

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Globalization has established a world where we are no longer restricted by national, political, economic, social, and cultural boundaries. It has created a new form of interdependent and interconnected relation among nations and transnational actors which globally integrated (Winarno, 2014). Recent globalization trends have been characterized by a greater integration of global markets for goods, capitals, and services across borders. One of the global phenomena today that cannot be separated from the process of globalization is international migration. In the last 50 years, migration on a global scale has intensified and has been growing in scope, complexity, and impact as more countries are affected by migratory movements. According to an analysis, rates of migration in the world are increasing with migrants consisting of 13.2 percent of the world's population in 2015, compared to 12.1 percent in 2005. One type of international migration that highly affected by globalization is labor migration. This is due to the globalization that has facilitated linkages of international labor markets through vast improvements in information, transportation, and communications technology (Kirk, 2016).

The flow of migrant workers in the Gulf countries is stated at first rank in the world for the number of migrant workers they absorb in their labor market, according to a report released by Al Jazeera Research Center (Daily Sabah, 2016). Qatar has recently become the second major recipient of migrant workers in the region, just behind the United Arab Emirates (Gulf Research Center, 2017). The country is also a home to many nationalities, with Qataris themselves only representing 12 percent of the total population. While the country's another 88 percent population filled by the migrants, in which they make

up 94 percent of all workers in the workforce. Non-Arab migrants make up the vast majority of Qatar's population; Indians constitute by far the largest single nationality in Qatar, numbering at approximately 650,000 at the end of 2016. Followed by 350,000 Nepalese, 280,000 Bangladeshis, 260,000 Filipinos, and 200,000 Egyptians (Snoj, 2017). With the percentages above, Qatar has the world's highest ratio of migrants to citizens (Agunias, 2013).

The shifting of Qatar's national income from pearl diving to oil and gas industry has made the country become the world's richest country based on GDP per capita. Qatar's rapid economic growth after the discovery of its abundant number of oil and gas reserves has formed an interest for foreign workers to come and obtain work with much better earnings. Furthermore, as the third-largest reserves of natural gas in the world, the Qatari government has invested heavily in infrastructure to liquefy and export it, as well as to diversify its economy. The government is pouring money into infrastructure, including a deepwater seaport, an airport, and a railway network. All with the intention of making the country a better host for businesses and the 2022 World Cup (Greenfield, 2012). This is one of the strategies conducted by the government to accomplish its comprehensive long-term plan set out in Qatar National Vision 2030 (QNV 2030). With the ambition in massive development, this has led the country for being heavily dependent on migrant workers in the construction sector.

The growing number of migrant workers in Qatar on one side is an advantage for the sending countries, which in fact are mostly developing countries in South Asia and Southeast Asia since the number of remittances coming to their countries from the workers abroad will increase. At the same time, Qatar benefits from the ease to absorb a huge number of migrant workers with a relatively cheaper cost compared to other sending countries. However, while the mobility of migrant workers is increasing annually, the levels of the problem

associated with migrant workers have accelerated. Despite its high-level modernity and advanced economy, Qatar is still entangled with the issue of 'modern-day slavery'. The country ranked in the top five countries in the world for prevalence of modern-day slavery, stood only behind North Korea, Uzbekistan, Cambodia, and India in the report of 2016 Global Slavery Index launched by the Walk Free Foundation in Australia. Specifically, the construction sector was found to be one of the most dominant forms of slavery, due to the high demand of cheap labors to build infrastructure related to the World Cup (Gulf Business, 2016). Moreover, since the enactment of Qatar as the host for the event, the Qatari government and FIFA have been accused of putting 'profit before safety', and committing human rights abuses towards the migrant workers (BBC, 2017).

The Qatari government is said to have been negligent in safeguarding the safety and rights of migrant workers in the country. The practice of human right abuses towards migrant workers found in various aspects, such as below-standard wages, the confiscation of passport that restrains them to returning home, and the threat of deportation which aims to force them working overtime without pay. Besides, these migrant workers are also forced to do the 3D job (Dirty, Dangerous, and Demeaning) with inhumane working hours that ultimately leads to the death of the workers, in which the workers described the conditions there as pathetic and oppressive. But even so, migrant workers are powerless to defend their own rights, due to the prohibition of Qatari government for conducting public protests in the country and limits workers to form and join trade unions (ITUC, 2015). The Bangladeshi government, as one of the countries that send the largest numbers of the migrant worker to Qatar, have noted that there were hundreds of their workers dying in the country each year, from 2010 to 2016 (Mohamad, 2016). A report predicts that there will be at least 7000 worker fatalities by the time the 2022 FIFA World Cup begins. This figure will be the highest compared to other major sporting events around the world. As

stated, the death toll of migrant workers from the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics were 60 people killed and the 2004 Athens Olympics with 40 killed. There were 10 workers died before the 2010 Beijing Olympics and seven were killed while working in construction for the 2014 Brazil World Cup. While in the 2000 Sydney Olympics, there was only one death and zero construction fatalities for the 2012 London Olympics (Foster, 2017).

Although many facts have been revealed with data pointing to the problems of workers' protection and abuses in Qatar, the government always claimed that the number of migrant workers died during the construction for World Cup is not that much. They also argued that these deaths should not be surprising given a large number of migrant workers in the country, however, human rights advocates have pointed towards the significant number of fatalities stemming from sudden cardiac arrest as evidence that workers are being mistreated (Groll, 2015).

The problem of mistreatment towards migrant workers in the Gulf countries has actually been well-documented before, but the presence of the 2022 World Cup has magnified the issue of exploitation in the region, including in Qatar (Santos, 2017). It also serves as a chance for International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) that concern on this issue to detonate and continue pressuring the Qatari government and another prominent institution to address the problem. These INGOs involved are like Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Humanity United, TUC (Trade Union Congress), Freedom United, BWI (Building and Wood Worker's International), ITUC (The International Trade Union Confederation), Anti-Slavery Organization, and many other community movements that work together to advocate the migrant worker rights' in Qatar. All these INGOs are making the need of reform on Qatari sponsorship system or widely known as *kafala* system become their primary demand, as this system has been

condemned as the source of abuse and exploitation towards the migrant workers.

At first, Qatar strongly refused to change their regulation towards migrant workers for various reasons, mainly related to the issue of state's security, maintaining the culture, preserving its domestic wealth, and other excuses which cause a complicated situation for Qatar to deal with the cases of migrant workers. In its progress, INGOs had succeeded in influencing the Qatari government to recognize the issue and reform its *kafala* system with a new law governing the migrant workers. However, despite the reform INGOs still view this new law is nothing to improve the protection of migrant workers in the country (BBC, 2016), so there is still a need for monitoring the making of law which can fully respect and protect the workers' right and the implementation of it.

From the above description, it can be seen that the role of INGOs has a significant role in pressuring the government to recognize the issue and reform the law to increase the protection of workers in Qatar. Therefore, it is important to further analyze the actions of INGOs in advocating the problems of migrant workers. Due to the fact that Qatar is a country that absorbs the second largest number of migrant workers in the world, and the problem of migrant workers is related to human rights that must be fought for as the basis of human life. Furthermore, the presence of World Cup in the midst of this issue as one of the most popular events among the world community has created an appropriate example to increase public awareness of the importance of justice for the workers.

B. Research Question

Based on the background related to the problems of migrant workers in Qatar above, the research question to be answered in this research is:

“How does the advocacy of International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) work in protecting migrant workers’ rights in Qatar?”

C. Theoretical Framework

Concerning the issue of migrant workers in Qatar, there are two theoretical frameworks that can be used to answer the research question and analyze the issue, which are:

1. Constructivism

According to Alexander Wendt (Wendt, 1999, p. 1), there are two increasingly accepted basic tenets of constructivism; 1) the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and 2) that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature. This shows that constructivism emphasizes the point that international politics is socially constructed, by the process of interaction between actors in their environment. Constructivism assumes that structure and agent are mutually constitutive entities that can influence each other (Wendt, 1999, p. 184). That is to say, the existing structure may change as it is influenced by the agent which in this case is the INGOs. This interaction may change the broader social structures in which the actors exist, including norms, ideas, regimes, and other forms of shared meaning in which these are the most conducive areas in international politics to exercise the influence of non-governmental organizations.

In their analysis, constructivism also views that states have a tendency to change their behaviors to match the rules. Therefore, in this situation INGOs have an ability to change the way in which states act and how they define themselves and their roles can potentially transform the international politics (Ahmed & Potter, 2006). This is also reinforced by Wendt that states are still the primary medium in changing the world system with its regulations.

However, the role of non-state actors such as INGOs may become more important than states as the initiator of change, but the system change still ultimately happens through states (Wendt, 1999, p. 9).

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that constructivism is a useful tool for explaining how INGOs as the agent can influence the structure by exercising communication. As they have a notable role in influencing Qatari government to construct the same view of the importance of human rights protection towards the workers, in order to enhance their life quality in the country.

2. Model of Triangular Coordination

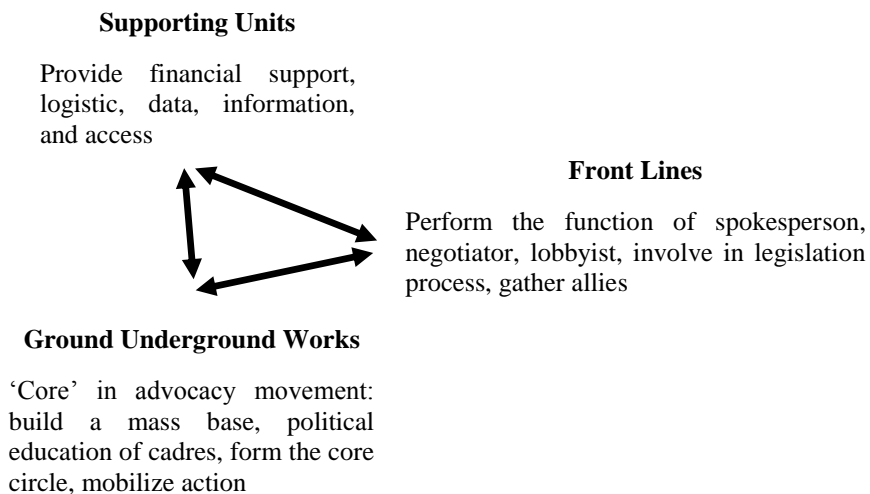
Advocacy is an attempt to improve or change the public policy in order to suit the will or interest of those who demand the change. It is derived from the word 'advocate', which means to defend, to promote, to create, or to change in an organized and systematic manner (Azizah, 2013, p. 12). There are several major actors involved in advocacy process, as followed (Keck & Sikkink, 1999):

- a. International and domestic NGO, research, and advocacy organizations;
- b. local social movements;
- c. foundations;
- d. the media;
- e. churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, intellectuals;
- f. part of regional and international intergovernmental organizations;
- g. part of executive and/or parliamentary branches of government.

Advocacy is a gradual process of changing public policy and is not a revolutionary process aims at seizing

political power and then create a complete change to the system and social structure. In this process, there are many activities for the formation of public policy, therefore advocacy activities require the involvement of many parties with the different expertise of specifications which systematically organized (Azizah, 2013, p. 16). Advocacy activities, either at the local, national, and international context, involve various parties or organizations that can be described in the following Model of Triangular Coordination:

Figure 1.1: Model of Triangular Coordination



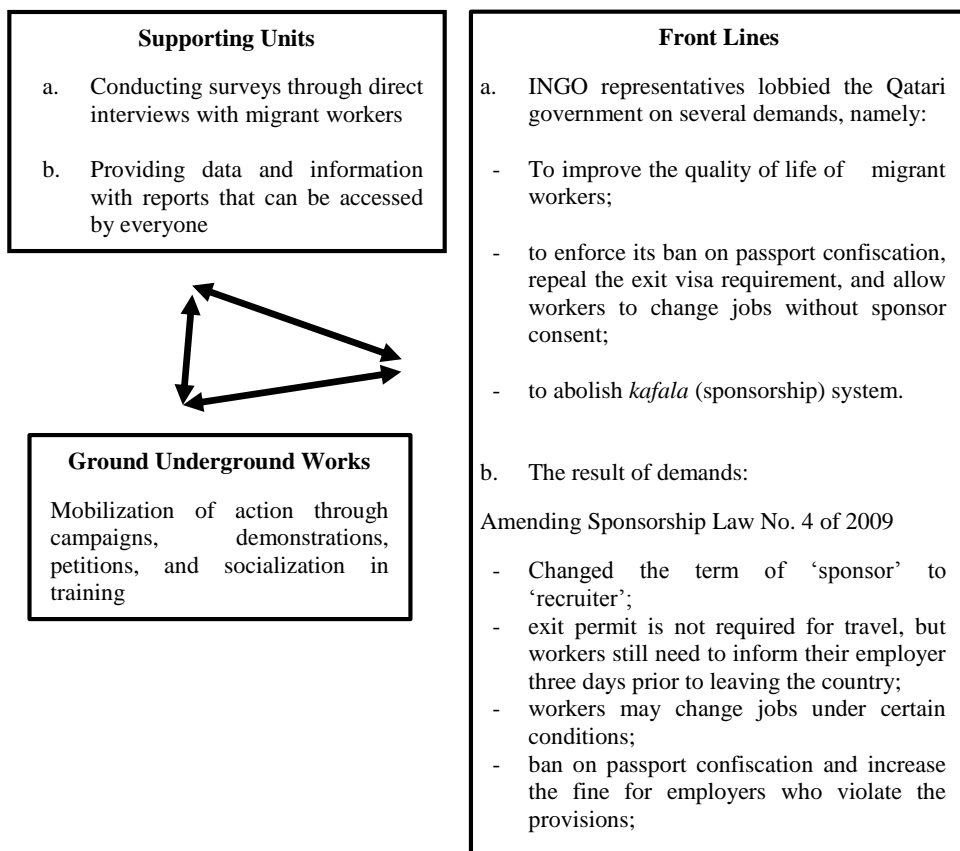
Adapted from: *Advokasi Kuota Perempuan di Indonesia* (Azizah, 2013)

From the chart above, it can be seen that in the process of advocacy there is an involvement of many parties and have their own respective functions. Some act as the supporting units that work for the provision of data, information, and access to the existing issue to the government, journalists, and other key stakeholders. Ground underground workers are the core circle of the movement, aim to build a base of the mass, provide

political education, and mobilize the actions. While front liners act as spokespersons in lobbying and also involved in the process of legislation.

In Qatar, the advocacy measures also involve many parties working in a systematic and interconnected manner as illustrated by the Triangular Coordination. The involvement of these parties in advocacy is important in encouraging the governments to create a policy that supports justice and restoration of migrant workers' rights. Advocacy process conducted by INGOs involved in the issue of migrant workers in Qatar can be illustrated briefly in the following chart:

Figure 1.2: Implementation of Model of Triangular Coordination



INGOs advocating the interests of migrant workers in Qatar have worked for years to influence the Qatari government policy regarding its labor system, even before the booming development of the 2022 World Cup. Advocacy activities require a long process, even with the formation of new policy, INGOs still have to monitor the implementation until the interests are achieved as expected.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the above Model of triangular Coordination, hypotheses that can be taken on the advocacy measures conducted by INGOs to address the problem of migrant workers in Qatar, namely:

1. Conducting a survey and providing data about the information on human rights violations towards migrant workers in Qatar;
2. pressuring Qatari government to uphold the rights of migrant workers by creating campaigns, petitions, demonstrations, and providing training;
3. lobbying government to reform its sponsorship system and monitoring the progress of new law.

E. Research Methods

In the writing process of this research, the writer will use the qualitative research method which has an objective to understand and interpret a behavior or social interaction using the methods that generally produce words as an analysis (Suryadi, 2017). While combining descriptive method in the case analysis that aims to elaborate how the advocacy measures of INGOs work in improving the protection of migrant workers' rights in Qatar with the using of Model of Triangular Coordination as mention previously.

The method of data collecting that will be used by the writer in this research is library research by collecting secondary data sources. Sources will be mainly taken from books, journals, articles, government publications, reports,

news, videos, and others, both in copied form and in e-resource taken from the internet.

F. Scope of Research

To avoid overlapping data in the writing of this research, the writer will limit the writing on the issue of migrant workers in Qatar within the scope of workers in the construction sector only. This is due to the fact that construction is the sector in which the country absorbs the most number of migrant workers, and construction workers are the most susceptible to experiencing mistreatment. While the range of time that will be included in this research is since Qatar won the bid as the host country for the 2022 World Cup in 2010 until today. This is done in order to make the writer focus and facilitate the research and data collection.

G. Purpose of Research

This research aims at:

1. Elaborating the advocacy measures undertaken by international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) in influencing Qatari government policy on the issue of rights violation towards migrant workers;
2. showing the importance of INGOs in advocating the issue that has been denied for years by the government;
3. providing facts about the issue of appalling treatments towards migrant workers particularly in the construction sector ahead of the 2022 World Cup in Qatar;
4. developing the knowledge of the writer as well as fulfilling the requirement to obtain Bachelor Degree (S1) from Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

H. Writing System

The system of writing in this research will be arranged as follows:

Chapter I

This chapter is an introductory part which contains Background, Purpose of Research, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Research Methodology, Range of Research, and Writing System.

Chapter II

This chapter describes the main INGOs involved in tackling the problems of migrant workers in Qatar.

Chapter III

This chapter discusses the relation between rapid infrastructure development and the growing number of migrant workers in Qatar's construction sector. It also provides the data on problems of migrant workers and describes the labor regulations (*kafala* system) that related to the problems.

Chapter IV

This chapter analyzes how INGOs conducted their advocacy measures in improving the life quality and protection of migrant workers in Qatar using the Model of Triangular Coordination.

Chapter V

This is the end of the research that will conclude all the findings in form of conclusion.