

Labour is part of the Team!

A manual for campaigning in mega-sporting events



BWI
Building and Wood
Workers' International
www.bwint.org

The Building and Wood Workers' International - BWI is the Global Union Federation grouping free and democratic unions with members in the building, building materials, wood, forestry and allied sectors. The BWI groups together 358 trade unions representing around 12 million members in 130 countries. The Headquarters is in Geneva, Switzerland while its Regional Offices and Project Offices are located in Panama, Malaysia, South Africa, India, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Lebanon, Russia, and Brazil. BWI's mission is to promote the development of trade unions in our sectors throughout the world and to promote and enforce workers' rights in the context of sustainable development.

This study was carried out by members of the Global Labour University sports mega-events research group. The manual was edited by Steve Davies (Senior Lecturer, Cardiff University, UK) and researched and written by Ramon Certeza (National Coordinator, INdustriALL Global Union, Philippines); Patricia Chong (Canada); Steve Davies; Bulend Karadag (Trade Union Confederation of the Americas, Brazil); Helen Russell (UK); Luciole Sauviat (Education Officer, European Trade Union Institute, Belgium) and Verna Dinah Q. Viajar (PhD Fellow, International Centre for Development and Decent Work, University of Kassel, Germany). The Global Labour University (GLU) www.global-labour-university.org is an international network of universities, trade unions, research institutes, think tanks and the International Labour Organisation that develops and implements university post-graduate programmes on labour and globalization for trade unionists and other labour experts; undertakes joint research and organises international discussion fora on global labour issues; and publishes textbooks, research and discussion papers on labour and globalization issues.

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Notes from the Publisher

After the completion of this manual's manuscript, the BWI Global Sports Campaign for Decent Work has achieved several milestones by signing agreements, conducting new campaign actions and developing exposé as well as conducting joint labour inspections.

A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed by FIFA, the Local Organising Committee (LOC) of Russia, the Russian Construction Workers Union (RBWU) and BWI to collaborate in ensuring decent and safe working conditions for the construction and renovation of the 2018 FIFA World Cup Russia™ stadiums. As of June 2017, 13 joint inspections have been undertaken.

The Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy (SC), the organisation responsible for delivering the stadium and infrastructure projects required for the 2022 FIFA World Cup Qatar™, also signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with BWI that will see them conduct joint labour and accommodation inspections on World Cup projects in Qatar from January 2017. To date, 3 stadium inspections were held.

The BWI, through its General Secretary Ambet Yuson is also now sitting in FIFA's independent Human Rights Advisory Board. It was described by FIFA as "an independent advisory body composed of international experts from the United Nations, trade unions, civil society and business. This Human Rights Advisory Board will provide FIFA with advice on all issues that the board members may consider relevant for the implementation of FIFA's human rights responsibilities."

For the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics, the BWI and its South Korean affiliate, Korean Federation of Construction Industry Trade Unions (KFCITU) exposed that there is a total of USD\$807,091 in delayed or unpaid wages relating directly to Olympic venues, and a total of USD\$6,100,591 relating to Olympic-related infrastructure projects in the region. The BWI has submitted the report along with a letter to Thomas Bach, President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) calling for immediate intervention by the IOC to facilitate the resolution of this problem in PyeongChang.

As Tokyo prepares to host the 2020 Summer Olympics, the Japanese unions are part of the "Council for Occupational Safety and Health for the Institutions". This forms part of the campaign to ensure zero accident and fatalities. BWI also engages in the sourcing of sustainable wood for use in the facilities. The Organising Committee made ambitious statements with respect to sustainability and the use of timber as a construction material, and BWI has been lobbying to encourage the exclusive use of certified timber and timber-related products. This provides an assurance that social (including labour and community) and environmental criteria have been assessed against certain criteria, and, where issues arise, a mechanism for resolving disputes.

These new methods of engagement and new platforms of fighting for workers' rights are not elaborated in this manual and are foreseen to be part of future editions.



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1. Introduction

By Steve Davies

Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles¹.

This is how the Olympic organisation – the International Olympics Committee – thinks of the Olympic Games and its meaning. George Orwell was not so impressed. He saw it as bound up with empire and bread and circuses.

Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting².

There are many ways of looking at global sports and the mega-events that they have created. This manual examines global sports mega-events from the point of view of the unions that represent the workers who make them possible – not the athletes and coaches, but primarily the construction workers who build the stadia and textile workers who make the replica sportswear that generates so much money around every mega-event. There are, of course, many other different groups of workers involved in such events, including those working in catering, cleaning, hospitality and hotels, journalism and media, transport and public services and much of what follows will be of relevance to them as well.

These sports mega-events are a social phenomenon that encapsulate many of the features of globalisation, so regardless of whether an individual worker or trade union member is interested in sport itself, the events have a wider importance. This manual is based on a series of case studies by researchers in a number of different countries and draws together lessons learned and observations from mega-events in different sports in different parts of the world. The objective is to offer trade union activists around the world the opportunity to build upon the experience of their sisters and brothers who have already faced the prospect of what to do when their national or city government decides to host a sports mega-event.

Although the manual is based on case studies that focus on construction and textiles, it has a wider application. It can be used as a guide to action in the three periods of sports mega-event – before, during and after. Chapter 2 is an overview of the phenomenon of global sports mega-events. Chapter 3 explains how unions have prepared for mega-events in the past and draws on the lessons learned. It explains what organising strategies have been used and examines their effectiveness. It discusses how unions engage with migrant workers; how companies can be targeted; how transnational campaigns are built; and how alliances can be created with potential allies outside the labour movement. It reviews the bidding process and looks at how and when unions can intervene and with which sports organisations unions can engage. Finally it examines the Brazilian experience in terms of the legislative process associated with mega-events and the opportunities available for unions to have an impact on this.

Chapter 4 looks at the possibilities presented to unions during the mega-event and what they could be doing to ensure that gains are sustained afterwards. Chapter 5 sets out a set of guidelines on how to evaluate the union campaign so that a culture of learning from experience, identifying and implementing best practice can be embedded within the trade union movement in relation to mega-events in the first instance but with a wider application in organising and campaigning priorities and methods.

1 The Olympic Charter, p. 11, http://www.olympic.org/documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf

2 George Orwell, *The Sporting Spirit*, 1945



The manual is composed of the following sections:

1. Introduction
2. Overview and context
3. Preparatory strategies
 - In the construction sector
 - In the textiles sector
 - A legal focus: the Brazilian Experience
4. Strategies during and after global sports mega-events
5. A guide for unions to evaluate their sports mega-event campaigns
6. Conclusions and Recommendations
7. References
8. Annexes
 - Annex A: Research questions on the 4 key areas of analysis
 - Annex B: Interview Schedule for the 2014 Brazil World Cup
 - Annex C: Annex C: Sports mega-events

2. Overview and context: Sport as a focus for trade unionists

By Steve Davies

Whether or not you are personally interested in sports mega-events is not important in terms of their significance for trade unionists. What *is* important is the recognition that behind the athletes and coaching staff exists a huge labour force inside and outside the host country that builds the arenas for the games, makes the replica sportswear, transports the spectators to and from the event, provides the catering and cleaning, reports and broadcasts the tournaments, works in the hotels and other accommodation for the visitors and delivers a whole range of public services to those participating in or watching the events.

Many of these workers will already be trade union members, many will be potential trade union members. All will be more likely to gain acceptable pay and conditions if they are members, and their unions are able to collectively bargain on their behalf with the event organisers and the companies that they contract. The challenge for the trade unions is not only to maximise the possibilities presented by these events to improve the conditions of the workforce, but to ensure that any gains made are not transient ones. The aim must be to leave the labour movement stronger in these services and industries, in these localities, after the games have packed up and left.

It is easy to forget during the media furore surrounding the sports mega-events that, even in the most sports-enthusiastic parts of the world, participation in sport through either watching or playing is not universal. On the other hand, it *is* a mass social phenomenon. It is difficult to think of any society or country in which this is not the case, even if the sports in question and the degree of participation may differ.

Sport feeds into debates about identity. We saw this during the 2012 Olympics in London with all sorts of claims about how this produced a new feel-good factor for Britain. The fact that so many of the Great Britain team were from ethnic minorities – some of them actually migrants, like the Somali-born British athlete Mo Farah – was claimed to have done more for integration of minorities than almost anything else ever. A similar tale was told during the football World Cup in France in 1998 when France's 'rainbow team' was held up as an example of progressive multiculturalism.

We saw almost the opposite sort of argument with the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow in 2014. Many London-based commentators worried that the games would provide a spur to the pro-independence campaign just before the Scottish referendum on independence from the UK. These debates are refracted through class, gender and ethnicity but they play an important part in the context of the mega-events and can cause problems for trade unions portrayed as 'unpatriotic' or 'selfish' in proposing or opposing various policies in relation to the games.

Sport is also Big Business and an important area of consumption. It has become commercialised and monetised in all sorts of ways – for example, considerable amounts are paid for the image rights of some athletes – that would have seemed bizarre not so long ago. Outside the USA, this process has been taken furthest in football where – at least in western Europe, particularly England, Spain, Italy and Germany – ticket prices can be high, television rights bring in huge amounts of money and associated club merchandise such as replica shirts substantially augments the income of the top football clubs.

Table 1: Football clubs and replica shirt sales

Club	2013 shirt sales
Real Madrid	1,400,000
Manchester United	1,400,000
Barcelona	1,150,000
Chelsea	910,000
Bayern Munich	880,000
Liverpool	810,000
Arsenal	800,000
Juventus	480,000
Inter	425,000
AC Milan	350,000

Source: <http://www.worldsoccer.com/features/replica-shirts-350969#p5iJh1ZRg1edpthT.99>

Given that replica shirts can cost anything between £60/€77 (Real Madrid) and £100/€129 (Arsenal), this represents a major income flow. Sometimes a player can be worth the transfer fee just by the club being able to sell shirts with the name on the back. According to the German publication *Bild*³, of the 1.4 million shirts sold by Real Madrid in 2013, one million of them were shirts with Ronaldo's name on the back.

But the commodification of sport is not a finished process. We see elements of different social approaches even within elite sport. So for example, the ownership of UK and US sports teams is very much along the company model, in tune with neoliberal approaches. On the other hand, the fan ownership patterns of sports clubs in Germany, to a certain extent, reflect the strength of social democratic ideas in that country. It is probably why tickets for football matches in the Bundesliga are about a third the price of English Premier League tickets.

The origins of American sports teams as businesses, leading to the system of franchises, is in stark contrast to Germany. American teams lead a mobile existence, moving from place to place following changing conditions in demography and markets. A clear example of the dominance of competition, the profit motive and neoliberal ideas you might think. Except that, once in a league, they are not relegated if they have a poor season, nor are they promoted as reward for good results. By contrast, European clubs generally remain geographically static, but they do get relegated to lower divisions for poor results and promoted for good ones.

In addition, in American football, for example, each year the worst performing team gets the pick of the best players from the university leagues (which act as a transmission belt into pro football), thereby evening up the balance of quality between the teams. In European football, the richest clubs – like Manchester City, Real Madrid – are able to scoop up the best players simply because they can afford it.

3 Bild (2014) 'Ronaldo verkaufte mehr Trikots als Bayern', 6 April, 2014. <http://www.bild.de/sport/fussball/cristiano-ronaldo/verkaufte-mehr-trikots-als-bayern-35390126.bild.html> Accessed 3 April 2016.



Globalisation and sport

The connections between elite sport and globalisation are very clear in a range of different but related areas:

- The interconnectedness of the world
- The advances in technology
- The neoliberalisation of the economy
- The changing role of the state
- The growth of global institutions
- Transnational corporations and Corporate Social Responsibility policies
- Consumption patterns
- Migration
- Poverty and inequality
- Social movements

Elite sport is characterised by global chains of interdependency marked by global flows and uneven power relations. Football highlights this process perfectly. All over the world people regularly watch broadcasts of English Premier League and European Champions League matches on satellite TV (owned and controlled by transnationals like Sky). The close relationship between the elite sports like top class football and media companies is part of what sociologists term the 'global media sport complex'⁴. Although the main teams are based in Europe, players come from South America, Africa (and increasingly Asia) as well as Europe. The equipment that the players use – boots, balls, kit - is designed in the Global North, branded by transnationals like Adidas and Nike and manufactured under contract in Asia sometimes using child labour. Replica sports gear and equipment is then sold all over the world, but most profitably primarily in the mass markets of North America and Europe.

Maguire et al⁵ argue that there are several dimensions to the global flows in elite world sport. These relate to:

- the movement between countries of people (e.g. tourists, migrants, exiles and guest workers);
- technology, referring to the international movement of the machinery and equipment produced by transnationals and governments;
- the economy, the rapid flow of money around the world;
- the media, covering the global flow of images and information produced and distributed by both old and new technology; and
- ideology, linked to the flow of values connected to both state or counter-state ideologies and movements.

The beginnings of the spread of modern sport from Europe to the rest of the world was linked to the growth, power and influence of the British Empire and what is sometimes regarded as the first period of globalisation between the mid-19th century and the beginning of the first world war. Sport's 'standardization, organisational development, and global diffusion reflected and reinforced the global processes that were being powered by the West in both the public and private sectors.'⁶

Equally, today's elite sports structures and competitions arguably reflect the current phase of capitalism with its consumerism and 'brands'. It is sometimes argued that the impact of globalisation on sport (and much else) has been to reduce cultural differences in a process of convergence, with the Global North's control of the key levers of global sport - economic, technological, political and knowledge resources. What Maguire calls the global Sports Industrial Complex (SIC) is 'thus tied to the opening up of new markets and the commodification of cultures.'⁷

Global sports mega-events

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the changes in the scope and growth of sports mega-events in the past 25 years. These changes have driven major debates about the attractions and impacts of sports mega-events.

4 Maguire, J (2013) *Reflections on Process Sociology and Sport*. Abingdon: Routledge.

5 Maguire, J (2002) *Sport Worlds: Sociological Perspectives*. Human Kinetics Publishers.

6 Maguire, J (2011) 'Globalization and Sport: Beyond the Boundaries?' *Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 5, pp. 923-929.

7 Maguire, J (2011) 'Globalization and Sport: Beyond the Boundaries?' *Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 5, pp. 923-929.

Maurice Roche defines mega-events as:

...large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance⁸.

Two central features of contemporary mega-events are that they are deemed to have significant consequences for the host city, region or nation in which they occur, and that they will attract considerable media coverage.

Since 1992, when the Summer and Winter Olympic Games took place in the same year for the last time, there has been a two-year cycle of sports mega-events. The Summer Olympic Games occupies the same year as the European Football Championship, organised by the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), whilst the Winter Olympics shares its year with the FIFA football World Cup finals and the Commonwealth Games.

Sports 'mega-events' are used by nation states as important vehicles for engaging with international or global society. States or cities supported by states bid for the right to host one or other of the mega-events for a variety of different reasons.

Globalisation and sports mega-events

The biggest impact on global sports mega-events has probably been as a result of the advances in communications technology. Without, first, satellite TV and now, the internet, it is hard to see how they could have achieved their prominence over the last few decades. The technological revolution and creation of global media has meant that the communication possibilities today are unprecedented, relatively cheap, relatively easy to access, and almost instantaneous.

Part of that means that since the first satellites of the 1960s, sports fans around the world have been able to tune in to the most distant sports events. But it is not the only factor. Another is the fact that the new global migration and mobility 'has inevitably altered the cultural composition, increasing the diversity of post-industrial societies and, in particular, of sports consumers and producers.'⁹

In addition, the decline of the traditional industrial working class - in the Global North at least - has influenced the audience for sports events. The globalisation of political arrangements that we see in the worlds of trade, diplomacy and international affairs, is reflected in the expansion and increasing relevance of global sports institutions. Finally, the greater interconnectedness of the global economy has led to an intensified global engagement on the part of sports clubs seeking investment and individuals and corporations prepared to invest in sports.

Over the last three decades, the size of the sports mega-events has steadily increased (additional sports and events added to the Olympics; additional teams in the football World Cup finals) as has the preparedness of countries to host and participate in them. There are higher numbers of participants, more countries involved, increased numbers of spectators and viewers and increased profits generated.

At the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles 140 countries were represented, 6797 athletes competed, and 221 events took place in 23 sports. In London 2012, 204 countries sent more than 10,000 athletes to compete in 300 events¹⁰.

8 Roche, M (2000) *Mega-events and Modernity: Olympics and expos in the growth of global culture*. London: Routledge, p.1.

9 Markovits, A S and Rensmann, L (2010) *Gaming the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture*. Oxford: Princeton University Press, p.27.

10 Horne, J and Manzenreiter, W (2006) 'An introduction to the sociology of sports mega-events' *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, Issue Supplement s2, pp. 1-24; Knight, T and Ruscoe, S (2012) *London 2012 Official Commemorative Book*. Chichester: Wiley.



What explains the expansion and growing attraction¹¹?

- Breakthroughs in communications technology, especially the development of satellite television, laid the basis for global audiences to watch live sport
 - media centres
 - TV rights
- The formation of a sport-media-business alliance that transformed professional sport in the late 20th century.
 - The development of a tri-partite model of sponsorship rights, exclusive broadcasting rights and merchandizing, has attracted sponsors to both the Olympics and the football World Cup with the prospect of reaching multi-million global audiences.
- The sports mega-events are now seen as valuable promotional opportunities for cities and countries, as cities vie to become what John Hannigan (1998) has called 'urban entertainment destinations' (UEDs)¹².

Sports mega-events are an advertiser's dream, but it is a gendered advertisers' market. As Sugden and Tomlinson¹³ (1998 p. 93) note in relation to the World Cup:

Fast foods and snacks, soft and alcoholic drinks, cars, batteries, photographic equipment and electronic media, credit sources – these are the items around which the global sponsorship of football has been based, with their classic evocation of a predominantly masculinist realm of consumption: drinking, snacking, shaving, driving.

The role of the state in sports mega-events

The Olympic Games has become 'the world's greatest media and marketing event'¹⁴. With the prize of an audience of billions, transnational corporations queue up to be associated with the 'Olympic brand'. The same is true of major cities and national governments. The Olympic Games even receive the blessing of the UN, which ritually adopts a routinely-ignored resolution for a world truce during the Games. It is a similar story of attempts to bask in reflected glory for the FIFA World Cup.

The National Olympic Committees put forward their bids to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), which makes the decision. The IOC is based in Switzerland and, although registered there as a not-for-profit NGO, it made a profit of \$383 million on the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics, after allocating 'a very substantial share of the \$2.4 billion total revenue to other parts of the 'Olympic Movement'¹⁵. The IOC insists on a range of tax exemptions wherever the Games are hosted but it is not subject to any independent financial audit. Consequently, there has been much public criticism of the lack of transparency about where the money goes. In response to this, the IOC agreed in 2015 to publish its compensation policy¹⁶.

Again, a similar tale can be told for FIFA. Its workings are not transparent and it has recently been subject to all sorts of allegations of corruption with President Sepp Blatter suspended and banned from any FIFA activities for 8 years (as has his European equivalent Michel Platini). There is an unresolved set of allegations in relation to the decision to award the World Cup to Qatar in 2022 and to Russia in 2018.

Both organisations have had proven cases of corruption as well as allegations that just will not go away. To a certain extent, the IOC has responded to this by introducing some reforms. It is unlikely that anyone would say that FIFA has removed the doubts about its practices, despite the removal of Blatter.

11 Horne, J and Manzenreiter, W (2006) 'An introduction to the sociology of sports mega-events' *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, Issue Supplement s2, pp. 1–24; Knight, T and Ruscoe, S (2012) *London 2012 Official Commemorative Book*. Chichester: Wiley.

12 Hannigan, J. (1998) *Fantasy City*. London: Routledge.

13 Sugden, J. and Tomlinson, A. (2002) 'International power struggles in the governance of world football: the 2002 and 2006 World Cup bidding wars', In J. Horne & W. Manzenreiter (eds) *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*. London: Routledge, pp. 56–70.

14 Boykoff, J (2011) The Anti-Olympics. *New Left Review*, No. 67 Jan/Feb, pp. 41–59.

15 Boykoff, J (2011) The Anti-Olympics. *New Left Review*, No. 67 Jan/Feb, pp. 41–59.

16 Grohmann, K (2015) 'IOC publishes compensation policy, seeks transparency', 2 April 2015. Reuters <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-olympics-compensation-idUSKBN0MT0TX20150402> Accessed 23 April 2016.

Many commentators have argued that the very fact that FIFA awarded the World Cup to Qatar - a country that has summer temperatures in the 40s, with all that that means – is proof enough that corruption must have taken place. They claim nobody in their right mind would expect athletes to run around for 90 minutes in 40 degrees Celsius.

With all this controversy, why is it that governments are keen to host these events? There are essentially two reasons, which are often closely tied together:

- economics
- prestige

Sport is seen as having the capacity to generate national and local economic and social development. Many city governments in former industrial areas or areas with economic problems see sport as an industry around which they can build an urban regeneration strategy, often through developing tourism. It is hoped that this sort of development will help to reduce social exclusion and crime. For example, in the UK, former industrial cities like Glasgow, Sheffield, Manchester and Birmingham have invested heavily in sports infrastructure in order to be able to host a range of major sports events.

This is nothing compared to the USA, where cities have made enormous investments of public money in stadium developments for the big four professional team sports (American football, baseball, basketball and ice hockey). As Horne and Manzenreiter¹⁷ point out:

Such efforts at ‘urban boosterism’ saw more and more cities competing to offer professional teams facilities. Teams sat back and let bidding cities ‘bid up the price’. By the end of the 1990s there were 30 major stadium construction projects in progress – nearly one-third of the total professional sports infrastructure in the USA.

A similar process is at work for the global mega-events. States provide cities with the funds to bid for international sports events. Public subsidies are provided from central and sub-central governments, while often the same governments have been cutting back on social welfare spending. The social and economic gains predicted from these events are almost always over-estimated and the costs to local and national government almost always under-estimated, but they continue to bid for them.

When they win a bid for one of the Big Two events, to an amazing degree host cities and countries allow the IOC or FIFA to dictate terms within the event area. For example, FIFA insist on all sorts of tax breaks and special legislation to assist their operations. They provide for an exclusion zone around the stadia in which corporate sponsors of the events have a privileged position. This can include practices like banning the sale of any other beer apart from the sponsor beers in the fan zones; ensuring that only cars from sponsors are allowed to drive in and out of the stadia; banning of non-authorised use of the logos and a whole range of words and phrases associated with the event and of activities deemed to be against the image of the event (this was used in a heavy handed way against cafes in London and street hawkers in South Africa).

The City of Vancouver passed a ‘2010 Winter Games By-law’ which outlawed placards, posters and banners that did not ‘celebrate’ the 2010 Winter Games and ‘create or enhance a festive environment and atmosphere’. The displaying of anti-Olympic signs was criminalized and the ordinance gave Canadian authorities the right to remove them from both public as well as private property¹⁸. This was eventually overturned after a public campaign, but shows the extent of the powers demanded by the event organisers and the lengths that the local or national state is prepared to go to accommodate them. This approach has provoked opposition in many of the host cities and countries to the staging of these events.

17 Horne, J and Manzenreiter, W (2006) ‘An introduction to the sociology of sports mega-events’, p.12, *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, Issue Supplement s2, pp. 1–24.

18 Boykoff, J (2011) The Anti-Olympics. *New Left Review*, No. 67 Jan/Feb, pp. 41–59.



The engagement of the BRICS

The way that the Olympics and FIFA operate today fits in with broader developments about the impact of neoliberalism, under which government sports policy has developed in relation to regulation, consumer protection and sports promotion. Not surprisingly, the changing role of the state in the context of neoliberal globalisation has produced a change in the relationship between sport and the state. That is not to say that all states use sport in the same way. Some states use sport as a focus for economic and social development, others for nation building and symbolism ('branding the nation') and still others to assist in economic and political liberalization¹⁹. As Houlihan²⁰ notes:

The willingness of governments to humble themselves before the IOC and FIFA through lavish hospitality and the strategic deployment of presidents, prime ministers, royalty and supermodels is a reflection of the value that governments place on international sport.

As Horne and Manzenreiter²¹ point out: 'The state constructs what is and what is not legitimate sports practice and in doing so effectively determines what is the sports consumers' interest.' The state also presides over, and often co-ordinates, relationships between municipal government, voluntary sports organisations and private sector businesses (whether or not these are directly related to sports). The neoliberal state may have withdrawn from direct service delivery of sport as in many other areas of life but, because other agencies depend on access to state funding, state approval and state political backing, it continues to have an influential role.

But the use of major sports events for political purposes is not new in itself:

- Adolf Hitler tried to use the 1936 Berlin Olympics to aid Nazi propaganda;
- Benito Mussolini similarly hoped to take advantage of Fascist Italy hosting and winning the second football World Cup;
- the Argentinian military dictatorship tried to extract public relations gains when Argentina hosted and won the 1978 football World Cup.

What is interesting today is the evidence that the emerging economies of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) see these events as important ways to validate their arrival on the world scene, to demonstrate their global impact and to celebrate their new power.

Table 2: The engagement of the BRICS

Brazil	FIFA World Cup 2014 Rio Summer Olympics 2016
Russia	Sochi Winter Olympics 2014 FIFA World Cup 2018
India	Commonwealth Games 2010
China	Beijing Summer Olympics 2008 Beijing Winter Olympics 2022
South Africa	Rugby World Cup 1995 FIFA World Cup 2010

They have all engaged in hosting these events in recent years. China's no expense spared approach to the Olympics was aimed at showcasing the country as its rulers intended, to reveal a new world power. Brazil aimed to do something similar over the two years between 2014 and 2016, having captured both the World Cup and the Olympics. South Africa was making a statement about the new country that it has become after apartheid.

Heads of state or prime ministers are often very active in a nation or city's bid for hosting the events. The then Brazilian president Lula was a very visible supporter of Brazil's bids. UK Prime Minister Tony

¹⁹ Black, D.R., and van der Westhuizen, J. 2004. 'The allure of global games for 'semi-peripheral' polities and spaces: a research agenda'. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1195-1214.

²⁰ Houlihan, B. (2002) 'Political involvement in sport, physical education and recreation', p.194 in A. Laker (ed.) *The Sociology of Sport and Physical Education*, London: Routledge pp. 190-210

²¹ Horne, J and Manzenreiter, W (2006) 'An introduction to the sociology of sports mega-events', p.12, *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, Issue Supplement s2, pp. 1-24.

Blair's effort is seen as greatly aiding London's bid for the 2012 summer games just as Russian President Vladimir Putin's trip to Guatemala helped Sochi's candidacy for the 2014 winter Olympics. European heads of state and government attend all the important matches of her or his country's national football team. Senior politicians like to bask in the reflected glory of the athletes. Sometimes this does not work. The UK Government's Chancellor (Finance Minister) George Osborne was loudly booed at the Paralympics medals ceremony in 2012 because of his government's support for cutbacks and a harsher social security regime for those with disabilities among others.

Hence the state remains a central focus in a debate about sports mega-events and the place to campaign – whether it is over inequalities and social exclusion, the regulation of mega-events, consumer politics, human rights, environmental risks in sport or the rights of workers. And we saw this in some of the protests against the World Cup in Brazil.

The global aspect of global sport

Particular sports have distinct cultures of their own and these contribute to shaping local, regional, national, and transnational collective identities. Identification with a specific sport or team is often overlaid with other social differences and particular bonds, which to a certain extent can create common links beyond the locality. While sport is frequently considered to be a largely male pastime (in both participation and spectating), women have also participated in the course of the past three to four decades as well and some of the fastest growing sports in the world (such as women's football) reflect this change.

Football may very well be one of the very few globally understood “languages”. There are certainly globally known individuals associated with many sports. So for example, Ronaldinho at the height of his career was the best-known Brazilian in the world, Zidane the best-known Frenchman, and Franz Beckenbauer, probably still the most famous living German and David Beckham, now also among the most well-known athletes in America as well as in Britain is a global superstar well beyond the world of football.

It is argued that in our age of globalisation, transnational migration and global communications networks have created massive shifts towards a shared global culture in which sport plays an important part. The impact of globalisation on sport is similar to its impact in other areas of life – breaking down barriers, transnationalising elements of national life, destroying some aspects of traditional practices and introducing new ones. So there are new possibilities for global actors – both individual and corporate – and for professional games. One sport expands into the cultural territory of another, such as basketball into Europe and the reciprocal presence of football into the USA (by way of Latin America)²².

The globalisation of sports, and the interests involved, is perfectly illustrated by the case of football and the 2016 achievement of Leicester City in becoming champions of the English Premier League (EPL). From being a sport in which football clubs were almost exclusively owned, supported (and often played for) by people born, brought up and living in the locality of the club, it has become one in which millions of people around the world follow the fortunes of EPL clubs and watch televised matches – either live or recorded. Even in the case of Leicester City, seen as a fairytale triumph of an unfashionable club from a medium sized English city, the reality is that the club is owned by Thai millionaires, and fielded a multinational team from a squad of players from Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Ghana, Japan, Poland, Switzerland, Tunisia and Wales.

This globalisation overlays new areas of culture on to established local sports cultures and there are inevitably impacts and tensions between the local and the global. When teams like Barcelona become global commodities, identities built upon local experiences are stretched beyond their original boundaries. However, although these teams develop multiple international identities or characteristics, with squads of players from all over the world, an international fan base and (often) foreign ownership, the local element of the sports culture remains important. It is sometimes in conflict with the trend to global identity but also is influenced and transformed by it.

22 Markovits, A S and Rensmann, L (2010) *Gaming the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.



Europe dominates both FIFA and the IOC, while North American sports culture continues to hold sway over the Big Four of North American sport (baseball, American football, basketball, and ice hockey). However the world's four leading European football leagues (the English Premier League, Italy's *Serie A*, *La Liga* in Spain, and Germany's *Bundesliga*) dominate world team sport.

Sport is supposedly the great unifier cutting across boundaries and divisions based on class, nationality, ethnicity, culture, location and time. Exaggerated claims are made for this but it is undeniable that there is an element of truth in it and that the globalisation of elite sport does cross-national borders and, at least to a certain extent, helps to create a common sports culture.

Sports mega-events have grown across the world, building on existing interest in sport and involving new populations as both spectators and players. These mega-events attract millions to watch the global spectacle without necessarily building a permanent base for these sports at a local level. Many countries cannot sustain the level of quality of play and players that the TV spectators see at these peak events. It is not always easy to move from mass appreciation of top tier sports to mass participation and spectating at local and national level. This leads to the phenomenon of 'Olympianization' in which millions of people follow particular sports like football and athletics but only at the level of the global showcase tournaments.

As Maguire²³ points out:

Cultural globalisation, of which global sport is a part, can thus be viewed as: unifying, universalizing, progressive and liberating. Or the other hand it can also be seen as: divisive, fragmenting, constraining and destructive of local cultures. There appears to be evidence for both.

Sports mega-events raise a number of important questions about:

- centre-periphery relationships in world sport governance (Sugden and Tomlinson, 2002)
- power relations between nation states, supranational sports associations and the sports business (Butler, 2002),
- the media-sport-business connection (Jennings with Sambrook, 2000), and
- the cultural production of ideologies needed to impose a shared 'commonsense' when a city or country bids and stages the event (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2004)²⁴.

Scambler²⁵ suggests that to understand sport you need a multidimensional 'jigsaw' theoretical model of social reality that recognises five sets of logics and relations:

- the economy and relations of class
- the state and relations of command
- patriarchy and relations of gender
- tribalism and relations of ethnicity, and
- honour and relations of status.

Sport is a culturally contested area. In other words, there are different perceptions of what it means and how it affects society. Millions of people profess an interest, even a passion for different forms of sport but is not a key part in many people's lives. But even for those who say that sport matters, it does not matter all of the time. However, sport does have an impact on aspects of national and cultural identity, mobility, and individualization.

Research into sports mega-events can help us to understand three key dynamics of contemporary society: globalisation, increased commodification and growing inequality. The overt marketization of sports mega-events through the dominance of transnational companies and media conglomerates in sponsorship and marketing these events also creates the conditions in which the participants (or at least some of them) are themselves transformed from being elite athletes into global brands as well (Smart, 2005; Whannel, 2002)²⁶.

23 Maguire, J (2011) 'Globalization and Sport: Beyond the Boundaries?' *Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 5, pp. 923-929, p. 924.

24 Horne, J and Manzenreiter, W (2006) 'An introduction to the sociology of sports mega-events', p.12, *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, Issue Supplement s2, pp. 1-24.

25 Scambler, G (2005) *Sport and society: History, power and culture*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, p.169

26 Smart, B. (2005) *The Sport Star: Modern sport and the cultural economy of sporting celebrity*. London: Sage; Whannel, G. (2002) *Media Sport Stars*. London: Routledge.

The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics saw the most overt ‘incorporation of sporting practice into the ever-expanding marketplace of international capitalism’²⁷ (Gruneau, 1984: 2). Since then the main area of concern about sports mega-events has been on their economic impact and their effect on work and employment rights. The focus of this paper is on this and on what workers’ unions can do to ensure that sustainable gains are made by and for workers in the course of these mega-events.

3. Preparatory Strategies

By Ramon Certeza, Bulend Karadag, Helen Russell, Luciole Sauviat and Verna Dinah Q. Viajar

This chapter examines union strategies in the preparatory phase of the events – from the winning of the bid until the start of the games, and asks what needs to be done in construction and in textiles. It also examines the way that specific legislation has become a part of the framework for the modern sports mega-events. Depending on the circumstances (and each sports mega-event is likely to be different), unions will adopt different approaches, but in all instances it is important to create coalitions with allies. These might be either ‘coalitions of protest’ or ‘coalitions of influence’²⁸. Frege et al (2004) argued that:

Where the state is inclusive of civil society actors, as in Germany, then coalitions of influence will tend to form... Where the state is exclusive of such actors then coalitions of protest will emerge.

Turner²⁹ defined ‘coalitions of protest’ as those which seek to mobilise union members and other constituencies to generate external pressure on government. He contrasted these with ‘coalitions of influence’ in which unions seek coalition with other “insider” organisations in order to make use of their expertise and legitimacy in advancing their own policy to government. The following sections cover both approaches and unions may find one more appropriate than the other in particular situations (or even that it is necessary to initially create a coalition of protest in order to later work within a coalition of influence).

In the construction sector

By Helen Russell and Luciole Sauviat

Introduction

During the preparation of sport events, construction is the most important industry. A vast amount of state subsidies creates a profit boom for the industry. Not only are sport facilities, transport infrastructures and high class hotels built and upgraded to meet the international standards of the sporting federations and committees such as FIFA, UEFA or the IOC, but also governments use the events for renewing or building new infrastructures such as roads, railways, undergrounds and airports. The construction industry is generally labour intensive and often relies on cheap labour.

While before the events there is a short-term employment increase, the profit gains go mostly to the construction companies’ owners and shareholders³⁰. In Qatar for instance, estimates for spending on infrastructure for the 2022 World Cup are as high as \$220 billion and \$15 billion profits will be made by the companies working on the infrastructure of the Cup³¹.

27 Gruneau, R. (1984) ‘Commercialism and the modern Olympics’ in A. Tomlinson and G. Whannel (eds) *Five Ring Circus: Money, power and politics at the Olympic Games*, London: Pluto pp. 1–15.

28 Frege, C, Heery, E. and Turner, L. (2004) ‘The New Solidarity? Coalition Building in Five Countries’, in C. Frege and J. Kelly (eds) *Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Labor Movement Renewal in the Global North*, pp. 137–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press

29 Turner, L. (2006) ‘Globalization and the Logic of Participation: Unions and the Politics of Coalition Building’, *Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 83–97.

30 Bond, P and Cottle, E (2011) ‘Economic Promises and Pitfalls of South Africa’s World Cup’. In *South Africa’s World Cup: A legacy for Whom?* Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press

31 ITUC (2015) ‘New ITUC Report “Qatar: Profit and Loss” Workers Paying with Lives as Companies Extract Billions in Profit.’ <http://www.ituc-csi.org/new-ituc-report-qatar-profit-and> Accessed 18 May 2016.



In some countries such as the UK, the industry is very decentralised with a high level of self-employment and small firms³². In few countries like the Ukraine, due to its command economy past, it is centralised with a predominance of state firms. For such big projects, generally construction TNCs get the building contracts from government through a more or less transparent bidding process.

The construction sector is usually shaped by subcontracting, temporary employment, and migratory employment. Employment for global sports events starts with the game bidding process, often 10 years before the events and drops during the games. Especially during the preparation of the events, the contractors frequently rely on migrant employment, to fill labour shortages. In Athens for the 2004 Olympic Games, about 60% of the construction workers were migrants, for the London Olympics 2012 about 30% and in Qatar for the World Cup 2022, at least 90% of the workforce were or are migrants. These statistics do not usually differentiate between migrants who came solely for the construction of the events and those who are living in the country, having migrated earlier. Migrant workers are often less protected than domestic workers. For instance, in 2013 the Russian government passed a law removing various provisions of the Labour Code in relation to World Cup 2018 workers and allowing companies to hire and fire migrant workers without obtaining any permits from state institutions.

One other feature of the construction industry is its high rate of both non-fatal and fatal accidents. In work for the UEFA Championships 2012, 20 workers died, for the Sochi Winter Olympics at least 60 (BWI 2014), and for the Qatar World Cup 2022, which at the time of writing will take place in 6 years, up to 1200³³.

Jobs in the industry can be divided in three kinds of employment:

- Full time employment with social security benefits and access to unionisation. These workers are usually employed by the main contractors and are mostly citizens of the host country of the events.
- Less regulated employment like multiple job-holding, temporary work, (bogus) self-employment with less social security benefits, wages often paid late, wage theft and more dangers related to being organised. These workers work usually for the main contractors, subcontractors and temporary agencies and have often a migration history.
- Poorly and non-regulated employment with no social security benefits at all, wages often paid late, wage theft and tiny possibility to organise. These workers are usually employed under verbal contracts by subcontractors, often on a daily or weekly basis and are predominantly migrant workers.

Other divisions exist in the industry such as between civil engineering and the building sector or between jobs in leadership positions (engineers, architects, site managers etc.) and building workers. In this chapter, we relate to strategies aiming at improving the working conditions of building workers. Due to the immovable deadlines of the events, pressure on the workers is high but their power of disruption is also high and so could be their leverage for better working conditions. Some of the challenges to workers' ability to make gains are the fragmentation of the industry and its low unionisation density. Nevertheless, during the preparation of several events (South Africa World Cup 2010, Ukraine UEFA Championships 2012, and the FIFA World Cup and Olympics in Brazil in 2014 and 2016) the BWI and its affiliates managed to get around these challenges.

Strategies

The Building and Wood Workers' International (BWI) and its affiliate unions developed models for strategic campaigning in the construction sector around sports mega-events. The first one examined here was in South Africa, with a lively labour movement, the other one in Qatar with no labour movement. In 2007 the "Fair Games, Fair Play: Campaign for Decent Work Towards and Beyond 2010" was launched at the World Social Forum in Nairobi³⁴.

32 Chappell, L, Sriskandarajah, D and Swinburn, T K (2008) Building a New Home: Migration in the UK construction sector. Economics of Migration project Working Paper2, London: IPPR

33 ITUC (2014) The case against Qatar, Brussels: ITUC http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/the_case_against_qatar_en_web170314.pdf

34 Cottle, E and Rombaldi, Mauricio (2013) Lessons from South Africa's FIFA World Cup. Kassel: GLU. First published as a chapter in *La Coupe est pleine!* published in French by the Europe-Third World Centre (CETIM), Switzerland. http://www.global-labour-university.org/fileadmin/Summer_School_2014/EddieCottleCETIMbook2013FINAL.pdf. Accessed 18 May 2016

The model, which was also used for the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, combined five integrated strategic pillars: organising, research, negotiations, campaigning, and international solidarity³⁵. Organising was considered as the central pillar of any campaign, especially on the sites of the World Cup, where agencies/labour brokers' workers and migrant workers find employment and are traditionally not organised. Research, education and technical support was the backbone of the campaign in order to conceptualise organising and to gather information about the wages and working conditions of the World Cup workers. Supported by the results of the research, a set of demands were made, which were used by the formerly competing unions in negotiations with the various wage-setting bodies. Workers' (wildcat) strikes were the leverage that was needed for these negotiations. Campaigning included the lobbying of FIFA by Swiss and South African unions, the ITUC and the BWI to demand union inspection of the sites as well as a broad media campaign and a conference. Finally, international solidarity took the form of (limited) financial support from some European unions and labour NGOs, of the international inspection of the sites, as well as an international media campaign.

The BWI Qatar World Cup 2022 campaign "No World Cup without Workers Rights", which was developed after Qatar's successful bid, has 6 clusters, taking into consideration that there are no labour movement organisations in Qatar:

- Organising,
- targeting construction companies,
- dialogue with the government, ministries and governmental organisations,
- targeting FIFA and their committee in charge of migrant workers,
- recruiting in migrant sending countries and
- communication between BWI affiliates.

Each of these clusters are realised through the BWI and their affiliates outside Qatar. Compared to the South Africa campaign, the pillars relating to research, negotiations, campaigning and international solidarity are not mentioned. The reasons for that might be the lack of a labour research institution in Qatar as well as the lack of negotiating bodies. Campaigning and international solidarity could have been added to the clusters of the Qatar campaign (see following chapters) but especially international solidarity is an integral part of most of the clusters since these involve BWI and unions outside Qatar, who lead the (media) campaign. Concerning the other pillars, recruiting in migrant sending countries is done by local unions and networking with national community associations in Qatar is done by BWI affiliates. Dialogue with authorities takes place in Qatar through visits and written communication from high-ranking union officers, while targeting the construction TNCs is done in the countries where these companies have their headquarters. Targeting FIFA is mostly done by the ITUC, BWI and the ILO.

From a union revitalisation standpoint, communication around the affiliates has the advantage of intensifying the relationships between unions and between unions and the international labour institutions.

The next section highlights some of the campaign tactics that have been or could be used by unions in the preparatory phase of the events.

Organising

Organising, understood as mobilising around a concrete issue with a recruiting drive, has been either central to the efforts of unions in the preparation of the events (South Africa World Cup and Ukraine UEFA Championship), peripheral (Germany World Cup, London Olympics, Vancouver Winter Olympics) or is being done without the presence of unions (Qatar World Cup). Union access to the building sites of the events is often restricted and therefore makes organising difficult. However labour activists and unionists have found ways around this restriction, either through agreements (UK, Ukraine), campaigning (South Africa) or through networking (Qatar).

Which organising tactics have successfully been used during the various events?

In South Africa, the organising strategy put a new focus on workers engaged by sub-contractors and labour brokers. The three (usually) competing construction unions engaged in recruitment driven by a Steering

³⁵ ibid



Committee, to which there was accountability for progress. Unions also engaged the “Fair Games, Fair Play” campaign coordinator individually to develop recruitment plans for the mega-events. In doing so, the unions became more receptive to the legal transformations that would be necessary to address issues for non-permanent workers³⁶. In 2009, unions submitted to the Department of Labour a regulation demand to ensure that workers who work for more than three months are employed permanently and on the same conditions. Due to the efforts of the unions, a law was passed in 2015 (after the games) making contract and labour broker workers, permanent workers after 3 months of employment.

In terms of membership, the South African unions recruited 27,731 workers in the project period, increasing union membership by 39.4% from 2006 to 2009³⁷. One important factor was however, similar to the Brazil World Cup 2014, in that the unions were able to build on the threat of the (wildcat) strikes of the workers, with a timely delivery for the World Cup.

In the Ukraine the Construction Union (CBMIWUU) as part of the BWI “Euro 2012: Decent Work campaign” aimed at increasing membership and reforming the union’s structures towards other affiliations and organising structures. There, the strategy was micro issues oriented, like wage arrears for some groups of workers. Workers with wage arrears or health and safety issues could get educational sessions on labour rights and unionism as well as on strategising. At the organisational level, at least two new unions at company level were created on one central building site and one of them was directly affiliated to the national - instead of the regional - union headquarters because the former had more leverage with the ministry in charge. In terms of recruitment, in total by the end of the construction period 1,670 workers had joined the union.

In Qatar, migrant workers’ unions are prohibited. Therefore, the BWI developed a strategy of networking with community organisations which are acting as support networks and joining “post arrival seminars” at the embassies. These one-day seminars are attended by about 100 workers each. The topics of concern brought by workers are: housing, contracts substitution (receiving a different contract than agreed in the sending country), medical sick leave, occupational health and safety as well as Qatari labour rights. The support groups advise their fellow workers on legal issues and on health and safety.

During the preparation of the sports events, unions, particularly those partnering with governments, have been under pressure to ensure a successful hosting of the events or not to be seen as ‘spoilsports’. Therefore, they often do not use the leverage possessed by the workers and the events to their full extent. Nevertheless, in the cases where organising occurred, such as the Brazil World Cup, better wages - or at least payments of wage arrears (Ukraine UEFA Championship) - and better working conditions such as transportation costs or better health and safety were achieved.

Recommendations:

- Organise during the preparation phase, as early as possible.
- Use these organising efforts to revitalise the union.
- Use mobile technologies (such as Mobile Phone Applications) since building workers use them.
- Have someone whose only job is coordinating the campaign, in order not to add an agenda to other unionists. This person should come from a labour movement organisation but preferably not an individual union in order to enable competing unions to work together.
- Target issues of temporary employment, agency work, informal work etc. as it will increase in the period before the games. Keep this momentum for future work on the issue.
- Do not be influenced by the discourse of national prestige or by accusations of ‘spoilsport’ in cases of disruption of the games, and use the timely threat of strikes for bargaining leverage.
- Rely on the workers’ self-organising power and where organising in unions is prohibited create committees.
- Negotiate.

36 Cottle, E and Rombaldi, Mauricio (2013) Lessons from South Africa’s FIFA World Cup. Kassel: GLU. First published as a chapter in *La Coupe est pleine!* published in French by the Europe–Third World Centre (CETIM), Switzerland. http://www.global-labour-university.org/fileadmin/Summer_School_2014/EddieCottleCETIMbook2013FINAL.pdf. Accessed 18 May 2016

37 *ibid*

Union participation in migrants' countries of origin

The participation of the unions and labour organisations in the migrants' countries of origin should be part of any sports mega-event campaign. Where possible the unions from the country of origin should work with the unions of the host country and the global union federations. Often migrants do not know the union system in the host country, which obviously varies from place to place not only in the way it functions but also in its closeness to employers. Therefore, beside the language issue and the short duration of their employment terms, migrants may be cautious about approaching unions in a foreign context.

As far as is known, the Qatar campaign is the first one to include recruitment in the migrant sending countries, namely India, Nepal and the Philippines. This involved union-run pre-departure seminars. In India, as part of the “No World Cup without Workers' Rights” campaign, one construction union provides these pre-departure seminars focussing on the risks related to undocumented migration and noticed a decrease in such migration since the implementation of the seminars³⁸. It also provides support for returning workers. Due to the harsh working conditions in Qatar, a substantial number of workers return before the end of the construction projects. The TKTMS union in India supports returning workers in wage dispute settlements with their hiring agencies, with rehabilitation efforts and in the worst case bringing home to the workers' families the remains of those killed. Additionally, the union, together with migrants' organisations, established the Migrant Workers' Rights Coalition in India, which also campaigns on Qatar and lobbies against recruiting agencies and government.

Many migrant workers get worse working conditions than the locals or than some categories of migrant workers with higher status. For the 2010 Olympics in Canada, a Canadian construction union successfully took up such a case to the provincial Human Rights Tribunal and the provincial government branch with labour jurisdiction. The involvement of one of the migrants' country of origin unions took the form of the (publicised) visit of one executive member, who met with the president of the Canadian Labour Congress³⁹.

The involvement of the unions of the migrants' countries of origin, either at the level of pre-departure awareness and information meetings or in campaigning is still a promising work in progress. Besides information about migration laws, it would also be helpful to provide migrants at the work agencies with the contacts of local unions in the host country. The participation of labour organisations of the sending countries in a sports mega-event campaign can surely strengthen the rights of the numerous migrant workers as well as the international labour movement.

Recommendations:

- Offer pre-departure training. During these training sessions, not only explain the regulations in the receiving country but also set out the ongoing campaign and provide contacts on how to join.
- Work with the embassies if they are sympathetic to your aims.
- Offer legal advice and services for re-entry in the country of origin
- Monitor hiring agencies, lobby and organise against fraudulent ones; sue them.
- Work with migrant organisations and use human rights and equality treatment regulations
- Coordinate with the unions in the migrants' countries of origin.

Campaigning

Campaigning is one of the strategic pillars of a sports mega-event campaign. In this case campaigning is not the sum of the tactics presented here but a multi-faceted tactic, involving a media campaign, rallies and demonstrations or lobbying in order to put pressure on decision making bodies and/or lead to negotiations.

For instance, for the Olympics in Atlanta in 1996, “after a long-term campaign with rallies, protests and other interventions, through which workers exercised their power to disrupt normal business life, a first major step was achieved: union standards were applied to construction work at Olympic venues”⁴⁰.

³⁸ Interview with officer of the TKTMS (Tamil Nadu Construction and unorganised Workers Federation India)

³⁹ Chong (2016)

⁴⁰ Schwetz et al. 2010: 50



A media campaign was sometimes central (South Africa, Qatar) sometimes at the semi-periphery (Brazil) or the periphery (UK, Germany) of the concerns of unions during the preparation of the sport events. The setting up of sports mega-events interests the public, therefore there is an opportunity to step in and link the general interest with labour interest. For instance during the World Cup in Brazil, the media were interested in the building of the new stadiums, therefore the campaign used this chance to incorporate labour issues into the media's attention. Strikes in the stadiums, press releases of the trade unions/the campaign and visits to the stadiums with the representatives of FIFA altogether facilitated the coverage of the campaign in the Brazilian media. The Brazilian Decent Work Campaign also provided information through the campaign website or in printed flyers about the working conditions in stadiums in order to be easily reproduced in the media.

In South Africa, the media were used strategically from the beginning. The South African television reported on the start of the campaign and local radio stations broadcasted interviews. A media profile was developed for the whole period of the campaign leading to articles in the national and European press. International documentaries were also produced and claimed that the campaign analysis was the only source of alternative knowledge on the Cup. Press conferences were organised and generally the sympathy of journalists and the media for the objectives of the “Fair Games - Fair Play” campaign was gained by exposing the gap between the profits of the construction companies and the stagnant wages of the workers⁴¹. One of the immediate results of the media presence was a FIFA statement release on its alleged support of the “Fair Games – Fair Play” campaign after the media coverage of the building sites inspection⁴². Finally, a conference of the diverse organisations advocating for better working conditions for workers associated with the World Cup, demonstrated the necessity to move beyond the construction sector in order to achieve decent work for a broader section of the working class.

For the Qatar Campaign, the media also play a central role. It was after a newspaper article written in the British *Guardian* newspaper in September 2013 that a fact finding mission of senior union officials, members of BWI, as well as an undercover Amnesty International colleague went to Qatar, to visits the labour camps and working sites of the Cup. Of course, the Qatari authorities became aware of the visit of the unionists and finally invited them for a dialogue. The series of dialogues and media pressure on the Qatari government led at the end of 2015 to small changes in the Qatari Kafala law (no longer called Kafala anymore). The new law did not substantially change the situation of the migrant workers (the most fundamental change is that workers are allowed to stay in Qatar and take a new job after their first contract ends) but it shows that the government had to react to critics and that the pressure should continue.

The BWI campaign “No World Cup without Workers Rights” supported by press conferences with Human Rights Organisations, is very media compatible, because it highlights the plight of the workers while building high-class infrastructures and can be linked to other relevant issues such the corruption scandals in FIFA. The campaign has also the advantage that unions can be seen as reliable partners for the media. The Swedish union, Byggnads, for instance has been able to establish a network of journalists that uses the union as a source of information regarding the conditions in Qatar and neighbouring countries. Of course the media campaign is more effective if accompanied by union actions: in 2015 unionists from UNIA (Swiss), Solidar and the BWI, organised a protest, where the participants lay on the ground in front of a stadium symbolizing the dead workers. In any event, broadcasting, television and the press are not the only media available. The NGO Awaaz launched online petitions calling on the Qatari government and the Qatar 2022 supreme committee to reform Qatar's migration law.

Involving the media in the campaign had the advantage for the unions that they are now known as institutions tackling migrant workers issues worldwide⁴³. A media campaign does not lead to immediate results as can be the case with negotiations, but in the long term it can influence various stakeholders, since their business or political interests might be threatened by bad press.

Recommendations

- Use the momentum and work with the media throughout the preparation of the games.
- Organise actions that will enable the inhabitants of a given city to participate.
- Targeting companies

⁴¹ Pedrina & Merz 2011, Cottle & Rombaldi 2013

⁴² Cottle & Rombaldi 2013

⁴³ Interview with FNV, IGBAU, Byggnads

The tactic of targeting companies is related to reaching or enforcing agreements with, or naming and shaming, construction companies. The tactic that has been the most used is the negotiating of so-called Global or International Framework Agreements (IFA). These agreements are made between a transnational corporation (TNC) and a Global Union Federation (GUF) and the best ones apply to the whole supply chain of a TNC. It should include basic national rights as well as paragraphs enabling workers and local unions to step in, such as around the ILO core standards: freedom of association and collective bargaining, no forced labour, no discrimination in employment and no child labour. For example, for the Brazilian World Cup the BWI negotiated an IFA with Odebrecht, the leading construction company in Latin America and the builder of the four stadiums of the World Cup 2014. A trade union network constituted of union representatives in all the construction sites of Odebrecht in Latin America was set up by BWI and the local unions were able to exchange information about their working conditions with the aim of negotiating better ones.

For the Qatar campaign, European unions are active in negotiating International Framework Agreements with the TNCs that are based in the relevant European countries. In the absence of workers' organisations, either the workers themselves or the unions from outside the country together with the BWI, will have to demand or monitor the implementation of any relevant International Framework Agreements.

The OECD guidelines can also be used to target TNCs, even if the guidelines are a rather symbolic instrument. Considering the lack of options to influence FIFA, the BWI made good use of the OECD guidelines for the "No World Cup without Workers Rights" campaign. A member union had the idea to launch an OECD complaint arguing that FIFA is a TNC, since it gives work orders. If FIFA is a TNC then it can implement labour standards in the bid, the procurement and the merchandising. The BWI complaint stipulates that: "FIFA did not respect Chapter II, Paragraph 2 of the OECD Guidelines, which calls for enterprises to "Respect the internationally-recognised human rights of those affected by their activities."

Mid October 2015, the complaint was accepted by the Swiss National Contact Point (NCP) of the OECD. The initial assessment of the Swiss NCP in October 2016 was that "FIFA's involvement in the organisation of the FIFA 2022 World Cup and in particular the contractual relationship with its direct counterparties can be considered as activities of commercial nature, to which the OECD Guidelines are applicable (NCP 2015:6)". Therefore in particular cases the complaint applies to FIFA and the NCP agreed to host a dialogue between FIFA and the BWI, with the objective of reaching an agreement. The NCP will publish a final statement of these proceedings on its webpage and might draw recommendations for the implementations of the guidelines. Sometimes it is also possible to target the TNCs via national laws or guidelines. For instance, a French union and a human rights association made a complaint against Grands Projets and the French leaders of QDVC (a Vinci subsidiary in Qatar) for forced labour, slavery and concealment. If the complaint is successful it would only result in a fine for the TNCs, so as with petitions and media campaigns the purpose of this tactic is to make the situation known to the wider public.

As it has been emphasised by the "Fair Play and Decent work" campaign in South Africa, with the profits they make out for the construction of the venues and infrastructures, the construction TNCs are the real winners of sports mega-events. Therefore, is there any leverage that could be tapped more effectively in building up campaigns targeting the reputation of the companies? If such a construction company plans to sponsor the games, the threat of a tarnished image can be used even more efficiently.

Recommendations:

- Monitor IFAs and make use of the rights and standards they provide
- Create a responsibility campaign for any construction TNC financing or sponsoring the games.
- Negotiate

Cooperation with other groups

As sports events interest many groups in society and are related to various processes such as capital accumulation, the environment, gentrification, migration, corruption, etc.) they offer a good platform for labour to cooperate with other critical actors and so to extend its boundaries.

To work with other groups is sometimes difficult for unions, but a start has been made. For example, in South Africa, the Fair Play campaign in South Africa cooperated with StreetNet, an informal traders' organisation and the No World Cup campaign for Qatar worked with Human Rights Organisations. One



building workers' union in India works for the Qatar campaign with domestic workers' associations and in Finland, the building workers' unions involved migrant organisations in the campaign for workers' rights in Qatar and so managed to raise the profile of unions with the workers in relation to the tournament.

Recommendation

- Identify the issues of concern in the population; contact existing groups and associations and work with them.

Union Involvement in Bidding Process

Olympics and Paralympics

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) decides on the host city for Olympic Games by a selection process which is held seven years before the Games. The process begins ten years before the Games with an invitation to the National Olympics Committees (NOCs) to nominate potential host cities. Applicant cities complete a questionnaire which the IOC use to produce a shortlist of candidate cities, who are then invited to submit more detailed bids. The IOC Executive Committee considers the bids and a vote is held to decide the host city.

The ideal situation would be for unions to be part of the bidding process by establishing relationships with the National Olympic Committees. Unions have not generally taken advantage of this but the recent agreement between Swedish union confederation (LO) and the Swedish Olympic Committee (SOK) during the Stockholm bid for the 2022 Winter Olympics shows that it is possible to work in partnership towards ensuring a commitment to workers' rights at events. Following an approach from the SOK it was agreed that LO would write a draft agreement. LO then set up a working group of three unions representing workers in the construction sector, metal industry and hotel and restaurant sectors, who had previously worked on this issue at a global level. The working group drafted an agreement and following some negotiations LO and SOK agreed a common document which was signed by the Presidents of both organisations.

That agreement enshrined the following principles and values in the bid:

- “the development and implementation of the Olympic Games will be designed to achieve long-term sustainability from an environmental perspective as well as economically, socially and ethically
- the SOK will actively encourage the International Olympic Committee and the Olympic movement to make these points a priority in all their activities
- internationally adopted decisions, such as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the eight core ILO conventions and the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, will be respected and will serve as guiding principles for everyone involved in the preparation and implementation of the 2022 Olympic Games in Stockholm
- Companies that produce facilities, equipment, clothes and supply services for the Olympic Games in Stockholm will be encouraged to comply with the above principles in all operations and further promote the signing of International Framework Agreements between international companies and global union federations to ensure good conditions for workers throughout the production chain. All enterprises and suppliers of goods and services will also be encouraged to follow Swedish collective agreements when the work is performed in Sweden.”⁴⁴

The agreement was supported by the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) who wrote to Thomas Bach, President of the IOC urging that a commitment to internationally recognised labour standards should be incorporated into the bid criteria for all future Olympics.

Prior to the bid process SOK and LO did not have a working relationship but due to the success of the agreement there is now a good relationship between the two organisations. Despite Sweden eventually withdrawing from the Winter Olympics 2022 bidding process, LO has continued to work on the issue of human and workers' rights in sports mega-events. It recently set up a working group involving the SOK, the Swedish Paralympic Committee and Swedish sports governing bodies to write another agreement, which

44 LO-SOK 2013

will be a model agreement for Swedish sports organisations to use when applying to host sports events. This is an excellent example of how construction workers' and other unions can be involved in the bidding process of sports mega-events.

FIFA World Cup

The bidding process for the FIFA World Cup commences with the request for expressions of interest to which Member Associations (MAs) respond. FIFA then sends out the information on the bidding process, including a Bidding Manual. MAs submit a Bidding Agreement which binds them to the bid requirements and then their formal bids. FIFA considers the bids and selects a candidate host for approval via a secret ballot vote of the FIFA Executive Committee.

FIFPro, the World Footballers' Union has lobbied FIFA for respect for international human rights standards to be part of the bidding process and some national footballers' unions have been involved in their MAs bids submission. Gordon Taylor, the Chief Executive of the British Professional Footballers' Association (PFA), which is affiliated to the Trades Union Congress (TUC), was the Vice-President on England's 2018 World Cup bid committee. However, beyond players' unions no other unions have worked with the MAs on the bids process to get workers' rights embedded in the bids. Although the bidding process for FIFA has been accused of being corrupt, it may still be worthwhile construction unions contacting their MAs once they have expressed an interest in bidding to be a host country. It should be possible for players' unions to put construction unions in contact with their MAs.

Sports and Rights Alliance

In 2014, the ITUC became a founding member of the Sports and Rights Alliance (SRA.) The SRA is a coalition of leading NGOs, sports organisations and trades unions, to campaign for human rights and labour standards, good governance and financial transparency to be key considerations during decision-making process around major sports events. Membership includes the ITUC, Amnesty International, FIFPro, Football Supporters Europe, Human Rights Watch, Supporters Direct Europe, Terre des Hommes and Transparency International Germany. The SRA have lobbied the IOC, European Olympic Commission (EOC) and FIFA. Construction workers' unions in candidate countries could contact the SRA to set up a joint lobbying campaign during the bid process.

Working with Sports Organising Bodies

It has proved difficult for construction workers' unions to establish a relationship with organising bodies and other sports federations, but where relationships have been established it has led to some successes.

FIFA

A key element of past construction workers' campaigns around World Cup events has been lobbying the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the governing body of association football, futsal and beach football. The Building and Wood Workers' International (BWI) had some successful engagement with FIFA prior to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. Following a spate of strikes across South Africa and the lobbying work of BWI and the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, the trade union Unia and the Swiss Labour Assistance, FIFA was forced to engage with the unions. On 11 March 2008 a meeting was held in Zurich that brought together union representatives from South Africa, Switzerland, Holland, BWI and ITUC with the then FIFA President, Sepp Blatter and FIFA General Secretary, Jérôme Valcke.

Following this meeting, Sepp Blatter recognised that trade unions should be a part of worksite inspections. He also agreed to highlight the concerns of the unions over workers' rights to the South African Government and released a press statement that gave FIFA support to ensuring improved and decent working conditions. However, due to intense pressure from the Local Organising Committee and local employers, FIFA's commitment to joint site inspections was not put into practice, although there were a number of joint site inspections. As a concession to the unions, FIFA agreed to give two free tickets to matches to every construction worker engaged on building the stadiums. The union's relationship with FIFA was in reality more symbolic than meaningful and did not lead to any ongoing partnership working.



However, this relationship, albeit limited in its results, was not replicated in the run up to the 2014 Brazil World Cup. Although there were strikes in Brazil, a lack of media coverage meant that FIFA did not feel under the same amount of pressure as in South Africa and subsequently a meeting between FIFA the BWI and the ITUC in November 2011 on securing decent work failed to produce significant positive outcomes.

There has also been a lack of willingness to engage with unions by the organisers of regional football championships, most notably in the run up to Euro 2012, where despite attempts made by the Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers Union of Ukraine (CBMIWUU), UEFA did not engage with, or respond to the concerns raised by trade unions.

Despite the mixed success of engagement with FIFA and UEFA, unions should still consider working towards establishing a relationship with the organising bodies. Indeed, the current scandals in FIFA and UEFA, due to a history of a lack of good governance means that they are under increased pressure to put football and themselves in a more positive light, which may mean that they are more willing to engage with unions.

IOC

There has not been any significant engagement between the construction unions and the IOC at the international level. However, construction workers unions of host countries have been able to establish working relationships with the Local Organising Committees of the IOC, especially at the Sydney 2000 and London 2012 Games. Some global union federations, including the ITUC and BWI have tried to engage with the IOC on the issue of workers' rights in host countries. In 2015 the IOC held a review entitled Olympic Agenda 2020 into the future of the organisation. The review discussed a number of issues including the Olympic bids process and game management. The BWI actively encouraged affiliates to input into the review and provided a number of suggestions around workers' rights that affiliates could submit. Following the review the IOC committed to increasing engagement with civil organisations and explicitly mentioned working with the ITUC.

International Federations

Engaging with International Sports Federations (IFs) is an unexplored area of work. International Sports Federations are global non-governmental organisations, recognised by the IOC to administer particular sports at an international level. Examples include the International Triathlon Union (ITU) for the triathlon, Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI) for cycling and Fédération Internationale de Natation (FINA) for swimming. The IFs govern, promote and develop their sports and, in order to be recognised by the IOC, must comply with the values of the Olympic Charter. IFs are part of the bidding process giving their opinions on candidate cities, particularly whether cities have the capacity to deliver the Games. It may be possible for trade unions in candidate or host countries to develop relationships with the IFs or at least to lobby them during the bidding process to recognise the importance of workers' rights in bids. In February 2016, FINA announced that Qatar will host the 2023 World Swimming Championships, which highlights the urgent need to lobby the IFs.

Working with Athletes/Players Unions

There are a growing number of sports and players' trade unions and associations that represent professional sports people, of which some have actively supported campaigns around construction workers' rights at sports mega-events. This provides an opportunity for construction workers' unions to work together with players' unions.

Players' unions federations

Many national players' unions are part of a larger federation of sports unions. UNI World Athletes, part of UNI Global is a worldwide network of player associations, including FIFPro (the world footballers' association), the Federation of International Cricketers' Associations, the International Rugby Players' Association, EU Athletes, the National Football League Players Association, the National Hockey League Players Association, the Japanese Professional Baseball Players Association and the Australian Athletes' Alliance. This network represents 85,000 members, based in over 60 countries. UNI World Athletes have been part of the UNI Global campaign for workers' rights in Qatar and are supporting the ITUC campaign

for rights for the Qatar 2022 construction workers. EU Athletes is the European Elite Athletes Association and represents over 25,000 professional athletes from across a wide range of sports. It may be worthwhile construction workers' unions in host countries contacting UNI World Athletes and EU Athletes to explore the possibilities of joint campaigns.

Football

Established in 1965, FIFPro is the global federation of 58 professional football players' associations, which represents more than 65,000 players, both male and female. FIFPro have actively campaigned and lobbied on the issue of construction workers' rights at football championships. In 2013, FIFPro sent a delegation to Qatar for an initial meeting with the country's football authorities and World Cup organisers to express its concerns over the conditions for workers building infrastructure and the need for core labour standards. Alongside the Qatar Football Association (QFA), a member of the FIFPro board met with the Secretary General of the Qatar 2022 Supreme Committee and other representatives responsible for delivering the 2022 FIFA World Cup.

In 2014, representatives of FIFPro met with FIFA President Sepp Blatter and Executive Committee member Theo Zwanziger to present a number of recommendations on how to tackle labour rights abuses in Qatar. Alongside the issue of the rights of construction workers, FIFPro expressed concerns over the health and safety of football players competing in a summer competition in the heat in Qatar. FIFPro are also campaigning against the non-payment of wages of footballers in Qatar and the Kafala system, which has meant that a number of footballers, including the French player, Zahir Belounis were being prevented from leaving the country after having exit visas refused. FIFPro are also calling for the application of agreed minimum contract requirements, dispute resolution mechanisms and the establishment of an independent football players' union. These demands are important, due to the creation of the Qatar Star League, which will involve 300 professional footballers.

Construction workers' unions in the host countries of football championships could contact FIFPro to propose joint work. FIFPro have well-developed links with FIFA and may be able to help unions to gain access to FIFA officials.

Olympic sports

It is more difficult to establish contact with sports unions of those sports that are part of the Olympics Games programme. Team sports are more unionised and better organised than individual sports and therefore many athletes at Olympic Games are not members of a union. Nevertheless, it is estimated by UNI World Athletes that there were around 1,400 unionised athletes at the London 2012 Olympics.

Since 1981, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has had an Athletes Commission which represents athletes in both the summer and winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. It is a consultative body, which has the limited power of making recommendations to the IOC Executive Bodies. Part of its remit around the organisation of the Olympic Games is to be involved in the evaluation process of the candidate cities, monitoring the organisation of the Olympic Games and developing the programme of the Games. There are at least 12 members (8 from summer sports and 4 winter sports) who are elected by athletes competing at the Olympics for a period of eight years. There are also Athletes Commissions at the Continental Associations of NOCs e.g. Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA) and European Olympic Committees (EOC), the national level as part of the National Olympic Committees and within the International Federations representing the different sports. It may be worthwhile host country unions establishing contact with the representatives on the IOC Athletes Commission, especially if any are based in the host country. However, it should be noted that players and athletes unions, including UNI World Athletes have expressed concern at the direction of the Athletes Commission over certain issues, including anti-doping, the lack of recognition of athletes as workers and a lack of willingness to engage with athletes' unions.

At London 2012, a number of athletes, independently of the Athletes' Commission, organised a social media campaign against Rule 40 of the IOC Charter, which prohibits competitors from advertising companies that are not one of the Olympic Games sponsors, both prior to and during the Games. A campaign against the rule was organised by athletes on social media forums, especially Twitter under the hashtag #WeDemandChange. The campaign brought attention to a range of broader athletes' demands, including a lack of representation in sports governance and a demand for collective bargaining within



professional sport. This highlights the fact that the athletes themselves, as well as those employed in delivering the Games, have concerns and areas of dispute and shows that there could be the potential for unions to support athletes' campaigns and through this establish a working relationship.

Joint Agreements between Event Organisers and Unions

The most effective way to ensure construction workers' rights at sports mega-events is to negotiate an agreement between the unions and the event organisers. This is made easier if unions have already established a relationship with organisations such as the IOC and FIFA.

Memorandum of Agreements

Prior to the 2012 London Olympics, the British Trade Union Congress, alongside the construction unions - Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and AMICUS (now merged to form Unite), GMB and the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) - worked to reach a Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) with the Olympic Development Agency (ODA) which had responsibility for the construction of the sites, and also with CLM, a private sector company managing delivery, and acting as the link between the ODA and external contractors. The agreement was signed five years before the Games and was designed to be a "well-structured framework for the conduct of Industrial Relations, based on agreed principles"⁴⁵.

The MoA covered procurement procedures, a commitment to nationally agreed industry wage rates, union access to sites and a commitment to direct employment. Alongside the MoA was the pre-existing Construction Industry Joint Council Working Rule Agreement for the Construction Industry (CIJC), which, among other things, aims to promote good industrial relations on site between main contractors, sub-contractors and the trade unions.

The MoA included the following provisions:

- support for trades union membership and representation, including the provision of appropriate facilities at individual project or employer level, and reasonable time off for trades union duties;
- access to construction employers for full-time union officials on the Olympic Park;
- commitment to the ethos of a directly employed workforce; and
- terms and conditions of employment for construction operatives in accordance with the National Working Rule Agreement (NWRA) relevant to a contractor's type and scope of work"⁴⁶.

What the MoA did not do was establish pay levels, bonuses or other benefits and allowances. Instead, it defined the minimum acceptable employment standards, which were in line with the existing nationally bargained collective agreements in the construction industry.

A Programme Review Group (PRG) was established that brought together trades union national officers and senior ODA and CLM Delivery Partner representatives. The Group met every four months to discuss issues arising, including contractor compliance with the MoA, work progress, health and safety, equalities issues and skills. The trade unions were able to raise issues or concerns at these meetings.

Whilst this agreement was welcomed by the unions and the TUC it did not contain as many commitments as a similar agreement signed at the Sydney Olympics: the scope of the memorandum was limited, saying little about pay and failing to offer an Olympic bonus for workers as was the case in Sydney.

Memorandum of Agreements should cover the workforce across project sites, including the network of sub-contractors engaged on various aspects of the sites.

Things to include in Memorandum of Agreement

- Trade union recognition and recognition of Stewards and Health and Safety Representatives
- Time off for trade union duties

⁴⁵ Eldred, A. (2012) Learning Legacy. Lessons learned from the London 2012 Games construction project. Olympic Park Industrial Relations: the Memorandum of Agreement. London: Olympic Delivery Authority. <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120403073945/http://www.london2012.com/documents/oda-publications/learning-legacy.pdf> Accessed 31 March 2016.

⁴⁶ *ibid*

- Trade union facilities
- Rights of Union Representatives to access construction sites and the workforce during all stages of the construction phase, including the recruitment, training and accreditation processes, during the Games and post Games site clearance.
- Commitment to use directly employed labour
- Terms and conditions that are at least to the standard of collectively bargained national or local agreements
- Occupational health and safety rights
- Benefits on top of pay e.g. bonus payments, milestone incentive payments, productivity allowances.
- Dispute resolution procedures.

Other agreements

Principles of Co-operation

In addition to the Memorandum of Agreement, prior to London 2012 the TUC negotiated a Principles of Co-operation and Grievance Dispute Agreement which covered all workers. The MoA was the main policy that covered construction workers whereas the Principles of Co-operation were designed to cover workers not covered by the construction industry MoA.

The Principles of Co-operation was first proposed by the TUC and signed in 2008 by the TUC, ODA and LOCOG. It took two years to negotiate and in effect was a partnership working agreement, which in the main enshrined existing legal workplace and employer rights rather than improving terms and conditions. To facilitate engagement around the Principles and the monitoring of their application, a steering committee of all stakeholders met twice a year and in addition, there was informal contact between all partners.

Amongst other things the Principles of Co-operation committed the organisers to paying the (voluntary) London Living Wage (higher than the legal minimum wage), recognising existing national or sector collective agreements, allowing union access to Olympic sites, a commitment to the ethos of direct employment and providing decent training for employees.

The Principles did allow for the unions to raise awareness of their role, for example a poster using the Principles was designed for use on notice boards in the Olympic Park. The Principles were also mentioned in information given to workers including sign posting to the TUC website.

Things to include in a Principles of Co-operation document:

- Trade Union Recognition, including access to the workforce
- Recognition of the status of existing national and industry agreements and collective bargaining arrangements
- Commitment to pay decent wages and a Living Wage in those countries that have this
- Commitment to direct employment contracts
- Commitment to good practice in respect of ethical sourcing and supply chain management, consistent with International Labour Organisation standards
- Right to quality training for employees
- Commitment to health and safety
- Commitment to equality initiatives to ensure a diverse workforce free from discrimination

Grievance dispute agreement

Lessons learnt from the 2000 Sydney summer and the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics show that there is a need to be able to deal with minor workplace grievances before they escalate into major issues. Therefore, prior to London 2012 the TUC negotiated a grievance dispute agreement to deal with workplace grievances arising before and during the Games. The TUC, in partnership with LOCOG and the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) agreed in February 2011 a Games Time Grievance Resolution Protocol. ACAS is a Government body which has responsibility to promote and facilitate positive industrial relations including producing standards, arbitration and mediation. All unions that had members working on the Olympics, i.e. employed by LOCOG were part of the negotiations around the agreement.



As part of the agreement, ACAS organised the staffing of a telephone help line and a member of the LOCOG HR team was accessible throughout the Games to deal with any problems. In addition, twenty union officers were given security clearance to access the Olympics venues if needed to deal with workplace issues and potential grievances. The TUC reported that the protocol did not need to be used to a large extent but that it was beneficial to have it in place to deal with potential problems and prevented the escalation of problems in the workplaces.

Unions should propose a grievance resolution procedure to ensure fair and transparent processes for dealing with employees' grievances. The content will depend on the statutory grievance processes in each country but should ensure a fair procedure so that workers' complaints against their employer can be heard and dealt with.

Other employer policies

LOCOG also had other workplace policies such as a Disciplinary Policy. These policies should be negotiated and agreed with the trade unions to ensure that they are fair to employees.

In the textiles sector

By Ramon Certeza and Verna Dinah Q. Viajar

Introduction: Designing a campaign strategy in the sportswear/garment industry

Global sports events in the last two decades have become a new platform for trade unions and social movements to advocate human and labour rights. The preparatory phase in the labour campaigns around sports mega-events revolves around designing the campaign strategy and the preparatory groundwork before the launch of the campaign. This includes the following activities among others:

- research
- campaign planning
- designing, developing and finalizing the campaign strategy
- networking with allies
- communications / coordination structure
- resource mobilisation (human, finance)
- organising the membership to prepare for the campaigns
- building an organisational infrastructure to meet campaign needs

Initial linkages and networking with allies in the trade union movement and local/international NGOs are built in this period. In addition the groundwork is done among members and organisational and communication infrastructures set up to support the campaign once it has launched. Before a campaign kicks-off, the preparatory phase is crucial in ensuring that the necessary infrastructures for the campaign are in place.

This section seeks to review the different trade union strategies in the preparatory phase of the labour campaigns from the bidding process to the start of the games addressing concrete questions:

- a. What were the trade union strategies designed in the preparatory phase of the events – from the winning of the bid until the start of the games?
- b. How can a local or country-based campaign strategy ensure trade union engagement on different phases of the sports events? and
- c. During their particular campaigns, how did trade unions engage with other actors?

This section discusses the following:

- a. trade union tactics and actions during the preparatory phase of sports mega-events;
- b. to whom and which power structures were targeted;
- c. the expected and unplanned outcomes; and
- d. the process of collaboration with other social movements.

This manual aims to assess the lessons derived from trade union strategies and experiences for future consolidation of actions and labour activism around sports mega-events. The section on the sportswear industry tackles the trade union strategies in the global Play Fair Campaign, the broadest movement so far against sweatshop conditions in the sportswear/garment industries found in developing countries.

Why do sportswear and garment trade unions launch campaigns during sports mega-events?

In response to a more globalised world in all its dimensions, the politics of resistance or struggle for another world is affecting the world of sports. The dominant view within the protest movement around sports is that the 'global sport order' today is 'fully commodified'⁴⁷. In the sportswear industry, this is manifested through:

- a. Monopoly of transnational corporations (TNCs) in the manufacture of sporting goods; and
- b. Unregulated control by private international professional organisations (i.e. FIFA, Olympic Committees) of the conduct of mega sports events.

On both fronts, these powerful actors are challenging the ability of nation state to regulate the market and social regulations as:

- a. TNCs in the sporting goods industry take advantage of the complex production network of the textile and retail sectors involving sweatshops located in the lowest rung of the production chain;
- b. Professional sports organisations exclusively formulate, organise and implement the rules and regulations in holding global sports events around the world. More often than not, these international sports organisations operate autonomously but in collusion with transnational sports corporations and can impose conditions with which nation states must comply.

Overview of the Sportswear Textile industry

Sportswear and apparel related goods are one of the most viable and profitable items in any sports event - from the uniforms worn by sports officials and athletes to the sportswear clothes sold to spectators during the sports cycle. Prominent on those sports goods are the famous logos of well-known transnational corporations that are often corporate sponsors of sports mega-events as well as behind the production and distribution of sports goods.

The production and supply of sportswear and clothing are mainly driven by TNCs through networks that are highly globalised. It is imperative for trade union activists and campaigners to understand the complexities of the textile, apparel and garment industry where sportswear is a sub-sector in order to launch an effective campaign.

There is a great deal of literature on the analysis of the complex production of goods in the global economy. For example, Gereffi (1994) in his typology of global commodity chains, defined two distinct type of international economic network:

- a. **"Producer-driven"** - are those in which large, usually transnational, manufacturers play the central role in coordinating production network (including their backward and forward linkage). Examples of which are the automobile, aircraft, computers, semi-conductors and heavy machinery sectors.
- b. **"Buyer-driven"** - refers to those industries in which large retailers, marketers and branded manufacturers play the pivotal roles in setting up decentralized production networks in a variety of exporting countries, mostly located in developing and least-developing exporting countries. Common in labour-intensive industries such as garments, footwear, toys, houseware, consumer electronics, and a variety of handicrafts.

⁴⁷ Harvey, J, Horne, J and Safai, P (2009) 'Alterglobalization, Global Social Movements, and the Possibility of Political Transformation Through Sport.' *Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 383-403. p. 392



The sportswear sector is typically identified as a buyer-driven type where production networks are dispersed globally but mostly found in Asia and Latin America and comprising the bottom tier of the manufacturing chain, small subcontracting companies or even ‘fly-by-night’⁴⁸ factories. They produce sports garments and associated goods for transnational sports brands like Adidas, Nike, etc. without having to have any regard for work safety conditions and workers’ rights. The drive towards low-cost production for high-end sports goods often results in sacrificing decent work conditions along the supply chain. Furthermore, in many developing countries sports goods are produced in sweatshop conditions and in some cases undertaken by home-based workers.

Understanding this typology and its characteristics helps to determine where the power lies and who drives the chain. In the garment and apparel sector for example, companies at the higher end of the chain that design and market branded products (mostly large retailers and marketers) have significant control of where and how production takes place with the intermediation of their sourcing agents and numerous contractors, licensees and sub-contractors. It is by understanding the linkage within and across firms, within and across borders of the production and distribution sequences, that unions can exert pressure and unleash their available power and resources.

Global sports brands like Adidas, Nike, Puma and Asics that are usually main sponsors in any sports mega-events, use an enormous number of producers and manufacturers geographically spread across the globe.

Textile/clothing industry in the preparatory phase of the event

An example of the opportunities available to unions to play a key role in the preparatory phase of any sports mega-event is provided by the experience of the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF) with the London Olympics in 2012. The former ITGLWF (now IndustriALL) engaged with the London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) and utilised its complaints and dispute resolution mechanism even before the Olympic Games began.

The Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG) or LOCOG for the London Olympics in 2012 is a body formed by the National Olympic Committee (NOC) of the country or the host city where the venue of the Olympic takes place. The OCOGs have a mandate from, and are entrusted by, the IOC to organise activities and contracts related to the event⁴⁹.

In the 2012 Olympic Games the LOCOG produced a Sustainable Sourcing Code that serves as a guide in the procurement of products and services, taking into account environmental, social and ethical issues. The Code had a unique feature of a complaints mechanism to enable workers in global supply chains to report violations of their rights. This was made possible by the contribution and engagement of Play Fair and the UK trade union centre, the TUC with LOCOG.

Core Principles of the Sustainable Sourcing Code⁵⁰

1. Responsible sourcing – ensuring that products and services are sourced and produced under a set of internationally acceptable environmental, social and ethical guidelines and standards.
2. Use of secondary materials – maximising the use of materials with reused and recycled content, minimising packaging and designing products that can either be reused or recycled.
3. Minimising embodied impacts – maximising resource and energy efficiency in the manufacturing and supply process in order to minimize environmental impacts.
4. Healthy materials – ensuring that appropriate substances and materials are used in order to protect human health and the environment.

⁴⁸ Refers to dubious manufacturing companies that can easily close, relocate and operate their factories producing subcontracted work for other manufacturing companies.

⁴⁹ Organising Committees for the Olympic Games <http://www.olympic.org/ioc-governance-organising-committees?tab=mission> Accessed 18 May 2016

⁵⁰ LOCOG (2011) LOCOG Sustainable Sourcing Code. <http://learninglegacy.independent.gov.uk/documents/pdfs/sustainability/cp-locog-sustainable-sourcing-code.pdf> Accessed 18 May 2016

With regard to responsible sourcing, unions have to monitor all suppliers and licensees of major sponsors and contractors to ensure that products and services are sourced and produced under a set of internationally acceptable standards.

In the run up to the London Olympics, the ITGWLF lodged two formal complaints with the LOCOG. The first one was a set of complaints against an apparel producer in China and the other was related to two production facilities making sports apparel in the Philippines. All three suppliers produced goods for the London Olympics, under contract with the Adidas group which was one of the major sponsors in the 2012 Olympics. For the Philippines, the complaint went through the Play Fair Campaign through the representatives of the “Labour behind the Label” global network. This prompted the LOCOG to send out a third party monitor to verify the issues and work on the remedial action where it occurred. This process significantly contributed to the improvement of working conditions in the factories.

Trade union strategies during preparation of sports campaigns

Sports mega-events are seen by the trade unions as an avenue to exert leverage over capital through various means and strategies - either conventional or innovative or mixed approach. The key element of labour campaigns around sports mega-events is building power through the consolidation of forces among trade unions and like-minded organisations that are involved in the campaign. The biggest organised campaign around global sports events so far is the Play Fair campaign that involves international trade union organisations and human rights and non-governmental organisations.

The preparatory phase is a crucial stage of the campaign where goals, objectives and specific demands are set in order to determine the course of action and define strategies.

Key elements in the campaign strategy during the preparatory phase of the event:

- a. Seek disclosure agreement of supply chain structure and location of production facilities of major brands producing for the Olympics;
- b. Conduct action research on the working conditions on the production facilities where workers are initially engaged in organising;
- c. Coordinate campaign planning and strategy formulation with partners at the local, national and international level;
- d. Build an alliance of trade unions, communities and like-minded organisations; and
- e. Set up a national campaign team to negotiate for the workers on agreement with the suppliers and brands.

Strategic activities responding to the key elements of the campaign planning strategy:

- **Action research** – involves gathering of key information on the (a) nature of the industry; (b) political-economic and social context; (c) the various stakeholders and social forces; and (d) scenarios for action.
- **Campaign planning** – begins when the trade unions convene the core actors in the campaign. The campaign core group facilitates the series of meetings expanding the conveners group into specific task forces/committees (i.e. organising, media strategy, legal/institutional lobbying strategy, resource mobilisation, executive, etc.). The campaign structure is defined in this phase and the goals, tasks and implementers are clarified. A timeline of activities, budget and outputs are planned in this period.
- **Campaign strategy is designed, developed and finalized** – through research, discussion and debate, a campaign strategy is approved after presentation of the design and realignments after the discussions.
- **Networking with allies** – begin with those within trade unions in the same industry/sector and like-minded labour organisations. However, this expands outside the core group and external allies are identified (e.g. allied political parties, NGOs, etc.).



- **Communications / coordination structure** – refers to the formation of the organisational infrastructure of the campaign which involves the flow of communication among the key committees, setting up of the campaign support (e.g. funds, media, etc.)
- **Resource mobilisation** (human, finance) – requires different sets of people tasked to mobilise funding for the campaign (i.e. from union dues and donors) and assignation of tasks within the core group of actors to trade union experts in organising, fund mobilisation, media, lobbying, etc.
- **Organise membership** to prepare for the campaigns – plans, strategy and tasks are processed along the trade union structure especially with the shop stewards to organise the campaign at the shopfloor; with the territorial/area labour leaders; local/national trade union leadership; and with auxiliary workers organisations (e.g. women's workers movements, etc.).

The politics of protest from global social movements and international labour movements are aimed at confronting the increasing control of sport by transnational capital and unregulated, largely unaccountable international sports organisations such as FIFA. Given the global nature of sports mega-events and transnational production of the sportswear industry, the Play Fair Alliance utilises labour campaign strategies within the framework of *transnational labour activism*.

Labour campaign strategy of Play Fair

Overall, the objective of the Play Fair campaign is not to stop or hinder the Olympics⁵¹. Play Fair operates within the spotlight of sports mega-events demanding accountability from transnational sports corporations in ensuring decent working conditions for workers from their supplier companies.

The Play Fair global campaign⁵² and movement is one of the most notable examples of '**transnational labour activism**' in the sportswear and garment and textile industry. It involves trade unions collaborating with **Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs)**—international NGOs at local and global levels – together using varied pressure tactics and campaign advocacy strategies.

However, given the peculiarity of the global sportswear industry within the textile and garments global production network (GPN), the Play Fair campaign strategy also included a '**brand-based labour campaign**' strategy.

What are the labour campaign strategies in the sportswear industry?

The global Play Fair campaign combined the strategies of:

- transnational labour activism through the 'boomerang effect'; and
- a 'brand-based labour campaign' using political opportunity structures (POS)

What is transnational labour activism?

Transnational labour activism is defined here as a "type of activism" that "brings participants together in a variety of forms—networks, coalitions, organisations, and movements—to focus on a range of issues relevant to securing labour rights and economic justice..."⁵³. This type of activism comes from the broader movement on *transnational activism*.

Transnational labour activism not only intends to advance workers' rights through engagement with nation-states and international governance institutions, but also to check the power of transnational corporations.

51 Harvey, Horne and Safai, 2009, places the Play Fair Campaign in the reformist non-sport based position in the typology of alternative or reformist positions in sport. The typology comprised sports-based and non-sports based organisations categorized as reformist or transformist positions aiming to influence or change the global sports economy.

52 Considered the "biggest anti-sweatshop mobilization ever with over 500 events organised across 35 countries" which was launched in 2004 in Athens and continued to the 2008 Beijing Olympics and London 2012 Olympics.

53 Franzway, S and Fonow, M M (2008) 'An Australian Feminist Twist on Transnational Labor Activism.' *Signs* Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 537-543.

Transnational activism emerged in response to globalisation and the increasing power of transnational corporations (TNCs) and international governance institutions (e.g. WTO, IMF, etc) in affecting the lives and livelihoods of people. In countries with closed political structures, and where the opportunities to influence labour policies are limited, pressure for change can come from transnational organisations and global social movements.

Labour activism in the transnational arena emanates from labour's new internationalism in the 1990s to restrain and confront transnational capital's 'race to the bottom' in relation to workers' rights (as in the garment industry sweatshops of Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Pakistan, etc). It is argued that Labour's three dimensions of transnational activism can be differentiated in terms of 'goals, targets and approaches'⁵⁴ (see Table 3).

Table 3: The three dimensions of transnational labour activism⁵⁵

	New statecraft	TNC containment	Transnational advocacy
Goal	Influence policies of foreign states in line with the preferences of the home government	Influence TNC activities in a sense favourable to workers' interests (wages and working conditions)	Influence policy making in accordance with principled beliefs
Targets	States	TNCs	States, International Governmental Organisations (IGOs)
Pressure points	Foreign unions	Workplace, IGOs (ILO, OECD, EU)	IGOs (ILO, OECD, WTO, IMF/ WB), governments, media, other NGOs
Instruments	Recognition. Financial Support.	Strike and protest. Bargaining (codes). Lobbying	Lobbying, campaigning in Alliance with NGOs

In relation to sports mega-events, the key elements in transnational labour activism are (1) collaboration between local and transnational trade union movements; (2) usage of the "boomerang effect"; and (3) formation of a transnational advocacy network or TAN.

What is the 'boomerang effect' in transnational activism?

The 'boomerang effect' happens during the coordination between local and international non-state actors (e.g. trade unions, NGOs, etc.) by combining their resources to form the transnational advocacy networks (TANs)⁵⁶. The TANs put pressure on states and TNCs, and local employers, to change and stop sweatshop labour.

The feedback process in the 'boomerang effect'⁵⁷ begins when local trade unions or NGOs provide information on labour repression or human rights violations to international allies who in turn put pressure on their states or TNCs to pressure back the non-compliant state or company.

The feedback process is illustrated in Figure 1.

⁵⁴ Josselin, D (2001) Back to the frontline? Trade unions in a global age. In: Josselin, Daphne and Wallace, William, (eds.) *Non-State Actors in World Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 169-186

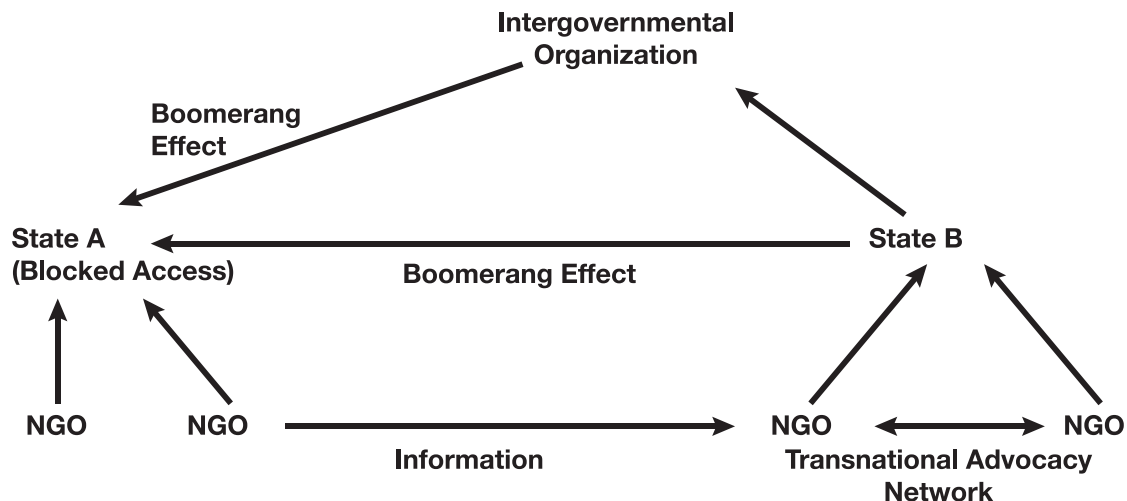
⁵⁵ Josselin, D (2001) 'Back to the frontline? Trade unions in a global age'. In: Josselin, D and Wallace, W, (eds.) *Non-State Actors in World Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.173

⁵⁶ Armbruster-Sandoval (2003) and Sikkink and Keck (1999)

⁵⁷ 'Boomerang effect' labour campaigns were extensively used in the Maquiladora industry in Latin America in the early 1990s (see Armbruster-Sandoval 2003 on the transnational labour organising of the Kimi de Honduras maquila workers).



Figure 1: The 'boomerang effect'



Source: Keck and Sikkink (1998)

Keck and Sikkink (1998) identified four types of tactics used by Transnational Advocacy Networks and these are a close fit to those used in the sports campaigns:

- information politics** – publicize facts concerning sweatshop practices, human rights violations, etc. through creative mode of mass communication;
- Symbolic politics** – framing complex issues through popular methods or signs (i.e. posters, alternative fashion shows, street theatre, murals, etc.);
- Leverage politics** – use of workers' sources of power through structural, associational, institutional and societal power to limit powerful actors;
- Accountability politics** – confront the inconsistencies in the targeted actor's words and deeds by examining their 'mission statement or code of conduct'

Experience of Play Fair in transnational labour campaign strategy

An example of this aspect of transnational labour activism was when Indonesian trade unions and the Play Fair Alliance targeted prominent transnational sports companies (e.g. Adidas, Nike, Asics, Puma, etc.) to sign a Protocol on Freedom of Association (FOA) during the preparatory stage of the 2010 World Cup.

The FOA Protocol was signed between ITGLWF and local trade unions in Indonesia and six sports TNCs (Adidas, Nike, Puma, Pentland, Asics and New Balance). The protocol involving 68 suppliers and 22 local Indonesian unions demanded that suppliers:

- allow garment workers to unionise,
- allow trade unions access inside their factories to reach workers; and
- formulate a monitoring mechanism to enforce the protocol.

In this instance, the Play Fair Alliance used the politics of leverage and accountability as allied unions and NGOs in countries of the Global North put pressure on the sports TNCs (e.g. Adidas, Nike, etc) to pressure back their suppliers in Indonesia. This completes the circular loop of the 'boomerang effect' but with labour's activism at the local and transnational scale to contain the excesses of national and transnational corporations in the sportswear industry.

The experience of India, which is the earliest recorded campaign initiative of Play Fair, also reflected the use of the ‘boomerang effect’ during the preparatory phase for the 2004 Olympics. The were trade unions in India, international NGOs such as the Asia Monitor Resource Centre (AMRC), the Clean Clothes Campaign (CCC) and the Maquila Solidarity Network (MSN) came together to form a transnational advocacy network (TAN).

The TAN members pressured their own states against the sweatshop conditions of garment workers in India. In turn, the TNCs and state governments in India were pressured from above as well as from below. At the national level, Indian garment unions also applied pressure through different campaigns on the ground. The Play Fair alliance highlighted demands for workers’ rights and improving work conditions in the apparel and sportswear industry in India. Making use of information and symbolic politics, a range of activities were organised in the lead up to the Athens Olympics. These included public awareness events such as through May Day celebrations, press releases, fashion shows, websites, and exchanges between workers’ organisations in the Global North and South⁵⁸.

Brand-based labour campaign strategy in sportswear industry

The brand-based labour campaign strategy was developed in the Philippines by the Play Fair Alliance. The brand-based campaign strategy targets one sports TNC and its garment supply chains in one country. The campaign strategy is a combination of using the ‘**boomerang effect**’ and taking advantage of the **political opportunity structures** (POS) present in the home countries of sports TNCs. This research found out how trade unions collaborated with transnational advocacy networks (TANs) using the ‘boomerang effect’ by exerting pressure on the TNCs and governments in the North and South countries. In strategising labour campaigns, either brand-based or event-based, the national-political dimension is a crucial factor to consider.

What is a political opportunity structure or POS?

Political opportunity structures (POS) relate to the ‘responsiveness of politics to social movements’⁵⁹. Political opportunity structures are influenced by the relative openness and narrowness of political regimes which, in turn, are determined by four factors as summarized here:

- a. presence of competing political groups in electoral politics;
- b. independence of legislatures from the executive in policy-making;
- c. presence of “patterns of intermediation between interest groups and the executive branch”⁶⁰; and
- d. the “opportunities for the articulation of new demands⁶¹” that influence policy-making processes towards consensus or compromises.

Political regimes with relatively open POSs tend to invite assimilative **strategies** or social movements work through the available points of access and opportunities of existing political institutions; whilst in repressive political regimes with closed political opportunity structures, movements adopt confrontational **strategies** to effect change⁶².

The Play Fair campaigns in the Philippines (2011) and Canada (2010) provided concrete examples of the brand-based labour campaign strategy using the combined mechanisms of ‘boomerang effect’ and ‘political opportunity structures’. This combined strategy is illustrated in Figure 2.

58 For instance, workers from India went to the UK and took part in educational activities or campaigns with other trade unionists in the North and vice-versa.

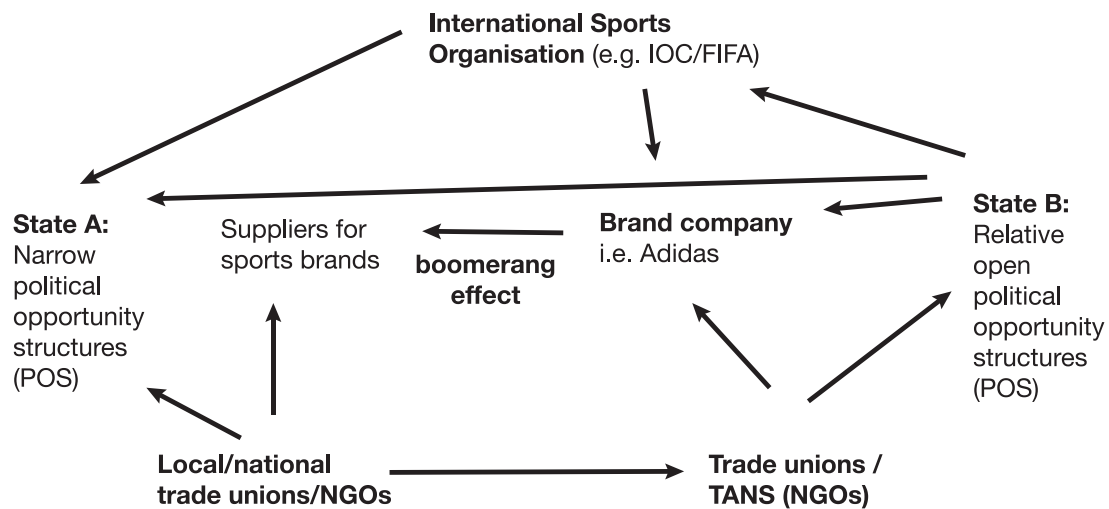
59 Kitschelt, H P (1986) ‘Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies.’ British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 57-85, p.62

60 ibid, p.63

61 ibid, p.63

62 ibid, p. 66

Figure 2: Brand based labour campaign strategy

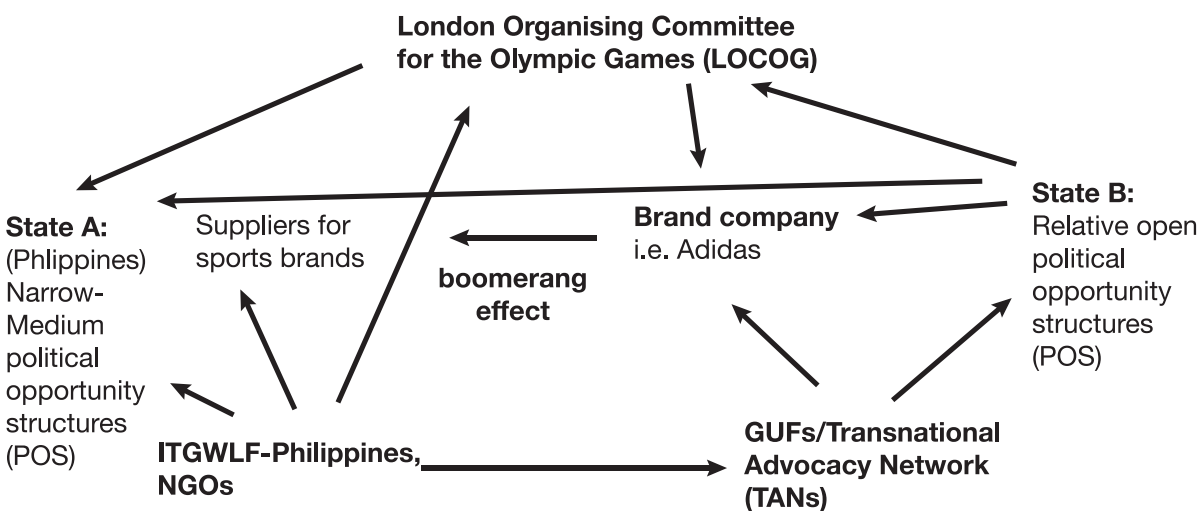


Sources: Developed by Verna Viajar, 2016, with references from Kitschelt 1986; Armbruster-Sandoval 2003; Sikkink and Keck, 1998

The Philippines case

As part of the London 2012 Play Fair campaign, Philippine trade unions within the ITGLWF together with the Play Fair Alliance decided to investigate whether Adidas, a company signatory to the LOCOG Sustainable Sourcing Code, was consistent in its commitment to the Code. Using 'accountability politics', the Play Fair Alliance confronted Adidas about the contradictory practices of its sportswear suppliers in the Philippines, such as restricting freedom of association. The TANS were able to put pressure at the transnational level particularly in the Adidas headquarters located in the countries of the Global North with relatively open political structures. The complaint filed at the LOCOG against Adidas compelled it to negotiate face-to-face with Philippine trade unions to sign a Memorandum of Cooperation that Adidas suppliers in the Philippines must address issues on precarious employment and FOA, in its workplaces.

Figure 3: Brand-based labour campaign strategy: Philippines



Sources: Developed by Verna Viajar, 2016, with references from Certeza 2015 case study; Kitschelt 1986; Armbruster-Sandoval 2003; Sikkink, 1998

The Canada case

The Canadian experience before the Vancouver Olympics involved key actors in the anti-sweatshop transnational advocacy network (TAN) such as the Clean Clothes Campaign and the Maquila Solidarity Network, together with the GUFs, ITUC and local trade unions in the British Columbia and Yukon Territory. Labour campaigns towards the sportswear industry were directed towards sports brand corporations at the international (Nike, Adidas) and national (Russell Athletics, Roots) levels. The Play Fair Alliance in Canada operated with clear long and short term goals⁶³ through mobilisation, campaign and education work.

The local trade unions and TAN engaged the public and VANOC (Vancouver Olympic Committee) using the available political opportunity structures in pushing for a 'BuySmart' policy to ensure sweat-free production of sportswear goods and clothing for the Olympics. The brand-based labour campaign was chosen as a strategy due to the sensitivity of sportswear companies to image and brand recognition. The emphasis on transnational action was also a response to the mobility⁶⁴ of investors and hence, factories as well.

Lessons learned and prospects

organis

In the previous sports mega-events where the Play Fair Alliance was very active, labour campaigns were still nationally-based but with a transnational dimension shaped by differing goals, methods, organisational mandates, resources and other factors. This is understandable as sports events are hosted through a country or city selection bidding process. Furthermore, transnational labour activism still remains embedded within state-level political and labour regimes and influenced by the organisational capacities, resources and priorities of national trade unions.

Limits of the 'boomerang effect'

The Honduran Maquiladora experience showed the importance of the local organisational-building politics and support of national labour organisations, in the success of a transnational labour campaign against transnational garment corporations⁶⁵. The workers of the Kimi garment factory in Honduras, producing clothes for prominent US garment brands namely, J.C. Penny, Gap, Macy's, were systematically repressed in unionising and collective bargaining. The campaign to organise a local trade union and pressure the company brought in a transnational advocacy network of NGOs (e.g. CCC) and international trade unions (e.g. the North American union, UNITE) to engage the garment TNCs and the local government of La Lima, Cortes, Honduras. It was argued⁶⁶ that the key agents of change were the national trade unions supported by international unions in organising the local Kimi trade union rather than the TAN (transnational advocacy network). The relations and unity of local and national labour organisations with other civil society groups were important factors in how the labour campaign strategies were designed and implemented.

63 To sign an agreement with the IOC ensuring that products for the Olympics are made under decent work conditions and that disclosure of manufacturing locations is a condition of sponsorship and/or production. In the short-term, the agreements with the sports brands covered issues on freedom of association and collective bargaining, precarious employment, factory closures, and improved wages.

64 The ability of garment corporations to easily close down and move to another location when business conditions become difficult.

65 see Armbruster-Sandoval (2003)

66 Armbruster-Sandoval, R (2003) 'Globalization and Transnational Labour Organising: The Honduran Maquiladora Industry and the Kimi Campaign.' Social Science History, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 551-576.



Play Fair Campaign in 2004-2010 sports mega-events: Limits and spaces

Below are some of the assessments based on the experiences of Play Fair campaigns in India for the 2004 Athens Olympics; in Canada for the 2010 Olympics (Vancouver); in Indonesia for the 2010 Olympics and the Philippines for the 2012 Olympics (London).

A. Lessons and assessments

Among the key assessments from the actors of the Play Fair labour campaigns were:

1. Gains (or non-gain) of campaign demands

- The Protocol on Freedom of Association (Indonesia) and Memorandum of Cooperation (the Philippines) on issues of freedom of association and decent working conditions in sportswear supply chains were achieved. These agreements involved the IOC, sports-brand TNCs, anti-sweatshop transnational NGOs and trade unions. The Labour Accord (Canada) negotiations, however, did not conclude with an agreement.
- The demand for disclosure of first-tier suppliers, the implementation of freedom of association, transparency of auditing and monitoring procedures were not met in the dialogues (in India, Indonesia, the Philippines). In Canada, companies like Nike agreed to reveal which factories made Olympic products and the Canadian Olympic Committee pledged to make the 'Buysmart' policy recommendations permanent. However, nothing has been done to date to make this a reality. The campaign achieved greater success on factory location transparency at the 2012 London Olympics but did not do any better than the campaign in Canada in terms of making this a permanent policy for Olympic events.
- Since the Protocol and Memorandum address precarious employment and freedom of association, these are issues that can also apply outside the textile/garments industries.
- Unions were able to make positive interventions at various stages in the lead-up and during the event (such as unionising construction workers and assisting migrant workers).

2. Internal organisational impact

- The FOA Protocol in Indonesia (2010 Olympics) assisted in an increase of union membership. However, there was no significant increase of union membership for Canadian unions following the 2010 Winter Olympics. The Play Fair Campaign in the 2012 London Olympics resulted in an agreement between 'Play Fair and LOCOG being signed in February 2012, providing for disclosure of production sites (72% of sites covered), giving information in English and Chinese to workers on employment rights and LOCOG's code plus a hotline to report violations, worker training and a commitment to work with Play Fair 2012, Rio 2016 and the IOC to ensure future Games benefit from lessons learned'⁶⁷.
- The Play Fair campaign in India mobilised support for the anti-sweatshop campaign through increased education and awareness of trade union membership.
- Within the Play Fair campaign, trade unions confronted the questions on how to sustain, strengthen and expand the principles of the FOA Protocol in Indonesia and the MOC in the Philippines to other countries in the garments/sportswear industry.
- Replication of these strategies seems limited as the agreements are nationally-embedded. Likewise, difficulties relating to lack of company transparency and costly research emerged in the lead up to major sports events.

3. Relations with other civil society groups – Involvement of transnational NGOs and non-union actors (national and international) as key agents in the Play Fair Alliance campaigns.

4. Strategies utilised

- In the country-cases studied, the labour campaigns around sportswear industry in the last 10 years were characterized and shaped by different goals, methods, organisation mandates, resources, etc.
- The Play Fair campaign strategy was brand-based in Asia and Canada, while this strategy was not dominant in India and Indonesia which were more event-based. Information from the Philippines paved the way for Labour Behind the Label to lodge a case using the LOCOG

⁶⁷ Evans, L.M. (2012) Impact Study: Playfair 2012 Project and Campaign. Report for the Trades Union Congress and Labour Behind the Label. London: TUC.

complaint and dispute resolution mechanism on behalf of textile and garment unions against supplier factories for the Adidas Group in the Mactan Economic Processing Zone in the Philippines. This collaborative effort and partnership between NGOs and trade union organisations, including the ITGLWF, Labour Behind the Label and the British TUC put pressure on the London Organising Committee to promptly deal with issues brought before it and to take action. In the case of the Philippines, this process resulted in coming up with a commitment from brands and suppliers through the signing of a Memorandum of Cooperation. Other good practices arising from the 2012 experiences are highlighted and documented in the published impact study⁶⁸.

- Emergence of a strategy on brand-based targeting via collaboration with sports-associated celebrities in Canada. Trade unions in Canada are looking into how this fits with transnational labour activism.

B. Prospects What's next and what needs to be done?

A proposed framework in strategising around sports mega-events in the garment/sportswear industry should take into account the following:

- importance of organisational-building of the national trade union utilising the political opportunity structures in engaging national stakeholders (state, employers) and building national allies (political leaders, faith groups, NGOs);
- establishing a network with transnational allies, taking care to clarify goals, targets and approaches; and
- ensuring that labour campaigning in sports mega-events put pressure along the entire garment global production network, not just the first tier.

Table 4: Framework in strategising for labour campaigns in the sportswear and garment industry

Scale, dimensions and strategies	Second and lower tiers of the sportswear production network	Top and first tier of the global sportswear production network
National-political dimension – consider the political-economy and social context	Organisational capacity-building – organising or strengthening local trade unions and alliance building	Brand-based campaign strategy – negotiations at policy level on short-term (e.g. 'anti-sweatshop' work conditions) and long-term (e.g. Freedom of Association) goals
Transnational dimension – consider global political-economic conditions	Transnational labour activism – Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) using the 'boomerang effect' (campaign approach)	Combined 'boomerang effect' strategy and political opportunity structures – in headquarter countries of sports-brand TNCs

Source: Developed by Verna Viajar, 2016 for this research.

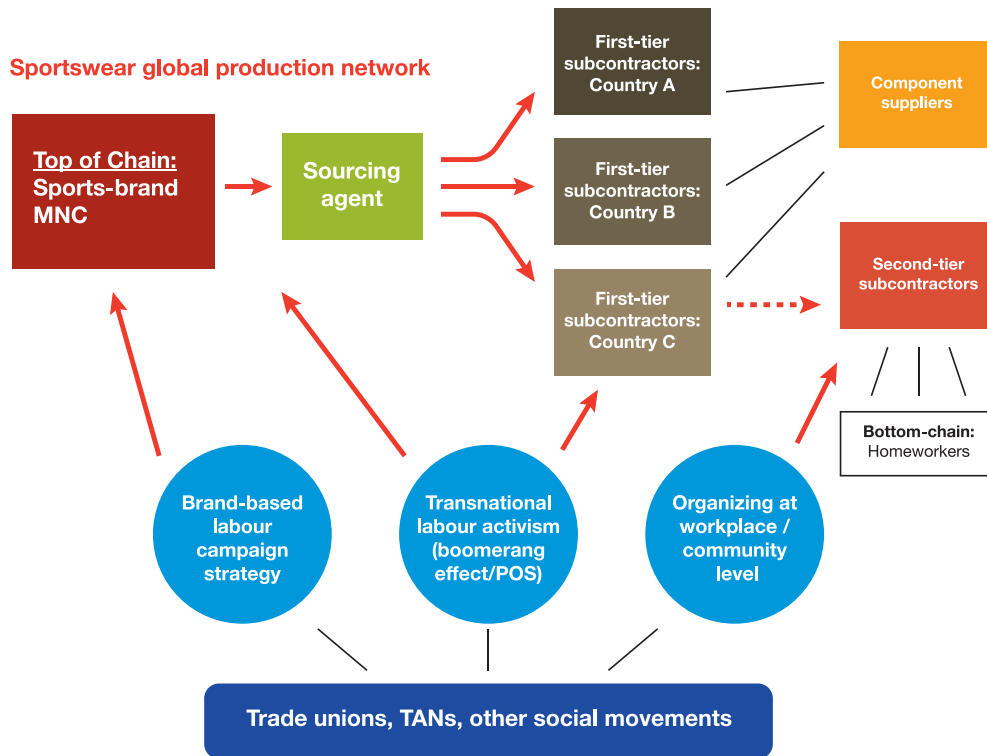
How does this framework work?

This framework of strategising functions on a **multi-scalar** (global/international, regional, or local/national levels) involving **multiple actors/stakeholders** (state and non-state actors) along **multi-lanes** (class, ethnic/racial, gender, national/multinational lines) and **multi-form** (campaign advocacy, mass mobilisations, protest actions, organising, negotiation of agreements, lobbying, migrant assistance, policy-reforms, alternative fashion shows, media exposés, etc.) basis.

Like in any mode of strategising, the tactics and strategies in the labour campaigns need to adapt to the context (e.g. geography or political-economy) of the place and from there be able to extrapolate on all possible scenarios. Figure 4 below illustrates a labour campaign and possible areas of intervention in the production chain.

68 Evans, L.M. (2012) Impact Study: Playfair 2012 Project and Campaign. Report for the Trades Union Congress and Labour Behind the Label. London: TUC

Figure 4: Labour campaign strategies – areas of intervention or disruption



Sources: Developed by Verna Viajar and Ramon Certeza, 2016,

Conclusions and recommendations

International sports competitions are perceived as having a history of unifying nations and diffusing tensions in times of war, economic depression and social unrest. It is because the enjoyment of sports cuts across political (i.e. ideological), class (rich and poor alike respond to sports) and cultural (religious or race) divides. However, the contrast between the expensive and fashionable sports goods and clothing and the sweatshops and bonded labour that produced them is also highlighted during sports mega-events.

The sportswear industry is located within the global production network (GPN) governing the production of garments and textile industries. Sportswear and goods for athletes are made in a complex production network involving transnational corporations and garment suppliers in developing countries. Anti-sweatshop transnational labour campaigns emerged in collaboration with trade unions and NGOs at the international and national levels.

Since 2004, the Play Fair Alliance has developed and utilised sports-based labour campaign strategies to check the excesses of sports TNCs against sweatshop conditions for workers at the bottom of the garment supply chains. Aside from event-based sports labour campaigns, the Play Fair Alliance developed the brand-based campaign strategy applied in the Philippines and Canada for the 2012 London Summer Olympics and the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics.

Most often than not, labour sports campaigns in the sportswear/textile industry involve transnational labour activism due to the specific global production network of the industry. However, trade union campaigns are still bounded within their own national industrial relations framework and political-economic contexts. In this scenario, it is important to take note of these two dimensions in labour sports campaigns. The recommendations for the preparatory stage in the textiles/sportswear sector are as follows:

- Give priority to building organisational flexibility and capability. This involves organising the membership towards the campaign to provide the strength from the shopfloor to the leadership and build capabilities that reflect the participation of mass membership in the campaign;
- Targeted campaign of a specific sportswear brand and its supply chains utilising leverage, organising and networks among trade unions in the same brand;
- Build organisational capability in coalition and alliance building not only within the trade union movement but with the broader local and global social movements.
- Utilise information, symbolic, leverage and accountability politics in confronting transnational capital in the sportswear industry.

A legal focus: the Brazilian experience

By Bulend Karadag

Introduction

FIFA has been criticized by Brazilian trade unions and social movements because of the World Cup's destructive consequences and for the lack of planning about its legacy. For example, 250,000 people⁶⁹ in 12 host cities were displaced because of the preparation for the 2014 World Cup as well as it being the most expensive cup ever organised to date. Although there were many actions, demonstrations and international campaigns against these evictions, FIFA did not take any action to resolve the problem, nor did it want to see it. At the end, FIFA felt the need to clarify “mis-perceptions” about the World Cup in Brazil due to the increasing international public pressure. In his presentation in Denmark on 31st of October 2013, the Local Organising Committee (LOC) Communications Director, reported that “None of the 12 stadia is causing evictions according to the government information”⁷⁰.

Responsibility of FIFA

How could FIFA appear so unconcerned about the criticism when 250,000 people were displaced and left homeless? The simple answer is that FIFA does not incur any responsibility for any problem resulting from the World Cup. According to the Regulation prepared by FIFA as a guide for candidate associations, it is not FIFA but the Bid Committee (the LOC) that is the responsible body:

The Bid Committee agrees to indemnify, defend and hold FIFA as well as its officers, directors, employees, ...against all liabilities, obligations, losses, damages, penalties, claims, actions, fines and expenses... arising out of any activities... (p.33, Bidding Agreement 6.8; p.12, Regulations of World Cup 2014)

69 Dossiê Megaeventos e Violações de Direitos Humanos no Brasil, da Articulação Nacional dos Comitês Populares da Copa, <http://apublica.org/2012/09/dossie-megaeventos-violacoes-de-direitos-humanos-brasil-da-articulacao-nacional-dos-comites-populares-da-copa/> [accessed 18 May 2016]

70 FIFA World Cup in Brazil: legacy and (mis)perceptions, http://www.playthegame.org/fileadmin/image/PtG2013/Presentations/31_October_Thursday/Saint-Clair_Milesi__2__31_okt_09.pdf



There are several documents which explain the relationship between the key actors (shareholders) of this sports mega-event. These include the following three.

1. **Bidding Agreement:** is an agreement between FIFA and the Bid Committee (which is composed of the affiliated federation and the government from the candidate country). Before being chosen as a host country, a member association must confirm that it will comply with these conditions in order to be eligible for the bidding. A wide range of issues related to the organisation of the World Cup, which are required by FIFA, are explained and determined in this document. These include the position regarding broadcasting rights, marketing rights, required infrastructure, transportation, security etc. For this research, the bidding agreements published by FIFA - for 2010, 2014, 2018 and 2022 World Cups – all of which have similar contents, are examined⁷¹.
2. **Regulation**⁷²: The first three parts of the Bidding Agreement cover (1) definition of parties (2) organisational division between FIFA and the Local Organising Committee (LOC) and (3) rules of the games. The LOC, here, refers to the Bid Committee.
3. **The World Cup Law**⁷³ is enacted by the host-government as a requirement of the Bidding Agreement is that the guarantees defined by the BA are supposed to be issued by the highest national executive organ (Bidding Agreement 6.4).

Bidding Agreement and the Regulation

Up to the World Cup Brazil 2014, the bidding process was regulated by the Bidding Agreement, the content of which had never been made public. When the Bidding Agreement of the World Cup 2010 (South Africa) was leaked to the public, it became clear that the secrecy was a part of the agreement because, according to the Bidding Agreement, negotiations between FIFA and governments (including companies) had to be kept secret:

....the Bid Committee agrees to keep confidential and agrees to ensure that its professional advisors and other individuals involved in the preparation of the Bid on behalf of the Bid Committee also keep confidential, all content of this bidding agreement and all verbal and written correspondence and communications between FIFA and the Bid Committee and Member Association during the course of the bidding process (p.32, Bidding Agreement 6.4).

Whoever takes part in the bidding process is bound by the Bidding Agreement which “constitutes a binding and irrevocable offer to FIFA” (p.31).

What is the role of FIFA?

Although FIFA does not undertake any responsibility for any problem which might occur during the preparation of the World Cup, according to Regulation, FIFA is the organiser of the World Cup, owner of all rights emerging from it and FIFA has the last word on all matters relevant to the World Cup (*Regulations of World Cup 2014, Article 15*).

Moreover, The World Cup is a trademark of FIFA and cannot be used or organised without permission of FIFA. As the owner of commercial rights, FIFA regulates the bidding process and requires the prospective host country to agree to a set of conditions in which the country grants to FIFA various elements of authority, priority, privileged positions, and legal exemptions. One of these indispensable conditions to participate in the bidding process is that the candidate association and government should agree to discharge FIFA from all responsibility as well as relinquishing any claim against such responsibility.

⁷¹ FIFA Bidding Agreements for FIFA World Cup 2010, FIFA Bidding Agreements for FIFA World Cup 2014, FIFA Bidding Agreements for FIFA World Cup 2018 – 2022.

⁷² Regulations – 2014 FIFA World Cup Brazil, published by FIFA, Zürich/Switzerland.

⁷³ Lei Geral da Copa do Mundo 2014 No. 12.663/2012, decreed by president Dilma Rousseff on the 8th of June in 2012.

The Role of Government

These conditions set by FIFA contain so many complicated and extensive issues from security to investments that they cannot be achieved without support of government, which is why government guarantees are indispensable to participate in bidding for member countries⁷⁴. What's more, these conditions are determined in detail by FIFA in the Bidding Agreement. According to the agreement, *"The Bid Committee shall ... secure the full support of the government ...by means of securing the Government Declaration, the Government Guarantees and the Government Legal Statement"*. According to the Agreement, the following government guarantees are required to be given to FIFA:

- entry and exit permits, immigration, customs and check-in procedures;
- work permits;
- tax exemptions;
- safety and security;
- bank and foreign exchange operations;
- protection and exploitation of commercial rights;
- telecommunication, information technology and
- legal issues and indemnifications.

There are several different organisations and structures which are jointly or individually established by government, the member association and FIFA for the purpose of the World Cup. Although their scope of operation sometimes is not very clear, the government is the one undertaking all responsibility in the last instance.

From the Regulation to the Law

Obviously, it is not easy endowing FIFA with super powers without any legal regulation in a host country. Following experiences in South Africa, the Federal Government of Brazil issued the Brazilian World Cup Law (No. 12.663/2012) in June 2012 whose sole purpose was to ensure implementation of specific guarantees, mentioned above, in relation to hosting the World Cup which Brazil promised to FIFA at the bidding stage. So, the role of the member association is to convince the government to support the organisation and guarantee these binding conditions by means of a legal declaration which is supposed to be issued by the highest national executive organ (Bidding Agreement 6.4).

Evidently, there are some differences between host countries with regard to the position of government in these negotiations. For example, until 2006, no country had previously passed specific World Cup legislation. South Africa was the first world cup host country to enact such a special law in 2006 (*the 2010 FIFA World Cup Special Measures Act 11 and 12*) to ensure the projects, which South Africa had promised to the FIFA, would be completed.

Unfortunately, we do not know the details of the process which led to the decision to legislate because, as mentioned above, all these negotiations between FIFA and governments (including companies) were secret and remain secret. However, the role of the government is not limited to making law because the government is also responsible for delivering the organisation for the event. This requires the participation of the local states, public agencies, private companies and the Local Organising Committee of FIFA as well as Federal Government. Eventually, the Law was enacted to sort out the division of tasks between these entities.

Constitutional Issues

Its critics saw the Brazilian World Cup Law as an unjustified imposition by the government in favour of FIFA and in flagrant contradiction with the rights of Brazilian citizens. The Law effectively serves to temporarily surrender national sovereignty of the host country and to suspend some constitutional rights in order to protect FIFA's commercial rights.

⁷⁴ For example, the Indonesian Football Federation's bid for the World Cup 2022 was disqualified due to lack of governmental support (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_and_2022_FIFA_World_Cup_bids#Indonesia).



Citizen rights and Indemnification

According to the Brazilian World Cup Law, the government of the host country has to underwrite any legal expenses arising from the organisation of the World Cup. The law violates the principles of the Brazilian Constitution which guarantees equal civil rights for all without exceptions. However, a Brazilian citizen cannot sue FIFA because it is legally immune. Second, in a case where an issue resulting from the organisation of the World Cup is taken to court, the case will be brought against the Brazilian government as the defendant, rather than FIFA. Third, this will cost nothing to FIFA.

Another issue in relation to national sovereignty is the entry and exit permits regulated by the Brazilian World Cup Law because according to the Chapter III of the Law, anybody can enter the country with a document dispatched by FIFA or any other organisation authorized by FIFA. This is literally, the moment when the host government lost control of its own borders, i.e. the existing law regulating the movement of people in and out of the country was disregarded.

Consumer rights

There are also several issues regarding violations of consumer rights associated with the World Cup Brazil 2014. First, only products of companies or brands sponsoring FIFA can be consumed within a 2km perimeter of places defined by FIFA, so no one within this zone is free to choose what to drink or eat during the event because of monopolies created by FIFA.

At the same time, this represents an infringement of the rights of small businesses, such as street vendors, working in these zones. Their legal rights are supposed to be protected by Brazilian law, but if any street vendor violates the rules and tries to sell products in the FIFA World Cup commercial zones, then the Brazilian World Cup Law over-rides these rights. Articles 32 and 33 of the Law provides punishments such as arrest, fines and even imprisonment for between 3 months and 1 year to the offender.

Moreover, FIFA's ticketing policy was also criticized during the organisation of the event especially by the local fan groups because the sale of tickets is monopolized and centralized by FIFA. Complaints pointed to the complicated buying process, the ticket return policy, relatively high prices and prices without discount for differentiated groups such as students and retired people or local fan groups (which are regulated by the Brazilian Laws). Although the complicated and centralised buying process of tickets was not altered, discounted tickets were included in the Brazilian World Cup Law due to the efforts of President Dilma⁷⁵. The president reasoned that the Brazilian Federative Pact prohibited a federal law suspending gratuities and discounts assured by state and municipal law for students and elder people. According to Article 25.5 of the World Cup Law, a 50% discount for the fourth category tickets was provided for students, elder people and those who benefit from the direct income transfer of the federal government's programme, the so-called 'Bolsa Familia'.

Justice and freedom of expression

Freedom of expression became a controversial issue when the Brazilian World Cup Law was approved by the president of Brazil in June 2013. The state's response to massive demonstrations in 12 big cities of Brazil before the World Cup Brazil 2014 brought freedom of expression into question. For the sake of the event, the rights to demonstrate was suspended by some local governments especially in places where the event was taking place.

In the Regulations and the Bidding Agreement there is no clear statement in the Law of how the government is supposed to react when there is a demonstration or protest.

Volunteer Work

Although volunteer work is not included in the final version of the Brazilian World Cup Law, it became the focus of public attention. It was criticized - particularly by the trade union movement - before the Brazilian World Cup Law was approved by the President because according to the relevant articles (Art. 59 and Art. 60) of the draft of the Law, volunteers could be used to replace salaried workers and/or substitute regulating professionals. However, President Dilma Rousseff vetoed the sections of the law that allowed

⁷⁵ Dilma sanciona Lei Geral da Copa, veta "ingresso popular" e dá brecha para meia-entrada, <http://www.clebertoledo.com.br/n44529>

the possibility of “volunteerism” to subjugate the general labour law requirement of payment of wages. The president exercised her veto based upon three public policy reasons: job insecurity, worker safety, and worker well-being.

Tax exemptions

The Brazilian World Cup Law 12.350/2010 exempts FIFA, its suppliers, its sponsors and national football federations from paying any income taxes, import taxes and industrial taxes for up to 4 years after the world cup. Complaints about this focused on the argument that the tax exemptions are unconstitutional as they favour foreign taxpayers over Brazilian ones without justification, thus breaching the principle of equal treatment.

Article 53 exempts FIFA, its Brazilian subsidiaries, legal representatives, consultants and employees from paying certain costs and legal expenses. This special treatment violates the taxpayers' equal status under Brazilian law (Article 150 (II) of Brazil's Constitution); legislators cannot favour one taxpayer to the detriment of another unless there are differences that justify the favourable treatment.

Right to access of public information

According to Brazilian Law (No:12 527: The Law of Accessing Public Information), all information produced by the public power is public and, therefore available for all citizens. The main objective of the Law is to increase the efficiency of the government, put an end to corruption and increase the participation of people in the public power. Within the framework of the Law, any government office or any non-profit organisation financed by the government is subject to the Law. However, as mentioned earlier, there are several different organisations and structures which are jointly or individually established by government, member association and FIFA for the World Cup Brazil 2014. One of them is the FIFA Organising Committee which is created by FIFA in order to support and give orientation to the LOC. Unlike previous examples, the FIFA Organising Committee for the World Cup Brazil 2014 was created as a private and non-profit organisation in Brazil and its operations were fully financed by FIFA. According to the 2015 Financial Report from FIFA⁷⁶, the FIFA Organising Committee spent almost US\$ 480 million through this organisation. Consequently, as it was created as a private organisation, the local body of FIFA in Brazil during the organisation of the event was exempt from the public's right to access public information.

Decent Work and the World Cup Law

Brazil is committed to promoting decent work through an agreement between the Brazilian Federal Government and the ILO in June 2003⁷⁷. In the final version of the Brazilian World Cup Law (No. 12.663/2012), Chapter VII is dedicated to social campaigns during the competition. According to Article 29, the government may adopt measures to promote the campaign for decent work as well as campaigns against arms, drugs, violence and racism during the event. This is the only article in the law explicitly favouring workers. The law is predominantly focused on protecting the commercial rights of FIFA and companies working for the Cup in various respects.

Another document addressing labour issues is the 2014 FIFA World Cup Sustainability Strategy – Concept⁷⁸ published by the FIFA Organising Committee. In the document, labour practices are defined as one of the key social areas. The strategic objective for labour practices is defined as follows:

FIFA and the LOC will strive to ensure fair labour practices, including fair wages and benefits in a healthy and safe workplace. (2014 FIFA World Cup Sustainability Strategy – Concept, p.11)

The following table is taken from the 2014 FIFA World Cup Sustainability Strategy - Concept which defines the strategic objectives of FIFA and the LOC in some key social areas.

⁷⁶ FIFA (2015) Financial Report 2014. Zurich: FIFA. http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/administration/02/56/80/39/fr2014weben_neutral.pdf Accessed 18 May 2016

⁷⁷ <http://www.ilo.org/brasilia/temas/trabalho-decente/lang--pt/index.htm> Accessed 18 May 2016

⁷⁸ FIFA (2012) Sustainability Strategy – Concept. http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/fifaworldcup/generic/02/11/18/55/sustainabilitystrategyconcept_neutral.pdf Accessed 18 May 2016. The final report is here: FIFA (2014) Sustainability Report. Zurich: FIFA. http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/afsocial/general/02/50/92/69/sustainabilityreportofthe2014fwc_neutral.pdf Accessed 18 May 2016



Table 5: FIFA World Cup Brazil 2014 Sustainability Strategy

Social Key Areas	Strategic objectives	Issues
Organisational governance	The sustainability efforts of the FIFA World Cup are guided by the principles of accountability, transparency, ethical behaviour and respect for stakeholder interests, the rule of law, international norms of behaviour and human rights. Furthermore, FIFA and the LOC aim to leave a positive legacy in the host country.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integrate guiding principles into FIFA World Cup management and governance structures (accountability, transparency, ethical behaviour, respect for stakeholder interests, the rule of law, international norms of behaviour and human rights) Advocacy for and integration of the notion of sustainability within the FIFA World Cup management structures and functional areas Legacy (social, environmental and economic) Fundamental principles and rights at work
The environment	FIFA and the LOC will work to reduce the negative environmental impact of preparing and staging the FIFA World Cup, focusing on waste, water, energy, transportation, procurement and climate change, and use the event to raise awareness about the environment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promote environmental protection in Brazil Offsetting carbon emissions Logistics (goods) Transportation (people) Waste Water Sustainable consumption Energy (conscious consumption, efficiency and renewable energy)
Community involvement and development	FIFA and the LOC will promote a higher level of well-being in the Host Cities by supporting initiatives that use football as a catalyst for development in the areas of education, health, social inclusion, civil security, and anti-discrimination.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Health Social inclusion and anti-discrimination Social investment (programmes, training)
Fair operating practices	FIFA and the LOC aim to fairly engage with third-party organisations and individuals and promote socially responsible behaviour among its stakeholders through leading by example and advocacy and through sustainable procurement policies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting sustainability in the organisations' sphere of influence Sustainable procurement Opportunities for informal sector
Consumer issues	FIFA and the LOC aim to protect consumer rights through the application of principles of consumer protection, including health and safety, consumer services, consumer education and data protection as well as the promotion of an inclusive event for all.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Protecting consumers' health and safety Consumer service and complaint resolution Consumer education and awareness Accessibility Consumer data protection
Labour practices	FIFA and the LOC will strive to ensure fair labour practices, including fair wages and benefits in a healthy and safe workplace.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Employment relationship Health and safety at workplace Fair wages and benefits Recruitment and training of FIFA World Cup personnel
Human rights	Within FIFA's and the LOC's sphere of influence, human rights and the rule of law must be respected, including concepts of social justice and fairness.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil and political rights (homeless) Prevention of slave and child labour and human trafficking

Source: 2014 FIFA World Cup Sustainability Strategy – Concept⁷⁹

⁷⁹ http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/fifaworldcup/generic/02/11/18/55/sustainabilitystrategyconcept_neutral.pdf

Federations and Local Organising Committee

According to the Regulation of World Cup 2014 (Article 1.4), The Brazilian Football Federation, CBF (*Confederação Brasileira de Futebol*) has to set up a Local Organising Committee, which is subject to the supervision and the control of FIFA. When defining its governance structure for the World Cup, the Federal Government set up two groups: GECOPA was on the frontline and had executive functions with 16 ministers; and GCCOPA, a broader group with a supervisory role, included 25 ministers of Federal and Local Governments. Coordination between ministers for the planned projects was administered by the Federal Government.

As reported by the Ministry of Sports, total investment for the World Cup Brazil 2014 was R\$27.1 Billion (approximately US\$14 Billion). Most of the expenses were incurred by building stadiums and improving urban transportation. These were mostly financed from public resources. Out of \$27.1 Billion investment spending, only R\$.7 Billion was financed by private sources.

Table 6: Distribution Investment Spending for the World Cup 2014 Brazil by Sectors and Source of Financing

\$R Billion	Federal Government	Local Governments	Private Finance	Total
Stadiums	3.8	3.9	0,6	8.3
Urban Transportation	4.4	4.3	-	8.7
Airports	2.7	3.6	-	6.3
Ports	0,6	-	-	0.6
Infrastructure	2.4	0.7	0.1	3.2
Total	13.9	12.5	0.7	27.1

Source: Balanço Final para as Ações da Copa do Mundo da FIFA Brasil 2014, http://www.esporte.gov.br/arquivos/assessoriaEspecialFutebol/copa2014/6_Balanco_Copa_dez_2014.pdf.

Conclusion

The issue of the political and legal acceptability of various aspects of the Brazilian World Cup Law had attracted the attention of trade unions and social movements. As evidenced above, the World Cup has the power to change, albeit temporarily, the laws of host countries. The ramifications of these changes of law are not well documented but even a temporary change of law for a sports event is noteworthy. Although the examples above are instances where FIFA changed host nation laws for the sake of their sponsors or for the success of the tournament more generally, there is the possibility in the future of using the World Cup's legal instruments in order to improve social conditions too. Ideally, this would be used with an eye towards human and labour rights in future World Cups.

Brazilian Trade Unions and Their Involvement with the Campaign

In Brazil, the campaign Play Fair was firstly launched⁸⁰ in 2011 by the participation of local and international union organisations. At that time, the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas (TUCA), which is the regional office of ITUC, took over the coordination of the campaign in Brazil under the supervision of the ITUC. In Brazil, the campaign finalized the first activity with a coordination committee, composed of affiliated national centres (CUT, FS, UGT), several global unions (BWI – Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), Industriall-Americas and UNI-America) and the TUCA.

The information about the Play Fair Campaign-Brazil, which will be provided in the following section, is mostly obtained from interviews⁸¹ with the relevant people in the following organisations: TUCA, BWI-LAC, CUT, FS and UGT, that were partners of the coordination committee of the campaign in Brazil. The organisational relations of relevant trade union bodies with the organisations arising from sports mega-events shows how the unions attempted to intervene in the event.

⁸⁰ It should be noted that the British TUC took an important part in the launch of the campaign in Brazil in order to transfer their experiences and legacy from the organisation of the 2012 London Olympic Games.

⁸¹ Using the interview schedule in Annex B



Campanha pelo Trabalho Decente Antes e Depois de 2014⁸²

Regarding organisational relations with FIFA and IOC, among interviewed unions only BWI-LAC engaged in contacts with local or international bodies of FIFA. These activities took place at different organisational levels. For the World Cup Brazil 2014, these organisational relations started with a meeting between the General Secretary of BWI (Ambet Yuson) and the General Secretary of FIFA (Jérôme Valcke) in 2010, in which they firstly agreed to visit construction zones of the World Cup Brazil 2014 together and monitor the working conditions in these zones⁸³.

This was the first step for the campaign (Campanha pelo Trabalho Decente Antes e Depois de 2014) organised by the BWI and supervised by BWI-LAC. The campaign was launched in all of the construction zones (12) of the World Cup Brazil 2014. The strong campaigning among construction workers led to many strikes in order to improve their working conditions and salaries in 11 out of the 12 zones, and all of these strikes ended with results favouring the workers.

In terms of organisational relations emerging from the World Cup Brazil 2014, there are two things that were important in the successful campaign of the BWI-LAC in Brazil. First, there was the direct contact of BWI with FIFA, mostly created by the successful campaign of BWI and Play Fair in South Africa. Although the meeting between BWI and the FIFA in 2010 did not result in a written agreement, a verbal agreement from FIFA to visit and monitor the working conditions together with unions and governmental bodies clearly assisted campaigning. Several visits took place⁸⁴ with local representatives of the organisation and governmental bodies with unions, and served not only to increase visibility for the issue of working conditions in the construction sector but also helped in negotiating around these conditions.

Secondly, BWI enhanced the international impact of Play Fair with the local mobilisation of affiliated unions. In Brazil, there has been an ongoing national campaign for decent work supported by the government since 2003. In 2011, this national campaign in the construction sector resulted in a tripartite declaration to ensure decent working conditions with the participation of the ILO. As the construction zones of the World Cup Brazil 2014 were also covered by the declaration, the BWI also took part in this agreement together with affiliated unions⁸⁵. Consequently, the BWI developed contacts with the other important actors of the organisation of the World Cup Brazil 2014 (the Government and companies) through local efforts of affiliated unions either. For example, Odebrecht is not only the leading construction company in Latin America but also the construction company of the four stadiums of the World Cup Brazil 2014. It was the target of a BWI campaign to negotiate the working conditions of workers not only in the construction zones of the World Cup⁸⁶ but also in Latin America more widely⁸⁷. A trade union network in Odebrecht's construction sites across Latin America has been set up by BWI with the aim of international collective bargaining at company level through an International Framework Agreement⁸⁸.

On 31 March and 1 April 2011, finally, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, the Campaign for Decent Work before and after 2014 (Campanha pelo Trabalho Decente Antes e Depois de 2014) was launched with the active participation of the BWI's affiliated unions⁸⁹. At the outset of the campaign, supervised by the BWI regional office, affiliated unions of BWI and some unaffiliated unions nationally unified their ongoing campaigns for decent work in construction zones of the World Cup Brazil 2014⁹⁰. By the end of 2011, most unions in the sector affiliated to the different national centres (CUT, Força Sindical, CGBT, UGT and Nova Central) made a collective declaration and called attention to the precarious conditions in these construction zones. In this declaration, unions stated clearly that they would take strike action unless their demands were met⁹¹.

82 Campaign for Decent Work Towards and Beyond 2014

83 Trade Union Delegation met with FIFA calling for Decent Work, <http://brazil.bwint.org/?p=624> Accessed 18 May 2016

84 BWI Delegation Visits a "No-Accident" Stadium in Brazil, <http://brazil.bwint.org/?p=1319> Accessed 18 May 2016

85 Brazil: tripartite agreement sets new rules for the construction sector, <http://brazil.bwint.org/?p=489> Accessed 18 May 2016

86 Latin America: Trade Unions in the Campaign for Decent Work towards and beyond 2014, <http://brazil.bwint.org/?p=354> Accessed 18 May 2016

87 Brazil: The Odebrecht Trade Union Network was set up, <http://www.bwint.org/default.asp?Index=3757&Language=EN> Accessed 18 May 2016

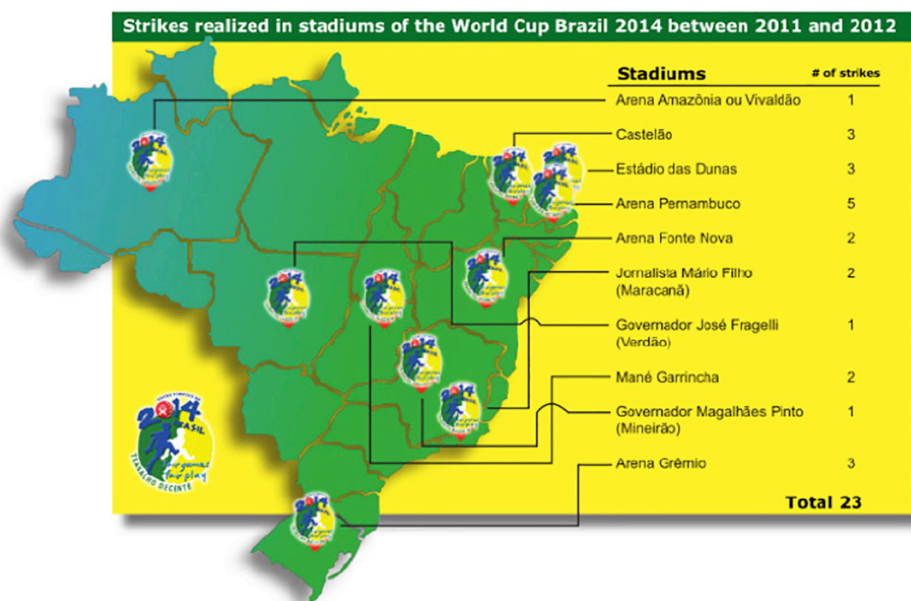
88 BWI Targets Multinational Companies, http://www.bwint.org/pdfs/EN_MNCbooklet.pdf Accessed 18 May 2016

89 Lançada a campanha pelo trabalho decente antes e depois da copa de 2014!, <http://brazil.bwint.org/?p=108> Accessed 18 October 2016.

90 World Cup 2014: Trade Unions agreed a national agenda for the negotiations in 2012, <http://brazil.bwint.org/?p=615>

91 Greves: o primeiro cartão amarelo para a Copa de 2014, <http://brazil.bwint.org/?p=541>

From 2011 to 2014, workers went on strike in 11 out of 12 construction zones. In some zones, workers were on strike more than once. Through the successful campaigning of BWI, all collective agreements in the 12 zones resulted in significant improvement in wages, social benefits and working conditions of worker⁹².



In 2012, BWI participated in a ceremony⁹³ where President Dilma Rousseff together with representatives of companies and unions in the sector signed a historic agreement entitled "National Commitment to Improve Working Conditions in Construction Industry". The document sets out working conditions, health and safety at workplaces, and provides collective bargaining for setting the salary, benefits, journey, transportation, accommodation and food. The tripartite agreement has also established the National Monitoring Bureau, which monitor and assess the workplaces in compliance with the terms of the agreement.

It is estimated that about 4 million workers in the sector will somehow benefit from the terms of the agreement signed after about 10 months of continuous negotiation of BWI through affiliated unions. Since most of participant companies operates in other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, the tripartite agreement can be extended to working places of these companies abroad, in the context of social responsibility and commitment to sustainable development.

Media and the Campaign

Timing was one of the key issues in the campaign of BWI-LAC in Brazil. The World Cup took place in 2014 but the campaign intensified in 2011 when the construction of new stadiums began and became the focus of media attention. This is why industrial relations in the construction zones of the World Cup also attracted the local media frequently.

There was media interest in the new stadiums of the World Cup Brazil 2014. The campaign was successful in utilising this chance to incorporate the labour issues into the media's attention. Strikes in the stadiums, press releases of the trade unions/the campaign and visits to the stadiums with the representatives of FIFA all facilitated the coverage of the campaign in the Brazilian media. The campaign was also successful in providing materials and information about the working conditions in stadiums for easy use by the Brazilian media. This information was usually shared through the website of the campaign or in printed forms such as pamphlets.

92 Brasil: 300 mil em greve conquistam mais salário e melhores condições de trabalho, <http://brazil.bwint.org/?p=996>

93 Brasil – Acordo Tripartite beneficia 4 milhões de trabalhadores da Construção



Some Observations on Campaigns

As the campaign of BWI-LAC enabled the broad participation of unions in their launch⁹⁴, this opportunity was utilised to set out the Campaign Play Fair - Brazil. Therefore, a coordination committee for the Campaign Play Fair - Brazil was formed during the launch of BWI campaign. The committee was composed of affiliated national centres (CUT, FS, UGT), several global unions (BWI LAC, Industriall-Americas and UNI-Americas) and the TUCA in 2011. However, this coordination committee did not survive long and the interviewed unions participated in Play Fair through their individual efforts, as was the case of BWI-LAC. Unfortunately, the active participation of most of the interviewed unions was very limited, compared to BWI-LAC.

BWI was the only union to get in contact with FIFA and governmental bodies arising from the World Cup Brazil 2014 at different organisational levels as well as being the only union that finalized these efforts with successful collective bargaining. Although most of the interviewed unions have not met with FIFA, they have been involved in several activities with the representatives of the Local Organising Committee of the Olympic Games – Rio 2016. However, these meetings have not gone beyond sharing information between parties unlike the case of BWI-LAC.

Brazilian Union Centres and Decent Work Campaign

Article 29 of the Brazilian World Cup Law states that 'the government may adopt measures to promote the campaign for decent work as well as campaigns against arms, drugs, violence and racism during the event'. This can be seen as an example of pro-labour policies of the Brazilian Government as the supporter of the ongoing campaign for decent work in Brazil since 2003. During the preparation of sports mega-events, the Brazilian Government at local and federal level have been collaborative with the unions' activities addressing the delivery of services of sports mega-events in decent conditions. For example, a month before the World Cup Brazil 2014, President Dilma launched⁹⁵ a decent work campaign especially in public services directly or indirectly connected with the World Cup Brazil 2014 with the participation of the national union centres and the ILO. For this reason, in 8 host cities of the World Cup Brazil 2014, different public bodies (municipal, state and federal) worked together with the unions in the sector, and promoted decent working conditions together. These activities took the form of seminars, meetings and press releases and supervised by the Ministry of Labour.

On many occasions of these activities⁹⁶, the national union centres (CUT, FS, UGT) have met not only with the representatives of LOC of the Olympic Games but also with the representatives of governmental bodies and the ILO. The main topic of these meetings was decent working conditions during the organisation of sports mega-events. As has been mentioned above, because of the ongoing decent work campaign in Brazil, there were lots of meetings, seminars and conferences organised on the topic of decent work by the federal and local governments and national union centres. These activities connecting the ongoing decent work campaign with the World Cup Brazil 2014 has become one of the main instruments used by the national unions to increase the visibility of working conditions during the lead up to these events. The trade unions organised seminars, training, public statements and/or actions and, as well as workers' rights, citizen and fan rights were the other main topics of these activities.

Finally, throughout the preparation of the World Cup Brazil 2014, issues arising from sports mega-events became a special topic for the national union centres. These issues were seen as a special part of the ongoing national decent work campaign. Under the favourable conditions created by the World Cup Brazil 2014, Brazilian union centres intensified their decent work campaign and acted collectively regarding issues arising from the sports mega-events. However, unions' activities in the ongoing decent work campaign have sometimes appeared at national level but are usually carried out at state or city level through the tripartite bodies created at these levels.

⁹⁴ This activity was organised together with the Campaign Play Fair.

⁹⁵ Governo firma pacto por trabalho decente na Copa 2014, <http://blog.mte.gov.br/trabalho/detalhe-2551.htm#.Vp73pl42xC0>

⁹⁶ São Paulo é primeira cidade-sede a aderir ao Pacto pelo Trabalho Decente na Copa, <http://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/copa/noticias/?p=159395>

4. Strategies during and after global sports mega-events

By Verna Dinah Q. Viajar

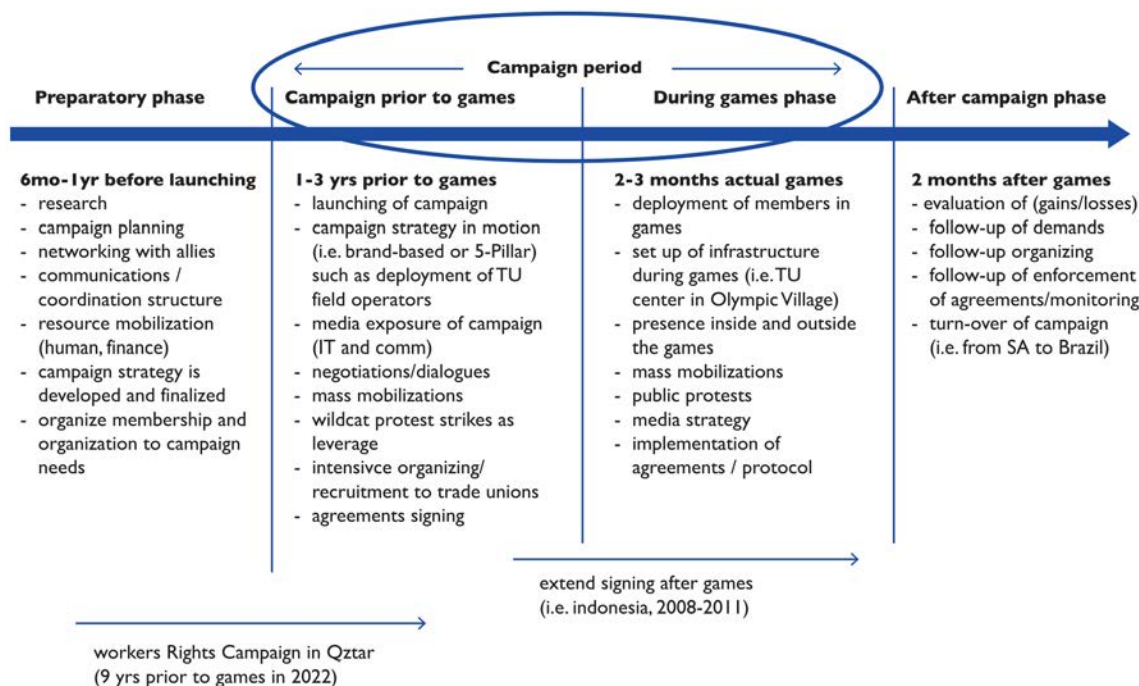
Introduction

Labour campaigns around sports mega-events begin years before the actual games. The start of the games (Olympics/World Cup) is the beginning of the end of the labour campaigns for that event. The next round of labour campaigns for the next sports mega-event likewise begins (see Figure 2 in Cycle of Labour Campaigns).

A minimum of 2-3 years prior to the actual sports mega-events, trade unions are already in the field armed with campaign plans and union strategies. More often than not, the target allies and adversaries; issues and/or demands; and strategies of action are already determined prior to the sports mega-events and before trade unions go to the stadia.

In the same manner that campaigns around sports mega-events happen years before the actual games, the nitty-gritty work of ground organising, coalition-building, negotiations, organising mobilisations and collective actions occur outside the spotlight of the spectacular sports events.

Figure 5: Labour campaigns in sports mega-events – Timeline and Activities



Source: Country case studies (2015), BWI (2010), Cottle (2013)

This chapter reviews the labour campaigns surrounding a selection of sports mega-events in the period 2004-2014:

- 2004 Athens Olympics (Play Fair campaign in India)
- 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics (construction and Play Fair campaigns in Canada)
- 2010 Olympics (Play Fair campaign in Indonesia)
- 2010 South Africa World Cup (construction campaign in SA)
- 2012 London Olympics (Britain and the Philippines)
- 2014 Brazil World Cup (construction campaign in SA)
- 2022 Qatar World Cup (construction campaign in Qatar)

Specifically, this chapter looks at the labour campaign strategies during this period, how unions deployed their campaign strategies from the launching of the campaign until the actual games and its aftermath. It follows the discussion of Preparatory Strategies in Chapter 3. In this chapter, the actual implementation of the campaigns during the sports mega-events is examined. In so doing, this section discusses the following:

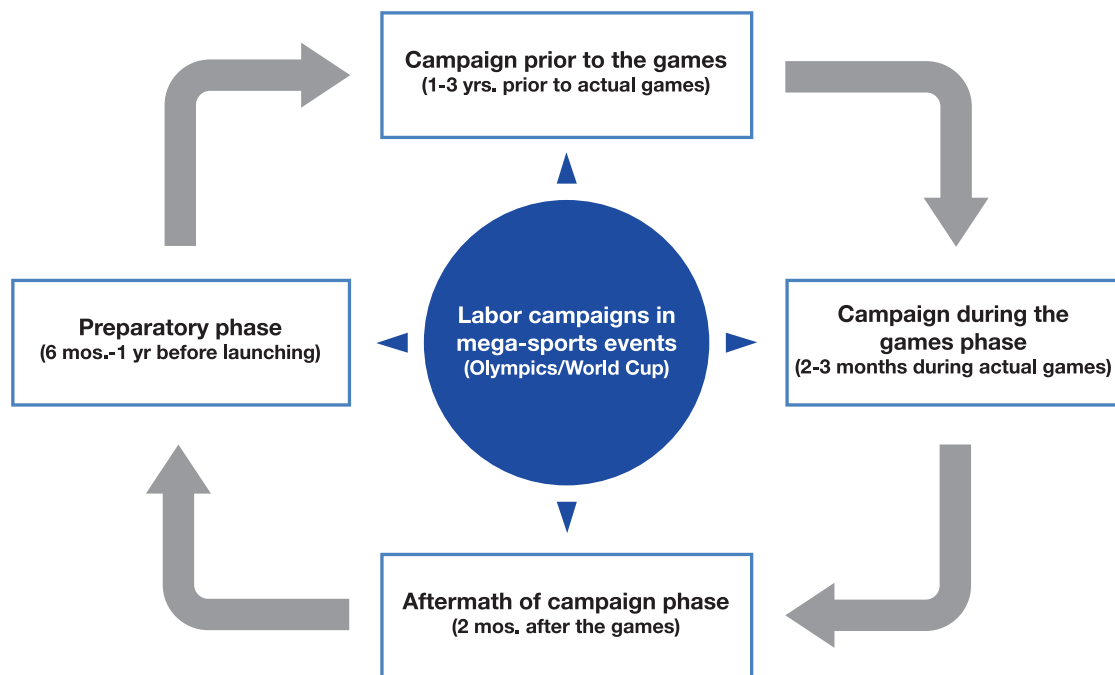
- Trade union linkages with other social forces during the campaigns
- Impacts of the campaigns on workers
- Lessons learned and legacies
- Building power for workers and the international trade union movement.

Phases of labour campaigns in sports mega-events (2004-2014 and the 2022 campaigns)

The sports labour campaigns operate in four phases:

- Preparatory phase - 6 months to 1 year before launching the campaign
- Campaigns prior to the games - 1 to 3 years prior to the games
- Campaigns during the games - 2 to 3 months during the games
- Aftermath - 2 months after the games

Figure 6: Cycle of labour campaigns in sports mega-events



Source: Country case studies (2015), BWI (2010), Cottle (2013)

Activities during the campaign phases

The outline below sets out the key activities taking place during each of the phases (for a more detailed discussion of particular campaigns, see the case studies).

1. *Preparatory phase*

- research
- campaign planning
- campaign strategy is designed, developed and finalized
- networking with allies
- communications/coordination structure
- resource mobilisation (human, finance)
- organise membership to prepare for the campaigns
- build organisational infrastructure to meet campaign needs

2. *Campaign period prior to the games*

- launching of campaign
- campaign strategy in motion (i.e. brand-based or 5-Pillar)
- deployment of TU field operators
- media exposure of campaign (IT and communication infrastructure)
- negotiations/dialogues
- mass mobilisations
- wildcat protest strikes as leverage
- intensive organising/recruitment of members to trade unions
- agreements signing

3. *Campaign period during the games*

- deployment of union members inside and outside the games premises
- set up of infrastructure during games (e.g. trade union centre in the Olympic Village)
- public presence inside and outside the games, through mass mobilisations, innovative labour actions with maximum media exposure such as public protests, wildcat strikes etc,
- high profile media strategy
- implementation and monitoring of agreements/protocol

4. *Aftermath*

- evaluation (gains/losses)
- follow-up of demands
- follow-up on organising
- monitoring in enforcement of agreements
- turn-over of campaign (e.g. from SA to Brazil)
- planning for the next sports campaign

1. *Preparatory phase*

The construction and Play Fair campaigns of trade unions in British Columbia and Yukon Territory for the Vancouver Winter Olympics in 2010 began preparation even before 2008. The Building and Construction Trades Council began coalition and alliance building with trade unions and transnational NGOs during the pre-bid and lead up to the 2010 Vancouver Olympics.

In preparation for the 2010 South Africa World Cup, alliance building among construction unions in coordination with international trade unions (i.e. BWI, ITUC) and labour NGOs began as early as 2006. The campaign was launched in 2007, 3 years prior to the games, in the form of a strike. The South Africa campaign strategy was turned over to the Brazilian construction unions in 2011, 3 years in advance of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. This marked the beginning of preparation for the campaign in Brazil.



British trade unions began preparing for the campaign as early as 2005 which resulted in the formation of the “Unions 2012 Group” in 2006, six years prior to the games. This union group structure became the central infrastructure that supported the labour campaigns surrounding the 2012 London Olympics.

The Play Fair campaign for the 2012 Olympics in the Philippines began in a research conference in 2010, 2 years before the games, which determined the brand-based campaign strategy targeting Adidas. Alliance building, networking and establishing coordination structures between the Philippine trade unions and transnational NGOs were designed in the preparatory stage.

The preparatory phase of the BWI campaign for the 2022 Qatar World Cup began 9 years prior to the games through a high-profile research and media report exposing the incidence of ‘modern slavery’ in Qatar in 2013⁹⁷.

Labour campaigns period

The campaign period usually begins with an official launch, often involving a public announcement of the campaign to the union organisations and the media, but could also focus around conferences or rallies bringing together trade unions and civil society allies. In both South Africa and Brazil, the campaign launch took place during a wave of strikes or was the signal for a period of heightened industrial action around events related to the games (particularly in construction).

The BWI launched its sports campaign for the 2010 South Africa World Cup through a series of activities at the 2007 World Social Forum (WSF) held in Nairobi, Kenya. The campaign for the 2014 Brazil World Cup was launched in South Africa in the midst of a Brazilian strike wave⁹⁸.

The campaign period, based on trade union experiences, was divided into two phases:

- Campaigns prior to the games; and
- Campaigns during the games.

In the campaign period, the campaign strategy was set in motion such as the 5-Pillar campaign strategy of BWI in the 2010 and 2014 World Cups in South Africa and Brazil respectively. In the sportswear industry, the Play Fair or brand-based campaign strategy began when negotiations were conducted with sportswear TNCs in Indonesia and the Philippines (2010 and 2012 Olympics).

The campaigns started running when trade union operators were deployed on the ground to organise workers for recruitment, mobilisations, protest actions, etc. A media campaign strategy ran alongside these ground-based organising activities. Negotiations, dialogues and/or consultations of campaign demands happened in this period that for some led to agreements (i.e. FOA Protocol in Indonesia) and for others unsuccessful attempts at an agreement (i.e. Labour Accord in Canada).

2. Campaign period prior to the games

In the lead up to the 2004 Athens Olympics, garment unions in India staged innovative public awareness activities highlighting sweatshop conditions of garment workers in May Day celebrations, alternative fashion shows, press releases, etc. using information and symbolic politics to reach government officials and the mainstream media.

Sportswear/Garment industry

The Play Fair campaigns for garment workers began in this phase. This led to the negotiations towards Freedom of Association (FOA) Agreements or Protocols with sports TNCs: (a) individually through the brand-based strategy in the case of the Philippine trade unions and Adidas for the 2012 Olympics; and (b) collectively between the Play Fair Alliance and 6 sports TNCs (Adidas, Nike, Puma, Pentland, Asics and New Balance) in Indonesia for the 2010 Olympics.

⁹⁷ Cottle and Rombaldi 2013

⁹⁸ Cottle and Rombaldi 2013

In this phase, the TAN (transnational advocacy network) formed for the Philippine brand-based campaign against Adidas) stepped up pressure on the sportswear TNCs in their national headquarters in the North. The TAN is composed of international trade unions and NGOs from garment anti-sweatshop campaigns mostly from North countries. Local trade unions and NGOs at the national level pressured their city and national governments on the issues of the Play Fair campaign (e.g. for the Canada 2010 Olympics).

Construction industry

In the construction sector, this phase consisted of negotiating agreements on wages, benefits and health and safety conditions for construction workers building the sports stadiums. The Canadian and British trade unions negotiated and achieved concessions on 'direct employment' of unionised workers, workers representation, protection of migrant workers, grievance mechanisms, among others.

The construction trade unions in South Africa and Brazil, led by the Building and Woodworkers International (BWI), used coordinated strikes and mass protest actions to leverage companies to come to the negotiating table. Among the concessions gained were wage increases, free transportation to construction sites, health and safety benefits, free World Cup tickets for workers, bonus payments, etc. In the Qatar campaign, the intensive efforts of BWI to assist the migrant construction workers involved linking with trade unions and foreign ministries from sending countries (e.g. Nepal, Pakistan, etc.) due to the absence of trade unions inside Qatar.

Figure 7: Labour campaigns in sports mega-events – actual activities

Campaign period			
Preparatory phase	Campaign prior to games	During games phase	After campaign phase
6mo-1 yr before launching <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coalition-and alliance-building with trade unions and transnational NGOs of BGYT-BCTC (2010 Vancouver Olympics); - British trade unions formed the "Unions 2012 Group" in 2006 (2012 Olympics); - Research in 2010 in the Philippines led to the Play Fair brand-based campaign strategy (2012 Olympics); - Alliance-building in South Africa with international trade unions (i.e. BWI, ITUC) and labor NGOs by 2006 (2010 World Cup); - Research and media exposes on modern slavery in Qatar by 2013 (2022 World Cup) 	1-3 yrs prior to games <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - garment unions in India staged May Day celebrations, alternative fashion shows, press releases (2004 Olympics); - Play Fair campaigns negotiated Freedom of Association (FOA) Agreements/Protocols with sports MNCs in Indonesia and Philippines (2010/2012 Olympics); - Unions 2012 Group negotiated MOA on 'direct employment' for construction workers (2012 London Olympics); - Strikes and mass protest actions in SA and Brazil (2010/2014 World Cups); - Intensive organizing in Qatar of migrant workers (2022 World Cup) 	2-3 months actual games <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indian garment workers in a month-long march crossing garment manufacturing districts in Tiripur, Bangalore, Chennai, etc. (2004 Olympics); - Trade unions deploy members monitoring grievances and set up of infrastructure during games (i.e. TU center in Olympic Village); - Unionists are watching in the games (i.e. free tickets for unionists in South Africa); - mass mobilizations/public protests outside the stadiums; monitoring of implementation of agreements/protocol, etc. (SA, Brazil, Indonesia) 	2 months after games <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evaluation workshops; - Monitoring issues/demands; - Follow-up work in organizing such as planning for the new union members; - Monitoring of enforcement of agreements; - Turn-over of campaign in the case of South Africa to Brazil

Source: Analysis based on country case studies (2015), BWI (2010), Cottle (2013)



3. Campaign period during the actual games

The period when sports mega-events are actually taking place is a crucial time to highlight workers' actions and labour campaigns under the glare of the media coverage of the games which reaches millions of sports spectators around the world.

During the 2004 Athens Olympics, garment workers in India organised a month-long march and mobilisation crisscrossing the major manufacturing districts (i.e. Tiripur, Bangalore, Chennai, etc.) culminating in Delhi to hand over a petition to the Minister of Labour and Sports to maximize the attention of the public. British trade unions in the 2012 London Olympics consolidated their presence during the Olympic Games in the Trade Union Centre in the Olympic Village.

It was in this period that trade unions deployed their members to monitor any grievances that arose in relation to the agreements and protocols; set up an infrastructure during games (e.g. a Trade Union Centre in the Olympic Village); contributed their presence by watching the games (e.g. there were free tickets for unionists in South Africa); and joined mass mobilisations and public protests outside the stadiums. Labour campaigns during this period were accompanied by a media strategy to balance protest actions so as to avoid alienating the public who wanted to enjoy the sports mega-event.

In the sportswear and garments industry, the FOA agreements and protocol attained through the Play Fair campaigns were set in motion during the games. The garment workers in the sportswear industry used information and symbolic politics through their media strategy to highlight the sweatshop conditions of garment workers in contrast to the glitter and glamour of sports mega-events.

In the construction industry, during the 2010 South Africa and 2014 Brazil World Cups, workers stepped up their organised protest movements during the games. This time, the workers were outside the stadiums rather than working inside constructing the mega-buildings. However, gains were mostly attained before the games and during the construction period as in the case of labour campaigns in the 2010 Olympics in Vancouver, 2012 London Olympics, and the 2010 and 2014 World Cups.

4. Aftermath

As the dust settled, this period consisted of taking stock of the gains and losses (evaluation) and monitoring the enforcement of agreements. Other activities also happened during this period such as the follow-up of demands and in organising such as activities for the new union members. In the case of the BWI-led campaign in South Africa, trade unions turned-over the campaign torch to Brazil for the 2014 World Cup labour campaign.

Key areas of analysis on labour campaigns during sports mega-events

The actions and results from the experiences of trade unions on sports-based labour campaigns indicated the following cluster of goals:

- a. **Immediate term** – protection and increase of union membership; negotiate economic benefits (e.g. wage increase, allowances, bonuses); enforce freedom of association; freedom from bonded labour (kafala system); rights coverage of migrant workers; job security for construction workers (e.g. 'direct employment').
- b. **Medium term** - regulating sweatshop production in garments industry; transparency of supply chain locations; guarantee health and safety work conditions.
- c. **Long term** - critique of the development strategies of states; critique against gentrification and community dislocation; containment of the power of TNCs or transnational capital; arrest precarious employment.

Strategising during campaign period

Once the labour campaign strategy was set for take-off, organising the campaign on the ground entailed going through the basic tenets in field strategising:

- a. **Organising the troops** – trade unions made sure there was a critical mass of their membership focused on the sports labour campaign. It entailed identifying specific tasks for people involved in the campaign and making sure the bigger picture and the goals of the campaign were understood by field operators. Campaigning for the FOA Protocol in Indonesia involved explaining at the shopfloor level the implications of the agreement and mobilising the rank-and-file collective actions away from the bargaining table. Inside-outside pressure simultaneously happened to ensure leverage during the negotiations.
- b. **Identifying and understanding adversaries** – required prior research into the interests and motivations of different stakeholders shaping their actions, behaviour and policies. However, the identification of allies and adversaries can shift in the field because there are many factors that shape interests, actions and policies. The foreign ministries of migrant sending countries became unusual allies in putting pressure on Qatar at the inter-governmental level but also allies for the interests of migrant construction workers in Qatar.
- c. **Knowing and linking up with allies** – it is important here to clarify the goals, demands, and strategies and approaches among allies. Tensions and differences can emerge present even between allies. The adversaries and allies of today may not be the case in the future.

At the time of the initial bid for the Olympics, the more labour-friendly New Democratic Party was in power in British Columbia. However, by the time the Olympics were held in 2010, the more conservative Liberal party had come to power and the provincial public sector unions largely refused to participate in an event that showcased a government that had been particularly hostile to public sector unions. Thus, the construction sector unions lost a valuable ally in the public sector unions when it came time to organise around the Olympics.

- d. **Flexibility of tactics based on geography and place** – understanding the terrain (political, economic and social/cultural context, physical environment, etc.) was crucial in the successful take-off of the campaigns. The BWI strategy adjusted its campaigns in Qatar by considering the physical climate, absence of non-state actors or civil society, and the unique 'kafala' system affecting the work conditions of workers in the country. Campaigns in the 2010 South Africa and 2014 Brazil World Cups considered the public sentiments regarding state expenditures and inequality around sports mega-events. Labour campaigns were integrated within a broader national movement critiquing economic policies of the state and rising inequality in Brazil. It was important to find legitimacy and support of the campaign issues and demands from the public to increase support from different social actors within a given terrain.
- e. **Extrapolating possible scenarios from the specific context of the place** – strategising is not only about knowing what to do but also being able to predict how the other forces will react. Being able to predict possible scenarios will provide the information on how to formulate countermeasures or tactics on the ground. Adjustment to the 'brand-based' campaign strategy for Play Fair in the Philippines took into account the capacity of trade unions which was different from the Indonesian case. Focussing on one sports TNC (Adidas) and its sensitivity to brand image, allowed Philippine trade unions to concentrate their energies and actions with precision to get the best deal possible from the negotiations. Rapid decisions might be needed on what countermeasures to take or what new tactics to deploy in the field.

Key Area 1: Trade union linkages with other social forces during the campaign

Trade unions primarily linked up with unions within the same industry (e.g. sportswear or construction) and then with unions from other sectors (e.g. for London 2012, the Musicians' union, Rail Maritime and Transport union, public sector and retail unions) at the local, regional, global levels using coalitional power resources and leverage to strengthen their demands.



A feature in the labour campaigns was the collaboration of local and national trade unions with:

- Global and/or international unions (e.g. BWI, ITUC, ITGWLF⁹⁹, etc.)
- Labour-based transnational and local NGOs (e.g. Clean Clothes Campaign, Maquila Solidarity Network, Asia Monitor Resource Centre, Labour Research Service, SOLIDAR) in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Canada, and South Africa
- The informal sector, community-based, housing organisations, home-based garment workers etc. such as the Streetnet in India, the Philippines, South Africa and Brazil
- Non-labour organisations such as foreign ministries/embassies of migrant-sending countries to Qatar; local city governments in Britain and faith-based organisations in Canada; Amnesty International, Corporate Watch¹⁰⁰ in South Africa and Brazil.

During the campaign period, trade unions targeted to engage:

- sportswear brand TNCs (Adidas, Nike, Pentland, etc.)
- international sports organisations (IOC and FIFA)
- national sportswear companies (e.g. Hudson Bay Company in Canada)
- national construction companies during the bidding for sports stadium contracts.

The BWI campaign for the 2022 World Cup is targeting the construction companies from Europe and South Korea who won the bid in constructing the sports stadiums in Qatar. In other campaigns such as the Vancouver Winter Olympics, the local and city governments (e.g. British Columbia and Yukon Territory) were targeted. Foreign ministries of migrant sending countries to Qatar (such as Nepal) are also crucial stakeholders in the 2022 campaign.

Key Area 2: Impact of campaigns on workers

- Garment workers in sportswear industry** – The labour campaigns in the 2004 Athens Olympics resulted in getting attention of national government officials, the public and international community on the sweatshop conditions of garment workers in India. The FOA Protocol and MOA in Indonesia and the Philippines, respectively for the 2010 and 2012 Olympics, penetrated to the shopfloor along the Tier 1 garment supply chain to allow workers to unionise. Indonesian garment unions benefited from the FOA Protocol in organising new union members. However, it was unclear in the Philippines whether the MOA with Adidas translated to increased union membership. In Canada, the Play Fair Alliance held its national sportswear companies accountable to provide decent work conditions for local and migrant garment workers.
- Construction workers** – During the 2010 and 2012 Olympics, British and Canadian trade unions were able to secure ‘direct employment’ for unionised construction workers and assisted migrant workers to get work benefits in Canada. In South Africa and Brazil, construction workers enjoyed wage increases, free transportation to the construction sites, health and safety benefits, bonus pay, free tickets to the World Cup, decent work conditions and other economic benefits. The sports campaign in South Africa was able to increase union recruitment of about 10,000-12,000 new unionised workers. Construction trade unions in Brazil were also able to organise new union members of about 15,000 workers in the course of the campaign.

Key Area 3: Lessons learned and legacies

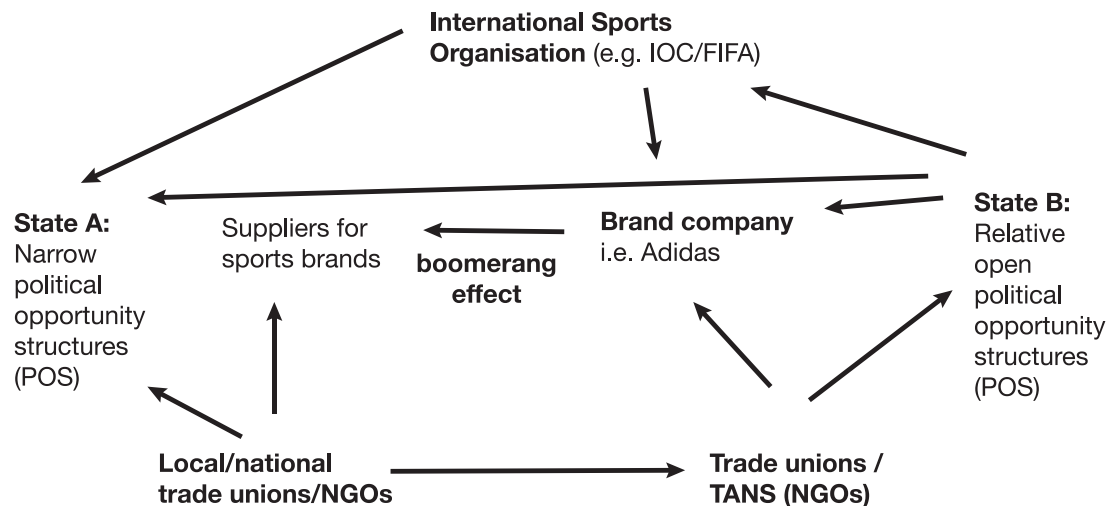
- Garment workers in sportswear industry** – Despite the transnational design of the Play Fair campaign strategy, it is focused at the national level and the campaign actions are specifically designed based on the context of the country. In India, the locations of garment manufacturing sites in different districts were incorporated into the month-long mobilisation strategy to increase workers’ contacts and solidarity in these areas. It was different in Indonesia where the negotiations for a Freedom of Association Protocol were at the national level involving national trade unions and selected sportswear TNCs. The provisions in the FOA Protocol were designed to apply to the production chains of the 6 sports TNCs (Adidas, Nike, Pentland, Asics, Puma and New Balance.).

⁹⁹ Now part of IndustriALL

¹⁰⁰ <https://corporatewatch.org/>

Whilst efforts to secure a Labour Accord did not succeed in the Play Fair campaign in Canada, the arrangements for transparency and disclosure of garment supply chains were better than those achieved in the negotiations in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines. The Play Fair campaigns have also given birth to a unique campaign strategy within the fold of the Play Fair Alliance: a ‘brand-based’ campaign strategy. The campaign strategy was expected to concentrate all energies on one sportswear TNC by holding it accountable for the unfair labour practices suffered by garment suppliers located in its supply chain. One of the legacies of the Play Fair Alliance campaign in the Olympics from 2004-2014 has been to establish this ‘brand-based’ labour campaign strategy (see Chapter 2 for further discussion).

Figure 8: Brand-based labour campaign strategy



Source: Developed by Verna Viajar, 2016, with references from Kitschelt, 1986; Armbruster-Sandoval, 2003, Sikkink, 1998.

- b. **Construction workers** – The construction workers in Canada and Britain face some different problems to those in developing countries, although they also share some of the same problems. There is a level of unionisation among UK construction workers but it is relatively low, and there is also a great degree of insecurity and a growing problem of bogus or fake ‘self-employment’ with reduced employment rights (many construction workers in the UK are also migrant workers). It is because of this threat of insecure working that British construction unions sought a commitment to ‘direct employment’ rather than to so-called self-employed and sub-contracted labour. Directly employed workers are more likely to be unionised and, if not, easier to unionise. Construction workers in South Africa, Brazil and Qatar are often migrants, in harsh working conditions and some are even caught in a form of bonded labour. The differences in the context and conditions of the workers were reflected in the differences of campaign strategies.

The construction industries in South Africa, Brazil and Qatar are also different from each other. Where they are more organised in South Africa, construction unions were able to negotiate for increased economic benefits (wages, transport, bonus, etc.) with the sports mega-events as a backdrop. The South African construction unions used strikes (wildcat or otherwise) and mass mobilisations as strategies to gain leverage. Construction trade unions in Brazil were integrated into the national movement of communities, trade unions and political organisations during the massive campaign surrounding the 2014 World Cup. The demands of the construction workers (increased wages, safe work conditions, etc.) were integrated into the “national demands for the construction sector in the country as a whole”¹⁰¹.

The BWI labour campaigns in the 2010 and 2014 World Cups in South Africa and Brazil developed a Four Pillars campaign strategy with organising as the core pillar supported by Research, Negotiations, and Campaigns – all this within the context of the international solidarity co-ordinated by the BWI head office. This campaign strategy is being replicated in other countries and is one of the legacies of the sports-based labour campaigns in the construction industry.

Figure 9: BWI Campaign Strategy



Source: Building and Wood Workers International (2010) 2010 World Cup and the Construction Sector: Campaign for Decent Work. Geneva: BWI

Lessons and issues

The labour campaigns on sports were not immune to the political-economic developments at the global level. The 2008 US financial crisis affected the bargaining leverage of trade unions during the 2010 Vancouver Olympics and 2012 London Olympics. During the games British and Canadian trade unions reported limitations in human and financial resources as factors in the low recruitment of new members. Constraints on organising at the workplace in the Philippine garment companies also had an impact on the low increase in membership in contrast to the increase in union membership in Indonesia and South Africa as a result of the sports campaign. Among the relevant factors to be considered in the implementation of the labour campaigns around sports events are the following:

1. **Trade union organisational strength** is crucial in campaign successes (e.g. Indonesia, South Africa, Brazil, and European campaigns);
2. **Organisational flexibility** based on the geographical, political-economic and international contexts were important in designing a campaign strategy (e.g. BWI decided to organise on the ground in Qatar due to absence of trade unions and civil society); and
3. **Involvement of transnational labour activists** and public involvement supporting a media strategy can sway how sports events are perceived in favour of trade unions and workers (e.g. media exposés).

Key Area 4: Building power for workers and international trade union movement

The labour campaigns around sports mega-events within the period under review utilised different sources of workers' power and leverage by multiple social forces (local, national and global trade unions, NGOs, activists, etc.) targeting different social actors at these dimensions:

1. **production and economic dimension** – TNC corporations in sportswear, construction companies, and garments, migrant construction workers;
2. **political and institutional** - national governments of host countries of sports events, sending countries of migrant workers, and global sports organisations such as FIFA and Olympics Committees;

3. **socio-cultural discourse** - media campaigns such as those of the anti-sweatshop movement contrasting the image of expensive sportswear with unsafe and inhumane working conditions of workers in the garment industry (e.g. in India, Indonesia, Philippines). This dimension refers to the contradictions emerging from the expensive sports mega-events hosted by bidding states amidst poverty and inequality (e.g. Brazil, South Africa) and the bonded (Kafala) conditions of construction workers while building luxurious sports stadiums (Qatar).

Sources of workers' power/leverage during the campaign period around sports mega-events

In the last 10 years of labour campaigns around sports mega-events, trade unions deployed the available array of sources of workers' power or leverage:

1. **Structural power.** Organised labour has always deployed this source of power particularly in industrialized countries with high trade union density. The source of leverage and power of trade unions comes from the location of workers in the production system. Structural power has two sub-types: (a) marketplace bargaining power – when workers have high and scarce skills in tight labour markets and are able to leverage by pulling out from the labour market (e.g. transport, metal, musicians); and (b) workplace bargaining power – when workers have the ability to paralyze the production process itself.
2. **Institutional power** refers to the organisational power of trade unions derived from institutionalized gains and social compromises in the past through the labour laws, labour policies or structures for labour (e.g. social dialogue, tripartite framework of ILO, international conventions, etc.).
3. **Associational power** refers to the leverage workers derive when they form different structures of collective organisations, such as trade unions or political parties, especially when structural and institutional sources of power are absent. It also includes the formation of other workers' organisations aside from trade unions such as migrants' organisations or networks, associations)
4. **Societal power**¹⁰² is employed in repressive contexts where the avenues of protest are limited. This power resource is usually used in contexts of high unemployment, repressive political or labour regimes and a high presence of non-formal workers (e.g. sub-contract workers, temporary, migrants, domestic workers, etc.). Societal power is composed of (a) Coalitional power – refers to engaging other social movements and trade unions by forging alliances and coalitions to strengthen positions on issues; and (b) Discursive power – when trade unions act as social movements influencing discourse and change the dominant 'commonsense' through public mobilisations, collective actions, etc.

The trade unions, during their labour campaigns, utilised specific power resources in combination with other available sources of leverage. The Play Fair campaign gained strength through the formation of local-global alliances and networks around the anti-sweatshop issue using associational and coalitional power resources. The creative and alternative strategies and tactics in gaining broader support through information and symbolic politics provided the leverage for the Play Fair Alliance to bring sports TNCs such as the Adidas and Nike to the negotiating table (e.g. in relation to India, Philippines, and Canada). The Play Fair campaign of garment unions in Indonesia was supported by the broader trade union movement, including the metalworkers' unions that possess structural and institutional power resources.

The construction trade unions in Canada and Britain deployed their structural power particularly the marketplace and workplace leverage because workers in high-skilled and vital industries were unionised (e.g. transport.). They were also able to deploy their institutional and coalitional power resources by engaging local and city governments in negotiating with the International Olympic Committee. In South Africa and Brazil where structural power is limited for construction workers, the trade unions, acting as social movements, made use of coalitional (local and global trade unions and NGOs), institutional (organised labour, COSATU, as part of the Triple Alliance that supports the ANC government) and societal power resources through mass mobilisations or strikes to disrupt construction and to bring corporations to the bargaining table.

¹⁰² See Webster, Edward. 2015. Labour after Globalisation: Old and New Sources of Power. Rhodes University; Schmalz, Stefan, and Klaus Dörre. 2014. "Der Machtressourcenansatz: Ein Instrument zur Analyse gewerkschaftlichen Handlungsvermögens/The power resource approach: An instrument to analyze trade union action capabilities." Industrielle Beziehungen 217.



Conclusion: Taking out competition among workers and leave competition inside the sports arena

In the last 10 years of labour campaigns around sports mega-events, trade unions became instruments in building solidarity and workers' power using sports events as new platforms for struggle. By building solidarity among workers at the global and international levels, in some respects trade unions are scaling up their traditional role of taking wages out of competition – in this case attempting to take workers out of competition.

The sports-based campaigns of trade unions revolve around four phases of the campaign namely: (a) Preparatory phase; (b) Campaign period prior to the games; (c) Campaign period during the games; and (d) the Aftermath. During the campaign period, before and during the games, trade unions in the sportswear and construction industries implemented different campaign strategies developed in the preparatory phase.

The labour campaigns brought immediate and lasting victories for garment and construction workers from the countries studied. The campaign strategies deployed before and during the games resulted in economic and welfare benefits, increased union membership, and strengthened workers' power.

Sports mega-events heighten competition among workers from the production of sportswear and construction of mega-stadiums. Beyond the protection of workers' rights in sports mega-events, trade union campaigns need to be framed around the abolition of competition among workers and that competition is better left to the sports arena.

Recommendations

From the kick-off of the campaign period, the trade unions' strategies are deployed and tested. The campaign strategy framework and design brings together preliminary preparations such as research, resource mobilisation, alliance building, and campaign organisational infrastructures. Campaign strategies at sports mega-events may shift based on the actual contexts which are crucial in the success of the campaign. Here are some concluding recommendations:

- Determine workers' sources of power that trade unions can leverage in the campaign. In repressive contexts, associational or societal power is mostly utilised by trade unions by making use of coalitional and discursive power (see chapter 3). In countries with relatively open political structures, structural power, associational and/or institutional sources of power may be available for trade unions.
- It is important to have a good reading of the political-economic contexts where the campaign is located as well as realistic assessment of the organisational capabilities of the trade unions.
- The campaign coordination structure is crucial in the flow of information, communication of tactics on the ground and coordination of actions. This structure may be composed of representatives from different trade unions and other social movements with clear understanding of tasks, targets and desired outcomes.
- Tactical coalitions with non-traditional allies may be explored (i.e. city/municipal public officials, embassies of sending countries).
- Design and preparation of campaign strategy remain crucial complemented with knowledge of the process and legal nodal points in sports mega-events.

5. A Guide for Unions to Evaluate Their Sports Mega-Event Campaigns

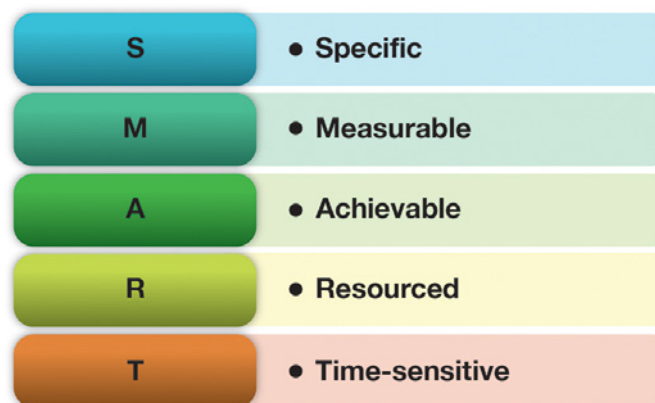
By Patricia Chong

Introduction

Worker rights campaigns linked to sport mega-events are essential but they are also complicated, long-term, and international in nature. Thus, unions should evaluate their campaigns because we are often dealing with the same transnational companies (e.g. Nike) and sports bodies (e.g. International Olympic Committee, FIFA). Furthermore, each success and drawback lays the foundation for the next step in the on-going campaign. Learning from each other requires unions to take an objective and organised approach to evaluating their campaigns in terms of what worked, what did not, and what can be improved. Evaluations save time, energy, and resources by encouraging unions to fully plan their campaigns in advance, which allows them to anticipate challenges and to take appropriate action. This chapter provides a guide for unions to evaluate their sport mega-event campaigns with examples from the case studies in the construction and textile industries.

As you move through the guide and plan your evaluation, keep the following points in mind:

Try to be as 'S.M.A.R.T.' as possible.



Think about the issue of scale (local, national, and international) as sport mega-events take place on all three levels and intersect at various times during the campaign.





1. Start Early or as Early as Possible

While the usual starting point for sport mega-event campaigns is when a country or a city is confirmed as host, unions can begin thinking about what they want to achieve and how they will evaluate their campaigns earlier. Evaluations should be part of campaign planning from the start. Unions have been part of the bidding process and/or have used the ILO's Decent Work Agenda¹⁰³ as a foundation for campaigns before the 'winner' of the bidding process is announced. This gives unions time to develop relationships with allies, sports bodies, businesses, etc. should the country or city become the host.

Construction

Potential sports mega-event hosts assess their existing infrastructure (e.g. transportation, housing, stadiums) and must demonstrate that they are capable (e.g. costs, labour force) of delivering any necessary improvements as part of their proposal. Thus, the bidding process is a natural place for construction unions to become involved.

For example, the British Columbia and Yukon Territory Building and Construction Trades Council (BCYT-BCTC) membership gave the organisation a mandate at its 2002 convention to support the bid for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games (Canada). This early involvement gave the union more time to prepare and launch its campaign compared to other organisations who waited for the successful bid to be announced before beginning campaign planning.

Even labour initiatives that are not explicitly related to sports mega-events can help lay the foundation for campaigns. For example, the Brazilian Federal Government agreed to promote the ILO's Decent Work Agenda in 2003 and involved national and local governments, trade unions, etc. In 2011, a tripartite (labour, government, and employer) agreement was reached to ensure decent working conditions in the construction sector which included building sites for the Brazilian 2014 World Cup.

Textiles

Due to the complex global subcontracting structure of the sportswear industry, campaigns targeting sports mega-events as a platform to advocate for worker rights are long-term, ongoing campaigns rather than focused on one event and manufacturer. For example, the Play Fair Campaign¹⁰⁴ (which initially focused on sportswear and athletic footwear worker rights and has expanded to include the construction sector) was launched during the lead up to the 2004 Athens Olympics and has been involved with the other Olympics, World Cup, Commonwealth Games, Union of European Football Association (UEFA) events, etc. The Play Fair campaign is an ongoing campaign that builds upon the precedents established before, and, in this sense, begins long before the host of a specific event is announced. Unions planning their own campaigns around sports mega-events should contact the Play Fair Campaign as soon as possible.

2. What is the purpose of the evaluation?¹⁰⁵

The purpose of the evaluation is linked to the objectives of the campaign. Campaigns often lack clear and measurable objectives which then makes it difficult to conduct an effective evaluation. Thus, evaluation planning can strengthen a campaign by encouraging organisers to be clear about objectives from the start.

- The purpose of an evaluation could include the following:
- Sharing best practices
- Measuring a campaign's impact
- Monitoring an outcome
- Assessing strength and weaknesses of the campaign before moving onto the next phase

¹⁰³ Decent work <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/decent-work/lang--en/index.htm>

¹⁰⁴ <http://play-fair.org/>

¹⁰⁵ The following steps are based on John M. Owen's *Program Evaluation: Forms and Approaches*. 3rd ed. USA: The Guilford Press.

Construction

It is good practice to evaluate a campaign's strengths and weaknesses at key points, especially as the preparation phase lays the foundation for later campaign activities. For example, at the time of writing, BWI's "No World Cup Without Workers' Rights" campaign targeting the Qatar 2022 World Cup was finishing its preparation phase and in the process of evaluating it. Furthermore, having realistic campaign goals is key as some strategies may be required but are unlikely to create change. For example, BWI must engage with the Qatari government regarding the 'Kafala' system of employer-sponsored migrant labour, but dialogue alone will not be enough to stop worker rights violations.

Textiles

Unions involved in the ongoing struggle for worker rights in the textile industry need to continuously evaluate their campaigns to sustain initial gains and monitor their progress even after sports mega-events conclude. For example, the Play Fair Campaign played an important role in the establishment of the Freedom of Association Protocol of Indonesia signed in 2011. This binding agreement was negotiated between Global Union Federations, local unions, sportswear brands (Nike, Adidas, Puma, New Balance, etc.) and their suppliers, giving workers basic rights on the factory floor. Part of the protocol also included the establishment of a national committee whose responsibility was to ensure the protocol was effectively implemented. Without a built-in accountability structure, the protocol would likely have remained a paper victory.

3. Who is the audience?

Identifying the evaluation's purpose will help define who the audience is. As each sports mega-event is part of a larger, long-term campaign, learning from each other to identify effective strategies for future campaigns is crucial. Thus, the main audience may not necessarily be the organisation that authorizes the evaluation. So it is important to identify who the other stakeholders involved are and who is most likely to use the evaluation.

Construction

Making sure that the evaluation purpose matches the constituency's needs and interests is important. For example, in preparation for the London 2012 Olympics, the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) established the Unions 2012 Group which represented affiliated unions. The purpose of the Group was to facilitate a cross-sector union approach to the Olympics and share best practices. However, participation was limited because the issues discussed were not always relevant to each individual union. Thus, sectoral coalitions were seen to be more effective in this situation. This is unsurprising given that the constituency was made up of unions from different industries who had different issues. Furthermore, there was no overall vision of a coordinated union response to the Olympics which would have united the unions regardless of sector.

Textiles

International coordination allows unions to carry out their campaigns within a national or local context that suits the constituency. For example, during the 2010 Vancouver Olympics held in Canada, in addition to targeting global sportswear producers, a more national and local approach was taken by the Maquila Solidarity Network (MSN) that focused on domestic clothing brands that were producing Olympic clothing. 'Roots' is a clothing company that markets itself as being very 'Canadian' (its logo is a beaver) and MSN revealed that despite claims to the contrary, 'Roots' did not produce all its Olympic clothing domestically but in Taiwan and China. This admission created a lot of publicity as Roots was criticized for making *Canadian* Olympic clothing outside of the country; especially as this conflicted with the company's heavily marketed image of being a Canadian company. Thus, MSN successfully tailored the international Play Fair campaign to a Canadian context and audience.



4. What resources are needed and for how long?

Identifying what resources are needed and for how long to conduct the evaluation should be part of campaign planning. Questions to consider include who is doing the evaluation (internal or external evaluator), what the budget will be, what is the timeline, etc. Be clear about the necessary resources and investigate whether such resources are available before beginning the evaluation.

Construction and Textiles

Based on the sports mega-event case studies referred to for this manual, more often than not, both construction and textile unions have not formally planned evaluations. Thus, resources are usually not designated to carry out the evaluation. This can lead to resource exhaustion and the evaluation may not be done satisfactorily, or at all. Not adequately evaluating campaigns limits the ability of the labour movement to draw lessons for future campaigns.

5. What is the focus of the evaluation?

Sports mega-events are typically complex, ongoing campaigns which can make choosing an evaluation focus difficult. For example, is the focus the organising, media, policy, health and safety, etc. element of the campaign? Is the focus during the preparatory, bid, event, and/or post-event timeframe? Answering these questions in advance will help keep the evaluation on the track.

Construction

It is important to choose a specific evaluation focus because sports mega-event campaigns have many elements and timelines. For example, BWI's campaign targeting the Qatar 2022 World Cup has six campaign elements: organising migrant workers in Qatar, targeting European and Korean construction companies, engaging the Qatari government, targeting FIFA and its sub-committees, recruiting migrant workers in their home countries, and communication between BWI affiliates. BWI may decide to evaluate one, several, or all campaign areas at one, several, or all campaign stages but the decision should flow from the evaluation purpose, audience, and what resources have been assigned to the evaluation.

Textiles

Evaluations can also be used after a sports mega-event on an ongoing basis such as to monitor a campaign's impact. For example, as part of the Play Fair Campaign, the former International Textile, Garment and Leather Working Federation (ITGLWF¹⁰⁶) Philippines Council had success with the signing of a 2012 'Memorandum of Cooperation' in which sportswear companies agreed to promote the right to freedom of association, the full implementation of labour laws, and to address workplace conditions including precarious employment, weak grievance procedures, lack of authentic workers' representatives, etc. Rather than seeing the signing of the Memorandum as the end of the campaign, the Philippines Council used the evaluation process to monitor and improve the policy's impact. The stakes are high as the initiative has had the effect of now allowing more than 10,000 workers employed at Adidas supplier factories located in the country to organise a union and collectively bargain.

6. What are the key evaluation questions?

More often than not, the organisation that wants the evaluation has too many vague research questions to realistically consider. Thus, it is necessary to make sure the questions are limited to a reasonable number and are answerable through an evaluation. A natural starting point is to examine the union's stated goals in regards to the sports mega-event. If no such clear goal exists, then one may have to make an educated guess as to what the goal is. Overall, this process is made easier if the evaluation purpose, audience, resources and focus have been decided beforehand and are taken into consideration. Any misunderstanding related to these points will only lead to confusion when it comes time to decide on the final evaluation questions.

¹⁰⁶ Now part of IndustriALL.

7. What information is needed to answer the evaluation questions?¹⁰⁷

Once the key evaluation questions are chosen, the following questions should be considered:

- What type of information is needed to answer each evaluation question? For example, qualitative and/or quantitative information.
- How will this information be collected? For example, through worker interviews, union statistics, workplace visits, policy reviews.
- How will the information be interpreted in order to answer the evaluation questions? For example, will the information be analysed in reference to the union's objectives, improved policy, labour rights enforcement, etc.?

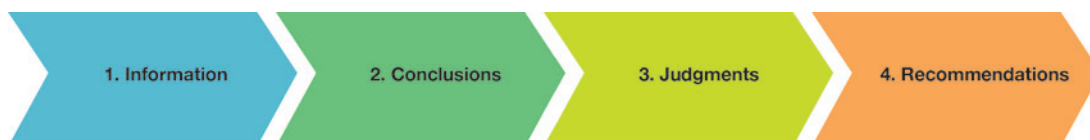
For example, a common goal of the sports mega-event campaigns is to increase union membership numbers. Evaluating whether a campaign was successful involves comparing union membership numbers before the campaign begins (i.e. a baseline) against the numbers after the campaign's end. The final numbers would then be interpreted in reference to the union's objective. However, without a clear objective, the numbers are largely meaningless and it is difficult to evaluate the campaign.

Construction and Textiles

Gathering evaluation information is more difficult in some sports mega-event host countries than others. For example, the type of evaluation questions for the “No World Cup Without Workers’ Rights” Qatar 2022 World Cup campaign will need to align with the type of information that can be realistically collected given the country's repressive political environment.

8. What type of evaluation findings are needed?

There are different types of evaluation findings as shown below:



Each level of evaluation analysis builds upon the level before:

- Information is collected to answer the evaluation question.
- Information is analysed and conclusions are drawn.
- Conclusions are judged in relation to the campaign's objectives. For example, 'Were the campaign's organising goals reached?' 'Yes' or 'No'.
- Recommendations are then based on the interpretation of the judgments. For example, changes to policy, campaign strategy, etc.

What type of finding (and what level of analysis) is needed will again depend on the evaluation purpose. In other words, not all evaluations end with recommendations though it is most common.

Construction

Analysing evaluation information requires taking into consideration the context of the campaign, regardless of the type of evaluation finding. For example, the 2008 economic crash affected construction industry expectations for both the 2010 Vancouver and 2012 London Olympics. In both these cases, construction workers were more likely to be satisfied with simply having steady employment at the time. Thus, unions were in a weaker bargaining position than had the Olympics occurred prior to the economic crash and this needs to be considered when evaluating the campaign.

¹⁰⁷ This step is based on Daniel L. Stufflebeam's Evaluation Plans and Operations Checklist.



Textiles

It can also be difficult to assess a campaign's immediate impact on the working conditions of textile workers especially in terms of policy. However, as pointed out by the Maquila Solidarity Network (MSN) of Canada that was involved with the Clean Clothes Campaign and the subsequent Play Fair Campaign in regards to the 2010 Vancouver Olympics, positive changes have happened as major sportswear companies no longer claim they are not responsible for how sub-contracted workers are treated. Thus, more long-term evaluation findings are needed to more accurately measure the on-going campaigns such as Play Fair.

9. How can evaluators make effective recommendations?

Evaluators must make *effective* recommendations in order to increase the likelihood that the recommendations are used. The more an evaluator can answer 'yes' to the questions below, the more effective the recommendations are:

Were recommendations part of the evaluation plan?

Did the evaluator consult with campaign partners/participants throughout the process?

Are the recommendations linked to evidence?

Are the recommendations realistic?

Are the recommendations easy to understand?

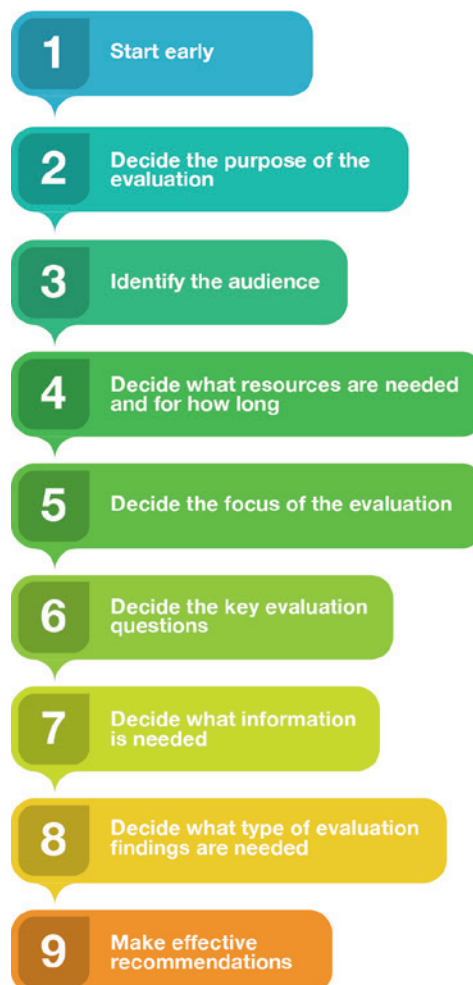
Did the evaluator consider the context in which the recommendations will be implemented?

Have the effects of the recommendations been considered?

Will the evaluator stay involved after the recommendations have been shared?

This evaluation plan is one way for unions to evaluate their sport mega-event campaigns. As with all plans, not everything will go as expected so evaluators need to remain flexible.

10. In Summary



6. Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

Sports mega-events are microcosms of globalisation involving a range of transnational actors. For a limited period – the period immediately preceding the event, and during the event itself – unions have a possibility of intervening in the interests of workers. The preparation for sports mega-events begin years before the athletes enter the field of play and unions need to take a measured, strategic approach as to how and when they engage in the process. Unions need to identify short, medium and long-term goals for the campaign.

The broad objective of the labour movement is to address the negative implications of corporate-led globalisation by removing competition between workers, and to establish high standards of decent work and freedom of association that results in lasting gains for workers and their unions. A successful labour campaign in a sports mega-event will not only look to make lasting gains for workers but, in doing so, will also strengthen unions internally and improve the organisational capabilities of trade unions (e.g. negotiations, coalition-building skills) and increase membership numbers and density.

Preparatory Strategies

Bidding Process

- Establish relationships with the National Olympic Committees to potentially be part of the bidding process.
- Contact national FIFA Member Associations once they have expressed an interest in bidding to be a host country to establish a relationship and possibly have an input into the bid.
- If the bidding organisations do not involve unions then contact the Sports and Rights Alliance (SRA) when you know your country is bidding for an event to set up a joint lobbying campaign during the bid process.

Working with Sports Organising Bodies

- Consider working towards establishing a relationship with the organising bodies of sports mega-events such as FIFA and the IOC. If this is not possible at the international level then it may be possible at a national level.
- Contact International Federations in candidate or host countries to develop relationships or at least to lobby them during the bidding process to recognise the importance of workers' rights in bids.

Working with athletes/players unions

- Establish contact with UNI World Athletes, EU Athletes and FIFPro to explore the possibilities of joint campaigns. Consider contacting the IOC Athletes Commission to start a dialogue about supporting campaigns for workers' rights.

Joint Agreements

- Contact the event organising bodies to propose developing joint agreements including: Memorandum of Agreement, Principles of Co-operation and grievance dispute agreements.



Construction

Organising

- Organise during the preparation phase, as early as possible.
- Use these organising efforts to revitalise the union.
- Use mobile technologies (such as Mobile Phone Applications) since building workers use them.
- Have someone whose only job is coordinating the campaign, in order not to add an agenda to other unionists. This person should come from a labour movement organisation but preferably not an individual union in order to enable competing unions to work together.
- Target issues of temporary employment, agency work, informal work etc. as it will increase in the period before the games. Keep this momentum for future work on the issue.
- Do not be influenced by the discourse of national prestige or by accusations of 'spoilsport' in cases of disruption of the games, and use the timely threat of strikes for bargaining leverage.
- Rely on the workers' self-organising power and where organising in unions is prohibited create committees.
- Negotiate.

Union participation in migrants' countries of origin

- Offer pre-departure training. During these training sessions, not only explain the regulations in the receiving country but also set out the ongoing campaign and provide contacts on how to join.
- Work with the embassies if they are sympathetic to your aims.
- Offer legal advice and services for re-entry in the country of origin
- Monitor hiring agencies, lobby and organise against fraudulent ones; sue them.
- Work with migrant organisations and use human rights and equality treatment regulations
- Coordinate with the unions in the migrants' countries of origin.

Campaigning

- Use the momentum and work with the media throughout the preparation of the games.
- Organise actions that will enable the inhabitants of a given city to participate

Targeting companies

- Monitor IFAs and make use of the rights and standards they provide
- Make a blaming campaign for any construction TNC financing or sponsoring the games.
- Negotiate

Cooperation with other groups

- Identify the issues of concern in the population; contact existing groups and associations and work with them.

Sportswear industry

- Give priority to building organisational flexibility and capability. This involves organising the membership towards the campaign to provide the strength from the shopfloor to the leadership and build capabilities that reflect the participation of mass membership in the campaign;
- Targeted campaign of a specific sportswear brand and its supply chains utilising leverage, organising and networks among trade unions in the same brand;
- Build organisational capability in coalition and alliance building not only within the trade union movement but with the broader local and global social movements.
- Utilise information, symbolic, leverage and accountability politics in confronting transnational capital in the sportswear industry.

Strategies during and after global sports mega-events

- Determine workers' sources of power that trade unions can leverage in the campaign. In repressive contexts, associational or societal power is mostly utilised by trade unions by making use of coalitional and discursive power (see chapter 3). In countries with relatively open political structures, structural power, associational and/or institutional sources of power may be available for trade unions.
- It is important to have a good reading of the political-economic contexts where the campaign is located as well as realistic assessment of the organisational capabilities of the trade unions.
- The campaign coordination structure is crucial in the flow of information, communication of tactics on the ground and coordination of actions. This structure may be composed of representatives from different trade unions and other social movements with clear understanding of tasks, targets and desired outcomes.
- Tactical coalitions with non-traditional allies may be explored (i.e. city/municipal public officials, embassies of sending countries).
- Design and preparation of campaign strategy remain crucial complemented with knowledge of the process and legal nodal points in sports mega-events.

Evaluating Sports Mega-Event Campaigns

1. Start Early
2. Decide the purpose of the evaluation
3. Identify the audience
4. Decide what resources are needed and for how long
5. Decide the focus of the evaluation
6. Decide the key evaluation questions
7. Decide what information is needed
8. Decide what type of evaluation findings are needed
9. Make effective recommendations



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8. Annex A:

Research questions on the 4 key areas of analysis

Key area 1: Trade union linkages with other social forces during the campaign. How did trade unions during their particular campaigns engage with other actors? Were there adjustments on their strategies? How did they link with other trade unions at the local to global levels; with other social movements, with regulatory bodies, government authorities, and with TNCs / brands and supply chains?

Key area 2: Impact of campaigns on workers. How did labour campaigns on sports events impact on the conditions of workers in the construction and textile/garments industries? In terms of jobs, pay and conditions, on contractors, training, union recognition, organising, mobilisation etc.

Key area 3: Lessons learned and legacy. What were the gains made, lessons learned and legacies left after the events and campaigns? Gains and legacies on union strength, organisation and campaign strategies.

Key area 4: Building power for workers and international trade union movement.- Was the international union movement in a stronger position after the global sports events? Or did the trade unions began from a position of strength? How can we build power from past experiences and not just repeat the struggles of the past? What extent was the trade union (local and international) power/leverage deployed at the beginning, during and after the campaigns?

Annex B: Interview Schedule for the 2014 Brazil World Cup

1. Have you met/worked with any organisation in the following categories for any reason arising from sports mega-events?

	Names of Organisations
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• FIFA, IOC or their local organisations in the host country	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government or governmental organisation created/ responsible for this purpose	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sports Federations	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Brands (Licensees, Sponsors, Suppliers etc.)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Trade Unions (Local, Regional or International)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Social Movements or NGOs (Local or International)	

And for each given organisation, the following questions would be asked:

2. How and how often did you get in contact with these organisations ?

	None	1	2	Several
Collective Agreement				
Meeting				
Seminar				
Conference				
Investigation				
Action				
Other ...				

3. What has been worked out/argued/negotiated during these activities?

- Workers' Rights
- Citizen Rights
- Consumer Rights
- Fans Rights
- Freedom of expression
- Economic issues (Budget of the event, tax exemptions etc.)
- Right to access of public information
- Sports
- Other ...

4. What are the conclusions of these activities?

- Collective Agreement
- Framework Agreement
- Protocol
- Verbal Agreement
- Good coverage in the media
- Increasing collaboration among local unions
- International collaborations
- Increasing number of members
- Other ...



Annex C: Sports mega-events

Year	Event	Location
2022	FIFA World Cup	Qatar
2022	Olympics (winter)	Beijing, China
2022	Commonwealth Games	Durban, South Africa
2019	Rugby World Cup	Japan
2019	Cricket World Cup	England and Wales
2018	FIFA World Cup	Russia
2018	Olympics (winter)	Pyeongchang, South Korea
2018	Commonwealth Games	Gold Coast, Australia
2016	Olympics (summer)	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
2016	UEFA	France
2015	Rugby World Cup	England
2015	Cricket World Cup	Australia and New Zealand
2014	FIFA World Cup	Brazil
2014	Olympics (winter)	Sochi, Russia
2014	Commonwealth Games	Glasgow, UK
2012	Olympics (summer)	London, UK
2012	UEFA	Poland and Ukraine
2011	Rugby World Cup	New Zealand
2011	Cricket World Cup	India, Sri Lanka & Bangladesh
2010	FIFA World Cup	South Africa
2010	Olympics (winter)	Vancouver, Canada
2010	Commonwealth Games	Delhi, India
2008	Olympics (summer)	Beijing, China
2008	UEFA	Austria and Switzerland
2007	Rugby World Cup	France
2007	Cricket World Cup	West Indies



Year	Event	Location
2006	FIFA World Cup	Germany
2006	Olympics (winter)	Turin, Italy
2006	Commonwealth Games	Melbourne, Australia
2004	Olympics (summer)	Athens, Greece
2004	Play Fair launched	
2004	UEFA	Portugal
2003	Rugby World Cup	Australia
2003	Cricket World Cup	South Africa, Zimbabwe & Kenya
2002	FIFA World Cup	South Korea and Japan
2002	Olympics (winter)	Salt Lake City, USA
2002	Commonwealth Games	Manchester, UK
2000	Olympics (summer)	Sydney, Australia
2000	UEFA	Belgium and the Netherlands
1999	Rugby World Cup	Wales
1998	FIFA World Cup	France
1998	Olympics (winter)	Nagano, Japan
1996	Olympics (summer)	Atlanta, USA
1996	UEFA	England

Labour is part of the Team!

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