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Cheering for modern slavery a case study on the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022

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June 13, 2022

Abstract

In 2010 Qatar was granted to host the FIFA World Cup 2022. Ever since then, newspapers and NGOs have been reporting forms of modern slavery among migrant workers at the World Cup construction sites. The FIFA and Qatar authorities have been under pressure to improve the situation of these migrant workers. By analyzing hundred different data sources, this study is one of the first studies to look empirically into modern slavery. We find that when it comes to modern slavery multiple actors are responsible, and therefore at the same time nobody is responsible. Due to large power imbalances between workers and employers, migrant workers are trapped in a system of modern slavery Next, this study contributes to the literature on institutional theory. Organizations use this mega sport event to gain and maintain legitimacy. However, all the attention to this event has revealed numerous cases of human rights violations. Normative pressures by NGOs and media have led to changes in legislation and regulation. However, these new coercive pressures only lead to reforms on paper. Practice shows that there is a clear lack of implementation and enforcement. Leaving thousands of people in slavery-like conditions and organizations in uncertainty about their legitimacy.

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Introduction

Both Crane (2013) and New (2015) state that modern slavery is often a hidden crime. But is it actually hidden? In this research we will try to seek an answer to this question using an institutional theory perspective. How is it possible that modern slavery takes place on a global scale while it is universally considered illegal?

As in 2016, about 40.3 million people are in modern slavery. This includes 15.4 million persons in forced marriage and about 24.9 million persons in forced labour. Most forced labour takes place in the private sector in which domestic work, agriculture and construction are the main industries in which this occurs (International Labour Organization et al., 2017). According to the International Labour Organization et al. (2017) 16 million people in modern slavery work in the private sector. Over time, modern slavery has increased by 40% between 2012 and 2016 (Hodal, 2019). Recent news reports indicate slave like labour conditions. Cases such as labour abuses among migrant workers in Qatar to build the football stadiums needed for the 2022 World Cup (Pattison, 2016). Burmese and Cambodian men forced into fishery, with threats of violence if they would try to escape (BBC News, 2016) and child labor on cocoa farms in Ivory Coast (Whoriskey & Siegel, 2019).

Despite these shocking numbers that show the practical relevance of the topic, only a few scholars in management and International Business (IB) have tried to research modern slavery in Multinational Enterprises (MNEs) (Caruana et al., 2021; Crane, 2013; New, 2015).

Crane (2013) has addressed modern slavery in management practices, and called it: “theory of modern slavery as a management practice”. He developed a theoretical framework on modern slavery and management practices drawing on institutional theory and strategic capability literature.

Further, Crane et al. (2018) have analyzed modern slavery in the light of innovative business models. They argue the dark side of innovative business models, that allow opportunity for modern slavery to occur. It highlighted the importance of outsourced labour and product supply chains.

As in most IB literature, the central unit of analysis in Crane's work involved the MNE itself, the enterprise level. Stringer and Michailova (2018) approach modern slavery differently, looking at the global value chains (GVC) of multinational corporations. They argue why modern slavery exists and flourishes across industries and geographical borders, taken into account the challenges that come along with the complex network of a GVC. New (2015), Stevenson & Cole (2018) and Geng et al. (2022) also used a broader perspective to study modern slavery within global supply chains. They also found that the complexity of the supply chain, made it hard to detect modern slavery, and therefore was often hidden. MNEs experience different kind of pressures, coercive, mimetic and normative, and according to institutional theory you would expect that MNEs respond to these pressures to maintain their legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). However, some firms decide to turn a blind-eye to these illegal practices.

Because the IB and Management literature is so limited, the purpose of this research is to provide new insight into modern slavery and fill part of the research gap. Specifically, we will use institutional theory to describe the public opinion about modern slavery and the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022. This event takes place on a global scale, and involves the FIFA as main organizer of the event, the host country Qatar, 32 different countries battling for the world title, numerous of fans supporting their country, and many more actors. While it is commonly accepted that modern slavery is an illegal practice, numerous news outlets like The Guardian and NBC News, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) like Amnesty International have spoken about modern slavery practices in building the stadiums for this global event (Herbert, 2021; Pattison & McIntyre, 2021; Smith, 2021). And despite all the media attention, and a common awareness of this problem, at the first day of the initial sales period more than 1.2 million tickets were requested (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2022). By better understanding this phenomenon of modern slavery, organizations are able to provide better programs and policies to address this issue surrounding modern slavery. Further it will create more awareness for those millions of people working in slavery like conditions.

Derived from the gap in the literature and the practical relevance of this topic concerning wrong doing against millions of humans, the research question is:

How is Modern Slavery discussed in the context of the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022?

To provide an answer to the research question we analyzed 100 data sources during the time period of December 2, 2012 till May 19, 2022. All sources were related to the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 and modern slavery and were written in English, contained more than 300 words and were publicly available. We included news articles by (online) newspapers such as the Guardian and the New York Times. Furthermore, we analyzed press releases by the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), Football Associations and partners and sponsors of the World Cup. Next, we included reports published by FIFA, the Supreme Committee of Delivery and Legacy (SC) and Amnesty International. The data was processed using a thematic analysis method, which provided us with three overall themes.

In the following chapters we will start with providing a theoretical framework to support our research question. Next, we will discuss the methodology and data collection and analysis process. We will reflect on methodological limitations of this study and discuss how we have taken into account research ethics. Further we will analyze the data and provide the results followed by a discussion in which we describe the theoretical and practical contribution of this study, reflect on the research and give recommendations for future research as well as practical recommendations. Lastly, we finish with a short conclusion of this study.

Literature review

Modern slavery

Modern slavery is an understudied topic in the management and (IB) literature (Caruana et al.; Crane, 2013; New, 2015). Few scholars have attempted to research this phenomenon; hence a clear definition of modern slavery in the literature is lacking. The only scholar that has tried to define modern slavery is Crane (2013), who basis his definition of modern slavery on the definition from the International Labour Organization (ILO).

In 1926, the League of Nations Slavery convention defined slavery as “Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised” (cited in Allain, 2008). This definition is an important starting point for modern slavery because it entails the power of the right of ownership.

Building on the concept of *power of right of ownership* is the definition of the ILO.

Nowadays modern slavery is a wide used term that captures multiple facets. A report of the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Walk Free Foundation and in partnership with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2017) about *global estimates of modern slavery: forced labour and forced marriage*, used the definition of modern slavery as “modern slavery includes forced labour, debt bondage, forced marriage, other slavery and slavery like practices and human trafficking” (p. 9). Important in their definitions is that modern slavery refers to “situations of exploitation that a person cannot refuse or leave because of threats, violence, coercion, deception and/or abuse of power.” (p. 9). In a way, complementing and building on to the definition by the League of Nations Slavery, that modern slavery includes a form of loss of power of ownership of one’s own self.

In 2015, the UK Parliament accepted the Modern Slavery Act 2015 to combat modern slavery in the UK. This act did not give a clear definition on modern slavery, but it includes the exploitation of slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour, sexual exploitation, the removal of organs, securing services by force, threats or deception and securing services from children or vulnerable persons. The act keeps organizations responsible for slavery and human trafficking in their supply chain and demands a more transparent supply chain from these organizations (Modern Slavery Act 2015, 2015).

Crane (2013) was one of the first scholars to publish his work on modern slavery as a management practice. His definition of modern slavery in relation to management practices and organization excluded human trafficking since this was not related to economic activity. Further it excluded forced marriage, as well as child labor that did not involve economic activity. He thus specifically focused on labour abuse in the workplace. To separate modern slavery from other forms of abuse in the workplace he used the four features defined by the nongovernmental organization Anti-Slavery International and added a fifth feature himself. The Anti-Slavery International (n.d.) features included: 1) forced to work through mental or physical threat; 2) owned or controlled by an ‘employer’ usually through mental or physical abuse or threat of abuse; 3) dehumanized treated as a commodity or bought and sold as ‘property’ and 4) physically constrained or has restrictions placed on his/her freedom of movement. Crane (2013) then added his fifth dimension: “subject to economic exploitation through underpayment” (p.51).

For the purpose of this research, we will not focus on all aspects of modern slavery because they might not all be relevant in understanding the phenomena of modern slavery in the case of the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 and from a management and organization perspective. Therefore, our definition for this study is:

Modern slavery is the situations of exploitation in the workplace that a person cannot refuse or leave because of threats, violence, coercion, deception and/or abuse of power. It includes forced to work through mental or physical threat. Persons owned or controlled by an ‘employer’ usually through mental or physical abuse or threat of abuse. Persons dehumanized treated as a commodity or bought and sold as ‘property’. Persons physically constrained or has restrictions placed on his/her freedom of movement (including through forms of debt bondage) and persons subject to economic exploitation through underpayment.

Important in our definition of modern slavery is the exclusion of activities not related to economic activity (just like Crane, 2013). In contradiction with the definitions of the International Labour Organization et al. (2017) and the Modern Slavery Act 2015 (2015), it will not include sexual exploitation, the removal of organs and child labour. In the definition of International Labour Organization et al. (2017), debt bondage was also mentioned as a form of exploitation of slavery. Debt bondage is the “status or condition arising from a pledge

by a debtor of his personal services or those of a third person under his control as security for a debt” (Harris, 2002, p.417). Because debt bondage relates to the fourth point of Anti-slavery International (n.d.) used in Crane’s definition, physically constrained or has restrictions placed on his/her freedom of movement, we will include this in our definition as this is a way through which people cannot escape the exploitation of labour.

Institutional Theory

Institutional theory was first introduced by Meyer and Rowan in 1977. Institutional theory suggest that organizations become isomorphic with their environments in order to seek legitimacy. This leads to firms adapting practices that are considered legitimate externally, rather than to seek efficiency. The value of structural elements is defined based on external assessment criteria. And the dependence on external institutions allows firms to maintain stability. That is, the way it is said that institutional isomorphism is needed for the survival of organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

According to DiMaggio & Powell (1983) there are three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphism happens. Firstly, coercive isomorphism which is concerned with political influence and the problem of legitimacy. Coercive institutional pressures are formal and informal pressures which include law and regulations imposed on firms as well as local culture. Secondly, mimetic isomorphism that stems from standard responses to uncertainty. When firms deal with uncertainty, whether because of poorly understood technologies or uncertainty created by the environment, they tend to perform mimetic behaviour. By behaving in similar ways as other organization in their surroundings they try to cope with the uncertainty and remain legitimate. Lastly, normative isomorphism is related to professionalization. This is defined as the conditions and methods used to control and establish a cognitive base and legitimization for their occupational practices.

In line with institutional theory, Scott (2013) developed a conceptualized framework consisting of three pillars: regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive. The regulative pillar is based on the coercive mechanism, and includes formal laws, regulation and rules. The normative pillar is based on normative pressures. Examples include values, norms, role and expectations but also authority systems and codes of conduct. The basis of compliance is social obligation (Voinea & van Kranenburg, 2017). Next, the cultural-cognitive pillar is based on mimetic pressures and is mostly considered taken for granted. This pillar is about

beliefs, bodies of knowledge and language just to name a few examples (Voinea & van Kranenburg, 2017).

Using institutional theory, Crane (2013) has attempted to develop a framework in which he addresses modern slavery as a management practice. He researched the institutional conditions that can facilitate modern slavery, and how firms are able to insulate themselves from institutional pressures against slavery. He defined a set of conditions in the macro environment that enables slavery to take place. He highlighted the different context such as the industry, the socioeconomic, geographical, cultural and regulatory context. He combined it with capability theory, defining that a firm needs to possess exploiting and insulating capabilities as well as sustaining and shaping capabilities to exploit the conditions in the macro environment. One of these conditions that provides a link between modern slavery and the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022, is that of industries. Agriculture, construction and manufacturing such as the apparel industry, tend to be among the industries with high numbers of modern slavery (Bales, 2004; Crane, 2013; International Labour Organization et al., 2017). Multiple news outlets like The Guardian (Pattison & McIntyre, 2021), NBC News (Smith, 2021) and Mail Online (Herbert, 2021) just to name a few, highlighted cases of modern slavery practices at the construction sites of the stadiums for the World Cup.

Even though modern slavery is addressed very limited as a management practice in the literature, a bit more (but still very limited) is written about modern slavery in relationship with supply chain management (New, 2015; Stevenson & Cole, 2018; Geng et al., 2022). In this study we won't be looking at the supply chains of organization. Nevertheless, we will borrow from the literature on supply chain management, because it provides us with useful insights about firm responses to institutional pressures from NGO's, media outlets and other stakeholder initiatives in their way to seek legitimacy and therefore complement institutional theory.

New (2015) set out a number of issues related to detecting forced labour in the supply chain. Discussing how contemporary Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) practices might not address the underlying causes of modern slavery. One of the key issues according to New is the invisibility and the difficulty of detecting modern slavery in the supply chain.

Geng et al. (2022) also looked at supply chains just like New (2015), and just like Crane (2013) included capability theory. Geng et al. used an awareness-motivation capability perspective to look at modern slavery in supply chains. They found that firms put more effort in addressing modern slavery in supply chain management when there is greater media coverage of the issue or when organizations source from countries where there are higher slavery risks. This confirmed Crane's proposition about the regulatory context that NGO's and media can draw attention to slavery practices and can put pressure on firms to take action against modern slavery (Crane, 2013).

In response to the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015, Flynn & Walker (2020) analyzed how firms respond to modern slavery risks in their supply chain. They adapt an institutional theory perspective and found three sources of institutional pressures derivative from modern slavery statements. Coercive pressures related to international human rights accords, mimetic pressures by multi-stakeholder initiatives and last normative pressures, where firms associate with normative institutional pressures coming from professional bodies and subject experts. Firms' responses to modern slavery included new policies, set up working groups and establish new key performance indicators.

Different NGOs are fighting modern slavery such as Anti-Slavery International, the Walk Free Foundation and Amnesty International. Further, regulation is in place such as the Modern Slavery Act 2015. Even though on a global scale modern slavery is addressed and considered illegal, still in 2016 about 40.3 million people are victim to modern slavery practices (International Labour Organization et al., 2017).

According to institutional theory, one would expect firms to apply to these coercive and normative pressures opposed by law and NGOs to ban slavery in their business operations. Yet, we see no results. Detecting modern slavery within a firms supply chain remains difficult. The current practices to address CSR might not be sufficient to address modern slavery. They lack to address the root causes of modern slavery. Moreover, firms tend to only pay attention to reporting and addressing modern slavery, when they are called out by media and NGOs. When normative pressures are high, they are willing to respond to these issues.

Methodology

Most management and IB literature on modern slavery fails to provide empirical data to substantiate their findings. Although organizations such as the ILO have tried to provide data on the number of persons in modern slavery and the industries they work in, data remains limited. This is most likely due to the sensitiveness of the topic and problems concerning data collection. Most people live in communities with low education and low awareness of what modern slavery means, and are therefore hindered in reporting incidents, hence less data is available for research (Crane, 2013). Further, nowadays more MNEs sign papers such as codes of conduct in which they promise not to use modern slavery in their supply chains. Reporting on modern slavery has become more common and necessary for MNEs to remain legitimate. However, reporting is usually limited to their first-tier suppliers. This highlights one of the issues concerning MNEs and modern slavery, but also shows the difficulties of providing empirical data.

To provide an answer to our research question: “*How is Modern Slavery discussed in the context of the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022?*”, we will make use of a qualitative, inductive research approach. First, a qualitative approach is more suitable because of the limited availability of quantitative data as well as a qualitative approach is commonly used for understudied topics, such as modern slavery. Second, we use an inductive approach allowing the data to give us more insight into this phenomenon. We will try to seek for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of modern slavery, using an iterative process shifting back and forth between theory and our findings (Gioia et al., 2012).

Data sample & collection

Due to the limited quantitative data available and the sensibility of the topic we use archival, publicly available data sources and use the databank LexisNexis to find publications.

In our final analysis we included 100 samples. We started with hundreds of articles related to FIFA and the World Cup and narrowed it down to one hundred. We did this by selecting articles from December 2, 2010 till May 19, 2022. This period covers the day that FIFA announced that Qatar was going to host the 2022 World Cup (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2010) and ends on May 19, 2022, due to time restraints because of the submission date of the master thesis. Further, we needed enough time to analyze the data.

Next, we narrowed it down by selecting texts with a minimum of 300 words. The only exception are three articles that contain more than 280 words. We used these criteria of minimum word count so that we were able to analyze texts in their social contexts which is important due to the complexity of the phenomena (van Dijk, 2013). Moreover, this allows us to use the perspective of institutional theory which analysis organizations in their social context (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The three publications with less than 300 words were included in our final sample because they contained relevant statements and were close to the 300-word criteria. We therefore could analyze them in their social context and we found them to be sufficient to include in the final data sample.

We only used data that was written in English, as this is the main language in which the FIFA (organizer of the event) as well as other international organizations communicate. We also search for international published news, since the World Cup is a global event and modern slavery also takes place on a global scale.

There were three types of data sources included in our final sample. First of all, we included articles from (online) newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *The New York Times* and *Euronews* (for a complete overview see appendix 1), We picked these newspapers because they met the criteria mentioned above. They are well-known newspapers with a large audience world-wide and therefore reliable. Also, we included news articles from NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. We included these NGOs because most news articles cited statements by these organizations. Thus, we found the original source and added this to our data sample.

Our second type of data source are press releases. This included press releases by FIFA as this is the main organizer of the event. Furthermore, we included press releases from sponsors of the World Cup. When wrong doing is picked up by the media, and called out, negative spillovers can affect a firm even if it is not the organization responsible for the wrong doing (Zavyalova, et al., 2012). That's why we like to analyze statements by sponsors and partners. FIFA has multiple partners and sponsors as mentioned on the official website of the FIFA: Adidas, Coca-Cola, Wanda, Hyundai, Qatar Airways, Visa, Budweiser, Hisense, McDonald's, Mengniu, Crypto.com and Vivo (Federation Internationale de Football Association, n.d.):. In our final analysis we included statements by the Coca-Cola company and Adidas, as they were one of the only companies that send out a press release specifically addressing labour abuses in Qatar and the World Cup 2022. Next, press releases from

Football Associations from participating countries were included. However, there were limited Football Associations making public statements or public statements were not published in English. Therefore, we only included press releases by the Dutch Football Association (KNVB) and the German football association (Deutscher Fußball-Bund.) Due to the limited press releases available by Football Associations, we decided to search for more statements by Football Associations in newspapers (like *The Guardian* and *The Independent*) and added these to get a more complete view on these types of organizations.

In a similar way as we searched for press releases, we selected our third data source namely reports. The reports were published by the FIFA, the SC (the body in Qatar responsible for all the infrastructure of the World Cup) and Amnesty International as these were often cited in newspapers. In appendix 1 there is an overview of all 100 sources included in our sample. It is listed by source, type of data, title, date of publication and word count.

The search terms used to find all the articles were: World Cup, FIFA, Qatar, Modern Slavery, labour rights, human rights, construction, football association and economic exploitation. We used combinations of the words to find more relevant data to analyze.

In our search we excluded sources related to LTBTQ+ rights and women rights. Many news articles report a violation of these human rights in combination with the World Cup 2022, but since this does not include the exploitation of labour in the workplace or a form of economic exploitation, it falls outside the scope of this study. We excluded articles related to the bidding process of the World Cup Qatar 2022. Multiple news outlets report that the bidding process was corrupt and that Qatar should not have been awarded the World Cup (Gregory, 2015). However, this is also not related to labour or economic exploitation and thus is not within the scope of this study.

Data analysis

Because we will use texts as our data source, we will perform a thematic analysis. A thematic analysis is used to find repeated patterns of meaning across a data set, in our case the different archival data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). According to Braun & Clarke (2006) “Through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data” (p. 78). Further, due to its flexibility, and the fact that it can be used both for inductive and deductive approaches,

thematic analysis can reflect reality or unravel the deeper meaning of ‘reality’. Thematic analysis helped us to understand the public opinion about modern slavery in the context of the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022, reflecting the ‘reality’. Because it is an understudied topic thematic analysis is a suitable analysis method. It does not require a pre-existing theoretical framework and helps us to find themes across the data (Braun & Clark, 2006).

We used the six phases by Braun & Clark (2006) to arrive at our themes. First, we *familiarized ourselves with the data* and wrote down initial ideas. Second, we started with *generating initial codes* gathering data relevant to all codes. Third, we *searched for themes*, we assigned potential themes to each code and collected all data relevant to all potential themes. Fourth, we *assessed the themes*. This included reviewing if the themes worked for the extracted codes in the second step and reviewing if it worked for the entire data set as in step three. After this, a thematic map of the analysis was created. The fifth step included *defining and naming themes*, and consisted out of refining the specifics of each theme and generating clear definitions and names for each theme. The last step, step six, was producing the results.

These six steps led us to three themes (“power imbalance”, “changes in coercive pressures but lack of implementation and enforcement” and “double-edged sword, a tool and downfall for organizations in seeking legitimacy”). The theme “power imbalance” includes all codes that are relating to slavery like working conditions such as *wages*, which relates to the point in our definition of modern slavery about exploitation through underpayment. Further it includes codes about the conditions that can create an environment in which slavery can occur such as *feeling endangered*. This is one condition that makes it hard for employees to escape slavery like conditions. The theme “changes in coercive pressures but lack of implementation and enforcement” relates to all coercive pressures and the way organizations deal with these pressures. It focusses on the *legislation and regulation* as well as aspects relating to *international frameworks*. It includes codes about initiatives organizations have taken to deal with new legislation, codes like *grievance system* and *remedy and compensation*. Last, the theme “double-edged sword, a tool and downfall for organizations in seeking legitimacy” explains what organizations do in order to gain legitimacy and how it can turn against them. Codes included here relate to questionable communication to hide modern slavery such as the *transparency of communication* and *data availability*. It also includes codes such as *call out human rights abuses* and *boycott*, which relate to normative pressures, mainly stemming from NGOs, that challenges organizational decision making. Furthermore, it includes codes

relation to sportswashing, a way to deal with these normative pressures by pretending to be *responsible* and wanting to create a *social legacy* so that the organization remains or is seen as legitimate. And lastly, in order to be considered legitimate, organizations need to meet stakeholder expectation. Therefore, we included codes relating to the actors involved and the relationship between them, like *partnership* and *diplomatic relations*. For a complete overview of all the codes and themes used, see appendix 2 for our thematic map. For the complete data analysis, see appendix 3.

Limitation

Our study includes a couple of limitations. Limitations concerned with the data collection and the sample relates to the limited availability of primary data and the reliability of the study. The limited availability of primary data has to do with the sensitiveness of the topic. Further, because we depend on secondary data, one of the limitations is that this type of data was not specifically gathered for our research question (Johnston, 2017). However, this will have limited influence on our study, since we are primarily concerned about the public opinion about modern slavery, and thus the statements from different actors. When it comes to reliability within qualitative research, we speak more about the verifiability of the data collection and analysis. By providing an overview of the sources and archival data we used that includes the source, the title of the document, the date of publication and the number of words of the data source, other researchers are able to verify the data. Furthermore, we included the steps on how we analyzed the data in 3 so that other researcher can follow our thought process and can replicate the steps taken in this research. This way we have tried to be as reliable as possible.

With a qualitative approach and thematic analysis, the researcher is the instrument for data collection and analysis (Ochieng, 2009). This can influence the study when the researcher is biased and can influence the internal validity of the research. By reflecting on our own actions as researcher, we try to guard for systematic biases. When it comes to external validity, one of the limitations of a thematic analysis is that the results are not generalizable. Our findings cannot be applied to a wider population but future research might be able to find similar patterns in their data (Bleijenbergh, 2016). To improve the validity of the research we use data source triangulation (Yin, 2013). By combining data from different sources (newspapers, press releases and reports) from different organizations (the FIFA, the SC, NGOs, football associations and sponsors and partners) we are able to trust the data more. It combines the

different perspectives, giving a more complete and whole view of the topic. A qualitative research approach helps to explore the meaning in a social setting, and thus tries to include the complexity of the phenomenon (Yilmaz, 2013). Which is highly relevant in the case of modern slavery, because this is an illegal practice and morally not accepted. So being involved in modern slavery, from an organizational point, is not something you are like to be called out for. Making it logic to hide or ignore these practices creating a complex reality.

Ethics

For this master thesis we followed the Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research Integrity. We applied the principles stated in this code of conduct: honesty, scrupulousness, transparency, independency and responsibility, and performed our research with integrity (Nederlandse gedragscode wetenschappelijke integriteit, 2018). In our research honesty includes accurate reporting on the research process and possible shortcomings. We do this by providing our results in an open way, showing different perspectives from the different data sources without favoring one over the other. To guard this process, we will continuously reflect on our own way of researching. In the discussion of this study, we state the limitations that influenced our findings. This way we are being honest and transparent and allow other researchers to follow our thought process.

Scrupulousness, means we used methods that are accepted within scientific and scholarly research. We reported about the design and used methods considered appropriate for our type of research question. We did this by using scientific literature to write our literature review. Furthermore, we will use a thematic analysis to study the data of our case. This method is commonly used in scientific research to analyze the data of a case study. Transparency, involves among other things being transparent about our research design, how we collected data and how we derived at our results. For our research this also includes being transparent so that other researchers can replicate this study. We did this by clearly stating our sources and archival data we used by providing an overview that includes the source, the title of the document, the date of publication and the number of words of the data source (appendix 1). Further, we displayed the coding process as described under subheading data analysis (appendix 3). Next, independency means we did not let ourselves get influenced by non-scientific or non-scholarly considerations and trying to stay objective at all times.

Results

FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022

For the purpose of understanding the results we provide a brief overview of the main organizations involved in this event and this study and also provide a timeline of events. The FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 is set to take place in December 2022. The World Cup is organized by the FIFA. It works closely together with the host country Qatar who is known to be an oil- and gas state. In Qatar the SC is the responsible body for all construction and infrastructure related to the World Cup. This includes the building of new stadiums, roads, airports and other infrastructure projects. Since Qatar only has a small population, most of the infrastructure is built by immigrant workers making up around 88% of the 2.9 million population (World Population Review., n.d.). More organizations that are included in this study involve NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights watch, as they often accuse FIFA and Qatar of violation of human rights. These NGOs pressure the FIFA and SC to make reforms and improve the situation of migrant workers. Next, partners and sponsors of the World Cup are included and, in this study, involve Adidas and the Coca-Cola Company. These were the only organizations explicitly making a statement about modern slavery. Further, this study involves statements made by Football Associations, either found in news articles or press releases. This includes Football Associations from the countries: England, The Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and Norway.

The results are not written in chronological order; therefore, we made a timeline of the most important events between December 2, 2010 and May 19, 2022. This overview can be found in appendix 4.

We discuss the results based on our thematic analysis about modern slavery. We identified three central themes relating to Modern Slavery in the context of the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022, that we will discuss compressively below. The first theme is “power imbalance”, which refer to the slavery like conditions and how the environment fosters and stimulate these conditions due to a power imbalance between workers on the one hand and contractors, the SC and the Qatar government on the other hand. The second is “changes in coercive pressures but lack of implementation and enforcement”. This theme covers how normative pressures led to changes in the legal framework and improved regulation and standards, however there is a lack of implementation and enforcement of these laws. Third, we discuss

the last theme “double-edged sword, a tool and downfall for organizations in seeking legitimacy” in which we discuss how organizations use the World Cup as a way to gain legitimacy. But how the attention drawn to the World Cup, has emphasized the labour abuses. It shows how organizations try to remain legitimate through sportswashing, but how it is turning against them through increasing normative pressures that are questioning the legitimacy of the company.

Power imbalance

Slavery like working conditions

The FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 is organized and promoted by the FIFA and SC in Qatar. This committee is responsible for all the construction and infrastructure projects related to the World Cup. To build the infrastructure and the eight stadiums needed for the World Cup, Qatar has been welcoming migrant workers, the majority of which come from South Asia. In 2013, a report by the Global Slavery Index, an initiative of the Walk Free Foundation, reported that “World Cup host Qatar is only just beginning to understand that it has a "huge problem" with the "forced labour" of South Asian migrants” (Agence France-Presse, 2013, para 1).

The working and living conditions of these migrant workers have been considered modern slavery. Long working hours, no leave, unpaid wages, high recruitment fees leading to debt bondage and stressful working conditions due to the climate in Qatar, are common for most migrant workers.

Our findings of the analysis suggest that on the one hand Qatar denies that deaths of migrant workers are related to heat stress. On the other hand, they have been introducing improvements to manage heat stress. FIFA as well as the authorities in Qatar and the SC, have been pressured by NGOs to improve human rights. This pressure did not only lead to improvements in the working conditions, but also legislative reforms forcing construction companies to apply heat management. However, it seems that these practices have not been implemented and that most migrant workers are still exposed to heat stress. One thing that has been noticeable during the analysis of the data, has been the long time it takes for reforms to be introduced. Qatar was awarded to host the World Cup in 2010. Only in 2018, with only four years to go to the kick-off of the event, the first heat management initiatives were launched. What is even more peculiar about it, is the fact that the World Cup has moved from

summer to wintertime. Due to the hot climate in Qatar the World Cup has been moved to avoid the extreme heat. Yet, it is remarkable that this decision has been made, but that nobody beforehand had considered the heat to be a severe risk for workers performing heavy labour such as construction work. Not mentioning, the eight years it took for the first reforms to be introduced to improve the conditions of migrant workers. It raises the question whether the well-being of football players is of more importance than the thousands of migrant workers building the stadiums for them to play a match.

According to The Guardian, workers are been exposed to high temperatures for long hours, putting them at risk to heat stress what can potentially lead to death:

Yet recent research published in the *Cardiology Journal* by a group of leading climatologists and cardiologists concluded that the deaths were likely to be caused by heatstroke, exploring the correlation between the deaths of 1,300 Nepali workers between 2009 and 2017, and rising temperatures. (McIntyre et al., 2019, para. 9)

Authorities in Qatar have been denying that there is a correlation between the number of deaths of migrant workers and the heat conditions they work in. Another article by The Guardian said:

"When relatively young and healthy men die suddenly after working long hours in extreme heat, it raises serious questions about the safety of working conditions in Qatar," said Steve Cockburn, Amnesty's head of economic and social justice.

"In failing to investigate the underlying causes of migrant workers' deaths, the Qatari authorities are ignoring warning signs which could, if addressed, save lives. This is a violation of the right to life." (Pattison, 2021a, August, para. 7).

Despite Qatar failing to investigate the death and the relationship with heat stress, they had been introducing new measures to manage heat stress. It stated in the Fourth Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report of the Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (2019a) that "In June, 3,500 cooling vests were deployed to selected trades that are exposed to higher temperatures in their work; with training on how to use these products for optimal cooling." (p. 52) Furthermore, they said that "2018 also saw a major breakthrough through the development of a fully functioning cooling work wear range adapted to Qatar's unique

requirements, and which will provide a new generation of heat management for workers.” (p. 52)

These new improvements by the SC followed after pressure from NGOs and the FIFA. In 2017 FIFA set up an independent advisory body, *The Human Rights Advisory Board*, which includes expert members from the United Nations, trade unions, civil society and businesses to strengthen FIFA’s work on human rights (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2017b). In the second report from the Human Rights Advisory Board about FIFA’s progress on human rights, they flagged for the risk of heat stress on workers, and urged FIFA to make improvements in this area (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2018a). In close collaboration with FIFA, the SC and the ILO, the reforms in labour conditions had come about.

Besides the reforms in labour conditions, Qatar authorities have also introduced new legislation to help workers on heat protection. In a press release the FIFA praises this new form of legislation and the impact of it:

Similarly, since May 2021, the legislation on working during high temperatures (with outdoor work banned above 32.1°C on the WGBT Index) has resulted in a sharp decline in heat related cases treated in Qatar, with 338 businesses being shut down for non-compliance since its enforcement. (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2022d, para. 7)

In a report by Amnesty International called *IN THE PRIME OF THEIR LIVES* Amnesty acknowledges the new improvements in legislation, but they do criticize “Granting workers the right to “self-pace” by taking breaks when needed” (2021, p. 8). Associate Professor of Urban Planning and Public Service at New York University, Natasha Iskander, stated in that same report that:

“For workers to self-pace, they need to be able to consistently and reliably exercise autonomy at the worksite. Based on the time I spent observing construction sites in Qatar, that is almost impossible to imagine. In addition to workers’ inherent vulnerability and deportability, construction projects work under intense and unpredictable time pressures. In this context, the notion that workers could self-pace is

fanciful. The larger issue is that this law shunts the primary responsibility to avoid injury onto workers. In addition to giving companies a pass, it gives them legal cover. If a worker suffers from heat injury, now or in the future, then it henceforth becomes their fault, formally and legally, for not self-pacing well enough. (p. 28)

Indeed, this criticism by NGOs about self-pacing and creating a legal cover for employers seems to be the case. While the new legislation was introduced in 2021, Inews published an article referring to a report by Amnesty International with migrant workers claiming: “to have been made to work 12 hours per day, seven days per week. One claims he worked for three years without a day off.” (Cunningham & Lucas, 2022, para. 5).

Similar pressures by NGOs on FIFA and SC also led to new reforms in the payment system, the recruitment process as well as the abolition of recruitment fees, which is an important cause of debt bondage. In 2019, the SC introduced a minimum wage of QAR 750 for all workers (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2019a, p. 25) which was increased in 2020 to QAR 1,000 (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2020, p. 31).

But just as with the new reforms for heat management, implementation falls short:

Qatar’s labour reforms have offered real hope that it may be possible to end widespread labour abuse in the country. While there have been improvements, weak implementation and enforcement of these reforms mean that progress has been slow and legal changes have not yet fully translated into better protection for all migrant workers. Many migrant workers still pay abusive recruitment fees, face delayed or unpaid wages, work excessively long hours, struggle to access justice and remain at the mercy of unscrupulous employers allowed to commit abuses with impunity. (Amnesty International, 2021, p. 16)

Also, the international media has been following the reforms and implementation of it and has set its question marks by the implementation of it. According to Sport Inside, by German public broadcaster WDR, migrant workers still face problems that these new reforms in Qatar should have tackled:

Many companies still do not pay the minimum wage of 1,000 Qatari riyals (\$275, €240) a month, and many workers still experience monthslong delays in receiving their wages. One former guest worker interviewed by the show says he's still owed seven months of wages. Another former worker said that many of the changes promised by the Qatari authorities are "on paper only". (Tamsut, 2021, para. 7)

Taken together, migrant workers have been and still are working in conditions that can be considered modern slavery: long working hours, unpaid and or low wages and extreme working conditions due to the heat. They have been exploited by their contractors and the SC to provide the infrastructure for the World Cup.

Fostering an environment in which slavery can occur

In our analysis of the data, we found multiple reasons that provides an opportunity for slavery to occur. First of all, the Kafala sponsorship system has been a major reason that caused a restriction on the freedom of movement for migrant workers. Under the Kafala system, migrant workers were unable to leave the country or change jobs without permission from their employers. This severely restricted the freedom of movement of the migrant workers and made it hard for them to escape bad labour conditions. Second, employers demanded high recruitment fees from migrant workers to be allowed to work on the infrastructure of the World Cup. By asking these high fees many workers were caught in debt bondage. Workers took up loans even before starting to work at the construction sites, causing them to be in high debts with their employers, making it difficult for them to leave the situation. On top of this, many workers were promised high wages. Upon arriving in Qatar many contractors offered a much lower wage than promised beforehand, making it harder for the workers to pay of their debts. Third, many passports had been confiscated by employers, leaving workers unable to move. Employers also have been tampering with the documentation that provides workers with permission to work in Qatar. Causing the employee to be at risk for getting fined or arrested when traveling or switching jobs.

Even though most of these problems have been tackled by new labour and legislation reforms the situation of many migrant workers has not improved. Our analysis shows that migrant workers feel endangered by their employers to speak up and demand the “new” rights they were legally granted. More important, it seems that complaints about work conditions are rejected and voices are silenced by the SC and Qatar authorities. Meanwhile the FIFA supports the SC and Qatar authorities on the reforms made on the labour front. Twelve years

after Qatar won the World Cup, FIFA admits that there might have been some form of modern slavery early on in the construction and infrastructure projects. However, soon they push the negative news to the back and focus on all the positive changes made on this front.

In 2016, Qatar was facing a possible United Nations investigation if it would not end migrant slavery within 12 months. The Guardian reported that: “The move follows an ILO delegation to the Gulf state this month that found migrant workers stranded for months without pay and stripped of their passports” (Booth, 2016, para.3). The delegation stated that Qatar missed a legal framework to protect the rights of migrant workers, further it addressed its concern about the kafala system “Of particular concern, the sponsorship law, among the most restrictive in the Gulf region, facilitates the exaction of forced labour by, among other things, making it very difficult for a migrant worker to leave an abusive employer” (Booth, 2016, para. 11). Qatar agreed that there were challenges in terms of labour issues, but did not take responsibility for it. “The Qatar prime minister, Abdullah bin Nasser bin Khalifa Al Thani, reportedly admitted to the ILO that Qatar faced "a big challenge on the labour front", but he claimed the main issues related to recruitment practices in labour-sending countries” (Booth, 2016, para. 6).

However, after the visit of the delegation and the possible threat of facing a United Nations investigation, Qatar authorities have collaborated with the ILO to improve the labour front. In 2020 Qatar adopted Law No. 18 of 2020, that so called dismantles the kafala sponsorship system (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2020c). In The Guardian, the International Trade Union Confederation said “the change would mean that employers can no longer decide whether workers should be given exit visas; instead decisions will be made by a government committee” (Conn, 2017, para 6).

FIFA’s president Gianni Infantino admitted that a form of modern slavery existed, but states that reforms have contributed to the dismantling of the sponsorship system. In a news article by the CE Noticias Financieras English:

Infantino acknowledged that a form of "modern slavery system" existed before Qatar began dismantling its long-criticized 'kafala' employment system in 2018. Workers should now be able to change jobs before the end of their contracts without obtaining permission from their current employers. The World Cup has contributed to "positive

social change", according to Infantino. ("Infantino's remarks", 2022, para. 3)

Amnesty International claims that many migrant workers still risk being arrested or deported because employers still have power over employees:

Despite recent reforms, elements of this system still exist and grant enormous powers to employers, whose authorization remains necessary for migrant workers to enter the country, as well as to work, and get and renew their residence permits. If their employers cancel or fail to renew their visa or report them as having "absconded" from their job, migrant workers become irregular in the country and at risk of arrest and deportation. (Amnesty International, 2021, p. 15)

Next, besides that it is questionable whether the kafala sponsorship system has been fully dismantled with the new legislation, problems with high recruitment fees and confiscated passport remains.

In the Fourth Annual Worker's Welfare progress report the SC addressed the problem of high recruitment fees (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2019a). The Worker's Welfare standards were developed by the SC in 2014, and contain a set of standards to improve the living and working conditions of workers. This includes banning recruitment fees. However, the SC noted that one of the main issues with the implementation of this rule was that workers could not provide proof of paid recruitment fees and therefore were not eligible for compensation. The SC acknowledged this problem and decided to change its policy. They shifted the burden from worker to contractor. In this case, the contractors were required to provide proof of them having paid the recruitment fees for each worker. In case they could not, they had to reimburse the worker. In response to this policy the SC said "Over 31,800 workers will receive on average QAR 2,500 towards reimbursement over a period of 12 to 36 months" (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2019a p. 26).

The SC not only introduced new standards and policies to improve the conditions of workers. It also reflects and continuously improve its practices when they notice issues regarding implementation. Still, numerous outlets report weak implementation of the practices. In a publication by The Guardian, it becomes clear problems remain: "Trade unions remain outlawed and the majority of low-wage workers continue to pay illegal recruitment fees to

secure their jobs, leaving many in debt bondage” (Pattison, 2021b, para. 17). Further the Guardian mentioned a report by the NGO Human Rights Watch stating lower wages for workers than promised by contractors:

“In a report published last week, Human Rights Watch said wage abuse remained persistent and widespread, “including delayed wages, punitive and illegal wage deductions, and, most debilitating yet all too common, months of unpaid wages for long hours of gruelling work”.” (Pattison, 2021b, para. 14)

Another news article referred again to Amnesty International who reported: “Qatar did not implement during 2021 the reforms applied by international pressure in the system of "kafala" or sponsorship of foreign workers in the country, "which allowed the resurgence of abusive practices.”” (Zurita, 2022, para.3).

Moreover, the Business & Human Rights Resource Centre who have been investigating Human Rights abuses in Qatar since 2016 also recorded 211 abuse cases: “Further deaths, unpaid wages and passport confiscations were reported during construction of the Khalifa International Stadium and the Al Janoub Stadium” (Cunningham, 2022, para. 9).

When they asked for comment on their findings, the SC declined to give any. FIFA on the other hand responded but rejected the statements made by the Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, claiming that the data presented was incorrect:

“Fifa, the supreme committee and other entities involved in the World Cup have always been transparent about their efforts to identify and address instances where companies may not have been complying with the heightened Fifa World Cup standards. The numbers mentioned by the BHRRC appear to represent cumulative numbers of historical cases in that respect that the Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy and Fifa have been addressing over the years.” (Cunningham, 2022, para. 16)

Many workers feel endangered by their employers to speak up for their rights, afraid of retribution from employers and fear of losing jobs. The Sunday Observer refers to player representative organization Fifpro ““Workers in the most vulnerable positions from countries such as India, Bangladesh, Nepal, the Philippines, Pakistan and some African countries still fear retaliation if they denounce exploitation, unpaid wages and long working hours," Fifpro

said” (“World Cup host”, 2022, Sunday Observer, 2022, para. 23). NBC News spoke on the phone to a construction worker. “The worker asked not to be named for fear of retribution from his employers for speaking to the media” (Smith & Britton, 2021, para. 32). The Guardian said:

A new 48-page Amnesty report, Reality Check 2021, quotes one migrant worker saying she was threatened by her employer when she wanted to change jobs and told she had to pay 6,000 Qatari riyals (£1,200) - more than five times her monthly salary - for a no-objection certificate or else be sent home. Although the change in law should have allowed her to change jobs freely, the complaint she submitted to the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs was rejected, Amnesty says (Ingle, 2021, para 3.)

So far, people have been afraid to speak up. Laws seem to work on paper but implementation falls short. The above publication of Ingle (2021) indicates no investigation and follow up of the complaints. The opposite is true according to the SC. They introduced a Hotline system. This system allowed workers to complaint anonymously and is available in eleven languages. In their Fifth Workers’ Welfare progress report (2019b), they claimed to have solved 88% of the 539 of complaints received (p. 22). It is unclear, what the SC means with solved, and whether this includes the rejection of complaints.

Besides rejection, it seems that voices are also silenced by the SC and Qatar authorities. Two notable cases of whistleblowers were revealed in a publication by Inews:

Abdullah Ibhais, a former deputy communications director on the World Cup Supreme Committee, was recently sentenced to three years in prison on charges of bribery and misuse of funds, which he claims were concocted in response to his revelations about the treatment of workers. (Cunningham & Lucas, 2022, para. 33)

And:

Last year, the blogger Malcom Bidali was “forcibly disappeared” after detailing workers’ 11-hour days in the extreme heat without proper breaks, four days off a month, and unpaid wages. He was tricked into revealing his identity online and later deported. (Cunningham & Lucas, 2022, para. 34)

In brief, we find that there are different conditions that create an environment in which modern slavery exists. Some are related to the law such as the kafala sponsorship system, while others are more related to workers experiencing an unsafe environment because of threats by their employers. Illegal practices like high recruitment fees lead workers to be caught in debt bondage. Complaints about grueling conditions by workers are unheeded or silenced. All these things together do not only create an environment in which modern slavery occurs, but also make it hard for migrant workers to escape modern slavery.

In conclusion, we found that there is a power imbalance between workers on the one hand and contractors, the SC and the Qatar government on the other hand. Workers have been subject to labour exploitation, working long hours, getting unpaid and or low wages and are exposed to extreme heat conditions. Following international pressure, the Qatar Government and the SC have been introducing new legislation to improve the rights of migrant workers. However, it falls short in terms of implementation and enforcement. Because of this, many workers are still living in slavery-like conditions. We found that there is a high fear among workers to speak up for their rights due to the power their contractors possess to punish them. Initiatives by the SC to address complaints are not working because they have to power to reject the claims without having proper investigation into the complaints. To more extreme, the Qatar government seems to have the power to charge whistleblowers. Because of the power imbalance, it is hard for workers to escape the slavery-like conditions without any form of experiencing retribution. When it comes to FIFA, they take a stance supporting the SC and draw attention to all positive reforms, but seem to avoid acknowledging the real problems.

Changes in coercive pressures but lack of implementation

This theme captures how normative pressures led to changes in the legal framework and improved regulation and standards, however there is a lack of implementation and enforcement of these law.

Coercive pressure

Since the bidding process in 2010, The FIFA and the SC have undergone new laws and regulation on the labour front. They have welcomed this new legislation by claiming to take responsibility to meet the highest international standards. Besides the existing international frameworks, they have taken steps to improve human rights even further by signing a

memorandum of understanding in 2021. Meanwhile, Amnesty International finds it not more than normal that FIFA and the SC aim to meet the high international standards, as they consider this to be a set of internationally accepted standards. Noticeable is that FIFA's first press release on human rights was published in April 2016, six years after it all started. It's the first official press release in which they take responsibility and claim to comply with international standards. Oddly, FIFA complies with the UN framework for businesses which was set in place in 2011. One year after the bidding process, not six years. Furthermore, even though these standards were formally introduced in 2011, respecting human rights in general have always been the moral.

FIFA has committed to improve its human rights policy. The Federation Internationale de Football Association stated in a press release "In accordance with international standards, to have in place appropriate processes to assess potential human rights risks connected to its activities coupled with mitigation or response mechanisms" (2016, para.6). FIFA uses the existing global framework of the United Nations. According to Amnesty International this framework is accepted worldwide by organizations:

All companies, wherever they operate in the world, have a responsibility to respect human rights, including those of their workers. This responsibility – which means that businesses must avoid causing, contributing to, or being directly linked with human rights harm - is articulated in the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UN Guiding Principles), an internationally endorsed set of expected standards. (Amnesty International, 2021, p. 29)

Further, FIFA states in its report about its sustainability strategy that it will try to meet and promote the highest international labour standards.

" [FIFA] commits to upholding and promoting the highest international labour standards, in particular the principles enshrined in the eight core International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions" (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2020d, p. 25).

Besides existing international frameworks, like the United Nations Guiding Principles, it seems that FIFA is trying to improve the human rights connected to its organization even further. Together the SC, FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 LLC and the National Human Rights Committee have signed a memorandum of understanding to improve human rights in 2021.

The collective approach between the different organizations involved in the organization of the World Cup has led to the development of new legislation in terms of labour conditions. A press release by FIFA stated, “Our collective expertise will help ensure that the rights of everyone involved in this ground-breaking World Cup - from workers and staff to players and fans - are upheld throughout, according to the highest international standards” (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2021b, para. 10).

Thus, the analysis shows that NGOs are the driving force behind pressure on FIFA, the SC, Football Association and sponsors. After years of exposing Human Rights violation, they urge these stakeholders to speak out. As Inews reports “Amnesty International is urging sponsors to use their influence to press the Middle East state to make reforms.” (Sherwin, 2021, para. 9). The pressure of NGOs has caused Football Associations and sponsors to take a stand and, in their turn, put more pressure on FIFA and the SC to improve human rights. Together, these pressures have led to new legislation on the labour front in Qatar such as the “dismantling” of the kafala sponsorship system and the work ban during high temperatures.

Dealing with coercive pressures

So far, the FIFA and the SC have said to meet international standards and new legislation and regulation reforms. Because of these coercive pressures, FIFA and the SC have made changes within their organization and took measures to improve the working conditions of migrant workers. Among their improvements is the introduction of a new payment system and interventions to manage heat stress. However, these new policies have not led to improved conditions for migrant workers, as the law seems to fall short.

In FIFA’s *Second Report By The FIFA Human Rights Advisory Board*, the organization claims “FIFA’s leadership has repeatedly voiced its support for labour reforms towards full alignment with relevant ILO conventions in its direct meetings with the Emir of Qatar and representatives of the Qatari government” (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2018a, p. 56). Moreover, The German Football Association president Fritz Keller spoke about non-negotiable and universally applicable Human Rights:

Every player dreams of being able play for their country in a World Cup from a young age but at the same time, of course, they know that you don't play with human rights. They are non-negotiable and universally applicable, all over the world. This is what

the national players have drawn attention to. (“Germany, Netherlands”, 2021, para. 16)

These pressures have been effective and new legislation was introduced by Qatar authorities. As mentioned before, a legal framework was developed dismantling the kafala system. Further, to reduce heat stress, Qatar authorities extended rest break schedules during the summer period. Employers were told by the Qatar authorities that workers should not work more than five hours. Moreover, there was a work ban between 11.30 am-3pm, to prevent heat stress among workers. Since 2014, Worker’s Welfare standards were developed to improve the working and living conditions of the migrant workers. It includes details for the recruitment process, work site conditions, accommodation, and includes the transfer back to their home countries (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2015, p. 7). In the first *Workers’ Welfare Progress Report*, the Ministry of Administrative Development, Labour and Social Affairs (MOADLSA) and the Qatar Central Bank introduced a Wage Protection System (WPS):

The electronic system monitors and documents the process of wage payments to workers at all organisations subject to Qatar’s Labour Law. The aim of the initiative is to ensure that employers pay wages systematically and in a timely manner, as stipulated by the Labour Law. (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2015, p. 18)

Next, a grievance system was introduced where workers could file complaints. To further strengthen worker’s empowerment, feedback was provided by workers’ welfare officers who existed of members of NGOs organizations and contractors. Workers’ representatives were elected, in FIFA’s report by the FIFA Human Rights Advisory Board they stated that:

In Qatar, the secretariat reported that the SC continues to build the efficacy of grievance channels for workers. Monthly Workers’ Welfare Forums (WWFs) have been established at the construction sites and at each accommodation site. The WWFs are intended to be a forum in which workers can raise, through representatives, grievances on welfare issues within the categories of: accommodation conditions, working conditions on site, food, health and safety, salaries and social activities. (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2017d, p. 31)

To monitor the implementation of all the reforms, the SC installed a four-tier monitoring system:

(i) self- assessments by the SC’s main contractors, (ii) inspections by the SC itself, (iii) inspections by an expert independent External Monitor – Impact Limited – to continuously review the SC’s own monitoring efforts, and (iv) inspections by the relevant government ministry. (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2017d, p. 19)

While it seems that Qatar authorities and the SC have been making progress. Implementation seems to be lacking and enforcement of the new laws is poor. The Human Advisory Board raised its concerns about the implementation and enforcement of labour law in Qatar. It demanded FIFA to give these issues greater attention. FIFA admitted in the *FIFTH REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD* that effective implementation was missing “The abolition of the NOC system was a significant step; however, as with other aspects of the evolving labor law system in Qatar, the key issue remains effective implementation.” (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2021a, p. 9). Talking about the implementation of heat stress measures, The Guardian reported: “However implementation appears patchy. In Doha this August, as temperatures reached 42C by 11am, migrant workers told the Guardian they were being forced to work in the searing heat for up to 10 hours a day” (McIntyre et al., 2019, para. 25). Also, employees were refused to seek medical care:

Fatalities from heat stress can be avoided if workers are able to access immediate medical assistance, yet some workers interviewed in Qatar said their employer refused to issue them Qatari health cards or allow them access to medical facilities if they fell ill. (McIntyre et al., 2019, para. 26)

The Wage Protection System also falls short according to James Lynch, the director at migrant rights group FairSquare in The Guardian:

Lynch said the main test for the government would be whether it could enforce the minimum wage. A temporary minimum wage was introduced in 2017, but delayed or

unpaid wages have remained commonplace. “Qatar has to address this issue urgently and ensure that workers can rely on getting their pay in full every month,” said Lynch. (Pattison, 2021b, para. 13)

The Business & Human Rights Resource Centre feels the same way about the implementation and enforcement of the labour reforms, in an article by Inews: ““The reforms are very strong on paper and unfortunately that's as far as they go," Archer adds. "Many aspects of kafala are still very much in place.”” (Lucas, 2021, para. 15)

When it comes to dealing with coercive pressures, the FIFA and the SC have introduced new policies addressing the kafala sponsorship system, unpaid wages and heat stress management. They introduced grievance system and improved workers’ empowerment by the Workers’ Welfare Forums. They set a four-tier monitoring system in place to guard these new reforms. However, multiple NGOs are still reporting cases of modern slavery even after all the new legislations.

Overall, we conclude from our analysis that the pressures of mainly NGOs ensured organizations to adopt new legislation in order to improve the situation of migrant workers. While the FIFA and the SC make it seem as they took the initiative in 2016 to meet international standards, it was the NGOs to address the issues of migrant workers in the first place. They were the ones to call out FIFA and the SC to make improvements on the labour front. A lot of the initiatives introduced by the SC and Qatar authorities, require employers and contractors to take action. Till now, most of them have been evading the law. The lack of enforcement by Qatar authorities are linked to our first theme about power imbalance, but also introduces our last theme, organizations seeking legitimacy. Is there a true intention of Qatar authorities and the SC to improve the conditions of migrant workers, is it just one big façade to put Qatar in a positive light or perhaps both?

Double-edged sword, a tool and downfall for organizations in seeking legitimacy

In Qatar’s attempt to seek legitimacy, the World Cup should have given Qatar the spotlight needed to improve its reputation and get rid of the image of oil and natural gas extraction. However, the visibility of this event has shed a whole different light on Qatar, now knowing for human rights violations and the deaths of more than 6,500 migrant workers. Affecting its legitimacy as a country and host for the World Cup. Because there is not a single actor to be

held responsible for these conditions, also other organizations such as FIFA, Football Association and Sponsors of the event are receiving back lash. As a result, organizations are forced to make a statement about the situation in Qatar. While most organizations claim not to tolerate human rights violations, most organizations will continue to join the World Cup or sponsor it. Therefore, it is more words than actions. Even though it seems that FIFA is taking responsibility, it becomes clear that also their legitimacy as an organization is wavering. Due to the revenue, they make and the misfortune of others. The lack of compensation to the families of workers who died, who also remain with questions about the cause of death of their loved ones. And even after all the reforms made, “the social legacy created” by FIFA and Qatar, there is the fear that all the improvements made will tail away, once the event is over.

Multi-actor involvement

The existing of modern slavery in relation to the World Cup is not to blame on one actor. The involvement from different actors such as (but not limited to) investors, contractors and the SC are causing modern slavery practices to take place and to remain. Also, worth mentioning in response to a press release by FIFA, is the involvement of the football supporters, buying tickets for this event. “More than 1.2 million tickets have been requested by fans worldwide in the first 24 hours of the initial sales period.” (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2022a, para.1). It is interesting that so many tickets were requested considering the attention regarding human rights violations related to this World Cup. On the other hand, this shows the demand from supporters, and explains the pressure on the SC to deliver the eight new stadiums needed for this event, as well as all the other infrastructures related to the World Cup. All of this to be ready within 12 years.

Moreover, the cause might be divided over multiple actors, so is the solution. To improve the situation of migrant workers, a multiple stakeholder approach had been required:

In early 2016, as part of the development of the second edition of the WWS, the SC held a series of consultation meetings with several NGOs, including Amnesty International, International Labour Organisation, BWI, Engineers Against Poverty and Humanity United. FIFA’s sustainability team was represented at some of these meetings. (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2017, p. 36)

So, the SC worked together with multiple NGOs and the FIFA to address the challenges on human rights. The NGOs and the FIFA provide the SC with feedback on their challenges. And while some improvements have been made, challenges remain.

Normative pressures challenging organizational decision making

Whereas in the first years, mainly NGOs raised their concerns about human rights violations, we found the years leading up to the kick-off of the event, more people addressed concerns, among which football associations and sponsors and partners of FIFA. Stakeholders related to the World Cup 2022, feel the pressure by NGOs to state how they feel about the World Cup 2022 and human rights. In order to determine their position, they seek help from these same NGOs, but we also see organizations imitate other organizations. Football associations protesting in similar ways as well as sponsors taken the same actions to show their support. Which is form of mimetic pressures for organizations to seek legitimacy.

The Germany's national football team showed their support for migrant workers during one of their qualifications matches for the World Cup. Wearing shirts with the message "Human Rights" on it. Midfielder Leon Goretzka responded in *The Arab Weekly* with "'We have the World Cup coming up and there will be discussions about it.... we wanted to show we are not ignoring that," Leon Goretzka told RTL" (*The Arab Weekly*, 2021, para. 3). Germany followed the example of the Norwegian national team, who also displayed shirts with the message "'Human rights, on and off the pitch'" (*The Arab Weekly*, 2021, para. 8). The Royal Netherlands Football Associations, KNVB stated in a press release on their website that:

At the time of the bidding, the KNVB was not in favour of holding the World Cup in Qatar, but we now see the fact that the final tournament will take place there in 2022 as a given. We do not look away from the social problems of the host country and will – if we qualify - participate in the tournament in a socially responsible way. (KNVB, n.d., para. 8)

The KNVB has stated to act in a socially responsible way, but they do not specify what this means and what specifically they are going to do. Following the actions of these three football association, pressure increased for Football Associations that had not spoken out yet. In an article by Reuters named *Soccer-Amnesty calls on England to follow Netherlands, Germany*

in Qatar protest, England experienced pressure, Amnesty International called on the English Football Association saying:

"England players will be guided by their own consciences, but if they end up following the lead of German, Dutch and Norwegian players we'd be extremely pleased," Kate Allen, director of Amnesty International UK, said in a statement to Reuters. "Harry Kane and the England squad can read the numerous reports about exploited migrant workers in Qatar and quickly see there's a very serious problem. "It's really important that FIFA, the FA, and individual teams and players use their influence to keep pressing the Qatari authorities to follow through on promised labour reforms." ("Soccer-Amnesty calls", 2021, para. 4)

The Football Association of England decided to sit down with Amnesty International to discuss what they could do. This shows again the multiple stakeholder initiatives are needed to solve the problem and raise awareness for migrant workers. However, diplomatic relationships are intervening. Football associations are also struggling to remain their legitimacy between standing up for human rights and satisfying other stakeholders. The Independent wrote: "Southgate [manager of the English national Football team] said that a decision to boycott was theoretically possible but that any decision would be taken from above by the Football Association, and that the intertwining of Qatari investment in English football and British life complicates matters" (Critchley, 2022, para. 8). Furthermore, in the Qatar Tribune it also becomes clear that the Dutch National Football Team has diplomatic relationships with Qatar "For example, the Qatar and Royal Dutch Football Associations recently signed an MoU and PSV Eindhoven have already come to nestle in Qatar for the training in the winter." (Siddiqui, 2019, para. 6)

Boycotting the event has been mentioned as a way to put pressure on Qatar. Most football associations are not in favor of this decision. According to Germany midfielder Joshua Kimmich in The Independent, boycotting the event would be "10 years too late" (Pathak, 2021, para. 1). According to a publication by the Agency France Presse "'Amnesty International advises against a boycott and rather demands dialogue with those involved, setting clear signals - as the national team did" by wearing the T-shirts which spelt "Human Rights"' (2021, para, 18.).

So, Football Associations have been in close contact with NGOs to discuss what they can do. Boycotting of the event has been swept of the table, because it seems better to shine a light on the issues that can still be improved. Even though, Football association are not boycotting the event, sponsors of the World Cup as well as sponsors of the football associations have been hesitating to put their name onto the 2022 World Cup out of fear of reputation damage. The CE Noticias Financieras English said:

For example, ING Group, (...) has decided not to take advantage of those relationships during the event. The company said it will not accept any of its ticket allocations for the tournament or participate in any World Cup-related promotions, a spokesman told The New York Times. ("Companies turn", 2022, para. 4)

GLS, a parcel service provider that sponsors the Belgium national team, told the Times that while it has backed the Red Devils since 2011 and will continue to do so, it would not accept its allocation of tickets for customer promotions or participate in any advertising campaigns in Qatar "because we believe it is better that there is no commercial use of the 2022 World Cup in the context of the human rights situation." ("Companies turn", 2022, para. 6)

According to the Danish federation, none of the team's sponsors will be part of any commercial activities in Qatar "so that participation in the World Cup is primarily about sporting participation and not about promoting the World Cup organizers' events." ("Companies turn", 2022, para. 10)

In a company statement published on their website, The Coca-Cola Company acknowledged that there is still room for improvement, but say they keep supporting FIFA and encourage further improvements. They say they will engage, and work together to drive positive change. But just like the previous statement of the KNVB, they do not specify how they will do this:

We're encouraged by FIFA's advocacy, which has led to some significant reforms to improve the rights of migrant workers in Qatar. However, we recognize that further reform remains to be done. We are committed to the journey and performance improvement of our sports partners by engaging with them and other stakeholders to

drive positive change for communities worldwide. (The Coca-Cola Company, 2022, para. 3)

Sponsors and partners of the event cannot remain silent and are also feeling the increased pressure by media and NGOs to make a statement, as they are held partially responsible by them. In an article called *Qatar arrests BBC journalist on government press trip*, campaign Group “New FIFA Now” calls on FIFA’s sponsors:

"FIFA has blood on its hands, as do these sponsors, for as long as they turn a blind eye to what's going on there," British member of parliament Damian Collins, who is backing the campaign, said in London. (“Qatar arrests BBC”, 2015, para. 26)

Sponsors and partners of the event are dealing with a conflict of interest. While most companies don’t want to be associated with the accusation of human rights violations, they have in the past spend an enormous amount of money into the event. Therefore, sponsors and partners do state not to accept human rights abuses, and some even threaten to withdraw the sponsorship. But in all cases, it was only a threat as shown in the USA Today:

FIFA financial accounts indicate that Adidas, Visa and Coca-Cola pay around \$30 million a year to sponsor world soccer's governing body, which surprisingly selected Qatar as the first Middle East country to host the World Cup. (...) Coca-Cola stressed in a statement that it "does not condone human rights abuses" but, like Adidas and Visa, did not threaten to withdraw its sponsorship over Qatar concerns. (Schreck, 2015, para. 8)

Overall, we see that partner and sponsors as well as football associations cannot escape the pressure NGOs are forcing upon them. They are urged to make a statement about the human rights situation in Qatar and how they will respond to it. Most of them state they find human rights important, but do not precisely address how they will take their responsibility or what they will do together. The event will go on, football associations will not boycott the World Cup. Sponsors might not be accepting the ticket allocation, but they don't say they're completely withdrawing either.

Sportswashing as a way to deal with normative pressures

Sportswashing is a term used to describe how organizations or governments use sport events to improve their own reputation. Qatar has been accused of using this event to help the country improve its reputation, image and worldwide recognition. Due to the high attention on human rights violations, the reputation of Qatar, as well as the FIFA, had been severely damaged. Interestingly, in their way to gain back legitimacy, it seems the Qatar authorities and the FIFA are using their improvements in labour reforms to promote how good they are, how they are creating a lasting positive legacy. Taken into account our previous statements about lack of implementation and enforcement, still leaving migrant workers in appalling conditions, it is yet another form of sportswashing.

Founder of NGO FairSquare said:

Hosting the World Cup is part of a larger qatari plan. The nation wants to be seen as a tourist destination, a haven of sustainable development and hopes to let go of its image from oil and natural gas extraction. (“For NGOs”, 2021, para. 16)

The Sunday Post reports that in Qatar’s attempt to become visible, this has turned against them questioning their legitimacy.

Qatar wanted to secure the tournament to raise the country's visibility as a modern emerging nation on the international stage but, instead, it has put focus on its human rights record which has been the subject of a concerted campaign by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. (Keeley, 2022, para. 7)

Furthermore, a news release by NGO Human Rights Watch reports that “Chinese and Qatari authorities have spent vast sums on public relations to win over fans” (Worden, 2022a, para. 4).

While NGOs have been questioning Qatar and FIFA’s sincerity to improve human rights, in a press release by FIFA it seems the organizations themselves are speaking about major improvements and setting an example:

H.E. Hassan Al Thawadi, Secretary General of the SC, said: "The SC has worked tirelessly to protect the health, safety and welfare of all workers engaged on the Qatar 2022 project. We are proud of our achievements over the past ten years and strongly believe that our actions have created a benchmark for excellence - not just in Qatar, but across the region and around the world." (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2021b, para. 8)

In another press release by FIFA, he said:

We are on track to deliver a tournament that will set new benchmarks for social, human, economic and environmental development, a tournament that will forever be remembered as innovative, sustainable and transformative, when people came from all over the world to visit the Middle East and Arab world for the first time and have life-changing experiences," added HE Hassan Al-Thawadi, Secretary General of the Supreme Committee for Delivery Legacy. (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2021c, para. 5)

FIFA president Infantino, mentioned the progress as a result of the visibility that has been drawn to the 2022 World Cup in Qatar. Making it even more questionable if there has ever been a genuine intention to address modern slavery conditions, or whether it was just a way to maintain legitimacy after being exposed:

President Infantino also shared FIFA's vision to take football to every corner of the world and create positive change. With the FIFA World Cup 2022 fast approaching, he underlined the significant progress achieved by Qatar in the field of human rights in a very short time, as recognised by many international experts, progress that had taken place as a result of the spotlight of the World Cup. (Federation Internationale de Football Association, 2022b, para. 5)

Whether migrant worker rights would have been improved if there would have not been a spotlight on Qatar is doubtful. Till 2014, FIFA claimed not to be responsible for anything, turning away from all human rights violations that surround the World Cup. According to an article in The Independent "Till 2014, FIFA has refused to shoulder any liability. In a letter to the ITUC, the FIFA local organizing committee claimed the workers at Al Wakrah stadium

"are not our responsibility"" (Pitt-Brooke, 2014, para. 7). After pressure by stakeholders and NGOs, FIFA agreed to look into migrant worker conditions, seeking legitimacy among its stakeholders.

Taken together, it seems that the FIFA as well as Qatar have been using this event to improve their reputation. Till 2014, FIFA claimed that human rights involved in the World Cup were not their responsibility. After pressures they have started to make improvements. Coming closer to the start of the World Cup 2022, FIFA and the SC have been emphasizing the positive legacy they created. Coming across as if they have taken the forefront in human rights and as responsible organizations.

Questionable communication to hide modern slavery.

The communication used by the FIFA, SC and Qatar authorities to talk about modern slavery conditions (something that is often denied by them) is questionable. These organizations are either ignoring questions or not address them fully and try to change the topic. Further it seems when asked about responsibility that there is a lot of fingers pointing. Negative claims are often rejected. Moreover, they not seem to acknowledge the seriousness of the situation. Also, the data availability of the underlying cause of death of decedent workers are often unknown. This has implication for the families left behind because they do not receive any compensation for this.

According to the SC (and FIFA), since 2015 there have 38 people passed away connected to the World Cup. Three of them related to work-accidents, and 35 were classified as non-work-related. According to the SC most non-work-related deaths are caused by “acute cardio-respiratory failure due to natural causes”, “acute heart failure from natural causes” or “acute respiratory failure.” (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2019a, p. 45). NGOs are highly doubting the transparency and data availability of the SC. In 2021, The Guardian published a report revealing that “more than 6,500 migrant workers from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have died in Qatar since it won the right to host the World Cup 10 years ago” (Pattison & McIntyre, 2021, para. 1). This number is significantly higher than the numbers reported by the SC.

The Guardian's report also revealed "that such classifications, which are usually made without an autopsy, often fail to provide a legitimate medical explanation for the underlying cause of these deaths." (Pattison & McIntyre, 2021, para. 16)

In a response by Qatar, they rejected the claim by the Guardian saying the numbers are similar to those across other major construction projects:

"The mortality rate among these communities is within the expected range for the size and demographics of the population. However, every lost life is a tragedy, and no effort is spared in trying to prevent every death in our country," the Qatari government said in a statement by a spokesperson. (Pattison & McIntyre, 2021, para. 21)

Also, FIFA did not acknowledge the situation by the Guardian and in a response to them rejected the claim about the high mortality rates among migrant workers; "(...) the frequency of accidents on FIFA World Cup construction sites has been low when compared to other major construction projects around the world," they said, without providing evidence." (Pattison & McIntyre, 2021, para. 28)

According to epidemiological experts in a report by Amnesty International "'the authorities' ability to make this claim (...) [is] because of the low quality of data available" (Pattison, 2021a, para. 10)

When speaking about compensation for the families of workers who died, Qatar seems to promise to compensate the families, both work and non-work related. However, they only speak about 38 deaths, not the 6,500 the Guardian mentioned:

Additionally, the SC ensures that following any fatality (work or non-work-related), all measures are taken to ensure that:

- Families of the deceased are promptly contacted by the employer.
- Local government agencies and the worker's embassy are notified.
- Counselling is provided to all workers affected by the fatality.
- All processes are followed in order to ensure the prompt repatriation of the deceased.
- All outstanding payments, benefits and/or compensation are transferred as expeditiously as possible to the deceased's family. (Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC), 2017, p. 28)

Yet the problem seems to be the failure of investigating the underlying cause of death according to The Guardian. Leaving families behind with no right to receive compensation:

The report described the devastating toll on the families of workers who die. Under Qatar law, compensation must be paid where deaths are "caused by the job", but the failure to properly investigate deaths means work-related causes may not be identified, allowing employers to avoid compensation, Amnesty said. (Pattison, 2021a, para. 13)

What this means is that even families of non-work-related deaths can be compensated, if the underlying cause of the death is work related (such as heat stress). However, Qatar does not allow for autopsy, making it impossible to find the underlying cause. This allows Qatar a leeway to not compensate the families.

Moreover, Qatar's response to the Guardian's report about 6,500 migrant workers who died showed that they were not pleased with organizations calling them out for human rights violations. They don't accept negative statements, and will focus on all positive change made. Showing that they rather turn a blind eye than take responsibility and acknowledge that reforms have been falling short. "A government spokesperson said: "Qatar remains steadfast in its commitment to labour reform and will not be thrown off course by any organisation that seeks to discredit the progress we have made." (Pattison, 2021a, para. 18)

This is not the only time Qatar has showed a form of rejection when they received criticism. The Guardian reports an incident during a FIFA Congress, where the Norwegian Football Federation was calling for action. When their president Klavness was asking for specific reforms Hassan al-Thawadi, secretary general of the SC, did not address the question, instead focused on the social legacy they created:

The country had undertaken "12 years of continuous work ... dedicated to ensuring this tournament leaves truly transformational social, human, economic and environmental legacies to be remembered. We are acutely aware of the spotlight that comes with hosting the greatest show on earth and we have embraced it. (MacInnes, 2022, para. 7)

When Southgate (manager English Football Team) criticized Qatar, Qatar 2022 chief executive Nasser Al Khatar said that he should not base his opinion on media news, since this would only highlight a small number of cases and not the majority that would be enjoying a much better life according to him. He said in The Independent:

Is he basing his opinions and his public statements on what he has read? Because it is kind of an issue when you just base an opinion on which you are very vocal about on things which you have read. Somebody with a lot of influence such as Southgate, somebody with a big audience that listens to what he has said has got to pick his words carefully. (...) However, I can assure him that if he comes here, speaks to the majority of workers, they will tell you how they have put their children through University, they will tell you how they built their houses for them and their families. These are the stories that nobody hears. (Pa Sport Staff, 2022, para. 10)

Besides the SC and authorities in Qatar, FIFA has not been acknowledging the situation. While it often claims it takes its responsibility, it also finger points a lot at Qatar while at the same time giving Qatar credits for the progress made so far. On top of it, FIFA is praising itself for the progress made and claims migrant workers should be happy that they have built the stadiums “earning a living rather than receiving charity” (“Infantino’s remarks”, 2022, para. 2).

It is expected that the World Cup would lead to a revenue of £3 billion for FIFA (Walker, 2021, para. 4). When Infantino was asked about compensation for the families of workers who died in Qatar at the Milken Institute’s Global Conference, he went around the question:

When you give someone work, even in difficult conditions, you give them dignity and pride. It's not charity. You don't do charity. It's a matter of pride to have been able to change the conditions of these 1.5 million people." (“Infantino’s remarks”, 2022, para. 2)

When asked about the 6,500 workers who have died, Infantino only claimed three workers died on construction sites. He also did not feel responsible and even praised FIFA for the progress they made:

Of course FIFA is not the world's police and is not responsible for everything that happens in the world. But thanks to FIFA, thanks to soccer, we have been able to address the state of the 1.5 million workers who work in Qatar. (“Infantino’s remarks”, 2022, para. 2)

Lastly, FIFA and Qatar might be praising the progress made and the lasting social legacy they created, but NGOs are highly doubting this lasting legacy. As the *Sunday Observer* writes:

In football terms, it is not even half-time. And each achievement gained for workers remains fragile. Among migrants in Qatar there is widespread fear that when the spotlight on Qatar dims after the World Cup the improvements achieved will peter out. (Sunday Observer, 2022, para. 24)

So, there is a major difference between the number of deaths that FIFA and the SC report, compared to the shocking 6,500 deaths the Guardian reveals. When the FIFA and the SC are confronted with questions about the numbers, they stick to their own reporting about 38 deaths. Mostly, they turn around the question and only talk about positive legacy. Negative news gets pushed aside. According to the Qatari law, families have the right to be compensated, but because underlying causes are not investigated, families don’t receive compensation. It gives the SC an easy way out to avoid the law. Further, it seems to apply to FIFA and the SC that ignorance is a bliss.

Overall, we found that the World Cup was a tool for Qatar to get rid of its reputation of being an oil and gas state. However, all the attention that was drawn to Qatar, had eventually become more of a downfall since it shed a light on human rights violations. While NGOs keep calling out FIFA and the SC that reforms are failing and that not enough is done about it, the FIFA and the SC reject or ignore any claims. They just focus on the social legacy they created. The legitimacy of the organization they were after at, have only become more at risk after pressures increased. While the FIFA and the SC might have tried to truly improve the rights of migrant workers by introducing new reforms, implementation and enforcement fall short. Because they do not address this issue, and seem to ignore the feedback, it comes across as a form of sportswashing.

Discussion

In our research problem we stated that modern slavery in the IB and Management literature is an understudied topic. We pointed out that even today millions of people are victim to modern slavery practices. By studying the World Cup 2022, we aimed to find empirical evidence to better understand this phenomenon in order to help MNE's address this issue.

The literature specific on modern slavery was limited. We found empirical evidence that is in line with Crane's (2013) work about modern slavery. We found that thousands of migrant workers are forced to work through mental threat and fear to be deported back home. Many of them are controlled by their employer through the kafala sponsorship system. While Qatar authorities claim to have dismantled this sponsorship system, reality shows that many people are still trapped in it. There are restrictions on his/her freedom of movement due to passport confiscation, and forged documentation. Many workers do not receive medical cards, something necessary for seeking medical help. People are being treated as a commodity, with the Guardian reporting over 6,500 deaths of migrant workers, while the SC and FIFA only speak about 38 deaths, which most of them are (according to them) non-work-related. Lastly, Crane addresses that in order for modern slavery to exist, people should be subject to economic exploitation through underpayment. In our analysis we found numerous cases of people being paid less than promised, not being paid overtime, and months of unpaid wages. On top of that they are trapped in debt bondage due to the high, illegal, recruitment fees. Taken into account the £3 billion of revenue FIFA will make, we feel confident to speak about economic exploitation.

DiMaggio & Powell (1983) identified three mechanisms through which isomorphism happens, normative isomorphism, mimetic isomorphism and coercive isomorphism. In our study we found that normative pressures stem from the media attention and NGOs. They want the FIFA and the SC to take responsibility. Where in 2014 the FIFA still stated not to be responsible, these pressures have led FIFA to start addressing migrant workers conditions. This finding ties in with the findings of Geng et al. (2022) and Crane (2013); increased media coverage led firms to put more effort in addressing modern slavery.

Flynn & Walker (2020) studied how firms responded to modern slavery risks. They found that mimetic pressures relate to multi-stakeholder initiatives. This study confirms that

organizations are experiencing mimetic pressures. Football associations and sponsors and partners of the World followed similar policies and made similar statements, in their road to legitimacy. All of them did not like to be associated with human rights violations. We found that football associations were making similar statements with phrases on their t-shirts. Part of the sponsors and partners, did copy other sponsors by not accepting the ticket allocation. Whereas Flynn & Walker (2020) found these mimetic pressures arise mainly through multi-stakeholder initiatives, or study only found statements about wanting to work together, but no specific examples in which football associations or sponsors worked together to increase pressure on other football associations or sponsors.

While we would expect that organizations would experience coercive pressures from the introduction of new legislation, it seems that most organizations like contractors, but also the FIFA and SC themselves are able to avoid this type of pressure, finding ways to evade the law. They created a legal cover, by putting the responsibility of heat management in the hands of the employee. Further, they are able to avoid to pay any compensation to families of deceased migrant workers. The law allows for compensation, but because it is not mandatory to find the underlying death cause, the SC have been escaping payment. Because of the high-power imbalance between workers and employers, modern slavery practices still take place.

While our analysis supports a big part of the literature on institutional theory and modern slavery, Stevenson & Cole (2018) and Geng, Lam & Stevenson (2022) spoke about modern slavery as an often hidden crime. We find that this is not the case. The World Cup 2022 in Qatar has been the center spot of modern slavery. It received great media attention, from NGOs, newspapers, but also from national teams during qualification rounds for the World Cup 2022 via shirts with texts on it, raising awareness for the situation in Qatar.

We confirm that when normative pressures are high, organizations are willing to respond, but it usually stays with words rather than actions.

New (2015) also stated that modern slavery is hard to detect. Again, we did not find this in our study. We found that organizations like FIFA and the SC might be less transparent about human rights violations, but NGOs like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have clearly showed the violations. In our study it is not a matter of difficulty of detecting modern slavery, as it is more about ignoring it and turning away from it.

Our theoretical contribution is two-folded. First, this is one of the first studies that looked empirically into modern slavery. We find that when it comes to modern slavery, everyone is responsible. Each organization forms a piece of a complex puzzle. Therefore, at the same time, nobody is responsible and responsibilities are passed on. Second, this study contributes to institutional theory. We confirmed that normative pressures can lead to new organizational decision making and that organizations are willing to address modern slavery issues once these normative pressures are high. However, when it comes to coercive pressures, we see that these lead to reforms on paper, but that practice shows otherwise. Organizations pretend to follow legislation in order to remain legitimate, but lack of implementation and enforcement of legislation remains and leaves people trapped in modern slavery. Organizations are able to avoid coercive pressures, till the point that normative pressures are rising so high, calling on organizations to take responsibility and eventually making new changes in the legislative framework.

The practical contribution of this study is to raise awareness for those millions of people working in slavery conditions. Further, from our research, it becomes clear that the decision making can be influenced by these pressures and that organizations cannot get away with finger-pointing. To maintain legitimate, organizations need to take initiative and seek help from multiple stakeholders, and mainly from those exerting normative pressures.

Reflection

We analyzed 100 texts relating to the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 and modern slavery. All texts were in English, contained more than 300 words (with the exception stated in the methodology) and were publicly available and published internationally. Because of time limitation of the master thesis and the World Cup 2022 taken place in December we have only been able to analyze texts from December 2, 2010 till May 19, 2022.

To ensure validity of this study, we used different data sources (newspapers, press releases and reports) from different organizations (the FIFA, the SC, NGOs, football associations and sponsors and partners). By data source triangulation we have been able to provide multiple perspectives on this topic. We got a better overall view, that lies more closely to reality then when we would have only used one type of source.

To get an even more comprehensive view, we suggest that besides the above organizations, also customer data should be taken into account.

One limitation of this study is that many football associations did not form a public statement about Qatar or the statement has not been published in English. Therefore, in this study we relied on statements of football associations found mostly in newspapers. What we noticed is that most statements in these newspapers come from Western-European countries (England, Netherlands, Germany, Norway and Denmark). This might influence the study in a way that these countries have similar cultures, and might perhaps view modern slavery different than for example participating countries from South-America or Africa.

Further, the external validity of this study lies within the patterns found in the data. We cannot transfer our results to a wider population, but future researchers are able to find similar patterns in their case studies.

Another limitation of this study is that the researcher is the instrument for data collection and analysis (Ochieng, 2009). Earlier we described how we would use the six phases by Braun & Clark (2006) to derive at reflective themes and how we would guard for systematic biases. I have done this research individually, therefore my interpretation of the data has influenced the outcomes of the research. If I reflect back on the research process, it was hard in the beginning to assign codes to specific texts. This was mainly because more codes could be applied to one piece of text. I decided to handle this by trying to find the underlying thought. What is the message of the author? Because I had to do it myself, I was able to be more consistent in assigning codes compared to when I would have analyzed all texts with a team. However, in case of a team of researchers, I would have been able to discuss the names of the codes and how we would apply them. The entire process of data analysis has been very iterative. Going back and forth between different statements have provided me with an overall view of the case and the connections between different actors involved in the event. This has made me understand the different motivations of different actors. During the research process I have noticed that my own view about the FIFA and SC has slightly changed. I have gained a better understanding that the reforms might not be easily implemented and that this already caused a lot of pressure on decision makers. They might have had good intention to change the working conditions, but I do feel that, even after 12 years (since Qatar won the bid), they prefer to avoid the issues and not take responsibility for it.

To ensure the reliability of this study, we have tried to be transparent about the data and the way we collected it. All our steps can be followed since the data sources and data coding process are available in appendix 1, 2 and 3.

Future research

Based on our results we suggest that future research is needed to explain how normative pressures can be so high, but do not seem to affect every stakeholder involved in this event to the same extent. A qualitative approach using interviews, might help exposing how stakeholders are affected by normative pressures. Also including customer data might give a more comprehensive understanding of normative pressures. As this study showed, 1.2 million tickets were requested in the initial sales period by supporters. This group might influence the way stakeholders are affected by normative pressures. Next, we would suggest further research into the lack of implementation of new legal frameworks; How companies can keep avoiding them? One reasoning that we saw in the case of the World Cup 2022 is the fact that the legal frameworks draw responsibility onto other actors than the organizations. They put the responsibility onto the employees themselves, creating a legal cover for organizations. Another case study or interviews might explain this. Next, it would be useful to see if this same legal cover also occurs and is created in other sectors such as the agriculture industry. Moreover, we would recommend to understand the power imbalances between actors in relationship to modern slavery. By getting a better understanding how this relationship works, we might be able to provide organizations with the tools to solve these imbalances. Interviews with different actors might provide this deeper inside, but you might not find the true answers if the power imbalance is too large and actors are afraid to speak up.

Practical recommendations

For the organizations involved in the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022, we would recommend to be more transparent and specific in public statements and communication. We recommend to specifically state how these organizations are helping to improve the conditions of migrant workers and not only say they find it important. Further, we recommend the authorities in Qatar, the SC and the FIFA to be more open to feedback. We recommend them to focus more on the implementation and enforcement of the laws, because we think that there is still a lot to be achieved in that area. Lastly, there have been a lot of concerns that once the World Cup is over, and the attention has fade away, migrant workers conditions will deteriorate. We therefore strongly recommend to continue improving migrant workers situation by regularly monitoring progress and intervening and adjusting where necessary to improve the situation.

Conclusion

Our research question was: *How is Modern Slavery discussed in the context of the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022?*

To answer this question we started with existing literature, that was rather limited. Crane (2013) described modern slavery as a form of exploitation through underpayment. Furthermore, Geng et al. (2022) and Crane (2013) found that increased normative pressure by NGOs and media attention make organizations address modern slavery in their practices. Our study confirms this. We found that modern slavery is discussed as a power imbalance between migrant workers and contractors, the SC and the FIFA. Migrant workers seem to possess less power. While legislative reforms have been introduced by FIFA, the SC and Qatar authorities after experiencing pressures from NGOs, effective implementation has fall short. On paper it all looks good, but reality shows many cases of evasion of the law. The new introduced legislation has provided a cover for most organizations to be held responsible for modern slavery. In the meantime, FIFA, the SC and Qatar authorities are rejecting negative claims and criticism. They only address the social legacy they created. While the event was once used as a tool to improve the reputation of Qatar, it is now a downfall as it shed a major light on human rights violations.

Our theoretical contribution is two-folded. We find that when it comes to modern slavery, everyone is responsible and therefore nobody is responsible at the same time. Second, this study contributes to institutional theory where coercive pressures lead to reforms on paper, but practice shows otherwise. This study raised awareness for those millions of people working in slavery conditions. To get a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomena, future research can include customer data and study the power imbalances between actors in relationship to modern slavery, so that organizations can address these challenges.

Lastly, we recommend FIFA, the SC, football associations and sponsors to be more specific in public communication on how they are planning to improve human rights. Our analysis showed that modern slavery is everything except for hidden, while at the same time organizations like FIFA and the SC try their best to hide it and paint a far rosier picture than it actually is.

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<https://www.fifa.com/search-results?q=announcement%20World%20Cup%202022&startDate=2010-01-01&endDate=2010-12-31>
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- <https://www.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/qatar2022/media-releases/fifa-world-cup-qatar-2022-tm-1-2-million-tickets-requested-within-24-hours>
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<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/sportsnews/article-10225747/Qatar-HIDING-deaths-World-Cup-workers-2022-host-nations-reputation-takes-fresh-hit.html>
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Appendix 1 Overview Data Sample and References

#	Source	Type of data	Title	Date of publication	Word Count
1	Adidas Group. (n.d.). <i>Engagement with Stakeholders</i> [Press release]. https://www.adidas-group.com/en/sustainability/focus-sustainability/engagement-stakeholders/#/examples-of-stakeholder-engagement/	Press release	<i>Engagement with Stakeholders</i>	N.d.	2768
2	Agence France-Presse. (2013, October 18). World Cup hosts Qatar struggling with 'forced labour' issue. <i>Bangkok Post</i> . https://www.bangkokpost.com/world/375269/world-cup-hosts-qatar-struggling-with-forced-labour-issue	Newspaper	World Cup hosts Qatar struggling with 'forced labour' issue	October 18, 2013	497
3	Agence France-Presse. (2015, December 3). FIFA discusses reforms amid sponsor attacks. <i>Shanghai Daily</i> . https://archive.shine.cn/sports/soccer/FIFA-discusses-reforms-amid-sponsor-attacks/shdaily.shtml	Newspaper	FIFA discusses reforms amid sponsor attacks.	December 3, 2015	468
4	Agence France-Presse. (2021, March 28). Germany again protest for human rights with cryptic message. <i>France 24</i> . https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20210328-germany-again-protest-for-human-rights-with-cryptic-message	Newspaper	<i>Germany again protest for human rights with cryptic message.</i>	March 28, 2021	414
5	Agency France-Presse. (2022, May 19). 2022 FIFA World Cup: Amnesty demands over €400m in damages for Qatar workers. <i>Euronews</i> . https://www.euronews.com/2022/05/19/2022-fifa-world-cup-amnesty-demands-over-400m-in-damages-for-qatar-workers	Newspaper	<i>2022 FIFA World Cup: Amnesty demands over €400m in damages for Qatar workers</i>	May 19, 2022	294

6	Akbar, J. (2015, May 30). Artists attack multi-nationals sponsoring 2022 World Cup in Qatar. <i>Mail Online</i> . https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3103286/Adidas-stripes-gravestones-McDonald-s-arches-whips-Internet-artists-attack-multi-nationals-sponsoring-2022-World-Cup-Qatar-FIFA-accused-corruption-bribery.html	Newspaper	<i>Artists attack multi-nationals sponsoring 2022 World Cup in Qatar.</i>	May 30, 2015	384
7	Amnesty International. (2021, August). “IN THE PRIME OF THEIR LIVES”. https://www.amnesty.org.uk/files/2021-08/Qatar%20report.pdf?VersionId=2kIABprKpCZ0dLAYG0z8_IMKU8CIBF79	Report	“IN THE PRIME OF THEIR LIVES”	August, 2021	24,500
8	Athavaley, A., & Thomasson, E. (2015, May 28). Visa threatens to ditch FIFA as sponsor dismay mounts. <i>Reuters</i> . https://www.reuters.com/article/csports-us-soccer-fifa-sponsors-idCAKBN0OC2UH20150528	Newspaper	Visa threatens to ditch FIFA as sponsor dismay mounts.	May 28, 2015	1136
9	Booth, R. (2016, June 24). UN gives Qatar a year to end forced labour of migrant workers. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/24/un-gives-qatar-year-end-forced-labour-migrant-workers	Newspaper	UN gives Qatar a year to end forced labour of migrant workers	June 24, 2016	712
10	Companies turn their backs on Qatar World Cup. (2022, May 4). <i>CE Noticias Financieras English</i> . https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65CK-MRT1-DYY9-0373-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	Companies turn their backs on Qatar World Cup.	May 4, 2022	1048
11	Conn, D. (2017, October 25). Qatar World Cup workers’ rights to improve with end of kafala system, claims union. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/football/2017/oct/25/qatar-world-cup-workers-rights-kafala-system	Newspaper	Qatar World Cup workers’ rights to improve with end of kafala system, claims union	October 25, 2017	664
12	Critchley, M. (2022, March 25). England manager Gareth Southgate unsure about potential Qatar World Cup boycott. <i>The Independent</i> . https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/england-southgate-qatar-world-cup-b2044140.html	Newspaper	England manager Gareth Southgate unsure about potential Qatar World Cup boycott.	March 25, 2022	538

13	Cunningham, S. (2022, April 1). Qatar: 24,000 workers have suffered human rights abuses on World Cup 2022 projects, campaign group reveals. <i>Inews.Co.Uk</i> . https://inews.co.uk/sport/football/qatar-workers-abuse-building-world-cup-2022-stadiums-1550706	Newspaper	<i>Qatar: 24,000 workers have suffered human rights abuses on World Cup 2022 projects, campaign group reveals</i>	April 1, 2022	930
14	Cunningham, S. & Lucas, K. (2022, April 7). Qatar 2022: World Cup workers forced to work for three years without day off, says Amnesty International. <i>Inews.Co.Uk</i> . https://inews.co.uk/sport/football/qatar-2022-report-systematic-abuse-workers-world-cup-whistleblower-1552515	Newspaper	<i>Qatar 2022: World Cup workers forced to work for three years without day off, says Amnesty International.</i>	April 7, 2022	1409
15	Drooling for a World Cup of blood and slaves. (2022. April 6). <i>CE Noticias Financieras English</i> . https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:655M-FN11-JCG7-80M9-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	Drooling for a World Cup of blood and slaves.	April 6, 2022	617
16	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2016, April 14). <i>Report by Harvard expert Professor Ruggie to support development of FIFA's human rights policies</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/legal/football-regulatory/media-releases/report-by-harvard-expert-professor-ruggie-to-support-development-of-fi-2781111	Press release	Report by Harvard expert Professor Ruggie to support development of FIFA's human rights policies	14 April 2016	746
17	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2017a, January 6). <i>Swiss court rejects labour unions' claim against FIFA concerning Qatar 2022</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/legal/football-regulatory/media-releases/swiss-court-rejects-labour-unions-claim-against-fifa-concerning-qatar--2862363	Press release	Swiss court rejects labour unions' claim against FIFA concerning Qatar 2022	6 January 2017	285

18	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2017b, March 10). <i>Independent advisory board of human rights experts to meet on 13 March</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/legal/football-regulatory/media-releases/independent-advisory-board-of-human-rights-experts-to-meet-on-13-march-2875485	Press release	<i>Independent advisory board of human rights experts to meet on 13 March</i>	10 March 2017	855
19	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2017c, May 2). <i>FIFA welcomes outcome of NCP mediation process on workers' welfare in Qatar</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/organisation/media-releases/fifa-welcomes-outcome-of-ncp-mediation-process-on-workers-welfare-in-q-2881935	Press release	<i>FIFA welcomes outcome of NCP mediation process on workers' welfare in Qatar.</i>	2 May 2017	303
20	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2017d, September). <i>REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i> https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/684bc3b9ec3f4811/original/ab2ywftc8qle92nghiee-pdf.pdf	Report	<i>REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD</i>	September 2017	18172
21	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2017e, November 9). <i>First report of FIFA's Human Rights Advisory Board published</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/legal/football-regulatory/media-releases/first-report-of-fifa-s-human-rights-advisory-board-published-2919234	Press release	<i>First report of FIFA's Human Rights Advisory Board published.</i>	9 November 2017	496
22	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2018a, September). <i>SECOND REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i> https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/2a867e7d8b72463e/original/hwl34aljrosubxevkwvh-pdf.pdf	Report	<i>SECOND REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i>	September 2018	30785
23	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2018b, November 26). <i>Second report of FIFA's Human Rights Advisory Board published</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/legal/football-regulatory/media-releases/second-report-of-fifa-s-human-rights-advisory-board-published	Press release	<i>Second report of FIFA's Human Rights Advisory Board published.</i>	26 November 2018	664
24	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2019a, May). <i>THIRD REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i> https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/1f341f3aa3227cdc/original/sxdtbmx6wczrmwlk9rcr-pdf.pdf	Report	<i>THIRD REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i>	May 2019	5857

25	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2019b, September 20). <i>Qatar's commitment to workers' welfare discussed at BWI 2019 Sports Conference</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/qatar2022/media-releases/qatar-s-commitment-to-workers-welfare-discussed-at-bwi-2019-sports-conference	Press release	<i>Qatar's commitment to workers' welfare discussed at BWI 2019 Sports Conference.</i>	20 September 2019	382
26	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2020a, January). <i>FOURTH REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i> https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/25237da419e1f62f/original/pyume2cahuue2szxgijwq-pdf.pdf	Report	<i>FOURTH REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i>	January 2020	5996
27	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2020b, January). <i>UPDATE FROM FIFA ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i> https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/5c39bba2deed9e98/original/ot4pzfavdz5vjxbopxzq-pdf.pdf	Report	<i>UPDATE FROM FIFA ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD.</i> (Covering the period of September 2018 to November 2019)	January 2020	23557
28	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2020c, September 1). <i>FIFA welcomes ground-breaking legal changes that strengthen the protection of workers' rights in Qatar.</i> FIFA. https://www.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/qatar2022/news/fifa-welcomes-ground-breaking-legal-changes-that-strengthen-the-protection-of-wo	Article	<i>FIFA welcomes ground-breaking legal changes that strengthen the protection of workers' rights in Qatar.</i>	1 September 2020	300
29	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2020d, October). <i>FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 Sustainability Strategy.</i> Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) & the FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 LLC (Q22) and the Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC). https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/2ab2a5f2711a3a1a/original/u25obd7303tdxupsjysn-pdf.pdf	Report	<i>FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 Sustainability Strategy.</i>	October 2020	38947

30	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2021a, February). <i>FIFTH REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD</i> . FIFA. https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/4769eb55b4e22ba5/original/vforeieiz1fh06ld4a36-pdf.pdf	Report	<i>FIFTH REPORT BY THE FIFA HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY BOARD</i> .	February 2021	10131
31	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2021b, February 3). <i>SC and Q22 sign MoU with NHRC to further enhance the positive human rights legacy of the FIFA World Cup 2022™</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/qatar2022/media-releases/sc-and-q22-sign-mou-with-nhrc-to-further-enhance-the-positive-human-rights-legacy	Press release	<i>SC and Q22 sign MoU with NHRC to further enhance the positive human rights legacy of the FIFA World Cup 2022™</i>	3 February 2021	874
32	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2021c, November 20). <i>One year to go, Qatar 2022: first FIFA World Cup™ in Middle East and Arab World</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/en/media-releases/one-year-to-go-qatar-2022-first-fifa-world-cup-tm-in-middle-east-and-arab	Press release	<i>One year to go, Qatar 2022: first FIFA World Cup™ in Middle East and Arab World</i> .	20 November 2021	432
33	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2021d, December 14). <i>FIFA discusses human rights with political stakeholders and experts ahead of Qatar 2022</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/qatar2022/media-releases/fifa-discusses-human-rights-with-political-stakeholders-and-experts	Press release	<i>FIFA discusses human rights with political stakeholders and experts ahead of Qatar 2022</i> .	14 December 2021	537
34	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2022a, January 20). <i>FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022™: 1.2 million tickets requested within 24 hours</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/tournaments/mens/worldcup/qatar2022/media-releases/fifa-world-cup-qatar-2022-tm-1-2-million-tickets-requested-within-24-hours	Press release	<i>FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022™: 1.2 million tickets requested within 24 hours</i> .	20 January 2022	285

35	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2022b, January 26). <i>FIFA President highlights commitment to good governance and human rights in Council of Europe address</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/president/media-releases/fifa-president-highlights-commitment-to-good-governance-and-human-rights-in	Press release	<i>FIFA President highlights commitment to good governance and human rights in Council of Europe address.</i>	26 January 2022	434
36	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2022c, March 13). <i>FIFA to discuss workers situation in Qatar with Amnesty International</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/social-impact/human-rights/media-releases/fifa-to-discuss-workers-situation-in-qatar-with-amnesty-international	Press release	<i>FIFA to discuss workers situation in Qatar with Amnesty International</i>	13 March 2022	466
37	Federation Internationale de Football Association. (2022d, March 15). <i>FIFA President and Qatar Minister of Labour meet to discuss progress of labour rights</i> [Press release]. https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/president/media-releases/fifa-president-and-qatar-minister-of-labour-meet-to-discuss-progress-of	Press release	<i>FIFA President and Qatar Minister of Labour meet to discuss progress of labour rights.</i>	15 March 2022	504
38	Federation Internationale de Football Association & Deutscher Fußball-Bund. (2013, November 20). <i>Fair working conditions with a lasting effect must be introduced quickly in Qatar</i> [Press release]. https://www.dfb.de/en/news/detail/fair-working-conditions-with-a-lasting-effect-must-be-introduced-quickly-in-qatar-49208/?no_cache=1	Press release	<i>Fair working conditions with a lasting effect must be introduced quickly in Qatar.</i>	November 20, 2013	427
39	FIFA: QATAR SITUATION UNACCEPTABLE. (2013, November 20). <i>PA Newswire: Sport News</i> . https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:59W8-8XF1-JCBD-Y154-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	FIFA: QATAR SITUATION UNACCEPTABLE	November 13, 2013	413
40	Football's top sponsors pressure FIFA to clean up. (2015, May 27). <i>Agence France Presse -- English</i> . https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5G36-N8V1-JBV1-X2JS-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	Football's top sponsors pressure FIFA to clean up	May 27, 2015	608

41	Footballers' union denounces catar arrest of critical migrant worker. (2021, May 18). <i>CE Noticias Financieras</i> <i>English.</i> https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62PR-WD81-JBJN-M4M8-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	Footballers' union denounces catar arrest of critical migrant worker.	May 18, 2021	334
42	For NGOs, late reaction of athletes can still generate changes in the Qatar Cup. (2021, April 7). <i>CE Noticias Financieras</i> <i>English.</i> https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62D1-2XV1-DY1R-B4YJ-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	For NGOs, late reaction of athletes can still generate changes in the Qatar Cup	April 7, 2021	826
43	Fú German federation supports fund for victims of World Cup construction work in Qatar. (2022, April 10). <i>CE Noticias Financieras</i> <i>English.</i> https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:656P-DNC1-JCG7-84NR-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	Fú German federation supports fund for victims of World Cup construction work in Qatar	April 10, 2022	319
44	Germany, Netherlands among squads championing human rights ahead of 2022 World Cup in Qatar. (2021, March 27). <i>France 24.</i> https://www.france24.com/en/sport/20210327-germany-netherlands-among-squads-championing-human-rights-ahead-of-2022-world-cup-in-qatar	Newspaper	<i>Germany, Netherlands among squads championing human rights ahead of 2022 World Cup in Qatar.</i>	March 27, 2021	642
45	Gibson, O., & Weaver, M. (2015, May 18). BBC demands explanation for arrest of crew investigating Qatar World Cup. <i>The Guardian.</i> https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/18/bbc-demands-explanation-for-arrest-of-crew-investigating-qatar-world-cup	Newspaper	BBC demands explanation for arrest of crew investigating Qatar World Cup	May 18, 2015	989
46	Glendenning, B. (2021, March 25). When it comes to the Qatar World Cup, look north to find a moral compass. <i>The Guardian.</i> https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2021/mar/25/qatar-world-cup-moral-compass-norwegian-clubs-players	Newspaper	When it comes to the Qatar World Cup, look north to find a moral compass.	March 25, 2021	1051

47	Harris, R. (2022, March 30). Infantino: Qatar ‘not paradise’ but World Cup seeing changes. <i>AP NEWS</i> . https://apnews.com/article/business-sports-soccer-international-soccer-middle-east-8489f339b6d7ae2daa7624e42b9ed7ae	Newspaper	<i>Infantino: Qatar ‘not paradise’ but World Cup seeing changes</i>	March 30, 2022	1025
48	Infantino's remarks on Qatar World Cup workers. (2022, May 3). <i>CE Noticias Financieras English</i> . https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65CC-NS11-JCG7-840K-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	Infantino's remarks on Qatar World Cup workers	May 3, 2022	363
49	Ingle, S. (2021, November 16). Amnesty report: Qatar migrant workers trapped and exploited before World Cup. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/football/2021/nov/16/qatar-migrant-workers-trapped-exploited-before-world-cup-amnesty-report	Newspaper	<i>Amnesty report: Qatar migrant workers trapped and exploited before World Cup.</i>	November 16, 2021	762
50	Keeley, G. (2022, May 8). The Bulletin: A Cup full of tears but could football showcase still be a home win for Qatar? <i>The Sunday Post</i> . https://www.sundaypost.com/fp/world-cup-qatar-human-rights/	Newspaper	<i>The Bulletin: A Cup full of tears but could football showcase still be a home win for Qatar?</i>	May 8, 2022	967
51	Keighley, F. (2021, November 17). Denmark’s 6 World Cup initiatives to promote human rights as England sent message. <i>Mirror</i> . https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/denmark-world-cup-qatar-england-25483262	Newspaper	<i>Denmark’s 6 World Cup initiatives to promote human rights as England sent message.</i>	November 17, 2021	548
52	Keyser, Z. (2019, December 31). Qatar World Cup official to ESPN: Israelis can attend the 2022 tournament. <i>The Jerusalem Post JPost.Com</i> . https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/qatar-world-cup-official-to-espn-israelis-can-attend-the-2022-tournament-612655	Newspaper	Qatar World Cup official to ESPN: Israelis can attend the 2022 tournament.	December 13, 2019	1071

53	KNVB. (n.d.). <i>The KNVB and the World Cup in Qatar</i> [Press release]. https://www.knvb.com/info/1151/knvb-and-world-cup-qatar	Press release	<i>The KNVB and the World Cup in Qatar</i> KNVB.	N.D.	1001
54	Lucas, K. (2021, December 17). Qatar 2022: Migrant workers still facing ‘appalling’ treatment with a year until the World Cup. <i>Inews.Co.Uk</i> . https://inews.co.uk/sport/football/qatar-2022-world-cup-migrant-workers-appalling-treatment-1343838	Newspaper	<i>Qatar 2022: Migrant workers still facing ‘appalling’ treatment with a year until the World Cup.</i>	December 17, 2021	1353
55	MacInnes, P. (2021, December 9). Qatar World Cup must leave legacy on women’s and LGBT rights, says Dutch FA. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/football/2021/dec/09/qatar-world-cup-must-leave-legacy-on-womens-and-lgbt-rights-says-dutch-fa	Newspaper	Qatar World Cup must leave legacy on women’s and LGBT rights, says Dutch FA	December 9, 2021	650
56	MacInnes, P. (2022, March 30). Qatar World Cup chief bites back after criticism from Norwegian FA. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/mar/31/qatar-world-cup-chief-norwegian-fa-lise-klaveness	Newspaper	Qatar World Cup chief bites back after criticism from Norwegian FA.	March 30, 2022	802
57	Maclean, W., & Radnage, C. (2021, November 16). Qatar denies Amnesty claims of migrant worker exploitation. <i>Reuters</i> . https://www.reuters.com/lifestyle/sports/qatar-denies-amnesty-claims-migrant-worker-exploitation-2021-11-16/	Newspaper	<i>Qatar denies Amnesty claims of migrant worker exploitation.</i>	November 16, 2021	291
58	McGeehan, M. (2015, May 18). QATAR SPEAKS OUT OVER ARRESTS. <i>PA Newswire: Sport News</i> . https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentftem:5G18-8631-JCBD-Y018-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	QATAR SPEAKS OUT OVER ARRESTS.	May 19, 2015	812

59	McGeehan, N. (2022, March 24). If the FA wants to make a difference over Qatar it must speak up on compensation. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2022/mar/24/fa-qatar-compensation-migrant-workers-world-cup-legacy	Newspaper	If the FA wants to make a difference over Qatar it must speak up on compensation	March 24, 2022	760
60	McIntyre, N., Kelly, A., & Patisson, P. (2019, October 2). Revealed: hundreds of migrant workers dying of heat stress in Qatar each year. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/oct/02/revealed-hundreds-of-migrant-workers-dying-of-heat-stress-in-qatar-each-year	Newspaper	Revealed: hundreds of migrant workers dying of heat stress in Qatar each year.	October 2, 2019	1638
61	Mokbel, S. (2021, December 3). The FA have asked Amnesty to discuss Qatar's human rights record with England players. <i>Mail Online</i> . https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/sportsnews/article-10273049/The-FA-asked-Amnesty-discuss-Qatars-human-rights-record-England-players.html	Newspaper	<i>The FA have asked Amnesty to discuss Qatar's human rights record with England players.</i>	December 3, 2021	366
62	Pa Sport Staff. (2022, March 30). Qatar 2022 chief executive tells Gareth Southgate to 'pick his words carefully'. <i>The Independent</i> . https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/gareth-southgate-england-qatar-lgbtq-fifa-b2047584.html	Newspaper	<i>Qatar 2022 chief executive tells Gareth Southgate to 'pick his words carefully'.</i>	March 30, 2022	564
63	Panja, T. (2022, May 2). Wary of Human Rights Issues, World Cup Sponsors Edge Away from Qatar. <i>The New York Times</i> . https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/02/sports/soccer/world-cup-sponsors-qatar.html?searchResultPosition=1	Newspaper	Wary of Human Rights Issues, World Cup Sponsors Edge Away from Qatar.	May 2, 2022	1382
64	Pathak, M. (2021, March 28). Qatar World Cup: Calls to boycott tournament '10 years too late', says Joshua Kimmich. <i>The Independent</i> . https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/international/qatar-world-cup-boycott-joshua-kimmich-b1823556.html	Newspaper	<i>Qatar World Cup: Calls to boycott tournament '10 years too late', says Joshua Kimmich</i>	March 28, 2021	406

65	Pattison, P. (2021a, August 26). Qatar has failed to explain up to 70% of migrant worker deaths in past 10 years – Amnesty. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/aug/26/qatar-has-failed-to-explain-up-to-70-of-migrant-worker-deaths-in-past-10-years-amnesty	Newspaper	Qatar has failed to explain up to 70% of migrant worker deaths in past 10 years – Amnesty.	August 26, 2021	665
66	Pattison, P. (2021b, September 1). New labour law ends Qatar’s exploitative kafala system. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/sep/01/new-employment-law-effectively-ends-qatars-exploitative-kafala-system	Newspaper	New labour law ends Qatar’s exploitative kafala system.	September 1, 2021	885
67	Pattison, P., & McIntyre, N. (2021, February 23). Revealed: 6,500 migrant workers have died in Qatar since World Cup awarded. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/feb/23/revealed-migrant-worker-deaths-qatar-fifa-world-cup-2022	Newspaper	Revealed: 6,500 migrant workers have died in Qatar since World Cup awarded	February 23, 2021	1407
68	Pitt-Brooke, J. (2014, March 24). World Cup 2014: Fifa to help improve workers’ rights in Qatar. <i>The Independent</i> . https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/world-cup-2014-fifa-to-help-improve-workers-rights-in-qatar-9208402.html	Newspaper	<i>World Cup 2014: Fifa to help improve workers’ rights in Qatar.</i>	March 24, 2014	538
69	Qatar arrests BBC journalist on government press trip. (2015, May 18). <i>Agence France Presse -- English</i> . https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5G18-XMF1-DY93-M1VD-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	Qatar arrests BBC journalist on government press trip	May 18, 2015	665
70	Reuters. (2017, March 12). FIFA sets up human rights panel in response to criticism. <i>Arabian Business</i> . https://www.arabianbusiness.com/gcc/fifa-sets-up-human-rights-panel-in-response-criticism-666695	Newspaper	<i>FIFA sets up human rights panel in response to criticism.</i>	March 12, 2017	427
71	Rumsby, B. (2014, June 9). World Cup 2022: Fifa weighs rules that would have barred Qatar as Cup host. <i>The Telegraph</i> . https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/10885641/World-Cup-2022-Fifa-weighs-rules-that-would-have-barred-Qatar-as-Cup-host.html	Newspaper	World Cup 2022: Fifa weighs rules that would have barred Qatar as Cup host.	June 9, 2014	526

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73	Sale, C. (2015, May 19). SPORTS AGENDA. <i>DAILY MAIL</i> (London). https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5G18-CB61-JCBD-D3RJ-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	SPORTS AGENDA	May 19, 2015	679
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75	Shanghai Daily. (2015, May 29). Visa threatens to end relationship if soccer's ruling body fails to act. <i>Shanghai Daily</i> . https://archive.shine.cn/world/Visa-threatens-to-end-relationship-if-soccer-s-ruling-body-fails-to-act/shdaily.shtml	Newspaper	Visa threatens to end relationship if soccer's ruling body fails to act.	May 29, 2015	536
76	Sherwin, A. (2021, November 20). World Cup 2022: Fifa struggles to find sponsors after Qatar human rights outcry. <i>Inews.Co.Uk</i> . https://inews.co.uk/sport/football/world-cup-2022-qatar-fifa-sponsors-human-rights-1309263	Newspaper	<i>World Cup 2022: Fifa struggles to find sponsors after Qatar human rights outcry</i>	November 20, 2021	427
77	Siddiqui, A. (2019, March 16). Dutch envoy: Qatar's historic win in Asian Cup marked fantastic prelude to 2022 WC. <i>Qatar Tribune</i> . https://www.qatar-tribune.com/Latest-News/ArtMID/423/ArticleID/23324/Dutch-envoy-Qatar%E2%80%99s-historic-win-in-Asian-Cup-marked-fantastic-relude-to-2022-WC	Newspaper	Dutch envoy: Qatar's historic win in Asian Cup marked fantastic prelude to 2022 WC	March 16, 2019	666
78	Smith, A. (2022, May 5). Qatar World Cup: Amnesty tell England players how they can address human rights issues. <i>Mirror</i> . https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/qatar-world-cup-amnesty-tell-26877975	Newspaper	<i>Qatar World Cup: Amnesty tell England players how they can address human rights issues.</i>	May 5, 2022	1225

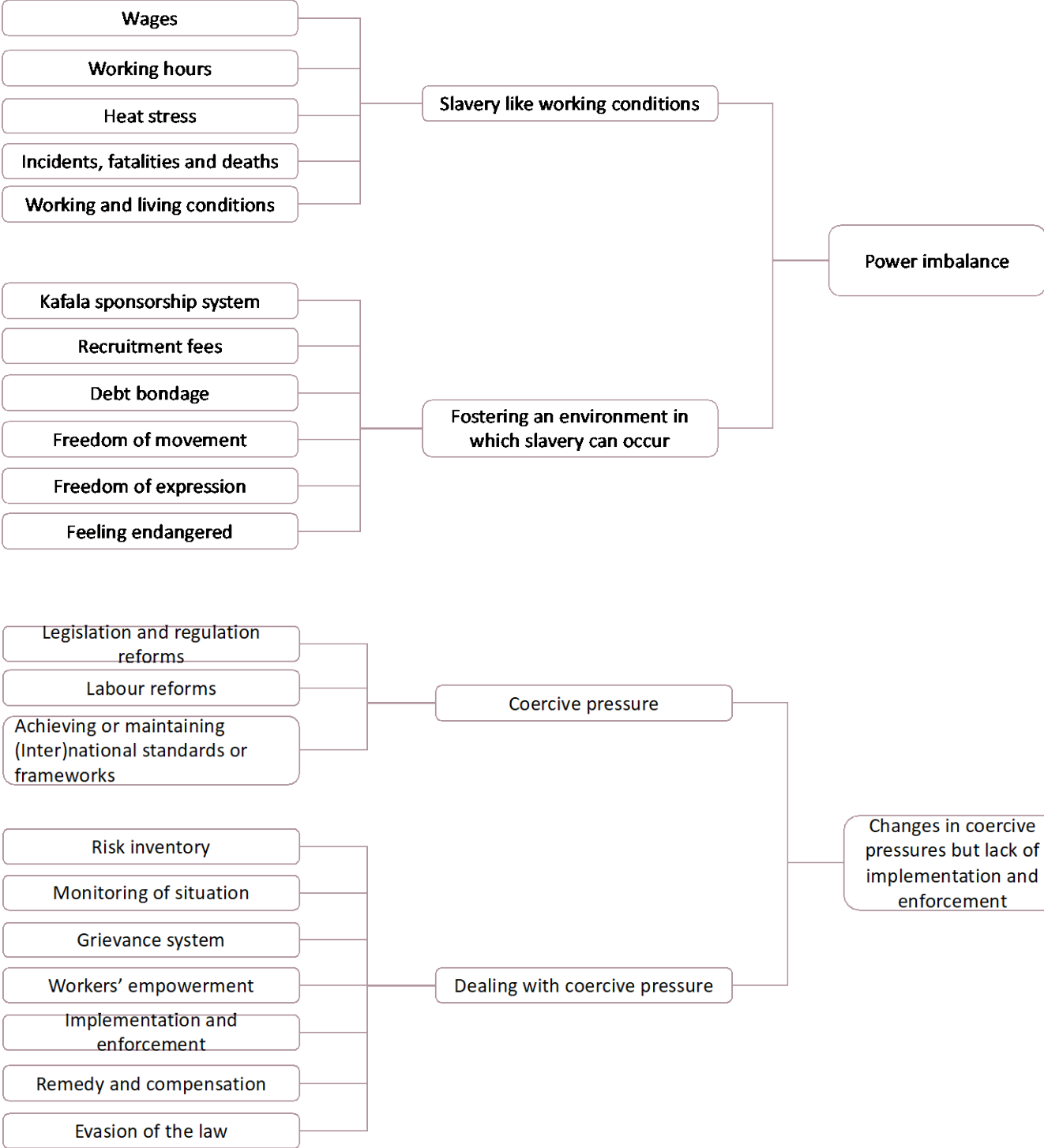
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80	Soccer-Amnesty calls on England to follow Netherlands, Germany in Qatar protest. (2021, March 31). <i>Reuters</i> . https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-qatar-rights-soccer-england-worldcup-idUKKBN2BN12A	Newspaper	<i>Soccer-Amnesty calls on England to follow Netherlands, Germany in Qatar protest</i>	March 31, 2021	301
81	Soccer-Netherlands hope to highlight Qatar migrant workers' situation. (2021, March 23). <i>Reuters</i> . https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-soccer-worldcup-tur-nld-preview-idUKKBN2BF24P	Newspaper	<i>Soccer-Netherlands hope to highlight Qatar migrant workers' situation</i>	March 23, 2021	372
82	Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC). (2015, December). <i>Workers' Welfare Progress Report</i> . https://www.workerswelfare.qa/sites/default/files/reports_item/field_document/first-annual-workers-welfare-progress-report-en-2015.pdf	Report	<i>Workers' Welfare Progress Report.</i>	December 2015	11475
83	Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC). (2017, February). <i>Second Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report January 2016 – February 2017</i> . https://www.workerswelfare.qa/sites/default/files/reports_item/field_document/second-annual-workers-welfare-progress-report-en-2017.pdf	Report	<i>Second Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report January 2016 – February 2017.</i>	February 2017	11881
84	Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC). (2018, March). <i>Third Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report March 2017 - January 2018</i> . https://www.workerswelfare.qa/sites/default/files/reports_item/field_document/third-annual-workers-welfare-progress-report-en-2018.pdf	Report	<i>Third Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report March 2017 - January 2018</i>	January 2018	13046

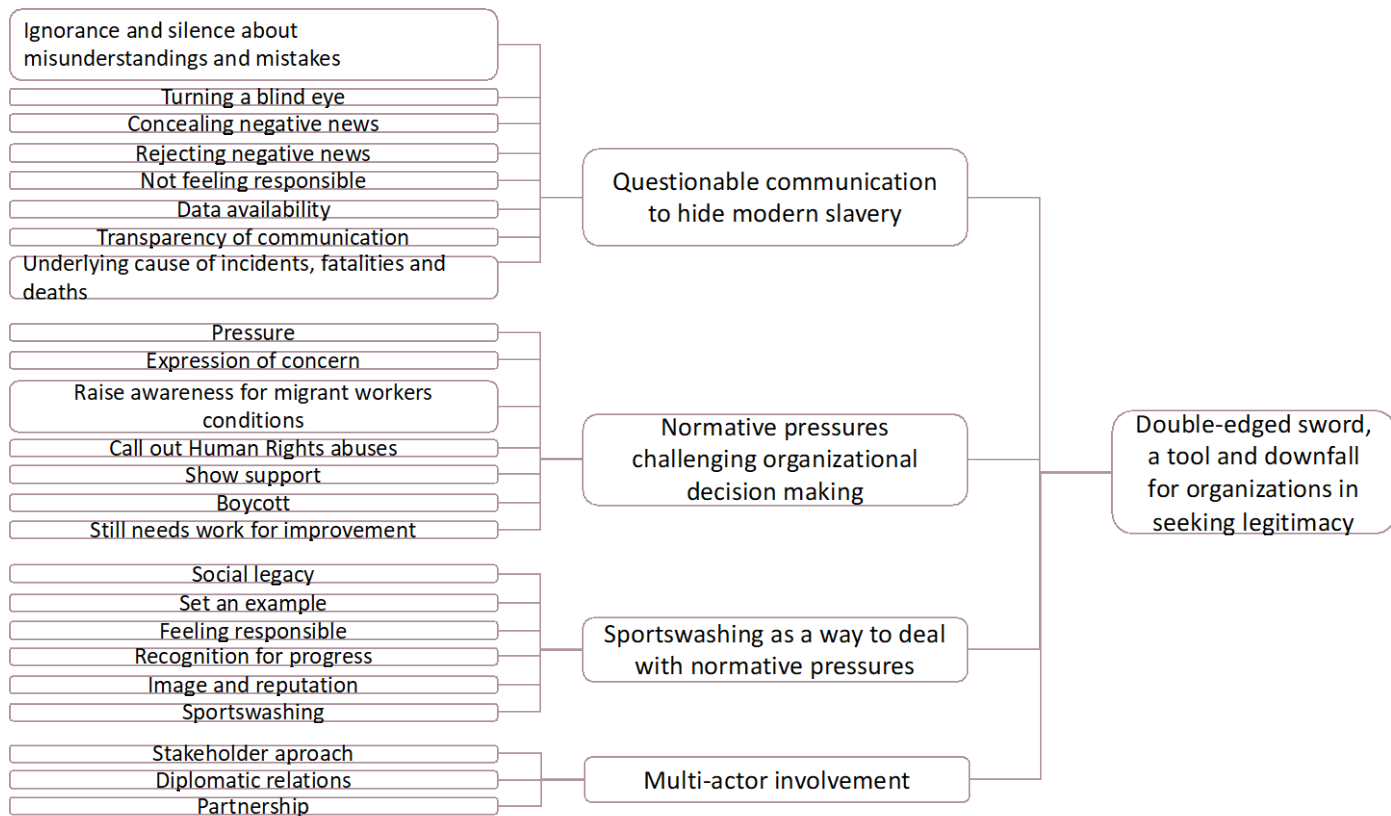
85	Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC). (2019a, April). <i>Fourth Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report February 2018 – January 2019</i> . https://www.workerswelfare.qa/sites/default/files/reports_item/field_document/fourth-annual-workers-welfare-progress-report-en-2019.pdf	Report	Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC)	April 2019	1177 7
86	Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC). (2019b, December). <i>Fifth Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report February - December 2019</i> . https://www.workerswelfare.qa/sites/default/files/reports_item/field_document/fifth-annual-workers--welfare-progress-report-en-2019.pdf	Report	<i>Fifth Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report February - December 2019</i>	December 2019	1153 4
87	Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy (SC). (2020, December). <i>Sixth Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report January - December 2020</i> . https://www.workerswelfare.qa/sites/default/files/reports_item/field_document/sixth-annual-workers-welfare-progress-report-december-2020-en.pdf	Report	<i>Sixth Annual Workers' Welfare Progress Report January - December 2020</i>	December 2020	1173 8
88	Tamsut, F. (2021, October 12). Germany will not boycott the 2022 World Cup in Qatar. <i>DW.COM</i> . https://www.dw.com/en/germany-will-not-boycott-the-2022-world-cup-in-qatar/a-59481847	Newspaper	<i>Germany will not boycott the 2022 World Cup in Qatar</i>	October 12, 2021	544
89	The Arab Weekly. (2021, March 26). German, Norwegians show support for migrant workers in Qatar. <i>The Arab Weekly</i> . https://the arabweekly.com/german-norwegians-show-support-migrant-workers-qatar	Newspaper	<i>German, Norwegians show support for migrant workers in Qatar</i>	March 26, 2021	702
90	The Coca-Cola Company. (2022, May 10). <i>FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 Company Statement</i> [Press release]. https://www.coca-colacompany.com/media-center/fifa-worker-safety	Press release	<i>FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 Company Statement</i>	May 10, 2022	355
91	Vandellos, J. F. (2017, March 11). New FIFA “Human Rights Advisory Board” a good opportunity for Qatar 2022. <i>Sport 360</i> . https://sport360.com/article/football/225992/new-fifa-human-rights-advisory-board-a-good-opportunity-for-qatar-2022	News article	<i>New FIFA “Human Rights Advisory Board” a good opportunity for Qatar 2022</i>	March 11, 2017	407

92	Walker, C. (2021, March 30). Amnesty urges England players to stage protest over human rights record of World Cup hosts Qatar. <i>Mail Online</i> . https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/sportsnews/article-9419255/Amnesty-urges-England-players-stage-protest-human-rights-record-World-Cup-hosts-Qatar.html	Newspaper	Amnesty urges England players to stage protest over human rights record of World Cup hosts Qatar.	March 30, 2021	446
93	Walker, P. (2016, October 11). Dutch union suing Fifa over ‘modern slavery’ at Qatar 2022 World Cup sites in landmark case. <i>The Independent</i> . https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/fifa-qatar-world-cup-2022-migrants-dutch-union-slavery-fnv-bangladesh-court-legal-action-a7356191.html	Newspaper	Dutch union suing Fifa over ‘modern slavery’ at Qatar 2022 World Cup sites in landmark case.	October 11, 2016	487
94	Warburton, D. (2022, April 23). Dad says son ‘worked to death’ on £1 an hour by Qatar World Cup stadium firm. <i>Mirror</i> . https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/dad-says-son-worked-death-26781795	Newspaper	Dad says son ‘worked to death’ on £1 an hour by Qatar World Cup stadium firm.	April 23, 2022	778
95	Willsher, K. (2015, April 26). France: Vinci Construction investigated over Qatar forced labour claims. <i>The Guardian</i> . https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/26/france-vinci-construction-qatar-forced-labour-claims-2022-world-cup	Newspaper	France: Vinci Construction investigated over Qatar forced labour claims.	April 26, 2015	477
96	Worden, M. (2022a, January 5). <i>Human Rights Abuses Will Taint the Olympics and the World Cup. It’s Time to End ‘Sportswashing’ Now</i> . Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/05/human-rights-abuses-will-taint-olympics-and-world-cup-its-time-end-sportswashing	News article	<i>Human Rights Abuses Will Taint the Olympics and the World Cup. It’s Time to End ‘Sportswashing’ Now.</i>	January 5, 2022	781

97	Worden, M. (2022b, May 3). <i>No 'Dignity and Pride' in World Cup Labor Abuses</i> . Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/05/03/no-dignity-and-pride-world-cup-labor-abuses	News article	<i>No 'Dignity and Pride' in World Cup Labor Abuses</i> .	May 3, 2022	397
98	World Cup host Qatar fights back against human rights criticisms. (2022, April 3). <i>Sunday Observer</i> . https://www.sundayobserver.lk/2022/04/08/sports/world-cup-host-qatar-fights-back-against-human-rights-criticisms	Newspaper	World Cup host Qatar fights back against human rights criticisms	April 3, 2022	972
99	Yeap, N. (2015, July 20). Coca-Cola pushes FIFA for independent reforms. <i>CNNMoney</i> . https://money.cnn.com/2015/07/20/news/coca-cola-fifa-soccer-reforms/	Newspaper	<i>Coca-Cola pushes FIFA for independent reforms</i>	July 20, 2015	432
100	Zurita, M. (2022, March 29). Months before the World Cup, Qatar still fails to comply with migrant workers, says Amnesty International. <i>CE Latin America Migration English</i> . https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:653X-P0B1-DYY9-01NR-00000-00&context=1516831 .	Newspaper	Months before the World Cup, Qatar still fails to comply with migrant workers, says Amnesty International	March 29, 2022	414

Appendix 2 Thematic map





Appendix 3 Data analysis

The data analysis is provided in a separate document due to the size of the file. It can be found under the name “Appendix 3 Data analysis, Caroline van Heugten, s1063745”.

Appendix 4 Timeline

2 December 2010	Qatar is awarded the World Cup 2022 by FIFA.
2013	The Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC) introduces the Workers' welfare program.
2014	FIFA states not to be responsible for migrant workers conditions.
2014	SC launches Workers' Welfare standards.
May 2015	Qatar arrests BBC Journalist who investigates the 2022 World Cup in Qatar.
2016	Workers' Welfare standards updated by the SC: joint inspections and independent monitoring.
March 2016:	United Nations gives Qatar a warning to end migrant worker slavery within 12 months or face a possible United Nations investigation.
Early 2017	Establishment of FIFA's independent Human Advisory Board.
April 2017	The SC introduces a grievance hotline for migrant workers.
December 2017	The SC launched a recruitment fees reimbursement scheme.
2018	Beginning of the dismantling of the Kafala Sponsorship System.
July 2018	The SC distributed 3,500 cooling vests to manage heat stress.
December 2018	The SC introduces its first workers' survey.
August 2019	Major heat stress study by SC.
2020	Legislation reforms that lead to the dismantling of the Kafala Sponsorship System and the introduction of a minimum wage.
February 2021	The Guardian reveals the deaths of 6500 migrant workers.
August 2021	Amnesty International launches its report "in the prime of their lives".
May 2022	FIFA's president Infantino says workers gain dignity and pride in building the stadiums for the World Cup.