



World Players Association
#WorldPlayersUnited

Ms
Alexandra Xanthaki
Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner
for Human Rights
United Nations Office at Geneva
CH1211 Geneva10

Hrc-sr-culturalrights@un.org

Athletes as People, Workers and Cultural Rights Defenders: Pathway to participation in sport that respects and protects player rights

Submission to the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights

05 June 2024

Submitted by: World Players Association¹

¹ The World Players Association, part of UNI Global Union, is the exclusive global voice of organized players and athletes across professional sport and advocates for the recognition of athletes as people and as workers with specific rights and claims under international human rights law. It represents more than 85,000 players through nearly 140 player associations in almost 70 countries across 17 different sports. UNI Global Union represents more than 20 million workers in the service sectors, including in other cultural industries such as media, entertainment and arts, in 150 countries.

Executive Summary

Athletes who play sport as a profession are exposed to adverse human rights impacts, including: discrimination based on race, gender, and other identities; physical, emotional and sexual abuse and harassment; anti-union conduct and culture; economic exploitation; denial of access to effective remedy; and other barriers that prevent them from fully enjoying their right to participate in sports free from harm.

This submission explores these challenges, with a focus on organised athletes who are collectively represented by player associations. It sheds light on how these barriers harm sport's ability to be a genuine force for good, including in sporting, economic, environmental, social and cultural terms. It ends with recommendations to sport bodies, governments, and the Special Rapporteur on ensuring that the right to participate in sport that respects and protects player rights can be enjoyed by all.

Introduction

Professional players and athletes are not just sports participants; they are also workers whose contributions to cultural life and economic activity must be duly acknowledged by State actors and the global sports industry.

While obvious to many, it bears repeating for others that athletes are people, workers and individuals with intersecting identities that imbue them with internationally recognised rights that they do not forfeit by participating in sport. While the International Labour Organization (ILO) has recognised athletes' economic activity as work, there has yet to be an explicit statement on athletes' status as workers from any UN human rights bodies or their appointees.

It is significant and timely for the UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights to examine this individual and group right to participate in sports within the context of her mandate, and this must include athletes engaged as **workers** in the cultural entertainment sector of sport. Furthermore, the report must consider the power imbalance inherent in the way sport is currently governed to be a **barrier to participation in sport**, which highlights the importance of freedom of association and the right to organise and collectively bargain in ensuring equal access to sport for all athletes. Finally, in exploring participation in sport as a cultural right and a cultural occupation, the report must acknowledge the critical societal role many athletes play as human rights defenders, including in the subcategory as **cultural rights defenders**, and the risks and relevant protections this entails.

Sport as Work

The call for input to inform the Special Rapporteur's upcoming report states that "the human right to participate in sports is part of everyone's right to participate in cultural life."²

Where sports bridge the field of cultural activity and the entertainment industry, this gives rise to a vastly profitable global business sector wherein athletes are both the product and the labour upon which the industry's enormous wealth is built.

The work of professional players and athletes is, by its nature, highly sought, skilled and valuable, yet risky, riddled with precarity, and inherently short-lived. Players are also the public face of sport, and athletic performance is fundamental to the prestige, popularity and viability of sport. Clearly,

"Sport is an important means to realize health, well-being, education, development, peace, and decent work, and it is a pursuit enjoyed by athletes worldwide. It is an important economic activity with the capacity to promote full, productive and freely chosen employment, as well as empowerment, especially for young women and men. There are, however, widespread obstacles to the achievement of decent work for athletes in some areas."³

Given that sport is controlled by international sporting federations, national sporting organisations, professional sports leagues, clubs, other businesses, and governments, the terms that these actors impose on athletes fundamentally shape the conditions of their participation in sport. Many of these terms and conditions are extraordinary and far-reaching in their complexity and subject matter and would never be accepted in other sectors. Increasingly, these regulations are being challenged by courts, lawmakers, human rights experts, sponsors, and the athletes themselves under national, regional and international law.

² <https://www.ohchr.org/en/calls-for-input/2024/call-input-right-participate-sports> accessed on 31 May 2024

³ ILO 'Global Dialogue Forum on Decent Work in the World of Sport: Points of Consensus' (20-22 January 2020) GDFWS/2020/7, para 1. https://uniglobalunion.org/news_media/uploads/2020/01/wcms_735388.pdf

ILO's Landmark Recognition of Athletes as Workers

The International Labour Organization (ILO) has reaffirmed that athletes are workers and enjoy, as any other worker, at a minimum, the protections under the ILO Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (FPRW)⁴.

As stated by ILO Assistant Director-General, Manuela Tomei, "This means that workers should be able to organize and their voices be heard, that women athletes should benefit from equality in remuneration, that children should be protected from trafficking under athletic training schemes, and everyone should be entitled to a safe and healthy working environment, including protection against work-related violence and harassment. Rights are not only safeguards for the workers themselves, but also means to strengthen and develop sports."⁵

In recognizing the various forms of violence, harassment, discrimination, forced labour, barriers to remedy, health and safety risks, and anti-union conduct that athletes are exposed to in the workplace, the ILO underscores the need for clear protections and rights for athletes, similar to other workers. This includes the right to organize, collective bargaining, and social protection. The ILO Working Paper No. 324⁶ concludes that the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention (No. 87)⁷ and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98)⁸ apply to workers in the culture and media sectors regardless of their contractual relationship, which is true as well for athletes.

Athletes as Cultural Workers

Professional athletes face similar challenges to other cultural workers. Governments are obligated to provide the same special considerations and social protections for athletes as they are for workers in other cultural employment sectors. For the large majority of athletes across most sports industries, their careers are shaped by a fragmented employer landscape and precarious employment conditions, such as short-term contracts, part-time jobs, and seasonal employment, which leave them vulnerable.

According to a 2019 briefing for the European Parliament on 'Employment in the cultural and creative sectors', precarious employment affects participation for many workers engaged in their craft.

*"Culture is a specific domain characterised both by its business model, and its underlying nature of activity related to creativity, identity and self-expression. This combination of very material, financial, and transcendental aspects makes for unique employment conditions in this sector, with two divergent requirements: economic results and contribution to self-expression, well-being, social cohesion, and identity."*⁹

The briefing concludes that issues affecting cultural workers due to these unique employment conditions need to be addressed regardless of the cultural employment sector's specificity. The sports sector has regularly argued that, based on its specific nature, athletes cannot be recognised as workers and get paid for their labour. As detailed in the economic exploitation section below, athletes are compelled to feign amateurism for the sake of sport's 'integrity', while sport governing bodies benefit financially from the athletes' work. Athletes, fans, sponsors and

⁴ ILO Technical Brief, 'Professional athletes and the fundamental principles and rights at work', (May 2024) <https://www.ilo.org/publications/professional-athletes-and-fundamental-principles-and-rights-work>

⁵ ILO Assistant Director-General, Manuela Tomei, Opening Plenary remarks, Sporting Chance Forum (Geneva, 5 December 2023).

⁶ ILO Working Paper 'Challenges and opportunities for decent work in the culture and media sectors' (No. 324) (2018)

⁷ ILO Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention (No. 87) (adopted 9 July 1948, entered into force 4 July 1950).

⁸ ILO Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98) (adopted 1 July 1949, entered into force 18 July 1951).

⁹ Pasikowska-Schnass, 'Employment in the Cultural and Creative Sectors' (European Parliamentary Research Service, October 2019) PE 642.264. See also p. 2 "Cultural activity is set apart because it can be perceived both as a business meant to be profitable and as a non-profit activity related to self-expression, identity, a way of expressing something deeply human and of importance to society, as something essential for human beings."

others are misled to believe that sport's business model will not survive athletes' demands for a fair share of the wealth they help generate.

Athletes as Cultural Rights Defenders

The January 2020 report to the Human Rights Council by the previous holder of this mandate specifically mentioned athletes as cultural rights defenders, a subcategory she designated for human rights defenders who defend cultural rights in accordance with international standards and who require specific support and protection.¹⁰ In December 2023, the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights likewise recognised athletes who use their platform to support social and personal causes as human rights defenders.¹¹

When athletes use their platform to celebrate cultural diversity and heritage, preserve and uphold marginalised communities and identities, or promote access to sport for all, they are cultural rights defenders who deserve the same level of attention and protection as other human rights defenders, even if they work outside the traditional human rights defender spaces or roles.

There are unnumbered examples from the organised athlete community of upstanders for cultural expression, rights, dignity, and cohesion. For the sake of space, we limit our submission to the following representative stories:

- **Curt Flood, Major League baseball centerfielder and Major League Baseball Players Association legend, USA** – Flood may be best known as the baseball star in the 1960s who sacrificed his career to challenge the league's rules that restricted players' freedom of movement, but he was also a lifelong supporter for the social movements of that era that fought for civil rights, racial equality and labour justice in America. As a black man who personally experienced segregation and oppression, he channelled his suffering into changing his sport and country, and for the tremendous impact he had both in baseball and the wider society, he received death threats, hate mail and professional ostracism. For players and their unions worldwide, Flood is both an inspiration and a role model.¹²
- **Lydia Williams, Matildas and Melbourne Victory Goalkeeper and Professional Footballers Australia, Vice President** – Williams retired from her international football career in 2024, leaving a lasting legacy both on and off the field. She was a leading voice in advancing women's football from a largely amateur pursuit to a global professional industry. In 2015, she was central to the historic Matildas strike which was pivotal in achieving equal conditions and pay for female footballers compared to their male counterparts. As an indigenous Australian, she has reflected on how her cultural heritage drove her courage and commitment to lead a movement for equality in women's football that has inspired and reverberated worldwide.¹³
- **Layshia Clarendon, Women's National Basketball Association LA Sparks Guard, USA** - Clarendon is the first out trans and nonbinary player in WNBA history and remains one of the few professional athletes to publicly identify as gender non-conforming. They served on the Women's National Basketball Players Association

¹⁰ 'Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights: Cultural Rights Defenders' (Human Rights Council, 43rd Session, 24 February–20 March 2020) UN Doc A/HRC/43/50, para 11.

¹¹ UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Volker Türk, Open Plenary remarks, Sporting Chance Forum (Geneva, 5 December 2023), "When athletes speak out, they are human rights defenders, and require our support and solidarity."

¹² Jerry Crasnick, MLB Players, 'Kindred Spirits: Honoring MLK Jr. and Curt Flood' <<https://www.mlbplayers.com/mlk-curt-flood>> accessed 31 May 2024.

¹³ Lydia Williams, 'In My Words: Lydia Williams on the 2015 Matildas Strike' (PFA, 24 October 2019) <<https://pfa.net.au/news/in-my-words-lydia-williams-on-the-2015-matildas-strike/>> accessed 31 May 2024.

(WNBPA) Executive Committee and currently on the union's Justice, Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (JEDI) committee, the body that sits on the joint WNBA-WNBPA Social Justice Council. They have specifically used their professional platform to bring awareness to trans issues and rights. In January 2021, Clarendon publicly announced their successful top surgery—another first for the WNBA—with support from the players association, the league and their team. With more than 1 million trans people living in the United States, Clarendon started the Layshia Clarendon Foundation to meet the urgent needs faced by transgender communities, including high rates of health disparities, poverty, and systemic disinvestment and mistreatment.¹⁴

- **Siya Kolisi, Springboks captain, South Africa** – Kolisi made history as the first black captain of the South African national rugby union team. His rise from growing up in poverty and adversity to leading his country's iconic Springboks to consecutive Rugby World Cup wins in 2019 and 2023 has given him a major platform in his sport, his national community and on the world stage. In 2020, he co-founded the Kolisi Foundation with his wife, Rachel, to work with under-resourced communities in South Africa to mentor youth through sport and education, promote equality by addressing gender-based violence, and alleviate extreme poverty and food insecurity.¹⁵ He became a UN Global Advocate for the Spotlight Initiative to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls by 2030, a cause important to him because he witnessed the devastation of gender-based violence in his childhood.

Anti-union conduct as discrimination against player participation in sport

A major barrier for athletes to participate in rights-respecting sport is the institutionalised anti-union culture of many sports organisations.

In 2023, World Players published a report on Effective Athlete Representation in Global Sport.¹⁶ Results showed that although 86% of player associations are formally recognized by their industrial counterparts, the players still faced significant hurdles to fully and freely enjoying their right to organise collectively to demand better working conditions and equal say in the terms of their employment. The top three barriers identified are:

- Sham amateurism and the denial of the status of athletes as workers (30%);
- Widespread cultures of anti-union behaviour (29%); and
- The imposition of sport-specific laws and exclusions (27%).¹⁷

Anti-union conduct is therefore a major barrier to participation in sport within the professional industry, with almost 60% of responding PAs subject to acts such as direct discrimination and harassment of union members, including egregious threats of violence to players, their representatives, and families. Union avoidance strategies are prevalent in sports where management creates and controls forms of athlete representation, which are often imposed.

¹⁴ 'The Layshia Clarendon Foundation' <<https://www.athletesforimpact.com/thelayshiacarendonfoundation>> accessed 31 May 2024.

¹⁵ Kolisi Foundation, 'About Us' <<https://kolisifoundation.org/about-us/>> accessed 31 May 2024.

¹⁶ World Players Association, '#Right2Organise Survey & Report – Effective Athlete Representation in Global Sport' (2023), p. 8, <https://uniglobalunion.org/wp-content/uploads/WPA-R2O-Report_Digital-2.pdf> accessed 31 May 2024. Cited in the following as '#Right2Organise Report'. which entailed a first-of-its-kind survey of 79 player associations in 48 countries, from 17 different sports that collectively represent more than 80,000 athletes, analysed together with a comprehensive, although incomplete, sample of the 138 different player associations affiliated to World Players. Participants were asked various questions relevant to key player and athlete rights challenges, particularly those relating to effective athlete representation.

¹⁷ *ibid.*

This power to discriminate is held by sports bodies because they have the authority to decide what conditions are put on athletes at practically every stage of the pathway of their participation in sport, from grassroots play to the pinnacle of the competition. Because of this unchecked power and the prevalent anti-union culture in sports, athletes lack meaningful voice or leverage to change the rules that negatively affect their participation in sport.¹⁸

Economic exploitation linked to athlete participation in certain sports

The conditions placed on athlete participation in mega-sporting events are elaborated in a set of documents that limit the influence of international human rights and labour rights standards, including the Olympic Charter, the Declaration of Athlete Rights and Responsibilities, the Court of Arbitration of Sport, and the Athlete Participation Agreement.¹⁹

These documents enshrine and enumerate conditions that are designed to maximize control over athlete labour and intellectual property and fuel the business model of many mega-sporting events, including the Olympic Games.²⁰ This model is enabled through:

- protecting sports bodies' dominant position in the global market as the commercial operator of the international sporting competitions (*specificity of sport*)²¹
- shielding sports bodies from the influence of national and international law as the irreproachable regulator of the industry (*autonomy of sport*)²²
- insulating sports bodies against accountability under international human rights standards and silencing athletes and States for 'politicising sport' (*neutrality of sport*).

Many of the adverse human rights impacts experienced by athletes through their participation in sport are direct or indirect outcomes of this outdated governance model and extractive business model of the sport industry, whereas the leagues and competitions with more distributive economic and governance models have developed approaches to mitigate these harms and risks to athletes.²³

It is important to note that upholding the right to freedom of association for athletes has created a win-win for both the players and the game and seen these industries flourish, constituting arguably some of the most culturally and economically valuable leagues today. Significantly, surrounding communities also benefit from the equitable participation of players in the wealth generated, with many players and player associations establishing community programmes.²⁴

¹⁸ This has been well documented, see for example. John G Ruggie, 'For the Game. For the World. FIFA and Human Rights' (Harvard Kennedy School, April 2016) <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/centers/mrcbg/programs/crj/files/Ruggie_humanrightsFIFA_reportApril2016.pdf> accessed 31 May 2024, which specifically highlights risks related to forced arbitration, discrimination, transfer system and trafficking (including minors), non-payment, delay, harassment and threats of suspension; Al Hussein and Davis, 'Recommendations for an IOC Human Rights Strategy' (2020) <https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/News/2020/12/Independent_Expert_Report_IOC_HumanRights.pdf> accessed 31 May 2024; Palmer, 'Athletes' human rights and mega-sporting events', in Rook and Heerd (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Mega-Sporting Events and Human Rights* (2023), p.281-292 (p. 284).

¹⁹ Palmer, 288

²⁰ Palmer, 288 ; See also World Players Association, 'The Economics of International Sport Federations' (2020) <https://uniglobalunion.org/wp-content/uploads/WPA_Economics-of-ISFs-2020_FINAL.pdf> accessed 31 May 2024. In this model, which systematically suppresses independent athlete representation, only a minuscule share of sports bodies' substantial revenues trickle down to athletes. World Players' 2020 Economic report found that in the Olympic Games, only 5% of the IOC's funds were directed directly towards the athletes in the form of Olympic scholarships, which amounted to \$53.64 million of the \$1.25 billion annual revenue.

²¹ Palmer, 288

²² *ibid*

²³ Through collective bargaining, players benefit from minimum salaries, standard contracts, player development and wellbeing programs, group licensing and anti-doping policies, and provisions for complex disciplinary and occupational health and safety issues, and even revenue sharing. For example, in the Premier League, football players receive an estimated 61% of revenue, the male professional players in the United States in baseball, ice hockey basketball and American football all receive between 47 and 50%. Players in the Australian Football League (AFL) receive 28%, which reflects the AFL's regulation of and support for the grassroots game.

²⁴ See, for example, National Basketball Players Association, 'NBPA Foundation' <<https://nbpa.com/foundation>> accessed 31 May 2024.

Human rights exclusions imposed on athlete participation in certain sports

While many sport bodies have taken steps towards human rights reforms, many have simultaneously created carveouts for athletes that imperil their right to participate in rights-respecting sport.

For example, the IOC has taken steps to align its governance and operations with its human rights responsibilities.²⁵ At the same time, the sport governing body has faltered over and resisted the changes needed to embed the human rights of the very people for whom it has the most responsibility: the athletes.

In October 2023, the IOC, in consultation with its internal Advisory Committee on Human Rights, amended the Fundamental Principles of Olympism 1 and 4 in the Olympic Charter to reference internationally recognised human rights. However, it added other amendments to the Charter specifically targeting athletes by making the exercise of their rights to free expression subject to unilaterally imposed conditions, therefore exempting athletes from the IOC's implementation of its commitment in its Strategic Framework on Human Rights.²⁶

²⁵ This submission concentrates on the IOC as the leader of the sport movement and the top of the sport governance pyramid. However, other SGBs, such as FIFA, UEFA, and WADA, have also taken steps to embed human rights in their organisations; see, for example, Art. 3 FIFA Statutes or FIFA's Human Rights Policy, 'FIFA's Human Rights Policy' (2017) <<https://digitalhub.fifa.com/m/1a876c66a3f0498d/original/kr05dqyhwr1uhqy2lh6r-pdf.pdf>> accessed 31 May 2024; there also have been advances on the national level, including by the German Football Association (DFB), German Football Association, 'Human Rights Policy' (22 July 2022) <https://assets.dfb.de/uploads/000/243/493/original_HumRightPol_22-07.pdf?1626976366> accessed 31 May 2024.

²⁶ Sport and Rights Alliance, 'Olympics: Human Rights Amendments Should Be Implemented Without Exceptions' (11 October 2023) <https://sportandrightsalliance.org/olympics-human-rights-amendments-should-be-implemented-without-exceptions/> accessed on 31 May 2024.

Recommendations

Given that the Special Rapporteur's report will focus on recommendations to States, it is vital to acknowledge the power and control over athletes that States confer on sport bodies and to examine these practices. World Players offers a comprehensive set of recommendations in the 2023 Right2Organise report, and we commend those in full to the Special Rapporteur.²⁷ Here, we make specific recommendations for reframing the way that athletes, sports bodies and participation in sport have been categorised as social, economic and cultural activities and actors:

- 1. 'Athlete' as an individual and group-based identity**
 - Consider classifications as 'athlete' as potentially harmful in circumstances where it is being used to subordinate their internationally recognised human rights.
 - Refrain from using the term 'athlete' to override other intersecting identities (worker, child, human rights defender, etc.).
 - Reframe athlete classification to maximize their individual and group protective status (e.g., people who want to engage in sport, people who are employed in sport, people who are minors participating in sport).
- 2. Categorization of sports bodies**
 - Require sports bodies to uphold the internationally recognised human rights of athletes under their responsibility, without exemption.
 - Clarify where sports bodies have a de facto employer relationship with athletes (or where they function as a regulator and enforcement body of the employers).
 - Remove exclusion zones created to shield sports bodies from State regulations and authority.
- 3. Conditions placed on participation in sport**
 - Understand how vulnerable athletes are to coercion and forced consent, especially those who lack independent, collective representation that can legitimately act in their best interests.

Accordingly, States must:

- 1. Review national policies, laws and protections applicable to cultural workers and ensure inclusion and application to professional athletes in line with ILO standards, particularly the ILO FPRW.**
- 2. Include athletes in all policies and programmes concerning human (and cultural) rights defenders.**
- 3. Ensure that sports bodies are required to foster an enabling environment for the right to organise as part of policies and programmes to promote participation in sport, including through respective eligibility criteria for public funding.**
- 4. Strengthen and create tripartite dialogue with sports bodies and player associations in relation to cultural rights programs and policies.**

²⁷ World Players, fn 16, p. 49-51

Conclusion

Sport is one of the strongest economic, social, cultural and political forces of our time. Athletes are people with intersecting identities, including as workers and cultural rights defenders. Thus, their right to participate in cultural life as enshrined in Article 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) is intrinsically linked to enjoying fair working conditions and the right to organise and collectively bargain. Recognizing sport as work and athletes as workers is essential for upholding the right to participate in sport.

Respectfully submitted by

Ginous (Gigi) Alford
Director of Sport and Human Rights
World Players Association

Mobile: +41 79 687 0173
Email: gigi.alford@uniglobalunion.org

ANNEX: Key Documents and Reports

World Players Association Core Documents and Reports

The World Players Association has developed comprehensive frameworks to support the rights of athletes and issued ground-breaking reports based on player experiences. Key documents include:

- 1. Universal Declaration of Player Rights (2017):** This declaration outlines the fundamental rights of athletes, including the right to fair wages, safe working conditions, and freedom from discrimination. Art. 1-4 comprise rights related to participation in sport. Art. 5-9 fall under the category of labour rights. Art. 10-13 comprise personal rights, and Art. 14-16 fall under legal rights. Art. 17 articulates the obligation of players to respect the rights of others.
- 2. World Player Rights Policy:** This policy document provides detailed guidelines on protecting the rights of athletes, emphasizing their status as workers.
- 3. World Players Census of the Athlete Rights Experiences (CARE) Report (2021):** This first-of-its-kind global study found that:
 - more than half of the athletes surveyed reported experiencing emotional abuse at least once,
 - one in three reported experiencing physical abuse while training or competing as children,
 - one in two athletes were not aware of the existence of a union or player association, and
 - almost 70% were not aware they had rights before the age of 18.
- 4. Right to Organise Report on Effective Athlete Representation in Global Sport (2023):** This report highlights the importance of collective representation and the right to organize, showcasing successful models of athlete unions and associations.

Other Documents and Reports

- 1. International Labour Organization**, 'Global Dialogue Forum on Decent Work in the World of Sport: Points of Consensus' GDFWS/2020/7 (January 2020)
https://uniglobalunion.org/news_media/uploads/2020/01/wcms_735388.pdf
- 2. International Labour Organization**, 'Technical Brief on Professional athletes and the fundamental principles and rights at work', (May 2024)
<https://www.ilo.org/publications/professional-athletes-and-fundamental-principles-and-rights-work>.
- 3. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights**, 'Intersection of race and gender discrimination in sport' Report to the UN Human Rights Council 44th Session A/HRC/44/26 (15 June 2020)
<https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g20/144/04/pdf/g2014404.pdf?token=8pweeQhMpxBPAB8WHE&fe=true>
- 4. John G Ruggie**, 'For the Game. For the World. FIFA and Human Rights' (Harvard Kennedy School, April 2016)

https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/centers/mrcbg/programs/crj/files/Ruggie_humanrightsFIFA_reportApril2016.pdf

5. **Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein and Rachel Davis**, 'Recommendations for an IOC Human Rights Strategy' (2020)
https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/News/2020/12/Independent_Expert_Report_IOC_HumanRights.pdf
6. **Walter Palmer**, 'Athletes' human rights and mega-sporting events', in Rook and Heerdt (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Mega-Sporting Events and Human Rights* (2023), p.281-292.