## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

#### **Books**

- Creswell, John, Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, Fifth (London: SAGE Publications, 1994).
- Donnelly, Jack (1989), Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice, Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- Dunne, Tim. Discipline and Diversity of International Relations Theories (Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Gordon, Geoff. Roland Pierik The Ashgate Research Companion to Non-State Actors (1st ed. Edited by Bob Reinalda. Routledge (2011). 91.
- Global Citizenship Commission. "Implementation of Human Rights." In *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the 21st Century: A Living Document in a Changing World*, Edited by Gordon Brown. 1st ed. Vol. 2. Open Book Publishers, 2016.
- Fukuyama, Francis. The End of History and the Last Man, Free Press 1992.
- Jahn, Beate. Liberal internationalism: Theory, history, practice. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Neuman, Lawrence W. Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, Seventh (Harlow, United States of America: Pearson Education Limited, 2014).
- Nye, Joseph. Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History (7th Edition). Longman. 2008.
- Ludert, Jan. Non-State Actors at the United Nations Contesting Sovereignty. Routledge. 2023.
- McGlinchey, Stephen, Foundations of International Relations. Bloomsbury. 2022.
- Russet, Bruce, International Relations Theories Discipline and Diversity Third Edition, edited by Tim Dunne. Oxford University Press. 2006.

Tismaneanu, Vladimir, and Bogdan C. Iacob, eds. Remembrance, History, and Justice: Coming to Terms with Traumatic Pasts in Democratic Societies. NED-New edition, 1. Central European University Press, 2015. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctt19z399m">http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctt19z399m</a>.

Weber, Cynthia. International Relations Theory 3rd edition, Routledge, 2009.

#### Journal Articles

- Al Thani, Mohammed. "Channelling Soft Power: The Qatar 2022 World Cup, Migrant Workers, and International Image." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 38, no. 17 (2021): 1729–52. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2021.1988932">https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2021.1988932</a>.
- Cazotto, G., Fronzaglia, M. and Racy, J. (2022) Institutional Aspects of FIFA Governance and Its Impact on International Relations. *American Journal of Industrial and Business Management*, 12, 824-839. doi: 10.4236/ajibm.2022.125043.
- Duval, Antoine. "How Qatar's Migrant Workers Became FIFA's Problem: A Transnational Struggle for Responsibility." *Transnational Legal Theory* 12, no. 4 (2021): 473–500. https://doi.org/10.1080/20414005.2022.2030633.
- Ewers, Michael, Abdoulaye Diop, Nathan Duma, and Kien Le. Beyond vulnerability: contextualizing migrant worker views on rights and wellbeing in the Gulf Arab states, *Comparative Migration Studies* (2023).
- Farhad, Nandita. "Report: Behind the Mask of the FIFA World Cup 2022." *International Union Rights* 20, no. 1 (2013): 21–22. https://doi.org/10.14213/inteuniorigh.20.1.0021.
- Fruh, Kyle, Alfred Archer, and Jake Wojtowicz. "Sportswashing: Complicity and Corruption." *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy* 17, no. 1 (2022): 101–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/17511321.2022.2107697.
- Ganji, Sarath. Leveraging the World Cup: Mega Sporting Events, Human Rights Risk, and Worker Welfare Reform in Qatar. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 4(4) (2016), 221–259. https://doi.org/10.1177/233150241600400403
- Ibnu, Aradea, Naufal Syafi, and Razaqa Hariz. "The Qatar 2022 World Cup Controversy in CNN Indonesia's News Frames." *Persepsi: Communication Journal* 6, no. 1 (2023): 32–49. https://doi.org/10.30596/persepsi.v6i1.14596.

- Khan, Shahrukh. "FIFA's Calling: Giving Qatar the Red Card." *Harvard International Review* 36, no. 1 (2014): 50–52. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43649249.
- Krasner, Stephen D, Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables. *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 185–205.
- Malaeb, Hanan N. "The 'Kafala' System and Human Rights: Time for a Decision." *Arab Law Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (2015): 307–42 <a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/24811144">https://www.jstor.org/stable/24811144</a>
- Mohammad, Robina, and James D. Sidaway. "Shards and Stages: Migrant Lives, Power, and Space Viewed from Doha, Qatar." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106, no. 6 (2016): 1397–1417.
- Khalifa, Nasser KA Al-Dosari. "Assessing the Impacts of Mega Sporting Events on Migrant Workers: A Case of the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar," *Journal of Philosophy, Culture and Religion* 3, no. 1 (2020):29 53. <a href="https://doi.org/10.47604/jpcr.1141">https://doi.org/10.47604/jpcr.1141</a>.
- Oh, I. "Islamic Voices and the Definition of Human Rights." *Journal of Church and State 53, no.* 3 (2011): 376–400.
- Raustiala, Kal, Compliance & Effectiveness in International Regulatory
  Cooperation, 32 Case W. Res. J. Int'l L. 387 (2000)
  Available at: https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol32/iss3/2
- Regmi, Pramod, Padam Simkhada, Nirmal Aryal, Edwin van Teijlingen. "Excessive Mortalities among Migrant Workers: The Case of the 2022 FIFA World Cup." *Europasian Journal of Medical Sciences* 4 (2022): (31-32) 10.46405/ejms.v4i0.455
- Regueiro, Raquel, "Shared Responsibility and Human Rights Abuse: The 2022 World Cup in Qatar," (2020) 25(1) *Tilburg Law Review* pp. 27–39. DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.5334/tilr.191">https://doi.org/10.5334/tilr.191</a>

# **Government/Non-Governmental Publications**

Amnesty International, Qatar: All work, no pay: The struggle of Qatar's migrant workers for justice.

<a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde22/0793/2019/en/">https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde22/0793/2019/en/</a>. Accessed November 20, 2023.

- Amnesty International. "Qatar: Global Survey Shows Overwhelming Demand for FIFA to Compensate World Cup Migrant Workers." Last modified January 26, 2023. <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/09/qatar-global-survey-shows-overwhelming-demand-for-fifa-to-compensate-world-cup-migrant-workers/">https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/09/qatar-global-survey-shows-overwhelming-demand-for-fifa-to-compensate-world-cup-migrant-workers/</a>. Accessed June 4, 2023.
- Amnesty International. "Reality Check: Migrant Workers' Rights in Qatar.". Last modified October 20, 2022. <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2019/02/reality-check-migrant-workers-rights-with-two-years-to-qatar-2022-world-cup/">https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2019/02/reality-check-migrant-workers-rights-with-two-years-to-qatar-2022-world-cup/</a>.
- Amnesty International, The Ugly Side of the Beautiful Game: Exploitation of migrant workers on a Qatar 2022 World Cup site, <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/MDE2235482016ENGLISH.pdf">https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/MDE2235482016ENGLISH.pdf</a>. Accessed November 20, 2023.
- FairSquare, Five Corridors Project Nepal-Qatar, <a href="https://fivecorridorsproject.org/nepal-qatar">https://fivecorridorsproject.org/nepal-qatar</a>. Accessed on November 20, 2023.
- FIFA, FIFA Human Rights Policy May 2017 edition, <a href="https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/1a876c66a3f0498d/original/kr05dqyhwr1uhqy2lh6r-pdf.pdf">https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/1a876c66a3f0498d/original/kr05dqyhwr1uhqy2lh6r-pdf.pdf</a>. Accessed November 20, 2023.
- FIFA, "FIFA removes Indonesia as host of FIFA U-20 World Cup 2023. <a href="https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/organisation/media-releases/fifa-removes-indonesia-as-host-of-fifa-u-20-world-cup-2023-tm">https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/organisation/media-releases/fifa-removes-indonesia-as-host-of-fifa-u-20-world-cup-2023-tm</a>. Accessed on January 18. 2024.
- FIFA. "Revenue 2019-2022". https://publications.fifa.com/en/annual-report-2022/finances/2019-2022-cycle-in-review/2019-2022-revenue/. Accessed June 5, 2023.
- Human Rights Watch. "Qatar: Joint Open Letter to Gianni Infantino Regarding Remedy for Labor Abuses behind the 2022 World Cup." Human Rights Watch. Last modified November 18, 2022. <a href="https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/08/26/qatar-joint-open-letter-gianni-infantino-regarding-remedy-labor-abuses-behind-2022">https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/08/26/qatar-joint-open-letter-gianni-infantino-regarding-remedy-labor-abuses-behind-2022</a>. Accessed June 5, 2023.
- Human Rights Watch. "Qatar: Rights Abuses Stain FIFA World Cup.". Last modified November 21, 2022. <a href="https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/11/14/qatar-rights-abuses-stain-fifa-world-cup">https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/11/14/qatar-rights-abuses-stain-fifa-world-cup</a>. Accessed June 4, 2023.

- Human Rights Watch, Qatar: Significant Labor and Kafala Reforms, 2020. . <a href="https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/09/24/qatar-significant-labor-and-kafala-reforms">https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/09/24/qatar-significant-labor-and-kafala-reforms</a>. Accessed June 20, 2023.
- Human Rights Watch, World Report Qatar, 2023. <a href="https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/qatar">https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/qatar</a>. Accessed November 20, 2023.
- International Labour Organization, "ILO Publishes Report on Work-Related Deaths and Injuries in Qatar.". Last modified November 18, 2018. <a href="https://www.ilo.org/beirut/countries/qatar/WCMS\_828399/lang-en/index.htm">https://www.ilo.org/beirut/countries/qatar/WCMS\_828399/lang-en/index.htm</a>. Accessed June 11, 2023.
- International Labour Organization, End of exit permits for most migrant workers in Qatar welcomed, 2018 <a href="https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS\_638754/lang--en/index.html">https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS\_638754/lang--en/index.html</a>. Accessed November 20, 2023.
- Page, Michael, FIFA President's 'I Feel Like a Migrant Worker' Speech Misleading, Human Rights Watch, November 2022 <a href="https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/11/21/fifa-presidents-i-feel-migrant-worker-speech-misleading">https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/11/21/fifa-presidents-i-feel-migrant-worker-speech-misleading</a>. Accessed on November 20, 2023.
- Robinson, Kali. "What is the Kafala System", Council of Foreign Relations, Last Modified November 2022. <a href="https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-kafala-system-Accessed on November 20">https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-kafala-system-Accessed on November 20</a>.
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights,
  "International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant
  Workers and Members of Their Families."..

  <a href="https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-convention-protection-rights-all-migrant-workers.">https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-international-convention-protection-rights-all-migrant-workers.</a> Accessed June 11, 2023.
- United Nations, "History of the Declaration," United Nations, <a href="https://www.un.org/en/about-us/udhr/history-of-the-declaration">https://www.un.org/en/about-us/udhr/history-of-the-declaration</a>. Accessed June 12, 2023.

### **Online Sources**

Armstrong, Marvin, World Cup Boycott Fails to Attract the Masses, Statista, 2022. <a href="https://www.statista.com/chart/28723/attitudes-to-world-cup-qatar-boycotts/">https://www.statista.com/chart/28723/attitudes-to-world-cup-qatar-boycotts/</a>. Accessed on November 20, 2023.

- Dellato, Marissa, "Argentina Vs. France Game Was Most-Watched World Cup Finals Ever In U.S," Forbes. November 2022. 2023 <a href="https://www.forbes.com/sites/marisadellatto/2022/12/20/argentina-vs-france-game-was-most-watched-world-cup-finals-ever-in-us/?sh=50944cc92d35">https://www.forbes.com/sites/marisadellatto/2022/12/20/argentina-vs-france-game-was-most-watched-world-cup-finals-ever-in-us/?sh=50944cc92d35</a>. Accessed on November 20.
- Fox Sports, "Was Argentina-France the best World Cup Final ever? Ranking the 5 best", 2022. <a href="https://www.foxsports.com/stories/soccer/was-argentina-france-the-best-world-cup-final-ever-ranking-the-5-best">https://www.foxsports.com/stories/soccer/was-argentina-france-the-best-world-cup-final-ever-ranking-the-5-best</a>. Accessed on November 20, 2023.
- Gebeily, Maya, and Charlotte Bruneau "In a stadium of their own, migrant workers say their sweat made World Cup happen."

  <a href="https://www.reuters.com/lifestyle/sports/stadium-their-own-migrant-workers-say-their-sweat-made-world-cup-happen-2022-11-20/">https://www.reuters.com/lifestyle/sports/stadium-their-own-migrant-workers-say-their-sweat-made-world-cup-happen-2022-11-20/</a>. Accessed on November 20, 2023.
- Gebeily, Maya, and Andrew Mills, "After criticism, smooth World Cup is seen as crucial to Qatar." Reuters, 2022. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/after-criticism-smooth-world-cup-seen-crucial-qatar-2022-11-18/">https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/after-criticism-smooth-world-cup-seen-crucial-qatar-2022-11-18/</a>.

  Accessed on November 20, 2023.
- Ghani, Faras. "Labour law changes: Are Qatar's migrant workers better off?" Al Jazeera, March 2021.

  <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/3/15/labour-law-changes-are-qatars-migrant-workers-better-off">https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/3/15/labour-law-changes-are-qatars-migrant-workers-better-off</a>. Accessed on November 20.
- Harris, Rob. "Infantino on Qatar: Migrant Workers Get Pride from Hard Work." Associated Press, May 2, 2022. Last modified May 2, 2022. <a href="https://apnews.com/article/sports-soccer-world-cup-gatar-gianni-infantino-f280c34b8442e3d3c1b00fd5094b1ccf">https://apnews.com/article/sports-soccer-world-cup-gatar-gianni-infantino-f280c34b8442e3d3c1b00fd5094b1ccf</a>. Accessed June 4, 2023.
- Ingle, Sean. "Qatar World Cup chief says 'death is a part of life' after reported worker death, The Guardian, 2022.

  <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/dec/08/qatar-launches-investigation-after-reported-death-of-worker-at-world-cup-site">https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/dec/08/qatar-launches-investigation-after-reported-death-of-worker-at-world-cup-site</a>.
- Jakarta Post, "PDI-P criticizes FIFA 'double standards' on Russia, Israel." 2023. <a href="https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/03/29/pdi-p-criticizes-fifa-double-standard-on-russia-israel.html">https://www.thejakartapost.com/indonesia/2023/03/29/pdi-p-criticizes-fifa-double-standard-on-russia-israel.html</a>.
- Kelly, Annie, Niamh Mcinteye, and Pete Pattison, "Revealed: hundreds of migrant workers dying of heat stress in Qatar each year", The Guardian, 2019. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/oct/02/revealed-hundreds-of-migrant-workers-dying-of-heat-stress-in-qatar-each-year">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/oct/02/revealed-hundreds-of-migrant-workers-dying-of-heat-stress-in-qatar-each-year</a>. Accessed on November 20, 2023.

- Lewis, Russel, "FIFA chief blasts critics ahead of World Cup in Qatar and accuses them of hypocrisy", NPR, 2022.

  <a href="https://www.npr.org/2022/11/19/1137962269/fifa-president-gianni-infantino-qatar-world-cup-hypocrisy#:~:te">https://www.npr.org/2022/11/19/1137962269/fifa-president-gianni-infantino-qatar-world-cup-hypocrisy#:~:te</a>. Accessed on November 20, 2023.
- Mcweeny, Eion, and Mohammed Abdeldary, "The World Cup has brought some change to Qatar. Will it last?", CNN, 2022

  <a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2022/11/28/middleeast/world-cup-catalyst-for-change-qatar-mime-intl/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2022/11/28/middleeast/world-cup-catalyst-for-change-qatar-mime-intl/index.html</a>. Accessed at November 20, 2023.
- Mngqosi, Sammy, "Qatar World Cup chief says between 400 and 500 migrant workers have died in projects connected to the tournament", CNN, 2022. <a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2022/11/29/football/qatar-world-cup-migrant-worker-deaths-spt-intl/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2022/11/29/football/qatar-world-cup-migrant-worker-deaths-spt-intl/index.html</a>. Accessed on November 20, 2023.
- Pattison, Pete, "Balfour Beatty and Interserve accused of migrant worker labour abuses in Qatar", The Guardian, 2016.

  <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/apr/13/balfour-beatty-interserve-accused-migrant-worker-labour-abuses-qatar">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/apr/13/balfour-beatty-interserve-accused-migrant-worker-labour-abuses-qatar</a>.
- Reuters, "FIFA pleads with World Cup nations to 'focus on football' in Qatar. November 2022. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/lifestyle/sports/fifa-pleads-with-world-cup-nations-focus-football-qatar-2022-11-04/">https://www.reuters.com/lifestyle/sports/fifa-pleads-with-world-cup-nations-focus-football-qatar-2022-11-04/</a>.
- The Guardian, Has the World Cup really improved workers' rights in Qatar? Five experts give their verdict, 2022. <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/oct/23/qatar-labour-policy-workers-world-cup-2022-expert-verdict">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/oct/23/qatar-labour-policy-workers-world-cup-2022-expert-verdict</a>.
- Vox, "How Qatar built stadiums with forced labour", December 2022. YouTube video. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C-0CebFpF">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C-0CebFpF</a> s&ab\_channel=Vox.
- Waterson, Jim, "BBC ignores World Cup opening ceremony in favour of Qatar criticism, The Guardian, 2022.

  <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/nov/20/bbc-ignores-world-cup-opening-ceremony-in-favour-of-qatar-criticism.">https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/nov/20/bbc-ignores-world-cup-opening-ceremony-in-favour-of-qatar-criticism.</a> Accessed on November 20, 2023.
- Walter, D Jan and Matt Ford. "Fact check: How many people died for the Qatar World Cup?". Deutsche Welle, November 2022 <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/fact-check-how-many-people-have-died-for-the-qatar-world-cup/a-63763713">https://www.dw.com/en/fact-check-how-many-people-have-died-for-the-qatar-world-cup/a-63763713</a>.