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When will the  
TRAGEDIES  
of your Games End?

# Decade

# One

**CAMPANHA POR  
TRABALHO DECENTE**

antes e depois de 2014



## BWI Scores for Decent Work in Mega-Sporting Events



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FOR**

# Foreword

The BWI Global Sports Campaign is 10 Years Old. A decade ago, during the World Social Forum in Nairobi, Kenya, BWI launched an innovative global campaign to ensure decent work in the area of mega-sports. At that time, the focus was on the preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa.

The two primary objectives of the campaign were to organize construction workers into trade unions and more importantly, to improve the safety and labour standards in the construction industry that would outlive the World Cup. In the 10 years since then, what was a pilot campaign has now become an institutional part of BWI's work as shown by our work in Brazil for both the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Rio Summer Olympics, in the 2012 Euro in Poland and Ukraine and the current campaigns in Russia 2018 and Qatar 2022 FIFA World Cups, 2018 Winter Olympics in PyeongChang, South Korea, and Tokyo 2020 Summer Olympics.

Entitled "Decade One", this publication is significant as it details the aggressive organizing strategies of BWI affiliates in successfully recruiting and organizing workers into trade unions as well as their mobilization of workers to conduct strikes and work stoppages to push the construction companies to come to the table to negotiate collective bargaining agreements that saw increase in wages with much-needed social benefits, good work hours, and improved safety and health conditions.

At the same time, the magazine outlines the important initiatives of BWI at the global level in its engagement of both construction companies and international sporting bodies, in particular FIFA and the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy in Qatar leading to the institutionalization of joint safety and health inspections and discussions in developing long-lasting mechanisms to address workers' grievances and methods of remedy.

This magazine is historic as it chronicles the work of BWI in the past 10 years and reminds us that one decade ago the environment was very different than what is today. There was not as much awareness, or to be frank, no interest on the importance of linking human rights and labour rights with mega-sports events by governments, international sporting bodies, companies, fans, and the general public. After all sports, was to be fun and entertainment. It was not about ensuring workers were paid a living wage and worked in a safe environment without discrimination and exploitation.

Today, human rights and labour rights and mega-sporting has become mainstream. It is now part of the regular discussions at international institutions such as the UN and the ILO. Companies are more conscious and do not want to risk their reputation or corporate name associated with a mega-sporting event that may be tainted with violations of workers' rights. Governments also recognize that it is their duty that workers' rights must be protected if they are to host a mega-sporting event.

As BWI looks toward the next decade of implementing the global sports campaign, there are of course challenges to put into place a permanent institutional framework of the various innovative strategies. The joint safety and health inspections which has been conducted in Russia and Qatar with trade unions must be now institutionalized in future bidding documents for countries to host mega-sporting events. The generic name of the campaign "Decent Work Towards and Beyond" underscores the need for a legacy in the labour relations system of any host country. The goal of decent work is beyond the mega-sporting event and the construction industry. It is both a national system and international reform agenda.

The gains of the global sports campaign would not be realised without the support of the hundreds of BWI affiliates who mobilised their members in various ways. From meeting with national sports bodies to raising the red card, from holding strikes to signing national tripartite agreements, from sending experts to labour inspections to organising migrant workers, and from providing financial contributions to holding public debates; the BWI family was in symphony to score for decent work.

As the magazine concludes, the only way of guaranteeing that Olympics and World Cups are labour-friendly is the recognition of trade unions as equal partners to ensuring workers' rights and decent work before, during and after any mega-sporting events.

December 2017  
Geneva, Switzerland



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BWI is the Global Union Federation grouping free and democratic unions with members in the Building, Building Materials, Wood, Forestry and Allied sectors.

BWI brings together around 334 trade unions representing around 12 million members in 130 countries. The Headquarters is in Geneva, Switzerland while the Regional Offices are in Panama, Malaysia, and South Africa.

Our mission is to defend and advance workers’ rights, and to improve working and living conditions in our sectors. The BWI, above all, has a rights-based approach. We believe that trade union rights are human rights and are based on equality, solidarity and democracy, and that trade unions are indispensable to good governance.

BWI goals include 1) to promote and defend human and trade union rights; 2) to increase trade union strength; 3) to promote a stable and high level of employment in our sectors; and 4) to influence policy and strengthen the capacity of institutions and tripartite structures in our sectors.

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# Sports: A History of Competition and Work

**W**hat do we mean when we talk about sports? For one thing, a combination of activities that have captivated human kind since pre-historic times. What appear to be the oldest depictions of sport are found in the Lascaux caves in South-Western France; cave paintings depicting sprinting and wrestling dating back to the Upper Paleolithic age more than 15,000 years ago. In the Bayankhongor province of Mongolia, archaeologists have discovered cave paintings of wrestlers surrounded by a crowd thought to date back to around 7000 BC, which suggests that the ostensibly “modern” concept of spectator sports is, in fact, more than 9000 years old! The ancient Sumerians engaged in sports – in fact, the Epic of Gilgamesh, the oldest of all known works of literature, describes its hero fighting his friend Enkidu in a game of belt-wrestling. A wide variety of sports were practised in ancient Egypt, including many ball games, which may be the first known team sports.

The most important ancient influence on modern sports is to be found in Greece. A fundamental part of the Greek approach to sports was the linkage of major sports events to mythology. The gods lived on Mount Olympus, so there are very many Olympic myths that involve deities. In our secular day and age, people who genuinely believe that the modern Olympics or the FIFA World Cup are inspired by (the) God(s) are obviously few and far between, but sports continues to have a special meaning, standing, and status. Sports inspires people across the globe, lifts their hearts and minds and brings joy to their souls. It embodies the hopes, dreams and aspirations of millions. And while fans, particularly for team sports, will often distinguish themselves from one another along intensely parochial lines, sport transcends politics, religion and other divisive factors. Sport is both the world's





most popular cultural form of activity and its greatest communal experience. It can take on an almost spiritual significance for participants and spectators alike.

The ancient Greeks were also the main inventors and developers of the structural design concept known as “the sports arena”. At Olympia and elsewhere, they created structures aimed at providing ideal conditions both for the athletes who competed and for those who watched them. And while ancient and modern arenas are vastly different with regard to both function and form, the one thing they all have in common is that someone must build them.

In the ancient Olympics, only free, Greek men were eligible to compete; however, slavery was an almost universally accepted institution in Greek society, so we can be almost certain that slave labour built the major arenas. Today, slavery has been officially abolished in almost every country in the world, but building workers within the global sport industry still often suffer a number of occupational hazards, including but by no means limited to perilous, unsafe working conditions; a lack of adequate housing, inadequate supplies of food and water; low (and all too frequently unpaid) wages; and restrictions on workers’ right to organise and bargain. In some cases, for example, in Qatar and Russia, employment contracts have effectively placed them in the custody of individuals or companies.

Since the dawn of professional sports, elite sport has had a strong commercial aspect; however, its transformation into a branch of the global entertainment industry arguably began in the period between 1974-80. This was also a time when the two major bodies that oversee the most popular games, FIFA and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) elected presidents who had strong ties to authori-

tarian regimes. João Havelange had been a member of the Brazilian Olympic Committee and President of the Brazilian Sports Confederation during the years of military dictatorship and at the time of his election to head FIFA. In the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch had served in several capacities, including that of minister of sports, under Franco’s falangist government in Spain. Both men were visionaries within their fields, essentially combine autocratic leadership with with enterprise and market orientations.

The “Washington consensus” mentality that emerged following the elections of U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher affected the world of sports. With the development of lucrative broadcast rights and other marketing opportunities, mega-sports became the keeper of sporting values, but, more importantly, money-making machines. Those two value systems were often in conflict. Sponsorship contracts became common and expensive. Some elite athletes, such as Carl Lewis or Diego Maradona, became global “brands”.

The conflict and shift in priorities was demonstrated by the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona when the IOC, long restrained by its amateur ethos, allowed NBA professionals to compete in the basketball tournament. With Michael Jordan, the ultimate brand-athlete, in their midst, the “Dream Team” swept all before them, sometimes dominating to such an extent that games became more of an athletic exhibition show than a sporting contest. Those who saw sport, primarily, as a form of entertainment had won an important victory.

Barcelona 1992 also marks another important change. Perhaps for the first time, an Olympic or World Cup tournament was not viewed simply as a



major sporting event, but also as an instrument of urban regeneration. The Catalan capital used the Olympics to launch a series of ambitious projects which, eventually and expensively, transformed the city into a vibrant, visitor-friendly, tourist magnet. Ever since, every prospective host city has attempted to entice both the organisations overseeing sporting events and its own citizenry by pointing to the advances that can be made in terms of infrastructure, economic progress, reputation, image, and “quality of life”.

While Barcelona’s Olympic reinvention was generally considered to have been successful, it does not follow that this model would work in all situations. The Olympics may have improved the quality of life of many Barcelona residents, but it is unlikely that the several thousand residents of Rio de Janeiro evicted from their homes would feel the same way about the legacy of the Olympics in their city.

The general attitude among sports owners and organisers of sports for the past 25 years has been that organising a successful sports event is no longer enough. Rather, these events are now expected to effect major change in the host cities. In official communications and promotion efforts, hosting the Olympics or a World Cup is sold as bring great benefits to all, when, in fact, the main beneficiaries are often major contractors in the construction industry or other companies and their supporters that stand to gain from the business connected to the games.

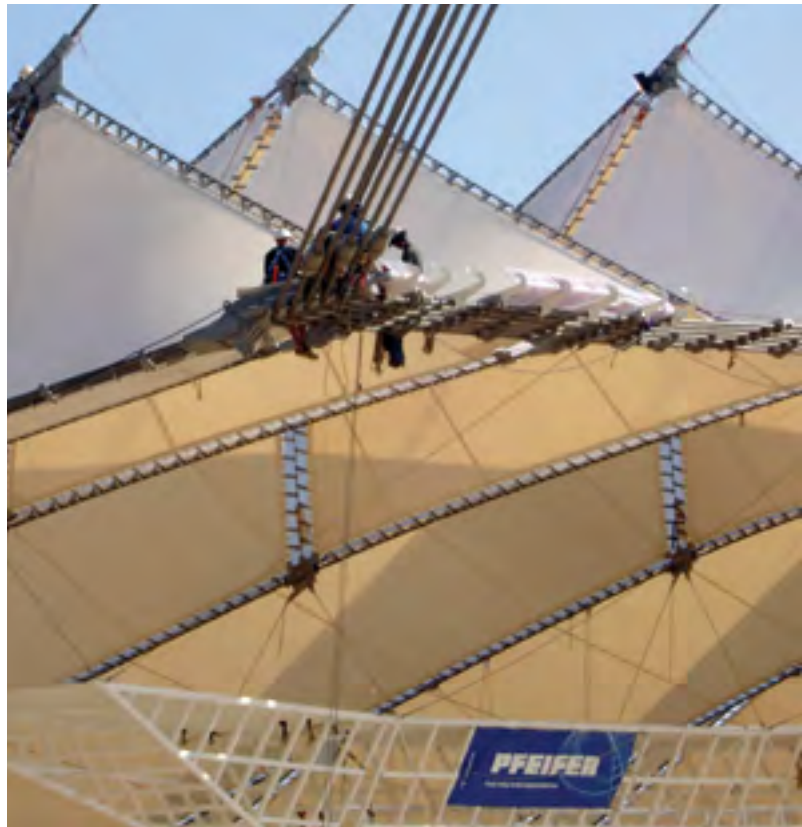
Close ties between business interests, including contractors, and local organising committees increases the risk of corruption, as seen during the preparations for the 2014 World Cup and the Sochi Olympics held in the same year. As the former Brazil captain and political activist Socrates observed, “The purpose of World Cups is to help a few people earn a lot of money.”

There is an important difference between the Olympics and the World Cup. While building an event-specific stadium and other arenas has been the Olympics standard practice since at least the 1930s, the World Cup only followed suit much later. While several World Cup stadia – most notably the original Maracana in Rio – were purpose-built for the event, FIFA’s general Modus Operandi was to select countries that already had an established football culture and therefore the stadia required.

As recently as 1994, not a single new arena was built – even though the United States at the time had no soccer-specific stadium of adequate size and the tournament had to take place in American football and/or baseball arenas. For the 1998 World Cup,

France built a new national stadium in the Parisian suburb of Saint Denis, but otherwise every venue was the already-existing stadium of a professional football club, at times, with renovation.

The major shift occurred during preparations for the 2002 World Cup in Japan and South Korea. This was the first time the tournament ventured outside of Europe and the Americas, and the first time two



countries co-hosted it. Like the US World Cup eight years earlier, there was a clear intent to expand the reach of football by FIFA, but this time the hosts decided to “show off”. The 64 matches of the tournament were spread across 20 different stadiums, ten in each host country, most of which were brand new, flash and futuristic “signature buildings”.

While no subsequent host has displayed the staggering excess of the Japanese and Koreans, the trend towards event-specific – often unnecessary – stadium has continued and is likely to continue to do so. In South Africa and Brazil, World Cup stadiums were built in cities which did not even have fully professional club sites at the time.

Consequently, they became “white elephants”, incapable of generating sufficient revenue to pay for their maintenance. There seems to be little doubt that many of these stadiums were built to further enrich, investors and builders; often at the expense of taxpayers who had neither asked for nor been consulted about their construction in the first place. ●



# CAMPAIGN FOR DECENT WORK TOWARDS AND BEYOND 2010



## R30BN. MAKE PUBLIC MONEY WORK FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD!

### Did you know?

The salaries of the CEO of Murray & Roberts, increased by 40% totalling R7,4m and the CEO of Aveng, increased by 47% totalling R4,7m for the 2006 financial year.

The current minimum wage of R11 per hour for a general worker for a 44 hour week amounts to R484 per week or R1936 per month!

The current minimum wage for a skilled artisan is R26 per hour or R1144 per week or R4576 per month.

It will take a general worker 139 years to earn the average income of a construction sector executive in one year!

Workers at Green Point went on two strikes in September and won their demand for transport.

Workers at the Gautrain project went on strike in September and won their demand to remove racist managers.

### Trade unions united in the construction sector will lead campaign launches at all sites

Building Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU)

National Union of Mine Workers (NUM)

South African Building and Allied Organisation (SABAWO)

### What are our Demands to ensure Decent Work?

1. **The right to work, to organise and to bargain** – access to construction sites and to workers for the purposes of communicating their rights and recruitment, without fear of discrimination.
2. **Decent work** – agreements with companies must ensure that there is real improvement in wages, working conditions and safety for workers.
3. **A living wage** – a wage that takes workers out of poverty.
4. **Zero accidents** – enforcement of health and safety measures and full-time health and safety union representatives on site.
5. **No downward variation** – all subcontracting terms to reflect those of the principal tender.
6. **Quality jobs** – maximise the creation of quality jobs, especially for women and youth so as to contribute to resolving unemployment.
7. **Improve basic conditions** – decent accommodation and improvement in working conditions for all workers.
8. **Health awareness** – promote awareness of HIV/Aids; provide voluntary testing; accessible counselling and treatment.
9. **Skills development** – effective skills development programmes that promote the future employability of workers.

### How do we achieve Decent Work?

- Join a trade union at their construction sites.
- Be active in launching the campaign at the site.
- Be active in campaign activities.
- Stand united in ideas and action.



## DECENT WORK CAMPAIGN SITE LAUNCH

**Where:**

**Date:**

**Time:**

Published by: Building & Wood Worker's International and Labour Research Service, 2007.





# BWI's Global Sports Campaign Begins

**T**he Building and Wood Workers' International (BWI) launched a campaign focusing on workers' rights in mega-sports events during the World Social Forum in Nairobi, Kenya in January 2007. At the time, media coverage of the upcoming World Cup was mainly focused on the host nation's high level of violent crime; speculating as on whether it would be safe for foreign fans to visit. The issue of stadium and other infrastructure construction, when it came up, was almost always about whether the projects would be completed on time.

Action on behalf of construction workers in South Africa was urgent. Representing 326 trade unions with more than 12 million members in 132 countries, BWI was ideally positioned to take on this gargantuan task. The campaign, organised with several national, continental and global labour unions, was called **"Fair games, fair play – Decent Work towards and beyond 2010"**. This was particularly appropriate as the elevated level of deaths and injuries during construction of sport facilities hardly seemed compatible with the celebration of the achievements of the human body.

The challenges facing the campaigners on the ground included: low and often irregularly paid wages; inadequate safety protection; and contractors and sub-contractors whose practices inhibited the effective enforcement of labour standards. Deploying a complicated web of companies was



a way if avoiding corporate responsibility and something that became a common feature of subsequent mega-sports-events. To further exacerbate these problems, campaigners felt that the South African government was significantly less concerned with workers' rights than with the prospect of generating revenue and gaining international prestige. This ties in with the idea of mega-sports-events as an agent of change, but "change" seems to consist of the transfer of resources belonging to the many to the hands of the few.

FIFA, pays no taxes on revenues generated by their popular and lucrative tournaments, while leaving most of the costs to the local organising committees, their political supporters and the host nations' citizenry. The world body also refused to recognize its role as the employer of workers on construction sites. This led to the absurd situation where those toiling to complete one of FIFA's greatest-ever prestige projects – a first World Cup in Africa and in the homeland of the greatest of all secular saints, Nelson Mandela in the wake of the victory over

apartheid – were effectively disenfranchised by the organisation whose dream they were striving to fulfill.

At the outset of the campaign, BWI and its affiliated unions identified eight main demands or objectives. These were: Recognition of the right to work, the rights to organize and bargain, which included having access to the construction sites and construction workers; decent work; living wages; zero accidents, no downward deviations of terms of work; quality jobs; improved basic conditions; health and safety awareness; and skills development for future employability. The strategy to achieve these goals was built on four main pillars.

### **2010 World Cup in South Africa Campaign Strategy**

The first pillar was Organizing. This involved, among many other efforts, visiting large numbers of construction sites to give the opportunity to as many workers as possible to join trade unions. More than







27,000 new members were recruited, which was critical to the success of the National Strike of July 2009.

The second pillar was Research in order to understand the conditions under which work was performed. In addition, research was conducted on the cost of the World Cup, the profits expected from the preparations, existing bargaining agreements within the construction sector, and the government procurement process. Information was widely shared. Although media and public interest in the conditions of construction workers at World Cup-related infrastructure projects in South Africa was initially low, as the campaign picked up, this began to change.

The third pillar was Negotiation. Worker-negotiators at every level were taught negotiation methods and tactics in workshops in March 2008 and May 2009. This led to an improvement of negotiation effectiveness at local level, where workers bargained directly with their on-site employers, but also to major break-

throughs at the national level, such as the removal of the 8% wage increase cap that had been agreed upon in 2006, but which later proved inadequate due to the higher-than-expected inflation rates in the South African economy. The temporary break-down in negotiations over this issue led to several on-site strikes in October 2008, which eventually forced employers back to the table. An additional 3% wage increase was agreed.

The fourth pillar was Campaigning. This sought to engage more directly with both FIFA and the media, who by now had increasingly realised that the conditions of workers in the World Cup-related construction industry was a major news story. Although FIFA continued to insist they could not be recognized as the employer of the people preparing their tournament, the negative publicity generated by the stadium strikes that began in 2007, convinced the world body to take these issues seriously or appear to do so.





## Russia and Qatar announced to host 2018 and 2022 World Cup

On 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2010, less than five months after the World Cup Final in Johannesburg, the FIFA Executive Committee convened in Zürich to decide which nations would host the 2018 and 2022 tournaments. The results of the ballots sent shock-waves throughout the sporting world. In awarding the hosting rights to Russia and Qatar, the Executive Committee seemed to be ignoring commitments to the ethics of sports and friendship and togetherness that had been so pervasive during the World Cup in South Africa. While Russia is a nation with a strong football culture, the decision to hold a World Cup in Qatar struck many, if not most, observers as unusual. It was another example of FIFA trying to enlarge the reach of football, but Qatar was also seeking the visibility and status of hosting the Games. The selection generated controversy, including accusations of corruption.

Although Russia and Qatar represented grave concerns for the future, the short-term focus shifted back to Europe with both the London Olympics and the European Championship in Poland and Ukraine coming up in 2012. The latter was the first truly major sporting event to take place in Eastern Europe since the Moscow Olympics in 1980, which was subject to boycotts. Media attention was based on assumptions fears about practices in the host nations. For example, it was suggested that non-white fans would be at risk if they entered Ukraine. In fact, the main human rights problem during the tournament was that, although the Ukrainian police force were under strict orders to protect all visitors, they harassed and brutalised their own citizens.

In March 2008, in Zürich, BWI representatives met with FIFA representatives, including then-President Sepp Blatter, who made promises. He promised that FIFA would bring up the issues pertaining to construction workers' rights with both the South African government and the Local Organising Committee, that trade unions would be included in future site inspections, and that FIFA would continue social dialogue with the unions.

In what became a pattern, however, the promises were only partially fulfilled. Although the South African LOC eventually included the unions in joint stadium inspections, they initially insisted they had not been adequately informed by FIFA regarding their memorandum of agreement with the unions, and, only after Swiss trade union representatives exerted pressure on the world body, did they fully cooperate. Nevertheless, the agreement between the unions and FIFA was an important milestone.

## Goal! The 2009 National Strike

It is likely, however, that the national strike of July 2009 was the "tipping point" of the campaign. With the World Cup Final at Soccer City only a year away, 70,000 construction workers across the country simultaneously walked off their jobs. Everything seemed to have been thrown into limbo and some of the Western media began arguing that the tournament should be taken away from South Africa. However, the strike was short – lasting only a week – and largely victorious. Not only were BWI and its af-



filiated unions able to negotiate wage increases and better working conditions, but they also obtained 40,000 tickets for construction workers so that they could enjoy the tournament which they had made possible.

Although two workers unfortunately died in World Cup construction, it is likely that this number would have been higher if it were not for the unions' continuous efforts to improve safety in the workplace. The BWI campaign also contributed greatly to bringing construction worker issues into the collective consciousness of wider society – not only to South African taxpayers, who had largely financed the tournament, but also to the millions of people who watch the World Cup.

In purely sporting terms, the 2010 FIFA World Cup was not a great success. Memorable games were few and far between. However, if the brutal Dutch team had beaten the superior Spaniards in the Final, the tournament might have been considered an unmitigated disaster. None of the doomsday scenarios regarding violence and crime came true, and the vast majority of visiting fans seemed to enjoy themselves

in South Africa despite the often-dismal quality of football on display, FIFA could be reasonably content.

As for BWI, the organisation had played a major role in securing the rights of construction workers and improving the health and safety standards within the industry, and had also found a template for promoting these issues regarding future mega-sports-events.

## Euro 2012 Decent Work Campaign

The Building Workers' Unions of Poland and Ukraine had undertaken a joint, comprehensive Decent Work Campaign as early as 2009, at a point in time when the Ukrainians were still at risk of losing their part of the hosting rights for the tournament due to what the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) considered to be unsatisfactory progress on both stadium construction and general infrastructure development.

The main goal of the BWI campaign was to promote Decent Work on Euro 2012 construction sites by organising, collective bargaining and other workers'





rights protections. Realising the importance of getting the message across to the public, campaigners made media strategy an integral part of their effort.

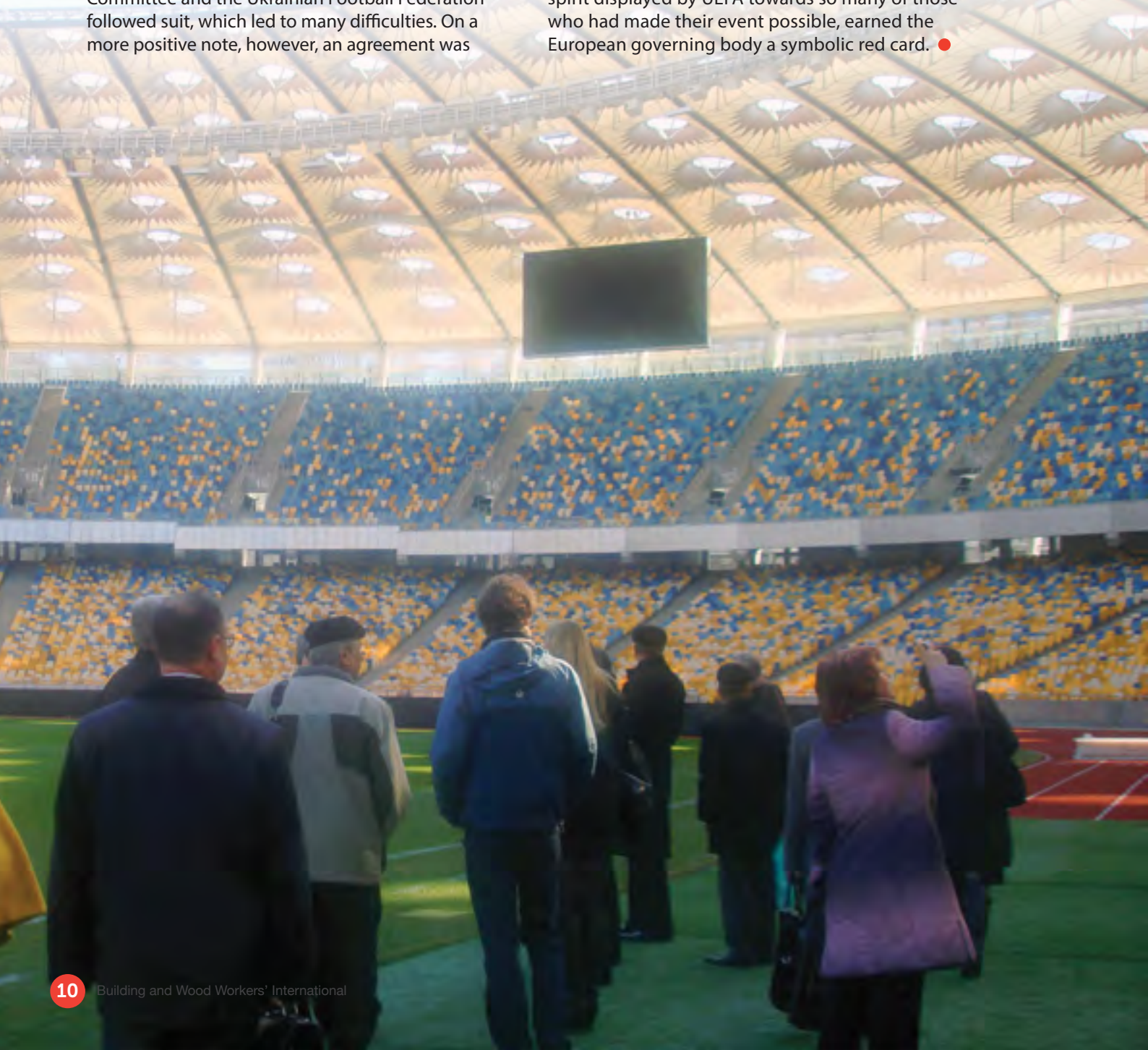
BWI and its affiliates in Ukraine and Poland sought to establish and maintain dialogue with employers, national governments, and UEFA. The European governing body, however, was not interested. Their main concern, like FIFA's during the build-up to the South Africa World Cup, was the ability of the hosting nations to pull off a successful tournament, and, more specifically, the condition and development of the various construction sites. In other words, construction workers were essential to the prospective success of the Euros, but not as partners who deserved fair treatment.

With UEFA effectively ignoring the concerns of the Decent Work campaign, both the Local Organising Committee and the Ukrainian Football Federation followed suit, which led to many difficulties. On a more positive note, however, an agreement was

reached in 2010 which significantly improved the workers' wages and guaranteed campaign inspectors access to every Euro 2012 construction site.

As has become the norm during the preparatory stage of mega-sports events, a mind-boggling number of sub-contractors – more than 400 – were involved in the construction effort of Euro 2012. It is unsurprising, therefore, that working and living conditions varied significantly. More than 5,000 violations of health and safety rules were registered, and 14 fatal accidents occurred, most of them by non-union sub-contractors.

Eventually, Euro 2012 – while damaged by a lack of accommodation and adequate local transport – took place peacefully and with hardly any of the violence that had been feared by parts of the media, and, in sporting terms, was considered a successful tournament. However, the arrogance and uncooperative spirit displayed by UEFA towards so many of those who had made their event possible, earned the European governing body a symbolic red card. ●





# Decent Work Campaign Moves to Brazil

**W**ithin the realm of sport, few if any nations retain a “mythical” position if compared to Brazil. From the dance-cum-martial-arts form of Capoeira, devised by Angolan slaves in the 16th century to hide their fighting prowess from their masters, via A Seleção’s occasionally-deserved status as football’s most admirable and attractive practitioners, to the brilliance and tragically early death of Formula One driver Ayrton Senna, the Brazilian impact on the combined achievements of body and mind (and machine) is undeniable. A Lusophone nation among Spanish-speaking neighbours, the giant country can sometimes seem oddly isolated, almost like a continent unto itself.

As attention shifted away from Europe in the aftermath of the mega-sports-events of 2012-14, it was known that Brazil would be hosting both the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. A country of almost infinite potential, Brazil had long sought to emerge on the world stage, to have a global public. For all its glorious beauty, immense natural resources, and human achievement, however, Brazilian society also retains an enormous capacity for corruption and political scandal, both of which would become public during preparations for the two up-coming mega-sports-events in the country.

## 2014 Campaign for Decent Work Towards and Beyond

The Campaign for Decent Work Towards and Beyond 2014 began in earnest in the spring of 2011, when local trade unions working with BWI launched the campaign with a demonstration outside the main entrance of the Maracanã, which was undergoing reconstruction ahead of the World Cup, where it would become only the second stadium in history (after the Azteca in Mexico City) to host the Final twice. Thereafter, many local and national initiatives were set in motion, several of which led to significant improvements for construction workers.

In 2011 alone, there were 12 strikes or mobilizations at various World Cup construction sites across Brazil, most generating tangible results such as safer working conditions, improved wages, regular days off – particularly important for those workers who laboured





on sites far away from home and rarely got to see their families – and bonuses. There was also a clear increase of public attention, with protesting workers receiving supportive messages from colleagues and supporters from around the world. Such solidarity, in turn, advanced the profile of BWI and its affiliate campaigners.

When Brazil was awarded the 2014 World Cup, they were the best candidate because they were the only one to conform to FIFA's then-policy of continental rotation. As there was no alternative, there was laxity about the preparations, which, by the time BWI launched its campaigns in 2011, led many observers to speculate as to whether the Brazilians would be capable of finishing their stadium and infrastructure

complex that he eventually withdrew from the CBF presidency in March 2012 for "health reasons".

Teixeira was succeeded by possibly another controversial figure, José Maria Marin, a former politician at São Paulo state level during the years of military dictatorship. Marin, had, among several other allegations, been accused of inciting the torture and murder of the dissident journalist Vladimir Herzog in 1975.

There was a prevailing sense of chaos surrounding preparations for the 2014 World Cup. As late as May 2012, only two years and a few weeks before the tournament was due to start, media estimates suggested that 41 % of all World Cup-related construc-



tion projects on time. Such speculation is normal ahead of any mega-sports-event, but this time concerns seemed justified. For example, Brazil wasted a lot of time deliberating which cities should be granted the honour of being named World Cup hosts. This was largely due to the influence of Ricardo Teixeira, the president of the Brazilian Football Association (CBF) and former FIFA president João Havelange's former son-in-law. As Teixeira's power base was the regional federations which made up the CBF, it was imperative that he retain their support.

To this end, World Cup events were spread to as many regions as possible. This led to stadiums being built in non-traditional football cities such as Brasília, Cuiabá, Manaus and Natal, none of which had have a professional club in or anywhere near Serie A, Brazil's premier division. The corruption allegations against Teixeira and his cohorts were so plentiful and

tion projects had not begun; a very high figure given the fact that the Brazilians had known for five years that they would host the tournament.

Even so, BWI and its affiliates in Brazil had little choice but to forge on. The delays, the corruption scandals, and the overall feeling of total confusion added to the stress already keenly felt by the overworked and underpaid labourers within the construction sector. However, these factors also probably strengthened the negotiating hand of the trade unions. As dissatisfaction grew, so did the willingness to act, which meant contractors, sub-contractors and game organisers had to listen to union campaigners.

This is also reflected in numbers: In 2010, five Brazilian trade unions were affiliated to the BWI; two years later, this number had quintupled. Together, these unions, with BWI as the coordinator and driving



force, conducted several local and national activities as well as producing a joint manifesto, the first time such a consensus had developed within the construction sector in Brazil. The manifesto led to the development of a Common National Agenda, which set out several joint demands, including collective bargaining rights, some common social benefits, and a uniform minimum wage.

Furthermore, the modus operandi of the BWI-led campaign was a major departure from the traditional methods of Brazilian trade unions. The campaign activities were generally organised by local unions in the host cities, which then invited all organisations involved in the campaign to participate. They organised visits to construction sites, meetings with government representatives, local organisers, members of the press and others. Reports on activities were published on the BWI website and there was a ded-

icated blog. Trade unions from abroad, chiefly from European countries, were also invited.

Despite efforts by BWI and its member organisations to obtain results through negotiations, conflicts during the build-up to the World Cup were common. There were 28 strikes in the World Cup-related construction industry during the period 2011-14, most of them occurring in the first two years of the BWI campaign. There were several substantial obstacles to progress, including endemic corruption and a lack of transparency, but important goals were obtained and the issue of construction workers' vital role in mega-sports-events received greater coverage.

In the summer of 2013, as Brazil was about to host the Confederations' Cup, civil unrest erupted across several major cities. Although the protests – and, in some cases, riots – were not directly related to





sports, the fact that they coincided with the dress rehearsal for the World Cup made many observers make the connection. Brazil is sometimes referred to as “the World Champion of inequality”, and, as people vented their frustration over no longer being able to pay their daily bus fare, many asked how one could justify spending millions and millions on brand new, state-of-the-art football stadia, some of which would only ever be used a handful of times.

Some predicted that a large-scale conflict would erupt in the country before the World Cup. Tensions were high. However, the tournament was peaceful. Despite the home team’s disastrous performance in the semi-final versus Germany, the great travelling distances for everyone involved, the “rip-off” culture of the fan-zones and the fact that only the wealthiest Brazilians could set foot inside the stadia that had been built or renovated at vast public expense, the tournament was generally considered a success. It was, in terms of overall quality, probably the best World Cup of the 21st Century.

### **From 2014 World Cup to 2016 Summer Olympics**

Even before the World Cup had packed its tents and embarked on the voyage to Russia, however, it was time for Brazilians to shift their attention to the upcoming Rio Olympics, which had been awarded to the city by the IOC in October 2009. In its original bid, the Rio 2016 campaign had underlined that the main purpose of hosting the games was to promote the city of Rio de Janeiro and, by extension, the nation of Brazil as “economically and politically stable” in order to attract tourists and investments.

One important argument in favour of hosting mega-sports-events is that they are agents of change. That often, in practice, means economic growth and advantages for the few. Rarely, however, has the argument been expressed as explicitly as in this case. The Rio bid admitted from the outset that sport was only, at best, a secondary factor in their motivation to host a mega-sports-event. Whether this was cynicism or honesty, what is important is that the intentions of Rio’s prospective Olympic hosts, and possibly those of most Olympic and World Cup hosts, had been revealed.

The BWI campaign for the 2016 Summer Olympics was based on the campaign for the 2014 World Cup. One vital finding from the 2014 campaign was that accidents, particularly fatal ones, increased dramatically as the deadlines of the stadium and infrastructure projects approached. To improve safety and general working conditions, BWI signed a cooperation agreement with the FUNDACENTRO, a research institute of the Brazilian Ministry of Labour. This agreement led to a study into the fatal accidents of the World Cup-related construction projects, which



led to the development of an Occupational Safety Protocol, and a work plan of joint actions.

In striving to improve workers’ conditions during preparations for the Rio Olympics, campaigners had to contend with multiple social issues in Brazilian society, including continued civil unrest, negative developments in the national economy and political turmoil.

Nonetheless, the BWI and its affiliates managed to organise many activities, including several meetings





and conferences for unionists and campaigners across Brazil and abroad, further raise the social and media profile of construction workers within the sporting industry, and achieve some important results in negotiations.

Throughout the campaign, several strategies were simultaneously deployed to pursue BWI's goals. One managed to secure an agreement between the Rio 2016 Organizing Committee and the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), which ensured that only certified wood products would be bought

and used on Olympic construction sites. This, in turn, strengthened the hand of unions within this sector and gave them the opportunity to improve conditions for the workers they represent. Media activities were mostly conducted with the tools that BWI already had in place from previous campaigns, such as the website, Facebook and regular press releases.

The OHS Protocol, developed to ensure decent working conditions and health and safety standards included a list of basic demands. Every contracting





Thanks to these strategic pillars, BWI was able to achieve several important goals throughout its Olympic campaign in Brazil. At the peak of construction work, BWI-affiliated unions organised 50 000 workers. They were involved in 27 strikes. In addition, three new trade unions from Rio de Janeiro state joined BWI. Collective bargaining led to an average wage increase of nearly 33 % over the course of the campaign. The Rio 2016 Organising Committee partly adopted the campaign's OHS Protocol.



The campaign managed to increase awareness of the need for decent work in sports construction, not only through its own channels and other trade union press, but also via Brazilian mainstream media such as the enormously powerful "O Globo", and internationally renowned media such as the "Guardian" newspaper (UK). Towards the end of June 2016, BWI marked the conclusion of its campaign by hosting a commemorative event in tribute to the workers (and recognising their families) who had lost their lives in accidents during the construction of facilities of the Rio Olympics. The tribute was concluded by the planting of a tree and the unveiling of a plaque.

Despite the political turmoil that surrounded it, the Rio Olympics were generally viewed as quite successful, although many international sports

commentators feel that the event has become too big. The feel-good factor that, according to the IOC is both cause and effect of hosting the Games, was heightened by Brazilian athletes earning seven gold medals, more than the nation had won at any previous Olympic tournament.



company involved in preparations for the Olympics was expected to meet those standards. Among these demands were that contractors must ensure that workers hired by sub-contracting companies are granted the same working conditions, rights and benefits as those employed directly by the main contractor; that companies fully comply with labour legislation; and that workers be trained in the use of new technologies, methods, materials and processes prior to the start of construction work.

The agreement with FUNDACENTRO ensured that the government body would conduct a study into fatal accidents which occurred during preparations for the 2014 World Cup, and draw up a joint plan with BWI to promote safe working conditions at Olympic construction sites.



As the show left town, however, the city of Rio was left with a complex legacy, including the responsibility of maintaining the enormous number of buildings constructed for the Games many of which were unneeded after the Games were over. For economic and other reasons, however, sustaining these buildings has proved to be all but impossible. Only 15 months after the Olympic closing ceremony, several arenas that construction workers died to complete on time were already showing severe levels of decay. ●



# Big Strides

## in Future Mega-Sporting Events

Looking ahead, BWI has four active mega-sports campaigns. These are, in chronological order: The 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics; the 2018 FIFA World Cup in Russia; the 2020 Tokyo Summer Olympics; and the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar. Of these four, two are imminent, whereas the other two are much further down the road.

Three of the four countries have previous experience at hosting mega-sports-events, in some cases when the events weren't quite as "mega" as they are now. Japan and South Korea jointly hosted the 2002 FIFA World Cup; each nation has also hosted the Summer Olympics (Tokyo 1972, Seoul 1988, respectively); moreover, Japan previously hosted the Winter Olympics twice (Sapporo 1972, Nagano 1998). Russia (or the Soviet Union) has hosted both the Summer Olympics (Moscow 1980) and Winter Olympics (Sochi 2014): Both Games were viewed as highly controversial, not because Russia in any way lacks sporting traditions or hosting capacity, but because of their military activities in neighbouring countries around the time the Games took place.





## Shifting Focus on the Summer Olympics

In July and August 2020, Tokyo will host the Summer Olympics and thus join Athens, Paris, London and Los Angeles on the prestigious list of cities who have welcomed the Games twice. The hosts plan to use several already existing arenas, including several venues used during the previous Games in the city in 1964, which is unusual for modern Olympics.

While Japan may enjoy rather favourable economic and political conditions compared to several of the other host countries and may be considered better equipped to deal with the multiple issues that invariably arise during preparations for mega-sports-events. However, it is essential that all efforts of this magnitude be properly monitored. BWI is already preparing for construction of the Games with its affiliates in Japan. Campaigns and engagement will be based on the knowledge, insight, and strategies developed in previous campaigns.

For the future Olympic Games in Los Angeles and Paris, the respective trade union movements are represented on local committees. In both cases, the unions insist that all human rights of workers and others must be respected in the construction of the Games and in other aspects of them.

Qatar, on the other hand, has never hosted a sports event that can even be compared to the World Cup in terms of magnitude. It's a small, but wealthy desert state run by the Al Thani family. The majority of its population are migrant workers who, whether they are employed as domestic workers, construction, service, and other industries, often suffer from poor housing conditions, a lack of good health and safety structures in the workplace, low wages and a system of employment that restricts respect of their basic human rights. As in other countries, massive construction projects are underway, but it is not clear whether the facilities will be needed in the future.

There was little transparency about the process of selection of Qatar and the full truth is still unknown. Seven years after the selection, we do not know the whole truth of how and why the World Cup was awarded to Qatar.

Qatar and Russia are the two World Cups which have garnered by far the most international publicity until now. Sensational revelations about workers enduring slave-like conditions in both Russia and Qatar have caused shock, dismay and outrage throughout the sporting world, leading to



calls for action from "the international community", sanctions from FIFA, fan boycotts and, in the case of Qatar, some have demanded that the hosting rights be rescinded.

## Trade Union Militance Delivers in South Korea

The hosting rights for the 2018 Winter Olympics were awarded to PyeongChang by the IOC in July 2011. The Korean city would be the least populated of any host city and the smallest Olympic host since Lillehammer, Norway in 1994. The decision meant that the Games would be held outside winter sports' traditional sites in Northern and Central Europe for the 6th consecutive time (a sequence that will be extended to seven when the 2022 event is held in Beijing). This reflects a curious fact, namely that the IOC are finding it increasingly difficult to find suitable hosts for the Winter Olympics. Oslo, for example, considered tabling a





bid for the 2022 Games, but changed their minds when a local referendum showed that the population were not keen to host it. Essentially the same thing happened with prospective bids from Innsbruck and Stockholm for 2026, meaning Sion, Switzerland remains the sole European candidate to host that event.

The fact that the nations which tend to dominate the Winter Olympics are no longer interested in hosting them must be of concern for the IOC, but there may be some reasons for that. For example, the Winter Games include certain niche sports which, if not for their inclusion on the Olympic programme, probably wouldn't exist at all. For economic and other reasons, no country has many bobsleigh competitors, but every Winter Olympic host must, nonetheless, build a very expensive bobsleigh track that will be useless once the Games are over.



By the time its campaign on PyeongChang 2018 began, BWI had accumulated a wealth of experience and strategic expertise about construction worker issues during preparations for mega-sports-events. Each different host nation, however, has its own specific economic, social and cultural characteristics, which inevitably impact challenges campaigners may face. In South Korea, a major issue has been the continuous non-payment of wages. Approximately \$16 million was expected to be invested in various public and private construction and infrastructure projects in the build-up to the 2018 Winter Olympics.

At one point, a BWI investigative document suggested that various contractors and sub-contractors were



more than \$17 million in arrears in terms of owed wages. A truly astonishing number.

Working with its local affiliate, the Korean Federation of Construction Trade Unions (KFCITU), BWI has pressed the IOC hard on this issue and others, demanding that the governing body facilitate immediate payment of all back wages owed to workers; conduct immediate inspections of all project sites connected to the 2018 Winter Olympics; carry out joint labour inspections; and establish effective dispute mechanisms to address workers' rights violations and grievances. Unfortunately, however, while certain advances have been made, there are still many serious problems as the 2018 Games approach.

A common problem in the construction industry, is the use of sub-contractors who, in turn, may use sub-contractors. Often, the main contractor does not take responsibility for the rights and conditions of those workers. This is a very serious problem in South Korea and is a major problem for workers on PyeongChang 2018 projects. This diffusion or avoidance of responsibility costs lives. There have already been at least four fatal accidents on Olympics-related construction sites in South Korea. BWI has consistently advocated that direct employment should be a key part of PyeongChang 2018 whenever possible.

Tens of thousands of migrant workers are or have been employed at PyeongChang 2018 construction sites. Most of these workers are Korean-Chinese, but there are also significant numbers from several countries in both Central and South-East Asia. Due to both cultural and linguistic issues, and employment-related factors such as visa status, these workers are particularly vulnerable to exploitation. BWI has made a concerted effort to improve the conditions for migrant workers in South Korea,







gaining critical insights into the challenges they face in the process.

With PyeongChang 2018 only a few months away, BWI and its local affiliates have secured several vital objectives and successfully assisted many workers in gruelling wage disputes. However, many issues remain unsolved.

### **Russia: Game Changer in BWI Sports Campaign**

When Russia was selected host of the 2018 World Cup, the country did not seem to be surprised. The decision was an interesting one, because Russia and FIFA have similar problems of governance even though they have democratic structures. However, they have traditionally been run by small groups of people. Concerns about transparency and access have riddled the building process.

It was clear from the outset that Russia 2018 would represent an enormous challenge for BWI. Thankfully, the organisation had now, through all its previous campaigns, accrued significant experience and strategic expertise with regards to mega-sports-events, and due to all the goals achieved through these campaigns, its profile was higher than ever before. If one managed to get BWI campaigners on the ground and engage with local workers and unions, results were likely to follow.

An important breakthrough was achieved in August 2016, when a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the BWI, its affiliate, the Russian Building Workers Union (RBWU), FIFA and the Local Organising Committee. The key tenets of the memorandum were: The exchange of information to enhance the understanding of aspects related to decent working conditions, and to define the most effective ways of resolving these issues; cooperation



on joint visits to monitor working conditions on 2018 World Cup stadium construction sites; facilitation of a process to address and resolve workers' complaints of serious violations of decent working conditions; and collaboration on holding decent work awareness and capacity building events in connection with the 2018 World Cup.

Several inspections have taken place, involving both BWI and local labour inspectors. Such inspections recorded hazards and violations and conducted interviews with workers. Issues reported by the workers include: Unpaid wages, bonuses and overtime; safety violations including a lack of proper equipment and poor protection zones; improper documentation; and poor living conditions. A non-transparent wage system which, among other things, allows an income gap between local and migrant workers, has also been identified as a core issue for action.

The issue of migrant workers in stadium construction in preparation for the 2018 World Cup became international news in early 2017, when it was revealed that many North Korean labourers were living and working under slave-like conditions at the new stadium in St. Petersburg, where at least one of them is thought to have died. While the details of that story were horrifying and unique, most migrant workers at World Cup 2018 construction sites are either internal migrants, from countries that were formerly part of the Soviet Union, or from certain parts of South-Eastern Europe, and they all find themselves in perilous situations. BWI dedicates special efforts to ensure that the rights of these workers are respected, that they receive equal pay with local workers and are treated in accordance with the principles of Decent Work.

If Russia 2018 is viewed with scepticism by many, there were even greater concerns about for Qatar 2022. Although notable «football people» from disgraced former UEFA President Michel Platini and his compatriot Zinedine Zidane to Barcelona icons Xavi and Pep Guardiola have lucratively endorsed Qatar in various ways, hardly anyone within the game seems willing to do so without a financial incentive.

### **Qatar: Labour Reforms as Legacy of Sports**

The selection of Qatar to host the Games focused a lot of attention on the country, including on the rights and conditions of workers. There was a lot of negative publicity. Attention focused, in large part, on the rights and conditions of migrant workers in the country.

The issue of migrant workers has been present, to some degree, at every mega-sports-event on which











the BWI has worked since it launched its campaign for decent work in sports a decade ago. There are similar problems of occupational health and safety and of worker grievances, but what's unique about Qatar is that practically every worker involved is a migrant. Under the "kafala" system, a «sponsor», under Qatari employment laws, is given power to control virtually every aspect of their lives. That system is beginning to change, probably due to all of the attention on Qatar, but also because of the campaigning and engagement of BWI. Some of that work took place far from Qatar.

BWI challenged FIFA using the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises by filing a submission with the Swiss National Contact Point (NCP). It was filed at a time when, although there had been discussions with FIFA, they were not very serious. BWI asked the NCP to make it clear that FIFA had responsibility connected with the violations of human rights throughout the process and throughout the supply chain. They were also asked to use their good offices to bring about better cooperation with BWI in the future. Although the submission was not exclusively on Qatar, most of the examples used were from that

country. Discussions generated by the case helped to move forward.

Among the measures taken was the appointment of Professor John Ruggie, the author of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (which were taken on board in 2011 by the OECD and it was those principles that were cited by BWI).

The Ruggie report has become the basis of FIFA progress in a number of areas. One of the mechanisms that they have created is an eight-member Advisory Board on Human Rights which examines actions by FIFA on a wide range of human rights issues, including the human rights of construction workers. BWI General Secretary Ambet Yuson is one of the members of that board.

The ILO received a complaint calling for the creation of a Commission of Inquiry to look into forced labour aspects of the kafala system where it was often very difficult to change jobs or leave. Both the OECD procedure and the ILO process were very helpful in changing the environment for discussions. The ILO decided not to go forward with the





Commission of Inquiry based on commitments from the Government of Qatar to become fully compliant with ILO human rights labour standards within three years. The ILO and Qatar will have a technical cooperation programme in place for that three-year period.

In November 2016, after three years of arduous work on the issue, BWI signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC). Joint inspections began in February 2017 at the Al Wakrah Stadium south of Doha. This and subsequent inspections to other World Cup-related construction sites has revealed health and safety issues, but there also seems to be a genuine commitment by both the SC and the various contractors involved to make improvements.

Another breakthrough of sorts is that in the past year the SC has admitted that there have been two fatal accidents on World Cup construction sites: 29-year-old Anil Kuman Pisman was killed by a water tanker truck at the Al Wakrah Stadium on October 16th of 2016, while 40-year-old Zac Cox fell to his death at the Khalifa Stadium construction site. In both

instances, BWI was immediately notified and given details of the investigations into the accidents; a level of cooperation previously unknown.

In addition, BWI has signed a framework agreement covering Qatar with QDVC and the French multinational VINCI. It is complementary with the MoU with the Supreme Committee. It will cover occupational health and safety and worker grievances, all sub-contractors and suppliers. In addition, it applies to all Qatar construction carried out by the companies, not just projects related to the Games.

Due to become the first World Cup to be played in (Northern Hemisphere) winter time, Qatar 2022 is still five years away. That means that if progress continues, there will be considerable improvement in rights and conditions for construction workers in Qatar. BWI is on the ground in Qatar and cooperating well with the authorities on the issues being jointly addressed.

Many mega sport events involve massive construction for a limited period of time in order to ensure that facilities are available. Although in some ways, Qatar is quite challenging, and many changes still





must be made, long before it became the host of the 2022 World Cup, it has carried out many extensive building programmes as part of its development plan. Construction is expected to be a major industry for generations to come. A stable industry that can produce high-quality buildings under good conditions and with full respect for the rights of workers, can make a major long-term contribution to the sustainability of the country and to the futures of migrant construction workers.

### **On to the Future, On with Decent Work Campaigns**

BWI's campaigning on sports is different than most campaigns. It is a long-term process in which strategies are developed and deployed, in which experience is gained, and in which BWI has adapted to changed situations and seized opportunities. Working across a wide variety of cultures and political structures, BWI, in cooperation with local affiliates, have succeeded in improving the living and working conditions of hundreds of thousands of workers across four continents as well as bringing the question of sports construction workers' rights onto the global agenda.

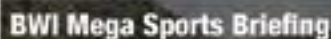
There are indications that the major world sport governing bodies are taking the issue seriously. General Secretary Ambet Yuson reports that BWI has seen significant progress within FIFA of late, less so, alas, within the IOC. That does not end problems, but it puts BWI around the table and means that progress, although built on campaigns, is no longer dependent on campaigns alone.

Information has been included on the political and social conditions in each country in which BWI has been involved since the inception of the Decent Work Campaign. These issues show that sports and the struggle for the human rights of workers are part of a larger struggle for social justice, rights, democracy, and human dignity.

The progress that has been made in the rights and conditions of construction workers preparing mega-sports-events will support the rights and conditions of other construction workers who are not in the spotlight like those building World Cup and Olympic Games sites. Their rights are every bit as important than those linked by their work with the policies of FIFA or the IOC and BWI will continue to struggle for their human rights as well. ●



**NO FOOTBALL IN  
QATAR IN 2022**



#### Trade union rights in the Tokyo 2020 supply chain

President, the Taipei Engineering Committee of the American and Chinese Engineers' Association (ACEA) has been working with the American Society of Mechanical Engineers (ASME) to develop a new standard for the design and construction of high-pressure vessels. The new standard, which is being developed by the ACEA and ASME, will be the first of its kind in the world. It will be a major step forward in the design and construction of high-pressure vessels, and will be a major step forward in the design and construction of high-pressure vessels.

## Summary

- Considering China's recent existing legal framework on legal labourer imports, the BMW has already expressed concerns regarding the social labour standards used in the Tokyo 2020 Nationalistic Sourcing Circle for Textile, which will also be heavily on existing coalition mechanisms.
- BMW has also made suggestions regarding the proposed Chinese Mechanisms. We are particularly concerned that there is no intention to submit the proposed mechanism to public consultation, and that there are plans to contract out the position of the mechanism.
- A BMW affiliated union (TNU) has made credible allegations of workers' rights violations regarding a Siemens based timber company (Shin Yang) that is supplying timber for the construction of the new National Stadium for Tokyo 2020. Certification audits have proved insufficient to have the same issues corrected, and the company has been fined. The fact that Shin Yang has recently come to light means there is ongoing cause for ongoing concern.

### Supply chain monitoring

The Tokyo 2020 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games will require the construction or refurbishment of over 50 Olympic sporting facilities, as well as a raft of infrastructure, accommodation and other related projects. Many of these sportsfields have now been awarded, replacing the new National Stadium currently under construction in Shinjuku, which was won by Sasaki Corporation, one of Japan's most established

construction companies that also built the National Stadium for the 1994 Tokyo Olympics on the same site. The supply chain that built this construction effort are reviewed, and TUCO's efforts to be personally diligent in addressing concerns that arise through the process.

With Asia-Pacific countries increasingly winning host contracts for major sports events, but the Olympics, it's argued that Tokyo 2020 sets a high bar on issues of

INTERNATIONAL  
FRAMEWORK  
AGREEMENT

with BGSX Group



# FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT

BETWEEN QDVC - YINGI - BW







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