**A Comparative Study of Migrant Workers’ Rights in Saudi Arabia and World Cup Host Nations**

**Abstract**

All eyes were on Saudi Arabia when it won the bid to host the 2034 World Cup. The win brought with it an increased scrutiny on the issue of migrant workers not only in the kingdom but also in all the Gulf Cooperation Council countries. The issue which also surfaced during the Qatar 2022 World Cup, and was the highlight of many human rights reports, which claimed violations and foul play. This study examined the reforms Qatar made as a result of hosting the World Cup and what Saudi Arabia can learn from and replicate in its own reforms. Saudi Arabia has already reformed many of its regulations and laws regarding migrant workers in light of the kingdom’s Vision 2030. The partnership with the International Labour Organisation is the first step in reforming its protections for migrant workers, ensuring that companies adhere to workers’ safety and health conditions in other countries.

**Keywords:** Migrant workers, Reforms, World Cup, Gulf Cooperation Council, Saudi Arabia, Qatar

1. **Introduction**

Migrant workers play a pivotal role not only in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Qatar but in all of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. It is estimated that migrant workers represent 69% of the population in Kuwait,[[1]](#footnote-1) 88.40% in the UAE,[[2]](#footnote-2) 88.2% in Qatar,[[3]](#footnote-3) 51% in Bahrain,[[4]](#footnote-4) and 32.30% in Saudi Arabia,[[5]](#footnote-5) Migrant workers surpass nationals in nearly all of the GCC countries as shown (Kuwait, UAE, Qatar, and Bahrain).

One can notice that the number of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia is the lowest among the GCC countries and that is due to the large population and the vast landscape in Saudi. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia is experiencing a major boom, with major and mega projects underway. For instance, in light of the kingdom’s Vision 2030, Saudi Arabia plans to build a variety of ambitious projects, including the Line in Neom and the Red Sea projects.[[6]](#footnote-6) Moreover, Riyadh, the kingdom’s capital, is a central hub where several major projects, such as the Square, are underway. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia is set to host the 2034 World Cup. Accordingly, the number of migrant workers is expected to increase in the years to come.

Given this construction boom, this study explored the rights of migrant workers and how Saudi Arabia can learn from Qatar’s experience as the host of the World Cup in 2022. Hosting the World Cup brings with it increased scrutiny regarding compliance with human rights standards; the rights of migrant workers have been a major issue in both the 2022 and upcoming 2034 World Cups. During 2022, many human rights reports were published concerning the migrant workers who helped build the stadiums for the World Cup in Qatar. Consequently, Qatar sought the cooperation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to improve conditions for migrant workers. Qatar also made several legislative changes and reforms to its laws and regulations arising out of the Kafala (sponsorship) system regarding employing migrant workers. These changes helped move Qatar from the most restrictive, regarding the Kafala system, to a more open country.

In this context, this study examined Qatar’s legal and regulatory reforms and determined how Saudi Arabia can replicate and better equip itself to protect the rights of migrants working on major projects in Saudi Arabia, including the construction of the stadiums for the 2034 World Cup.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia is undergoing major construction projects that goes beyond the World cup of 2034. This study will examine the different projects with an empathises to the World Cup projects. Needless to say that hosting the world cup brings unwanted human rights investigations and perhaps the major issue in both the 2022 and 2034 world cups is the rights of migrant workers. There were a number of human rights reports which wrote about migrants rights in Qatar as a result Qatar sought the cooperation of the International Labor Organization (ILO) in order to improve the situation of migrant workers in the country.

Furthermore, Qatar made a number of legislative changes and reforms to its laws and regulations which help remove the country from the most restrictive country when it comes to Kafalah system to a more open country. The remainder of this article is structured as follows. We investigate the road to the World Cup in Qatar, focusing on the improvements and reforms for migrant workers made by the country in preparation for hosting the 2022 World Cup? We then discuss the 2034 World Cup in Saudi Arabia, exploring what the kingdom has done so far regarding its legal and regulatory reforms. In the subsequent section, we examine Brazil in its journey to hosting the 2014 World Cup and the lessons it offers. Finally, we present the conclusion with a comparative analysis of the three countries regarding the scope and depth of the reforms and their enforcement mechanisms.

* 1. ***The Road to the World Cup 2022 in Qatar***

The FIFA Council’s announcement in 2010 that Qatar would host the 2022 World Cup was a monumental moment for the Arab world and Gulf States when it was announced in 2010 that Qatar would host the 2022 World Cup. This honour was accompanied by increased scrutiny regarding human rights in the Gulf States, particularly about migrant workers. The country came under attack from numerous human rights organisations owing to its record on migrant workers’ rights. Both Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International wrote reports about migrant workers’ rights violations, focusing on those employed in the construction sector.[[7]](#footnote-7) This scrutiny resulted in many GCC countries, including Qatar, modifying their labour laws and other regulations related to migrant workers, providing this vulnerable group with much-needed protection. Qatar collaborated with the ILO and underwent a major overhaul in its labour law, passing its revised laws in 2020. It also opened a regional office for the ILO in 2018 to work closely with it to amend and reform its regulations and laws, enabling it to meet the higher international standards of labour law.

Prior to hosting the World Cup, Qatar was considered one of the most restrictive countries in the Gulf when it came to implementing the Kafala system. Under this system, for instance, migrant workers were not allowed to leave the country without their sponsors’ permission, which was called the exiting permit. As part of Qatar’s reforms regarding migrant workers’ rights, Qatar abolished the exit permits requirement in accordance with the Minister of Interior Decision No. (95) of 2019, which came into effect in 2020[[8]](#footnote-8) and applies to all migrant and domestic workers. Furthermore, Qatar instituted a minimum wage requirement in the new labour law to protect migrant workers’ rights, as many were given insufficient wages thus, came the introduction of a minimum wage requirement in the new labour law. Moreover, and as part of the reforms in Qatar and the changes to the new labour law to allow migrant workers to transfer from one employer to another without needing consent from the first employer. The new law also implemented several new penalties for violating the law to strengthen enforcement. The latest amendments were introduced in 2020, and an estimated minimum of 669,000 migrant workers benefited from this transfer reform between September 2020 and October 2023.[[9]](#footnote-9)

These reforms, resulting from the country hosting the 2022 World Cup, paved the way for a new and more just working environment for migrants workers in Qatar, and were part of the reforms made as a result of hosting the 2022 World Cup. The country has completed several major construction projects after significantly reforming its labour laws. In Qatar, an estimated one million migrant workers are part of the construction sector alone.[[10]](#footnote-10) Accordingly, the country implemented a new heat regulation in 2020 as part of its reforms. It followed the Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) rules that are part of the ILO, which set limitations on working hours in extreme heat conditions.[[11]](#footnote-11) Qatar through the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs, issued Ministerial Decree No. (17) of 2021,[[12]](#footnote-12) it adopted the OSH rules in 2020, where employees are forbidden to work outdoors between 10:00 am and 3:30 pm from 1 June to 15 September.[[13]](#footnote-13) This rule has also been implemented in other GCC countries, including Kuwait, which implemented the forth mentioned rule in 2015; however, according to the ILO, Qatar’s decree restricts work in the heat the least compared with the rules in other GCC countries.[[14]](#footnote-14)

As mentioned above, in 2021, Qatar[[15]](#footnote-15) became the first country in the GCC to implement a minimum wage for all workers in all sectors, regardless of nationality.[[16]](#footnote-16) Prior to that, wages were based on nationality and the type of work performed. The minimum wage was set at QAR 1,000, covering all workers in all industries, including domestic workers, and employers were required to provide an additional QAR 500 per month for accommodations and QAR 300 per month for food.[[17]](#footnote-17) The move is indeed a welcome move as wages prior to the change were based on nationality and the kind of work done. The change included migrant domestic workers as well. The change was a welcome step as it protects all migrant workers, who are entitled to know their rights and the minimum wage they deserve. Because of the change, approximately 13% of migrant workers saw an increase in their wages.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Moreover, many migrant workers fall prey to exploitive recruitment in their home countries.[[19]](#footnote-19) To counteract this recruitment practice, which often occurs in their country of origin, Qatar established more than 20 visa centres in many countries, including India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and the Philippines.[[20]](#footnote-20) Such centres were established to expedite recruitment and ensure that workers are not exploited in their home countries.

Since the announcement of Qatar hosting the world cup in 2010 Qatar came under attack from many Human Rights Organizations due to its record in the issue of migrant workers rights. In order to address those issues Qatar partnered with the ILO and went through a major overhaul in its labor law passing its revised labor law in 2020. Qatar also opened a regional office for the ILO in 2018 in order to work closely with the ILO to amend and reform its regulations and laws and raise the standards of its labor laws. That included what we mentioned before. The abolishment of the exit visa allowed employees to change their employer without obtaining the written consent of the first employer, thereby providing free mobility to migrant workers. Last but not least the introduction of minimum wage for migrant workers which is a great protection to migrant workers. The new law also implemented a number of new pentiles for violating the forementioned law with the aim of protecting migrant workers in Qatar.

Another violation of the rights of migrant workers in Qatar was the failure of companies to pay their workers, even after months of delays. To remedy this problem, the government of Qatar imposed significant penalties on companies and established a specialised fund in accordance with Law No. (17) of 2018.[[21]](#footnote-21) Since its inception, the fund has distributed more than 360 million USD to migrant workers who fell prey to the non-payment of wages. The fund provides care for workers, guarantees their rights, and provides a healthy and safe working environment.

Furthermore, Qatar introduced several health and occupation safety measures that align with the ILO’s safety standards. Nevertheless, many human rights reports indicate a high number of deaths among migrant workers working in the construction sector. The Qatari government stated that between 2014 and 2020, 37 labourers died at World Cup stadium construction sites.[[22]](#footnote-22) By contrast, the ILO noted that the number of migrant deaths related to the World Cup construction projects reached 50 in 2020, and another 50 lost their lives in 2021.[[23]](#footnote-23) Some reports even estimated the number to be more than 6,000.[[24]](#footnote-24) ; Whereas, the ILO reported that 50 migrant workers lost their lives in 2020.[[25]](#footnote-25) Qatar denied these reports, responding that they were inaccurate and that the data provided by human rights NGOs were inaccurate and misleading because many of the deaths were not related to World Cup construction.[[26]](#footnote-26) In another statement, Qatari official Mr. Hassan al-Thawadi estimated the total number of migrant deaths to be between 400–500 workers.[[27]](#footnote-27)

The death of even a single migrant worker is an unfortunate event, and even one death is one too many. However, considering the total number of construction workers (approximately one million), the percentage of deaths is 0.05%, which may be a function of the scale of the major projects or and is excepted due to a lot of factors not necessarily related to the work itself. Furthermore, the number of deaths is much less than that reported by other major World Cup host countries.

The ILO report suggested that the work to improve conditions for migrant workers should continue past the end of the World Cup.[[28]](#footnote-28) Qatar stated that it was improving and would continue to improve the health and safety features for migrant workers, and will continue to work hard to prevent and safeguard migrant workers. Nevertheless, accidents have still occurred. All reports indicate that the Qatari government should do more to protect vulnerable migrant workers, especially in the construction sector.[[29]](#footnote-29)

1. **Institutional Changes**
   1. ***The Establishment of the Labour Dispute Resolution Committee***

The new labour law established a committee within the labour ministry called the ‘Labour Dispute Resolution Committee’.[[30]](#footnote-30) The committee was established to settle labour disputes, including those of migrant workers; speed up the justice process; and deliver a verdict that is just for the employee and employer. Furthermore, this committee is headed by a judge from the first instance court and includes a representative from the labour ministry and an expert in accounting chosen by the Minister of Labour.[[31]](#footnote-31) Several sub-committees review labour disputes to streamline the process and ensure a prompt delivery of the verdict.

Moreover, and as a means to enhance and simplify filing labour complaints, the Qatari government installed 11 kiosks accessible in 11 languages and introduced a 24/7 hotline to enhance and simplify filing labour complaints. The installed kiosks can be found across the country at 11 branch offices of the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour, and Social Affairs.[[32]](#footnote-32)

* 1. ***The Establishment of the Wage Protection System***

Qatar established the Wage Protection System (WPS) in 2015 to ensure that migrant workers were being paid for their services. The system ensured that private sector employees were paid on time and at the wages agreed upon in their contracts. Prior to the introduction of this system, companies would withhold wages from migrant workers for months.

Qatar defined the WPS as follows: ‘It is a comprehensive electronic system initiated by the Qatar Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour, and Social Affairs and Qatar Central Bank; the system monitors and documents the process of the worker’s salary payment’.[[33]](#footnote-33) The system follows that used in other GCC countries to provide similar protection for all private sector workers, including migrant labour. workers and it is indeed a welcomed step in order to protect and make sure that employees are paid on time and with the mentioned amount in their contracts.

Qatar succeeded in not only hosting the World Cup but also improving labour conditions for migrant workers. Although unfortunate injuries and deaths did occur, the country instituted reforms that revamped the legal and regulatory protections of migrant workers. Qatar showed the world that it was worthy of hosting the first-ever World Cup in the Arab and GCC regions.

1. **Saudi Arabia’s Road to the 2034 World Cup and Legal Reforms**
   1. ***Saudi Arabia 2030 Vision and Labour Reforms***

In 2010, Saudi Arabia announced that it would reform the long-established Kafala system for regulating migrant workers after which it revamped this long-established system as part of the kingdom’s Vision 2030. Saudi Arabia abolished the Kafala system for several occupations, including but not limited to doctors, accountants, engineers, sales managers, and nurses. Individuals in these professions would not need to be sponsored by a local company or person.[[34]](#footnote-34) However It is imperative to note that the Kafala system remains in place for other occupations, including construction workers and low-paying jobs, leaving such workers vulnerable to exploitation by their sponsors.

The new amendments to the Saudi labour regulations also permitted workers wishing to transfer from one employer to another to do so without consent from their former employer, in specific cases. Prior to reform, this consent requirement was used by many employers to exploit migrant workers; some even demanded a specific amount of money in exchange for allowing the transfer.

Moreover, the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Development officially announced the abolition of this system for several professions, as mentioned, while introducing new mechanisms for transferring sponsorship. This change granted these professionals freedom of movement under clear and transparent conditions.[[35]](#footnote-35) However, the old Kafala system still regulates other occupations. Furthermore, the amendments do not apply to domestic workers.

Similar to the rules in Qatar and other GCC countries, Saudi Arabia passed a ministerial regulation to curb working under the sun and heat of the Saudi summer.[[36]](#footnote-36) The regulations state that workers are not allowed to work under the scorching sun, especially because the temperature can rise to 49° Celsius and sometimes even higher during the summer. With climate change worsening the heat, the regulation to protect workers from heat stroke and other related health conditions was passed. According to the regulation, the ban on work lasts from mid-June to mid-September from 12:00 noon to 3:00 pm.

According to Cabinet Resolution No. (195) of 2022, Saudi Arabia started digitising its labour contracts,[[37]](#footnote-37) which helps safeguard worker rights, especially for migrants. If any dispute arises from implementing those contracts, such as any labour dispute regarding salaries or conditions of the contract, the Ministry has a copy and can submit it to the designated authority. In case of disputes between employers and migrant workers, the digitally preserved contract can save time and money for the migrant worker, as its terms can easily be retrieved to check for relevant information.

* 1. ***Legal Institution and Framework***

Similar to the systems in Qatar, Kuwait, and the UAE, the WPS in Saudi Arabia was established to ensure the timely payment of wages to employees in the private sector.[[38]](#footnote-38) It requires all private establishments with 10 or more employees to pay salaries through the WPS, which helps monitor compliance with Saudi Labour Law.[[39]](#footnote-39) The WPS was introduced in the kingdom in 2009 and made mandatory in 2013; the long period allowed companies to implement and adhere to such a system. The Ministry gave certain companies, depending on the number of workers, until 2017 to comply fully with the WPS.

More GCC countries are implementing WPS-type systems to keep track of companies’ payments to their workers, as non-payment of wages or payment other than the contractually agreed upon wage were the most common complaints by employees. The WPS protects migrant workers from foul play, aiding them in legal disputes if their employers fail to adhere to and fulfil their obligations to pay the agreed-upon wages on time.

* + 1. Labour Court and Mediation

To ensure employees’ access to labour courts, especially migrant workers, the kingdom set several provisions to protect their right to resolve disputes with employers regarding wages, employment contracts, work injuries, and other concerns. The labour court in Saudi Arabia specialises in hearing all forms of labour cases. It is a branch of the first-instance courts spread throughout all regions and governorates of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.[[40]](#footnote-40) Labour courts specialise in cases related to employment contracts, wages and rights, work-related injuries and compensation, dismissal from work, the imposition of disciplinary penalties by the employer on the worker, and the levying of penalties stipulated in the Labour Law.[[41]](#footnote-41) Thus, the court is an avenue for migrant workers to resolve their conflicts and unravel any injustice that they suffered. Having a specialised branch in court for labour disputes is an improvement towards safeguarding workers’ rights, specifically migrant workers.

A specialised court to investigate matters of labour disputes is not new. Most GCC countries have established a branch within their court systems to streamline labour disputes between employers and migrant workers. In Saudi Arabia, such a branch protects the vulnerable migrant worker from being exploited by the employer (sponsor). When a labour dispute arises, the migrant worker should first file a complaint in the labour office, where an attempt is made to settle the dispute within 21 days.[[42]](#footnote-42) If the labour office fails, the dispute is forwarded to the labour court, where a judge should issue a verdict within 30 days per the Saudi legislator’s conditions and laws.[[43]](#footnote-43)

Saudi Arabia seems to be on the right track regarding labour reform and regulation amendments. Nevertheless, human rights NGOs have called on the Saudi government to do more to protect migrant workers, especially in light of the huge projects that are underway in the kingdom. Recent research by the Human Rights Watch indicated that several deaths related to the construction sector that occurred in Saudi Arabia should be investigated;[[44]](#footnote-44) these deaths were in violation of the ILO health and safety standards.[[45]](#footnote-45) The report, based on interviews with family members, also called for compensation to the families of those who lost their lives.[[46]](#footnote-46) Some interviewees stated that the remains of their family members were never brought back home from Saudi Arabia, but this situation was rare. Regulations and laws should be amended to compel construction companies to repatriate the migrant workers’ remains. Moreover, Saudi Arabia should pass a law that obligates construction companies to issue life insurance for their workers, allowing the deceased migrant’s family to be compensated in case of death for whatever reason.

Furthermore, Saudi Arabia should establish a fund for migrant workers similar to the fund that Qatar set up to compensate migrant workers for non-payment and injuries or deaths that occur during work. Moreover, Saudi collaboration with the ILO is imperative to reform its labour law and regulations to meet international standards. Although the kingdom has already addressed many of Qatar’s pitfalls, working alongside the ILO can bring many positive changes to Saudi Arabia. Similar to Qatar, Saudi Arabia, as part of its labour reforms, abolished the long-standing permit that required the consent of the employer (sponsor) for a migrant worker to switch to another employer. The kingdom must open a regional office, as Qatar did, to bring its partnership with the ILO to the next level. Saudi Arabia started its first phase of cooperation in 2018, which lasted until 2021.[[47]](#footnote-47) This was followed by a second phase of collaboration in 2022.[[48]](#footnote-48) This included the implementation of the National Occupational Safety and Health Policy to ensure safe working environments, which are crucial for migrants working in the construction sector for the World Cup 2034. The cooperation also involved aligning national policies with international labour standards.[[49]](#footnote-49) Saudi Arabia’s reforms are not only in response to winning the bid to host the World Cup but are also a feature of its 2030 vision. Improving migrant workers’ health and safety conditions is paramount to avoid Qatar’s missteps, as reported by human rights organisations.

Additionally, Saudi Arabia should address the human rights violations reported by human rights NGOs. The kingdom can dedicate a special envoy to address the human rights violations documented by NGOs, and the envoy should have the authority to penalise the responsible entities or refer the matter to the appropriate authority.

1. **The Road to the World Cup: The Case of Brazil**

When Brazil won its bid to host the 2014 World Cup, the result was met with uncertainty.[[50]](#footnote-50) Brazil also faced much criticism from human rights NGOs,[[51]](#footnote-51) including concern for the rights of construction workers. Workers went on strikes demanding wage payments and better working conditions,[[52]](#footnote-52) which delayed the completion of several stadiums and elicited disapproval from FIFA. In addition, Brazil reportedly used convicts to build some of its 12 stadiums.[[53]](#footnote-53)

Brazil was heavily criticised after winning its World Cup bid; construction work on stadiums, airports, and hotels was behind schedule, and human rights organisations accused the country of human rights violations.[[54]](#footnote-54) Reports claimed that workers were coerced, enslaved, or denied wages for their work in the construction of the stadiums. They also stated that several workers had died as a result of poor safety conditions at the construction sites.[[55]](#footnote-55) The reports further claimed that the workers were overworked, and basic safety and health conditions had not been met at the construction sites.[[56]](#footnote-56)

Additionally, the Brazilian people were against hosting the 2014 World Cup, with 61% of those surveyed voicing their objection.[[57]](#footnote-57) They believed that taxpayer money was better spent on health, education, and public transportation.[[58]](#footnote-58)

After winning the bid in 2007 to host the 2014 World Cup, Brazil encountered a multitude of protests against the dire conditions of workers, the poverty levels, inadequate public services, and the high cost of hosting the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics.[[59]](#footnote-59) The protests were fuelled by the rise in public transportation fees, as stated in a report by Amnesty International.[[60]](#footnote-60) Other reasons as mentioned were the high cost of hosting the events.[[61]](#footnote-61)

The deaths of several construction workers shed light on the poor working conditions they faced. For instance, in November 2013, a crane collapsed during the installation of the stadium’s roof, killing two workers. This incident delayed the stadium’s completion by several months.[[62]](#footnote-62) In January 2014, a 55-year-old Portuguese worker died while dismantling a crane at the stadium. He was the third fatality at this site, following earlier incidents involving falls from heights.[[63]](#footnote-63) Reports such as these further inflamed Brazilians, and their protests climaxed in 2013 in Sao Paolo with hundreds of thousands of people in the street.[[64]](#footnote-64) The police reacted violently, using rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse the protesters.[[65]](#footnote-65)

Unlike Qatar and Saudi Arabia, Brazil did not contact the ILO to reform its labour standards, despite being an active member of the organisation. Had Brazil reached out, the working conditions for construction workers, especially the relevant health and safety measures, might have improved.

1. **Comparative Analysis**
   1. ***Scope and Depth of Reforms***

Qatar and Saudi Arabia imposed the infamous Kafala system on migrant workers, which tied workers to a sponsor, preventing them from changing employers without the sponsor’s consent. By contrast, Brazil used local workers and convicts. Many human rights NGOs have attacked the Kafala system because it leaves migrant workers vulnerable to exploitation by their sponsors.[[66]](#footnote-66) Human rights organisations have repeatedly highlighted the system as the leading human rights issue.[[67]](#footnote-67) In response, both Qatar and Saudi announced that they were abolishing the sponsorship system.

Qatar amended their laws to allow workers to change employers without the consent of the previous employer. Furthermore, Qatar agreed to end the exit visa. Most human rights NGOs hailed both reforms, but the Qatari government did not abolish the Kafala system entirely. Nevertheless, Qatar had one of the strictest sponsorship systems in the region; therefore, its reforms have transformed it into a more open and welcoming country. Nevertheless, some categories of workers are still tied to sponsors. Despite some conflicting reports about the ability of migrant workers to change sponsors, the numbers provided by the government show that the majority were able to do so. Moreover, abolishing a system set since the 1950s is difficult without having an appropriate alternative in place.

Although Saudi Arabia announced that it would abolish the Kafala system, it neglected to point out that it was carrying out only a partial reform. The removal of the Kafala system applies only to specific occupations, as mentioned in Section 3.1. Furthermore, domestic workers are still governed by the Kafala system. Saudi Arabia is undergoing a major shift and is on its way to becoming a regional hub; the kingdom is reforming its labour laws, including the Kafala system, and partially abolishing it. Similar to Qatar and other GCC countries, Saudi Arabia is now under attack for human rights abuses owing to the deaths of several migrant workers, and all eyes will be on Saudi Arabia for the next few years to witness the reforms it will make. By further amending the Kafala system, Saudi Arabia can lead the path for other GCC countries. Admittedly, this will be difficult because the system was enshrined in the 1950s, and unravelling it and replacing it with reasonable alternatives will take time.

* 1. ***Enforcement Mechanisms***

Announcing and implementing reform is an important step. However, the answer to how effective it will be depends on the strength of the enforcement mechanisms. Therefore, Qatar created the Labour Dispute Resolution Committee, a judicial entity commissioned to hear workers’ grievances and settle the dispute between them and their employers with a binding verdict. Before referring the matter to the committee, the Ministry tries to resolve the dispute amicably.[[68]](#footnote-68) If the parties do not settle, the matter is referred to the dispute resolution committee, headed by a judge.[[69]](#footnote-69) Qatar also introduced an online complaint mechanism to simplify the process by which workers could launch their grievances.[[70]](#footnote-70) Additionally, Qatar opened several labour offices to house dispute resolution committees in several Qatari regions to streamline the cases and disputes between employers and workers.

The practicality of the complaint system has drawbacks, considering that most migrant workers, especially those in the construction sector, are illiterate. Thus, they would have difficulty making use of the online platform. However, launching it was a significant step in simplifying the process and, by extension, highlighting the issue of illiteracy. Qatar should launch awareness campaigns to familiarise the workers with the means of protecting their rights.

As a result of Qatar’s reforms in the complaint mechanism for migrant workers, labour complaints increased owing to the simplicity of the process. Between 2020 and 2021, the number of complaints to the Qatari Ministry of Labour increased from an estimated 11,000 to 25,000.[[71]](#footnote-71) Furthermore, the number of complaints rose even more in 2022 and 2023, reaching over 31,000 and 25,000, respectively.[[72]](#footnote-72) These numbers indicate that the Qatari reform paid off. The ILO noted that in 2023, 60% of the complaints from migrant workers were settled amicably.[[73]](#footnote-73) Additionally, in the same year, 23% of the complaints by migrant workers were referred to labour courts.[[74]](#footnote-74) The remaining 17% were complaints that labour courts were reviewing.[[75]](#footnote-75)

Perhaps the only downside is that the process of filing a complaint, trying to settle the matter amicably, and going through the dispute resolution committee is a lengthy one, and the migrant worker may not be familiar with the process. Thus, the best solution is to adopt and carry out a campaign in order to familiarise migrant workers with the process.

According to Saudi law, when a migrant or Saudi worker files a complaint, the complaint should be settled and resolved within 21 days. If not settled amicably, the complaint is referred to the labour court, which specialises in all disputes related to employment and labour issues between employer and employee. This streamlining of the justice process is especially helpful for migrant workers who are in a weaker position than their employers.

We believe that Saudi Arabia has made significant strides in its reforms since it was awarded the 2034 World Cup. However, the experience of Qatar offers valuable lessons for the kingdom, especially regarding the establishment of a kiosk to file migrant workers’ complaints in multiple languages. Saudi Arabia has not confirmed if it has a complaint hotline or if it is available 24/7. Interestingly, Saudi migrant workers are familiar with this process because they can file their complaints online in Qatar.[[76]](#footnote-76) Thus, Saudi Arabia should install and publicise a complaint hotline. In addition, the kingdom has no official repository in which to find the number of complaints filed by migrant workers and the stage those complaints have reached. Saudi Arabia has collaborated with the ILO, and the availability of such data is expected soon. The takeaway is that Saudi Arabia can learn from the Qatari hosting of the World Cup and the labour reforms that occurred along the way.

1. **Conclusion**

When Qatar won the bid to host the 2022 World Cup, the country attracted scrutiny regarding the rights of migrant workers not only in Qatar but also in the GCC region. Thus, the country implemented several reforms to improve the conditions for its migrants. A main issue for human rights organisations was the Kafala system; although Qatar has not dismantled its sponsorship system, its work with the ILO has opened the path for several much-needed reforms, which have helped pave the way for changes across the GCC countries. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has followed suit with many legal and regulatory amendments resulting from its 2030 vision and its hosting of the 2034 World Cup. Many doubted that Qatar could successfully host the World Cup, but the country did a stellar job and proved itself worthy of its role as host. We believe that Saudi Arabia is following in Qatar’s footsteps by implementing reforms to the Kafala system and other laws and practices affecting migrant workers.

After winning their respective World Cup bids, Brazil, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia faced intensified scrutiny for their human rights records. They responded first by acknowledging that the working conditions should be improved and that fatalities should be avoided at all cost. However, injuries happen, especially in massive projects, as evidenced in the experiences in Brazil, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia. We believe that if we investigate further, we will find that such injuries do occur in most if not all of the countries that have hosted the World Cup. Such large-scale events require major construction work for infrastructure, stadiums, hotels, and airports. While fatalities and injuries are perhaps inevitable, we maintain that these countries need to do more to prevent avoidable deaths. Collaborating with the ILO is a significant step towards offering safe and healthy conditions for workers, which should be followed by strong inspection mechanisms. Companies that do not provide strict workplace safety conditions should be penalised and have their contracts revoked. As this study demonstrated, the kingdom can learn from the reforms that took place in Qatar, such as the installation of complaint kiosks in several languages and adding a complaint hotline to help migrant workers file their grievances effectively. Moreover, the Saudi government should build on Qatari reforms and surpass them.

Furthermore, data for the number of complaints, case status in the first amicable and court phases, and number of cases in each phase should be provided to measure the success of the reforms. We believe that the kingdom will follow Qatar’s lead and adopt such steps soon.

Saudi Arabia is on the right track and is likely to introduce reforms to safeguard the rights of migrant workers in the near future. The kingdom should enhance its safety and health conditions for migrant workers in the construction sector in line with ILO standards. It should also ensure that migrant workers in the construction sector are given adequate rest time and clean and safe accommodation, despite those requirements already being in place for the contractors of enormous projects in the country. Saudi Arabia can also learn from Qatar in providing a minimum wage for all workers in all sectors, including domestic workers. Adopting such legislation will improve the protection of migrant workers, especially those in low-paying jobs. Following in the footsteps of Qatar, Saudi Arabia should establish a regional office for the ILO in the kingdom.

Qatar successfully hosted the 2022 World Cup, which came with several great reforms, despite some scholars and human rights NGOs criticising the country for its record in migrant workers’ rights. To improve its record, Qatar collaborated with the ILO to ensure the protection of migrant workers. Even after the end of the World Cup, Qatar continues to try to improve the conditions for migrant workers. It renewed its partnership with the ILO for an additional four years starting in 2024.

**References**

***Journals and Reports***

* Elissa Josephina Ronquillo, *The 2014 Brazilian World Cup: Consequences and Legacies* (Scripps Senior Theses 71, 2012). <http://scholarship.claremont.edu/scripps_theses/71>.
* Amnesty International, *Brazil: Protests During the World Cup 2014: Final Overview* (Jul. 24, 2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AMR19/008/2014/en/>.
* Zachary R. Calo, *Labor Rights and Dispute System Design: Assessing the Legal Legacy of the 2022 Qatar World Cup Special Section.* German Law J., 2023, at 1729.
* Arjyo Mitra, *An Ethical Analysis of the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil* (Seven Pillars Inst. for Global Fin. and Ethics, Sep. 8, 2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://sevenpillarsinstitute.org/ethical-analysis-of-the-2014-fifa-world-cup-brazil/>.
* Human Rights Watch, *FIFA/Qatar: Commit to Compensate Abused Migrant Workers* (Aug. 12, 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/08/12/fifa/qatar-commit-compensate-abused-migrant-workers>.
* Ruth Green, *Ruggie Report Calls on FIFA to Up Its Game on Human Rights Ahead of Qatar World Cup.* In-House Persp., 2016, at 97.
* Shubham Jain, *Resistance and Reform as Responses to Human Rights Criticisms: Relativism at FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022.* German Law J., Dec. 2023, at 1691.
* ILO, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the ILO* (Apr. 2024). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.ilo.org/regions-and-countries/arab-states/saudi-arabia>.
* State of Qatar Government Communication Office, *Labor Reform* (2025). Retrieved 21 May 2025 <https://www.gco.gov.qa/en/media-centre/in-focus/labour-reform/>.
* Amnesty International, *Legacy in Jeopardy: Continuing Abuses of Migrant Workers in Qatar One Year After the World Cup* (2023). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde22/7384/2023/en/>.
* ILO, *One Is Too Many: The Collection and Analysis of Data on Occupational Injuries in Qatar* (Nov. 2021). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/@arabstates/@ro-beirut/@ilo-qatar/documents/publication/wcms_828395.pdf>.
* Mustafa Qadri, *Qatar Labour Reforms Ahead of the FIFA 2022 World Cup*, Bus. Hum. Rts. J., Jun. 2022, at 319.
* Human Rights Watch, *Qatar Events of 2019 World Report* (2020). Retrieved 20 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/qatar>.
* Human Rights Watch, *Qatar/FIFA: Reimburse Migrant Workers’ Recruitment Fees* (Oct. 20, 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/20/qatar/fifa-reimburse-migrant-workers-recruitment-fees>.
* Human Rights Watch, *Qatar: Reform Efforts Fail to Remedy Rights Abuses* (Jan. 14, 2020). Retrieved 20 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/01/14/qatar-reform-efforts-fail-remedy-rights-abuses>.
* Amnesty International, *Qatar: Unfinished Business: What Qatar Must Do to Fulfill Promises on Migrant Workers’ Rights* (Oct. 20, 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde22/6106/2022/en/>.
* Human Rights Watch, *Saudi Arabia: Migrant Workers Electrocuted, Decapitated, and Falling to Death at Workplaces* (May 14, 2025). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/05/14/saudi-arabia-migrant-workers-electrocuted-decapitated-and-falling-death-workplaces>.
* Spoorthi, *An Analysis of Qatar World Cup and Human Rights Violations,* Indian J. of Law and Legal Rsch., 2023, at 5.
* Amnesty International, *‘They Use a Strategy of Fear’ Protecting the Right to Protest in Brazil* (2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr19/005/2014/en/>.
* ILO, *What Has Changed for Migrant Workers in Qatar?* (Nov. 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://webapps.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/Country-Focus/world-cup-qatar#landing>.
* Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2014: Brazil Events of 2013* (2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/brazil>.

***Laws and Regulations***

* Administrative Resolution No. (535) of 2015, the State of Kuwait.
* Article 115 repealed, Labor Law No. (18) of 2020.
* Law No. (17) of 2018, the State of Qatar.
* Law No. (17) of 2021, the State of Qatar.
* Ministerial Resolution No. (6) of 2018, the State of Qatar.
* Saudi Ministerial Regulation No. (3337) of 2019 (updated annually), the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

***Internet Sources***

* G. Al-Alwani, *Four Steps to Resolve Labor Disputes* (Al-Sharq Newspaper, Mar. 16, 2021). Retrieved 21 May 2025 <https://al-sharq.com/article/16/03/2021/4>.
* N. Al-Salem, *The End of the Sponsorship System in Saudi Arabia and Towards New Rights* (Saudi News, May 14, 2025). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://article.alsaudinews.com/>.
* BBC, *Brazil World Cup 2014: Worker Dies in Stadium Fall* (Dec. 14, 2013). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-25383023>.
* Libcom, *Brazil World Cup 2014: Workers’ Deaths, Racism, Gentrification, and Cultural Terrorism* (Dec. 15, 2015). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://libcom.org/article/brazil-world-cup-2014-workers-deaths-racism-gentrification-and-cultural-terrorism>.
* Francoise De Bel-Air, *Explaining the ‘Demographic Imbalance’ in the Gulf States,* Gulf Res. Ctr. 1, Oct. 2022. Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://gulfmigration.grc.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/GLMM-FS1-Imbalance-Final-2022-10.24.pdf>.
* Jon Gambrell, *Qatar Says Worker Deaths for World Cup ‘Between 400 and 500’* (AP, Nov. 29, 2022). <https://apnews.com/article/world-cup-sports-health-soccer-covid-e19bd8a30f7f9be62cf10bad496639ff>.
* Entrepreneurs KSA, *How to File a Complaint Against an Employer in Saudi Arabia* (Nov. 23, 2023). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.rowadalaamal.com/%d8%b7%d8%b1%d9%8a%d9%82%d8%a9-%d8%aa%d9%82%d8%af%d9%8a%d9%85-%d8%b4%d9%83%d9%88%d9%89-%d8%b6%d8%af-%d8%b5%d8%a7%d8%ad%d8%a8-%d8%a7%d9%84%d8%b9%d9%85%d9%84-%d9%81%d9%8a-%d8%a7%d9%84%d8%b3%d8%b9%d9%88/>.
* AlNukhbah Law Firm, *Labor Court in Saudi Arabia | Jurisdiction, Procedures, Provisions, and Duration of Cases* (Mar. 7, 2024). Retrieved 17 May 2025 <https://ksalawfirm.com/for-employees>.
* Neom, *Neom the Line: The Future of Urban Living* (2025). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://www.neom.com/en-us/regions/theline>.
* Central Statistical Bureau, *Number of Kuwaitis and Non-Kuwaitis in the State of Kuwait*. Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://census.csb.gov.kw/CensusData?id=1>.
* Ministry of Human Resources and Social Development, *Procedural Guide for Documenting Contracts* (May 22, 2019). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://www.hrsd.gov.sa/knowledge-centre/decisions-and-regulations/regulation-and-procedures/273936>.

BBC, *Qatar 2022: ‘Forced Labour’ at World Cup Stadium* (Mar. 31, 2016). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35931031>.

* Migrant-Rights.org, *Reform the Kafala System* (2025). Retrieved 20 May 2025 <https://www.migrant-rights.org/campaign/end-the-kafala-system/>.
* The Guardian, *Revealed: 6,500 Migrant Workers Have Died in Qatar Since World Cup Awarded* (Feb. 23, 2021). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/feb/23/revealed-migrant-worker-deaths-qatar-fifa-world-cup-2022>.
* A. Saad, *Transferring Sponsorship Under the New 2025 System in Saudi Arabia: Conditions, Steps, and Full Details.* (Al-Khaleej Alaan, Mar. 16, 2025). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://newsy.alkhaleejalaan.com/>.
* Fatemeh Salari, *4 Lessons From Qatar Labour Reforms for Gulf Employers: Law Firm* (Doha News, Feb. 14, 2023). Retrieved 17 May 2025 <https://dohanews.co/4-lessons-from-qatar-labour-reforms-for-gulf-employers-law-firm/>.
* Ministry of Human Resources and Social Development, *Wage Protection* (Jun. 11, 2017). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://www.hrsd.gov.sa/en/knowledge-centre/initiatives/national-transformation-initiatives-bank/108808>.
* Life in Saudi Arabia, *Wage Protection System* (2025). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://lifeinsaudiarabia.net/wage-protection-system-wps-saudi-arabia/>.
* Qatar Guide, *Wage Protection System Qatar Complete Guide* (Jan. 16, 2024). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://www.dohaguides.com/wage-protection-system-wps-qatar/>.
* *World Bank Data of 2015.* Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://data.albankaldawli.org/indicator/SM.POP.TOTL.ZS?locations=AE>.
* BBC, *World Cup 2022: How Has Qatar Treated Foreign Workers?* (Sep. 11, 2022). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60867042>.
* The Guardian, *World Cup Construction Worker Killed in Brazil* (Feb. 7, 2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2014/feb/07/world-cup-construction-worker-killed-brazil>.

1. Central Statistical Bureau, *Number of Kuwaitis and Non-Kuwaitis in the State of Kuwait*. Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://census.csb.gov.kw/CensusData?id=1>. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. *World Bank Data of 2015.* Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://data.albankaldawli.org/indicator/SM.POP.TOTL.ZS?locations=AE>. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Francoise De Bel-Air, *Explaining the ‘Demographic Imbalance’ in the Gulf States,* Gulf Res. Ctr. 1, Oct. 2022. Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://gulfmigration.grc.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/GLMM-FS1-Imbalance-Final-2022-10.24.pdf>. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *World Bank Data of 2015.* Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://data.albankaldawli.org/indicator/SM.POP.TOTL.ZS?locations=SA>. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Neom, *Neom the Line: The Future of Urban Living* (2025). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://www.neom.com/en-us/regions/theline>. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. BBC, *Qatar 2022: ‘Forced Labour’ at World Cup Stadium* (Mar. 31, 2016). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35931031>. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. State of Qatar Government Communication Office, *Labor Reform* (2025). Retrieved 21 May 2025 <https://www.gco.gov.qa/en/media-centre/in-focus/labour-reform/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. ILO, *What Has Changed for Migrant Workers in Qatar?* (Nov. 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://webapps.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/Country-Focus/world-cup-qatar#landing>. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Human Rights Watch, *Qatar Events of 2019 World Report* (2020). Retrieved 20 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/qatar>. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Fatemeh Salari, *4 Lessons From Qatar Labour Reforms for Gulf Employers: Law Firm* (Doha News, Feb. 14, 2023). Retrieved 17 May 2025 <https://dohanews.co/4-lessons-from-qatar-labour-reforms-for-gulf-employers-law-firm/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Ministerial Decree No. (17) of 2021, the State of Qatar. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Fatemeh Salari, *4 Lessons From Qatar Labour Reforms for Gulf Employers: Law Firm* (Doha News, Feb. 14, 2023). Retrieved 17 May 2025 <https://dohanews.co/4-lessons-from-qatar-labour-reforms-for-gulf-employers-law-firm/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Administrative Resolution No. (535) of 2015, the State of Kuwait. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Mustafa Qadri, *Qatar Labour Reforms Ahead of the FIFA 2022 World Cup*, Bus. Hum. Rts. J., Jun. 2022, at 319. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. ILO, *What Has Changed for Migrant Workers in Qatar?* (Nov. 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://webapps.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/Country-Focus/world-cup-qatar#landing>. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. State of Qatar Government Communication Office, *Labour Reform* (2025) Retrieved 21 May 2025 <https://www.gco.gov.qa/en/media-centre/in-focus/labour-reform/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. ILO, *What Has Changed for Migrant Workers in Qatar?* (Nov. 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://webapps.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/Country-Focus/world-cup-qatar#landing>. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. State of Qatar Government Communication Office, *Labour Reform* (2025). Retrieved 21 May 2025 <https://www.gco.gov.qa/en/media-centre/in-focus/labour-reform/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Law No. (17) of 2018, the State of Qatar. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. BBC, *World Cup 2022: How Has Qatar Treated Foreign Workers?* (Sep. 11, 2022). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60867042>. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. ILO, *One Is Too Many: The Collection and Analysis of Data on Occupational Injuries in Qatar* (Nov. 2021). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/@arabstates/@ro-beirut/@ilo-qatar/documents/publication/wcms_828395.pdf>; Mustafa Qadri, *Qatar Labour Reforms Ahead of the FIFA 2022 World Cup,* Bus. Hum. Rts. J., Jun. 2022, at 319. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Human Rights Watch, *FIFA/Qatar: Commit to Compensate Abused Migrant Workers* (Aug. 12, 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/08/12/fifa/qatar-commit-compensate-abused-migrant-workers>; Human Rights Watch, *Qatar/FIFA: Reimburse Migrant Workers’ Recruitment Fees* (Oct. 20, 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/20/qatar/fifa-reimburse-migrant-workers-recruitment-fees>; Amnesty International, *Qatar: Unfinished Business: What Qatar Must Do to Fulfill Promises on Migrant Workers’ Rights* (Oct. 20, 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde22/6106/2022/en/>; Amnesty International, *Legacy in Jeopardy: Continuing Abuses of Migrant Workers in Qatar One Year After the World Cup* (2023). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde22/7384/2023/en/>; The Guardian, *Revealed: 6,500 Migrant Workers Have Died in Qatar Since World Cup Awarded* (Feb. 23, 2021). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/feb/23/revealed-migrant-worker-deaths-qatar-fifa-world-cup-2022>. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. BBC, *World Cup 2022: How Has Qatar Treated Foreign Workers?* (Sep. 11, 2022). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60867042>. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Jon Gambrell, *Qatar Says Worker Deaths for World Cup ‘Between 400 and 500’* (AP, Nov. 29, 2022). <https://apnews.com/article/world-cup-sports-health-soccer-covid-e19bd8a30f7f9be62cf10bad496639ff>. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. ILO, *What Has Changed for Migrant Workers in Qatar?* (Nov. 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://webapps.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/Country-Focus/world-cup-qatar#landing>. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. ILO, *One Is Too Many: The Collection and Analysis of Data on Occupational Injuries in Qatar* (Nov. 2021). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/@arabstates/@ro-beirut/@ilo-qatar/documents/publication/wcms_828395.pdf>. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Article 115 repealed, Labor Law No. (18) of 2020, the State of Qatar. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Ministerial Resolution No. (6) of 2018, the State of Qatar. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. State of Qatar Government Communication Office, *Labour Reform* (2025). Retrieved 21 May 2025 <https://www.gco.gov.qa/en/media-centre/in-focus/labour-reform/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Qatar Guide, *Wage Protection System Qatar Complete Guide* (Jan. 16, 2024). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://www.dohaguides.com/wage-protection-system-wps-qatar/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. N. Al-Salem, *The End of the Sponsorship System in Saudi Arabia and Towards New Rights* (Saudi News, May 14, 2025). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://article.alsaudinews.com/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. A. Saad, *Transferring Sponsorship Under the New 2025 System in Saudi Arabia: Conditions, Steps, and Full Details.* (Al-Khaleej Alaan, Mar. 16, 2025). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://newsy.alkhaleejalaan.com/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Saudi Ministerial Regulation No. (3337) of 2019. (Updated annually), the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Ministry of Human Resources and Social Development, *Procedural Guide for Documenting Contracts* (May 22, 2019). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://www.hrsd.gov.sa/knowledge-centre/decisions-and-regulations/regulation-and-procedures/273936>. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Life in Saudi Arabia, *Wage Protection System* (2025). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://lifeinsaudiarabia.net/wage-protection-system-wps-saudi-arabia/>; Ministry of Human Resources and Social Development, *Wage Protection* (Jun. 11, 2017). Retrieved 16 May 2025 <https://www.hrsd.gov.sa/en/knowledge-centre/initiatives/national-transformation-initiatives-bank/108808>. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. AlNukhbah Law Firm, *Labor Court in Saudi Arabia | Jurisdiction, Procedures, Provisions, and Duration of Cases* (Mar. 7, 2024). Retrieved 17 May 2025 <https://ksalawfirm.com/for-employees>. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Human Rights Watch, *Saudi Arabia: Migrant Workers Electrocuted, Decapitated, and Falling to Death at Workplaces* (May 14, 2025). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/05/14/saudi-arabia-migrant-workers-electrocuted-decapitated-and-falling-death-workplaces>. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. ILO, *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the ILO* (Apr. 2024). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.ilo.org/regions-and-countries/arab-states/saudi-arabia>. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Elissa Josephina Ronquillo, *The 2014 Brazilian World Cup: Consequences and Legacies* (Scripps Senior Theses 71, 2012).

    <http://scholarship.claremont.edu/scripps_theses/71> [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2014: Brazil Events of 2013* (2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/brazil>. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Libcom, *Brazil World Cup 2014: Workers’ Deaths, Racism, Gentrification, and Cultural Terrorism* (Dec. 15, 2015). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://libcom.org/article/brazil-world-cup-2014-workers-deaths-racism-gentrification-and-cultural-terrorism>. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Arjyo Mitra, *An Ethical Analysis of the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil* (Seven Pillars Inst.

    for Global Fin. and Ethics, Sep. 8, 2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://sevenpillarsinstitute.org/ethical-analysis-of-the-2014-fifa-world-cup-brazil/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2014: Brazil Events of 2013* (2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/brazil>; Amnesty International, *Brazil: Protests During the World Cup 2014: Final Overview* (Jul. 24, 2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AMR19/008/2014/en/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Amnesty International, *‘They Use a Strategy of Fear’ Protecting the Right to Protest in Brazil* (2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr19/005/2014/en/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. BBC, *Brazil World Cup 2014: Worker Dies in Stadium Fall* (Dec. 14, 2013). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-25383023>. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. The Guardian, *World Cup Construction Worker Killed in Brazil* (Feb. 7, 2014). Retrieved 19 May 2025 <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2014/feb/07/world-cup-construction-worker-killed-brazil>. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Human Rights Watch, *Qatar: Reform Efforts Fail to Remedy Rights Abuses* (Jan. 14, 2020). Retrieved 20 May 2025 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/01/14/qatar-reform-efforts-fail-remedy-rights-abuses>; Migrant-Rights.org, *Reform the Kafala System* (2025). Retrieved 20 May 2025 <https://www.migrant-rights.org/campaign/end-the-kafala-system/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Zachary R. Calo, *Labor Rights and Dispute System Design: Assessing the Legal Legacy of the 2022 Qatar World Cup Special Section.* German Law J., 2023, at 1729*; The FIFA World Cup 2022 and the Struggle for Human Rights in Qatar.* German Law J., 2023, at 1729; Spoorthi, *An Analysis of Qatar World Cup and Human Rights Violations,* Indian J. of Law and Legal Rsch., 2023, at 1; Ruth Green, *Ruggie Report Calls on FIFA to Up Its Game on Human Rights Ahead of Qatar World Cup.* In-House Persp., 2016, at 97; Mustafa Qadri, *Qatar Labour Reforms Ahead of the FIFA 2022 World Cup,* Bus. Hum. Rts. J., Jun. 2022, at 319. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. G. Al-Alwani, *Four Steps to Resolve Labor Disputes* (Al-Sharq Newspaper, Mar. 16, 2021). Retrieved 21 May 2025 <https://al-sharq.com/article/16/03/2021/4>. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Ministerial Resolution No. (6) of 2018, the State of Qatar. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Mustafa Qadri, *Qatar Labour Reforms Ahead of the FIFA 2022 World Cup,* Bus. Hum. Rts. J., Jun. 2022, at 319. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. ILO, *What Has Changed for Migrant Workers in Qatar?* (Nov. 2022). Retrieved 18 May 2025 <https://webapps.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/Country-Focus/world-cup-qatar#landing>. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Shubham Jain, *Resistance and Reform as Responses to Human Rights Criticisms: Relativism at FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022.* German Law J., Dec. 2023, at 1691. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Id. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Entrepreneurs KSA, *How to File a Complaint Against an Employer in Saudi Arabia* (Nov. 23, 2023). Retrieved 22 May 2025 <https://www.rowadalaamal.com/%d8%b7%d8%b1%d9%8a%d9%82%d8%a9-%d8%aa%d9%82%d8%af%d9%8a%d9%85-%d8%b4%d9%83%d9%88%d9%89-%d8%b6%d8%af-%d8%b5%d8%a7%d8%ad%d8%a8-%d8%a7%d9%84%d8%b9%d9%85%d9%84-%d9%81%d9%8a-%d8%a7%d9%84%d8%b3%d8%b9%d9%88/>. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)