

**ADVOCACY OF INTERNATIONAL NON-
GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN
PROTECTING MIGRANT WORKERS' RIGHTS
IN QATAR AHEAD OF FIFA WORLD CUP 2022**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS



**Written by:
Kinanty Nadia Putri
20140510382**

**Advisor:
Sidiq Ahmadi, S.IP., M.A.**

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA
2018**

**ADVOCACY OF INTERNATIONAL NON-
GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN
PROTECTING MIGRANT WORKERS' RIGHTS
IN QATAR AHEAD OF FIFA WORLD CUP 2022**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

Presented to fulfill the requirements for achieving the
Bachelor Degree in Department of International Relations,
Faculty of Social and Political Science,
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Written by:
KINANTY NADIA PUTRI
20140510382

Advisor:
Sidiq Ahmadi, S.IP., M.A.

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA
2018**

ENDORSEMENT PAGE

Advocacy of International Non-Governmental Organizations in Protecting Migrant Workers' Rights in Qatar Ahead of FIFA World Cup 2022



KINANTY NADIA PUTRI

20140510382

This undergraduate thesis has been examined and endorsed by the Board of Examiners from the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Day/Date : Saturday, May 5th 2018

Time : 08.00 WIB

Venue : Prodi HI

Board of Examiners:

Dr. Nur Azizah, M.Si.

Chief of Examiner

Siti Muslikhati, S.IP., M.Si.

Examiner I

Sidiq Ahmadi, S.IP., M.A.

Examiner II

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this thesis and research is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes.

I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.

Yogyakarta, May 13th 2018

Kinanty Nadia Putri

20140510382

EPIGRAPH

The mantra that keeps me going—

*“There’s a first time for everything. Just do it,
and the rest will follow.”*

And one that will always be the reason for me to
explore further—

*"Merantaulah. Gapailah setinggi-tingginya impianmu.
Maka ada lima keutamaan untukmu; melipur duka dan
memulai penghidupan baru. Memperkaya budi, pergaulan
terpuji, serta meluaskan ilmu."*

[Imam Syafi'i]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer would like to dedicate the highest gratitude to Allah subhanahu wa ta'ala for His blessings and kindness for making everything possible to accomplish this undergraduate thesis entitled "*Advocacy of International Non-Governmental Organizations in Protecting Migrant Workers' Rights in Qatar Ahead of FIFA World Cup 2022*" in a well-allocated time.

A sincere gratitude is also addressed to the advisor who has given many enlightening advices and guidance during the writing process of this undergraduate thesis. The writer will also take this opportunity to express a deep sense of gratitude towards the Board of Examiners for their thoughtful and constructive suggestions which intended for the better development of this undergraduate thesis.

This undergraduate thesis itself is a product of cumulative knowledge that had been obtained during the process of undergraduate study in the Department of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. The writer realized that this undergraduate thesis is far from perfect and there is still a room for improvements, as it is also the essence of learning, thus, constructive suggestions are welcomed for the better development of the writer's writings in the future.

The writer also wished this undergraduate thesis will be useful and beneficial for the development of International Relations study and can be used as a literature reference towards the further study in related issues of this topic.

Yogyakarta, May 13th 2018

Kinanty Nadia Putri

FOREWORD

Alhamdulillah rabbi'l'alam, the highest gratitude is dedicated to the Most Gracious one, Allah subhanahu wa ta'ala. Because only with His will and blessings this undergraduate thesis can be accomplished as one of the requirements to obtain the Bachelor Degree of International Relations in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. The praise is also addressed to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) for his guidance that has led the mankind towards the world of betterment.

Through this writing, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my dearest people and colleagues who have become the greatest 'supporting system' during the making process of this undergraduate thesis, and those who have also played an important role in giving many life lessons and memories during my college years.

This gratitude is presented to:

1. My source of strength and inspiration in life, Papa Zulkaedril Sanusi and Mama Ratna Meri Sanusi who have always given me the best to make sure that I would always be able to reach my dreams. The blessings in your prayers are why I will stay true and insya Allah you will be proud of me too.
2. My two brothers, Uda Alfino D. Sanusi and Adek Muhammad Fahdel Sanusi who always support me in their own unique way.
3. Bapak Sidiq Ahmadi, S.IP., M.A. as my thesis advisor, for his patience and guidance in assisting me to develop the important idea of this undergraduate thesis.

4. The Board of Examiners; Dr. Nur Azizah, M.Si. and Ibu Siti Muslikhati, S.IP., M.Si. for giving me constructive and comprehensive suggestions to develop my undergraduate thesis better. Moreover, to all lecturers in the Department of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta who have taught me a lot of useful knowledge which complement the idea in this thesis, as well as to Pak Waluyo and Pak Djumari who have helped me in preparing all the administration process.
5. A special thanks to one of my favorite lectures of all time, Dr. Norafidah Ismail in Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM), who initially helped me with her kindness and patience in developing the idea of this topic into the writing of undergraduate thesis.
6. My girls, the foundation of my friendship in Yogyakarta; Damara Yayang Adeline, Gita Madyaning Ratri, Sarah Aghniya, and Winy Arlitasari. Thank you so much for all the love and support. Because there is nothing better when Empowered Bicis, Empower Bicis!
7. Uluh-ulu Squad. My beloved UUM-life partners; Rahma Triwahyuni (The Babyboo), Asyrikh Shofiy Rosykhiani (The Roommate), Ndaru Rizqa Amalia (The Homework Helper), Tri Anggit Nugraheni (The Malala Mate), and Rafyoga Jehan P. Irsadanar (The Leader). All memories in the northern part of Malaysian jungle would never be the same without you guys.
8. Annisa Erviena Haniev. A very good friend and the best discussion partner of mine. The one who always listen and answer all my questions---from the most important to the negligible ones.

9. Fina Nailur Rohmah, my story-sharing mate, who helped me with many references used in this thesis. Thanks for the password! And Mas Kurniady Syafutra, for always being ready whenever I am in need. You guys are truly amazing!
10. My dearest sisters in UUM, who have always helped me getting through various challenges during my stay in there; Kak Nik, Kak Raja, Kak Nad, Kak Ti, Kak Ziqah, Kak Mun, Kak Ayu, Kak Ira, Kak Pikah, Kak Kinah, Kak Tikah, and Cherlanne. As well as Ibu Yati (BSN Café) for taking care of me.
11. All friends of IPIREL 2014, especially IC-C. Thanks for the fun and assistance in these past 3.5 years.
12. The big family of KKN International LEX September 2017. Getting to know you all has made me understand new things that I have never experienced before.

Lastly, to all people whose names cannot be mentioned one by one who have also contributed in giving the support and prayer for the success of this undergraduate thesis.

Therefore, here it is, I present this undergraduate thesis as a masterpiece of mine, may the benefits of knowledge be spread.

Yogyakarta, May 13th 2018

Kinanty Nadia Putri

ABSTRACT

Qatar is one of the Gulf countries with the highest number of migrant workers in the region. The massive development of economic and infrastructure has made Qatar dependent on migrant workers, especially after it won the bid to host the FIFA World Cup in 2022. In order to build Qatar's ambitious projects related to the event, the inflow number of migrant workers in the construction sector is increasingly growing each year. However, the increasing number of migrant workers have also accelerated problems associated with migrant workers in the country. They experience a lot of problems with the employers who violate their rights as workers. Moreover, workers in the construction sector are found to be the most vulnerable to exploitations. For years, the *kafala* (sponsorship) system has been condemned by many International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) as the source of abuse and exploitation towards the migrant workers in Qatar. Coupled with the prohibition for workers to form or even join a union which has created a more difficult situation. With the presence of the World Cup, INGOs utilize the event as a catalyst for change by spotlighting many problems faced by workers in Qatar, as well as have a significance to pressure the government to increase the protection towards the migrant workers.

Keywords: Advocacy, INGOs, Migrant Workers, Qatar, World Cup 2022, *Kafala* System

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
ENDORSEMENT PAGE	iii
STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY.....	iv
EPIGRAPH.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
FOREWORD.....	vii
ABSTRACT	x
TABLE OF CONTENT	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
LIST OF TABLES	xv
APPENDICES	xvi
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
A. Background	1
B. Research Question.....	5
C. Theoretical Framework	6
1. Constructivism	6
2. Model of Triangular Coordination	7
D. Hypothesis.....	10
E. Research Methods	10
F. Scope of Research	11
G. Purpose of Research	11
H. Writing System.....	12

**CHAPTER II INGOS INVOLVED IN THE ISSUE OF
MIGRANT WORKERS IN QATAR 13**

- A. Human Rights Watch 13
- B. Amnesty International 14
- C. Humanity United 15
- D. Freedom United..... 15
- E. Building and Wood Worker's International..... 16
- F. The International Trade Union Confederation 16
- G. Anti-Slavery International..... 17

**CHAPTER III INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT
AND PROBLEM OF MIGRANT WORKERS..... 18**

- A. The Need for Migrant Workers in Infrastructure
Development 18
- B. Problems of Migrant Workers in Qatar 22
 - 1. Pre-Departure Problems: Unfair Recruitment Process
.. 23
 - a. Expensive Recruitment Fees 23
 - b. Debt Bondage..... 24
 - c. False Information and Contract Substitution.. 24
 - 2. In-Country Problems 25
 - a. Inadequate Wages..... 25
 - b. Residence Permits Issue 26
 - c. Confiscation of Passport..... 26
 - d. Dangerous Working Conditions 27
 - e. Appalling Accommodation 29

f. Forced Labor	29
C. Labor Regulations in Qatar	30
1. <i>Kafala</i> System	30
2. Domestic Labor Regulations in Qatar	31
CHAPTER IV ADVOCACY PROCESS OF INGOS IN PROTECTING MIGRANT WORKERS' RIGHTS IN QATAR	35
A. Advocacy of Supporting Units	36
B. Advocacy of Ground Underground Works	38
1. Playfair Qatar Campaign	38
2. Online Petitions	39
3. Mass Mobilization in Demonstrations	40
4. Training for Prospective Migrant Workers	41
C. Advocacy of Front Line	42
CHAPTER V CONCLUSION	48
REFERENCES	51

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Model of Triangular Coordination.....	8
Figure 1.2 Implementation of Triangular Coordination	9
Figure 3.1 Economic Sector Filled by Migrants	20
Figure 3.2 Migrants in Construction Sector	22
Figure 3.3 Causes of Migrants' Death in Qatar.....	29

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Number of Death by Nationality	28
Table 3.2 Contents of Law No. 4 of 2009	32
Table 4.1 Amendment in Law No. 21 of 2015	44

APPENDICES

Appendix A Mandatory Standards	63
Appendix B Law No. 4 of 2009	65
Appendix C Law No. 21 of 2015	67