



Frontlines Report 2015

Qatar: Profit and Loss

Counting the cost of modern day slavery in Qatar:
What price is freedom?



ITUC CSI IGB

International Trade Union Confederation

Contents

Foreword	3
1. Qatar’s Balance Sheet – Who pays the price for modern-day slavery in Qatar?	5
2. Qatar Profit – How much is the FIFA 2022 World Cup worth?	7
3. Who’s building Qatar? The companies behind the infrastructure boom	12
4. Qatar Loss – How many workers are dying in Qatar?	22
5. Companies and the rule of law	28
6. The ITUC Case Files 2015	32
End notes	37



▲ Photo: Benjamin Crowe

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Counting the cost of modern-day slavery in Qatar: What price is freedom?

The cost of doing business in the slave state of Qatar is the denial of the fundamental rights and freedoms for 1.8 million migrant workers; for companies, the cost is corruption.

When a company makes its profits from slave labour it accepts the debasing of humanity.

No CEO would preside over a business model that enslaves their own sons or daughters. Doing business in Qatar means accepting the kafala system, in opposition to the rights and freedoms granted in the democratic nations of their company headquarters.

Every CEO operating in Qatar is aware that their profits are driven by low wage levels - wages that are often based on a discriminatory racial system - and that these profits risk safety, resulting in indefensible workplace injuries, illness and deaths.

“ **Local and foreign companies stand to make profits of \$15 billion from Qatar's infrastructure rollout, based on an average profit margin of 7.5 per cent.** ”

Construction companies which take responsibility in other locations for accommodation that is clean and food that is fresh, fail to do so in Qatar.

Hotel chains that are required by law in other nations to guarantee minimum hours between shifts and increased pay rates for overtime often fail to do so in Qatar.

Retail chains that abide by laws in other countries to pay workers on time, and the salary they were promised often fail to do so in Qatar.

And “Western Universities”, whose intellectual freedom is the cornerstone of their value as academics, fail to address slavery on their campuses.

The system of compliance for companies and those trapped in Qatar is both inefficient and open to political interference and corporate influence.

Companies are clamouring for licenses to operate in Qatar under these conditions and are enslaving other people’s sons and daughters.

We demand that companies afford workers in Qatar treatment which is equal to what they would provide in their home nations.

And that the government of Qatar brings its laws in line with international standards, beginning with:

- Reform of the kafala system starting with the elimination of the exit visa;
- Worker representation - a collective voice with elected representatives and workplace committees;
- Employment contracts through direct employment or large, reputable, recruitment companies;
- A national minimum wage for all workers, and collective bargaining rights;
- A company grievance procedure inclusive of contractors, and an independent labour court.

What price will companies put on freedom for workers in Qatar?

Sharan Burrow

General Secretary

International Trade Union Confederation

“ **Political and business leaders in Qatar are determined to pursue their own luxury developments on a model of modern slavery that denies human and labour rights and institutionalizes abuse, poverty wages, extreme working conditions and squalid living conditions. Qatar is an open prison and its leaders want to keep it that way.** ”



▲ Photo: Benjamin Crowe

1. Qatar's Balance Sheet – Who pays the price for modern-day slavery in Qatar

Qatar's kafala system means that migrant workers are controlled by another person. Workers are:

- denied the right to leave the country, or work for another company, unless their employer agrees;
- denied the right to freedom of association;
- denied the right to borrow money from a bank or get a driver's license unless their employer agrees.

The ITUC released its special report, *The Case Against Qatar*, in March 2014, and nothing has changed for workers in Qatar.

The Government has promised a decent housing compound for a mere 3.9 per cent of migrant workers in Qatar, based on the current workforce.ⁱ

The number of migrant workers in Qatar is likely to peak in 2017, five years before the start of the 2022 World Cup.

The Government has made no changes to labour rights or compliance and refuses to sign the ILO's forced labour protocol.

The much promised labour law, which will not come into effect until 2017, adds a new layer of repression for migrant workers.

Qatar's Labour Law Debate

“If an expatriate worker deliberately creates problems for the employer and does not comply with the contract to force the latter to end the contract or transfer his sponsorship to another employer, he should not be allowed to change jobs even if he runs away.

On the contrary, as compensation, he should be forced to work with the employer for double the period specified in the contract.

The [Shura] Council's chairman, Mohammed bin Mubarak Al Khulaifi, concluded the discussion on the draft [sponsorship law] by saying that there was no need to hurry in issuing the law, Al Sharq reported.”ⁱⁱ

June 2015

1,993 workers have died in Qatar from just two countries, Nepal and India.ⁱⁱⁱ

The kafala system is still in place.

An electronic system of wages is not a substitute for freedom, nor is it a guarantee of wage payments.

And domestic workers have no rights or protection.

The government has paid for journalists to join propaganda tours and arrested those who try to investigate the dark side of slavery.

It is apparent that the Qatari government is more concerned to pay for a propaganda campaign than to improve human rights.

And the horror is that the world's governments are silent. They take money from Qatar and they send senior politicians to head diplomatic and trade missions but fail to even ask for, let alone demand, fundamental rights and freedoms.

Recommendations for companies doing business in Qatar.

The price of business based on decent work is simple:

End the exit visa and the no objection certificate: Companies must give exit visas immediately and without conditions and allow workers to transfer to another job.

Allow workers a collective voice to raise concerns of abuse or negotiate together with their employers:

Multi-national enterprises (MNEs) must recognize elected worker representatives and bargain with them. The security of a collective voice is the fundamental tenet of the right to freedom of association. The vast majority of the world's governments have ratified core ILO conventions and protect the right to freedom of association and to collective bargaining. Likewise, MNEs from OECD nations investing overseas respect freedom of association in law and practice.

Establish a single minimum wage rate for all migrants:

The current system results in discrimination with some workers being paid less than others doing the same work just because of their nationality. As one of the richest countries in the world^{iv}, Qatar can afford to pay decent wages, instead of the pittance that the vast majority of migrant workers are paid.

In the absence of effective government labour inspection and of a labour court, companies should ensure fair and effective inspection, compliance and dispute resolution within their operations including their subcontractors:

Compliance is critical if workers are to trust that disputes on wages, safety and working conditions can be resolved quickly and fairly.



2. Qatar Profit – How much is the FIFA 2022 World Cup worth?

Profiting from Qatar's World Cup

With 70 per cent of Qatar's government revenue coming from oil and gas^v the country's ruling family is placing huge bets on hosting mega-sports events as a way to diversify the economy and build their "soft power" strategy in world affairs. The epicentre of that strategy is the 2022 FIFA World Cup, and the 2022 deadline hangs over the Gulf State's entire infrastructure programme.

Like any modern sporting event on the international stage, Qatar's hosting of the 2022 FIFA World Cup creates the environment for billions of dollars to change hands to build the infrastructure the state needs.

Major construction and logistics corporations are the main beneficiaries of the massive investment to cater for international football fans who will travel to the Gulf state come tournament time.

Exactly how much is being spent is difficult to determine given the revaluation and expansion of many projects, however during the country's bidding for the tournament in 2011, the government's own estimate of costs was as high as \$220 billion.^{vi}

Demand for building materials in Qatar is expected to surge in the years up to 2022. Estimates are that materials inflation could reach 15-20 percent by 2018, adding millions to the World Cup bill^{vii}.

Qatar not only needs to build new football stadiums for matches but, unlike other recent host nations, the tiny Gulf state needs to build everything else to make the event work such as hotels, training grounds, public transport and roads, power and water to and from venues.

The biggest winners from this massive spending spree are the major construction firms from Western Europe and the United States that have won contracts to carry out the builds through joint ventures with Qatari partners.

These firms like, Vinci, Carillion and Hochtief anticipate their revenues will be boosted by hundreds of millions of dollars in the dash to build everything that Qatar requires before 2022.

The average profit margin for an infrastructure project is between 5 and 10 percent of the project value. With Qatar's infrastructure investment estimated at \$220 billion, and average profit margin of 7.5 per cent, \$15 billion in profit is set to be made by Qatari and joint venture partners.

Paying for the FIFA World Cup



Qatar 2022 World Cup
\$200 - \$222 billion



Russia 2018 World Cup
\$11.8 billion



Brazil 2014 World Cup
\$15 billion

What is Qatar spending?

Qatar cannot yet boast the necessary infrastructure to run a successful FIFA World Cup tournament.

It is building sporting stadiums, a new airport, hotels, entertainment precincts and also public transport and public roads and bridges to link everything together.

Of the \$220 billion Qatar is expected to spend^{viii}, \$34 billion is going towards a rail and metro system, \$7 billion on a port and \$17 billion on an airport. The Ministry of Business and Trade has put the total cost of stadiums at \$4 billion, a massive underestimate compared to industry forecasts which amount to an average of over \$2 billion per stadium^x.

Another industry report cites a \$62 billion allocation in the 2014-15 budget toward infrastructure, hotels, transport and stadia^x.

Last year Qatar's Public Works Authority revealed plans for \$27.5bn worth of expressway and interchange projects over the next four years to supplement more than \$3bn worth of road contracts awarded last year^{xi}.

Work is currently being conducted to expand Doha's Hamad International Airport, including building the adjacent 'Airport City' across 10 sq. km including a train station, business district and residences for more than 200,000 people^{xii}. A 2011 estimate of costs was \$11 billion^{xiii}.

The Doha metro project, tailor-made to service World Cup stadiums, will include 212km of railways across four lines linking 100 stations. It is part of the \$35 billion Qatar Integrated Rail Programme expected to be completed by the 2022 deadline^{xiv}.

One project exemplifies Qatar's extravagance in construction in the World Cup lead-up: the Lusail City development. It is on the northern outskirts of the capital Doha that Qatar hopes to build an entire new city on the coast with an entertainment precinct, bridges and train station all centred around the new location's 'Iconic Stadium', which will also have its own hotel.

The Lusail idea has been on the drawing board since 2005 but only became reality when FIFA chose Qatar as its 2022 host. The new city is hoped to accommodate 200,000 residents, 170,000 employees and 80,000 visitors, and is estimated to cost \$45 billion^{xv}.

Qatar's Billion-Dollar Spending Spree

Qatari World Cup 2022 and government infrastructure projects

- New Doha Port – the world's largest green field port construction project **\$8 billion**
- New Hamad International Airport **\$17 billion**
- Expansion on New Doha International Airport **\$11 billion**
- Qatar Rail - **\$40 billion** Qatar Integrated Rail Programme of metro lines, light rail system and a high-speed rail network
- Minimum 8 World Cup Stadiums to meet FIFA requirements estimated cost **\$2 billion each** totaling **\$16 billion**
- New roads including expressway and interchange projects **\$27.5 billion**
- Qatar's Lusail City **\$45-50 billion**
- Hotels and accommodation **\$17 billion**



▲ Photo: ITUC

Stadiums to replace nothing

Qatar has named the locations of six stadiums, while eight is considered the minimum requirement to host the World Cup^{xvi}. Qatar's bid to host the World Cup was based on 12 stadiums, but a decision on the final number is expected to come from FIFA at the end of 2015.

CH2M Hill was the programme management consultant for the Qatar 2022 World Cup, to oversee the design and construction of venues on behalf of Qatar's Supreme Committee. Much of that oversight has now been taken over by Qatar's government.

Qatar 2022 World Cup Stadiums

Stadium	Status	Design Consultant	Project Managers, Contractors	Completion Date
Khalifa International	Under construction	Dar Al-Handash (Lebanon)	Projacs (Bahrain) Joint venture Besix (Belgium) and Midmac (Qatar) Sub contractor: Eversendai (Malaysia)	2017
Al Wakrah	Under construction	AECOM (US) & Zaha Hadid Architects (UK)	KEO International (Kuwait) Amana Contracting and Steel Buildings (Qatar)	2019
Al Khor	Contract awarded	Dar al Handash (Lebanon)	Projacs (Bahrain) Bin Omran Trading and Contracting Company (Qatar) Salini Impregilo (lead) with Galfar Al Misnad (Qatar) and Cimolai (JV partners)	2018
Qatar Foundation/ Education City	Under construction	RFA Fenwick Iribarren Architects (Spain)	Arup (Spain) and Astad (Qatar)	2018
Al Rayyan	Under construction	Ramboll (Denmark)	AECOM (US) Manco International General Contracting WLL (Joint Venture Manco WLL, part of Al Mana-Dubai & Buckingham Group Contracting (UK)	2019
Lusail City	Under preparation	Foster and Partners	To be appointed	No set date

Possible World Cup Stadiums and Facilities

Qatar University Stadium	Unreported	Albert Speer & Partner GmbH (Germany)	To be appointed	Unreported
Al Gharafa	Under tender	Albert Speer & Partner GmbH (Germany)	May 2015: 20 companies bidding for the main construction tender, including Hamad Bin Khalid Contracting Co. (HBK), Redco International Construction	Unreported
Al Bayt Stadium	Under tender	Al Khor & Dakira Schemes & Services	Under tender	Unreported
Doha Port Stadium (Name not confirmed)	Under tender	Albert Speer & Partner GmbH (Germany)	Under tender	Unreported
New Sports City Stadium (Name not confirmed)	Under tender	Dan Meis (US)	Unreported	Unreported
Al-Shamal Stadium	Under tender	Albert Speer & Partner GmbH (Germany)	Unreported	Unreported

Along with the stadiums, the original proposals include 64 team base-camps, 39 newly built and 25 renovations of existing sites, which will include 32 hotels and 92 training sites. The 92 training sites^{xviii} were announced by Ghanim Al Kuwari, the Qatari organizing committee's senior manager for projects.

Following meetings with the Qatar 2022 organizing committee, Bank of America Merrill Lynch said in a 2013 note to investors said that stadium-related costs will probably exceed the bank's initial estimate of \$95 billion^{xvii}.

Even with the re-scheduling of the World Cup from July to December 2022, Qatar is proceeding with plans to have the stadiums air-conditioned.

Putting up the visitors

Tournament accommodation is another big-ticket item on Qatar's project list.

In 2011 there were 100 existing hotel properties, with a further 130 to be built, with proposals to build 95,000 more hotel rooms before 2022^{xix}.

A 2011 estimate of accommodation construction costs was up to \$17 billion^{xx}. Qatar's current average occupancy rate is around 70% per cent in its hotels and short-stay apartments and visitor numbers are increasing. However 65% of the arrivals are in the "corporate tourism" category with a further 8% in the "MICE" (meetings, event and conventions) category. There is no demand for more hotels on current figures^{xxi} without the World Cup, which is central to Qatar's plans to become "leisure tourism" destination.

A new law to be introduced in 2016, (Law 21 of 2015 regulating Entry, Departure and Residence of Aliens in Qatar) puts the onus on managers of hotels and tourist facilities to police guests. If a guest is absent from their designated hotel for more than 48 hours without notifying the hotel, the hotel must notify the authorities.

Despite the traffic of its busy Doha airport, Qatar itself is not an international tourism hotspot, with roughly the same number of visitors as Algeria or Uruguay each year – the largest numbers of tourists coming from

Middle Eastern (especially Saudi Arabia) and North African countries.

Obviously visitor numbers will spike during the cup. Estimates vary, however tournament organisers FIFA predict a million visitors^{xxii}.

This figure is unrealistic given Qatar's reputation, its climate and its limited profile for leisure tourism. A more conservative estimate would be to expect similar visitor numbers to the South African World Cup with approximately 300,000 international visitors^{xxiii}.

This many football fans staying for an average duration of a week equates to 2.1 million nights in hotel stays^{xxiv}.

The average Qatari hotel room currently costs \$230 a night, but is expected to become significantly cheaper with package deals and new three and four star hotels being built to provide the bulk of accommodation. Using a conservative estimate of \$100 a night, the 2022 World Cup means at least an extra \$200 million in hotel revenue^{xxv}.

If each visitor spends on average \$50 a day on meals and living costs for one week, tourism revenue would increase by \$100 million.

Most World Cup visitors will fly to Qatar. Using Western Europe as an example departure point, well over \$100 million in airline revenue is dependent on the World Cup.

If the government-owned Qatar Airways continues as the dominant airline flying to the Gulf state, the carrier could expect well in excess of \$50 million in extra revenue.

What fans will spend in the 2022 World Cup

- Hotels **\$200 million**
- Meals and living costs **\$100 million**
- Airline tickets **\$100 million**

Everything at stake

With the corruption-related turmoil at FIFA, and Qatar's refusal to reform its medieval labour laws, pressure is building.

With so much infrastructure relying solely on the tournament it can be estimated that the revenues of associated foreign businesses involved in construction would decrease massively should Qatar be stripped of the World Cup.

Qatari enterprises would lose out as well, however at least some of the money not spent on the World Cup would be recycled into other projects, into projects delayed beyond 2022 or into investments overseas.

Construction of Lusail City, for instance, would not cease however in the absence of the stadium precinct development it would likely be scaled back significantly.

Similarly, work might continue at some of the other planned stadium venues, however the majority would be put on ice, most likely permanently.

The Qatar government has already dropped its 2024 Olympic bid and without a World Cup, there would be little justification for more than two large stadiums. The broader impact, on the bottom lines of European and US construction firms, and on Qatar's whole future economic strategy, would however go well beyond the cancellation of stadium projects.

The Hypocrisy World Cup

The FIFA World Cup is big business and a large chunk of money comes from the tournament sponsors, such as: Adidas, Budweiser, Coca-Cola, Gazprom, Hyundai, Kia, McDonalds and Visa. Without these global brands the World Cup wouldn't be possible.

These sponsors must lead the way and do the right thing by workers. World opinion has already effected some change and there is much closer monitoring to prevent use of sweatshops to produce things like sportswear.

These companies have human rights policies for their workers. Coca-Cola mandates that the company offers jobs in clear and honest terms. It also states that workers must not be made to pay travel or recruitment fees, and have access to their personal identity documents.

McDonalds condemns indentured labour, it demands wage laws be respected and the company forbids workplace intimidation. Adidas also have policies to prevent forced labour.

But all of these things are occurring in Qatar. FIFA's major sponsors Budweiser, Coca-Cola, McDonalds and Visa have taken a stand to clean up FIFA by calling for an independent reform commission. They know workers in Qatar deserve a FIFA clean of corruption, which will stand up for rights.



3. Who's building Qatar?

The companies behind the infrastructure boom

Spain

ACS – Actividades de Construcción y Servicios

Actividades de Construcción y Servicios (ACS) is a diversified multinational with operations across the building industry making it one of the world's leading construction companies.

ACS is the world's largest international construction contractor while number two in the world is Hochtief, in which ACS holds a controlling stake.

Operations include contracting in the transportation, buildings, water and public works sectors as well as service provision in the sewer, telecommunications, power, petroleum and industrial sectors.

Based in Madrid, the publicly listed firm operates 789 registered entities in operations across 65 different countries. Total revenue for ACS is around 48.5 billion

Euros with 40 per cent of that generated in Asia and the Middle East.

ACS operates in Qatar through a number of different entities including Dragados. ACS subsidiary Hochtief also operates in Qatar both directly and through its controlling stake in CIMIC's stake in Habtoor Leighton Group.

Through Habtoor Leighton, ACS has 6,000 in its Qatar workforce, however the number of employees is unknown for its subsidiaries Hochtief and Dragados.

In Qatar, Hochtief was a contractor on the massive Barwa Commercial Avenue project, worth an estimated \$1.6 billion.



▲ Photo: Benjamin Crowe

USA

Bechtel

Based in San Francisco, Bechtel is the largest construction company and the fourth largest privately held company in the United States.

With 53,000 employees across 40 countries, it is the third largest international contractor, behind Hochtief and Grupo ACS, earning \$39 billion in revenue in 2013.

Bechtel specialises in managing construction in the civil infrastructure, government services, mining and metals, power, and oil, gas and chemical sectors.

The Bechtel family owns a controlling stake in the firm but there is very little information on the precise ownership structure.

In Qatar, the company has been involved as project and construction services manager for the Hamad International Airport in Doha, a project employing 47,000 personnel at its peak.

The vast majority of these workers were employed by construction contractors with no direct contractual relationship to Bechtel – but for which Bechtel defined standards, policies and processes.

Bechtel has been involved in a number of cases of alleged human and labour rights violations. The company was at the heart the “Cochabamba Water War” in 2000, in which the Bolivian city’s municipal water supply was to be privatised, causing tens of thousands of locals to protest.

In 2012, a riot occurred at the Muscat Airport Project in Oman after rumours circulated of the death of a worker following two strikes demanding higher wages and better working conditions. The Bechtel-Enka-BEC (BEB) is a main contractor on that project.

The company does not provide many details on its human rights stance with subcontractors. It claims to “engage core suppliers on relevant labour issues” but does not reveal specifics.



Belgium

Besix

Belgium’s largest construction company Besix has three operations in Qatar: Six Construction, United Readymix and Cofely Besix Mannai Facility Management.

With revenues of around two billion euros, Besix specialises in the construction of buildings, infrastructure, environmental projects and roads and its Qatari operations make up roughly 10 per cent of its order book.

In Qatar, Six Construction manages construction contracting, United Readymix supplies concrete and its Cofely Besix operations handle facility management.

Besix activities include lead contracting on the major Doha Expressway project and main works contracting on the Khalifa International Stadium upgrade.

The Belgian firm was also due to be contracting to the Sharq Crossing tunnels and bridges, described as “one of the most ambitious engineering projects ever undertaken in the Middle East” before the project was put on hold.

It’s unknown exactly how many workers Besix employs at its Qatari operations, however, according to 2011 figures, its Six Construction arm workforce was made up by almost two-thirds of Indians, a quarter Bangladeshis and six per cent Nepalis.

Besix received negative publicity in the Middle East for the strike occurring at its UAE sites in 2006, which involved 8,500 workers – the largest strike in UAE history – which led to \$ 4 million in losses and 50 workers arrested and deported.



France

Bouygues

Bouygues is a Paris-based diversified industrial group and seventh largest international contractor with operations across more than 80 countries, which helped it earn €33.138 billion in revenue in 2014.

The publicly listed firm specialises in construction through its Colas and Bouygues Construction companies – as well as real estate development, media, and telecommunications.

The Bouygues group is increasing its footprint in Asia and the Middle East, which is the firm's most important region after France.

The Bouygues Construction division employs 52,163 workers, including 9,906 in Africa and the Middle East with at least 60 French expats, 700 managers and 5,000 workers in Qatar.

In Qatar, Bouygues Construction operates through its major projects unit, Bouygues Bâtiment International. BBI created Bouygues Construction Qatar, a joint-venture with Sheikh Abdullah Bin Khalifa Al Thani, Prime Minister of Qatar between 1996 and 2007 and member of the country's ruling family.

Since 2009, Bouygues Construction is the main contractor working on the Qatar Petroleum District, a vast real estate complex comprising nine towers covering a surface equivalent to one quarter of Paris' business district, La Défense. It also has a presence in Qatar through VSL.

Bouygues works on the Qatar Petroleum District project, with an estimated value of \$1.3 billion, as main contractor in a joint venture with Midmac and Al-Jaber on behalf of client, Barwa Real Estate.

Midmac received the negative attention for its health and safety record in Qatar after an accident at Lusail City halted construction and injured 18 workers.

In 2012, Bouygues Bâtiment International implemented requirements for migrant worker accommodation, including on-site security, bedrooms and bathrooms, kitchens and maintenance of worker accommodations, which applied irrespective of whether they are managed by Bouygues or business partners.

Internal audits were introduced in 2013 to ensure the accommodation met the standard.



BOUYGUES

UK

Carillion

Carillion is a British public limited multinational specialising in facilities management and construction that earned revenues of £4 billion last year.

The company, based in Wolverhampton, is listed on the London Stock Exchange and is a constituent of the FTSE 250 Index.

The firm employs approximately 40,000 workers for operations across three sectors: support services, construction services and project finance.

Carillion's construction works stretch across three regions: the UK, which consist more than 70 per cent of the group's revenue; Canada; and, the Middle East and North Africa – a region worth £531.6 million for Carillion.

Its Middle East construction services directly employs 6,614 workers and a further 12,909 within joint ventures. Almost 95 per cent of employees in the MENA region are

Asian. Its joint venture partner Qatar Building Company employed 750 workers from Nepal between 2012 and 2013.

Carillion has been working on services and construction in Qatar since 2009, securing its first contract in 2011 as part of an 80:20 joint venture with Qatar Building Company. Its main contract in Qatar is on the Msheireb residential development – a Qatar Foundation project, worth \$651 million.

In the UK, Carillion has been embroiled in a scandal over the blacklisting of workers linked to trade unions and environmental activists.

In 2009, the British Information Commissioner's office revealed that a database of 3,213 names of construction workers and environmental activists had been drawn up.



Greece

Consolidated Contractors Company

Greece-based Consolidated Contractors Company (CCC) is the largest construction company in the Middle East and ranks among the top 25 international contractors, earning revenue of \$5.3 billion in 2013.

Specialising in the oil and gas, heavy civil engineering, air, water, and effluent systems, CCC has offices and projects in more than 40 countries, and a workforce of more than 130,000 employees.

The company was the third largest contractor in Qatar in 2011 with \$965 million in contracts awarded.

In Qatar the company has been heavily involved in the oil and gas market and in civil infrastructure.

With regard to gas projects CCC has worked on four major liquefied natural gas plants and facilities for Qatargas,

the world's largest LNG company. The company claims to have completed 17 such facilities, with a total capacity equivalent to 30 per cent of the world's LNG facilities.

Last year CCC formed a joint venture with MidMac to lead construction work on the Sidra Medical and Research Centre, worth \$2.3 billion. CCC is also a joint venture contractor on the Doha New Port project.

The company reported four fatalities in 2013 but no details were provided on the whereabouts of the fatalities.

In Qatar, the company notably recruits Nepali migrant workers from the Wide Horizon Overseas agency.



USA

CH2M Hill

Based in Denver, CH2M Hill is an engineering company that provides consulting, design, construction, and operations services for corporations and governments around the world.

Rated in the Forbes 500 list and with revenues of around \$6 billion, CH2M works in more than 100 countries worldwide with operations focused on energy, water, facilities and government, environment and infrastructure.

CH2M Hill's Middle East operations are based in the UAE but the firm has offices across the region, including Qatar where it employs more than 200 staff.

After overseeing infrastructure construction at the London, Vancouver, Beijing, Salt Lake City and Atlanta Olympics, CH2M Hill became program management consultant for the Qatar 2022 World Cup, overseeing the design and construction of venues on behalf of Qatar's Supreme Committee. The value of this contract has not yet been made public.

In 2011, the company purchased Halcrow Holdings for \$197 million, the lead consultant company on Qatar's Lusail City project.

Experts have said CH2M Hill could play an important role in improving entrenched labour standards by working with

Qatari authorities.

"CH2M Hill has a quite a large remit...it's not on for them to abdicate responsibility because they play a large role in setting the gold standard for labour rights," the Qatar-based Royal United Services Institute think-tank has said.

In 2013, the Guardian reported abuses and exploitation of migrant workers working on sites including Lusail City where CH2M Hill, through subsidiary Halcrow, is a lead consultant for infrastructure design and construction supervision. The investigation revealed evidence of forced labour, pay related grievances, confiscated passports and denial of access to drinking water.

The company replied by saying that CH2M Hill worked in a supervisory role and that "terms of employment of a contractor's labour force is not under our direct purview."

In the US, the company has settled several high-profile court cases involving allegations of defrauding the taxpayer, violations of the clean water act, and supplying emergency housing trailers containing formaldehyde to Hurricane Katrina victims.



Australia

CIMIC Group

Formerly Leighton Holdings, CIMIC Group is a Sydney-based international contracting firm working across various industries, including the building and property, engineering and infrastructure and mining and resources sectors.

With more than \$19 billion in revenue, the publicly listed company is part of the top 100 firms on the Australian Stock Exchange and last year was the 33rd largest contractor worldwide.

Last year German construction firm Hochtief completed a \$1.2 billion takeover of then Leighton, with Hochtief itself controlled by Spain's Grupo ACS. The Qatar Investment Authority had an indirect participation in CIMIC through its 10 per cent holding of Hochtief. In October 2015, Qatar sold its 10 per cent stake in Hochtief for Euro 540 million.

CIMIC operates in Qatar through Habtoor Leighton Group, a joint venture with UAE-based Al Habtoor Engineering.

Habtoor Leighton is now one of the leading diversified contractors in the Middle East North Africa region focusing on infrastructure, construction, rail, oil and gas and mining across Qatar, Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi



Arabia and the UAE.

Habtoor Leighton has gained work on several major projects in Qatar including as lead contractor on the city centre expansion on the Marriott Renaissance, Marriott Courtyard, Shangri La, Rotana & Merweb developments. HLG is also a contractor on the lucrative Doha Expressway and the Doha mega reservoir corridor.

Habtoor Leighton employs around 25,000 workers, with 6,000 of these in Qatar. More than 600 of these are from Nepal.

Last year the then Leighton Holdings paid out almost AUD 70 million in compensation to 2,400 investors after it announced \$1.1 billion in write-downs in 2011, which caused Leighton Holdings' share price to fall almost 14 per cent.

This followed revelations of significant governance failures in Leighton's international empire that allegedly allowed corruption to occur across Asia and in Iraq, where the company allegedly paid a bribe to secure oil pipeline projects in 2011.

Germany

Hochtief

Germany-based diversified construction company Hochtief has a global presence carrying out projects in the transportation, energy, social and urban infrastructure and mining sectors with revenues around 25 billion euros.

With 486 fully consolidated companies operating across 43 countries, Hochtief is the world's second largest global contractor behind ACS, which has a controlling stake in Hochtief. The Qatar Investment Authority has 10 per cent stake in Hochtief.

The German firm says the Asian region, including Qatar, is important in terms of new work, the company singling out Qatar as "one of the most important markets as construction activity picks up ahead of the 2022 FIFA World Cup."



With a workforce of more than 6000 in Qatar, Hochtief's main footprint in the Gulf state is through its control of CIMIC, which has a 45 per cent stake of Habtoor Leighton Group.

Another division, Hochtief Europe, has a 49 per cent stake in the Qatar-based Hochtief Solutions Middle East along with a number of other subsidiaries operating in Qatar.

In 2013 Hochtief Solutions Middle East completed the Barwa Commercial Avenue, worth an estimated \$1.6 billion, the single largest in the company's history.

This year Hochtief won a \$296 million contract to design and build a new sewerage network under Doha.

Austria

Porr

The publicly listed Porr group is the second largest Austrian construction company, generating \$1.3 billion in revenue in 2013.

The focus of Porr's international business is tunnelling, railway construction and civil engineering.

The majority of its production work is based in northern Europe but its biggest market outside the region is Qatar.

Porr entered Qatar in 2012, establishing a Middle East hub in the Gulf state, which serves Porr's branches in Oman, the UAE and Saudi Arabia.

The company's largest contract to date is the green line of the Doha Metro, awarded to the company in 2013 for a value of around \$1.2 billion.

Porr is responsible for half of the project to build 16.6km of double tunnel tube and six metro stations.

To do this Porr employs 350 staff on the Doha green line project with 4,000 labourers.

According to the Nepali embassy, Porr recruited 1,000 Nepalese workers between July and August 2014, while its joint venture partner Saudi Bin Ladin Group recruited more than 350 Nepalese workers in late 2014.

The company has disclosed a strong union culture in its Austrian, Swiss and German branches but there is a lack of reporting on similar practices for its 4,000-plus workforce in Qatar.



France

QDVC

Qatari Diar Vinci Construction is a general contracting company overseeing major construction projects in Qatar.

Registered in 2007, QDVC is the Qatari subsidiary of the largest construction company in world by revenue, the French-based Vinci S.A, which boasts combined revenues of around 40 billion euros.

QDVC is managed by Qataris and French nationals, including its French CEO Yanick Garillon.

The company is lead contractor for a number of major projects in Qatar including overseeing construction of the largest train line on the Doha Metro featuring almost 100km of track and 30 stations with a terminal at the new Doha International Airport.

Other projects overseen by QDVC include the Lusail City light rail transit system and the Sheraton Park Project.

QDVC employees 2,755 workers and operates a labour camp in Al Khor with the capacity to house over 1,800 employees from countries such as India, the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Nepal.

An external review of QDVC revealed no mention of a grievance mechanism for workers, which is a pillar of the UN Guiding Principles for Business and Human Rights.



▲ Photo: Benjamin Crowe

25 Construction companies doing business in Qatar

Company	Head Office	Contracts in Qatar	US\$ Value
Porr	Austria	Doha Metro: Green line metro project described as the largest order in company's history ^{xxvii}	\$1bn+
Besix	Belgium	Khalifa 2022 World Cup Stadium  Doha Expressway ^{xxviii}	\$280m+
Brookfield Multiplex	Canada	Msheireb Downtown Doha Project ^{xxix} Ownership: Part of Brookfield Asset Management	\$430m
China Harbour Engineering Company	China	Doha New Port and Doha Expressway ^{xxx} Ownership: Subsidiary of China Communications Construction Company (CCCC)	\$1.4bn
Bouygues	France	QP District and IDRIS ^{xxxi}	\$2bn+
Vinci (QVDC)	France	Doha Metro Red Line, Doha Expressway and Lusail LRT projects ^{xxxii} Ownership: QVDC - Qatari Diar (51%), VINCI Construction Grands Projects (49%)	\$5bn+
Aktor	Greece	Doha Metro Gold Line, Internal Security Force Camp ^{xxxiii}	\$1.3bn
Consolidated Contracting Company	Greece	Doha Local Roads Program, Doha New Port, Lusail City, and the Sidra Medical Research Centre ^{xxxiv}	\$553m+
Joannou & Paraskevaides (Overseas) Ltd and J&P-AVAX SA	Greece Guernsey	Doha Expressway projects ^{xxxv}	\$1bn+
Larsen & Toubro	India	Doha Expressway, Doha Metro Gold line, Qatar Power Transmission Project ^{xxxvi}	1.5bn+
Salini Impregilo	Italy	Al-Bayt 2022 World Cup Stadium  Doha Metro Red Line and local roads ^{xxxvii}	\$2.3bn+
Obayashi	Japan	Msheireb Downtown Doha Project ^{xxxviii}	\$340m+
WCT Holdings Bhd	Malaysia	Lusail City projects ^{xxxix}	\$200m+
Bin Omran Trading and Contracting	Qatar	Al-Bayt 2022 World Cup Stadium  Doha Expressway and local roads	
HBK	Qatar	Al Wakrah 2022 World Cup Stadium  Lusail City, Msheireb Downtown Doha Project and Doha Metro Green Line ^{xl}	\$340m+
Midmac	Qatar	Khalifa 2022 World Cup Stadium  Lusail City, QP District	

Daewoo E&C	South Korea	Doha Expressway projects ^{xli}	\$910m+
Hyundai	South Korea	Lusail Expressway, Doha New port projects	\$1bn+
FCC	Spain	Doha Metro red line and sewage treatment ^{xlii}	\$900m+
Grupo ACS	Spain	IDRIS, Doha Expressway and local roads Ownership: Hochtief --> Leighton --> 45% ownership in Habtoor Leighton Group	\$1bn+
OHL	Spain	Doha Metro project ^{xliiv}	\$1.4bn+
Yapi Merkezi Insaat	Turkey	Doha Metro Gold Line ^{xliv}	\$980m+
Arabtec	UAE	Msheireb Downtown Doha Project ^{xlvi}	\$630m+
Carillion	UK	Msheireb Downtown Doha Project ^{xlvii}	\$560m+
Interserve	UK	Doha Festival City Ownership: Gulf Contracting Company & ALEC Qatar, owned jointly by Al Darwish United Co. W.L.L. and Interserve Plc of U.K (49%)	\$450m+

An insider's view of the construction industry in Qatar

“Many multi-national construction companies are complicit in their treatment of migrant workers in Qatar.

Very few international companies have taken steps to try and improve the situation with their own workers. Instead, most have taken advantage of the lack of rights of migrant workers in order to take advantage of what is an extremely competitive market.

If these companies were to treat their employees or sub-contractors like this in their home countries, they would be shut down. Yet they are more than happy to turn a blind eye to the appalling conditions their workers live under in Qatar - both physically and in terms of the kafala system.

There is no doubt, however, that the fatality rate is extremely high and entirely unacceptable. The authorities simply repress the real numbers of work related deaths and injuries. Many of the workers who arrive from Asia have never worked on a construction site, let alone a high-rise building site. They are given minimal safety training (if any at all) and suddenly they are working in one of the most dangerous work environments. It's little wonder there are so many fatalities.”

**Senior Manager,
International Construction Company, Qatar**

Investing in modern-day slavery in Qatar – are shareholders at risk?

Construction companies working in Qatar have taken on multi-million dollar projects using a workforce bound by the kafala system. Are shareholders at risk from companies using forced labour in their supply chains?

The ITUC has mapped the shareholders behind the multi-national construction companies operating in Qatar.

Investors are exposed to the kafala system in Qatar through equity holdings in multinational construction companies, private equity investments and corporate debt holdings. It is estimated that more than 40% of the world's top 250 international construction contractors are actively participating in projects in Qatar, have an office in the country or are actively pursuing opportunities there.^{xlviii}

“ Investors should be wary, lest the public take out its outrage on sponsors and contractors, the way consumers did in calling for boycotts on companies using Bangladesh factories after the horrific building collapse in 2013. ”

Think Advisor ^{xlix}



Are your investments in forced labour in Qatar? - Shareholdings current as at July 2015

France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Qatari Diar Vinci Construction: Vinci has a 49% ownership stake in QDVC - Vinci ownership structure: Qatari Diar (5.3%), institutional investors (69.7%), employees (9.7%), individuals (9.3%), treasury shares (6%)ⁱ - Paris Stock Exchange (CAC40) ■ Bouygues: public: Part of Bouygues group: Bouygues family (20,9%), employees (23,3%), other investors (55.8%) - Paris Stock Exchange (CAC 40)
Greece	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ellaktor (parent of Aktor): 25% of share capital is held by 3 individuals and remaining 75% of shares are held by other shareholders^{ii,iii}, Athens Stock Exchange ■ J&P/Avax: 75% of shares are held by J&P Group and other main shareholders, 25% is held by other shareholders - Athens Stock Exchangeⁱⁱⁱ
Belgium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Besix: private
Austria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Porr AG: 46% of shares are freely-floated^{iv} - Vienna stock exchange
Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ CIMIC Group (Formerly Leighton Holdings): 45% ownership stake in UAE-based Habtoor Leighton Group, important contractor in Qatar. CIMIC's share capital is controlled by Germany's Hochtief AG (70%) and the remaining 30% is held by other shareholders. Hochtief is itself controlled by Spain's Grupo ACS (61% stake). Significant ownership stakes in Hochtief also include Qatar Holding (10%). The remaining 29% is held by other investors^v - Australian Stock Exchange
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Hochtief: controlled by Spain's Grupo ACS (61% stake). Significant ownership stakes in Hochtief also include Qatar Holding (10%). The remaining 29% is held by other investors^{vi} - Frankfurt Stock Exchange
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Grupo ACS: 53% of share capital held by 6 investors and the remainder is held by other investors.^{vii} Madrid Stock Exchange (IBEX 35)^{viii} ■ FCC: 54% of share capital is held by 3 investors (including 6% by Bill Gates) and the remainder is held by other investors.^{ix} Madrid Stock Exchange (IBEX 35) ■ OHL: 62% of share capital held by 2 investors, remainder is held by other investors. Madrid Stock Exchange^x (IBEX 35)
UK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ OHL: Spanish corporation listed on London Stock Exchange (LSE) ■ Interserve: Gulf Contracting Company is owned jointly by Al Darwish United Co. W.L.L. and Interserve Plc of U.K (49%). - LSE (FTSE 250) ■ Carillion: LSE
Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Brookfield Asset Management: 81% of shares held by Partners Value Split Corp and remainder is held by other investors^{xi} - TSX (S&P/TSX 60)
China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ China Harbour Engineering Company: part of China Communications Construction Company, listed on Hong Kong Stock Exchange^{xii}
Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Obayashi Corporation: listed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange (Nikkei 225)
India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Larsen & Toubro: company is widely held^{xiii}, National Stock Exchange (Mumbai)
Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Salini Impregilo: 62% of shares held by Salini Costruttori and remaining 38% is held by other shareholders^{xiv} - Milan Stock Exchange
Malaysia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ WCT Holdings: 8% ownership stake by Malaysia's Employees' Provident Fund, the public pension fund for all Malaysian workers; 1% ownership stake by Norway's Government Pension Fund Global (Norwegian sovereign wealth fund) - Bursa Malaysia ■ Eversendai: 7% ownership stake by Malaysia's Employees' Provident Fund, the public pension fund for all Malaysian workers; 2% ownership stake by Norway's Government Pension Fund Global (Norwegian sovereign wealth fund) - Bursa Malaysia

4. Qatar Loss – How many workers are dying in Qatar?

Profit & Loss report – Loss

Migrant workers are dying and getting injured in Qatar in the lead up to the FIFA 2022 World Cup. That fact is beyond doubt.

What's harder to say exactly is the number of work-related fatalities, injuries, and illness, due to the Qatari government's refusal to publish statistics or allow independent investigations into the reasons why a thousand fit young migrant workers are dying each year.

Other independent voices are also silenced. The local press is heavily controlled and many foreign journalists are refused access to data. Those allowed to enter are closely monitored and their movements controlled by authorities. Earlier this year a BBC media team was harassed, arrested and interrogated for their reporting in country^{lxv}. German journalists were also detained by Qatar's state security and held in Qatar against their will for several days. Their equipment was seized and damaged and all the data deleted^{lxvi}.

How is it then possible to assess the situation facing migrant workers? A picture of their plight can be uncovered from published statistics, despite the Qatar's government's attempts to obscure the truth.

The ITUC estimates more than 7000 workers will die before a ball is kicked in the 2022 World Cup

Who is working in Qatar?

Qatar is a relatively lightly populated country of just over 2.4 million^{lxvii}, roughly the population equivalent of cities like Houston or urban Hanoi.

The population has increased by 40 per cent since 2010, according to the latest data released by the Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics in October 2015. The government refused to formally release the number of Qatari citizens. Previous government data has estimated the Qatari citizenship at 12 per cent.

It is estimated that almost ninety per cent of Qatar's population is foreign to the Gulf State^{lxviii}. This is among the highest ratios of migrants to citizens in the world.

The estimate for migrant workers who have been recruited to work in Qatar is 1.8 million. The biggest expat group are Indians, who are estimated at more than 800,000. There are around 700,000 Nepalese workers, according to data from the Nepalese Government.

Previous analyses of Qatar's statistics show almost nine in ten of the two million foreigners are of working age^{lxix}. And roughly three quarters of these working age migrants are male^{lxx}, due to the high number of labourers in historically male-dominated industries such as construction and transport.

Furthermore the number of foreign workers in Qatar is expanding to meet the country's deadlines to build World Cup infrastructure. Qatar's population is expected to peak in the first half of 2017 with the need for workers for World Cup construction projects^{lxxi}. Offi-

cials speak of “tens of thousands” of new workers with some estimates as high as 500,000 more migrant labourers in Qatar^{lxxii}. A recent deal with Pakistan will see 200,000 workers from there coming to Qatar^{lxxiii}.

Recruitment fees for workers from Nepal

Fees charged to workers who seek and obtain work in another country are illegal, yet they continue to drive millions of workers in to debt bondage.

The ITUC undertook research on the recruitment industry in Nepal. There are about 770 recruitment agencies in Nepal, 760 are members of the National Association of Foreign Employment Agencies (Bal Bahadur Tamang).

Two main types of recruitment characterise the industry in Nepal, recruitment done indirectly through an agency in the country of destination, and that done directly through the employer company’s human resources department. If the recruitment is done indirectly, then the agent in the country of destination also takes a commission, either paid by the worker or the employer company.

The ITUC found companies employing workers in Qatar exploit migrants by imposing recruitment fees in the country of origin and sometimes also in Qatar, as well as airfares, insurance and welfare fund contributions. Typically this costs between US\$335 and US\$670.

The recruitment fee depends heavily on the practices of both the employer company and the recruiter - companies working in Qatar could choose to eradicate debt bondage from their recruitment from workers.

Name	Aardash*
Job	Labourer
Country	Nepal
Age	22 years old

“I went to work in Qatar in September 2014, I paid the company 75,000 Nepali Rupees (US\$715) to work as an electrician for 1200 QR (US\$ 330). When I got there, I was paid 800 QR (US\$ 220) to work as a labourer. I signed a contract in Kathmandu, which was different to the one I was told to sign when I arrived in Doha.

At the labour camp we would only be provided with water sometimes, the rest we had to buy. We shared 6 people in a room, and had 12 bathrooms for 120 people. There was one kitchen for 20 people.

There was one shop for food just outside of the labour camp, and no other shops nearby. I worked in heat up to 49 degrees and would get nosebleeds. I was allowed to rest for a while, but would have to continue working.

I was never paid for working overtime. One day when painning at the labour camp, I fell and broke my arm. The company did not cover all the costs for the medical treatment.”



▲ Photo: Benjamin Crowe

What do workers face?

All migrant workers labour under the kafala system of slave-like sponsorship. Under the system, workers have no freedom of association or collective bargaining rights, have their passports seized and are effectively owned by their employers.^{lxxiv}

There have been countless examples of employers ripping up contracts and paying much less than what the migrant worker agreed to before leaving their home country.

Qatar's showcase workers at Khalifa Stadium^{lxxv}

- Wages **\$117 per week**
- Hours **13 hours per day including bus transfer**
- Hours per week **6 days x 13 = 78-hour week**
- Pay rate **\$1.50 per hour**

Employer consent is needed to change jobs, leave the country, get a driver's license and rent a home - leading to many examples of forced labour and blackmail.

At the numerous construction sites for the World Cup and related infrastructure, migrant labourers work long hours every day for six days a week in Qatar's extreme heat. Construction sites in Qatar are known for a lack of safety regulation and the government preventing workers from having representation in unions to protect their lives.

After their shifts migrant workers return to overcrowded and squalid labour camps with limited facilities, limited or no access to potable water and little escape from the heat.

Many parts of Doha are off-limits to migrant workers, which are designated as family zones, further curtailing freedom of movement for workers. No go zones are detailed on maps issued by the Qatar government.^{lxxvi}

“ **The law makes it illegal for sponsors to house groups of workers within the cities' central areas, pushing them to labour camps in the Industrial Area and other out-of-town districts.**

The ministry has previously explained that the law would only apply to groups of male construction and contracting workers being housed in group accommodation such as labour camp. ^{lxxvii} ”

A Nepalese embassy official, Second Secretary Harihar Kant Poudel, said: “Many workers are going without meals and without enough water, and then they are working in high temperatures all day. The weather here is different from our country. Our nationals are not used to it.”^{lxxviii}

How many workers are dying?

Qatar's own government statistics show that approximately 1,091 of Qatar's migrant worker population dies every year.

This is calculated by using at Qatar's official statistics that reveal the crude death rate for non-Qataris of working age to be 0.6 for every 1,000 workers^{lxxix}.

The 2013 Qatar Health Report, published by Qatar Supreme Council on Health, and publicly available in April 2015,^{lxxx} showed that the crude death rate for non-Qataris of working age, i.e. the migrant labour population, was 0.6 per 1,000. Estimating a total migrant population of 2 million of which around 88% (or 1.82 million) are of working age, this gives a figure of 1,091 fatalities per year.

By the time the 2022 World Cup kicks off in seven years' time, based on new data, more than 7,000 migrant workers could have died in Qatar.

The ITUC's previous estimate in September 2013 that 4,000 workers could die, based on the death rates of workers from Nepal and India, was a tragic underestimate.

Analysis: Migrant worker deaths and the Qatar Supreme Council on Health Data

- October 2015 population of Qatar 2.4 million.
- Approximately 86 per cent of the population are non-Qatari.
- The non-Qatari population of Qatar is approximately 2,064,000.
- 88.1% of non-Qataris in Qatar are of working age (15 – 64 years old). Thus, based on the figure of 2.1 million foreigners living in Qatar, approximately 1,818,384 are migrant workers.
- The crude death rate for non-Qataris of working age is 0.6 per 1,000 people.
- This gives an annual number of deaths of migrant workers of $1,818,314/1,000 \times 0.6 = 1,091$ in Qatar each year (based on estimated October 2015 migrant worker population).



▲ Photo: Benjamin Crowe

The Qatar Health Report (2013) notes that:

“The non-Qatari population generally does not reside in Qatar in old age, and is screened for select diseases before granted residency.”

And that:

“The higher proportion of deaths due to external causes in the non-Qatari population compared to the Qatari population likely reflects the fact that the majority of the non-Qatari population is male and works in higher-risk industries.”

In response to media coverage highlighting workers' deaths, the Qatari government recently stated that there have been zero fatalities during the country's tournament construction boom. Qatar also claimed that the fatality rates for different nationalities were similar to the rates of comparable populations in their home countries, citing the “Global Burden of Disease” project. One of the authors of that study, Professor Theo Voss of the University of Washington told the New York Times that Qatar's claims were meaningless because researchers considered deaths from cardiac arrest to be a “garbage code” that was not specific enough to describe the true cause of death. He also said that the rate of reported workplace deaths in Qatar appeared somewhat elevated compared with the rates in countries like India^{lxxxix}.

Compared to the general population, workers are relatively young and Qatar requires all migrant labourers to be medically screened for pre-existing disease, injury or disability. Workers with illnesses that are a major cause of death in their home country - such as tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS – are refused entry.

Without official statistics, some observers have been disinclined to directly accuse the gulf state of lying. However publicly obtained figures and other sources of information cast serious doubt on Qatar's claim and highlight the government's inconsistencies.

In a 2013 letter to Human Rights Watch, Qatar's Labour Ministry stated there had been “no more than six” fatalities since 2010.

Reports from migrants' home countries reveal many more fatalities. There have been 1,993 Indian and Nepalese worker deaths since 2010, officially confirmed by freedom of information requests from the governments of India and data published by the government of Nepal.

What are workers dying from?

The Qatar Health Report (2013) does not give detailed information on work-related injuries and deaths. It does give three broad categories of cause of death for non-Qataris:

- 44.2% of deaths due to “internal causes” (illness and disease)
- 22.6% of deaths due to “external causes” (trauma)
- 33.2% of deaths due to “unclassified causes” (no cause identified)

Work-related deaths will be present in each of these three categories. While the report includes analysis on important causes of mortality and morbidity, such as cancer and diabetes, it does not include analysis on work-related mortality and morbidity, even though the report does identify this as a problem.

Evidence in the Qatar Health Report 2012, gives an annual approximate number of migrant worker deaths and their causes. The official figures can be broken down as follows^{lxxxix}:

- 420 deaths due to unknown causes - 37.5%
- 449 or 39.7% from “internal” causes, which includes work-related disease or illness, in particular the effects of dehydration from extreme heat at work and at night in labour camps
- 258 or 22.8% from “external” causes, which include on-site accidents such as falls or being struck by objects and from vehicle or pedestrian accidents directly related to work

It's important to note the percentage of unknown causes is estimated to be higher than actual given that autopsies and post-mortems are forbidden under Qatari

law, unless murder is suspected or where sufficient pressure is exerted. Even then examinations are not always carried out correctly^{lxxxiii}.

Further examination of the “internal” causes figures is difficult given the pressure exerted from the Qatari government to play down the dangers of work.

Publicly, the Qatari Government has claimed that the rate of deaths of the relatively younger Nepalese migrants from cardiac arrests is less than the overall rate in Nepal.

However Qatar requires all migrant labourers to undergo medical checks prior to departure through a network of clinics in countries of origin.^{lxxxiv}

So it is inaccurate and misleading, given workers age and health to compare them with the overall population in their home countries. This is supported by experts such as public health expert Professor Martin McKee, from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine^{lxxxv}.

“It’s also misleading to compare the overwhelmingly male and mostly young adult Nepalese population in Qatar with the whole population of Nepal, especially because only those who are healthy will go to work in Qatar,” Prof McKee told UK’s Channel 4’s Fact Check.

Fact Check reported that Prof McKee estimated roughly 12 deaths per 100,000 young Nepalese men a year from sudden heart attacks in their home country – much less than the 100 or so dying in Qatar that the Nepalese embassy has reported.

Part of the explanation for these unnaturally high figures is that unscrupulous employers are attempting to cover up workers deaths as cardiac arrests, so they can escape paying out insurance. The effects of working long hours in extreme temperatures also contribute to circulatory and cardiac problems. Qatar’s work ban during the hottest hours (11.30am – 3:00pm from 15 July to 31 August), still leaves workers toiling in temperatures above 40 degrees Celsius day after day.

Nepalese embassy official, Second Secretary Poudel, has confirmed some deaths are ruled to be caused by heart problems to cover up on-site accidents.

“There have been cases where we have suspected that there has been a mutual understanding between the doctor and the company, and the doctor has made a false report saying that they died of cardiac arrest – it is easier for a company to say they died of that,” he said^{lxxxvii}.

This is supported by comparing the rate of worker deaths from cardiac issues in Qatar to that of Malaysia, Nepal’s largest job destination. A 2013 report showed that out of 253 Nepalese deaths in Malaysia, just 24 were heart-related.^{lxxxviii} However there were 85 heart-related deaths out of 151 total fatalities in Qatar from available data.

Unions have urged the government to hold independent investigations into migrant worker deaths, from cardiac arrest and conduct autopsies on all migrant workers who die in Qatar.

Another major cause of death is traffic accidents. Transport to and from workplaces to labour camps is the responsibility of the employer and migrant workers rarely have access to other forms of transport. In one such example, 11 migrant workers were injured when the two trucks in which they were travelling collided.^{lxxxix}

Qatar has one of the world’s worst road safety records and 27 per cent of traffic fatalities are pedestrians with 92 per cent of these migrant workers.^{xc}

Indian workers in Qatar ^{xc}

Labour complaints January – September 2015 **3117**

Number of workers in deportation centre **203**

Number of workers in prison **98**

Number of deaths January – September 2015 **209**

Number of deaths January – December 2014 **279**

Data released from Indian Embassy Qatar September 2015

Nepalese workers in Qatar

Male workers in Qatar **690329**

Female workers in Qatar **5907**

Number of companies registered to employ workers in Qatar **50195**

Data released from Government of Nepal

5. Companies and the rule of law

Migrant workers in Qatar are exposed to forced labour. In recent years, multiple sources, from the ILO and other UN agencies, human rights organizations, journalists and even DLA Piper (the law firm hired by the government of Qatar to respond to critics), have all raised serious concerns about the country's labour laws and practices. Migrant workers must obtain an exit permit from their employer to leave the country; workers may not change employers without their permission (exceptions in law are almost never applied); workers are charged exorbitant recruitment fees in the country of origin to obtain a visa (often with the knowledge of the sponsor in Qatar), workers are made false promises as to wages and working conditions to entice them to migrate (which are not honoured on arrival); workers' passports are confiscated; and workers face substantial obstacles to access to justice when their rights are violated. Migrant workers are denied the right to freedom of association, including the right to form or join a union, which puts them at even greater risk of being subjected to forced labour.

In 2013, the ITUC and the Building and Woodworkers International Union (BWI) filed a submission with the ILO alleging violations of the Forced Labour Convention, No. 29. In March 2014, an ad-hoc committee established by the ILO Governing Body ruled on that submission, finding that Qatar was in violation of the convention. The committee recommended far-reaching reforms and explained: "it would appear to the committee that certain migrant workers in the country may find themselves in situations prohibited by the Convention... In conclusion, the committee considers that further measures must be taken by the Government to discharge its duty under Article 1 of the Convention to effectively suppress the use of forced labour in all its forms."

In February 2015, the ILOs Committee of Experts' Annual Report strongly urged the government to take measures to combat forced labour. It urged that "new legislation on migrant workers will be enacted in the near future, and will be drafted in such a way as to provide them with the full enjoyment of their rights at work and protect them against any form of exploitation, tantamount to forced labour" The Committee of Experts also noted that despite some efforts, migrants continued to face barriers to access to justice and urged the government "to continue taking measures to strengthen the capacity of these workers to enable them, in practice, to approach the competent authorities and seek redress in the event of a violation of their rights or abuse, without fear of reprisal." The Committee also expressed concern at the fact that a large number of migrant workers are victims of abuse and that few appear to have been held accountable for those violations. The Committee "recall[ed] that the absence of penalties applied to persons imposing forced labour creates a climate of impunity, likely to perpetuate these practices" and "expresse[d] the firm hope that the Government will take all the necessary measures to ensure that... effective and dissuasive penalties are actually applied to persons who impose forced labour."

In June 2015, the ILO Committee on the Application of Standards issued sweeping conclusions calling on the government, among other things, to "abolish the kafala system and replace it with a work permit that allows the worker to change employer" and "work towards abolishing the exit permit system in the shortest possible time; in the interim, make exit permits available as a matter of right."



▲ Photo: Benjamin Crowe

In the nearly two years since the ITUC-BWI submission, little has changed. While the government says it has hired additional labour inspectors, there is as yet no real evidence that this has had an impact on stopping forced labour. In late 2015, the government of Qatar issued legal reforms to the sponsorship laws which fail to address workers' concerns. Further, none of the changes will take place for another year.

Given the clear findings of the ILO and other organisations, it is inconceivable that any multinational company doing business in Qatar is ignorant of the substantial risks of violating workers' rights, not only forced labour but also domestic and international law as to payment of wages, hours of work, health and safety and freedom of association. Many of the companies that have contracts for construction projects in Qatar are incorporated in OECD member countries, including the United States and from Europe. These companies therefore have a responsibility under the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises to respect the rights of workers – not only the workers they directly employ but also those of their subcontractors and other businesses.

The OECD Guidelines provide that MNEs should “avoid causing or contributing to adverse human rights impacts and address such impacts when they occur” and “seek ways to prevent or mitigate adverse human rights impacts that are directly linked to their business operations... even if they do not contribute to those impacts.” To accomplish this, MNEs should carry out human rights due diligence, meaning “assessing actual and potential human rights impacts, integrating and acting upon the findings, tracking responses as well as communicating how impacts are addressed.” Employers must not only respect fundamental labour rights, such as the right to freedom from forced or compulsory labour and the right to freedom of association and to bargain collectively, but also to pay adequate wages and to ensure occupational health and safety in their operations. As such, every company currently doing business in Qatar is likely in breach of the OECD Guidelines, and could be subject to a complaint filed with their National Contact Point.

The OECD Guidelines are not the only rules applicable to companies. MNEs also risk being sued under domestic legislation in home courts for their operations

in Qatar. In the United States, for example, corporations have been sued for forced labour occurring overseas under the Alien Tort Statute (ATS) and the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act. Most recently, Nestlé was sued under the ATS for sourcing their cocoa in the Ivory Coast harvested by forced child labour. The case is still pending before the courts. In the 1990s, Unocal was also sued under the ATS for the use of forced labour by the joint venture company with Myanmar Oil and Gas (owned by the military junta) to build a gas pipeline. However, there is now a split in the courts as to whether corporations may be held liable at all for human rights violations under the ATS. Further, in 2014, the US Supreme Court also sought to limit the extraterritorial reach of the law by denying jurisdiction where the elements of the violation occurred entirely outside of the United States. Plaintiffs must now demonstrate that the violation “touches and concerns” the United States.

Additionally, companies have been sued in the US under the Trafficked Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA), which offers another possible avenue for victims to pursue a claim. The TVPRA was enacted to combat forced labour and sex trafficking, and it includes a civil remedy for victims of forced labour to file a civil action against their traffickers in federal district court. The TVPRA imposes liability on anyone that “knowingly recruits, harbors, transports, provides, or obtains by any means, any person for labor or services in violation of this chapter.” In 2008, families of Nepalese workers sued Kellogg Brown and Root Inc. under the TVPRA alleging that in 2004 the workers were forced to work for in Iraq, where they were subsequently executed by Iraqi insurgents. In 2014, the court dismissed the case ruling that the law could not be applied retroactively to incidents before 2008; however, the ruling does not diminish the viability of the law as a tool for claims arising after 2008.

The US is not the only jurisdiction where claims are possible. In 2015, French NGO Sherpa filed a complaint with prosecutors to open an investigation as to whether Vinci Construction, a French company, and its Qatari subsidiary, QDVC, used forced labour, servitude and concealment on construction sites in Qatar. Vinci has won several contracts in Qatar, including World Cup related infrastructure such as the construction of a tram and metro system. In April, the government announced

that there was sufficient evidence to open a preliminary inquiry. The inquiry will take several months, and may subsequently lead to a formal inquiry against the company. Vinci has denied the claims and threatened to sue Sherpa for defamation. Lawyers in the United Kingdom are also investigating potential claims under British common law of torts. British construction firm Carillion has construction contracts in both the UAE and Qatar.

Qatar's new labour laws: Worse for workers

Law 21 of 2015 – Qatar's new kafala

Article 16 states clearly that migrants working in Qatar “shall not act in contradiction to what they have been licensed for, nor shall they be able to quit work for their recruiters or decide to work for other entities that they have not been authorized to work for.” A violation of this law is punishable by a term of imprisonment of up to three years, a fine of up to 50,000 QR (US\$13,738) or both.

- Whatever the abuse, intolerant working conditions, housing squalor or failure to pay wages a worker has no freedom to change their circumstances. There are no exceptions listed in this law.
- Workers are trapped in abusive or exploitative employment.
- Workers will still be tied to the employer for duration of the contract.
- There is no specified limit to the duration of a fixed-term contract and in the case of an indefinite term contract, the worker cannot change jobs for the first five years of that contract, without the permission of the employer and the Ministry of Interior. Again there are no exemptions listed.
- For the full duration of their employment contract (up to five years), workers simply *cannot* change employers without the permission of both their employer and the government. After the contract expires, or after five years if an indefinite contract, the worker will still need the government's permission to transfer employer.

- During the life of the contract, a worker may be able to get a temporary transfer to another employer if the s/he has sued his or her recruiter, “if it has been established that the recruiter demonstrated arbitrary treatment” or “switching of jobs best serves the public interest.”
- However, even under these circumstances, a transfer is not a right. The Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Labour still have total discretion whether to allow the transfer. Migrant workers also face well-documented obstacles to access the justice system, making the filing of a lawsuit a barrier to transferring out of an abusive situation.
- Employers can loan out a worker to another employer without the worker’s consent for up to a year, with the consent of the Ministry of Interior. The law does not prescribe any limitations on the work the worker may be required to do while on loan nor the terms and conditions.
- The ILO Committee on Application of Standards in June 2015 called on the government to abolish the kafala system, including the “no objection” certificate. This “reform” does little to eliminate the excessive control the employer and the government has over workers, meaning many will certainly remain in abusive conditions.

Article 22 provides that the Ministry of Interior may allow a worker to transfer jobs temporarily in case that there is a pending lawsuit between the worker and the recruiter, and if the Ministry of Labour also approves.

- There is no functional labour court. Unless the migrant worker accesses the ineffective Qatari legal system and courts, where there is no legal aid and all documents have to be in Arabic, they have no access to even request the intervention of the Minister.
- This is trafficking in forced labour with the complicity of the Government with no contract of employment on loan for up to a year.



▲ Photo: Benjamin Crowe

Article 7 of Law 21, a worker no longer directly asks a competent government authority for permission to leave the country but the employer can still object to the granting of an exit permit to the worker.

- Exit permits still exist.
- The employer still has the right to object to the exit visa. If s/he does, the worker can appeal to a government-sanctioned grievance committee, but the law provides no guidance as to the reasons why an employer may object or on the appeals process
- The ILO Committee on Application of Standards, in June 2015, called on the government to “abolish the exit permit system in the shortest possible time and in the interim make exit permits available as a matter of right.” Law 21 does not come close to that.

Nothing has changed for migrant workers. Qatar remains a slave state.

6. The ITUC Case Files 2015

1. Health and Safety

Job Maintenance
Sector Oil and Gas
Name Jitender Singh Khalsa
Country India

Jitender Singh Khalsa was a worker from India, employed as a maintenance assistant for Qatari oil, gas and power company contractor Qcon.

He was reported dead in November 2013, however the company covered up the cause of death.

Qcon claims Mr Khalsa was found dead from heart and respiratory failure at Doha international airport. Yet there are five Doha hospital entries revealing he was taken by ambulance from Qcon's own facilities.

In fact the first death certificate produced by the hospital indicated the cause of Mr Khalsa's death was linked to

hydrogen sulfide gas, a highly toxic compound extracted from natural gas, which he was exposed to at his workplace.

When his family started investigating the case, the hospital produced a second certificate stating that he died from respiratory failure while at the airport.

Mr Khalsa's brother Dilip Khalsa has appealed to Indian authorities in Doha and the office of the Prime Minister without success. He is demanding a postmortem and a police report before the body of his brother is repatriated to India.

2. Grievances

Job Warehouse Assistant
Sector Construction supplier
Name Danilo*
Country Philippines

Filipino worker Danilo worked as a warehouse assistant for Electro-Trade Co in Doha from 2009 to July 2013.

Electro-Trade terminated Danilo's contract when the company accused him of negligence during the delivery of goods. His visa was due to expire in February 2014 but the company cancelled his visa when they sacked him.

But his sponsor held his passport until he handed it in at the police station, reporting Danilo as a runaway even

though they knew his whereabouts and the fact he was in touch with his previous managers.

Danilo was then unable to find a new job because he didn't have his passport or a "No Objection Certificate."

He also couldn't leave the country because of an outstanding bank loan. Back home in the Philippines Danilo's wife and four children are dependent on him.

3. Recruitment scams

Job General Manager
Sector Construction supplier
Name Rimi*
Country Bangladesh

Rimi is general manager of a Qatari company .

He hires workers through recruitment agencies in Bangladesh allegedly charging them about \$6,000 in recruitment fees, shared between him and the recruitment agency.

On arrival in Qatar the newly hired workers earn 1,200

QR (\$330) a month, which is far from enough to repay the loans they took to pay the recruitment fees.

The Qatari company belongs to a well known Sheikh who knows about the extortion but refuses to change his company's recruitment policy for migrant workers.

4. Kafala

Job Civil Engineer
Sector Manufacturing
Name Asim*
Country Egypt

Asim has been living in Qatar since 1983. His family, including his wife, children and his parents also live in Qatar.

For almost four years he worked for a Qatari company. It has holdings in 23 companies across the manufacturing and real estate sectors.

Asim is a civil engineer by profession but had to work on various posts contrary to his employment contract.

His contract was then terminated when he complained about having to do two jobs outside his contract without his agreement and without extra compensation.

The company owes him indemnity and one month salary but refuses to pay unless Asim leaves the country. The company also refuses to give him a "No Objection Certificate", meaning he cannot apply for a job with another employer, despite being a local hire with the company never having to cover administrative costs for his visa.

Asim now cannot leave the country because he has a bank loan he needs to pay off.

He complained to the Labour Court and to the National Human Rights Committee, so far to no avail.

5. Exit permit denied

Job Finance and Administration Director
Sector Hospitality
Name Milan*
Country UK

Since 2009 Milan has worked as Finance and Administration Director in Qatar.

His employment contract was renewed automatically every year by the HR department of the company.

But in April 2014 he was stopped at Doha airport and prevented from leaving the country as his multi-exit visa had expired because his company failed to renew it.

Milan asked the HR department to renew the visa so he could leave the country due to a medical emergency in his family.

The company said he would only be granted a multi-exit visa if he produced a medical certificate from the family member.

Feeling unfairly treated Milan requested for a "No Objection Certificate" to change jobs but the company failed to respond.

6. Salary

Job	Sales
Sector	Construction supplier
Name	Ashvin*
Country	India

Originally from India, Ashvin came to Qatar in January 2013 to work for a Qatari water supply company.

He worked under a business visa provided through Doha international consultancy service which acted as his sponsor.

In November 2013, the company provided Ashvin with a Qatari identification but the company refused to give him an employment contract.

He earned 3,500 QR (US\$ 961) per month from January to May before getting a raise to 4,000 QR (US\$ 1,098) from June. But his wages were continuously delayed.

Ashvin went on annual leave in April 2014 to attend his sister's wedding in India. His pay was again delayed but the managing director promised to pay him within a week, a promise that went unfulfilled. A month later he received 6,070 QR (US\$1,667) but his employer did not respond to calls.

When he came back to Qatar in June he resigned. Management promised they would settle the outstanding salary payment of 20,122 QR (US\$5,528) and provide him a "No Objection Certificate" within a week to allow him to change employers.

When management again broke its promise, Ashvin filed a complaint to the labour court.

The company responded with an offer of 19,600 QR (US\$5,385) in back-pay and a NOC. A trip back to India was not included. Ashvin agreed but again the company never paid the amount.

Ashvin went back to the labour court, which said he would not be paid before October 2014, leaving him unable to cover his cost of living or return home.

7. Fraudulent contracts

Job	Labourer
Sector	Construction supplier
Name	Michael*
Country	Uganda

Ugandan national Michael arrived in Qatar in December 2013 with a group of other workers, hired through the recruitment agency Alsaco International which has ads on TV and radio in Uganda about well paid jobs in Qatar.

Managers at Alsaco have been charged with fraud for charging medical and travel costs.

Michael is now working for a company in Qatar and earns 600 QR (US\$164) as basic salary and 300 QR (US\$ 82) allowance, i.e. 900 QR (US\$256) in total.

He lives in a labour camp which is not hygienic.

One week after arrival they asked for a meeting with the general manager who promised changes but never implemented any.

He's worried their lives will be in danger if they complain to the labour court.

Some of his friends "reacted" and were taken to the police station and were then deported without receiving their salaries.

There is no Ugandan embassy in Qatar he could go to. His employer has his passport and he didn't receive a copy of the employment contract.

He says that "coming here was a big mistake we made.... our families are suffering home we can't send them enough money, we don't save, we don't eat well [...] we lost weight, getting sick and weaker every day and others have converted to Islam because here Arabs like new Muslim converts so muchthey do that to survive on Friday free meals given in big mosques."

No worker has ever been given an NOC at the company and he's asking the ITUC to help him migrate to another country with better working conditions.

8. Discriminatory legal system

Job Fire warden
Sector Security
Name Eric*
Country Cameroon

Eric worked in Qatar for one year as a fire-warden, sub contracted to a major oil and gas company.

After complaining to the labour court about his employer not giving him a raise they had promised, the company reported Eric as a runaway.

In October 2013, he was arrested and taken in handcuffs to the deportation centre, where he faced inhumane conditions.

The windows could not be opened, there was no ventilation, no blankets were provided and the toilets did not flush. There was a grocery store but not everyone could afford the food. Friends were allowed visits once per week but were not allowed to bring food.

His trial found him not guilty of absconding and after his release he filed a complaint with the labour court to receive his owed salary and to get a repatriation ticket home.

Six months of bureaucracy later and Eric was again arrested and taken to Rayyan Jail. He spent two months there before being sent to the deportation centre again.

He was later told to attend a hearing in March but the police did not take him there. Another hearing was set for April but again police refused to take him

Eric offered to withdraw his case in the labour court if they agreed to deport him immediately. The next day he was given a flight ticket and some money and at the end of April taken to the airport. It was there that he realised the flight was to Nigeria and not to Cameroon.

After another trip to the deportation centre he finally got his flight home in May.

Throughout the ordeal he was unable to support his family, his children were not able to go to school for six months and his 65 year old mother was forced into manual labour.

9. Arrest and detention

Job Sales Assistant
Sector Retail
Name Supun*
Country Sri Lanka

Sri Lankan national Supun was working in a well-known international store at the Al Khor mall when he was accused of stealing from the cash register in October 2013.

He was suspended and told by his manager to go to the Al Khor Police station for a clearance certificate which he did.

At the police station, his statement was taken and he was then arrested.

During his incarceration he alleges he was tortured by five police officers who took turns punching and kicking him.

The officers wanted him to confess to stealing QR 12.00 from the cash register. Supun refused to confess and he says police threatened to remove his finger nails with pliers, before they started electrocuting him with electric wires.

This continued for what seemed like an hour before he went into solitary confinement.

The following day three officers continued to beat Supun before one officer took out his pistol and threatened to shoot him if he didn't confess.

He was later transferred to Umm Salal Jail, from where he tried repeatedly to protest his innocence.

Some of his friends raised enough money for a lawyer and on December 31, 2013 his lawyer defended Supun, with video from a store surveillance camera.

Police had not conducted an official investigation, they had not searched his home nor had they requested bank statements.

The judge found him not guilty and Supun requested to be deported.

10. Deportation

Job Nurse
Sector Medical
Name Bheka*
Country South Africa

South African Bheka was hired by Hamad Medical Corporation 2004.

According to Bheka, one of his managers disliked him and his contract was terminated in 2008. His passport was immediately sent to the CID as having absconded.

Police arrested Bheka at a checkpoint for outstanding credit card debt. He spent January to April 2014 in prison for his debt before being transferred to Qatar's deportation centre.

Bheka remained there until September with no legal recourse. Authorities claimed he could not leave Qatar due to outstanding financial claims but Bheka was neither charged nor informed about any other accusations.

The conditions in the deportation centre were inhumane: men are crammed into 11 bunk beds in a single room with no sheets, and sometimes due to overcrowding people

are forced to sleep on the floor.

Last year, a man committed suicide in the bathtub after having been held for 17 months with no indication of release. Inmates report frequent and severe beatings and verbal harassment.

In September 2014, five people were killed, including a 17 year old boy, when a fire broke out and prisoners were not let out of their cells.

After finding a phone in his possession, Bheka was transferred to a holding cell for almost a month without his clothes, a bed, toilet or shower.

The South African Ambassador to Qatar visited and requested Bheka to be transferred back to the normal accommodation area, where he remained until he was deported to South Africa.

**Names of the workers have been changed to protect their identities. Under Qatar's draft media law, statements (whether true or untrue) harming the commercial reputation of a person or company can be considered a crime.*

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