



IMPLICATIONS OF THE 2022 FOOTBALL WORLD CUP IN QATAR ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF LABOUR MIGRANTS WORKING IN THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR

THIS STUDY WILL ADDRESS THE
IMPACTS OF A MEGA SPORT EVENT
ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF LABOUR
MIGRANTS WORKING IN QATAR
BASED ON PRIMARY DATA
COLLECTED AND WILL PROVIDE AN
INSIGHT ON RESPONSIBILITY OF
ORGANISATIONAL AND NON-
ORGANISATIONAL ACTORS AND
LESSONS LEARNT.

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Abstract

In this paper the author provides a case study, including analyses of in depth interviews, narratives and literature about the human rights of labor migrants working in the construction sector for the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Also organizational factors that facilitate change in positive human rights outcomes are explained together with the matter of responsibility of different stakeholders for these human rights. For the analysis of human rights and organizational factors the frameworks of McGillivray et al. and Adams & Piekarz are used. In the end a broader perspective will be given on how Mega Sport Events like the FIFA World Cup can facilitate a positive change in human rights outcomes. Literature shows that there have been negative human rights outcomes during earlier held tournaments. This research is based on academic literature, three background interviews with inhabitants of Qatar and four expert interviews representing FIFA, The International Labor Organization in Qatar, Amnesty International and Migrant-Rights.org. The results showed that all five main human rights of labor migrants working in the construction sector in Qatar were harmed during the organization of the 2022 FIFA World Cup. There is a shared responsibility among all stakeholders to respect human rights of everyone involved in the organization, however the government remains most responsible of all. Including human rights and practical changes in regards to improving them into the bidding process is highly recommended for all organizations of mega sport events if main organizers take all three conditions for change into account.

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List of abbreviations

HR: Human Rights

MSE: Mega Sport Events

FWC: Football World Cup

ILO: International Labour Organisation

UN: United Nations

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

There are practical consequences to the ways in which we think and talk about human rights and human dignity. These differences in approach can possibly influence political practice in significant ways. We can still observe a variety of political practice regarding human rights. Although the differences in approach to human dignity seem to be evident between most Western and non-Western countries, this does not entail the necessity of a laissez-faire approach, according to Donnelly (1982). Safeguarding human rights should be one of the main goals while organizing mega sport events.

Since the allocation of the 2022 Football World Cup (FWC) in 2010, multiple NGOs have written reports about the human rights violations in Qatar, among them are Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and MigrantRights.org. Human Right Watch has spoken to 93 labor migrants who were working for 60 different employers and companies between January 2019 and May 2020. All of them reported some sort of wage abuse, making this a national problem. Employers are able to continue these sorts of wage abuse because of the Kafala (sponsorship) system. The Kafala system makes employers responsible for the legal residency and status in the country of labor migrants. The system empowers employers to restrict workers their ability to change jobs or to take legal action against wage abuse, according to a report of Human Right Watch (2020). However, the Kafala system affords this treatment but does not create this system where labor migrants are dependent on their employers. Relationships between nation-states, corporations and sport's governing bodies do create this harmful environment according to Millward (2017). According to a report of Amnesty International (2014), there is a lack of legal protection for labor rights of domestic workers. Their research indicates that women are at risk in Qatar and face double discrimination, because of being a low-income migrant worker and other gender disparities. The Nepalese foreign employment promotion board revealed that in 2014, 157 of its migrant workers had already died in Qatar, of which 34 were workplace accidents, 67 sudden were cardiac arrests and 8 were heart attacks (Gibson and Pattison, 2014). The abuse of labor migrants in Qatar is a process that has been happening over a long time but is now gaining attention due to the upcoming World Cup tournament. In 2019 the Human Rights Council of the United Nations created a Universal Periodic Review Third Cycle, in which UN member states made recommendations to improve human rights in Qatar. A total of 46 pages was filled with recommendations. Human rights of labour migrants were named by countries all over the world. Countries in the region like Bahrain, Syria, Pakistan, India and Iran are giving several recommendations on how to improve human rights of labour migrants in Qatar. A lot of labour migrants who currently work in

Qatar came from these countries. Moreover several countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America made human rights recommendations as well, showcasing the fact that the human rights violations of labour migrants in Qatar was and is seen as problematic by countries from all over the world. Jureidini and Hassan (2019) explain in their article that Islamic countries like Qatar should have moral problems with the way the kafala system is working. They state that the so far observed exploitation, fraud and harm in the modern practice of the kafala system go against the moral philosophy of Islamic contracts. They recommend addressing the Islamic ethical principles before changing the kafala system. Since 1972 Qatar has been a member of the International labour Organization (ILO). Qatar and the ILO have agreed upon a three-year technical cooperation programme to work together on extensive labour reforms since 2017. The ILO has published an annual report since the signature, about five areas of action where joint action with the Government of Qatar has taken place. These five areas were wage protection, labour inspection and occupational safety and health, an employment contractual system replacing the kafala system, forced labour and promotion of the workers' force. Since then, the Qatari government has introduced new laws to protect labor migrants. According to Siddiqui (2020), a non-discriminatory minimum wage has been announced together with the removal of the main kafala limitation, leaving employees less dependent on their employers. These reforms make Qatar the first of all Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states to announce this kind of changes to protect the rights of labor migrants, Siddiqui says.

The fact that the government has announced a change in their laws on the 30th of August 2020 is remarkable since the start of the organization was in 2010. Therefore, it is interesting to understand and analyze the factors that have led to these changes, which parties have influenced it and whether the changes will be structural or temporarily. The 2022 FWC should in this sense be used as an example to learn from, for other organizers of other MSEs in the future. McGillivray et al. (2019) state: "FIFA's embedding of human rights commitments in the contractual obligations of bidding for, and delivering, the World Cup is a positive development in this regard and may serve as a starting point for such processes to take place." However, this was not the case yet when the world cup was awarded to Qatar in 2010. A sustainability strategy was only introduced by FIFA and the Qatari government in 2019.

1.2 Earlier held tournaments

Before the world cup in 2010 there were concerns about human trafficking and the sex industry in South Africa. However, no sustainability report was created yet by FIFA to cope with this kind of social problems in a country that would host a FWC. According to Cornelissen (2011), the South African government had set development objectives before

the tournament was organised, however these objectives were vaguely conceptualised and remained so throughout most of the preparatory phases of the organisation.

The sustainability report that FIFA published in 2014 for the tournament in Brazil was the first comprehensive sustainability report that FIFA had created for one of its tournaments. In 2014 during the world cup there were many protests in Brazil among the local communities (Butler & Aicher, 2015). This demonstrated how hosting MSEs perpetuate the social injustices within the host communities, resulting in inflation and displacement problems. Butler and Aicher also stated that these negative impacts suggest that being proactive in developing policies is important when hosting a mega-event. The head of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Department of FIFA, Federico Addichie stated after finalising this report: “To become more efficient in maximising the positive and minimising the negative, we will need to start much earlier, working closely together with bidding nations.” (Addichie, 2014, p.18).

In 2018 the tournament was held in Russia. According to Heerdt (2018), human rights of workers were violated during the organisation of this world cup. Human Rights Watch (2017) published a report showing structural exploitation of workers, including non-payment or severe delays in payment of wages. Workers had to work in unsafe conditions leading to injuries and the death of 17 workers as well as forced illegal work due to lack of employment contracts and other documentation. Some similarities can be observed with the problems during the organisation of the 2022 FWC in Qatar. In Figure 1 a map is shown where all locations of former world cups are displayed. As can be seen no FWC was organised in the Middle East before, making the legacy of this tournament relevant for all countries and regions that want to organise such a tournament for the first time.



Figure 1: GIS map, hosting countries of the FIFA World Cups held between 1930 and 2018
 Source: Adapted from Mitsakakis (2019).

1.3 Research problem

The aim of this research is to provide a better understanding of the influence of mega sport events like the 2022 Football World Cup in Qatar on human rights of labor migrants working in the hosting country. Firstly, this research investigates which human rights set by the UN of labor migrants working during the 2022 FWC, are being harmed and will potentially be harmed in the upcoming 2 years during the organization of the event. Secondly, this research provides an insight into what organizational factors have had a potential impact on the human rights of labor migrants during the 2022 FWC. In order to make a scholarly contribution to the limited amount of literature written about this event and its possible effects of human rights of local communities, relevant stakeholders will be interviewed to understand which actors they think are mostly responsible for realizing a positive change in human rights of local communities. The new labor reforms introduced by the Qatari government in September 2020 will be included in the data gathering process and in the data analysis. Finally, recommendations for organizing MSEs in the future, in countries where human rights are still harmed, will be provided. The following main research question is drawn based on these aims:

“How does organisation of the 2022 football world cup in Qatar match the general influence of mega sport events on human rights of local communities, who are responsible for the protection of these human rights and what can we learn from it?”

This research question will be answered by dividing the main research question into four sub-questions

1. Which human rights of labor migrants working at the world cup stadiums in Qatar are potentially harmed during the organization of the 2022 Football World Cup?
2. What organizational factors had an impact on these human rights of labor migrants during the 2022 Football World Cup in Qatar?
3. What responsibility do the different organizational stakeholders have, influencing human rights of people involved in the organization of a MSE?
4. What lessons can be drawn, in terms of influencing human rights of local communities, for organizing mega sport events in the future?

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Theoretical framework explained

The theoretical framework of this study consists of a combination of two models related to organisational factors and human rights with an additional factor of responsibility. This study draws upon these two theoretical frameworks to assess if a combination of both frameworks can help understanding which human rights are harmed, what organisational factors can influence this process and who is responsible for this. Based on these findings, recommendations will be made for obtaining a positive lasting impact on human rights of populations of hosting countries. Also recommendations for future research will be given. Table 1 summarizes all thirty human right articles created by the United Nations and merge them into five umbrella concepts to specify positive social change or human right outcomes. The table made by Adams & Piekarz (2014) describes the following five umbrella concepts: freedom, protection, access, equality and ability. These articles are listed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights document of the United Nations. This research investigates whether or not the human rights regarding these five themes and their focus descriptions, were harmed during the organisation of the 2022 FWC.

Table 1: Human rights divided into 5 themes

Themes	Focus	Articles
Freedom	of movement, association, expression and organising governments	1,13, 14, 21, 19, 17 and 20
Protection	from the state in relation to torture, detention, expropriation of property	4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 14
Access	to an impartial legal system with the presumption of innocence	6,7,8 and 9
Equality	treatment for all members of the community	1, 2, 3, ,6, 7, 8, 10 and 11
Ability	to maintain their physical, social and psychological wellbeing through work, access to welfare services, education and not exposed to dangers	16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 7, 26 and 27

Source: Adams & Piekarz (2014), p.224

McGillivray et al. (2019) created four pathways for rights-based MSEs. They explain how human right outcomes can be obtained by implementing four organisational factors: good governance, democratic participation of stakeholders, formalisation of human rights agendas and urban development for strengthening human rights. According to them positive social change can be achieved in this way. They state that level of inclusiveness and engagement (or response to public resistance) embedded in the planning and implementation process is key for obtaining positive social outcomes when organising MSEs. Therefore these four factors are

further explained in the results section and compared with the gathered data of this case study regarding good governance, democratic participation of stakeholders, formalisation of human rights agendas and urban development for strengthening human rights.

2.2 Conceptual model

The conceptual model (figure 2) consists of five parts. First the organisational factors of mega sport events influencing human rights will be researched. These organisational factors are based upon the framework created by McGillivray et al. (2019), see appendix 6. After that, the human rights influenced by these organisational factors and other factors will be looked into. These human rights are based upon the five umbrella concepts of Adams and Piekarcz (2014), see table 1. Based on those two factors, interview guides will be created to research who is responsible for possible change. After that a reflection will be made regarding whether the change in human rights of local communities can be a structural one or a temporary one and how this is similar to the situation in earlier held MSE's.

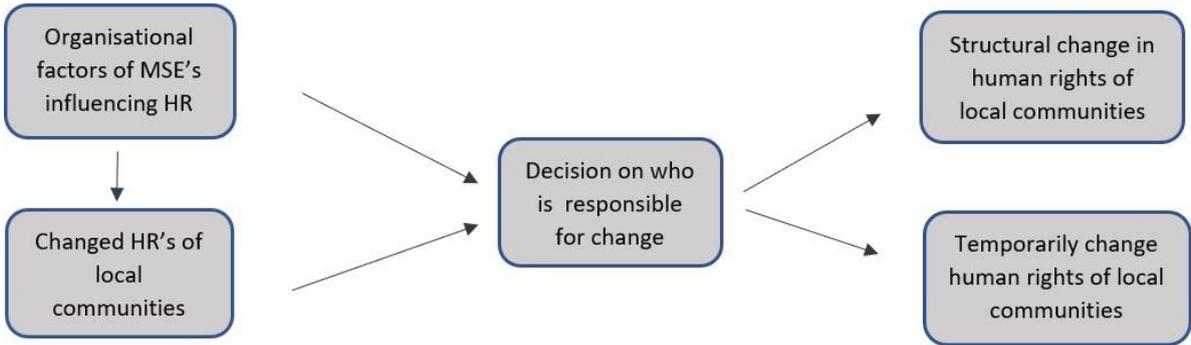


Figure 2: Conceptual model influence of MSE on HR

Source: This paper.

2.3 Hypothesis

Based on existing literature all five forms of human rights of labour migrants (see table 1) are expected to have been harmed during the organisation of the 2022 FWC. The influence of media and NGOs who are not involved in the organisational process are expected to be more influential right now than the actual stakeholders. However, this research could lead towards an answer on who are responsible and what this responsibility entails. Whether or not MSEs can lead to structural change of human rights of local communities will probably depend on more factors such as culture, religion, socio-economic status and the political situation of a country. Nevertheless, a new perspective on the possibilities of structural change is expected to be given in this study.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data collection

All participants are contacted through email, phone numbers or social media. The background interviewees were selected through a ‘snowball sampling strategy’ where interviewees were chosen based on information of other interviewees, according to Punch (2014). Background interviewees are selected based on if they were living in Qatar and whether or not they were willing to share information they have on human rights in Qatar. If participants are willing to cooperate with this research, interviews were held online via Skype or another online platform, if preferred by the interviewee. Interviewees could stay at home during the interview, in this way different international corona measurements are being respected. All interviewees are asked upfront if they are comfortable with telling their own identity or if they want to do the interview anonymous. They also received the interview questions a couple of days before the interview so they could prepare and knew what to expect. Using a critical case sampling strategy (Punch), expert interviewees representing organizational or non-organizational stakeholders were selected based on their job relevance, according to the researcher. There are four expert interviews conducted for this research and three background interviews. The background interviewees requested to be anonymous and are therefore not listed down below in table two. However, all background interviewees are migrants already living in Qatar for several years. They all went to Qatar for work, study or living related reasons.

Table 2: List of interviewees and who they represent

Interviewee	Represents
Andreas Graf, Head of Human Rights and Anti-Discrimination Social Responsibility & Education Division at FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)
ILO official	International Labour Organisation in Qatar (ILO)
Ella Knight, campaigner migrants’ labour rights at Amnesty International	Amnesty International
Vani Saraswathi, Associate Editor & Director of Projects at Migrant-Rights.org	Migrants-Rights.org

Source: This paper

Based on the research questions, a qualitative approach with content analysis of in-depth interviews was chosen as way to collect data about human rights, organisational factors and data about responsibility. The researcher used a unstructured, open-ended in depth interview strategy. This strategy seemed appropriate because it helps better understanding people’s interpretations and meaning of events and situations and also their symbolic and cultural significance, according to Punch (2014). This created a more comfortable environment for talking about sensitive topics like human rights. Hopefully in this way a

deeper understanding of these topics is achieved, thanks to the experience of directly involved actors with these topics.

Different interview guides are made for organisational and non-organisational stakeholders, however all interviews will provide answers on the main and sub-questions. There is one interview specific guide created for the three background interviews which were held with residents in Qatar to provide a better social cultural understanding of human rights in Qatar .

3.2 Ethical considerations

The ethical considerations of this research are mainly focused on the in-depth interviews. During all interviews an open mind will help asking questions in a suited and polite way. Key will be to stress the fact that organisations are the topic of responsibility and never individuals. All interviewees received a consent form over mail to make sure they understand the goal of the interview and to make sure they agree with it. Privacy rights are taken very seriously and every interviewee got the opportunity to do the interview anonymously

3.3 Data analysis

After the interviews, all data is transcribed in order to code the data in Atlas.ti. The background interviews are analysed using a selective coding strategy. Punch (2014) explains in selective coding a central conceptual category must be found to focus on while analysing the data. In this case human rights in Qatar is used as that theme to get a better understanding of the concept of human rights in Qatar. The data regarding the questions of human rights and organisational factors are analysed using an inductive and deductive approach as can be seen in figure 4. The codes are based on the theoretical framework. The data regarding responsibility and recommendations for the future are analysed using a deductive approach. In order to secure intern/extern validity and reliability of this study, four different stakeholders are interviewed and all interviews are transcribed and coded to make replication of this study possible.

The analysis of the obtained data is carried out in a discourse analysis of narratives and available literature. The narratives consist out of four expert interviews and three background interviews with four inhabitants of Qatar. The codebook shown in figure 3 consists out of five groups: organisational factors, external factors, affected human rights, responsible parties and lessons learnt. The group of organisational factors is created following the four organisational factors determined by McGillivray et al. (2019). The affected human rights group consist out of codes following the five umbrella concepts made by the UN for summarizing all universal human rights. For the external organisational factors the responsible parties and lessons learnt groups, an inductive coding strategy is being used.

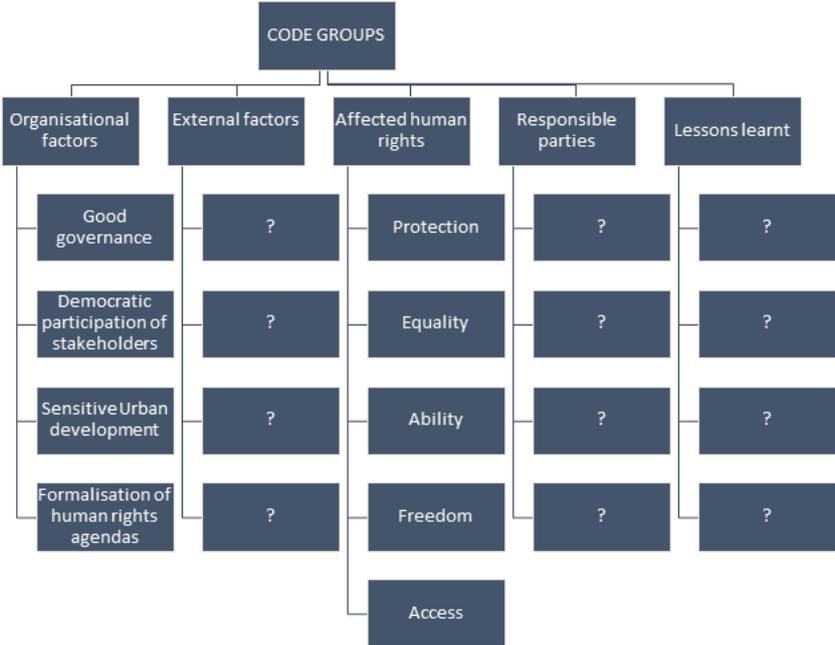


Figure 3: Code scheme

Source this paper

4. Results

4.1 Structure

First the results from the background interviews will be showed and discussed. After that, the harmed human rights will be discussed, following to the five main human rights concepts: Ability, Access, Freedom, Protection and Equality. Results about the organisational factors will be analysed according to the four factors: Good Governance, Democratic Participation of Stakeholders, Sensitive Urban Development and Formalisation of Human Rights Agendas. The responsibility question will be discussed in the end together with the lessons learnt from the organisation of the 2022 FWC. All chapters end with a discussion section where the main results are discussed.

4.2 Background interviews

Four people have been interviewed who are currently living in Qatar. Because of privacy and safety reasons all of them are given anonymous names: A, B, C and D. Interviewee A and B were interviewed together and will therefore be referred to as A&B.

One of the first topics discussed with the interviewees was the Kafala system. None of the interviewees got in direct contact with this system. Interviewee C explained that there is a difference between skilled and unskilled labor. The Kafala system mainly applies for the unskilled labor workers. Although the interviewees did not mention any violations of their own human rights, A&B had one concern. A&B mentioned that they had the idea that Qatari people got treated better than foreign people. According to a report of the Planning and Statistic Authority in Qatar (2013), Qatari families receive study coupons for private schools and free water and electricity from the government. They also have nearly three times as much monthly expenditures as non-Qatari households. This being a result of an on average much higher income.

All interviewees had heard about some violations of human rights of labor migrants. Interviewees A&B and C believe that Qatar will improve on safeguarding the human rights of its citizens in the future, but pointing out the difficulty of such changes. Interviewee D stated that he/she believes Qatar can improve the human rights of its inhabitants and that external pressure of other states could be one of the factors ensuring this. Foremostly interviewee D stated that there should be a much stronger mechanism to react on countries which do not respect human rights as they are stated in the human rights chapter of the UN. Moreover, interviewees A&B and C mentioned that human rights in Qatar are relatively more respected compared to most countries in the Middle East. This statement can be substantiated by the map of human rights scores in appendix four made by Schnakenberg and Fariss (2014).

4.3 Harmed human rights

The human rights that are at risk of being harmed during the organization of the 2022 FWC are listed by FIFA in their sustainability report created in 2019. In table 1 of the appendix the human rights that are at risk of being harmed are shown, most migrant workers work in the first four groups. The conducted interviews illustrate the fact that these human rights at risk have been harmed during the organization of the 2022 FWC. Below you find quotes from the interviewees of Amnesty International and MigrantRights.org. These quotes are discussed in chapter 4.3.6.

4.3.1 Ability

In terms of ability, labour migrants need to be able to maintain their physical, social and psychological wellbeing through work, access to welfare services, education and not being exposed to dangers. The following quotes showcase why this is still not the case.

They still suffer from delayed wages according to Ella Knight from Amnesty International:

“But in general, the kind of key issues that I would still say are facing migrant workers, construction workers are delayed and unpaid wages. I would say that is a real, it's probably the issue that we get the most complaints about. Most consistently, workers are either only receiving part of their salary each month or they are going for months on end without being paid anything by their employers.”

Ella Knight also stated:

“We've also got concerns still about the living conditions of migrant workers and particularly in the construction sector, labour workers are often housed in what they term as labor camps, essentially dormitory style accommodation, which is paid and provided for by the employer, but is often of a really poor standard, you know, severely overcrowded, unsanitary.”

4.3.2 Access

Labour migrants also should have access to an impartial legal system with the presumption of innocence. This is still not the case according to the following quotes.

According to Vani Saraswathi from MigrantRights.org, access to justice is still a problem: “It is still so difficult for workers to access justice, just so easy for unethical employers to get away with it.”

Ella Knight explains what employers sometimes do when migrant workers file a complaint against their company:

“If they are taking a case in a labor court against their employer, they risk losing their job. They risk then not having any income to support themselves and their families while they pursue a case against their employer and try to recoup any money that they are owed.”

Miss Saraswathi also states that unionization is not possible for migrant workers:

“The fact that you're not allowing unionization or collective action and bargaining is a huge problem, in various ways. One is that you then don't have class action suits. So if a company with a thousand workers hasn't paid the thousand workers, they cannot file a complaint as a group, they need to file a thousand separate complaints.”

4.3.3 Freedom

The freedom of movement, association, expression and organizing governments is also not always respected according to the representatives of MigrantsRights.org and Amnesty International.

Miss Saraswathi said: “Corporations are de facto allowed to run their own immigration systems, by giving out visas and controlling their entry and residency.”

Miss Knight confirmed this as well:

“So, for example, a worker cannot renew their own residence permit. So if their employer decides not to renew it, either because they are an abusive employer or they simply forget or it is not a priority, that worker can be put at risk of arrest and deportation.”

Miss Saraswathi also mentioned that the local news does not bring certain news about violations of human rights of labour migrants: “The local media is completely silent on this or almost complicit to what happens. They do not report on anything that happens.”

However there has been important constructive changes as well according to miss Saraswathi: “So some of it has been eased. Workers are now able to leave the country without the employer sponsorship. They are able to change jobs, which is all great.”

Miss Knight also explained that migrant workers are having more freedom from their employers since the kafala reforms: “Now the workers can leave the country without their permission. So that in terms of freedom of movement, that obviously is a very good step.”

4.3.4 Protection

In terms of protection from the state in relation to torture, detention and expropriation of property Amnesty International still has concerns:

“Yes, I think it is also worth mentioning an issue that has been widely reported elsewhere, that of some of the deaths of migrant workers on construction sites, whether I mean, there's a real lack of transparency around the deaths of migrant workers in Qatar. They are relatively young, apparently healthy men since they have to pass medical tests to migrate to Qatar. But if they pass away in Qatar, their death is put down to unknown causes, or it's said that they suffered a cardiac arrest. And there is really not a kind of thorough investigation into why these deaths are happening. Autopsies are not carried out consistently and people are being returned back to their families without real answers and without the chance of those families receiving any kind of remedy or accountability for those deaths.”

The fact that the lives of migrant workers are at stake here, makes this one of the most relevant human rights that has been harmed by the stakeholders involved.

4.3.5 Equality

No specific comments have been made about equality by any of the expert interviewees.

However, the human rights that have been violated according to them showcase the fact that labour migrants do not get treated equally with Qatari people. This was confirmed by some of the background interviewees who live in Qatar.

4.3.6 Discussion

The interviewees confirmed the statements made by other human rights organisations that human rights of migrant workers in the construction sector who worked on the FWC stadiums have been harmed. Literature has shown that human rights of a lot of people in other hosting countries have been harmed as well. Although this is no valid excuse for not respecting human rights while organising a MSE, the complexity of organising such a big tournament in any country on the world guaranteeing no human rights are harmed is extremely difficult. While looking at appendix 4, all the countries in the world and their scores regarding human rights, we can obtain that Qatar actually scores better than South Africa, Brazil and Russia where the FWC have been organised in the last ten years, according to a dataset first developed by Schnakenberg and Fariss (2014) and subsequently updated by Fariss (2019). Although human rights score lists like this one are not beyond dispute, they can be used for deciding which countries should be rewarded as hosts. Question remains: how should it be used?

4.4 Organisational factors

4.4.1 The first factor

Democratic participation of stakeholders, is one of the organisational factors that according to McGillivray et al. (2019) is important to achieve positive human right outcomes. Head of the Human Rights department of FIFA, Andreas Graf explained how FIFA tries to ensure this happens, Andreas Graf:

“And finally, we are part of the Center for Sport and Human Rights, which is a newly created institution that brings together stakeholders in the sports human rights fields and again, in helping with setting up this entity because we think it is important to have that objective institution at the international level that can bring together a wide range of stakeholders as well. We have regular discussions with just about a sector with a number of stakeholders to bring it up to date with the work that we are doing, including with respect to Qatar and listen to the different stakeholders opinions and the concerns that they may have.”

4.4.2 The second factor

Formalisation of human rights agendas with different parties is another essential factor. The ILO representative explained how they worked together with Qatar to achieve this. He/she described that the ILO signed the technical cooperation agreement with Qatar because Qatar committed to a number of reforms to their labour system. This was also the result of a complaint submitted to the ILO Governing Body by trade unions.

Andreas Graf exemplified the fact that FIFA works together with different stakeholders to formalise a common human rights agenda:

“Which is what is happening now and as a pragmatist, I worked closely with the ILO and the labor ministry. To better understand the impact of health workers and how the current regulations are actually protecting what is one of the elements. And, you know, based on experiences from the stadium construction sites, it has led to wider change in the country and in a way of the government implementing the lessons into wider legislation.”

4.4.3 The third factor

Good governance is situated by McGillivray et al. (2019) as a government who is wellwilling towards change in order to achieve positive human right outcomes. This is where the expert interviewees differ in perspective. The ILO representative and FIFA representative mainly stressed how the Qatari government is taking right steps and showed their interest in improving the human right situation of labour migrants. Andreas Graf explained:

“There is an openness on the Qatari side to actually work with us. And one example is training of security forces. If you go back to Brazil, I don't think there was even a human rights training program for security forces. If you go to Russia, I think we would like to do it. But the Russians did not want us to do it. They said: the security we will take care of it. And so we need each other. And then you can push and you can try to influence. But at one point, you also need to realize it is not going to happen. And Qatar right now completed the first phase of the program, about 3000 of our police officers are just being trained and trained in human rights integration into their daily operations.”

However, the Amnesty International and MigrantsRights.org representative mainly stressed their doubts about whether or not the intentions for longterm changes of the Qatari government match the mechanisms they put in charge to obtain these results.

Vani Saraswathi:

“My concern is not so much that they will go back on these reforms. My concern is that they will not have mechanisms to ensure implementation and to ensure that workers actually benefit. You have these rights in principle. We need to see this in practice.”

4.4.4 The fourth factor

Having a sensitive urban development for strengthening human rights is a topic that focuses on the effects of urban development on the most vulnerable. Andreas Graf said the following about this:

“We know that the Qataris may disagree on LGBT rights, but we have a framework in which we can discuss. They have now signed and ratified the International Covenant so we can go back to the Civil Society and the European Convention on Human Rights. We could also go to them and say, well, we are not asking you to implement anything that you have not signed yourselves. And then you have a basis for discussion.”

The LGBT group is one group selected out of much more vulnerable groups. Nevertheless having signed agreements where rights of these groups are guaranteed can help the discussion when mistakes are made.

4.4.5 Discussion

In the case of organizing the FWC in Qatar all four organizational factors are taken into account by the main organizer FIFA to accomplish positive human right outcomes. However, it would be interesting to hear from more stakeholders how they think FIFA is doing in terms of democratic participation of stakeholders and the formalization of human rights agendas. The third and fourth factor are focused on the hosting country and are stressing the importance of a hosting country that is doing well regarding these two factors. Since the FIFA and ILO representative both believe in the fact that the Qatari government is doing well on these factors, it is likely that positive human right outcomes are being achieved for the long term. This does not exclude possibilities to do better regarding internal groups and mechanisms that need to carry through reforms.

4.5 Responsibility

4.5.1 Responsibility according to interviewed stakeholders

Interviewed stakeholders agreed upon the fact that there is a shared responsibility among all involved parties to safeguard human rights of everyone involved in the organisation of a MSE. The parties that were named are listed in table 3. Nevertheless, representatives of Amnesty International and Migrant-Rights.org stressed that the state and government of the hosting country is formost having the biggest responsibility in obtaining positive human right outcomes. Vani Saraswathi:

“The obligation always will rest with the state because all of the legal instruments, international human rights, legal instruments are to hold states accountable. And if you take that responsibility away from state and leave it to individuals, you will end up with conditions over which you have no control.”

Table 3: Responsible parties

Mentioned by representatives of	Responsible parties for safeguarding human rights in hosting countries
Amnesty international	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Involved companies - Involved businesses - Involved shareholders - FIFA, main organisers of a MSE - Government of sending countries of labour migrants - Government of hosting country
FIFA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Involved companies -Government of hosting countries -FIFA, main organisers of a MSE
ILO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Government of hosting country -FIFA, main organisers of a MSE
Migrant-Rights.org	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Government hosting country -Involved businesses -Involved employers - Involved corporations -Involved shareholders -Involved sport bodies

Source: This paper

4.5.2 Discussion

According to Regueiro (2020), Qatar, FIFA and Switzerland have contributed to a harmful and undesirable outcome (systematic abuses of the rights of migrant workers) that took a variety of forms (discrimination, unlawful restrictions to freedom of movement, violations of the right to work, the right to health and the right to be free from forced labor, non-access to justice). He explains that a framework of shared responsibility could be a good way to allocate international responsibility among involved parties. However, he also states that holding states and private entities responsible for human rights abuses to which they have contributed jointly is exasperatingly difficult. Nevertheless a framework of shared responsibility made sense to all interviewees.

4.6 Lessons learnt for the future

4.6.1 Expectations for the future

First an overview will be given about the expert interviewees their expectations of the future of Qatar, afterwards lessons learnt for the future will be delineated. All four interviewees expect that the labour law reforms mostly will be long-term changes. Changes that will remain after the world cup will be over. FIFA representative:

“I think the labour rights, I think it is just beyond the point of no return. Those changes are so sweeping and they require such a fundamental change of how business is organized and society is organized in the country. It is not something you can easily turn around again.”

“There are other elements, of course, on the human rights where there may be more volatile, where changes, maybe be more temporary, and although we hope they will be more sustainable, for example, on press freedom.”

The ILO representative said that he/she does not believe that Qatar would go through the whole legislative process again to change all these labour law reforms. He/she also stated that Qatar would soon see the benefits of these reforms. He/she believes that Qatar will be able to attract better qualified skilled workforce, together with foreign investment and foreign companies willing to settle in Qatar thanks to these reforms.

The Amnesty International representative stressed that some of the labour law reforms that have been implemented are not as strict as they might seem:

“There is still the possibility of an employer filing absconding charge against a worker they say has left who has run away without kind of following procedures. It remains to be seen how these charges might be used in context, but the fact is that the charge still exists in law and it is therefore still available technically to employees. We have to kind of give these changes time to see how they work.”

Lessons learnt for the future are listed down below in table. The more general lessons that were mentioned by the interviewees were about the bidding process of a MSE, the pressure on hosting countries and about the power of the UN.

4.6.2 Pressure on hosting countries, empowerment of UN and bidding process

The Amnesty International representative emphasises the leverage that the organizers have on the hosting country: “The final thing that I would say even organizers can do to to achieve positive change is to really be vocal and use the leverage to push for positive change.”

The Migrants-Rights.org representative stated that the UN should be more empowered to act on Governments who do not abide by the system:

“All of these countries have signed the forced labor convention, for instance, but the practices don't reflect it at all. So I feel It is not a perfect system. I think we need to, on the one hand, push for changes to that system that makes it stronger.”

The FIFA representative explains the importance of the stage in which human rights are included in the arrangements:

“Um there are a lot of things we have already learnt and the first one is and I have spoken about this before a little bit, the need to include human rights at the early stages of a bidding process for the World Cup and the selection of the host and then also into a contractual arrangement that follows the selection of the host.”

4.6.3 Three conditions for change

There are three conditions that FIFA representative Andreas Graf mentioned for achieving human rights changes within a country:

“Sustained and strong external pressure ..., a government that is receptive to criticism ... and internal groups that have power to carry through reforms through the domestic political processes.”

These three conditions are very similar to the three types of socialization processes necessary for enduring change in the human rights area, according to Risse and Sikkink (1999). They state that the following three processes are necessary for achieving change in human rights outcomes:

1. Processes of adaptation and strategic bargaining.
2. Processes of moral consciousness raising: ‘shaming’, argumentation, dialogue and persuasion.
3. Processes of institutionalization and habitualization.

The lessons learnt for the future regarding Qatar specific are listed down in appendix 5.

4.6.4 Discussion

In general for any MSE, there should be more attention for the bidding process before a host country is allocated to organize an event. Also the pressure from organizers is very important to make sure countries are coming through on their promises made during the bidding process. External pressure from media and human rights organizations can help achieving this but has to come together with pressure from the event organizer during the organization as well. Empowerment of the UN is foremost important to create a legal framework in which event organizers and human rights organizations can use this as leverage to pressure countries. It was however Ban Ki Moon, former UN Secretary General, who stated that it is foremost important to shift existing focus on documenting violations and abuses towards a more proactive way of protection through prevention, according to Caudwell & McGee (2018). The three conditions named by Graf and by Risse & Sikkink (1999) to achieve human rights changes are looking similar. Risse & Sikkink focus on the adaptation and strategic bargaining of a hosting country to start talking about human rights improvements. However, Graf looks at the pressure of other countries/groups on hosting countries from the perspective of an organizer. According to Risse & Sikkink, a government that is receptive to criticism can only be achieved by having a shared moral consciousness among a country its inhabitants. Graf and Risse & Sikkink agree upon the fact that having institutions/internal groups to carry through reforms is the last condition for change. Main organizers should therefore look at these conditions within countries who are willing to organize a MSE to increase the chance of successful progressive social policies.

5. Discussion

As was written in multiple reports of NGOs, FIFA and the United Nations, human rights of labor migrants have been harmed during the organization of the 2022 FWC. There were examples of violations of all five different human right concepts used by Adams & Piekartz (2014). The four expert interviewees of Amnesty International, MigrantsRights.org, FIFA and the ILO in Qatar confirmed this. However, they also stated that they believe in the opportunities that MSEs can bring for countries where human rights can be improved. The four organizational factors that help achieve positive human rights outcomes according to McGillivray et al. (2019), were looked at in this research. Democratic participation of stakeholders, formalization of human rights agendas, good governance and sensitive urban environment for strengthening human rights were all factors that were taken seriously by the organizing stakeholder FIFA. However, there are concerns from human rights organizations about the actual commitment of the Qatari government since the labor law reforms leave possibilities for exploitation in the future according to Amnesty International. One of the main solutions to ensure governments are willing to change the human rights situation in

their country is by including the intentions of human rights improvements into the early stages of the bidding process.

According to FIFA representative Andreas Graf there are three factors that determine whether or not MSE's can facilitate change in human right outcomes. Sustained and strong external pressure, a government that is receptive to criticism and internal groups that have power to carry through reforms through the domestic political processes. Sustained and strong external pressure from human rights organizations and media outlets will always be there, when a MSE is organized. Organizers of MSEs therefore have to make sure that governments are receptive to criticism and that there are internal groups that have the power to carry through reforms. Although all interviewees said that there have been positive changes and that the government of Qatar is cooperating in facilitating change in human rights outcomes, there are still doubts about the power of internal groups to enforce these labor law changes. It remains to be seen whether or not the changes will be for the long-term.

6. Strengths and weaknesses of this research

This study has been conducted by a white Dutch atheist male. And although these characteristics don't define me as a person, they influence the way I look at the world and its social domain. Therefore, I would like to stress the importance of research about universal human rights being held by researchers from all over the world with different cultural, religious, and social-economic backgrounds.

In terms of the validity of this research, a couple of matters have to be taken into account when looking at the results and conclusions. Because of time concerns the collected data was transcribed with help of the transcription website [amberscript.com](https://www.amberscript.com). Using this tool brings risks regarding the validity of the collected data. However, all used quotes have been checked to ensure mistakes in the transcriptions have not been made. Also note that the collected data for this research is incomplete. Not all stakeholders have been interviewed and therefore the case has not been explained from all possible perspectives. Major absent is a representative of the Qatari government or the Qatar 2022 Local Organisation Company, who were not available for contact. While looking at the reliability of this research, realise that the interviewees cooperating on this research were all individuals representing the organisation they worked for. Although these individuals are all capable of representing their organisations well, they are still having their own opinions and perspectives on human rights. Therefore results could possibly differ when asking different persons from the same organisations or persons from other stakeholder organisations.

7. Conclusions

Firstly, this research shows that human rights out of all five categories (ability, access, equality, freedom and protection) were harmed during the organization of the 2022 FWC. Secondly, democratic participation of stakeholders, formalization of human rights agendas, good governance and sensitive urban environment for strengthening human rights were all factors that were taken seriously by the organizing stakeholder FIFA. There is reason to believe that all factors therefore have had an impact on the human rights of labor migrants during the 2022 FWC. However, there are concerns from human rights organizations about the impact of the factor 'good governance' since the labor law reforms of the Qatari government leave possibilities for exploitation in the future according to Amnesty International. Thirdly, All involved stakeholders have a shared responsibility to safeguard human rights of everyone involved in the organizational process. The main organizers of MSEs also have a responsibility to strive for positive human rights outcomes in the hosting country. Nevertheless the state remains most responsible of all stakeholders. Finally, there are three lessons learnt. The United Nations should be empowered to correct nations when they do not follow the human right agreements, they signed themselves. Main organizers of MSEs should be vocal and pressure hosting countries to act upon the sustainability reports made before the organization. A human rights strategy should be included in the bidding process and the main organizer should look at three conditions for change: sustained and strong external pressure, a government that is receptive to criticism and internal groups that have power to carry through reforms through the domestic political processes. Further research on how MSE organizers can ensure governments are receptive to criticism and create a situation where internal groups can carry through the needed reforms is key for the future of MSEs. In that way MSEs can be used as a vehicle for positive change.

Note

The interview with the ILO representative is an anonymous interview. Since the information is shown in words of the researcher instead of literal quotes on request of the interviewee, the results are interpretations of the researcher. Therefore no rights can be derived from statements made in this paper.

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9. Appendix

1. Informed consent form

Informed Consent

TITLE OF STUDY

Implications of the 2022 football world cup in Qatar on the human rights of local communities

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

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PURPOSE OF STUDY

It is important to understand why this research is being held before you give permission to participate. If you have any questions or uncertainties please contact the researcher.

The purpose of this study is to address the impacts of a mega sport event on human rights of labour migrants working in Qatar based on primary data collected and providing an insight on responsibility of organisational and non-organisational actors and lessons learnt.

STUDY PROCEDURES

You will be interviewed for around 30 minutes . The interview will be recorded, so it can be transcribed afterwards. This has to be done for data analysis

RISKS

Human rights is a sensitive topic all over the world, therefore it is important that you feel comfortable answering all questions. Know that you may decline to answer any or all questions and you may terminate your involvement at any time if you choose. You can do this interview in anonymity if you like so. This will be discussed up-front with you.

BENEFITS

There is a chance there is no direct benefit to you for your participation in this study. However, I hope that the information obtained from this study may contribute to a addition of scientific literature about this topic and therefore may lead to a better and more informed world.

Informed Consent

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your responses to this interview will be anonymous if you want so. To preserve your confidentiality including the following measurements will be taken:

- Assigning code names/numbers for participants. These will be used on every research note and document
- All notes, interview transcriptions, and any other identifying participant information will be kept in a secure place and only in the personal possession of the researcher.

Participant data will be kept confidential except in cases where the researcher is legally obligated to report specific incidents.

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions you want to ask to the investigator you can always send an email to e.t.mos@student.rug.nl

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are in no way forced to participate. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time you want. You don't have to give reasons for doing so. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the researcher.

CONSENT

I have read and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Participant's signature _____ Date:

Investigator's signature _____ Date: 25-10-2020

Page 2 of 2

Participant's Initials: _____

2. Map of locations of the stadiums in Qatar

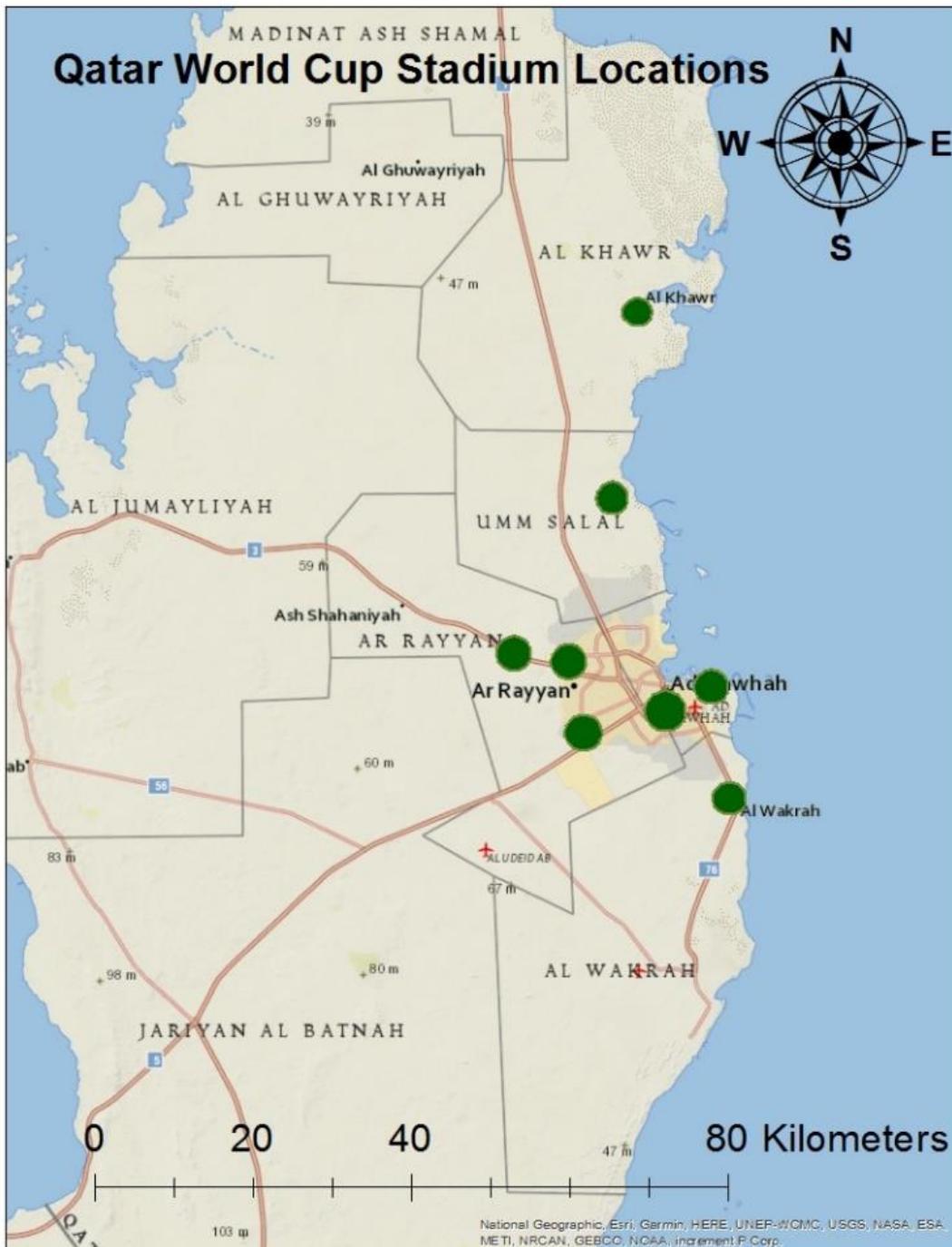


Figure 4: Locations of the World Cup stadiums in Qatar

Source: adapted from Clemson (2014).

3. Table of human rights at risk of being harmed in Qatar according to FIFA

Human rights issue <i>(drawn from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights)</i>	Human rights impacted	Right holders impacted										Alignment with objectives and material topic		
		Construction workers	Operational services workers	Building materials workers	Product manufacturing workers	Tournament organiser employees	Volunteers	Attendees	Athletes	Participating media representatives	Human rights defenders		Local communities	
Accessibility	Right to freedom from discrimination, right to participate in cultural life							●					S1	Accessibility
Restriction or punishment of individuals on account of their clothing or behaviour	Right to freedom of opinion and expression, right to freedom from discrimination							●					S2, S3, S5	Cultural understanding
Appropriate security practices and use of force	Right to privacy, right to freedom from degrading treatment							●					S5	Health, safety and security for attendees, participants and communities
Exposure to terrorist attacks and other major security threats	Right to life, right to security							●					S5	
Exposure to violent behaviour from fans	Right to life, right to security							●					S5	
Appropriate security practices and access restrictions	Right to freedom from discrimination, right to freedom of movement							●					S1, S2, S3, S4, S5	Inclusivity
Exposure to hate speech and harassment	Right to freedom from discrimination, right to freedom from degrading treatment							●					S1, S2, S3, S4, S5	
Alibiary detention	Right to privacy, right to freedom from discrimination, right to freedom of movement							●					S4, S5	Rights of media representatives and human rights advocates
Alibiary interference	Right to privacy, right to freedom from discrimination							●					S4, S5	
Restriction or punishment of the expression of thoughts or opinions	Right to freedom of opinion and expression, right to seek, receive and impart information							●					S4, S5	
Abuse of apprenticeship schemes	Right to education, right to just and favourable conditions of work, right to freedom from slavery and forced labour												S4, S5	
Access to adequate food	Right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being												S4, S5	
Access to grievance and remediation mechanism	Right to effective remedy, right to recognition as a person before the law												S4, S5	
Access to healthcare	Right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being												S4, S5	
Adequate accommodation	Right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, right to privacy, right to rest and leisure												S4, S5	
Adequate base	Right to freedom from slavery and forced labour, right to rest and leisure, right to family												S4, S5	
Adequate wages and on-time payment	Right to just and favourable conditions of work, right to just and favourable remuneration, right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, right to freedom from slavery and forced labour												S4, S5	
Child labour	Right to education												S4, S5	
Collective bargaining	Right to just and favourable remuneration												S4, S5	
Discrimination and lack of equal opportunity	Right to freedom from discrimination, right to just and favourable remuneration, right to equal pay for equal work												S4, S5	
Exposure to extreme heat and humidity	Right to just and favourable conditions of work, right to life, right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being												S4, S5	
Freedom of association	Right to form and join trade unions												S4, S5	
Freedom of movement in host country during leisure hours	Right to freedom of movement, right to rest and leisure												S4, S5	
Harassment	Right to freedom from discrimination, right to freedom from degrading treatment												S4, S5	
Job segregation	Right to work, right to freedom from discrimination												S4, S5	
Reasonable hours and breaks	Right to just and favourable conditions of work, right to rest and leisure, right to freedom from slavery and forced labour												S4, S5	
Safety and security in accommodation sites	Right to security, right to own property												S4, S5	
Work-related injuries and ill health	Right to just and favourable conditions of work, right to life												S4, S5	
Contract substitution post-arrival, restriction of ability to leave or change employer	Right to work, right to free choice of employment, right to freedom from slavery and forced labour												S4, S5	
Passport retention, provision of appropriate visa and work and residence permits, travel notification requirement	Right to freedom of movement, right to freedom from discrimination, right to freedom from slavery and forced labour												S4, S5	
Recruitment charges and debt	Right to freedom from slavery and forced labour, right to just and favourable remuneration												S4, S5	

Source: FIFA sustainability report (2019).

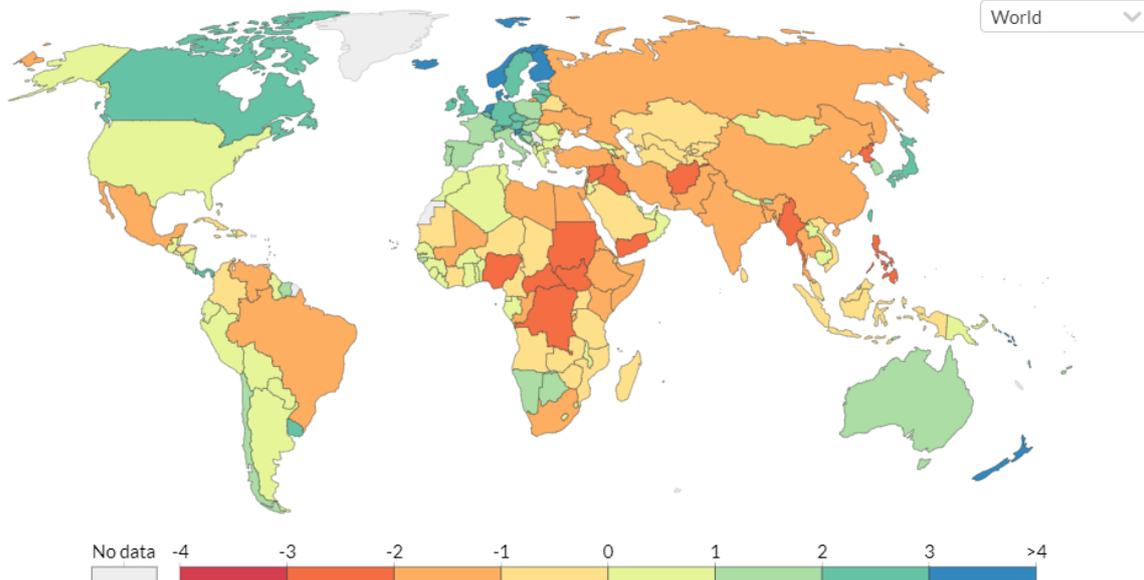
4. Map of human rights scores from all countries around the world

The Latent Human Rights Protection Scores aims to measure how a government protects its citizens' physical integrity, by taking into account torture, government killing, political imprisonment, extrajudicial executions, mass killings and disappearances, according to Max Roser (2017). These scores are from 2017 and this metric is based on these nine sources:

1. Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Physical Integrity Data (1981–2011)
2. Hathaway Torture Data (1985–99), Ill-Treatment and Torture (1995–2005)
3. Political Terror Scale (1976–2015)
4. Ulfelder and Valentino Dataset (1946–2015)
5. Harff and Gurr Dataset (1946–88)
6. Political Instability Task Force (1956–2010)
7. Rummel Dataset (1949–87)
8. Uppsala Conflict Data Program One-sided Violence Dataset (1989–2015)
9. [World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators \(1948–82\)](#)

Human Rights Scores, 2017

These Human Rights Scores indicate the degree to which governments protect and respect human rights. The values range from around -3.8 to around 5.4 (the higher the better).



Source: Schnakenberg and Fariss (2014), Fariss (2019)

Note: These Scores are produced from an econometric model that combines measures from nine other sources. For details, see Fariss (2019).

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5. Specific recommendations for Qatar

Third party complaints

The Migrant-Rights.org representative stresses the fact that migrant workers have to file their complaints themselves, which brings risks: *“So if I see something and I see a blatant violation, my complaint is not going to be taken they have to submit it themselves, file a complaint which becomes a problem. If you are still under the employment and your housing, your accommodation and your food, depends on your employer. So you are scared to file a complaint with your attorney.”*

Unionization

The Amnesty International representative explained that allowing migrant workers to unionize would help them protect their own rights: *“And then finally, those workers are not allowed to unionize, are not allowed to join trade unions, and therefore they can not collectively bargain or advocate for their rights.”*

Sending countries need to create blacklists

The Migrant-Rights.org representative also recommended sending countries to create blacklists for companies with a bad reputation regarding safeguarding human rights of their employees: *“So I think they need to be able to negotiate better regionally as well as one to one with these countries. And they need to blacklist companies that have repeatedly had issues with labor to not cross those borders for them.”*

6. Framework McGillivray et al. (2019)

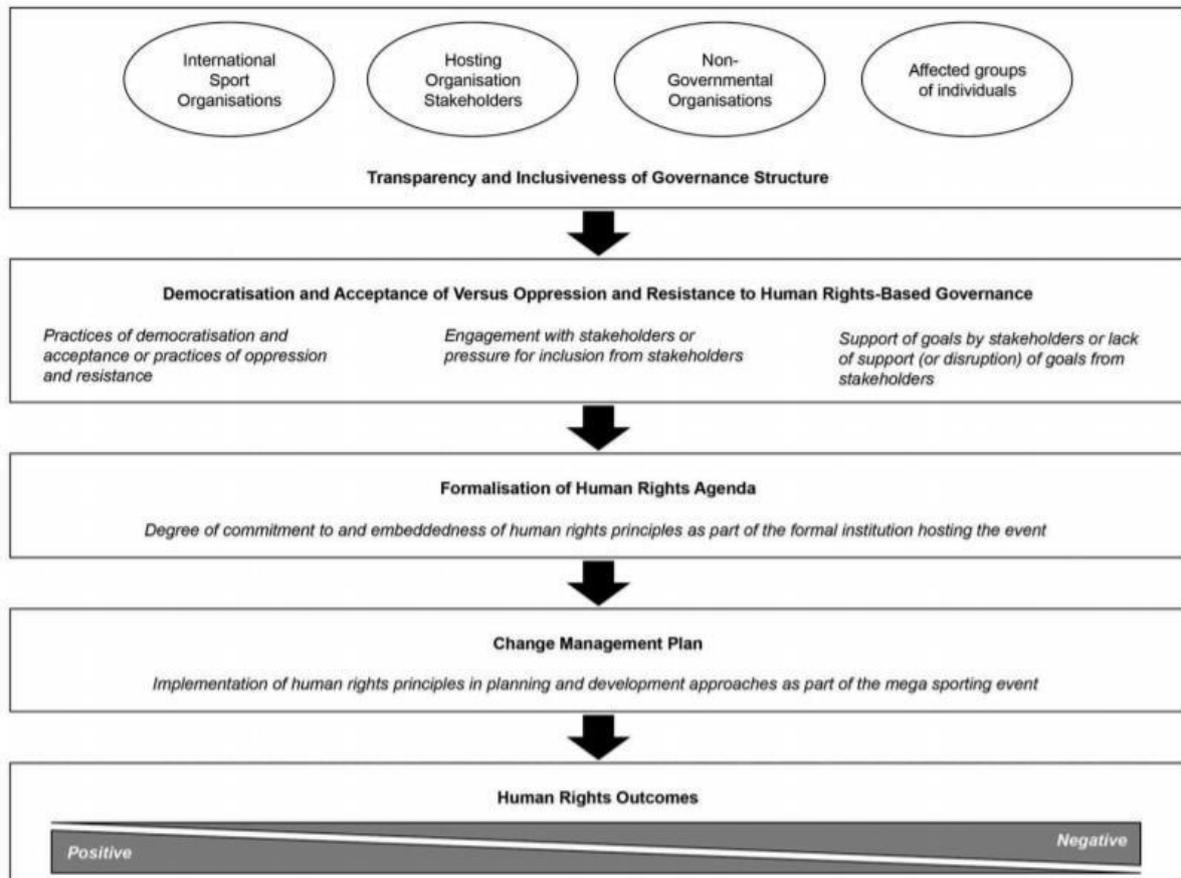


Figure 2: Conceptual model for rights-based MSE events

Source: McGillivray et al. 2019, p.184

7. Interview guide background interviews.

1. Would you like to tell who you are and what kind of work or study you do?
2. Since when do you live and work in Qatar?
3. Did you get in touch with the Kafala system when you started working in Qatar and did something change for you since the kafala reforms were introduced in September?
4. Do you follow the local news in Qatar?
5. Does the 2022 Football World Cup get attention in the press?
6. Is there media attention for the situation of labour migrants working on the stadiums?
7. What do you know about the situation of labour migrants working on these stadiums and do you think their situation has changed over the last months or years?
8. Can the human rights situation of labour migrants in Qatar become better in the future and how do you think this could happen?
9. What is your view on universal human rights?

8. Interview guide Amnesty International/Migrantrights.org/International Labour Organisation (Non-organisational stakeholders)

1. Would you like to explain who you are and who you work for?
2. What does your organisation have to do with the 2022 World Cup in Qatar?
3. Do you think human rights of labour migrants working in the construction sector are being harmed and in what way?
4. Do you think the human rights situation of labour migrants in Qatar has changed since the start of the organisation of the World Cup?
5. Do you think the organisation of the World Cup can lead to a long-term change in human rights of migrant labour workers in Qatar?
6. Who is responsible for protecting human rights of local communities in hosting countries of mega sport events?
7. How can organisations of mega sport events in the future achieve a positive change in human right protection and what can they learn from Qatar?
8. What is your vision on universal human rights?

8. Interview guide FIFA (Organisational stakeholder)

1. Would you like to explain who you are and what kind of work you do for FIFA?
2. Could you explain how the three main organising parties FIFA, the Q22 and the Supreme Committee for delivery & legacy are dividing tasks and responsibilities for the organisation?
3. Who are the most important stakeholders that you directly work together with to organise this event in a way that human rights are honoured?
4. Do you think the organisation of the world cup has led to a change in human rights of local communities in Qatar? (take for example labour migrants in the construction sector)
5. What is your vision on universal human rights?
6. Is it your responsibility as organisational stakeholder to achieve positive change in human rights of labour migrants?
7. Do you think your organisation can achieve a lasting positive change in human rights of local communities in Qatar? And HOW?
8. The Supreme Committee for delivery & legacy wrote on their website that: "This tournament will change the way future FIFA World Cup™ competitions and other sporting mega-events are organised. It will build a lasting, sustainable legacy that contributes to the United Nations [Sustainable Development Goals](#) and the [Qatar National Vision 2030](#). I know that FIFA is creating sustainability reports for world cups since 2014, but I can see a big difference in the approach of safeguarding human rights of local communities. Could you tell what specifically FIFA can learn and have learnt from organising this 2022 world cup in Qatar for organising other mega sport events in the future regarding human rights of local communities?"

9. Transcribed interviews of the four quality interviews

Interviews can be requested for educational purposes by the researcher

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