 4. 11: Accommodation and Transportation T-test and ANOVA analyses

Code	Variables	Categories	P-value	Test	Findings
A1	Overall, how would you rate the quality of your current living space	6	0.000	ANOVA	The rating of the quality of living space has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
A2	How would you rate the air conditioning in your room	6	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The air condition in the room has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
A3	How would you rate the plumbing in your living space	7	0.000	ANOVA	The plumbing in living space has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
A4	How would you rate the cafeteria at your accommodation	7	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The cafeteria at the accommodation has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
A5	How would you rate the quality of the food you received on site	7	0.000	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The food quality on site has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
A6	How often do you have access to clean drinking water at your accommodation	6	0.001	Kruskal-Wallis Test	The access to clean drinking water at the accommodation has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction

A7	How secure is the place you keep your money and other valuable possessions	7	0.000	ANOVA	The level of security to keep money and other valuable possessions has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
A9	How would you rate the air-conditioning in the transportation	7	0.000	ANOVA	The air-conditioning in the transportation has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction
A10	Overall, how crowded would you say the transportation is	6	0.000	ANOVA	The level of crowdedness in the transportation has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction

4.3.5. Testing Hypothesis 5: Outreach and Engagement

Hypothesis 5: Migrant workers who benefit from outreach and engagement are more satisfied than those who do not.

Data analysis provided partial support for Hypothesis 5 since not all of the items from the Outreach and Engagement section had a significant effect on the workers' overall satisfaction. While wearing a cooling suit was associated with higher levels of satisfaction, those who reported not being more comfortable working in the summer heat with the cooling suit on were significantly more likely to be dissatisfied overall.

There was significant difference between those who went through a full medical screening and those who did not; those who did go through it were more likely to have higher reported satisfaction. However, this result should be interpreted with reservation as the subsample of those who did not go through a full medical screening was quite small in comparison.

Whether the workers thought that their work experience in Qatar will help progress their career when they return back home also had a significant effect. Namely, those who reported agreeing with the statement were significantly more likely to have higher overall satisfaction. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected as several outreach and engagement items had a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction levels.

Table 4. 12: Outreach and Engagement T-test and ANOVA analyses

Code	Variables	Categories	P-value	Test	Findings
OE1	Do you wear a cooling suit	2	0.000	Mann-Whitney Test	There is significant difference between those who wore a cooling suit and those who did not
OE2	Do you feel more comfortable working in the summer heat while wearing the new cooling suit	2	0.000	Mann-Whitney Test	There is significant difference between those who worked in the summer while wearing the new cooling suit and those who did not
OE3	Do you eat enough healthy food to keep your strength through the day	2	0.887	T-test	Eating enough healthy food has no significant difference towards the satisfaction of workers
OE5	After coming to Qatar, do you like the idea of going through a full medical screening	2	0.000	Mann-Whitney Test	There is significant difference between those who went through a full medical screening and those who did not
OE8	My work experience in Qatar will help progress my career once I return home	5	0.000	ANOVA	The work experience in Qatar has a significant effect on the workers' satisfaction

Overall, the results presented in Tables 4.10 - 4.13 partially support the five hypotheses of this study. Even though the satisfactions were hypothesised to be fully predicted by the different elements of the WWP, the results were found to be positive and partially significant. The effect of some of the ER items on WWP has a significant impact at the significance level of 0.05. Thus, this result partially supported the hypothesised satisfaction as hypothesized in H₁. Moreover, the effect of some of the T items on WWP has a significant impact at the significance level of 0.05.

Thus, this result partially supported the hypothesised satisfaction as hypothesized in H₂. This was followed by the effect of HS on WWP which has a significant impact at the significance level of 0.05. Hence, this result fully supported the hypothesised satisfaction as hypothesized in H₃. Additionally, the effect of A on WWP has a significant impact at the significance level of 0.05. Hence, this result fully supported the hypothesised satisfaction as hypothesized in H₄. The effect of some of the OE items has a significant impact at the significance level of 0.05, which partially supported the hypothesised satisfaction in H₅.

Company representatives were asked to comment on a number of issues that arose from the quantitative data analysis, i.e. surveys with their workers. Findings will be discussed below within the corresponding survey themes.

4.4. QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

In order to further investigate the performance gaps identified during the quantitative data analysis of the workers' survey, interviews were conducted with representatives from the same four companies. In addition, interviews were conducted with four additional key stakeholders to better understand the current developments of the workers' welfare legislation and regulations; this includes the Head of the ILO Project Office in Qatar, the Assistant Undersecretary of MOADLSA, the SC's external auditor (Impactt) and the SC's Compliance and Audit Manager.

4.4.1. Interview Process

All interviews were conducted in person (i.e. face to face), with the exception of the interview with the SC's Compliance and Audit Manager, which was undertaken via email correspondence. Table 4.14 below presents basic information about each of the interviews conducted. Representatives from companies A, B and C were interviewed on 29th December, 2019, while the interview with company D representative was rescheduled due to unforeseen circumstances and conducted instead on 26th January, 2020. Interview with the Head of ILO's Project Office was conducted on the 20th January, 2020, at the ILO's headquarters in Doha. Assistant Undersecretary of MOADLSA was interviewed on the 4th February, 2020, at the Ministry's headquarters. The SC's Compliance and Audit Manager was interviewed on the 21st April, 2020, via online correspondence. Interviews with company representatives were undertaken at the respective companies' stadium construction sites lasting an average of 90 minutes, while the ILO and MOADLSA representatives each allowed about 60 minutes of interview time.

Interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed (translated to English where necessary) using clean verbatim style. All of the interviews were semi-structured, i.e. interviewees answered the researcher's pre-compiled questions with few unprompted follow-ups, which allowed for a more straightforward and streamlined data analysis process. Main approach used for the qualitative data analysis in this study was to

manually code and categorise phrases and comments in search for information relevant for addressing the previously identified WWP implementation gaps. Such analysis involved scanning the interview transcripts for codes based on the study's themes, i.e. mapping the connections between the qualitative and quantitative data. Quotes that revealed recurring patterns in responses, surprising facts or information that either confirmed or countered previous research were all annotated with codes and examined across the interviews. Initial codes were created and labelled accordingly, later to be revised and regrouped.

4.4.1.1. Sample Profile

Key participants from companies A, B, C and D are anonymous as per the interview privacy guidelines, as well as informants from the SC and the external audit company (Impactt). Since the ILO Project Office Head and the Assistant Undersecretary of MOADLSA are public figures their names are made known. Representatives from the four companies all held Project Manager positions, while Company B and C representatives were additionally assigned as Worker Welfare Officers. Other information included in the table includes the date, location and length of the interviews.

Table 4. 13: Profile of interview participants

Organization	Key Participant	Position	Date of Interview	Location	Interview Length
Company A	Anonymous	Project Manager	29/Dec/19	Stadium construction site	1h 25 mins
Company B	Anonymous	Project Manager/Worker Welfare Officer	29/Dec/19	Stadium construction site	1h 45 mins
Company C	Anonymous	Project Manager/Worker Welfare Officer	29/Dec/19	Stadium construction site	1h 30 mins
Company D	Anonymous	Project Manager	26/Jan/20	Stadium construction site	1h 35 mins

International Labour Organization	Mr. Houtan Homayounpour	Head of Project Office	20/Jan/20	ILO Main Office	60 mins
Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA)	Mr. Mohamed Al Obaidly	Assistant Undersecretary of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	4/Feb/20	MOADLSA HQ	60 mins
Supreme Committee	Anonymous	Compliance and Audit Manager	21/Apr/20	Phone	N/A
Impactt	Anonymous	Consultant	07/Feb/20	Online	N/A

4.4.2. Ethical Recruitment – Qualitative Research

The participants from the four surveyed companies showed interest in describing their efforts in relation to the WWP and in providing safe and equitable work environment for their migrant workers. However, some of their responses did not match that of the workers when questioned about the same topics as will be discussed below.

One of the several issues raised by the surveyed workers was the practice of signing a job offer or a contract prior to arriving to Qatar in a language other than their own. When company representatives were asked to comment, all four reassured the researcher that the contracts signed were either in the worker’s language or that adequate translation was available. Company A representative explained: *“In the contract, we ask them their language. For Indians, it is mentioned in Hindi language. For Philippines, it is mentioned in English and Bangladesh, Bangladesh language is mentioned there.”* The same representative added that workers usually inquire when there are details that remain unclear: *“If there is any doubt, the people are asking us. What is this and what is this and then we explain to them.”*

When further pressed to explain the reasons behind some workers' claims that they signed contracts in languages other than their own and did not understand them, the representatives noted that it might be an issue with employees who had signed *"the old contract because all the old contracts are by English and Arabic only. But now, the new contract has English and their language. Example, if he is from Bangladesh, then it is English and Bangladesh language"*. However, he provided no further justification on whether those who signed the old contract were provided with appropriate interpretation tools at the time of signing or at any later point.

Representative from company B vehemently denied that there could be some employees who reported not understanding the details of their contract: *"No, we do not have such issues. In fact, when the workers are in Qatar, we again explain the contract terms and conditions and make sure they understand fully. Only then, they are provided with the job"*. Perhaps a more telling information was provided later during follow up questions, when it became evident that their workers attend an induction session upon arriving to Qatar, *"to ensure that the worker is understanding each and every point of the contract"*, after which he is asked to sign *"the induction form that he has participated in the induction which had again explained the contract in detail"*. Therefore, it is very likely that some of the incoming workers do sign the induction form without having fully understood the details presented.

In fact, both company C and company D representatives claimed that despite having received contracts in their languages, illiteracy is a potential reason as to why some workers could feel apprehensive about expressing a lack of understanding of contractual terms. Namely, company C representative assured that their workers receive contracts that are translated to their local language while adding that a lack of understanding is possible *"... because most of them, some of them, not all of them..., especially from Nepal, they don't know how to read. If there is any doubt, the people are asking us. What is this and what is this and then we explain to them"*.

Company D representative similarly stated that *“There are a lot of people not educated. There are a lot of complaints they have which arise after working with us. But, we do our best to help them when they come here in the country”*. Addressing the issue of contract comprehension with all four company representatives revealed that no one was willing to absorb even partial responsibility for the reported gaps in understanding. Instead, they blamed illiteracy as an external issue and asserted that they do everything in their power to help their workers understand the terms of their contracts. It became evident that awareness raising and empowerment are of great importance when the worker feels pressured to state that he understands the contract and fears retribution if he complains.

Passport withholding was not an issue for workers from three out of four surveyed companies. As the representative of company B articulately said, passports are only held *“for the RP or fingerprint process. Or when passport is expired and to renew, the company requires the passport to enter the details in the company’s system. The company does not hold anyone’s passport”*. This is an indication that the Labour Law is closely abided by in this regard, since it is legally forbidden to hold onto workers’ identification documents beyond the immigration processing time.

However, half of the sample (52.5%) from company D stated that their employer holds their passport, which the company representative denied *“unless it is for migration purposes. But if we do get it, we return immediately”*. Aside from questioning the truthfulness of the representative’s claim, there are a couple of potential explanations for this discrepancy. Namely, a follow-up question in the workers’ survey inquired about the reasons behind passport withholding. Previous research has shown that in many cases the practice is not indicative of exploitation; instead, workers themselves prefer to keep their valuable documents safe with the employer (Diop et al., 2020). Indeed, of those workers who stated that their passports are being held, 40% said that it was because they *“did not have a place to securely keep the passport”*, and another 40% that it was *“in exchange for the local Resident ID”*. Additionally, since the sample from this

company was rather small (only 40 respondents), half of them (21) stating that their passports are held by the employer is not necessarily representative of the entire company and could also indicate that some of those employees were either in the process of obtaining their residency or renewing it.

Receiving salary via direct bank transfer is the standard norm as per the Wage Protection System (WPS) and Qatar's Labour Law, which is closely followed by three out of the four surveyed companies. Company A representative exemplified specific temporary circumstances under which a fraction of employees could be receiving their salaries in cash: *"If the employees are new like 2 weeks, so that time no Qatar ID, no bank information, we will give him [cash]. We pay them monthly, not weekly but when he comes, for example, in 25th of December, so, January comes and he gets his salary in five days in cash"*.

Company C had 5% of employees who reported either receiving cash or cheques, however the representative stated that the employees under his project receive salaries *"directly to QNB bank account through WPS. I am the one who is uploading the WPS file to the QNB system. Every month, maximum 5th or 6th of the month, we pay the salaries through the bank, no cash payment"*. There are two possible explanations for the discrepancy – the workers could have misinterpreted the response categories in their language or were influenced by the order of categories presented. Namely, since "cash" was the first option offered in the questionnaire they could have disproportionately navigated towards it, which is known in survey research as the "primacy effect" (Lavrakas, 2008). Finally, since the sample of workers from this company was small (40), 5% means that there were only two workers who mentioned receiving either cash or cheque and therefore it is difficult to extrapolate and generalize such findings.

Company D had an alarming 79% of workers who receive salaries in cash. When asked to comment, the representative stated that it was a consequence of the company's cash

flow issues: *“After the liquidation that happened with the company last year, there were some limitations. The previous accounts used for WPS were blocked. It is a procedure issue in the banks in order for us to move again”*. Though a valid reason, all companies are required to pay workers through the WPS system and comply with the Labour Law regulations (and particularly those working for the SC projects since they also have the WW Standards to comply with). Therefore, paying workers in cash has no exceptions and company’s internal turbulences should be managed and addressed with the assistance of the relevant authorities without adversely affecting the workers.

Paying fees to different parties in order to come to Qatar was a common report among workers from three of four companies; the exception was company C where no one reported paying to come work in Qatar. When asked whether some workers from Company A pay recruitment fess, the representative said that *“as per contract”* they do not; when further prompted to think about cases where their recruitment agent may have used a third party intermediary to recruit locally within different countries, the respondent added that they *“have received this complaint and we are giving back to the worker 125QR every month as per Supreme Committee requirements, for one year”*. He was referring to the SC’s Universal Reimbursement Scheme (URS) which was introduced in 2019 as an initiative under which 220 contractors vouched to pay back their workers for the costs incurred during their recruitment. Some of the companies have decided to provide their workers with a one-time single payment, but most have decided to repay their workers in instalments over a period of 12 to 36 months so that the company’s cash flow is not significantly impacted in a short span of time.

Company B representative chose not to provide answers regarding this matter. Company C did not have any workers who reported paying fees as confirmed by the representative who said that they do not even use a recruitment agency and therefore there are no fees as such: *“We are not dealing with an agent, it is directly our headquarters. Once we tried to arrange employees, we're just saying to our foreman who’s working with us right now.*

For example, he calls his friends, he prepares a list and he give us the list". In other words, this company is relying on inside connections and word of mouth as a recruitment strategy.

Company D had 87% of surveyed workers who reported having paid fees, to what the representative responded by stating that they have a *"contractual agreement"* with their recruiting agency per which the worker is not supposed to pay anything. When prompted to think about procedures when the worker may be asked to pay certain amount to the agent, the representative vaguely replied: *"We have a policy in place. Now the ways of doing it could vary. But we would go back to our agency and take whatever measures we see fit"*. The response offered by the representative was somewhat ambiguous and did not fully clarify what specific actions they would take and whether they have already done so in the past. He neither confirmed nor denied that paying recruitment fees was an issue the company has faced, indicating that there is a need for further investigation.

4.4.3. Training – Qualitative Research

Providing sufficient training opportunities – particularly in the worker's own language was a key predictor of their overall satisfaction, which was lower among those who reported receiving inadequate training. Representatives from all four surveyed companies were confident that all of their workers do receive the necessary trainings. However, it will become evident from their responses below that it remained unclear whether the workers receive both hard and soft skills training and non-work related trainings which could benefit their personal lives.

Company A representative mentioned that they have *"accommodation induction, site induction. When there are new projects, they are attending site training and safety training. The trainings are conducted by the company."* However, there was no mention concerning the language of the trainings and inductions and whether or not they ensure that all workers are able to comprehend. Company B outsources training: *"We have tied*

up with the local training agencies in Qatar. We provide them with intensive training, work at height training, fire marshal training, scaffolding training, confined space training. We provide so many trainings for the workers. There is also a training programme supported by Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC)." When asked to comment about why some workers reported not receiving orientation training in their language, company B representative firmly assured that *"All trainings including the orientation training are conducted in their mother tongue"*.

Company C representative was assertive that all workers are trained in their own language, giving his own personal example: *"Normally, all of them even me, I got the induction. I have a card but it's not with me now, but without this card I cannot go to the site because the secretary is checking. All trainings are even given in their own language"*. However, he did reveal some important gaps in training topics covered: *"We provide these trainings about the rights, safety but not cultural, no financial management and no training about immigration or Qatar laws"*.

Similarly, Company D had a mix of in-house and outsourced training, depending on the topics: *"At the level of labours, we have some special skills training. This allows them to be certified on special skills. Someone from outside will do this training for them. We also have WWS training developed for workers that talks about safety, WWP, their rights and entitlement"*. Concerning the language of the training, the representative stated that their staff usually is trained in English, but *"for labourers it will be in their language"*; however, he did not clarify how they define the worker's language, i.e. whether they focus on the country of origin's official language or the worker's mother tongue.

After analysing all four companies' feedback regarding training, it became evident that there are discrepancies vis-à-vis previous reports made by the workers. For instance, some workers are unaware of mechanisms for making complaints within their company, and none of the four representatives specifically mentioned providing such training – all

were focused on safety and skills trainings which are mandatory for successful workflow. In addition, the four representatives insisted that all workers receive the above-mentioned trainings *“in their own languages”*; however, without further elaborating on that point it is difficult to describe what that includes. Most of the origin countries are multilingual and if the training provided is in the country’s official language, it may not be the same as the low-educated worker’s native language. In cases of illiteracy, it is also difficult to gauge how companies manage to provide effective trainings since no representative made mention of such instances.

Company representatives frequently alluded that there are informal channels on which they rely to convey the communication to the workers (e.g. through their colleagues, site managers, engineers from the same country/region, etc.). It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of such measures since the worker may feel peer-pressured into affirming comprehension even when there is little of it. Surveys similar to the one conducted in this study allow workers to anonymously reveal their true attitudes and opinion and such data can serve both their company and state decision makers when designing intervention programs.

4.4.4. Health and Safety – Qualitative Research

Most surveyed workers considered that safety in their companies met sufficiently high standards. However, issues were raised in terms of health and more specifically the aspect of mental healthcare. Since about a fifth of workers in each company reported feeling tired or having little energy, company representatives were asked to comment and provide possible justifications.

Company A representative was unaware of such cases, since the workers *“are not complaining to us. Because when they are complaining to us, we are investigating the issues. We have not received any issues or complaints about it.”* He added a potential rationale as to why some workers may feel tired or with little energy: *“I think sometimes*

because of the climate, because sometimes it is too hot". The fact that the company has not received complaints from workers regarding their health does not indicate the absence of concerns; rather it signals a disconnection between the two parties in terms of open feedback.

Company B representative was cognisant of the issue and suggested that *"these problems may arise for any number of reasons - He is not well or he is not eating food properly. But for this, we have a doctor and we have a clinic. In fact, if he is still not feeling well, and we send him to Hamad Hospital for further diagnosis"*. Unlike company B whose representative took the issue very seriously, company C's representative was slightly dismissive of the idea that some workers are feeling tired and with little energy, blaming it *"on the person's nature. Maybe they are not happy or some of them they just want to work, for example, two to three hours then after that, they do not want to work. So it depends on their mood and their behaviour."* The representative also added that the weather and climate conditions in Qatar are contributing to the issue, *"because there is no oxygen, really, even I am like them, there is no oxygen, too much dust"*.

Similarly, company D representative placed the onus of responsibility on the workers arguing that the company is not to blame because workers are not compliant with doctor's instructions: *"We also receive complaints from doctors stating that some workers refuse to come. We have a system in place like they need to go back for their second check-up or something, some workers refused to go back"*. Since the representative made no further remarks it is difficult to make deductions about the company's treatment of non-clinical cases of workers that could simply be overtired and not attended by a doctor.

Depression symptoms became evident for some of the workers as extrapolated from their responses to the mental health set of questions. Similar to the feedback on physical health complaints, comments received from company representatives were a mix of

denial and relegation of responsibility to the workers to report such concerns, as opposed to company having to be more pro-active.

Company A had the highest proportion of workers who either agreed or strongly agreed to having had suicidal thoughts (17.6%). The company's representative suggested that the workers may be having some *"personal issues"* and hence display depression symptoms without referring to the possibility that their working or living conditions could be the cause; there was no willingness to admit culpability from the company's perspective. He also added that the company conducts *"monthly meeting and if someone opens up, we help them. But sometimes they also don't want to talk and just say they want to go"*. This suggests that the company does have a venue to express potential mental health concerns – available only to those workers who voluntarily speak up – which is unlikely in a large open venue due to fear of retribution and social stigma.

Company B representative did mention slightly more pro-active engagement with workers mental wellbeing: *"We monitor workers coming to clinics. Common cold and flu is OK. If somebody is going through depression, our male nurse and doctor will conduct counselling session. Even after the counselling session, we ask the worker if he wants to continue in Qatar or if he wishes to return to his country."* Though the effectiveness of the counselling sessions is uncertain and screening methods used, it is a step in the right direction that needs further enhancement.

While there were a handful of cases who did express suicidal thoughts from company C, their representatives expressed surprise and denial: *"Who said yes? No, I do not think so because we do not receive any complaints or issues about it"*. In other words, the company's position is that if the employees do not complain it means that they are not facing mental health issue, thereby deliberately choosing to look the other way and avoid addressing such concerns.

Representative from company D did not comment on the issue, but made a perhaps telling general statement elsewhere during the interview: *“The main concern is the mentality thing for a new guy that comes, for example, from Asia to Qatar for the first time. Mentality is the first thing and we have to change the way how they see it”*. What can be concluded from this and other company representatives’ comments is that mental health issues are to be reported by the worker alone as it is seen as solely his responsibility and mainly a personal issue.

Cases of suicides are well known and noted in past research among this demographic in the Gulf (Ansari et al., 2007; Al-Maskari et al., 2011; Dervic et al., 2011) and concrete actions to address the issue at its core are still limited. Therefore, all companies could benefit from training for both management and construction workers on taking such concerns seriously, as the potential consequences impact both the individual and the entire company. Mental health remains a stigmatized topic everywhere in the world, but it is particularly burdensome for migrant workers who are exposed to a foreign climate, culture and arduous working conditions. The SC Workers Welfare Progress Report (2019) does address mental health as a concern of importance, stating that in the last quarter of the same year the SC has joined forces with the Ministry of Public Health and several mental health organizations to tackle it. Awareness and screening sessions are underway for both workers and clinical staff with the aim of improving access to mental health services and providing efficient diagnosis and care programmes (SC, 2019).

Concerns about smoke and dust at the workplace were expressed by at least one third of workers in each of the surveyed companies. This was somewhat expected considering the nature of their work as well as the natural environment, i.e. the desert climate in Qatar. Hence, there is only so much that the company can do to ameliorate such conditions; indeed, all four company representatives reported providing full Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) to all workers as a mandatory measure:

Company A: *“The complete PP is provided - safety helmets, two eyewear (white and black), jackets, safety shoes and mask. We are also providing cooling jackets”.*

Company B: *“Yes, for all the labourers. Complete PPE is provided - safety helmets, eyewear (two types), gloves, safety shoes and mask”.*

Company C: *“Yes, we provide the complete PP - safety helmets, glasses, vests, safety shoes and mask. We are also providing water flasks for them”.*

Company D: *“Yes, the PP is provided because it mandatory – mask, helmets, etc. Each employee receives a full kit”.*

More than half of workers in each of the four companies reported that it gets too hot at their place of work which – similar to smoke and dust – is not necessarily an issue that can be fully alleviated by the company. Company B representative was the only one who made explicit mention of heat as a concern and the ways in which their company tackles it: *“If you’re working in an uneasy environment and when the temperature is high, there will be stress associated. However, we ensure that the workers are provided plenty of rest plenty of water. And there is a standard that Supreme Committee had introduced - there should be a water station and a shelter at every three-minute walking distance. We have reduced it to every two minute walking distance”.*

With respect to methods used to tackle heat stress, cooling suit effectiveness was brought to question since more than half workers from three companies reported not wearing it; among those who did, more than a third did not feel more comfortable. Company representatives revealed two major causes for such outcomes: 1) insufficient number of cooling suits available, and 2) workers cannot be forced to wear it, and sometimes they choose either not to wear it or use it incorrectly.

Company A representative reported that their company does provide the cooling suit *“to all of them but it is up to the worker if he wears it or not. We cannot force them as per Supreme Committee. Some workers do not want to wear it but they carry it in their bags”.*

Company B had only 4% of respondents stating that they do not wear the suit and majority of those who do wear it reported feeling more comfortable working in the summer heat (91%). This goes in line with the company representative's feedback who stated that *"During summer, majority of the workers are using [it]"*.

Similar to company A, the issue of compliance came up in company C where some workers simply refuse to wear the suit since it presumably was not beneficial to them. Almost half of those who did report using the suit stated that it did not make them feel more comfortable during the summer heat. As company C's representative explained, *"It depends on their behaviour. Some of them they say it is good some of them they refuse to wear these. It depends on their nature. But we cannot force them to wear it if they do not want to wear it"*.

While only 3.6% of surveyed workers from company D stated that they did wear a cooling suit the company's representative was assuring that *most* of the workers do wear it: *"We emphasize the importance of the suit. Most of the workers wear it but there are some cases that some workers do not like it. Normally, they would wear the pants but not the top"*. In such cases of partial use the suit's performance is greatly reduced and hence the workers do not reap its full benefits.

With the exception of company B, other company representatives as well as their surveyed workers did not provide overly promising feedback about the cooling suit. This is in direct contrast to SC's own internal studies with their tech collaborators, who indicated that almost all workers who tested the suit feel more comfortable and feel better at the end of the workday compared to previous workwear (SC, 2019). There are couple of potential explanations for such vast differences: workers who rated the suit in SC's study had done so immediately after wearing the new suit without having sufficient testing time to make longer-term conclusions. Secondly, there may have been an interviewer skewness effect at place where workers felt that they needed to rate highly

the new product that they obtained for free. It is difficult to speculate without having full information about the way SC has collected their cooling technology rating data, however, the dissatisfaction reported in this study is high enough to call for further investigation of the appropriateness of the equipment.

4.4.5. Accommodation and Transportation – Qualitative Research

While most workers from all four surveyed companies rated their accommodation facilities as fairly good, cafeterias and food on site were two notable exceptions. Workers from company A were particularly dissatisfied with the cafeteria at their accommodation with 40% rating it as “poor”. When company representative was asked to comment, he indicated that a variety of ethnic, healthy foods were being provided: *“We have different categories, Asian food, vegetables or not vegetables, Filipino, Kenyan, Arabic food. We have different kinds, whatever they want to eat, they can eat”*. However, he made no mention of the quality of food offered. In fact, all four representatives alluded to the variety of foods available as evidence of efforts to keep workers satisfied but no one referred to food quality in terms of grade, sourcing, freshness, and taste – factors which are likely causing low ratings.

Company B representative similarly referred to food variety to parry the low ratings: *“So all the workers are provided with health foods like apple, pear, banana, orange and other foods which are healthy. There is a combination of vegetarian and non- vegetarian foods. Also, different cuisines like Asian, Chinese food for Chinese workers, Turkish, Arabic and Filipino”*. Workers from company C were dissatisfied with quality of food offered on site with 42.5% rating it as “poor”; on the other hand, cafeteria at their accommodation received notably high ratings in comparison. The company representative was unwilling to agree with the dissatisfied workers’ position about the food being of poor quality: *“I do not agree on that. We have two caterers and both of that are approved by the Supreme Committee. Some labours want to eat their traditional food but Supreme Committee does not allow them to bring their food at site because it is not [sanitary]”*. When asked how

the company deals with complaints, the representative was prompt to point out that they do take actions to ensure that the workers are content: *“Time to time they are not happy with food. We are informing the caterer and they are changing [the food items]”*.

More than a third (35.1%) of workers from company D similarly rated the quality of food they receive on site as “poor”. The representative’s response was rather vague and evasive, stating: *“We actually have a catering service that is most in the SC programmes. Every catering in Qatar has to follow the set of standards as per the ministry [regulations]”*. However, following food standards in terms of hygiene and menu variety does not vouch for food quality satisfaction. It seems that this company was mainly concerned with meeting the basic SC standards and did not reflect too much on workers’ satisfaction overall.

Complaints about food quality are difficult to address and ameliorate in general, as quality in itself is difficult to measure and its perception varies from person to person. What companies claim to have done is: a) followed the SC’s standards and hired only approved caterers, and b) offered a wide variety of foods. Quality in itself does not seem to be understood as a separate satisfaction criteria from variety, most probably because higher quality would imply higher operational costs, since all companies are bottom-line driven.

Transportation concerns were expressed by a number of workers – particularly with regards to crowdedness. Company A had the highest proportion of workers who described their transportation as *“very crowded”* (10%). The company’s representative was certain that the instances of low rating are not the company’s fault but that of a sub-contractor, which was apparently out of their scope to control: *“This complaint is not for our company. I have one complaint for one sub-company, and this sub-company is not hired by our company”*.

Company B had the fewest reports of crowdedness which goes to prove what their representative detailed with regards to the company's transport guidelines and their commitment to relevant regulations: *"All the buses in our company are provided with A/C as per Qatar Labour laws. Firstly, driver should hold driving license, to be a fire marshal, to know the maximum capacity of the bus. SC requires 6 hammers but we have kept 8. Our contractor number is displayed throughout for emergency and to report if they have any issues."* Concerning the few workers who reported being dissatisfied, the representative made a dismissive observation: *"There will be few workers who will not be happy with anything. There will be always 10- 15% people who will not be happy"*.

While company C had almost half (45%) of workers stating that their transportation was *"very crowded"*, its representative was unaware of the issue, stating: *"Capacity-wise we are okay. All our buses are air-conditioned because our buses are according to Supreme Committee's requirements"*. He made no mention of crowdedness, indicating a potential mismatch in how the company defines crowdedness versus how the workers perceive it. In other words, it is possible that full capacity of the bus is reached and the company does not see it as a problem, whereas the workers feel crowded and would prefer lower occupancy. There is not much that the company can do in this regard as long as the buses are not filled over their capacity. Company D had only a few cases of reported crowdedness (4.9%) which was explained by the representative as a result of recently procured additional buses: *"Previously we have had [complaints], with regards to some few buses, but then we went ahead and purchased. This was the initial stage, but a hundred buses were bought"*.

4.4.6. Outreach and Engagement – Qualitative Research

To complement and expand on the outreach and engagement quantitative data, company representatives were asked to provide details regarding activities and events that they conduct in order to engage their workers during their spare time. Providing such venues (including personal development workshops, sport tournaments, and other

leisure activities) helps the workers to not only stay physically fit but it also protects their mental wellbeing by creating a sense of community. As will become evident from the comments below, all four companies do organise leisure activities for their labour workers; however, they differed in terms of variety and extent of workers' engagement.

Company A representative mentioned the following types of activities provided to workers at their accommodation: *"We have internet, football and cricket. The company also have a cricket team"*. When asked whether there are any particular actions that the company takes to improve the quality of workers' lives, the representative made an ambiguous reference to transportation for those workers who request going to the market, *"... according to company policies"*. Participation in the few leisure activities that Company A has is not encouraged in any specific way; other than peer encouragement, there are no company provided incentives for workers to join or engage in activities.

Company B seemed to have a better grasp of the importance of well-equipped and diverse free time activities for their workers. The focus seems to be on athletic tournaments: *"Currently there is a cricket tournament going on. This is a favourite sports for many Asians. We have many indoor tournaments for the workers too. We had a collaboration with City Exchange as well. These are conducted by the company and Supreme Committee"*. The representative also added that with the aim of improving the workers' quality of life they also provide other types of recreation including a TV room, indoor gym, cultural events, etc., and stated that *"This is a continuous process which we do to help the quality of lives of workers. All workers are treated the same, and no discrimination is shown based on their background or nationality"*. The company makes an active attempt to encourage workers' participation in a multitude of activities by using incentives such as perfumes, watches, sunshades, etc.

Company C appeared to have no organised in-house activities. Similar to Company A, they provide the labourers with transportation for their occasional road trips: *"What we do is*

every Friday, we provide the labours transportation wherever they want to go. We just arrange it for them and then they can go to sea side, or they can go shopping, or if they want to watch or play football match, we just prepare the transportation for them". Aside from that provision, the workers have access to a recreation room with internet and television.

In terms of taking actions to improve workers' quality of life, this company appeared to take a more passive approach by waiting for the workers themselves to raise complaints: *"If they ask anything, we give them support. But we haven't receive any complaints from them".* Company C representative was the only one who made a specific mention of the Workers' Cup, a football tournament organized by the SC and Qatar Stars League, with the aim to inspire workers to lead a healthier lifestyle and all companies are encouraged to participate and attend the games. Hence, company C representative mentioned that they are in the process of attempting to form a team: *"Last year we tried but did not manage to create a team, this year maybe".*

In addition to providing transportation for leisure purposes on the workers' day off, company D representative mentioned that their workers have access to several play courts: *"We have basketball field in the accommodation. We have volleyball, cricket, table tennis, etc. On their day off, the workers are provided with buses so they can go for shopping or sometimes we ask them where they would want to go and we just provide that".* When further asked about concrete efforts to improve the workers' lives, company D representative reiterated the availability of sport courts at their accommodation and trips to the local supermarket as the main efforts they are making which indicates limited investment in the workers' quality of life beyond the workplace.

However, it should be noted that the SC does not provide clear and concrete guidelines in terms of leisure time activities for migrant workers and hence it is difficult to judge the extent of the companies' efforts in the absence of explicit benchmarks.

4.4.7. Compliance and Auditing– Qualitative Research

Company representatives were asked a set of questions that further inquire about measures taken at their respective companies with regards to compliance and auditing. Overall, all of the surveyed companies reported having a set of actions in place to ensure workers comply with company rules, including verbal warnings, issuing warning letters, supervisor monitoring, etc.

Company A representative mentioned that their workers are monitored *“through managers, supervisor and accommodation managers [...]. They are the ones who report to us”*. Company B representative gave a specific example of how the workers comply with the regulations: *“For e.g., workers are not supposed to smoke in their accommodation rooms but in specific areas. Such rules are maintained well. If there are exceptions, we give warnings multiple times verbally before the matters are escalated”*. Similarly, companies C and D reported that their workers are in general abiding by the rules and are continuously monitored. Representative from company D clarified that rules need to be simplified to ensure that the workers understand their purpose: *“For the workers we just need to break it down in a simple manner. Those rules are for your own benefit and it will not affect you, your work or your employment”*.

With regards to external auditing, all four companies made reference to formal bodies who ensure standards are met in relation to their World Cup 2022 operations. This includes the SC itself, MOADLSA, and Impactt – all of which have their own set of monitoring mechanisms that focus on both Qatari labour laws as well as the WWP regulations. Companies A and C specifically mentioned having been audited recently by Impactt – a global consultancy acting as the SC’s official external auditor, responsible for monitoring contractors for their compliance with the WWP. Company D representative lauded the efforts to protect operational standards: *“The standards are to help the quality for the people so we see this as a benefit. When the future comes, we need to come with a way of better living”*.

4.4.8. Workers' Welfare Programme— Qualitative Research

While the survey of workers sheds light on their satisfaction with different aspects of the WWP, it was crucial to complement those findings with feedback from the companies themselves. In general, they reported being content with the Programme and highlighted its importance for the enhancement of workers' rights. As company B representative explained, *"In the WWP forum, we come to know about the mind-set of the workers. What the workers are thinking about the situation. If the workers are happy, the productivity will be high and it is of great importance to the success of the company"*. Likewise, Company C representative thought that the WWP is very beneficial as a tool of empowerment for their workers: *"WWP is helping workers to take their rights on time. They have someone to talk to, some officials to search for their rights. They have power now. This program is forcing the companies to take a good care for their labours"*.

All four company representatives asserted that their workers are well aware of the WWP, as they attend inductions about it at both accommodation and work sites. When asked whether and how the workers are informed about the WWP, Company A representative replied: *"...during the accommodation induction. We also give that training in the site. There are also people from the Supreme Committee to give Welfare training every six months"*. Company B likewise explained, *"WWP officer conducts induction and during this time, the workers are educated about the program. The workers are given a helpline (toll free number) to contact them at any time if they have any complaints. They have a right to call the WWP officer at any point of time"*. Company C also conducts awareness sessions in addition to having other SC-provided WWP information sessions. The representative stated that his company undertakes monthly meetings with their workers during which they discuss potential concerns: *"Based on their requests we take actions and next month we follow up and ask if they are all ok or not"*.

Prompted to think about scenarios where workers are not well informed about the WWP, Company D representative reflected: *"Maybe some workers do not comprehend what has*

been presented to them. From the company side, it is well presented to explain it to them. The Supreme Committee also conducts and explain this so it could be from the workers side. There could be a lot of factors". In fact, all of the company representatives affirmed that their workers were very satisfied with the WWP, as exemplified by the statement from company B representative: *"Most of the workers are happy with the WWP. When we sit with the workers and receive complaints, only by judging on the complaints we can gauge that workers are generally happy. Criteria of the complaints indicate the overall satisfaction of the labours with the WWP".*

Representatives from companies B and C specifically mentioned holding independent elections among their workers to select WWP representatives who will receive workers' concerns through a forum and later convey them to higher management. Company B representative elaborated: *"We conduct elections for the workers. The elected representative will be formed then. It is implemented through elections. Recently an election was conducted in the month of October. We comply 100% with the WWP standards".* Company C went further to mention that each nationality has its own representative: *"All of our workers are aware; they have a WWP representative, elected by our workforce, not by us. If they have any complaints, he will come. All nationalities have their own representatives".* Such policy is fully in line with the WWP regulations which do mandate separate worker representatives for various nationalities of workers so that there is: *"One (1) per nationality of Worker at each Accommodation Site"* (p.35), representing their nationality at the Workers Welfare Forum.

To obtain a better idea of the companies' position on the WWP, company representatives were asked whether the Programme causes additional hurdles or costs to them and what their general view was. Three out of four companies provided feedback that indicated full support and praise of the WWP; they further stated that their companies already had similar standards in place and therefore the Programme represented no additional burden. As company B representative phrased it: *"It does not add to our costs. Already*

company's standards are high such that WWP standards do not require us to change much. Basic requirements such as bed, mattress, etc. is already part of our company's policies and goes hand-in-hand with the WWP standards".

Company C representative stated that the WWP empowers the employers to support workers and that their company already implements similar standards: *"Actually as [company name], we already have standards in all our other projects too, so it's not a burden for us. It is a good thing."* The representative went further to say that they have already taken actions against some sub-contractors who were not abiding by the WWP: *"We have some actions against some sub-contractors; we removed them due to their non-compliance with WWP. They signed a contract. They must abide by it. We are blocking them if they are not paying salaries to workers".*

Company A representative viewed the ticket allowance as the most aspect of the WWP since workers were previously obtaining tickets biannually: *"Before, he is getting airline ticket every two years. Now he is getting airline ticket every year. This is a benefit to the workers."* In terms of WWP enhancements, company A representative suggested that the minimum wage should be raised as most of the worker complaints they receive are salary-related: *"I know the basic salary is QAR 750 (£170) [per month]. If it can be increased it will be good because QAR 750 is not enough for the workers".*

Company B representative initially stated that there are no further enhancements that he could suggest as workers are happy with the WWP. However, he then reflected that the WWP representative elected by the workers should have a better understanding of what requests he is entitled to make and what is beyond their scope: *"Sometimes, the elected worker takes on a high pedestal and causes a negative impact. The WWP standards should clearly state what the elected representative can do and cannot do. Currently, elected representative demands things that are not possible. For e.g., a visit to the beach or an isolated place. This cannot be agreed because the company is responsible*

for the safety of all workers". According to the SC's WW Progress Report (2019), worker representatives do receive specialized training, including soft skills such as teamwork, leadership, conflict resolution, communication, etc. Perhaps the training should also emphasize the statute of limitations that their role entails so that they do not consider themselves as higher ranked than their non-elected colleagues.

Company C's suggestion was not to enhance the WWP per se but to imbed the Standards as part of Qatar Labour Law, i.e. to have them mandatory for all companies operating in the country so that all workers have the same, well-defined and protected set of enhanced rights. Such proposals are already underway, as SC collaborates with relevant authorities to ensure that the main principles of the WWP are introduced into state legislation.

The following section will discuss the development of the Labour Law and its protection of workers' rights as gathered from an interview with the Assistant Undersecretary of the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA). Opinions on the WWP are also discussed.

4.4.9. Interview with the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs

Upon an initial reflection on the history and evolution of the labour laws in Qatar and the importance of safeguarding the worker's rights, the Assistant Undersecretary of MOADLSA affirmed that *"Qatar has achieved great development since the sixties and the labour law in Qatar has become one of the best labour laws in the Middle East region."* He added that the most evident proof of the progress Qatar has made in this regard is the international recognition of the reform attempts: *"This is proven by various testimonies from international organizations, as well as countries that express their interest in improved standards on labour laws"*. As will be discussed in the forthcoming section, the International Labour Organization (ILO) lauded Qatar's most

recent efforts to abolish the sponsorship system that was designed to make the worker fully dependent on their employer in all aspects of their life.

As a result of both international pressure and an internal desire to reform the labour laws, Qatar has signed a three-year technical cooperation agreement with the ILO in 2017. The purpose is to ensure that the country complies with the ratified international labour conventions and to support the government's efforts to align the local labour laws with international best standards (ILO Project Office for the State of Qatar, n.d.). The focus is on ensuring sustainable recruitment practices so that Qatar remains attractive after the World Cup – particularly so for high skilled workers as the country moves away from construction into a knowledge based economy. In that regard, the Assistant Undersecretary commented: *“We have our strategies and objectives, projects and agreement brought out with the ILO to assist us in implementing the mechanism of international strategies and standards properly and with a goal to create a safe working environment. This will have a great positive impact on the economy of Qatar as skilled workers prefer to come here to work”*. Further details of the ILO-MOADLSA cooperation will be discussed in the subsequent section which discusses the feedback received during the interview with the ILO's office head in Qatar.

Though the WWP set of standards are developed by the SC, feedback from MOADLSA is crucial as it could imply later inclusion of the more stringent and extensive regulations in the country's Labour Law. The Assistant Undersecretary was asked to express his views on the WWP and its implementation, showing overall support and praise: *“We believe that their standards are excellent and we are working with them on a daily basis. We also formed a global inspection team for hotels and they collaborate with us in many committees. Some standards and principles will be transferred from the Supreme Committee to the Ministry of Labour for the sake of sustainability beyond the 2022 World Cup. Their criteria are considered within the requirements of the labour market, and we are partners with them in all standards and items”*. For instance, he explained how the

Workers' Welfare Forum (WWF) which was developed as part of WWP is now applied beyond SC's projects to also include companies operating on non-World Cup related projects in the country. Indeed, such a measure is inexpensive, non-controversial and straightforward to implement but is nonetheless a powerful tool that gives workers a voice and acts as an intermediary between the broader worker population and the employers.

The Assistant Undersecretary had no further suggestions for enhancement of the WWP, stating that *"At present all articles and items are good and conform to international standards and only need to follow up and check up on our part or by the employers"*. The only potential gap that he identified was lack of focus on developing the workers' social capital, i.e. investing in their *"cultural and social networking activities"*, which increases workers' morale and sense of community. The importance of that aspect of workers' overall wellbeing is yet to be fully appreciated and enhanced. When asked whether the WWP will be applied upon the completion of the WC 2022, the Assistant Undersecretary stated: *"Yes, all standards will be applied, but in line with the laws and regulations in force in the State of Qatar"*, indicating that there will be some aspects of the Programme that will be introduced into the labour laws without specifying the extent of it.

Since recruitment practices remain an area of controversy and potential exploitation – one that was particularly causing lower levels of satisfaction in the workers' survey, the Assistant Undersecretary was asked to elaborate on current and future reforms in that regard. He made reference to the recently established Qatar Visa Centres (QVCs) in six most important worker origin countries (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka) which ensure ethical recruitment, processing of biometric data and signing of the contract: *"The worker comes to the State of Qatar after he has completed all procedures pertaining to him. All companies adhere to these offices upon recruitment"*.

This system ensures that both the worker and employer have their rights protected and that recruitment fees are not transferred down to the worker as was previously the case for many. To help alleviate and rectify such past misdoings, SC has mandated all contractors to reimburse their employees. While the Assistant Undersecretary lauded such measures he made no mention whether a similar practice will be implemented country-wide and introduced into formal legislation.

Lastly, research and efforts to tackle the issue of heat stress have been undertaken by several government bodies, including MOADLSA, ILO and SC. The Assistant Undersecretary explained that, in collaboration with researchers from Greece, Britain and Switzerland, local stakeholders are conducting *“one of the largest projects in the world”* examining various technologies and clothing combinations for heat reduction efficiency. Without elaborating on the study outcomes as they have not yet been finalised, he commented that *“At present, the SC is implementing a part of this study, such as the use of white and very light clothes and also take a break after a specific period of work time to drink water compulsorily for all workers, examination of urine, and measurement of temperature on regular basis and linking the same with humidity”*.

4.4.10. Interview with the ILO Project Office for the State of Qatar

In 2017, Qatar joined forces with the ILO to establish a three-year long cooperation programme. Since then, the ILO has opened a Project Office in Doha with the aim of assisting the Qatari authorities in implementing international labour conventions and reforming the labour laws in accordance with best global standards. In that light, an interview was conducted with the Head of the Project Office in Qatar to allow the researcher to better understand the depth of ILO’s involvement, as well as to gauge the position of the broader international community.

As explained by the Head of the ILO Project Office, the role of the office is *“to support Qatar in its ambitious labour reform agenda - anywhere from training to supporting the*

legislative changes that are taking place currently in the country". When asked whether the progress Qatar made so far has altered the opinion of the international media and community, he expressed full confidence: *"I think great progress has been made in a very short period of time. And the international community is recognizing that. You can see that in the press releases, interviews that one of the harshest critics of the government of Qatar has been making... this has been very good for the government not only on the kind of publicity side or the communications side but concretely on moving forward with the agenda for labour rights".* Having acknowledged that Qatar deserves to be lauded for its major achievements, the Head was quick to emphasize that some obstacles still need to be overcome: *"There are challenges that remain and we're happy to support the government in addressing those challenges".*

Delayed and unpaid wages continue to be highlighted by both the workers themselves and the international critics as one major challenge that calls for action. Likewise, the issue was recognized by the ILO as a challenge that is facing not only Qatar but the entire international community: *"Bad companies are not paying workers. It seems that the workers are the last priority of these bad companies. They rather ensure that they have their cars/buses and equipment before paying workers".* In cases where the workers have salary or other work-related concerns, the Head explained that the ILO's office in Qatar has a mandate to receive workers' that would like to submit complaints but not to address them directly, thereby acting as a liaison between the workers and the government: *"The workers can come and they come every day here to submit complaints, to discuss with us a complaint, we register and we have an agreed protocol with the government, ... we submit the complaint on behalf of the worker to the government and then they come back with an update on actions taken to resolve the complaint. It's not for us to discuss with the companies, what we're trying to do here is support the Ministry of Labour in improving its complaint mechanism".*

Setting up a minimum wage law was one of the key priority areas and the ILO has been working closely with Qatari authorities on a non-discriminatory minimum wage law. While a recommended minimum wage of QR750 (£170) exists, it was introduced in 2017 and meant as a temporary measure. The Head of the ILO office explained that *“Discussions are taking place now in the Shura Council. And they will come up with the law. It doesn't matter where you come from. Doesn't matter which sector you work in. The minimum wage amount that you will have the right to earn will be the same”*. Likewise, with regards to the mandatory No Objection Certificate (NOC) required for changing employers, the head reflected on the ILO-MOADLSA crucial partnership outcomes: *“We jointly did a study on how the labour market will be impacted when NOC is removed and why it's good for the country and the business community to actually have no NOC”*.

Similar to the views of the Assistant Undersecretary of MOADLSA concerning Qatar's need to become a destination of choice for high-skilled workers, the Head of the ILO office emphasized the importance of removing the NOC: *“All of these, ensuring respect for labour rights, attracts more investment, attracts more skilled workers. If you look at the Vision 2030, the focus is on high skilled workers, attracting the best workers in the world so they can help Qatar to be the best in the world”*. Overall, it seems that the ILO is very optimistic and supportive of the extent and speed of Qatar's efforts: *“The labour laws are constantly improving in a very short period of time. This is great for the country, great for the public and also great for the business community and the local economy”*.

When asked to comment on the WWP and the extensive set of standards that contractors working on World Cup projects must abide by, the Head of ILO's Project Office was very supportive, claiming that their work has so far been *“fantastic”*. He also explained that the ILO and MOADLSA are collaborating with the SC but that the focus is on *“helping the government with national laws which impact all workers - to ensure that laws are in place*

to protect workers and employers such as the minimum wage, removal of the Kafala system”.

Aside from contributing to establishing a mandatory minimum wage, ILO Project Office Head pointed out that other highly important reforms are being discussed.

Firstly, the Qatari government is considering combining the medical health card with the ID card. As the Head explained, although employers are required to provide all workers will free access to health care, *“Some bad employers do not give health care to workers. They try to control them and ask for money. This simple combination, which the Ministry of Public Health and the Ministry of Interior could work on together, would eliminate a challenge for workers”.* The Head also emphasised the need to make sure that labour inspectors are properly trained and focused, i.e. that they *“know exactly how to do their jobs strategically and proactively. Training programmes are with the Ministry of Labour and we are supporting them, to ensure that they have the strategic vision of looking at high risk sectors, high risk companies and doing inspections [of them], rather than simply inspecting without a strategy”.* Indeed, enhancing the skills of labour inspectors is one area of intervention that the ILO has been working on with MOADLSA; a major training programme was initiated in 2019 to provide the inspectors with tools for more effective and efficient enforcement of both local and international labour standards.

Finally, the Head of the ILO Project Office was asked to provide details on the heat stress research as they were one of the main stakeholders involved. He explained that it was the largest study of this type, monitoring 4,000 workers working 5,500 man-hours on a World Cup stadium construction site and a farm, and examining the effectiveness of different heat reduction methods (hydration, clothing, work-rest ratio). He reported that the top two performing options were simple white clothing and SC’s cooling vests which were partially rolled out in the fall of 2019 to some work sites. The ILO Project Office Head stated that they are currently in the process of working with the government to

utilize the study's recommendations, as *"key findings were fascinating and they will hopefully lead to certain legislative changes this summer"*.

4.4.11. Interview with the External Auditor

In 2016, the Supreme Committee appointed Impactt as their independent external auditor to monitor contractors and subcontractors for their compliance with regulations stipulated under the WWP (Impactt, 2017). Impactt was established in 1997 as an ethical trade consultancy aiming to improve working conditions and labour rights of employees across all levels of the supply chain, providing investors and employers with sustainable recruiting solutions. Aside from the SC, they are known as ethical compliance auditors for dozens of other renowned companies and bodies across the world, including Marks & Spencer, Sainsbury's and Oxford Limited. As SC's independent external auditor, Impactt issues compliance reports on an annual basis and recommends actions to further boost compliance with the WWP regulations.

Their auditing approach follows both the regulations stipulated under the WWP as well as relevant labour laws in Qatar. As an important mechanism that promotes upholding workers' rights, Impactt was contacted to arrange an interview for this project. However, citing "conflict of interest", their representatives stated that their contractual obligations prevent them from taking part in such interview. The researcher was instead pointed to their annual compliance auditing reports as sources of information for pertinent questions in lieu of a face-to-face interview. Hence, the main findings from a review of Impactt's annual reports and their overall impressions of the WWP compliance among SC's contractors are discussed below.

So far, Impactt has conducted three annual audits of SC's contractors (2017, 2018, and 2019) which show consistent progress on all elements of the WWP. Each year they take a random sample of contractors and their respective workers to be audited since reviewing the work of all contractors would be unfeasible within a single year. Their latest

2020 report is yet to be published (due to delays caused by the current COVID-19 global pandemic) hence the focus here will be on their findings and recommendations as stipulated in their 2019 report when they audited a total of 24 contractors. The significance of Impactt's auditing approach lies in the fact that workers themselves are in the centre of the process; all document reviews and interviews follow the workers' journey from recruitment in their home country, arrival and work in Qatar, to the end of their employment and repatriation processes (Impactt, 2019). Therefore, they focus not only on compliance but also on the perspective of the workers and the impact that labour changes have on their lives.

In their 2019 report, Impactt noted overall progress in all prominent areas of concern with majority of audited contractors exhibiting a good level of compliance with the WWP accommodation and work site regulations. However, there are some elements that require further improvement particularly related to recruitment fees, working hours and overtime payment, health and safety, accommodation, and worker representation. These issues and recommended actions will be discussed below.

4.4.11.1. Ethical Recruitment

From almost 900 migrant workers surveyed by Impactt in their 2018 audit, 83% reported having paid some recruitment fees; this was similar to previous years and indicated the persistence of this issue. Most of the workers paid fees to recruiting agencies and had no receipts to prove the payment. In the review of contractors' practices Impactt found that several employers had not reimbursed their workers. As a result of the audit, most of the contractors had resolved the matter either by reimbursing the workers or by additionally revising their recruitment agency agreements to prevent them from collecting fees from workers in the future.

To help tackle this issue, the SC announced in 2019 a roll out of the Universal Reimbursement Scheme (URS) under which more than 200 contractors pledged to

compensate their employees for any fees that they incurred during the recruitment process. It is estimated that in the next 3 years around QAR 110 million (£25 million) will be paid to over 44,000 workers (SC, 2019). However, Impactt reported that SC had made *“limited progress in identifying solutions to improve the recruitment process in the workers’ home countries”*. This finding suggests that the focus had so far been only on rectifying recruitment outcomes retrospectively, i.e. upon arrival to Qatar.

Likewise, contract-related issues were recorded at almost all of the audited contractors, but most were described as *“low in severity”* and contractors managed to make substantial improvements (52% compliance at first audit and 80% at follow up). However, Impactt reported a *“critical non-compliance issue”* with one contractor where a group of workers were recruited as carpenters but their role was changed to labourers upon arrival and salary was lower compared to the offer. The contractor resolved the issue by changing the description in the offer letter to distinguish between their actual role and the one that is used for visa obtaining purposes – which the company reported as the cause behind the job title mismatch. Another concern that was uncovered by Impactt was the fact that 14 audited contractors did not provide their workers with a copy of their offer letter (either in their home country or upon arrival). Such a small but significant overlook prevents the workers from knowing the specific details of their rights and obligations prior to signing the contract which is in direct breach of SC’s guidelines. Impactt reported that majority resolved the issue by simply making sure that the offer letter is provided while the rest pledged to do so in their future hiring.

4.4.11.2. Working Hours and Wages

Working hours was another important and recurring concern. Due to operational pressures coupled with workers’ need to boost their earnings, working overtime has become standard practice. However, no concern is raised as long as the legal limit for maximum number of work hours is followed and workers are accordingly compensated. The issue arises only when the employer fails to fully compensate the workers for their

overtime hours or when workers are asked to work above the maximum legal limit. Impactt identified such cases with 21 audited contractors, including cases where no rest days were provided for months at a time. During their follow up audits, it was reported that flagged contractors did manage to resolve the issues thereby indicating the importance of external auditing to keep contractors accountable.

Furthermore, the issue of uncompensated overtime wages was found with two contractors where workers were not paid a premium rate for working during holidays and rest days as well as for overtime hours. Impactt reported that this concern was resolved during the follow up audit. The rate of pay itself is considered insufficient by many workers with 42% reporting to Impactt that they would not recommend their job to friends or family due to earning what they consider as a low income. This is despite the fact that workers employed under SC's projects receive better remuneration than many others working in the country, since the SC requires its contractors to implement the temporary minimum wage set by the government at QAR 750 (£170) (SC, 2018). Until the new permanent minimum wage is set in collaboration with the ILO, many employers are paying their workers at rates even below the temporary minimum. Similar to the feedback obtained from the four company representatives, audited contractors reported to Impactt their support for the minimum wage, adding that it helps with obtaining ministerial approvals for new hiring. Impactt recommended that the SC increases efforts to enforce compliance with the labour law stipulations regarding working hours and overtime compensation. Likewise, it recommended that the SC provides support for contractors that lack effective monitoring mechanisms to improve work hours tracking.

4.4.11.3. Health and Safety

During their audit of general health and safety practices at both construction and accommodation sites, Impactt found that a vast majority of workers (99%) reported feeling safe at work and that safety is treated as a high priority at their workplace (95%).

This reflects the contractors' efforts in ensuring that highest standards are implemented to protect the workers' physical wellbeing.

However, they did point out a couple of non-compliance cases where workers who needed transportation to a hospital were asked to wait for couple of days until a large enough group would form so that the employer would arrange transport for all at once. Impactt reported that the issue was resolved by relocating the workers to a new accommodation where medical centre is available on site. Another issue recorded at two contractors was charging fees to workers for medical treatment or transport, which was unfortunately not resolved by the time of the follow up audit.

Additionally, providing health and safety training – as pointed out earlier in this study when examining workers' survey feedback, was at times problematic in terms of language and delivery. Impactt's auditors attended a training session (which was conducted by a third party training organization contracted by the SC) and discovered that it was fully and solely taught in English at the contractor's request. This means that workers from different nationalities, varying levels of education and English proficiency were in attendance of that training session which was also held in a noisy mess hall. Therefore, even though the training was duly conducted workers' dissatisfaction is warranted by the fact that comprehension was not emphasised.

The auditors expressed concern about the workers' ability to retain the taught material under such circumstances, and called for improved training conditions and facilities by stating that *"More progress is needed to ensure that workers understand the training content and build worker skills beyond H&S and induction"*. Additionally, Impactt pointed out that managerial staff needed upskilling (including middle managers, supervisors and foremen) but that contractors had made *"limited progress"* in this regard with no specific training offered for them on the topic of worker engagement. Finally, they recommended that contractors *"assess the effectiveness of skills training by measuring the impact on*

workers' skills and welfare", thereby ensuring that the workers have a good grasp of the training offered and truly reap benefits from it.

4.4.11.4. Accommodation

When reviewing the workers' accommodation facilities, Impactt uncovered a few infrastructural concerns. Several contractors did not provide workers with internet access which is mandatory as per the WWP guidelines. While this non-compliance was quickly resolved at some contractors by either providing Wi-Fi or a computer room, others did not manage to do so citing refusal on the company management's side for the necessary infrastructural changes.

Another challenging infrastructural issue found was insufficient number of toilets and showering facilities with couple of contractors who failed to meet the minimum per person requirements. At the time of the follow up audit Impactt reported that *"progress had been made"*, i.e. that the number of facilities had increased but still did not meet the minimum requirements – indicating once again the challenge faced by some contractors and reluctance to upgrade their infrastructure.

One area that remains to be properly addressed as identified by Impactt is workers' food and nutrition. The auditor mentioned that SC began working in 2018 with a catering company to ensure that more nutritious menus are offered. However, Impactt concluded that *"More progress is needed on food and nutrition to roll out the menus developed through the pilot across accommodation sites"*. This finding echoes the one reached earlier in this study where workers' survey feedback similarly revealed dissatisfaction with cafeterias and food on offer.

4.4.11.5. Worker Representation

The SC has placed major emphasis on ensuring that workers feel represented and have a voice to express their concerns about working and living conditions. Impactt recorded that 23 out of the 24 audited contractors had created Worker Welfare Forums (WWFs) as per the SC's guidelines. The one contractor who was flagged as non-compliant resolved the issue by establishing a WWF before the next follow up audit. From the time when WWFs were first introduced in 2015 to the latest audit in 2018, significant increases in compliance were noted (28% in 2016 to 67% in 2017, and 98% in 2018). Such high rates of compliance among audited contractors are indicative of the substantial efforts made by the SC to encourage this practice. Additionally, since it does not require any infrastructural changes or noteworthy investment contractors seem eager to comply with this particular regulation.

However, establishing a WWF is not the only requirement and some further gaps were noted with a number of contractors. For instance, four contractors had appointed or pre-selected candidates for worker representatives as opposed to holding elections so that workers themselves can nominate and vote for preferred candidates. Likewise, four were missing a representative for certain nationalities as all workers are supposed to feel represented through a colleague that is from the same country. These discrepancies were resolved by holding new elections. Another issue that came to light was lack of awareness among a minority of workers about the WWF as some did not know that they have a representative. While all but one contractor managed to fully resolve the issue, fast turnover rate of workers is cited as the main challenge for keeping all informed and up to date. Lastly, it should be noted that while Impactt reported compliance rates for establishing WWFs they did not make any mention on whether the contractors actually took into account the feedback obtained from worker representatives and to what extent this grievance mechanism is truly effective in bringing about change.

Overall, feedback obtained from the external auditor indicates that contractors are continually making strides in improving workers' conditions as per the SC's WWP guidelines and relevant labour laws. However, the auditor did point out several critical areas that require further attention from the SC including recruitment fees, contracts, working hours and wages, H&S, accommodation and food, as well as worker representation. With the FIFA World Cup fast approaching, continuous efforts are required on both the SC's and contractors' side to close the performance gaps and ensure that the highest standards in worker treatment are upheld.

4.4.12. Interview with the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy

In addition to contractors' self-audits, MOADLSA audits, and the external auditing company, the SC conducts its own audits of contractors against the Workers' Welfare regulations. To learn more about their auditing approach as well as their efforts in encouraging compliance, an interview was conducted with the SC Workers' Welfare Acting Compliance & Audits Senior Manager. While a face-to-face meeting was originally envisioned, the current COVID-19 pandemic and social distancing measures prompted a change in plans and instead a phone interview was conducted.. In addition to his own feedback, the interviewee frequently referred to the SC's latest Workers' Welfare report as an important information source, which will be referred to below as appropriate.

As explained by the participant, the SC conducts *"random inspections and audits of contractors and subcontractors to monitor their compliance with the worker welfare regulations and to validate the self-audits... and has an approach of covering 100% of the contractors as part of the quarterly audit plan"*. The rationale for conducting their audits on a quarterly basis is justified as a way to prioritise the inspection of *"low performing contractors and contractors newly mobilized on the site"*. While such frequent inspections and audits would normally generate some push back from contractors, the SC's experience is so far positive, since *"The contractors and sub-contractors are responding to the requirements of Workers' Welfare Standards including WWP"*.

However, achieving compliance to all the requirements is an ongoing process and the participant was transparent in his remarks about it: *“There are different non-compliances noted during the audit, as the Contractors are not aware of the requirements, however, the SC WWD team works with the contractors to rectify these non-compliances”*. He further explained, *“The Workers’ Welfare requirements are embedded as a contractual obligation. The contractors are required to comply with [them] and based on the SC quarterly audit, they submit a rectification plan to resolve any non-compliances identified”*. Therefore, it is evident that the SC puts consistent and growing pressure on their contractors – both the existing ones and the newly appointed ones to ensure that the workers’ welfare regulations are upheld. It should be noted, however, that neither the participant nor the SC’s annual reports made any mention about any potential consequences for contractors that persistently fail to comply with the regulations.

It is important to also recognise that unlike the third party auditors (MOADLSA and Impactt) the SC does not audit the contractors on a sample basis and instead has a 100% coverage of all contractors during each quarter. In addition, the participant explained that *“the quarterly audit plan is based on a risk based approach ... which is assessed on an annual basis and updated if required”*. Compliance and auditing efforts of that scale require great investment and timely planning which is suggestive of the emphasis that the SC places on protecting the workers’ rights.

Since both the workers surveyed for this study and the SC’s external auditor made reference to a number of concerns about some working and living conditions that go against the WWP regulations, SC’s Compliance & Audits Manager was asked whether their own audits have revealed similar issues. His feedback closely reflects that of other parties with several major concerns yet to be universally rectified.

Namely, the use of recruitment agencies which are not registered with MOADLSA remains an issue with certain contractors, as well as the levy of fees which continues to

occur as a result of some agencies' deceitful practices. The participant also mentioned *"failing to provide the workers with a copy of MOADLSA-attested employment contract"* as another concern related to recruitment. This is somewhat surprising considering that all contracts must be attested by MOADLSA and hence providing a copy to the worker should not be logistically complicated. Likewise, excessive working hours which go above the legal limit as well as delay in payment of salaries continue to be recorded among some contractors who are violating not only the SC's WWP regulations but the Qatari law itself.

When it comes to health and safety, the participant stated that the SC's audits revealed *"no major concerns"*. However, some workers in this study's survey did report mental health issues including signs of depression and anxiety as well as issues with arranging transport to a medical facility. This suggests that more efforts need to be made in examining these aspects of health and generating an environment of trust and openness where workers feel comfortable coming forward with such issues. The SC's 2019 Annual Report does make reference to some early efforts in this regard, stating that *"the mental health pathway will be launched with Ministry of Public Health (MoPH) in the first quarter of 2020, ensuring that workers have an efficient and secure means of dealing with identified [mental health] issues"* (p.54). Further details and results of these actions are yet to be publically available and discussed.

With regards to the outreach and engagement activities, the SC's 2019 Annual Report refers to the following five areas of on-going efforts: training and upskilling, nutrition, cooling technology, workers' survey and workers' engagement. One of the main challenges reported is low attendance in training sessions which was seen by the participant as a consequence of some logistical factors. He explained that *"Project managements were more focussed on productivity, hence did not allow workers to attend trainings"*, and that *"Some stadiums were nearing completion, hence sub-contractors demobilised, and their workers could not attend [trainings]"*. Neither the participant nor

the Annual Report provided details on how the SC has addressed this challenge, which indicates the need to incentivise the contractors and provide them with evidence of training benefits for their workforce in terms of boosting motivation and long-run productivity.

Accommodation facilities and food were consistently flagged as concerns by all parties including workers surveyed in this study as well as the audits conducted by Impactt and the SC. As the SC participant explained, *“Workers are not receiving all the facilities as per WWS and food is not as per liking of the workers”*. To help address the food complaints, he reported that the SC began rolling out a nutrition programme in 2019, in collaboration with Weill Cornell Medicine-Qatar. As indicated in their Annual Report, it consists of health assessments, health and nutrition trainings and awareness campaigns (for both the workers and catering companies) and development of improved menus. The 2019 report mentions that early trials of the enhanced menus have already shown *“success both in worker satisfaction and health benefits”* and that they are *“being studied for wider adoption across the programme”* (p. 45). In addition, the SC entered an agreement with the Ministry of Municipality and Environment (MME) to undertake joint food quality and safety inspections, which similarly began in 2019. Unfortunately, the participant provided no further updates on these efforts as they were merely in their initial stages prior to the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak.

Likewise, he provided no further information on the roll out of cooling technology which began in 2019 to help protect workers against summer heat stress. The 2019 report only states that *“Following positive responses, they are now being further verified in line with workers’ feedback and trials”* (p. 13). It remains unclear whether the perceived comfort of workers was tested and recorded independently of the tech developer’s survey. High satisfaction mentioned in the report does not match the feedback obtained through the workers’ survey in this study which showed mixed results: many workers claimed that

cooling work-wear failed to significantly improve their comfort, prompting them to either wear it infrequently or to opt out altogether.

As part of their outreach effort to obtain workers' feedback on an aggregate and representative level, the SC contracted a third party research organization in 2018 to conduct an annual workers' survey until the 2022 World Cup. So far, the findings of the survey have echoed concerns reported by the auditors and this study's own survey of workers. Some of the issues raised in the latest survey of 2019 include orientation training not being offered in their own language (13% of workers, dissatisfaction with cafeterias (38%), food in their accommodation (43%), as well as several mental health concerns.

The survey also discloses information about workers' satisfaction with recreational facilities at their accommodation which is not emphasised sufficiently elsewhere. Most workers reported having a gym (85%), game room (72%) as well as access to sport fields and courts (67%) and almost all are satisfied with these facilities (98%). However, further investigation shows that about half (52%) of workers use these facilities only once or twice a month presumably due to lack of interest or free time.

When the SC participant was asked to comment on whether the contractors are encouraged in any specific way to provide workers with leisure time activities or facilities, he stated that *"Workers are provided [with] access to malls, bank, exchanges houses and other public places on Fridays by arranging for transportation"*, which was similarly recorded in the survey of workers where majority (75%) reported going to malls in their free time. He also mentioned that *"Majority of the accommodations have recreational facilities, TV room, indoor and outdoor sports facilities, access to Wi-Fi, Computer room, etc."*, but he provided no further information on whether the quality and variety of the facilities are monitored by the SC.

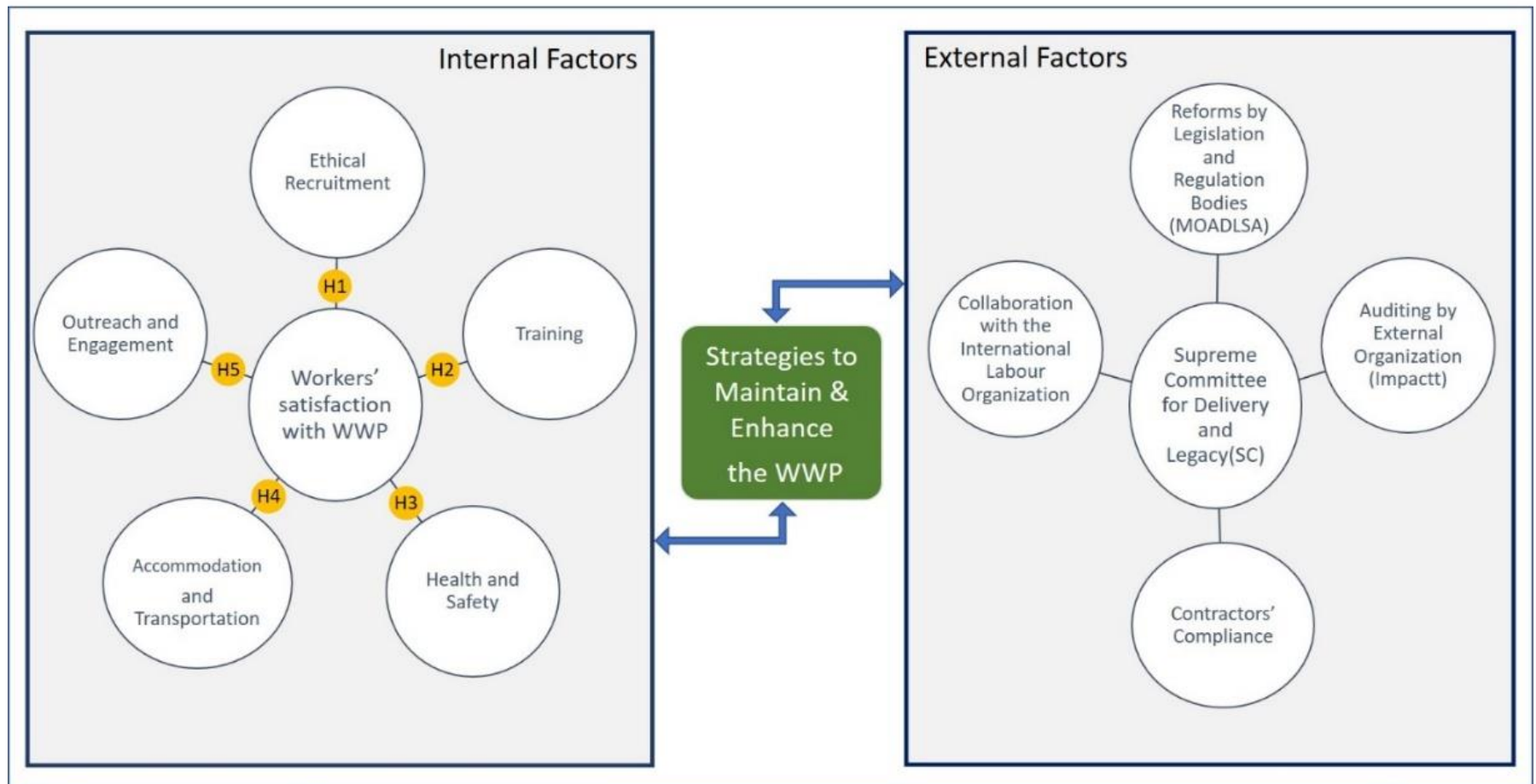
The SC itself does provide workers' engagement and socializing opportunities. For instance, their 2019 Annual Report mentions that Worker Welfare Department (WWD) organized concert tickets for 6,000 workers and match tickets for additional 2,000 workers to attend FIFA Club World Cup Qatar 2019 games, described as *"an opportunity for workers building the stadiums to experience an international match at the stadium first-hand"* (p. 47). Efforts of this scale are complicated to organise logistically but the SC vows to continue providing workers with more leisure and engagement opportunities. Finally, the participant was asked to briefly reflect on the most positive impacts that the WWP regulations have had on the lives of migrant workers so far. In his own perspective, timely payment of salaries is the single most important change as well as *"Workers working overtime in accordance with Qatar Labour Law"*, i.e. being properly compensated for their overtime work. He also mentioned that *"Workers staying in accommodation with high standard and provided with additional facilities (like recreation, Wi-Fi, etc.)"* is of great importance as it helps the workers feel at home.

Overall, the outcomes of the SC's efforts to curb violations of workers' rights and promote higher labour standards are gradually coming to light. With the 2022 World Cup fast approaching, the participant was confident that *"after consultation with various government entities"* the WWP can be used as a template for similar events in Qatar, the region, and even world-wide. Currently, the WWP regulations are set higher than the provisions guaranteed by the Qatar Labour Law and the participant was likewise certain that WWP can be introduced as legally applicable to all workers in the country upon *"consultation with various government entities and stakeholders"*.

4.5. REVISED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Upon collecting quantitative and qualitative data and subsequently analysing the findings, it became evident that this study's conceptual framework – as originally envisioned based on the literature review, required some adjustments (Figure 4.7). Namely, the internal factors relating to the effectiveness of the WWP from the workers' perspective on the left-hand side of the original framework originally included six areas of interest. The revised version excludes Compliance and Auditing; this was decided during the data analysis stage when the relevance of this area was not substantiated with findings from the field, i.e. Compliance and Auditing was not a factor that the workers themselves could assess. While examining the workers' survey findings transportation arose as a factor closely linked to accommodation and hence it was added to the framework to reflect its relevance.

Figure 4. 7: Revised Conceptual Framework



The external factors on the right-hand side of the conceptual framework guided the investigation of the WWP's effectiveness from the authorities' perspective. After deliberating the findings it was decided to remove the Building and Wood Workers' International (BWI) from the list of authorities. While important, their input was not crucial to the development and enhancement of the WWP and as such the organisation was not pursued for primary data input. Additionally, the graphical rendering of the relationship between the factors was updated to ensure that the interpretation is straightforward and streamlined. The SC is now placed at the centre to reflect its pillar role in developing and enhancing the WWP, as well as its regular auditing of contracted parties; other external factors form feedback relationships around it. Finally, the framework considers that strategies to maintain and enhance the WWP are shaped by both internal and external factors and hence are in an interdependent relationship.

4.6. RESPONSE TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study has been to examine the factors affecting the migratory construction workers involved in the preparations for the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar. To this end, three research objectives and three research questions were set as guidelines for the data collection and analysis and their outcomes will be discussed below.

4.6.1. Objectives

Objective 1 – To critically review the implementation of the Workers’ Welfare Programme (WWP) and its components in Qatar

Findings of the study indicate that the implementation of the WWP has shown promising results on multiple fronts; yet, achieving full compliance among all contractors remains a challenge. Empirical data has revealed that progress in complying with the regulations requires ongoing commitment from all parties involved. While great strides were achieved in areas such as the compulsory wage protection system which safeguards the workers’ timely payment of wages electronically, other critical issues such as healthcare access, mental healthcare and overtime pay require additional consideration.

When reviewing the implementation of the WWP the complexity of making general inferences becomes clear – all contractors have a set of unique circumstances under which they operate and therefore find themselves at different compliance stages with both the WWP and the labour law itself. For instance, while withholding passports and paying wages in cash are two practices prohibited both in state legislation and under the WWP certain contractors continue to engage in these unlawful activities. In such situations, the noncompliance goes beyond the WWP and should be dealt with by a higher authority. Issues such as living conditions and access to healthcare continue to be improved overall but individual cases of contractors with various noncompliance records remain to be effectively resolved.

There are other concerns that are less straightforward and tangible such as the workers' ability to comprehend their contractual duties and benefits, as well as participation in training opportunities. While contractors have made strides in these areas, setting a threshold of what would entail sufficient efforts to rate them as fully compliant has proven to be quite complex. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that the extensive set of WWP's standards heavily relies on various implementation and evaluation mechanisms.

An essential component of appropriate WWP implementation is its auditing mechanism. Thanks to an all-encompassing system as well as the involvement of several important external stakeholders such as MOADLSA and the ILO, implementation of the WWP has seen consistent improvements. The SC itself has been under a lot of international scrutiny over its treatment of migrant workers and hence has demonstrated great commitment in ensuring that the WWP is fully abided by. As a result of ongoing pressure, the contractors' compliance rates have indeed been on a consistent rise ever since the WWP was first introduced. With the regulations and monitoring mechanisms constantly growing more stringent, the contractors are obliged to pay closer attention to their migrant workers' needs and demands.

Reviewing the implementation of the WWP also calls for an examination of the contractor-migrant worker relationship as it remains problematic at times. What seems to impede the former from justifying the added operational costs of the WWP implementation is the long-embedded perception of the migrant workforce as transient and expendable. Hence, it becomes apparent why overlooking concerns such as the levy of recruitment fees, comprehensive training, overtime compensation and health care provision has become the norm and why it is anticipated to have certain push backs and WWP compliance gaps among individual contractors.

Objective 2 – To analyse the level of satisfaction of migrant workers as a result of the implementation of the WWP

To address this objective, the workers' satisfaction survey collected details on the workers' views of various aspects of the WWP and correlated it with their overall satisfaction. As will be discussed below, there are certain aspects of their working and living conditions that received higher satisfaction ratings while others indicated gaps in the implementation of the WWP and call for further inspection.

Majority of all workers stated that they were overall more satisfied working for the SC which is indicative of the enhanced working and living conditions stipulated under the WWP. Housing and transportation were both rated as highly positive with almost all workers stating that they were either very or somewhat satisfied with these aspects of life. The WWP mandates very detailed and prescriptive guidelines for migrant workers' housing and transportation and high satisfaction indicates that contractors are indeed abiding by the standards. In terms of the workers' satisfaction with how their rights are respected in Qatar, almost all reported being either very or somewhat satisfied. This finding should be interpreted in light of the fact that there is a certain fraction of workers who do not possess sufficient information about the scope of their rights and hence may not be able to appropriately evaluate their satisfaction in this regard.

On the other hand, a number of persistent concerns became evident from the workers' low levels of satisfaction in certain areas. Namely, many workers reported being dissatisfied with their salaries and unable to make savings which arguably defies the purpose of their employment abroad. Salary satisfaction is a particularly important indicator that has a ripple effect on all other aspects of the worker's life with a potential to alter their overall productivity and dedication, and as such deserves particular attention. Therefore, while the WWP mandates the enforcement of Qatar's temporary minimum wage (currently at £165) until a permanent one comes into

force, further consultations should be made to provide workers with a more appropriate living wage.

Food in Qatar was overall rated lower in comparison to all other aspects of life with a large number of workers expressing various levels of dissatisfaction. Namely, food received on work sites as well as accommodation cafeterias were rated as poor. Workers have been consistently reporting concerns surrounding the food provided through both workers' satisfaction surveys and different audit reports and their current feedback suggests that major improvements remain to be made. Hence, more resources need to be allocated to hone in on the causes behind their dissatisfaction and to effectively resolve them by setting more specific food quality guidelines under the WWP.

Other issues where some workers expressed dissatisfaction include different aspects of medical care. Data analysis of the workers' survey pointed to the fact that some contractors failed to provide basic healthcare coverage to their workers as well as timely transportation to appropriate medical facilities. This has an inevitable impact on the workers' satisfaction with medical care received and should therefore be rectified with relevant WWP compliance mechanisms. Additionally, quality and extent of healthcare offered could be another driver of low satisfaction, which is an issue worthy of further inquiry and communication with the workers.

The amount of sleep that workers obtain in a 24-hour period was another dissatisfaction concern that became apparent. While amount of sleep is arguably a subjective rating, mandating workload and worktime standards should be done in a manner that allows sufficient rest time. Once again, this could be tied back to the overarching issue of low salary levels: if the worker feels obliged to work overtime in order to increase his considerably low income it will leave him with very limited time per a day for leisure and rest. While mandating shorter working hours may not be feasible nor advisable in a profit-oriented industry, it is possible to ensure that

workers are compensated appropriately without feeling compelled to work overtime to make ends meet at the cost of their own health and wellbeing.

Overall, workers' satisfaction levels are extremely important indicators of the WWP implementation and contractors' commitment to protecting their migrant workforce. While satisfaction is acknowledged as a subjective measure of wellbeing and that it would be unrealistic to expect all workers to be highly satisfied with every aspect of their life, areas that received lower ratings are indicative of gaps that continue to exist and hence more could be done to resolve them.

Objective 3 – To recommend strategies for the maintenance and enhancement of the WWP

The third and final objective of this study synthesises all of the feedback obtained from various stakeholders and puts forward several important strategy recommendations to enhance the WWP with the ultimate aim of safeguarding the migrant workers' rights. The recommendations are briefly outlined below while a more detailed approach will be discussed in Chapter 5 along with concluding remarks and steps forward.

1. Improving the comprehension of contractual rights and obligations

Many workers are either low educated or illiterate and have troubles understanding the details of their contract. While ensuring that the job offer and contract are provided in the worker's native language is necessary, efforts need to go further beyond and ensure that workers have a solid grasp of the contractual terminology and its implications. There is a lot of social pressure and stigma to claim having understood the terms of the contract and consent to it which leaves the workers vulnerable to exploitation.

2. Eradicating the recruitment fees

Recruitment agents in countries of origin continue to exploit migrant workers by charging exorbitant and unethical recruitment fees, often leaving the workers in debt. The SC's contractors have vouched to repay their workers for any such fees that they might have incurred which is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. However, it does not put a decisive end to this practise and does not protect future workers from such corrupt practices. This indicates the need to spread more awareness among the workers – both the incoming ones in the countries of origin as well as those who are already recruited and are working in Qatar. Additionally, rigorous sanctions and bilateral arrangements with origin countries should be undertaken to end this unethical practice.

3. More training opportunities

While safety training has overall been lauded as appropriate, investing in improving and expanding other types of workplace training would be greatly beneficial. In addition to providing orientation training in workers' native languages, other trainings on topics such as personal development, soft skills and cultural integration would serve both the workers and their work environment. Additionally, offering training that specifically targets supervisors and other company personnel on how to appropriately deal with migrant workers and handle their concerns is likewise recommended.

4. Promoting and expanding access to healthcare

Merging the health card with residency permit into a single identification card – a potential policy change mentioned by the ILO representative, would eliminate the most common obstacle for workers for accessing healthcare and would force all employers to register their labour force for the service. Likewise, providing adequate transportation options to the nearest healthcare

facilities should be implemented. Particular focus needs to be placed on expanding mental health screening and treatment procedures and normalising their use. Stigma and cultural taboo surrounding the subject needs to be overcome with awareness campaigns for the workers as well as uptraining medical staff that comes across symptomatic cases.

5. More research on the best ways to tackle heat stress

Cooling equipment that was introduced to some workers in 2019 is still in early phases of deployment and hence needs more qualitative inquiry into its efficacy. Longitudinal surveys and interviews with workers are recommended, such that are independent of the tech developer's own research and that keep track of workers to compare their impressions over a longer period of time. This would reveal whether the cooling effect of the equipment is sustainable and viable in the long run and potentially identify additional suggestions for tackling the issue from the perspective of migrant workers.

6. Enhancing workers' leisure time

There is currently little guidance and regulatory oversight over the variety and quality of leisure time activities and facilities offered to migrant workers by their employers. An additional hurdle that workers face is limited free time outside of their work duties (as many choose to work overtime to boost their earnings), and hence are less likely to engage in leisure activities even when they are duly provided. Considering the importance of social capital for the maintenance of an individual's mental and physical wellbeing, promoting such activities among migrant workers should receive more management attention. Therefore, additional efforts are needed to create living conditions that enable the workers to participate in social and physical activities; this will ultimately boost their quality of life as well as productivity.

4.6.2. Research Questions

RQ1 – What are the factors influencing the satisfaction levels of migrant construction workers?

Several factors related to ethical recruitment and employment practices have played a significant role in informing the workers' levels of satisfaction. Considering that these elements include key matters such as working hours, timely remuneration and other important contractual rights and duties, it is only expected that they will likewise be crucial in determining their overall satisfaction. Firstly, satisfaction was higher among workers who described the details of their contract as being very clear to them. This indicates that those workers who reported higher satisfaction had a better grasp of their employment benefits, i.e. the extent to which they have been fulfilled and what they can expect from their employer. Another perhaps more salient factor was passport retention – workers who were in possession of their passports (as opposed to their employer) were more likely to report being satisfied overall. However, it should be noted that these issues may be proxies for the company's overall compliance with the WWP. In other words, the workers' may be reporting higher satisfaction not because of the contract details being clearer or possessing their passports per se, but because these factors are indicative of better overall working and living conditions under such employers.

Working hours had a somewhat unexpected impact on workers' satisfaction levels, potentially inverse of what would be predicted. Namely, working overtime on a daily basis resulted in higher satisfaction compared to working overtime less frequently. Once again, this could be considered as a proxy factor suggesting instead the importance of salary, where working overtime regularly would lead to higher pay compared to the regular hours. Hence, while working overtime was indicative of higher overall satisfaction, the factor that should be taken into account when drawing conclusions is salary level as the more accurate predictor of satisfaction.

Paying recruitment fees in order to come to work in Qatar is a notorious and fraudulent practice still propagated by many recruitment agencies in origin countries. As expected, workers who did not pay such fees were more satisfied overall than those who did report paying. Recruitment fees leave workers in financial debt which reduces their ability to accumulate savings. Similarly, workers who reported having low or no savings were less satisfied than those who were able to save earnings, for example to start a business or buy a property. Once again, salary seems to be a principal overarching factor that determines the worker's ability to repay debts, make savings, and ultimately drives their overall satisfaction.

When it comes to the effects of training on workers' satisfaction, those who reported receiving orientation training in their own language were more likely to have higher levels of overall satisfaction. Likewise, workers who considered that they have received sufficient workplace safety training had higher satisfaction levels. Therefore, providing appropriate training opportunities – such that workers can fully comprehend in their native language and utilise in their daily work are factors that can be improve the workers' overall satisfaction.

There are several important health and safety related factors that affect workers' satisfaction levels. Workers who feel safe in their workplace and report having supervisors and co-workers who care about safety were reporting higher levels of overall satisfaction. Conversely, working under hazardous conditions (fumes, dust, high temperatures) as well as feeling under pressure to perform was reported by workers who had low levels of overall satisfaction. Providing appropriate work breaks, stimulating feeling of respect, fairness, support and trust of the management were other factors that influenced the workers' satisfaction. Mental health is another important area of concern necessary to be addressed. Those workers who reported feeling tired, stressed or showed signs of depression were less likely to have high levels of satisfaction, indicating the importance of introducing mental health screening and treatment for the vulnerable individuals.

High quality living conditions were another important factor for the workers' overall satisfaction. Those who rated their living space as excellent – including air conditioning, water access, plumbing as well as food and cafeteria had higher levels of satisfaction. This was also true for the workers who provided better ratings for their transportation, with their overall satisfaction being higher. As for outreach and engagement, the SC's effort to promote the use of cooling equipment has led to a positive effect. Namely, workers who reported wearing the cooling suit were more likely to have higher levels of satisfaction, suggesting the importance of this factor for improving both heat stress outcomes and overall satisfaction levels.

RQ2 – What is the impact of the implementation of the WWP on the various stakeholders, including migrant workers, companies, and relevant organisations?

The impact of the WWP implementation varies from one stakeholder to another, with migrant workers being the frontline beneficiaries of the programme. However, the survey of workers conducted revealed that there are notable differences from one company to another in terms of WWP compliance rates as reflected in the workers' rating of their working and living conditions. For instance, passport withholding (beyond the immigration processing period) is not only forbidden under the WWP but was also recently outlawed; yet, one of the surveyed companies had a notable proportion of workers who reported that their employer is holding their passports. Likewise, the wage protection system is prescribed by both by the WWP and the labour law itself, yet one of the companies had workers who mostly reported receiving their salary in cash. Other noteworthy non-compliances mentioned include contracts and trainings not being provided in the worker's native language as well as recruitment fees not being reimbursed.

The impact of these non-compliances on workers suggests that they remain vulnerable to rights violations. On the other hand, positive aspects of the WWP implementation – as viewed by the majority of all workers, include workplace safety regulations and quality of living spaces, among other things. The implicit effect of

working and living conditions of such high standards contributes to the workers' sense of safety and protection. Overall, the impact of the WWP implementation on the workers has been marked by gradual improvements and steps in the right direction. However, it is difficult to generalise its impact with regards to specific concern areas since they are not uniformly experienced as either positive or negative by all workers and are instead dependent on each contracting company and its commitment to the WWP.

Impact of the WWP implementation on contractors was reported as overall positive, with all of the interviewed representatives claiming that their companies are exerting great efforts to comply with the regulations. The issue of added cost that abiding by the WWP regulations requires is an important impact to note as it affects the companies' bottom line. While the representatives did acknowledge the added cost of compliance, they agreed that it is indeed for the purpose of benefitting their workers which ultimately serves the company in the long run. They maintained a defensive and assertive stance with regards to the strides they as companies have made to improve the workers' conditions.

One specific impact that was highlighted as positive was the WWP requirement for establishing a forum of worker representatives. This venue has enabled the contracting companies to have a direct line of communication with their workers, who now have the ability to formally and collectively express their concerns thereby ensuring that their voices are heard and needs met. On the other hand, impact of non-compliance issues will have long-reaching consequences as they affect the companies' reputation and future relations with the SC.

Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs is one of the main external stakeholders as they have the authority to embed the WWP standards and regulations into state legislation, and hence greatly improve the protection of migrant workers' rights. Therefore, any potential impact that the WWP implementation may have on MOADLSA will not be limited to it but will instead lead to a chain reaction

across legislation and all other institutions dealing with migrant workers in the country. During the interview with MOADLSA's spokesperson, it became evident that there is great confidence and praise for the SC's work with the promotion of WWP. As stated by the interviewee, some of the WWP's regulations will be absorbed into state legislation so that in the post-World Cup era they become applicable to all migrant workers employed in Qatar.

For instance, the required worker welfare forums are currently being studied as a model to be implemented beyond the SC-contracted companies and the cooling technology research will eventually be used to benefit all workers. However, it is too early to make publicly known what other major WWP regulations will be upheld by the Ministry and become applicable to all migrant workers in the country. It could also be argued that the impact itself is a two-way feedback, where the implementation of the WWP not only has an impact on MOADLSA but the reverse is also true; many regulations and standards are continually updated based on these joint efforts.

Another important external stakeholder is the International Labour Organisation with its Project Office in Qatar, which has joined forces with the State of Qatar to support their labour reform agenda. ILO Project Office Head recognised the progress made by the SC but also stressed that challenges remain, such as the issue of delayed and unpaid wages. However, the ILO's agenda does not include reviewing the implementation of the WWP among SC's contractors and hence their level of involvement and knowledge on the topic was somewhat limited.

Main impact of the WWP could be that it serves as a signal for the ILO and other international organisations that higher standards of workers' protection are indeed achievable in Qatar and scalable to the larger workforce. Indeed, the focus of the ILO's work in Qatar is to assist the government with reforming laws that will affect all workers. While it is possible that lessons from the WWP implementation will have an impact on the ILO's collaboration with Qatar, vice versa should also be noted. Namely,

the ILO's global standards on the protection of workers' wages, working hours and other regulations specific to migrant workers have helped inform the WWP which strives to meet and at times exceed international standards.

It is also important to reflect on the impact that the WWP implementation has had on the SC itself. As the umbrella organisation heading over the 2022 FIFA World Cup preparations and construction projects, the SC has taken ownership over the issue of workers' rights and approached it with a sense of great responsibility. Since the inception of the WWP and the welfare standards, it has continually undertaken reviews and consultations with all relevant parties to encourage compliance and recognise efforts. While great advances have been recorded in the past few years, non-compliance among certain contractors remains an issue, which has prompted the SC to adapt its approach.

For instance, the implementation of the new quarterly audit system where all contracting parties are frequently reviewed for their WWP compliance has brought about notable improvements in workers' working and living conditions in a short period of time. Likewise, the issue of mental health has been recently acknowledged as insufficiently addressed which led to a collaboration with the Ministry of Public Health in 2019 to provide specialised services and training in this regard. Another impact of inadequate WWP implementation has been the SC's recent decision to strengthen sanctions for non-compliance.

Perhaps the most overarching impact that the WWP implementation has had on the SC over the years is the continuous improvement and accumulation of experience in the field of labour rights reforms, which ultimately qualifies it as a great partner in designing relevant policies beyond the World Cup, such that are applicable to all workers in Qatar.

Lastly, the focus of the SC's external auditing company has so far been on reviewing the WWP implementation among the contractors and reporting to the SC on the level

of compliance achieved. However, the recommendations the auditor has offered so far have mostly been broad and general, hence the implementation of the WWP as well as the SC itself would reap higher benefits from a more detailed approach and recommendations that come with a set of specific, measurable steps.

RQ3 – What is a best practice strategy for achieving higher level of migrant labourers' satisfaction in a developed nation?

Delivering a mega event of a FIFA World Cup proportions is likely to bring to surface some critical and controversial issues particularly with regards to migratory workers and their labour rights. While it would be inconceivable to achieve a full and timely resolution to all concerns, certain industry standards exist that are universally acknowledged as best practice and therefore should be closely abided by.

Achieving higher levels of migrant workers' satisfaction in a developed nation ought to be fairly straightforward to address. Developed nations must have a system of checks and balances that guarantees a certain level of legal protection for the migrant workers – from the moment they are recruited, throughout their employment, and until the moment they are repatriated. Higher level of satisfaction relies on policies that protect workers' basic rights, including decent living conditions, safe working environment and timely payment of fair wages – all of which should be achievable in a developed nation. Unfortunately, migrant workers around the world have not received appropriate legal protection and this is especially true for those employed in host countries of large scale sporting events. Namely, the pressure to prepare sports venues and related infrastructure under a limited budget and time frame frequently compels stakeholders to overlook human rights abuses committed against migrant workers.

The pressure to protect migrant workers has historically been placed on the host country itself, which is expected to resolve such issues through internal legislative mechanisms. However, research has shown that the responsibility to protect migrant

workers should not be solely handled by the hosting country since the lines of responsibility and accountability of different actors are usually blurred. Heerd (2018) suggests that it should instead be equally distributed between all stakeholders involved, including international bodies and various public and private actors. A recent example of a shared responsibility approach in tackling labour rights violations was seen in the 2018 Russia World Cup. Namely, Russian authorities successfully collaborated with trade unions to establish monitoring mechanisms on World Cup-related construction projects, thereby improving workers' satisfaction with their working conditions.

Trade unions had previously played a significant role in the instances of Brazil and South Africa; in affiliation with the BWI, they managed to bring public and international awareness to the issue of workers' rights in relation to the FIFA World Cup hosting. Their campaigns were largely successful in raising workers' satisfaction with overtime and bonus payments, transportation and food allowances, as well as health insurance (Cottle & Rombaldi, 2013). While forming trade unions could potentially raise the migrant workers' levels of satisfaction elsewhere, Qatar's Labour Law (Article 116) only allows Qatari nationals to form such unions or workers' associations. Renkiewicz (2016) argued that Qatar should extend the Labour Law to allow migrant workers – including domestic workers employed in local households – to form similar shared interest groups through which they can demand their rights in a unified voice. Such measures are recommended as necessary to increase the migrant workers' job satisfaction and achieve Qatar's full compliance with international principles on freedom of association and collective bargaining.

Additionally, Dieck (2016) highlighted the private sector's responsibility to become proactive in improving the living and working conditions of migrant workers. Similar to trade unions and their ability to rally popular support, private sector is exposed to public scrutiny and reputational pressures which can compel stakeholders to remedy issues that lead to higher migrant workers' satisfaction. For instance, companies are typically responsible for providing accommodation to migrant workers with the

standard arrangement of having large groups of same sex individuals housed together usually in vicinity of other similar labour camps. Such accommodations have been frequently criticised for their overcrowded and unsanitary conditions as well as the workers' inability to have a family life. Chan and Qiu (2011) found that migrant workers' quality of life and job satisfaction ratings could be enhanced by providing benefits such as suitable living arrangements for married couples. Their research showed that it can boost workers' quality of life ratings as well as their work engagement and productivity, thereby benefitting both the worker's wellbeing and the company. Job satisfaction is an important indicator of wellbeing and it is intrinsically linked to the workers' productivity rates. Another crucial component of job satisfaction is compensation, therefore using strategies that focus on incentivising the worker through appropriate wages and performance rewards would undoubtedly enhance their overall satisfaction levels.

Achieving higher migrant workers' satisfaction has so far been focused on their working and living conditions in the receiving country. However, Ganji (2016) argued that in order to achieve satisfaction with the full migration cycle workers need to be assisted in transitioning back into the labour markets in their countries of origin. The author specifically suggested establishing training programmes that help returning workers re-enter the local labour force with job skills training and counselling, as well as providing low interest loans for small business entrepreneurs. Go (2012) mentions the case study of the Philippines, where the government began providing start-up loans and skills trainings for returning Filipino migrant workers. Such efforts should be expanded to include other countries of migrant workers' origin to increase their satisfaction with the overall work experience.

As a rapid developing nation, Qatar has gone through many reforms and changes in the recent years – both legislative and socio-economic. The country has not only managed to reach the levels of technological and economic advancements of other developed nations but it even succeeded in surpassing them in many regards. Particularly reflecting on the issue of migrant workers, Qatar has been at the forefront

of the Gulf region, initiating a number of legislative and regulatory reforms and exemplifying the road forward in the protection of workers' rights and freedoms.

One such major reform has been the introduction of the Wage Protection System (WPS) which requires all employers to pay workers' wages via traceable electronic transfers to ensure that workers are compensated on time and in full amount. In the past few years, Qatar has worked hard to abolish its controversial sponsorship system (kafala) that made the worker fully dependent on their employer in all legal matters. In this light, the country has stopped requiring workers to secure a No Objection Certificate (NOC) from their previous employer in order to transfer to another company. Likewise, workers no longer need to obtain an exit permit from their employers in order to leave the country for either short term or long term purposes. Prior to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, state officials were in the process of introducing a permanent minimum wage system which is meant to further protect migrant workers from labour exploitation. However, final outcomes are yet to be announced due to the pandemic situation which has taken priority over all state matters.

The provisions stipulated under Qatar's new labour laws are designed to eradicate the exploitation of migrant workers and to allow their voices to be heard without the fear of reprimand. In order to achieve that, it is essential to accompany these measures with sufficient investment in auditing and inspection efforts to ensure that employers truly abide by the reformed labour requirements. Enforcement of strong penalties needs to be strengthened so that the employers are left with no leeway for exploiting migrant workers. Therefore, revising compensation and reward schemes coupled with implementing strict enforcement of the new legal provisions will without a doubt lead to higher levels of migrant workers' satisfaction.

4.7. THE EFFECTS OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The global pandemic (COVID-19) that is currently unravelling around the world is leaving multiple negative socio-economic consequences that will echo far into the

future and are yet to be fully grasped and tackled. A potential economic recession would have a direct impact on people's livelihoods and affordability of travel which would in turn have an effect on the upcoming Qatar 2022 World Cup and the ability of fans to attend the games (Long, 2020). While such effects remain unclear at the moment, the pandemic's immediate effect on this study could be addressed.

The resulting governmental policies of social distancing and isolation did not affect the data collection portion of this study for the most part as it was undertaken prior to the pandemic outbreak. However, the mode for one of the stakeholder interviews did have to be shifted from a face-to-face meeting to a telephone interview. In addition, the option of following up with some of the workers surveyed to probe for more information became unfeasible.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the pandemic has had another perhaps more positive effect, particularly on the migrant workers' living and working conditions in Qatar. Namely, since a large number of infected individuals in the country were identified within the migrant worker subpopulation, it became apparent that unsanitary and cramped living and working arrangements must be targeted for improvement in order to curb the spread of COVID-19 (Pattison, 2020). Increased inspections have been taking place in such areas and employers are required to act swiftly and improve the hygiene standards as well as provide the necessary amenities in sufficient spatial proportions (Gulf Times, 2020).

More specifically, the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs has issued a number of precautionary policies to protect the workers and mitigate the spread of the pandemic in their communities (MOADLSA, 2020). This includes requiring the employers to undertake awareness raising sessions that will inform the workers about the efforts undertaken as well as educate them about sanitary and other preventive practices. The employers are asked to take the workers' temperature reading regularly and to monitor them for any respiratory symptoms upon which the relevant authorities should be informed to treat the patients.

Additionally, the number of working hours per day has been reduced until further notice and employers are mandated to restrict the use of common spaces and suspend all training activities. Frequent cleaning and sanitation efforts have also been imposed by MOADLSA and failing to abide by the prescribed measures is subject to legal penalties. The pandemic has brought to light the importance of worker representatives since MOADLSA has instructed the employers to closely work with them as an intermediary link to the workers with whom the representatives will be able to communicate more effectively in their native languages.

Therefore, the consequences of COVID-19 have obliged the decision-makers to pay closer attention to the migrant workers' working and living arrangements since they have a direct effect on the workers' individual health, their community health, and ultimately the health of all Qatari citizens due to the ease of spread of the virus. The above is viewed by many as an indication of Qatari authorities' commitment towards migrant wellbeing and appreciation of contribution they make to Qatar and FIFA 2022 World Cup.

4.8. SUMMARY

Findings from both quantitative and qualitative data collection were analysed and discussed in this chapter. The types of quantitative analyses executed in this study were frequency analysis, descriptive mean analysis, t-test analysis and one-way ANOVA analysis. Comparison of the responses from workers of the four surveyed companies uncovered certain trends in the implementation of the WWP regulations and lack thereof. Gaps became apparent and at times substantial in each of the survey subthemes, with some companies consistently performing lower than others did. Overall, the results partially support the five hypotheses of this study. Even though the workers' overall satisfaction was hypothesised to be fully predicted by different elements of the WWP, the results were found to be positive and partially significant. Qualitative data included interviews with company representatives to discuss the gaps in performance that came to light upon conducting the workers' survey as well as interviews with the Head of ILO Project Office in Qatar and the Assistant

Undersecretary from MOADLSA to gauge their perspectives on the WWP and its potential inclusion in the Labour Law.

Overall, company representatives seemed at least partially aware of some of the issues that caused dissatisfaction among their workers. While passport withholding did not come up as a major concern in this study indicating the general trend of employers abiding by the law, other issues such as paying recruitment fees, training, mental health, food quality, receiving salary in cash, and overall satisfaction remain to be addressed. Gaps in company performance vis-à-vis the WW Standards – which they are contractually obliged to follow – were at times evident and went hand in hand with the apparent lack of awareness by the company representatives regarding the issues their workers were reporting.

Feedback received from the Assistant Undersecretary of MOADLSA as well as that of the ILO Project Office Head show that the main external stakeholders are in agreement that further reforms need to be implemented to ensure that high quality expatriate workers are drawn and retained in the long run. Audits conducted by Impactt as well as the SC's own quarterly audits similarly report that significant progress has been made but that some serious concerns remain to be universally rectified among the contracted companies. This includes workers' mental wellbeing, nutritional satisfaction, leisure time engagement as well as personal development trainings. Finally, the original conceptual framework was revised based on the study's findings, and research questions and objectives have been subsequently addressed.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study. It begins by providing a brief overview of the main findings and then goes on to reflect on the perspectives of the study's main stakeholders by highlighting common concerns. The chapter proceeds to offer recommendations on how the protection of workers' rights can be enhanced followed by a discussion of the various contributions it makes to the existing knowledge, practice and Qatar. Lastly, the study's limitations and suggested areas for future research are addressed.

5.1. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to examine the factors affecting the migratory construction workers involved in the preparations for the 2022 FIFA World Cup. It has taken a mixed method approach of triangulating quantitative results from the workers' survey with qualitative findings from major stakeholders. The scale and extent of the data collected in terms of sample size of the workers' survey and interviews with high ranking decision makers makes this research uniquely significant – both as an information source and as a blueprint for future reforms.

When it comes to factors influencing migrant workers' satisfaction, several issues were brought to light. Overall satisfaction was higher for those who considered details of their contract and employment benefits clear as well as those who reported being in possession of their passports. Workers who had longer working hours were more likely to be satisfied which pointed to the inadequacy of their salaries and the need to boost income with overtime work. Likewise, workers who did not pay recruitment fees were more satisfied because they had less debt to deal with and could channel their earnings into savings and investment. Workers who reported feeling tired, stressed, or showed signs of depression were less likely to have high

levels of satisfaction, emphasising the importance of mental health screening and treatment for vulnerable individuals.

Impact of the WWP implementation varied among the stakeholders. Overall, contractors' compliance has improved the quality of migrant workers' living and working conditions, and provided them with a sense of safety and protection. On the other hand, non-compliances still exist and leave workers vulnerable to violation of their rights. Whilst contractors recognised that the WWP has a cost-adding impact on their operations, they were cognisant of the fact that the ultimate goal is to uplift workers' wellbeing, which serves the company as a whole.

As a central stakeholder in the implementation and enhancement of the WWP, the SC has consistently evolved its ability to protect workers' rights, monitor compliance, and further revise the WWP to include more provisions. Therefore, the main overarching impact that the WWP has had on the SC itself is providing an opportunity to lead the industry in workers' welfare protection and accumulate knowledge which will make the SC an invaluable partner in labour policy reforms and monitoring post World Cup in Qatar.

The WWP implementation has also had a positive impact on the Ministry of Administrative, Labour, and Social Affairs (MOADLSA) as well as other relevant external bodies through being an exemplary model of worker welfare regulations that can be scaled up and introduced into legislation.

The study suggests that achieving high levels of migrant workers' satisfaction in developed nations requires a system of checks and balances to warrant protection throughout the entire employment cycle – from recruitment, through job placement and until repatriation. Experience from other developed nations showed that higher level of satisfaction mainly lies in ensuring three basic rights are protected: decent living conditions, safe working environment, and timely payment of fair wages. However, merely introducing such protective measures into formal legislation has

proven to be insufficient, and enforcement and monitoring mechanisms as well as employer's willingness to comply are equally important. Unfortunately, migrant workers employed on past World Cup projects and other major sporting events were exposed to systemic abuses despite the fact that some host countries had the legislative tools to protect them. Therefore, Qatar has had a unique opportunity to learn from other developed countries both through reviewing their best practices as well as least optimal scenarios that should be avoided.

The literature review concerning hosting mega sporting events has historically highlighted a series of potential benefits and drawbacks. Prior to winning the bid to host the event, each aspiring candidate must thoroughly justify their ability to deliver the infrastructural and policy changes that are potentially necessary to become a successful host. Some of the positive effects on the host country had previously included stimulating a sense of patriotism and fostering nation-building. Some authors suggested this as the main reason why becoming a host is a popular aspiration for developing countries – it is seen as a policy tool for modernizing and fast-tracking development (Gripsrud et al., 2010). Disadvantages faced by previous hosts have involved unjustifiable financial burden and a legacy of scrutiny over issues such as worker abuse. Research has shown that trade unions have played a particularly important role in previous World Cups, particularly in South Africa and Brazil, and have helped the workers strengthen their plea for better working conditions by bringing the issue to the public realm and thereby placed pressure on main stakeholders (Cottle & Rombaldi, 2013).

Unlike previous hosts where the focus was more on ensuring that the return on financial investment is worthwhile in terms of creating new jobs and appeasing the public, Qatar is in a position of vast economic wealth and hence generating financial returns was never the focal point of their bid to host the World Cup. This has enabled the country to use the event as a catalyst for change in many regards, particularly in accelerating infrastructure development and reforming labour legislation to provide more equitable working and living conditions for the migrant workers.

In the years leading up to the bidding and awarding of the hosting rights for the 2022 FIFA World Cup, Qatar has faced fierce criticism from both academics and media who argued that its regulations governing the living and working conditions of foreign workers were archaic and exploitative. Cognizant of the international criticism, Qatar had adopted a number of incrementally stringent actions to propel the protection of migrant workers' rights from the early preparation stages of the 2022 World Cup. The most aggressive and ambitious measures were upheld by the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC), designed to give workers employed on World Cup projects an even higher level of protection and overall better employment conditions compared to the current provisions mandated by state legislation.

One of the most notable and recent efforts by Qatar to protect the migrant workers was the establishment of official visa centres in several countries from where the majority of migrant workers originate (including India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Philippines). The so-called Qatar Visa Centres (QVCs) began operating in 2019 with the aim to streamline and simplify the recruitment process by allowing the applicants to submit their biometric data, undergo medical screenings and sign their contracts all at the same location and prior to traveling to Qatar, thus protecting both the worker and the employer from potential frauds.

Shortcomings of previous hosts were thoroughly discussed in the literature and Qatar has indeed drawn lessons from their experiences. The country is now on track to create long lasting positive legacy for both its people and those engaged in the delivery and hosting of the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Between labour reforms, sustainable stadium and infrastructure design and being the first Arab nation to host a World Cup, Qatar is in a unique position to serve as a useful reference point of successful execution for future mega event host nations. As such, it is no wonder that adequacy of its labour law reforms has been continuously exposed to scholarly scrutiny along with its drive for a sustainable World Cup event. While the current indicators point to the fact that Qatar is moving in the appropriate direction to deliver its 2022 promises, post event analysis will be necessary to fully assess the extent of

its success. The following sections are designed to draw out the key findings and conclusions from this study.

5.1.1. WWP Elements

- **Ethical recruitment**

The study found that a substantial number of workers in this study signed employment contract that were not presented in the workers own language and paid recruitment fees to a third party even though it is a fraudulent practice indicative of corruption within the recruitment chain.

The SC has established regulations under the WWP to prevent the collection of fees by instructing its contactors to not only bear all costs of recruitment but to also pledge to repay any fees that the workers may have incurred in the process (SC, 2019). Qatar has addressed the recruitment concerns in the migrants' home countries by setting up mandatory visa centres through which all applicants in some of the major origin countries can go through. However, the issue of recruitment fees is yet to be tackled by the newly established visa centres.

- **Training**

The workers' feedback on training efforts was not indicative of any major performance gaps. Indeed, the contractors are obliged under the WWP to hold various skills trainings for their workers with a particular focus on health and safety (SC, 2018). Almost all workers who took part in this study reported having received orientation training in their native language. Training is highly associated with the workers' overall satisfaction and therefore those who were less satisfied had likewise reported having inadequate training.

From the perspective of company representatives, they considered that all of their workers have received the necessary trainings relevant to their jobs including accommodation and work place inductions, as well as workers' rights orientation

sessions. However, their responses were vague in terms of the type of training offered and whether it included both hard and soft skills which are not necessarily work-related.

The external auditor's feedback revealed that some contractors conduct health and safety trainings fully in English language and in inappropriate study environments. This is an example of a duly conducted training where some workers are very likely to obtain little knowledge and practical skills, prompting the auditor to recommend an assessment of the effectiveness of such trainings.

- **Health and Safety**

Overall, workers were satisfied with health and safety measures taken by their employers and they felt confident in handling emergencies. Likewise, most workers considered that their workplace engaged in safe behaviour and that their supervisors care about their safety. This reflects the contractors' efforts in ensuring that highest standards are implemented to protect the workers' physical safety.

Providing access to free healthcare is mandatory under the labour law of Qatar and indeed majority of workers reported having a health card. Mental health was highlighted as a concern of particular interest since a number of workers reported feeling tired and having little energy, as well as feeling bad about themselves or that they have let themselves and their family down. Previous research has found that migrant workers in Qatar do have a statistically higher rate of depression compared to white-collar expatriates and Qatari citizens (Khaled & Gray, 2019) and cases of suicide among the migrant worker population in the Gulf are well documented and analysed (Ansari et al., 2007; Al-Maskari et al., 2011; Dervic et al., 2011). When asked to comment, company representatives were arguably unaware of such concerns since none of the workers had reported mental health issues, thereby relegating the responsibility to the workers alone.

The external auditor had an overall favourable feedback about the contractors' H&S efforts; however, they did find non-compliance concerns related to healthcare access. Namely, workers from some companies had to wait several days for a large enough group to form for their employer to arrange transportation to a healthcare facility. Such companies were asked to resolve the issue by either relocating the workers to an accommodation where a medical centre is available on site or to provide regular transportation options to the centres in nearest proximity. The SC representative's perspective was that there were no major H&S concerns but he did recognise that some workers face mental health issues such as depression and anxiety. To help the workers deal with such concerns the SC has initiated a mental health programme in 2019, results of which are yet to be publically discussed (SC, 2019).

- **Accommodation**

Workers were overall satisfied with their accommodation facilities particularly concerning quality, air-conditioning, plumbing and safety, which fully confirms findings of previous studies (Gardner et al., 2013; Diop, Le & Ewers, 2016). One major exception was the workers' rating of cafeterias and food which were considered by many as inadequate. While the SC's WWP regulations make clear reference to the importance of certain elements of food service, such as hygiene standards and offering an appropriate variety of ethnic foods, there is no provision particularly focusing on quality itself. Contractors' feedback indicated that they are aware of the workers' complaints but defend their current catering options as compliant with the SC's regulations. Food concerns were recognised by both the SC representative and the external auditor, who reported that efforts are under way with a recently rolled out nutrition programme (SC, 2019).

The external auditor also uncovered some infrastructural concerns related to the workers' accommodation, including internet access and insufficient number of shower and restroom facilities. While progress has been made to close such non-compliances, the auditor reported that some contractors failed to make improvements due to various management and bureaucratic obstacles.

- **Outreach and Engagement**

Heat stress has been prioritised as a major concern for the workers and efforts to appropriately tackle it have received growing attention in the SC's Outreach and Engagement projects. Cooling technology in the form of customised protection gear was piloted in 2018 on some World Cup related projects and the SC was highly confident in the equipment's performance, basing their conclusions on a survey of workers conducted by the tech developing company itself (SC, 2019). It should be emphasised that the WWP regulations do not require contractors to provide any such gear and it is uncertain whether it will be able to reach all migrant workers under such circumstances.

With regards to other relevant efforts, company representatives highlighted various leisure time activities and facilities that they provide to migrant workers – both within their accommodation and as a transportation service to leisure destinations. Companies varied greatly in terms of leisure options available in part due to limited guidelines stipulated under the WWP. In other words, some contractors offered fewer activities because they have not been mandated to do more. The workers themselves expressed general satisfaction with recreational facilities, although about a half reported only using them once or twice a month. In addition to the companies' efforts, the SC itself also prepares various engagement events for the workers such as attending international football games, concerts and organising the annual Workers' Cup.

In terms of workers' awareness of their rights, it became evident that two groups are in critical need of assistance. Namely, some workers are not fully cognisant of the extent of their contractual rights and duties resulting from the lack of clear communication with the company management as well as language eloquence barriers. On the other hand, those who are aware of potential contractual breaches and discrepancies in their working and living arrangement do not feel empowered enough to raise the issues. The fear of reprimand and being sent back to their home

countries is many times greater than willingness to take the risk and raise potential flags.

Interview with the SC's representative provided first-hand information on the extent of the organisation's efforts and engagement in warranting contractors' compliance with the WWP regulations. Overall, the organisation is pleased with the amount of progress made in ensuring that contractors abide by the workers' welfare regulations. Notwithstanding, non-compliances remain an issue on a number of fronts. The push and pull between the SC and the contracted companies became evident throughout the study with one side focused on the long term legacies of the event with workers' protection as its essential element and the other side motivated by short-term profits that sees the workers as part of a transient workforce. However, the SC is optimistic that a carefully crafted mix of incentives and disincentives will soon compel all contractors to achieve full compliance with the WWP.

From the perspective of the companies' representatives, great efforts have been made to provide safe and equitable work environment for the migrant workers. Company representatives were proud to report that they are reimbursing their workers for recruitment fees under the SC's Universal Reimbursement Scheme, evidencing their commitment to improving workers' protection. However, some of the concerns raised by the surveyed workers were vehemently denied and the companies assumed a strong defensive stance. In other words, all wrongful practices reported by the workers had a justifiable explanation and were only temporary measures.

The Ministry of Administrative, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA) praised the efforts taken by the SC to promote the protection of workers' rights through the WWP and because of that view MOADLSA partners with them in several labour rights projects unrelated to the World Cup. However, one potential aspect of WWP that was identified by the Ministry representative as insufficiently addressed was the enhancement of workers' social networks. Namely, investing more in appropriately

designed activities and engagement efforts would boost the morale and sense of community and belonging among the workers. It became clear that the SC and MOADLSA have a two-way feedback with shared goals and mutual support. The Ministry's representative confidently stated that some of WWP's regulations and standards would become embedded in legislation and applicable to all workers in the country as part of Qatar's sustainability efforts beyond the 2022 World Cup.

Similar to the MOADLSA's perspective, the ILO's Project Office in Qatar welcomed the steps taken by the SC to protect the workers' rights by requiring from their contractors to go further beyond what the current state legislation mandates. The ILO's position was that of support and recognition of Qatar's efforts thus far to improve the working and living conditions of its migrant worker population. They were also cognisant of several pervasive challenges that remain, including delayed and unpaid wages and the urgent need to set a permanent minimum wage – issues that the ILO is willing to provide its assistance and support on. One such area has been supporting MOADLSA in enhancing the skills of labour inspectors as a law enforcement mechanism. In addition to protecting the low-skilled migrant workers' rights, the ILO believes that reforms of labour legislation will make Qatar more attractive as a destination of choice for high-skilled workers and investors, which should ultimately serve as an additional motivation to accelerate the necessary changes.

Overall, the perspective of SC's external auditor (Impactt) reflected that of other stakeholders. They particularly praised the Universal Reimbursement Scheme and the SC's lead in sharing best practices with MOADLSA and ILO on their experience with enforcing the temporary minimum wage and worker welfare forums. On the other hand, Impactt argued that more effort is needed to eliminate recruitment fees altogether. Likewise, they considered that the progress has been very limited in improving the recruitment process and assessing recruitment agents in origin countries.

While the external auditor was greatly content with the highly compliant worker accommodation sites across most SC contractors, they considered that more progress is still needed, particularly on the food and nutrition front as workers have consistently called for enhanced menus and higher food quality. They also recommended investing more in building workers' skills beyond the H&S and orientation requirements, as well as training company management on how to appropriately engage with workers from pre-arrival, throughout their employment period to their departure.

It should be noted that Impactt recognised that the SC is going beyond the legal requirements and is exerting efforts greater than what is expected of most employers at home and abroad. In that light, their recommendations and criticism are considered constructive and inclusive of issues that some other industries would not find significant enough to focus on. However, when reviewing the external auditor's progress reports and recommendations provided therein it became evident that they mainly reported on issues without identifying underlying causes and what steps should be taken to address them. Hence, assuming a more strategically oriented perspective and providing such insights would be of great benefit to the SC and other high level stakeholders alike.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

Although significant progress has been made as a result of the WWP implementation, this study suggests that there are areas for further improvement. In this regard, several important recommendations are put forward based on the findings of this study and are listed below.

5.2.1. Contract of Employment and Recruitment Fees

Given that migrant workers normally do not speak English or Arabic and have not fully completed their secondary education, they sometimes have issues understanding the terms of their contract. This together with the pressure and stigma to claim having understood the contractual terms and agree to them leave the workers vulnerable to exploitation. The survey of workers in this study uncovered discrepancies between the workers' general level of information and the rebuttals made by company representatives, indicating miscommunication of contractual duties and rights. Ensuring that both the job offer and contract are indeed provided in the worker's native language is a necessary first step to be taken by the relevant government authorities. However, efforts need to go further beyond to guarantee that the workers have a solid grasp of the contractual terminology and its implications.

Potential mechanisms could include pre-departure information sessions for the workers where they can have one-on-one briefings with company representatives prior to leaving their country of origin. These could be followed by more detailed induction sessions upon arrival in Qatar with the emphasis of ensuring that the workers truly comprehend their contractual terms before assuming their work duties. Therefore, companies should phase out their reliance on informal channels for resolving contract comprehension issues and instead streamline the process to provide official feedback to everyone.

Fees paid to recruiters is a well-known malpractice taking place mainly in the workers' countries of origin and is notoriously difficult to eradicate due to the informal and corrupt channels that it relies on. The SC is well aware of such extortionist practices

that place a financial burden on the migrant workers and has been very proactive in pioneering a method for rectifying it. In 2019, it launched the Universal Reimbursement Scheme (URS) pressuring its contractors to vouch to reimburse their workers for any fees they may have incurred during the recruitment process. However, while this is indeed a great step in the right direction of freeing the workers from exorbitant debts the scheme does nothing to prevent future abuse and collection of similar fees from future incoming workers.

Therefore, more awareness among the incoming workers is needed as well as rigorous sanctions and bilateral arrangements with origin countries to put a decisive end to the practice. Information sessions and awareness campaigns ought to take place in the workers' countries so that they are fully cognisant of the illegality of recruitment agents' requests to levy recruitment fees.

Whilst Qatar Visa Centres (QVCs) are mainly concerned with visa related matters, their role can be extended to monitor the operation of recruitment agencies by establishing a list of accredited agencies and updating it on a regular basis so that potential workers are not subject to recruitment fees, which ought to be fully covered by the contractors in Qatar. Additionally, the centres could serve as information points that offer awareness sessions addressing potential comprehension difficulties that workers encounter with the details of their contract.

Although most of the fraudulent collection of recruitment fees takes place prior to departing the country of origin, it should be noted that part of the problem lies domestically in Qatar as well, where a long-standing illegal market exists for selling visas to incoming workers. Cases of medium level HR managers have been implicated in issuing work visas using company credentials for the purpose of making a personal profit and providing sponsorship to workers while they search and find freelance employment elsewhere in the country. This implies that some workers make travel arrangements fully cognizant of the fact that they will have to pay for the issuance as

well as the regular renewal of such visas in Qatar where both they and the HR personnel in question are actively engaging in fraud.

Tackling this issue in the short and medium term would entail strengthening monitoring mechanisms to validate that workers are indeed gainfully employed by the companies under which their work visas are registered. Long term solution to this issue as well as many other recruitment and repatriation concerns would be to permanently de-link the workers' residency permit and related identification card from the employers. Instead, all incoming workers could have the Ministry of Administrative, Labour and Social Affairs or any other pertinent government body as their employment sponsor. In addition to eradicating the illegal practice of selling visas, such measure would ease job mobility of workers who would no longer need to go through the bureaucracy of applying for approvals to change sponsors each time they find new employment. It would also lessen the pressure on the Ministry of Interior resources as workers would no longer have to visit their offices to apply for the issuance of new IDs whenever a change of employers takes place. It would be a more humane solution overall as the name of the worker's employer would no longer be written on their ID card; the link to their employer would only be traceable in the computer system but not on the physical ID card.

It could be argued that fully resolving recruitment concerns might be impossible no matter how many mechanisms are developed and used. The global supply of labour far exceeds the demand which is particularly true in the case of South Asian sending countries and the Gulf receiving ones. This leaves the migrant workers in a desperate competition for job placements and they are pressured to tilt the scales in their favour by paying the recruitment agents. For such cases, options are limited as to what recipient countries like Qatar can do. It would be necessary to build strong bilateral agreements that specifically incentivise the sending countries' decision makers to stifle the intermediaries and recruitment agents and penalise them for imposing fees on migrant workers. The SC would be perfectly positioned to serve in an advisory capacity due to its extensive experience with developing reimbursement schemes.

This would be a win-win scenario as their incoming workers would no longer need to be compensated.

5.2.2. Expanding Access to Training

While safety training has overall been lauded as appropriate, improving and expanding other types of workplace related trainings is highly recommended. One-on-one briefings with incoming workers would be greatly beneficial, such that are offered in their native language and address concerns in non-condescending, simple terms. This would ensure that all workers have a full grasp of their contractual rights and obligations prior to assuming their work duties.

In addition, offering trainings focused on personal development including soft and transferable skills would empower the workers to gain new knowledge that they can later apply in their work environments. English language classes would be extremely beneficial for both the workers' own skillset as well as their work environment and ability to navigate life in Qatar. Offering such classes would help to foster a sense that their company cares about their personal and professional growth and is willing to invest in them. Skills enhancement trainings should be accompanied with monitoring mechanisms to ensure that development targets are met and that workers are indeed reaping the benefits. Workers who demonstrate high performance and drive for advancement should be rewarded via wage adjustments and a clear path to promotion. This would be beneficial to the contractors and workforce demands in Qatar.

Trainings on cultural integration are also highly recommended as they would encourage the workers to learn more about both the local Qatari culture and those of their co-workers. Working in Qatar is both a unique challenge and an opportunity to be exposed to many different cultures and it would be extremely valuable to have a chance to learn more about each other's culture and foster mutual respect and unity within the worker community.

Information and awareness sessions on mental wellbeing are likewise highly recommended to provide the workers with tools to discretely seek further help if needed. Contractors should also be made cognisant of the importance of mental health in the workplace and the effect it can have on productivity rates. Therefore, training on mental wellbeing and other more holistic development opportunities should not be perceived as merely a cost but an investment that serves both the workers and their environment.

The companies have also fallen short on providing targeted training for supervisors and other company personnel on how to appropriately deal with migrant workers and handle their concerns. Such trainings would greatly benefit all parties and empower the workers to foster a direct line of communication with their superiors whenever there are grievances to be addressed.

5.2.3. Promoting and Expanding Access to Healthcare

Workers who reported successfully accessing healthcare facilities expressed satisfaction with the services received. However, certain proportion of workers faced obstacles in accessing healthcare mainly due to either not having a health card or having no transportation options. In cases where the company does not offer private health insurance for its migrant workers they should be placed under state healthcare. Having a health card is mandatory for all migrant workers under the labour law and employers who fail to make such provisions could face prosecution and penalties. Yet, many still get away with not insuring their migrant workforce.

Merging the health card with residency permit into a single identification card – a potential policy reform currently discussed at ministerial levels – would eliminate the most common obstacle for accessing healthcare. In the meantime, the illegal practice of not offering healthcare can be rectified with two potential complementary approaches: increasing the frequency and number of labour inspection and informing the workers through large-scale awareness campaigns about their legal right to have

access to healthcare, and empowering the workers to anonymously report companies for non-compliance would enable labour inspections to hone in on most critical cases.

In addition, workers should be provided with physical access to the healthcare facilities. Labour camps are frequently located at remoted areas and healthcare centres and hospitals are not within a convenient distance. When workers are required to pay transportation from their already-limited means they frequently report opting to go to work ill instead. They cannot afford to foot the transportation bill to attain the necessary treatment and a doctor's note – which is required to obtain sick leave. Likewise, some companies choose to provide transportation only when sufficiently large number of requests is made causing some to wait for several days to receive medical attention. One potential solution would be to require companies to provide a regular (e.g. daily) travel route to the nearest healthcare facility so that workers can hop on and off when needed without prior arrangements. Another solution would be to establish remote services, i.e. having doctor consultations for low urgency cases over the phone or video call. The current COVID-19 pandemic has already obliged many healthcare facilities in the country to offer similar services so migrant workers could benefit from them as well.

Particular focus should be placed on expanding mental health screening and treatment procedures and normalising their use. Stigma and cultural taboos surrounding the subject need to be overcome with large-scale awareness campaigns preferably pioneered by workers' peers and role models. Likewise, uptraining the medical staff is recommended so that they are trained to efficiently screen migrant workers for potential symptoms and cater to their specific mental health concerns.

The arrangements for dealing with heat stress with the recently introduced cooling technology should no longer fall under SC's outreach and engagement efforts and is recommended to instead be treated as an essential element of H&S.

5.2.4. Enhancing Workers' Leisure Time

There is currently limited guidance and regulatory oversight over the variety and quality of leisure activities and facilities offered to the migrant workers by their employers. An important hurdle is the fact that workers have limited free time outside of their work duties (as many choose to work overtime to boost their earnings) and hence are less likely to engage in leisure time activities. In such cases it would be necessary to provide participation incentives to encourage the workers to partake in recreation and group bonding activities on a more regular basis. Keeping in mind the importance of social capital for the maintenance of an individual's mental and physical wellbeing, promoting leisure time activities among migrant workers should receive more management attention. Therefore, more efforts are needed to promote workers' engagement in social and physical activities, which will ultimately boost their quality of life and satisfaction outlooks.

Employers could potentially organise community exchanges as well as sightseeing tours for workers to visit important landmarks in the country. Both government and private organisations that specialise in domestic tourism could play a role by either sponsoring or becoming an outsourced provider of such activities. In addition, workers could be incentivised to participate in broader corporate social responsibility efforts of their companies and thereby engage in leisure and community building. This could include activities such as beach clean ups, charitable events, volunteering in the local community, etc.

Since it would be difficult to institutionalise and make specific leisure requirements – beyond basic recreation facilities – a necessary step would be to make the employers aware of the importance of this aspect of workers' lives and the effect it can have on their overall satisfaction, mental wellbeing and workplace efficiency. For instance, employers themselves could be incentivised by being offered networking and potentially value-added prizes to engage their workforce in industry-wide competitions and social exchanges.

It would also be beneficial to explore the option of providing workers with bonus payments or similar financial incentives to boost their performance and overall satisfaction. Additional income would lead to an increase in their savings and it would reduce the pressure of working overtime to make ends meet. As a result, workers might have more leisure time to engage in social activities.

5.2.5. Recognising Workers' Contributions

Migrant workers' lack of sense of belonging and appreciation could be rectified using various mechanisms to recognise their efforts.

In order to address migrant workers' concerns in the most efficient and effective manner, the SC has established a four-tier grievance system consisting of:

- Workers' Welfare Forums
- Workers' Welfare Officers
- Worker Representatives
- Grievance Hotline

Currently, thousands of SC contracted workers are benefitting from this system and is proven to be a success.

This study recommends that the four-tier grievance programme is expanded to include non-SC contractors throughout Qatar so that all migrant workers are given an equal opportunity to have their voices heard. Doing so in a phased and industry wide approach will lead to a gradual and comprehensive adoption of the programme and will empower the workers to feel that their voice matters and that they are respected and appreciated members of the society.

There is a wide socio-economic gap between the migrant workers and local Qatari citizens which leads to limited awareness and recognition among the general public of the arduous work put forward in delivering the country's large-scale infrastructure

projects. To help bridge this gap, undertaking awareness campaigns targeting Qataris and white-collar expatriates is necessary to help them acknowledge the importance of migrant workers for the growth of the country's economy and its overall development. In return, this would instil a sense of appreciation and belonging amongst the migrant workers and could lessen their feeling of guilt for leaving their homeland and families and for making great personal sacrifices.

In addition, companies could produce appreciation certificates for eligible workers to recognize their outstanding work and dedication. This symbolic appreciation gesture would encourage the migrant workers to persevere and provide them with a sense of accomplishment. To have a more impactful effect, such certificates could be accredited by the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA) which would give them greater leverage and significance.

The SC contracted workers are the backbone of stadium construction for the FIFA 2022 World Cup, yet most of them will no longer reside in Qatar by the time the projects are completed and the World Cup kicks off. Therefore, it is recommended to reserve seats in the audience for various 2022 World Cup competition matches so that the workers who were part of delivering the venues are rewarded with a chance to see them completed and in use. Not only would they witness the fruition of their hard work but it would also boost their sense of accomplishment and inclusion among the public.

Therefore, recognising migrant workers' hard work from both the society and industry perspectives would contribute to their feeling of belonging and could be beneficial to Qatar for its future workforce and sustainability plans.

5.2.6. Post-World Cup Legacy Monitoring

Upon completion of Qatar 2022 World Cup, it is important that the legacies of worker welfare reforms are maintained and enhanced by placing a mechanism in place to protect and build upon established migrant worker's policies and practices. One suggestion is to establish steering committees that would potentially be attached to

relevant ministerial bodies and tasked with monitoring employers' compliance with the enhanced worker welfare regulations. Additionally, consortiums of company representatives, government officials and worker representatives could be introduced to create a system of checks and balances and regularly review the worker welfare regulations, as well as to suggest further enhancements in the long run. Worker representation at such high level discussions could be achieved through labour unions which are currently prohibited for foreign workers in Qatar. Allowing the formation of such shared interest groups would enable the workers to demand their rights in a unified voice and it could serve as a direct line of communication with the state officials. Therefore, it is recommended to prepare such monitoring mechanisms for immediate deployment post-World Cup as a necessary measure to protect the legacy of Qatar's labour reforms and act as a blueprint for similar major events and their host countries in the future.

5.3. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD OF STUDY

This study contribute to both knowledge and practice.

5.3.1. Contribution to Knowledge

While a lot of work has been previously conducted in analysing different aspects of the FIFA World Cup events due to their vast economic and social importance, various gaps remain in the literature. This study contributed to closing the gap by analysing the opinions and positions of various stakeholders (migrant workers, employers, the ILO, the SC, Ministry of Labour and the external auditing company), and delving deeper into socio-economic and institutional factors that play into Qatar's position on migrant workers' rights. Empirical data collected for this study allowed for a multifaceted approach to analysing the effectiveness of the SC's WWP and the extent to which it has been successful in protecting migrant workers.

Moreover, existing studies mainly concentrate on the developed countries of the West and the implications on workers' rights in that particular context (Elmi, 2017; Cottle & Rombaldi, 2013), largely neglecting areas such as the Middle East. As this study has shown, there are certain underlying factors specific to this region due to its unique socio-economic and political composition as well as labour rights attitudes which makes it particularly compelling and noteworthy for academic discourse.

The study also addressed the general lack of large-scale data on first-hand testimonials from migrant workers with regards to how the WWP has affected their lives since its implementation. While a few critics have reported on the impacts of the Programme thus far (Jureidini, 2014; The Peninsula, 2020; BHRRC, 2019), there is very little feedback from the standpoint of migrant workers themselves and hence the findings of the workers' survey aim to close that gap in knowledge.

Likewise, the effects of the technical cooperation programme between Qatar and ILO are understudied. This is because, in many regards, the programme is very new and still being implemented. By conducting an interview with the ILO's Project Office Head

this study generated valuable output of data which can be compared and analysed with later feedback upon the completion of the cooperation to reflect on the progress made.

5.3.2. Contribution to Policy and the WWP

The format and findings of this study could act as a blueprint for the Qatari government and other countries in the region when drafting the necessary reforms and policies on migrant workers' rights. By dissecting various factors that play into the successful implementation of the WWP, Qatar's policymakers can better understand the position of each important stakeholder and investigate ways to improve the enforcement of legislative mechanisms. More specifically, the study makes a significant contribution to policy and the WWP by highlighting the areas that should be addressed in relation to migrant workers. Policy makers can examine the outcomes of this study to learn about the main areas of concern for workers as well as gaps in the WWP performance. In other words, the research created overall awareness of issues important to workers which policy makers can use to act upon with concrete measures. For example, with regards to the recruitment process, the study suggests information sessions for incoming workers on the issue of illegal recruitment fees and passport withholding as actionable matters that the policy makers can address. Offering personal development trainings and cultural exchanges could also be organised by policymakers working alongside employers. Promoting and expanding access to healthcare by merging the health card with residency permit into a single ID card could be another actionable policy reform, as well as developing better infrastructural access to healthcare facilities. Since Qatar's intention is to become an exemplary model for hosting mega events and enhancing the migrant workers protocols, the proposed framework of policy reforms and actions could be likewise adapted by other countries in the region for future World Cups and other mega sporting events.

5.3.3. Contribution to Practice

This study makes a contribution to practice in particular relation to the Workers' Welfare Programme. The approach taken in this study of exploring various components of organising and hosting mega events with the participation of national and international stakeholders together with the proposed framework could act as a template for future initiatives in Qatar. The framework could also be adapted by other countries in the region and possibly other countries.

5.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

- **Literature Review**

One of the early challenges faced was during the literature review stage when it became apparent that existing sources on the topic are limited in terms of both scope and coverage. While the amount of research on hosting mega events in general is relatively copious, studies on migrant workers employed for such events are scarce and make it rather challenging and time consuming to investigate the phenomenon. This required reviewing publications relevant to migrant workers in general. More specifically, there was virtually no research available on mega events and related labour issues in the context of the Middle East, which limited the researcher's ability to build on similar studies and make comparisons.

- **Data Collection**

At the time of the qualitative data collection, the global COVID-19 pandemic crisis began to unravel and measures of isolation and social distancing were implemented in Qatar. This has had some effect on the researcher's access to stakeholders in terms of both conducting face-to-face interviews with high-level authorities as well as reaching out for follow up feedback with migrant workers in particular. Namely, one of the interviews was conducted via telephone instead, while obtaining follow up feedback from different stakeholders has been rendered slow and inefficient.

Another limitation related to data collection was manifested when contacting the SC's external auditor (Impactt) for an interview. Namely, contractual obligations towards

the SC prevented them from partaking in an interview for this study, thereby compelling the researcher to solely rely on official annual reports as data sources instead.

5.5. AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future researchers could consider the following areas for further studies.

- A follow up study could be conducted on the implementation of the recommendations made by this study. By doing so, the study would verify or otherwise evaluate the recommendations made by this study.
- Reviewing the success or otherwise of the WWP is another important area of research. Namely, since the final outcomes of the Programme will not be known prior to the completion of this doctoral study, other researchers with similar interest could examine the extent to which the WWP will have been successful at the end and whether certain aspects of it were eventually embedded into state legislation.
- The survey of migrant workers could be expanded by conducting interviews both pre- and post-arrival to Qatar to obtain a more thorough understanding of the recruitment process as well as workers' expectations and possible misconceptions about their employment terms. Additionally, conducting a longitudinal study where at least a certain portion of the study panel would be made of previously surveyed participants would enable a comparison over time as the contractors become more compliant towards the fast-approaching 2022 World Cup.
- Outdoor working environments in desert heat together with a high increase of body temperature would have a negative impact on the health and safety of migrant workers and their performance. The protective cooling clothing and facilities for migrant workers introduced in 2019 is still in the deployment

stage. Further research could evaluate the impact of and suitability of such clothing and technologies in a longitudinal study.

- An area of research that is often neglected is the examination of contributions that migrant workers make to the event itself, as well as to the host nation overall. It would be interesting to explore their contributions from various perspectives, including the country's economic development, labour law legislation and specifically the success of the WWP and the 2022 World Cup event. Migrant workers are indeed a crucial part of Qatar's aim to achieve its multitude of development objectives, and therefore it would be both ethically and academically desirable to study their contributions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire for Migrant Construction Workers

Questionnaire No:

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Survey Questionnaire (English Version)

Dear Participant,

My name is Ali Shuaibi. As a part of my Doctoral programme, I am conducting this survey to collect data about the implementation of Qatar's workers' welfare programme in preparation for Qatar 2022 and its maintenance after.

I would be grateful if you could spend 10-15 minutes and complete the questionnaire. There is no commercial interest, it is anonymous, and all answer would be treated confidentially, giving no scope for identification of respondents.

Please note that taking part in the study is NOT compulsory and you are under no obligation to complete this questionnaire. However, your answers are valuable to me and will help me to make recommendation on how to maintain and enhance the worker's welfare programme. If you want to find out more about this research, please contact me through the following email (alshuaibi666@gmail.com).

Thank you very much in advance for your time spared to participate in the survey.

Yours Sincerely,

Ali Shuaibi

Phd Candidate

University of Bolton, UK

Section A: Personal Information

Please tick the following appropriate box () about yourself.

1. Your gender:

1. Male 2. Female

2. Your age:

1. 22-32 2. 33-43 3. 44-54 4. 55-65 5. ≥ 66

6. Others (please specify).....

3. Your marital status:

1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Widowed

4. Your current occupation:

1. Labourer 2. Engineer 3. Supervisor 4. Manager

5. Others (please specify).....

5. Your highest education level:

1. PhD 2. Masters 3. Bachelor 4. Two-year Degree

5. High school 6. Others (please specify).....

6. Your approximate monthly income in QR:

1. ≤ QR500 2. QR 501-1000 3. QR 1001-1500

4. QR 1501-2000 5. QR 2001-2500 6. QR 2501-3000

7. QR 3001-3500 8. QR 3501-4000 9. QR 4001-4500

10. QR 4501-5000 11. ≥ QR 5001

7. Your years of experience in construction projects in Qatar:

1. 3 years 2. 6 years 3. 9 years
4. 12 years 5. Others (please specify).....

Section B: Ethical Recruitment

1. Before coming to Qatar, who did you sign a contract or job offer with?

1. Employer 2. Sponsor or Kafael 3. Contracting agency
4. Others (please specify).....
5. Have not signed a contract or job offer with anyone
19. Don't know 20. Refused

If your answer is 1, 2, 3 or 4, please answer the questions inside the box.

2. Was the contract or job offer you signed before coming to Qatar provided to you in your own language?
1. Yes 2. No
3. Were you given time to read the contract?
1. Yes 2. No
4. Did you understand the contract before signing?
1. Yes 2. No

5. Were the details of employment benefits (working hours, salary, rest days, vacation or any other benefits) in your current contract were very clear?

1. Very clear 2. Somewhat clear 3. Not clear at all

4. Signed a blank contract or job offer 5. Others (please specify).....

19. Don't know 20. Refused

6. Who is holding your passport?

1. Myself 2. Employer 3. Sponsor or Kafael

4. Contracting agency 5. Others (please specify)

19. Don't know 20. Refused

7. How many days do you work in a typical week for your primary job?

1. 1 day 2. 2 days 3. 3 days 4. 4 days

5. 5 days 6. 6 days 7. Others (please

specify).....

19. Don't know 20. Refused

8. In addition to your average working hours, how often do you work overtime?

1. Daily 2. Several days per week 3. Several days per

month

4. Never 5. Others (please specify)

19. Don't know 20. Refused

9. How do you receive your salary?

1. Cash 2. Direct deposit (WPS) or bank transfer

3. Check 4. Others (please specify)

19. Don't know 20. Refused

10. Thinking of the past 12 months, how often have you received your salary on time?

1. Always 2. Usually 3. Sometimes 4. Never

5. Others (please specify).....

19. Don't know 20. Refused

11. Besides your current basic salary, do you receive any benefits such as free housing, food allowance, health insurance, and paid sick leave?

1. Yes 2. No

12. Do you receive payment for your air tickets from your employer to visit your family?

1. I receive my annual air tickets from my employer

2. I receive my annual air tickets in cash

3. Others (please specify).....

19. Don't know 20. Refused

13. How often did you take your leave since you started working in Qatar?

1. Twice a year 2. Once a year 3. Every two years
4. Never 5. Others (please specify)
19. Don't know 20. Refused

14. Did you have to pay money to anyone (family, friends, an agency, a sponsor or Kafeel) to come to work in Qatar?

1. Yes 2. No

15. Other than day to day living and paying off any migration loans, what goals do you and your family have with your savings from Qatar?

1. Starting a business 2. Buying property 3. Dowry
4. Education 5. No savings 6. None
5. Others (please specify).....
19. Don't know 20. Refused

16. Are you aware of the worker's welfare programme?

1. Yes 2. No

Section C: Training

1. Did you receive orientation training in your language when you began working for the Supreme Committee?

1. Yes 2. No

2. My management provides enough training about safety in the workplace

1. Strongly Disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neutral
4. Agree 5. Strongly Agree

3. Are you aware of a way to report complaints about your workplace?

1. Yes 2. No

If your answer is Yes, please answer the question inside the box.

4. Which ways of reporting complaints are you aware of?

- 1. Through Supreme Committee workers welfare hotline
- 2. Through Ministry of Administrative, Labour and Social Affairs hotline
- 3. Through Ministry of Interior
- 4. Through national human rights committee
- 5. Others

Section D: Health and Safety

1. Overall, how would you rate your health?

1. Very good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Bad
 4. Very bad 5. Others (please specify)
 19. Don't know 20. Refused

2. Thinking about your safety at your current employment, please answer the following questions:

For each of the following statements, please rate whether you strongly agree (5), agree (4), neutral (3), disagree (2), or strongly disagree (1):

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

No.	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
1	My supervisor encourages safe behaviour to prevent injuries and accidents at work.					
2	The people I work with don't care about safety rules.					
3	My management provides me with training about summer heat related safety measures.					
4	My employer care about me					

3. Do you have a valid medical card?

1. Yes 2. No

4. Thinking about your health at your current employment, how often have you been bothered by any of the following problems?

For each of the following statements, please rate whether you strongly agree (5), agree (4), neutral (3), disagree (2), or strongly disagree (1):

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

No.	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
1	Little interest or pleasure in doing things?					
2	Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless ?					
3	Trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much?					
4	Feeling tired or having little energy?					
5	Poor appetite or overeating?					
6	Feeling bad about yourself - or that you are a failure or have let yourself or your family down?					
7	Trouble concentrating on things, such as reading or watching television?					
8	Feeling stressed at work?					
9	Thoughts that you would be better off dead, or of hurting yourself in some way ?					

5. Thinking about your rights at your current employment, please answer the following questions:

For each of the following statements, please rate whether you strongly agree (5), agree (4), neutral (3), disagree (2), or strongly disagree (1):

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

No.	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
1	I feel safe at my work area.					
2	At the place where I work, I am treated with respect.					
3	I trust the management at the place where I work.					
4	At my job, I know what to do in case of an emergency.					
5	The safety and health conditions where I work are good.					
6	My supervisor treats me fairly.					
7	My co-workers are friendly and help each other.					
8	There is a lot of smoke, dust, and fumes where I work.					
9	At the place I work, it gets too hot.					
10	I find my work stressful.					
11	I get the support and advise I need from my employer					
12	I am happy working in this environment					
13	I am under pressure to work harder to meet targets					
14	The work breaks during the day are good					

Section E: Accommodation

1. Overall, how would you rate the quality of your current living space?

1. Excellent 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor

19. Don't know 20. Refused

2. How would you rate the air conditioning in your room?

1. Excellent 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor

19. Don't know 20. Refused

3. How would you rate the plumbing in your living space?

1. Excellent 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor

5. I have no plumbing in my accommodation

19. Don't know 20. Refused

4. How would you rate the cafeteria at your accommodation?

1. Excellent 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor

5. I don't have cafeteria 19. Don't know 20. Refused

5. How would you rate the quality of the food you received on site?

1. Excellent 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor

5. I don't receive food on site 19. Don't know 20.

Refused

6. How often do you have access to clean drinking water at your accommodation?

1. Always 2. Usually 3. Sometimes 4. Never
19. Don't know 20. Refused

7. How secure is the place you keep your money and other valuable possessions?

1. Very secure 2. Somewhat secure 3. Somewhat insecure
4. I don't have any space to secure my money and other possessions
5. Very insecure 19. Don't know 20. Refused

8. Does your employer provide you with transportation to work?

1. Yes 2. No

9. How would you rate the air-conditioning in the transportation?

1. Excellent 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor
5. There is no air conditioning in the transportation
19. Don't know 20. Refused

10. Overall, how crowded would you say the transportation is?

1. Very crowded 2. Somewhat crowded
3. Somewhat uncrowded 4. Very uncrowded
19. Don't know 20. Refused

11. Are you happy with the living conditions and standards?

1. Yes 2. No

12. Are you happy with your accommodation facilities, shower, toilets....?

1. Yes 2. No

Section F: Outreach and Engagement

1. Do you wear a cooling suit?

1. Yes 2. No

2. Do you feel more comfortable working in the summer heat while wearing the new cooling suit?

1. Yes 2. No

3. Do you think it is important for your health to eat healthy food?

1. Yes 2. No

4. Do you prefer to eat your traditional food?

1. Yes 2. No

5. Do you eat enough healthy food to keep your strength through the day?

1. Yes 2. No

6. Before coming to Qatar to work for Supreme Committee projects, have you ever been through a full medical screening?

1. Yes 2. No

7. After coming to Qatar, do you like the idea of going through a full medical screening?

1. Yes 2. No

8. My work experience in Qatar will help progress my career once I return home.

1. Strongly Disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neutral
4. Agree 5. Strongly Agree

9. Compared to your home country, do you find that the quality of your life in Qatar is much better, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or much worse?

1. Much better 2. Somewhat better 3. Somewhat worse
4. Much worse 19. Don't know 20. Refused

Section G: Compliance and Auditing

1. Do you feel that it is easy to follow company rules while working?

1. Yes 2. No

2. How frequent does your company evaluates your work?

1. Daily 2. Weekly 3. Monthly 4. Never

19. Don't know 20. Refused

3. Do you fulfil the work requirements of your company?

1. Yes 2. No

4. Have you received pay raise?

1. Yes 2. No

5. Do you get any bonus?

1. Yes 2. No

Section H: Workers' Welfare Programme

1. Overall, how satisfied are you with your salary?

1. Very satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied

3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied

5. Others (please specify).....

19. Don't know 13. Refused

2. How satisfied are you with the following aspects of life in Qatar?

Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Neutral	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5

N o.	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
1	Salary					
2	Housing					
3	Food					
4	Transportation					
5	Medical care					

3. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way your rights are respected here in Qatar?

1. Very satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied
 3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied
 5. Others (please specify).....
 19. Don't know 20. Refused

4. Overall, how satisfied are you working for the Supreme Committee?

1. Very satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied
 3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied
 5. Others (please specify).....
 19. Don't know 20. Refused

5. How satisfied are you working for the Supreme Committee in comparison with your previous employers in Qatar?

- 1. Much more satisfied with the Supreme Committee
- 2. Somewhat more satisfied with the Supreme Committee
- 3. About the same
- 4. Somewhat less satisfied with the Supreme Committee
- 5. Much less satisfied with the Supreme Committee
- 19. Don't know 20. Refused

6. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way your complaint was handled?

- 1. Very satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied
- 3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied
- 5. Others (please specify).....
- 19. Don't know 20. Refused

7. How satisfied are you with the amount of sleep that you get on average in a 24-hour period?

- 1. Very satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied
- 3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied
- 5. Others (please specify).....
- 19. Don't know 20. Refused

Your time and cooperation are highly valued!

Thank you very much for your participation.

Appendix B: Guide for Interview Questionnaire for Company Representatives

Section A: Ethical Recruitment

1. Before bringing your labours, what are your recruitment procedures?
2. Why some of your labours have not signed a contract or job offer with your company before coming to Qatar?
3. Where they giving a time to read the contract?
4. Why some of your labours signed the contract without understanding it?
5. Can you please explain the reason why some of your labours do not have a weekly day off?
6. Could you please explain why some of your labours' passports were held by company?
7. How much salary do you give to your labours, because some of them are not satisfied?
8. Why some of your labours received their salary in cash?
9. Do they have to pay money to anyone to come to Qatar?
10. Do you use agents?
11. What rate of commission do you pay to your agent/s?
12. If you using agents, how much do they charge the potential employees,
13. What is their selection criteria?
14. How do you know they are operating professionally, ethical, and responsibly?
15. Are potential employees receiving any support for completing/signing relevant form?
16. What advice is provided to them at that stage,
17. Are terms and condition of employment clearly communicated with potential employees, how?
18. What happens when the employees arrive in Doha airport for the first time?
19. How do you normally pay employees, bank account, cash, etc.?

20. Is there any rule/control over time? How do you monitor this?

Section B: Training

1. Does your company provide training to labours? If yes, what are these?
2. Could you please explain why some of your labours did not receive orientation training in their language?
3. Where they provided with training about their rights, safety and emergency training programs, accommodation rules, computer or internet training programs, financial management training, cultural training programs about Qatar, and training about immigrant law and regulation?
21. Who in your company provide the training?
22. Is there any audit trail in operation?
23. Are there any control procedures/testing to check that employees are equipped with required skills, etc.?
24. Does WWP authorizes conduct any visits/checks on the training programme that you offer, how often?
25. Anything else you can think of in this area?

Section C: Health & Safety

1. What are the concerns of your company towards labours' health and safety?
2. Do you provide mask for your labours, because some of them are complaining from smoke, dust, fumes?
3. Why some of the labours in your company are stressful at work?
4. Some labours are not receiving healthy food at site?
5. Why some of the labours in your company were not provided with valid medical card?

6. Why some labours are having problems such as feeling tired or having little energy which affect their health?
7. Why some of the labours in your company were having thoughts that they would be better off dead, or of hurting themselves in some way?
8. Why some of the labours in your company are not wearing a cooling suit?
9. Why some of the labours in your company were not fairly treated by their supervisor?
10. Why can't you bring more labours, because some of your labours are under pressure to work harder to meet targets?
11. Does your company really have concern about the labours' safety, because some of the Labours are complaining that the people whom they are working with don't care about safety rules?
12. Does your company really have concern about the labours' food, because some of your labours agreed that the cafeteria at their accommodation are poor?
13. Do potential employees are subjected to any health check as a part of recruitment?
14. Do they receive regular health check when they are working for you? How this is conducted, who conduct this, do you have any record, and does WWP monitor this?
15. What happens when you discover that an employee has a health problem?
16. Is medical services free for migrant worker, if not, who pays for treatment and medication?
17. How long holidays the employees are entitle to?
18. What is the maximum number of days' employees can work without day off?
19. Do you deduct any salary if they are sick?
20. Do you provide any health support for employee's family (if in Qatar)?

Section D: Accommodation

1. Do your company provide accommodation and transportation for labours?
2. Why some of the labours in your company are not happy with their accommodation facilities, shower, toilets and so on?
3. Could you please explain why some of your labours are complaining about the transportation?
4. Are employees provided with accommodation when they arrive in Qatar, what is the process, what preparation do you make for this?
5. Does the provision of accommodation extend to worker's family?
6. Is the accommodation free, if not, how much do you charge?
7. Is accommodation approved by WWP or relevant authorities?
8. If a problem is reported about accommodation and facilities, how long it takes to resolve it?
9. Are employees provided with any compensation when accommodation is not up to the required standards?

Section E: Outreach and Engagement

1. Does your company provide any activities for labours?
2. What actions did your company take to improve the quality of life towards your labours, because some of them are complaining?
3. After coming to Qatar, why some of the labours don't like the idea of going through a full medical screening?
4. Is taking part in outreach and engagement activities free, how do you encourage employees to take part?

Section F: Compliance and Auditing

1. Do your labours follow company rules?
2. How do you know, are there any audit/control in operation, who conduct this, how?
3. Are you monitored/visited to ensure your company meet the required standard for compliance in relation to all aspects of your Q2022 operations, how?

Section G: Workers' Welfare Program

1. How satisfied are your labours with the WWP?
2. Why some of the labours in your company are not aware of the worker's welfare programme?
3. How do you know about the WWP?
4. What is your understanding of WWP?
5. How do you implement it?
6. What is the requirement of WWP in relation to your company/operation?
7. Which is the most important factor in your view about the WWP
8. Do you inform your employees about WWP, how?
9. Do you get any visit from WWP?
10. What happens if you do not comply with the WWP requirements/policies etc.?
11. Have you ever been subjected to a negative report from WWP,
12. Do you know about the disciplinary procedures, etc.?
13. Are you happy with the WWP, does it add to your costs? How?
14. Can you suggest any recommendation on how WWP can be enhanced?

Appendix C: Guide for Interview Questionnaire for MOADLSA

1. Could you please tell me about the history and evolution of labour law in Qatar?
2. When, how, and why the labour law for migrant workers became to operation?
3. How do you see the recent reforms introduced by the Ministry of Labour with regard to migrant workers?
4. Is there a non-discriminatory minimum wage set for the migrant labours as per the Qatar Labour Laws?
5. What is the impact of having abolished the Kafala system, removing the need for exit permit and NOC to change employers on the construction companies in Qatar?
6. Do you think that the recent reformations introduced by the ADLSA would have an impact on the opinion of international media and community?
7. What are your views on the Workers Welfare Program (WWP) Standards developed by the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC) and its implementation?
8. How would you describe your involvement and contributions to WWP in the following areas?
 - a. Ethical recruitment
 - b. Training
 - c. Health and safety
 - d. Accommodation
 - e. Outreach and Engagement
 - f. Compliance and auditing
 - g. Workers Welfare Program
9. Could you please comment on the collaboration between the ADLSA, SC and International Labour Organization, on the heat stress research, assessing heat-related risks to workers in Qatar, as well as the effectiveness of mitigation measures implemented on FIFA World Cup sites?

10. Is there a policy for minimum wage for migrant workers in Qatari Labour Law, what is it, how much is it, and when it came to affect?
11. Do you have any suggestions on how WWP can be enhanced?
12. In your opinion, are there any areas within the Qatari Labour Laws that can be enhanced?
13. How do you see the Qatari Labour Laws evolving in the future?

Appendix D:
Guide for Interview Questionnaire for the Head of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Project Office in Doha

1. What is the role of your organization in Qatar? Could you explain more on the ILO Project Office set up in Qatar?
2. Qatar was briefly on the spotlight for its conventional policies towards the labours. But, since 2017, after entering the comprehensive 3-year technical cooperation program with International Labours Organization, do you think it has an impact on the opinion of international media and community?
3. What are the challenges that remain still?
4. So in this case if there is some labour system complaining about not getting their salary in time. What is your role on this case?
5. Is there is any such system which is like connecting between you and other government parties as well as the contractors who are working in these stadiums in Qatar?
6. Are you taking now a part of the human rights or still human rights are working on the complaint of the labourers?
7. Do you have a committee who would follow up to make sure this kind of complaint has been done or if there is any action taken towards this?
8. As of this month, the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (ADLSA) abolished the Kafala system, no more exit visa for anyone, no more NOC to change employer and a non-discriminatory minimum wage. What is your viewpoint on Qatar setting an important step forward in

supporting the rights of migrant workers? Did ILO play a major role to bring about this change?

9. For example, I am working in a private company. Whether I'm a labourer or engineer or doctor or whatever can I move to any other company without a NOC?
10. Did ILO play a major role brewing up this change?
11. Have you seen on the other side? What are the negative side effects?
12. If someone wants to move and the company does not accept nor provide NOC, what can this person do/ where can he lodge his complaint?
13. What is your current view on the labour laws of Qatar? How will this reformation contribute to a more efficient and productive economy?
14. Are there any recent violations by either the ADLSA or contracting companies, with regard to the labour guidelines provided by ILO?
15. Is there any support that ILO has provided towards WWP?
16. Apart from these recent labour reforms, are there other major law reformations required to support the rights migrant labourers?
17. Going back to combining the I.D. card with medical card, is that already implemented?
18. If the QID is getting expired, does it mean the medical card also get expired?
19. Could you please comment on the collaboration between your organization, Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs and Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC), on the heat stress research? You had already answered it. But also, there is a research on the cooling vest.

SC has already provided their contractors with the cooling vests but I don't know how successful this initiative was. Could you please comment on it?

20. Is it mandatory for workers to wear cooling vests or it's optional?
21. What are your views on the Workers Welfare Standards developed by the SC?
22. Don't you think that SC is stipulating some strong standards or rules on the contractors? For the long run, after world cup, do you think medium sized contractors can comply with the same standards?
23. What's going to be sustainable after 2020?
24. Do you think that the Workers Welfare Standards by SC can be used as a template for similar events in Qatar/ region/ world-wide?
25. How is Qatar currently ranked in terms of their reformed labour laws and migrant labour rights?
26. Is it because of the world cup and they want to be in a good form?

Appendix E:

Guide for Interview Questionnaire for Supreme Committee and Delivery and Legacy (SC) Acting Auditing and Compliance Manager

1. What is the role of your organization with regard to auditing the contracting companies against Workers Welfare Standards?
2. What is the approach and scope of work of your auditing?
 - What is the rationale for your quarterly cycle?
 - How do contractors react to your audit operation?
3. Does SC review and improve auditing methodologies with third party auditing companies like Impactt and Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA)?
4. Could you please detail the role played by SC- Building and Wood Workers' International (BWI) Joint Working Group (SC-BWI JWG)?
5. In Impactt's 2017 annual report, it recommended SC to follow a three year roadmap consisting of three main pillars. Could you please elaborate on the roadmap and the three pillars?
6. In your opinion, are contractors fully responding to WWP's requirements? If not, what are some of the major reasons for non-compliance, and how do you help them tackle the obstacles?
7. Do subcontractors fully comply with WWPs requirement? If not, what are some of the major reasons for non-compliance, and how do you help them tackle the obstacles?
8. Based on your audits, what are workers' major concerns on the following issues?

- Ethical recruitment
- Working hours, rest and leave
- Wages and allowances
- Contracts and administration
- Health and Safety (Working Conditions)
- Accommodation and Food
- Treatment
- Workers Welfare Program (Worker Representation)
- End of service procedures

9. Apart from the areas listed in question 10, are you aware of other concerns that the workers may have?

10. Since the launch of WW Standards in 2014, reports have highlighted the positive impact it has caused amongst the migrant labourers. In your opinion, what is the biggest change the launch of WW Standards has brought about in the lives of the labourers?

11. In your Fifth Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report (2019), low attendance of workers in training sessions was pointed out as one of the challenges faced. What are in your opinion main reasons for low attendance and how have you addressed that challenge?

12. The 2019 progress report also mentions that a mental health pathway would be launched in 2020- could you elaborate on what that will entail, and how have you been addressing mental health concerns prior to launching this pathway?

13. What are some of the main achievements so far of the nutrition programme?
How do you measure workers' satisfaction with the food options provided by their employer?
14. With regards to StayQool technology, how is workers' level of comfort measured, aside from the survey undertaken by the company who developed it (TechNiche)? Are workers' satisfaction and comfort levels tracked over time, and are they required to wear the equipment regularly?
15. Are contractors encouraged in any specific way to provide workers with leisure time activities or facilities? How does SC provide workers' engagement and socializing opportunities?
16. Do you think the recent labour law reformations introduced by MOADLSA will impact the WW Standards?
17. Based on your experience world-wide, how do you compare the implementation of WWP programme in other countries/ similar initiatives?
18. Do you think that the steps taken by your organization in the implementation of the WWP would have an impact on the opinion of international media and community?
19. Do you think that the WWP can be used as a template for similar events in Qatar/region/world-wide?
20. Do you think that the regulations set out by the WWP can/will be introduced into the Labour Law in Qatar, and become applicable to all workers in the country?

Appendix F: Guide for Interview Questionnaire for the SC's External Auditor (Impactt)

1. What is the role of your organization with regard to Supreme Committee for Qatar 2022 world cup Delivery and Legacy (SC)?
2. What is the approach and scope of work of your auditing?
 - What is the rationale for you quarterly cycle?
 - How do contractors react to your audit operation?
3. What is your view concerning the contribution of WWPs to worker's lives?
4. In your opinion, are contractors fully responding to WWP's requirements
5. Do subcontractors fully comply with WWPs requirement?
6. Based on your quarterly audits, does the Supreme Committee respond favourably to your reports and How?
7. Do you have any views on the contractor's opinion regarding the required standards?
8. Based on your audits, do workers have any concern on the following issues?
 - Ethical recruitment:
 - Working hours, rest and leave
 - Wages and allowances
 - Contracts and administration
 - Health and Safety (Working Conditions)
 - Accommodation and Food
 - Treatment
 - Workers Welfare Program (Worker Representation)

- End of service procedures
9. Apart from the areas listed in question 8, are you aware of other concern that the workers may have
 10. In your opinion, do you think workers are sufficiently provided with all the training required to perform their duties, including induction, health and safety, worker's right, etc.
 11. Based on your experience world-wide, how do you compare the implementation of WWP programme in other counties/similar initiatives?
 12. Do you have any views on the experience of workers working on Qatar 2022 world cup?
 13. Do you think that the steps taken by the supreme Committee in the implementation of the WWP would have an impact on the opinion of international media and community?
 14. Do you think that the WWP can be used as a template for similar events in Qatar/region/world-wide?
 15. How would you describe your involvement and contribution to WWP in Qatar?

Appendix G:
List of National External Stakeholders for the Qatar 2022 World Cup

Full

No.	Stakeholder
1	Al Kass TV
2	Al Rayyan TV
3	Aljazeera
4	Aspetar Hospital
5	Aspire Katara Hospitality
6	Aspire Zone Foundation
7	belN Sports
8	Communications Regulatory Authority
9	Doha Exhibition & Convention Center
10	General Authority of Customs
11	General Tax Authority
12	Government Communications Office
13	Hamad Bin Khalifa University
14	Hamad International Airport
15	Hamad Medical Corporate
16	Hamad Port - Mwani
17	His Highness The Amir Guards
18	Host Broadcast Services
19	Host Country
20	Internal Special Forces
21	Josoor Institute
22	Katara
23	Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs
24	Ministry of Commerce & Industry
25	Ministry of Culture and Sports
26	Ministry of Defense
27	Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics

28	Ministry of Education and Higher Education
29	Ministry of Energy & Industry
30	Ministry of Finance
31	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
32	Ministry of Interior
33	Ministry of Municipality and Environment
34	Ministry of Public Health
35	Ministry of Transport and Communications
36	Mowasalat (Karwa, Public Transport)
37	Msheireb
38	National Tourism Council
39	Ooredoo / Vodafone
40	Primary Health Care Corporation
41	Private Engineering Office
42	Public Works Authority
43	Qatar Airways
44	Qatar Aviation Services
45	Qatar Civil Aviation Authority
46	Qatar Civil Defense
47	Qatar Development Bank
48	Qatar Environment and Energy Research Institute
49	Qatar Football Association
50	Qatar Foundation
51	Woqood
52	Qatar General Electricity and Water Corporation
53	Qatar General Organization for Standardization
54	Qatar Museums
55	Qatar National Bank
56	Qatar National Convention Centre
57	Qatar News Agency

58	Qatar Olympic Committee
59	Qatar Petroleum
60	Qatar Railways Company
61	Qatar Stars League
62	Qatar Television
63	Qatar University
64	Qatar Volunteer Center
65	Red Crescent
66	Stadium Authority
67	The Amiri Diwan
68	United Development Company

Appendix H: Labour Law Reforms

Below are the most important legislative developments during last five years with respect to migrant workers' protection:

- Law No. (1) of 2015 amending the Labour Law (Wages Protection System W.P.S.)

Law No. (1) of 2015 was issued amending some provisions of the Labour Law issued as Law No. (14) of 2014, to start implementing the 'wages protection system for workers subject to the provisions of the Labour Law', which requires that the wages should be transferred to the account of worker in anyone of the Financial institutions in the country, the system also establishes a mechanism for controlling violators, through electronic auditing and fixing the penalties on the employers delaying the payment of wages.

- The Cabinet of Ministers approved on October 16, 2019 a draft law regulating the minimum wage, first of its kind in the State of Qatar, obliging employers to provide decent food and accommodation to workers in addition to the basic wage. The new law will also apply to domestic workers, i.e. those employed in private households, who were previously left unprotected. The draft law includes formation of a committee on minimum wage to monitor the impact of minimum wages system and propose due amendments to it periodically.

- The law regulating Entry, Exit and residence of expats issued as Law No. (21) of 2015:

Law No. (21) of 2015 regulating the entry, exit residence of expatriates, brought out a significant change compared to the previous legislation, as it completely abolished the sponsorship system and replaced it with contractual employment relationship. The law specifies the conditions which allow an

expat worker to change his/her workplace (employer) in accordance to the articles (21-22) as follows:

- Move of the worker to another employer before the contract period ends, that is, by mutual consent between the worker and the employer.
- Move of the worker to another employer immediately after the contract term ends, or after five years have passed if the contract was for an indefinite period.
- Move to another employer in the case the employer dies or the legal entity expires for any reason.
- The expatriate worker may temporarily change his/her employer, if there are lawsuits between him and the employer.
- The expatriate worker may change his/her employer, when the employer is found to be abusive against him, or when the public interest so requires.
- The legislators also decided to abolish the rule which stipulates that terminated workers must leave Qatar and remain abroad for a period of two years, before being allowed to re-enter and sign a contract with a new employer. The Cabinet of Ministers approved on October 16, 2019 the issuance of a draft resolution to set regulations facilitating the transfer of workers to another employer during the contract period, in a manner that preserves the rights of both parties.

- Law No. (13) of 2018 (Revocation of Exit Permit):

According to this law, the expatriate worker shall have the right to exit the country on temporary basis or forever during the validity of work contract. On the other side, the employer may submit to the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA) a list of those who shall need his/her prior approval to leave the country due to the nature of their work, provided that they should not exceed 5 % of his/her total

employees/workforce. On October 16, 2019, the Cabinet of Ministers approved the issuance of a draft law that would allow the cancellation of exit permit for the entities not subject to the provisions of Qatar Labour Law and for the domestic workers too.

- Law No. (13) of 2017 establishing labour dispute settlement committees:

The law obliges both the worker and the employer that if a dispute arises between them relating to the application of the law or the labour contract, to present the dispute at first to the competent department in the Ministry, which takes the necessary measures to settle the dispute amicably, and if the parties accept the result of the settlement, it will be written as an agreement which shall have the power of an executive document. If the dispute could not resolve, or the worker or employer refused to accept the settlement result of competent department, the dispute will be referred to the Labour Disputes Resolution Committee.

According to the aforementioned law, one or more committees have been established as the Committee for the Settlement of Labour Disputes, concerned with taking a decision within a period of no more than three weeks in all disputes arising from the provisions of the law or the labour contracts, in cases when the relevant Ministry department fails to mediate and settle the dispute. However, the Committee does not have enforcement power, beyond providing an executive document.

The aforementioned law indeed aims to establish a speedy and effective remedy mechanism to settle the disputes arising between the worker and the employer, rather than waiting for judiciary's judgements that adhere to due judicial procedures and appointments, which often result in workers returning to their country of origin without receiving their due wages or resolving other disputes.