



# **Accountability in International Sporting Organizations**

A case study of FIFA

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International Relations  
Dept. of Global Political Studies Bachelor programme – IR103L  
15 credits thesis  
Thesis submitted Spring 2024  
Supervisor: Dimosthenis Chatzoglakis  
Submission date: May 13 - 2024

## Abstract

Violating an organization's codes of ethics and disciplinary codes should result in consequences. This is to be accountable for one's actions, regardless of them being internal or external, the organization is responsible for its workers. When FIFA in 2015 faced multiple charges of FIFA officials being corrupt they were forced to implement reforms. It was not the first time FIFA were alleged to be corrupt but this time the direction of where they came from had changed. By looking at the global governance of FIFA and with a critical discourse analysis explore the relation between existing literature, texts communicated by FIFA and its power as an actor in the international system. FIFA can be seen from a neoliberal perspective in how they sell their monopoly product, The World Cup. Through globalization and commercialization, the World Cup now brings FIFA great revenue. This has also enabled the World Cup to be a product used for soft power, both by FIFA and other actors. FIFA's lack of accountability remains a problem but the base of the issue is its internal structure that has created a culture of hierarchy and loyalty to the FIFA family instead of its initial purpose, the beautiful game.

Word count: 12 435

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## 1. Introduction

War, conflict, and, security studies are all considered to be 'high politics' in the field of International Relations, however in recent years, after having been somewhat neglected, sport is finding its way to be connected to IR. This is something that existing research agrees on. Today's major sports governing bodies were founded at a time that benefitted them in terms of spreading the game through globalization and also through commercialization in later years. FIFA is today one of the world's most known international sporting organizations but they have for a long time faced allegations of corruption which have questioned the organization's credibility. The research question here then is '*How have international sporting organizations (ISOs) been able to lack 'good governance' as actors in the international system?*' - a case study of FIFA.

Corruption, bribes, and arrests are negative connotations that in recent years have been associated with the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). In 2015, former FIFA President Sepp Blatter was banned from all football activities after ethics violations and allegations of fraud and the 2016 elected President Gianni Infantino launched a governance reform process. Infantino's focus of 'the new FIFA' was to make it an accountable organization that is credible, professional, modern, and trustworthy. (FIFA, nd.) As the world is constantly changing we need to adapt to the contemporary world. Identified as an international organization, through its governing structure, FIFA plays a role in politics and global governance by having authority over the beloved worldwide game of football.

Upon reviewing academic literature using keywords like international relations and sports, it becomes apparent that the incorporation of sports into

IR has been neglected. There is a need for a more extensive exploration of the relationship between these two domains. Nevertheless, there has been a recent increase in academic work that combines these two areas. Scholars have come to acknowledge sportswashing as a manifestation of soft power, a concept initially developed by Nye (1990). This essay will examine FIFA, and its global governance, by connecting it to theories and concepts of IR.

## **2. Theory**

### **2.1 Literature review:**

Earlier research shows that FIFA plays a significant role in global governance and as an actor in the international system. There is no doubt that the organization has failed with its governance as they have been part of corruption and they therefore need to be held accountable as they do have a great influence not only in the world of sports. Earlier research also shows a connection between sports and politics, especially on how governments use sports for political purposes. It is also discussed how FIFA as an organization has changed and expanded which also reflects shifts in the international order. With the globalization and commercialization that ISO has faced it is now of greater importance to ISOs' global governance.

Bank (2019) Argues that FIFA should focus on its inside power instead of outsiders as expressed in its reform. The author questions the effectiveness of independent directors in a non-profit organization like FIFA, where there are no donors or government to oversee operations as in non-profits in the US. He also points out that the US investigation that led to multiple indictments in 2015 had great help from FIFA insiders due to the information they knew from being within FIFA and therefore calls for a whistleblower reform instead. When discussing the organization he states that ‘‘FIFA's culture of corruption is longstanding, and in the absence of continued pressure, it will only grow stronger. If there is any hope to transform this culture, it is likely to come from the insiders who are passionate and dedicated to the game and FIFA's original mission’’ (pg.322).

Another way he uses to describe FIFA and its organization is ‘the World Cup of Fraud’.

Allison and Monnington (2002) see that states have utilized sports as beneficiaries for foreign relations and it has been used primarily in two ways; either for the benefit of their image or to sanction others and behavior with which they do not agree. They also bring up the contest between realists and idealists by referring to Morgenthau, his realism, and his definition of power. ‘International Politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim . . . When we speak of power, we mean man’s control over the minds and actions of other men (Morgenthau, 1960 cited in Allison and Monnington, 2002: 109). This is compared with the idealist view that shared values are what create or maintain the international order.

As sports became more commercialized and globalized during the end of the twentieth century, politicians became less willing to be associated with sports as they were not the ones controlling the game. This together with more globalization also gave rise to organizations like the IOC and FIFA which could use their power over the game to influence developing countries. They have played a crucial part in creating the global sporting culture all over the world. The authors argue that ‘they are in reality emerging and increasingly significant players in the global economy alongside governments, multi-national corporations and other interest groups that have similarly become active across the globe, endeavoring to spread their influence and flex their economic muscle’ (pg. 130). With the governing organizations growing in power, they are also taking more control from politicians and governments regarding sports. It is also argued that it is not the host cities of mega sporting events who are given glory and appreciation for a good event, it is the organizations behind it and its president. The authors see it as ‘a celebration of the supranational governing body of sport than a nation-state and its political leaders’ (pg.

131) which shows the need for good, credible, and legitimate governing bodies.

In an article by Pielke (2013) The authors want to investigate how FIFA can be held accountable by looking at literature from the field of International Relations. By looking at the reform done by the IOC at the end of the 90s they can predict what FIFA's reform might be as they after having faced multiple scandals in the 2010s launched a reform of their global governance. However, the article says that to be successful, FIFA needs to incorporate a mechanism of accountability in its reform. Just like most other scholars that write on FIFA, the author tells us the scandals the organization has faced as that is the root cause for the reform they are now undergoing. It then goes on to the main focus of the article by defining accountability and global governance, specifically including NGOs and multinational corporations. It also points out the amount of academic literature done on international organizations and accountability while the inclusion of FIFA in those terms is little. Instead, they are more looked upon regarding corruption and reporting and exposing. Scholars have focused more on organizations like the IMF and the World Bank when researching accountability. The authors explain this by saying it is due to FIFA being an NGO. It is argued that "the legitimacy of FIFA is a case of a much larger issue in the accountability of international organizations. FIFA is a non-governmental organization, which in various sectors have come to grow in their importance in global governance" (pg. 258).

Taylor (1988) argues for the need for sport to be regulated and have a governing body to legislate just as the government does for societies. When a sport is performed and contests are across national borders, common rules of the game are needed and that is where we find transnational and international organizations with a functional end. "The stronger a sport's international dimension, the more an effective global ruling body is needed" (Yet, as is argued below, there is no guarantee that such a body will be

forthcoming or will survive the pressures of the modern world) (pg. 536). Governing bodies of sports need some form of legitimacy basis for ruling the game. Most often they rely on principles of democracy in which representatives of nations elect who run the international organization. An exception of this is the IOC which is based on principles of a self-selecting body. International governing bodies of sports need to have a formal constitutional power structure and informal elements. The formal power is usually an executive committee that responds as a group of member nations. ‘‘International sports federations can be seen as world governments operating in functional spheres, allowing varying degrees of freedom to agencies at the state level and below’’ (pg. 547). As governing bodies of sports seek to not involve national governments they face the risk of being the cause of losing their authority when the contemporary world is changing. The authors state that scholars of IR can benefit by looking at international sports with a functionalist lens.

Belcastro (2023) sees a relationship between sports and politics and how governments and institutions use sports for political purposes. ISOs are of significance as it is where the global arena of sports and the international system meet. The aim is to explore this relationship and how they interact with one another. It is a qualitative case study of FIFA, the most influential ISO at the global level. ‘‘FIFA is a powerful political actor and the institution that best represents the contradictions at the core of the sport/politics relationship.’’ (pg. 108). The authors see that literature from the IR field trying to fill the gap between sports and IR has mainly focused on sports as a tool for states to use as self-promotion and to punish other states. It has also focused on sport as a form of prestige (Allison and Monnington, 2002) and as a tool for sports diplomacy and soft power. Although the literature is increasing, the area is understudied.

From an IR perspective, a state can gain prestige by hosting a major sporting event successfully, which is a view that is shared by most scholars.

The article concludes that ISOs like FIFA are the link between the global sports arena and the international system. As sports have an impact on public opinion and policymakers, sport is then of significance as a political and social phenomenon. It is shown that ISOs have a central position in global sports and they also have a political role. FIFA and its organization are a great example of this connection with their great power over football and in the international system. The relationship between ISOs and the international system is shown to be complex as ISOs utilize power in the international system to influence but they are also a tool for nations and global actors for their own motives.

The article has also proven the relationship between ISO and the international order and the shifts within it. This is shown by looking at FIFA and how it was in the beginning mostly operating in the West but over time and with the shift in the world order that came with the decolonization, FIFA grew bigger and its operation wider. The article has used FIFA as a case study and example of the political role held by ISOs. When discussing the politics of ISO the author writes: ‘‘These organizations, particularly the largest ones, hold significant political power, yet often claim to be politically neutral. Ultimately, the ability to be able to claim to keep ‘politics out of sport’ is in itself an important political card, as it allows the leadership of ISOs to decide when (and when not to) use political leverage’’ (pg. 119).

## **2.2 Concepts**

### **2.2.1 What are IOs and ISOs:**

International organizations (IOs) can be defined as ‘‘formal intergovernmental bureaucracies. They have a legal standing, physical headquarters, executive head, staff, and substantive focus in operations’’ (Weiss, TG, & Wilkinson, R., 2013:7). With this definition FIFA can be seen as an International organization through its governing structure. FIFA is the central governing body for football, having legislative, judiciary, and executive powers. Nations are represented through their teams and FIFA’s

stakeholders consist of the confederations. It is under Swiss law, a private non-profit organization, however, it is also an international organization in which nations are represented. ‘‘The teams are national teams, and the governments themselves legitimize this representation due to the importance given to the World Cup. In this way, FIFA establishes political, economic, and cultural influence with the States represented by its confederations.’’ (Cazotto et.al.. 2022. ‘Methodological Procedure’ section, para:4).

### **2.2.2 What is global governance**

In international relations, states usually serve as the primary actors but with Rosenau's (1992) definition of global governance other actors are welcomed into the analysis. In his definition of global governance, he includes ‘‘systems of rule at all levels of human activity - from the family to the international organization - in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions.’’ (Rosenau, 1995: 13). A very broad definition that welcomes different actors at different levels turning away from a more traditional definition that mostly includes formal institutions. When not just acknowledging states as the primary actor we can look to a more liberal and institutionalist approach. Moving away from a realist perspective on state power and self-help one can focus on the shared interest between states that allows for cooperation and institutions. An approach that does not stop at how the world is governed but also possibilities and how it should be governed. (Cazotto et.al.. 2022)

### **2.2.3 Transparency and Accountability**

Transparency International is a non-governmental organization aiming to end corruption and to work for spreading transparency, accountability, and integrity. They see transparency as ‘‘shedding light on formal and informal rules, plans, processes and actions’’ (Transparency International, nd., ‘What is corruption’ section). They see transparency as being of significance for the citizens as it is a human right to seek and receive information that should be easily accessible. To end corruption and for corporations, governments, organizations, etc. to be actors of transparency it is important with

cooperation from governments, businesses, and civil societies to work for the greater good.

#### **2.2.4 Why Global Accountability Matters**

The contemporary world is interconnected through processes of globalization, digitalization, and, modernization, etc. This has brought opportunities to a greater number of people and nationals but it also comes with challenges in front of which we need resilience. International non-governmental organizations have become more influential when looking at actors of global governance. Each organization has a purpose, and policies and contributes to norms and to what makes the international system through social and economic interactions. All contribute in different ways to global governance. As per say, this essay is a case study of FIFA who contribute by governing the internationally beloved game of football.

Accountability and transparency are then vital to show to the community you affect and the area(s) you are operating in. INGOs, or in this case FIFA, need to be held accountable for actions affecting not only its audience but also member states, confederations, partners, stakeholders, and players. It is not only about upholding legal frameworks and international agreements set by nations and other organizations but also ethics and codes of conduct which might be FIFA's biggest flaw.

One World Trust has yearly published a report on Global Accountability in which they look upon a selection of different organizations and in the 2007 Report FIFA was among them. They have defined accountability as "the processes through which an organisation makes a commitment to respond to and balance the needs of stakeholders in its decision making processes and activities, and delivers against this commitment" (One World Trust, 2007: 11). Their framework is based on four dimensions of accountability; Transparency, Participation, Evaluation and Complaint, and response mechanisms. When looking at the last dimension the report sees that FIFA is lacking whistleblower protection. Their disciplinary code is only for the

FIFA officials and does not cover FIFA staff due to FIFA's claim that they are being protected under Swiss law. On their overall accountability capabilities, FIFA scored 37 (out of 100) which puts them in the bottom out of the ten INGOs that were being assessed in the 2007 report. This report published in 2007 comes before the scandals listed in this essay whose timeline starts in 2010. This shows then that FIFA was having trouble delivering good global governance before the allegations of corruption began. However, the report is about accountability capabilities

### **2.2.5 International Relations**

Most scholars of IR have focused their work on 'high politics' such as war and conflict, security studies, or environmental issues with the dominant IR theories of realism and liberalism. As the world is constantly changing so are the discussions in the academic world. In recent decades sports has gained a more established role in IR. New actors are now welcomed as states are no longer the only ones in focus. This essay will therefore explore the role of the International Sporting Organization within the field of IR by doing a case study of the most prominent one, FIFA. They have over the years become a political actor through its global governance as the governing body of football. They are no longer just overseeing the game but also its relations with its members and confederations around the globe. Throughout the years they have put in work to not only promote the game but also human rights and social development, something they see can be done through the game by inclusivity and development. Thus, they have faced several allegations of corruption that have damaged the brand and image but also reflect on its well-known partners globally as well as its stakeholders and all people involved in the game.

### **2.2.6 Soft power**

Mentioned earlier is the concept of soft power by Nye, who defines it as "The ability to affect what other countries want tends to be associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions" (Nye, 1990: 166-167). Or put in other words; 'power is ones ability to affect the

behavior of others to get what one wants. There are three basic ways to do this: coercion, payment, and attraction. Hard power is the use of coercion and payment. Soft power is the ability to obtain preferred outcomes through attraction” (Nye, 2009: 160). This paper would like to see how and if FIFA has through its global governance utilized soft power, especially in the reformation brought forward earlier. This will be discussed in the analysis.

### **2.2.7 Neoliberalism**

Neoliberalism has its roots in economic theory from the late 1970s. When discussing FIFA and neoliberalism, Eick (2011) describes it as ‘neo-liberalism promotes market-led economic and social restructuring. In the public sector, this involves privatisation, liberalisation and the imposition of commercial criteria in the residual public sector as well as in the non-profit sector’ (pg. 3331). He also sees that it is important for the neo-liberal agenda to promote a market-driven economy and a platform for it. This is where the World Cup is present and shapes and gets shaped by neoliberalism. The athletes are seen as liberalization, stakeholders and club owners are entrepreneurs and FIFA plays a role of deregulation in international law and with them having a privatization of their self-regulation as their governance. Referring to a neo-liberal framework by Brenner *et al.* (2010), Eick (2011) establishes that FIFA is seen as one of the first ‘glocal institutions that were neo-liberalising themselves an a significant part of ‘civil society’s’ world-wide leisure activity, thus helping capitalism to move deeper into its current neo-liberal form’ (pg. 3332)

## **3. Methodology**

The methodology for this paper is to find an understanding of the lack of good governance principles in sporting organizations. This will be done through a case study of FIFA and the global governance of football. The aim is also to find an answer to what led to the issues and what can and has been done by FIFA to address it. It will additionally establish the relation of ISOs to the international system and IR. The structure of the analysis can be divided into before and after 2015. The before is to explore what led to the

issue and the after to explore an understanding of how it happened and its effects.

I want to find the explanatory variable for the outcome that is observed in existing research - that mega-SINGOs lack good governance. This is referred to as Efficient causality. Which ‘assumes we already know potential outcomes (dependent variables) at the point a causal phenomenon emerges. Examples include positivist research questions that aim to identify a singular cause of an already-known effect. The aim of the research is to causally link the dependent variable back to an independent variable’ (Lamont and Boduszynski, 2020, 118).

The research will also do a process tracing to explore what has brought to the outcome in order to try to explain it. ‘Process-tracing is the attempt to link possible causes with observed outcomes by carefully describing sequences of events or decisions’ (Lamont and Boduszynski, 2020, 120). This research will therefore look at the origins and history of FIFA and its organizational structure and the reforms it has done to investigate if it can bring us knowledge about what has led to the outcome and how it can be best explained. To know what has brought the outcome the research will draw on findings from earlier research. Building on a normative research analysis this essay will look at the principles of global governance

### **3.1 Data Selection**

The research will take a qualitative data approach and look at many sources to get a broad understanding of the chosen topic. This is because data will mainly be non-numerical which rules out a quantitative approach. Data will be gathered mostly from secondary sources such as journals, websites, books, and policy documents. This will form a triangulation of what different types of sources will be used and looked upon. This is also to explore existing work on international sporting organizations to find out what their role is as actors in the international system and within the field of

IR. Data will be in the form of texts as that is here seen to be the most relevant for answering the research question. For the sections named ‘the old FIFA’ and ‘the new FIFA’ this essay will mainly use primary sources from FIFA itself to get correct information from the first hand source. This is also because of the focus in these two sections mentioned above.

The research will be utilizing a critical discourse analysis (CDA) to find patterns in existing work on the topic to answer the research question; ‘How come international sporting organizations lack good governance? CDA is ’’ principally concerned with the role of discourse in enacting, reproducing, and resisting social power abuse, dominance, and inequality (van Dijk 2001: 300, 352 cited in Halperin and Heath, 2020: 368). To answer the research question it is of importance to explore and establish the connection between the discourse and the power that ISOs hold as actors in the international system. I will be analyzing the global governance of FIFA. This organization was chosen because it is the major sporting organization in the world and is also referred to as mega-sporting international non-governmental organizations (mega-SINGOs). They are the ones that govern ‘the beautiful game’ also known as football/soccer.

The analysis will draw on the theory of neo-liberalism and soft power as it is the most common one used by existing literature. Another theory that is often used is functionalism which will not be used here as it is used from the sociology field of study and is not useful here when we want to explore the topic from an IR perspective. It will also look at definitions from IR scholars of the concepts found in existing research. These definitions are stated in the Theory section above.

In summary, to answer the research question; ‘*How have international sporting organizations (ISOs) been able to lack accountability in their global governance as actors in the international system?*’ a critical discourse analysis will be done to explore the power relations between the discourse

and influence of international sporting organizations as actors in the international system. It will be a case study of FIFA as it is a mega-SINGO. One of the first steps for the analysis is a process tracing and exploring the efficient casualty to find out what brought the outcome which is the lack of good governance of ISOs. This is all done to research the aim of understanding how FIFA as an ISO and an actor in the international system has enabled the lack of accountability.

## **4. Analysis**

### **4.1 The Old FIFA**

This first section will outline ‘the old FIFA’ by looking at its history and shortly its organizational structure which will be looked at more later. There will also be a timeline that consists of selected events from 2010-2015 that have affected FIFA, its stakeholders, and its organizational structure. The timeline is all about mapping out the scandals of FIFA to see the base of the issue to later look at what enabled the scandals to take place. The last part of this section will look at the reforms done by FIFA before going over to the next section ‘The New FIFA’ that will look at the effects of the reforms.

#### **4.1.2 History of FIFA**

The governing of football began with the Football Association (FA), a British association of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland in 1863. FA and FIFA did not unify their organizations until 1946 even though FIFA’s initial work up until then was based on the work and rules of the game by FA.

FIFA was founded in 1904 by its seven founding nations, today it holds memberships of 211 national associations. They are an international organization that governs the game of football. They compare themselves to a multinational corporation but with an independent body with self-regulation. Their headquarters are in Zurich, Switzerland, in which the government does not interfere completely with governing bodies of sports. The highest governing body of FIFA is the Congress but in recent years they have left

much of the administration to the President, Secretary General, and Executive Committee with its 25 members. ‘‘While this self-regulatory arrangement was generally accepted, FIFA like many institutions did not recognize or come to terms with the growing global concern about good governance and compliance. Over the course of the last 20 years, lax governance and compliance has led to scandals in business, government, education and just about every sector in society, lessening in the public trust in many institutions’’. (FIFA, 2010: 3) The structure of FIFA allows nations to be political actors within the organization through voting rights but to gain a vote your nation has to compete in a FIFA competition, this has helped FIFA to expand its work of organizing new competitions and growing the organization itself.

#### **4.1.3 Organization**

FIFA consists of different bodies where the Congress is the supreme and the body of legislation. Next is the Council in charge of overseeing and the strategic body. The executive, operational and administrative power is held by the general secretariat. The role of the President is a representative one. He is the face outwards for FIFA. He shall also ‘‘aim to foster a positive image of FIFA and to ensure that FIFA’s mission, strategic direction, policies and values, as defined by the Council, are protected and advanced’’ (FIFA, 2016b: 36). Arguably, past Presidents have failed here as all three recent Presidents, Havelange, Blatter and Infantino have faced allegations of corruption where only Blatter has been banned from the game.

There are six recognized confederations in FIFA; ‘‘Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol – CONMEBOL, Asian Football Confederation – AFC, Union des associations européennes de football – UEFA, Confédération Africaine de Football – CAF, Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football – CONCACAF, Oceania Football Confederation – OFC’’ (FIFA, 2016b: 19). Each confederation consists of member associations from the same continent and their work is independent as they are not a part of FIFA’s organizational structure.

#### 4.1.4 The scandals

Through a bidding process, FIFA awards nations the right to host the mega-event which is the Men's World Cup in football. In 2010 it was announced that Russia would host the 2018 World Cup and Qatar the 2022 World Cup. This decision has been questioned and accusations of fraud and ethics violation have brought attention.

#### 4.1.5 Timeline

**December 2010** - Russia and Qatar are given hosting rights to the World Cup (2018 and 2022). This news arrives just days after an expose that claims the three FIFA senior officials took bribes in the 1990s, all three voted for the 2018 and 2022 bids. (The officials: Nicolas Leoz, Issa Hayatou and Ricardo Teixeira)

**February 2011:** The executive committee members, Amos Adamu and Reynald Temarii, got a three-year and one-year ban from the ethics committee of FIFA. This was due to ethics violations that resulted from an investigation of Sunday Times on wrongdoings during the 2018 and 2022 bidding processes.

**May 2011:** Following an ongoing investigation of bribes to members of the Caribbean Football Union, Mohamed Bin Hammam (presidential candidate) and Jack Warner (vice-president) are suspended by FIFA. A complaint against Sepp Blatter (then sitting President) was also dropped. Qatar claims that they did no wrong when winning the 2022 bid. Coca-Cola, Adidas, Emirates, and Visa, all sponsors of FIFA are raising concerns about the now ongoing claims of corruption associated with FIFA.

**June 2011:** When found guilty of bribery, Hammam is banned for life from all international and national football activity. Due to resigning from his position, Warner can run away from the investigation.

**June 2014:** The Sunday Times says they have received "hundreds of millions" (ESPN, 2015: nd) of documents that all claim proof of Hammam's bribery to officials in return for them voting for Qatar in the 2022 bid.

**September 2014:** Michael Garcia who was in 2012 appointed the head of FIFA's ethics committee is now done with his report on the corruption allegations and sent it to FIFA.

**November 2014:** After having read and summarized the report by Garcia, the chairman of the adjudicatory chamber of FIFA's independent ethics committee, Hans-Joachim Eckert sees no major breaches by Russia and Qatar and they are confirmed to host the World Cup.

FIFA filed a criminal complaint with the Swiss attorney general regarding potential transgressions committed by individuals concerning the hosting rights of the 2018 and 2022 World Cups, yet asserts that the inquiry into the tender process for the aforementioned World Cups has been finalized. Garcia denounces the abstract as being "incomplete and erroneous" (ESPN, 2015:nd) and initiates an appeal against it.

**December 2014:** Garcia steps down as FIFA's independent ethics investigator after having lost his appeal.

**May 2015:** "Seven FIFA officials are arrested in dawn raids at a hotel in Zurich. They were later charged by U.S. authorities along with two other FIFA officials and five over allegations of racketeering, wire fraud and money laundering conspiracies spanning 24 years. They are accused of breeding decades of "rampant, systemic and deep-rooted" corruption within FIFA by the U.S. justice department. FIFA says the upcoming presidential elections will go ahead on May 29.

**December 2015:** Sepp Blatter gets an eight-year ban (later reduced to six years) due to violations of FIFA's code of ethics including accepting payments mainly regarding the 2010 and 2014 World Cups. Blatter got banned additionally for six years and eight months in 2021 when the first ban was up.

**December 2015:** Micheal Platini, UEFA President, is also given an eight-year ban by the FIFA Ethics Committee for having accepted a 'disloyal payment'.

Meanwhile, the Swiss authorities raid FIFA headquarters, gathering data and documents for their separate investigation into allegations of criminal

mismanagement and money laundering in connection with the allocation of the 2018 and 2022 World Cup bids. FIFA says there will be no revisiting of the World Cup bids and the tournaments will go ahead in Russia and Qatar” (FIFA, 2015, nd)

**2016:** FIFA President Infantino was under investigation due to suspicion of having ordered the destruction of tapes after a meeting at the FIFA Council which is considered a violation of ethics.

**Jack Warner of Trinidad and Tobago:** Vice President of FIFA, President of CONCACAF, and the Caribbean Football Union (CFU). Warner had a significant role at both FIFA and in his region. He was also a member of the FIFA Executive Committee which are the voters on the hosting rights of the World Cup. Warner also had a great influence on the votes from the member nations of the Caribbean and some smaller of the CONCACAF members. These nations get one vote per nation when the FIFA Congress votes when electing the President, meaning that Warner could control these votes. The accusations on Warner then accuses him of taking bribes for both supporting a nation's bid for the hosting of the World Cup and voting for Presidential candidates. Mohammed Bin Hammam was running for the presidential post against Sepp Blatter in 2011 and was accused of giving Warner envelopes of \$40,000 that Warner then gave to the 25 members of the CFU. When questioned by the CFU members, Warner is said to have called the envelopes a gift and not bribery for voting in favor of Bin Hammam.

**Another great example of the FIFA scandal - the 2010 World Cup**

South Africa was awarded the hosting of the 2010 World Cup but in order to get it they needed the votes of Warner and his allied nations. South Africa had promised a payment of \$10 million to go to a ‘so-called diaspora legacy programme to develop football in the Caribbean’ (Thomas, E 2015 cited in Bank, S, 2015: 18) but that was not the reality. The money instead was sent to Warner himself and Chuck Blazer, another member of the Executive Committee and second-in-command at CONCACAF. After an

encounter with the FBI, Blazer later became an informant for them. Warner was also part of a scandal concerning the Qatari bid for the 2022 World Cup when he and his sons supposedly received a \$1.2 million payment from a company with connection to Qatar's bid. The FBI found this when a bank in the Cayman Islands did not do the transaction due to suspicion of an illegal payment and it instead went through a New York bank under U.S jurisdiction.

#### **4.1.6 The Reform: 2011-2014**

Attempts to reform FIFA have been pursued since the 2010 World Cup, mostly by the FIFA Executive Committee and Congress. Bank, 2015 states that the results are not optimistic as the most efficient reform recommendations are being overthrown or remain blocked. The first reform process was started after the scandals surrounding Bin Hammam in 2011 when FIFA created an Independent Governance Commission whose mission was to propose an institutional reform. The Commission faced setbacks when their independence was questioned due to the chairman, Mark Pieth who was given his position personally from then President Blatter, which in turn could make him biased in his recommendations. Out of the nineteen recommendations proposed by the commission only six of them were implemented. The most significant implementation was the reform of the Ethics Committee, which added the Investigatory and Adjudicatory chambers and a new code of ethics.

In 2012, Garcia was the chairman of the Investigatory Chamber to make ‘a new era of independence and accountability in FIFA’ (Bank, S., 2015: 24). Garcia spent over a year investigating corruption in FIFA as his time as independent ethics investigation which resulted in a 430-page report published in 2014 to Hans-Joachim Eckert who was then the chair of the Adjudicatory Chamber of the Ethics Committee. After having read and summarized the report by Garcia, the chairman of the adjudicatory chamber of FIFA’s independent ethics committee, Hans-Joachim Eckert sees no

major breaches by Russia and Qatar and they are confirmed to host the World Cup.

FIFA filed a criminal complaint with the Swiss attorney general regarding potential transgressions committed by individuals concerning the hosting rights of the 2018 and 2022 World Cups, yet asserts that the inquiry into the tender process for the aforementioned World Cups has been finalized.

Garcia denounces the abstract as being "incomplete and erroneous" (ESPN, 2015:nd) and initiates an appeal against it. In December of 2014, Garcia stepped down from his post after having lost his appeal.

#### **4.1.7 The Reform: 2015-2016**

In May 2015, several FIFA, CONCACAF, and CONMEBOL officials were indicted. This together with Blatter's resignation gave the reform process new momentum. FIFA was now trying to focus on getting more outsiders into the organization. In July 2015, an ad hoc body was implemented but it did not take long before this new task force was facing setbacks. Dominic Scala, Chair of the Audit and Compliance, was given the position to lead the new task force. Transparency International said that the committee "would not be fully independent . . . [and] will not be sufficient to win back trust in FIFA." (Conway, R. 2015 cited in Bank, S. 2015: 26). One of FIFA's most well-known sponsors, Coca-Cola, said they would rather see a fully independent committee with a renowned person who could lead the committee and look at FIFA's governance from a top-to-bottom approach. This resulted in FIFA letting Scala go and replacing her with Francois Carrad, the former director-general of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The main job of the task force was now to address the corruption within FIFA. During Carrad's time at the IOC, there were also allegations of corruption within the organization. Even though Carrad fulfilled FIFA's vision of taking in outsiders, having no prior ties to the organization and the game, he and the task force's abilities to accomplish change and correct the scandals within FIFA's leadership remained questioned

A member of the Independent Governance Commission, Michael Hershman called for a full reorganization of FIFA and a change in the leadership at the top with a top-to-bottom approach was the only way for the task force to succeed. However, due to the pressure of sponsors and yet more indictments from the U.S. All recommendations of the task form were accepted at a meeting at the FIFA Congress in 2016. This included four bigger reforms; “(1) Restructuring committees and governance authority; (2) Checks on members and limits on terms; (3) Increasing transparency and outside auditing; and (4) Requiring more outsiders and increased independence” (Banks, S. 2015: 28).

## **4.2 The new FIFA**

It is clear that FIFA has been part of acts of corruption and their awareness of the need for a change has been expressed through reformations. This next section will take a deeper look at their work after 2015 by looking at the FIFA Vision 2.0, the FIFA Statutes, and the FIFA Governance Regulations to try and find what enabled corruption to take place and how and if FIFA is working towards not repeating its mistakes.

### **4.2.1 FIFA Vision 2.0**

It was in February 2016 that the members of FIFA agreed to what is described as “a series of landmark reforms” (FIFA, 2016a: 12) to better its governance of the beautiful game. The reform came under President Gianni Infantino with a vision for the future that they call ‘FIFA 2.0’. The core of the vision is to “promote the game of football, protect its integrity and bring the game to all” (FIFA, 2016a: 6). This new vision itself is a way for FIFA to portray its organization, image, and brand in which they place the game at a universal level, sees its potential and high standing and its way of integrating communities.

They are not only promoting their new vision but also a new strategy for the organization, ‘‘FIFA will increase its investment in football development, harness innovation to shape the future of the game and its distribution, and assume greater control of its global operations’’ (FIFA, 2016a: 6). The hope with this is not only to grow the game by the commercialization of women’s football but also to build a stronger organization. It is also stated that FIFA ‘‘ will remain attuned to the demands contemporary society places on international institutions when it comes to accountability, transparency, and inclusivity – principles that are essential as FIFA continues its work to regain trust with its partners and stakeholders’’ (FIFA, 2016a: 7). It is with these statements clear that FIFA is aware of the situation they are in and understand the need for change within its organization and its global governance and relations with its stakeholders. However, it is still not clear if they will ever be able to be an organization of good governance with accountability and transparency.

As the world is changing, institutions and organizations need to follow. FIFA states three things as the most significant for the change in the contemporary world: globalization, technology, and a demand for better transparency and accountability. (FIFA, 2016a). They here define accountability as ‘‘a function of transparency, which itself is a function of scrutiny’’ (FIFA, 2016a: 11). It also states how football is more than just a sport and a business, in addition, there is a commercial aspect as well. Football is said to go hand in hand with the shift in society therefore football is faced with the choice to ‘‘be a leader and shape change, or it can be a follower and be shaped by change’’ (FIFA, 2016a: 11).

The reforms that are laid out in the vision are said to focus on governance, transparency, accountability, and diversity. It also sees a differentiation in the decision-making process regarding the commercial side and the political/strategic. It also emphasizes the role of its stakeholders and their pressure on FIFA to improve its organization. Included in the new vision is

how to reach its new goals. By growing the game, enhancing the experience, and building a stronger institution. This will be done through investments, ownership, and innovation and their guiding principles for doing so are transparency, accountability, cooperation, and inclusivity. (FIFA, 2016a)

In the section that focuses on building a stronger institution, it is stated that FIFA will continue to implement new reforms and the reforms that have been implemented together with the election of a new leadership have helped create a new culture within the organization. A result of the implemented reforms is the separation of the commercial side and the side that oversees competitions/events.

When talking about their ownership it is said that to build a stronger ecosystem of football, FIFA will strengthen its relationships with its members and stakeholders and take on a greater responsibility regarding its governance. However, the scandals and corruption are not mentioned by the organization; it is only stated that its reputation needs to be rebuilt. The core reform is the distinction of the administrative and the strategic/political side which is said to help make sure that past mistakes are not repeated.

The new FIFA will work more towards human rights and during the FIFA Congress in February 2016 article 3 was added to the FIFA Statutes which “commits the organisation to respecting all internationally recognised human rights and striving to promote the protection of these rights” (FIFA, 2016a: 63). However, FIFA was heavily criticized during the 2022 Men’s World Cup that was held in Qatar during which multiple human rights violations were documented, especially regarding the construction sites when preparing for the World Cup. FIFA continues by stating that their organization can not be alone held responsible for actions caused by others, however, they can use their influence to help protect human rights. When stating that there must be “fair working conditions on FIFA World Cup™ construction sites” (FIFA, 2016a: 63), it is more directed towards the 2018

World Cup in Russia, a country also alleged for human rights violations. Neither the 2018 World Cup in Russia nor the 2022 World Cup in Qatar had yet been held at the point of writing the FIFA 2.0 Vision but the hosting rights had already been given to the respective countries. Both were awarded the hosting rights in 2010 which gave plenty of time for FIFA to protect human rights before and during the World Cups but it was not until the 2016 reform that FIFA signed deals with trade unions to ensure safe and fair conditions for the construction sites in Russia. A similar deal was not made before the Qatar World Cup, it is instead stated that Qatar itself had implemented welfare standards for its workers that meet international standards.

#### **4.2.2 FIFA Statutes 2016**

In the FIFA Statutes 2016 Report the organization states its objectives:

- a) to improve the game of football constantly and promote it globally in the light of its unifying, educational, cultural and humanitarian values, particularly through youth and development programmes;
- b) to organise its own international competitions;
- c) to draw up regulations and provisions governing the game of football and related matters and to ensure their enforcement;
- d) to control every type of association football by taking appropriate steps to prevent infringements of the Statutes, regulations or decisions of FIFA or of the Laws of the Game;
- e) to use its efforts to ensure that the game of football is available to and resourced for all who wish to participate, regardless of gender or age;
- f) to promote the development of women's football and the full participation of women at all levels of football governance; and
- g) to promote integrity, ethics and fair play with a view to preventing all methods or practices, such as corruption, doping or match manipulation,

which might jeopardise the integrity of matches, competitions, players, officials and member associations or give rise to abuse of association football. (FIFA, 2016b: 6)

The last objective is what this essay finds interesting as it is the first time in a FIFA official document I come across FIFA's view on preventing corruption which is not stated in the 2016 FIFA 2.0 Vision. Their response to the allegations, inducements, corruption, and scandals that had been prior to 2016 was their 'landmark reforms'. It is in the statutes however state that 'Every person and organisation involved in the game of football is obliged to observe the Statutes and regulations of FIFA as well as the principles of fair play' (FIFA, 2016b: 9). The 2010 - 2014 scandals brought up here come from FIFA officials and staff who represent the organization, who all are obliged to observe the statutes, never mentioned the need to obey them. The staff who represent the organization as a whole reflects its image and brand and there is no doubt that it has damaged FIFA. But to be an accountable organization you will need the right actions taken when these scandals happen and stating that the individuals involved in the organization and the game only have to observe the statutes and rules of the governing body for the game is not the right path. FIFA saw that they as an organization needed to take action and reforms to address what had been but to live up to their goals for FIFA 2.0 of accountability, transparency, cooperation, and inclusivity, better actions needs to be taken.

The only ones stating the need to comply and follow the FIFA Statutes are the confederations and member associations but what is known from the scandals listed earlier is that the problems came from individuals within the organization. Member associations are obligated 'to comply fully with the Statutes, regulations, directives and decisions of FIFA bodies at any time as well as the decisions of the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) passed on appeal on the basis of art. 57 par. 1 of the FIFA Statutes' (FIFA, 2016b, 12). It is not stated in the same manner but the confederations also need to comply with the FIFA Statutes and regulations.

The Statutes also state the Congress's power of suspensions and expulsions. Both are regarding wrongdoing by the member associations.

The Congress may suspend a member association solely at the request of the Council. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Council may, without a vote of the Congress, temporarily suspend with immediate effect a member association that seriously violates its obligations. A suspension approved by the Council shall be in effect until the next Congress, unless the Council has revoked such suspension prior to such Congress (FIFA, 2016b, 14)

There are three reasons listed that can lead to an expulsion for a member association. If "a) it fails to fulfil its financial obligations towards FIFA; or b) it seriously violates the Statutes, regulations or decisions of FIFA; or c) it loses the status of an association representing association football in its country" (FIFA, 2016b, 15). Both member associations and confederations need to act according to the principles of good governance in their statutes. These include neutrality in politics, preventing discrimination, independent judicial bodies, respecting the Laws of the Game, etc. It is not strange that FIFA has conditions for its member associations and confederations but they are an organization founded on democratic principles to govern a game without interference from national governments. They have through its statutes formed a structure where FIFA itself could act as a sovereign state that can punish national governments if they do not comply with the regulations of FIFA. This could also explain the lack of interest for national governments to supervise FIFA. Not only because as a member association you have to be neutral in politics but due to the consequences that could come. FIFA has the power to penalize and sanction a national government's football team. This almost happened in 2023 when FIFA threatened to suspend Brazil's national teams and clubs from participating in international competitions due to Brazil's national football governing body CBF not having elected a new president after having faced legal troubles (APnews, 2023).

The council which up until the 2016 reform was the Executive Committee, is where multiple of the individuals involved in actions of corruption were members. In the 2016 Statutes it is stated that “Upon being elected to office, every member of the Council undertakes, and accepts responsibility, to faithfully, loyally and independently act in the best interests of FIFA and the promotion and development of football at global level” (FIFA, 2016b, 32). It is evident that this has not earlier been properly executed. Nonetheless, the Statutes were published in 2016 as a part of the reform to reiterate the objectives of FIFA. This particular statement cannot be found in the earlier Statutes (FIFA, 2007) but it does state the need for confederations and member associations to comply and oblige the regulations and Statutes of FIFA.

The President no longer holds the same power as earlier and is now a representative of FIFA. He shall “aim to foster a positive image of FIFA and to ensure that FIFA’s mission, strategic direction, policies and values, as defined by the Council, are protected and advanced” (FIFA, 2016b: 36). Arguably, past Presidents have failed here as all three recent Presidents, Havelange, Blatter and Infantino have all faced allegations of corruption where only Blatter has been banned from the game.

#### **4.2.3 FIFA Governance Regulation: 2022 edition**

FIFA’s principles and regulations are all stated in the document ‘FIFA Governance Regulation’ (2023b) and details what is communicated in the 2016 Statutes. It is here that FIFA expresses the conditions for its employees.

During their work and as part of their functions, members of FIFA bodies and FIFA employees shall do everything possible that is conducive to fulfilling FIFA’s objectives (cf. art. 2 of the FIFA Statutes) and refrain from any action that could be detrimental to those objectives. Inside and outside FIFA, they shall know and comply with all applicable laws and regulations, as well as with FIFA’s internal rules and regulations, such as these

regulations, the FIFA Code of Ethics, the FIFA Disciplinary Code and, when applicable, the FIFA Team Handbook. (FIFA, 2023b: 7)

Different from the Statutes, it is here said that all FIFA employees need to comply with its regulations including the FIFA Code of Ethics. It is also once again expressed that members of the Council should be dedicated and loyal to FIFA and its objectives. It is also in this document that we find the power of the Secretary General who is the chief executive officer (CEO) of FIFA and head of the Management Board. It is the Secretary General that holds the power to take action against FIFA workers who do not fulfill its requirements. The Secretary General can then;

Implement appropriate measures in cases of non-compliance, alleged corruption or other improper conduct by employees of FIFA and – to the extent permitted by applicable law and FIFA’s rules and regulations – all members of executive bodies and employees of FIFA’s consolidated subsidiaries who are not bound by the FIFA Code of Ethics, except for the Secretary General himself. (FIFA, 2023b: 20)

It is FIFA themselves that has to take the correct measurements when a FIFA employee does not comply with the regulations of the organization. This is however the first time FIFA has listed corruption as an example of wrongdoing that could happen. It is also interesting that the word choice is ‘alleged corruption’ and not just ‘corruption’ as it is through national courts proven that there have been cases of corruption and not just allegations. This could be a sign of the loyalty FIFA has to FIFA that shows signs of a hierarchical structure and culture where rumors and allegations are not fully taken seriously.

#### **4.2.4 FIFA 2022 Annual Report**

As part of its 2016 reforms, FIFA is committed to being a transparent, accountable, and credible organization. As a result of this, FIFA now publishes their compensation in their Annual Report. In total, the 2022

compensations for the members of the FIFA Council and the FIFA senior management reached approximately 30.2 million USD (without pension contributions). The council consists of the President, eight vice-Presidents, and 28 members. President Infantino receives 1.95 million USD as his gross salary base. The gross base compensation of a chairperson of the Ethics Committee's investigative chamber is significantly lower, in 2022 it was calculated to be 250,000 USD.

#### **4.2.5 FIFA Revenues**

Between 2019-2022, FIFA's revenue met a record of 7.57 billion USD, despite it being a challenging time imposed by the pandemic. Compared to the earlier period of 2015-2018, this result was an increase of 18%. The biggest source of income comes from television broadcasting rights which stands for 45% of the total revenue. The numbers also state that with over five billion viewers, the Men's World Cup in Qatar was the most watched ever, despite its negative connotations of human rights violations. Second on the list is the income from marketing rights. FIFA has partnerships with multiple known companies such as Coca-Cola, adidas, Visa, and Hyundai. Before the Men's 2022 World Cup in Qatar, FIFA's sponsorship packages were all sold out. (FIFA, 2023). As football grew and became commercialized there was more money involved, this also means that others could benefit from the game. Individuals can gain through betting, states can gain by winning, governments can gain by hosting and media can gain by broadcasting - all organized by FIFA.

#### **4.3 Commercializing the game**

With FIFA not only being an ISO but also being a business actor they benefit a lot from commercializing the beautiful game as it generates revenue for the organization. This has also enabled new actors to enter the market. Together with globalization, commercialization has enabled the spread of football. As FIFA is **the** organization governing the game, it is not surprising that they are promoting the spread of the game as that will also

give them opportunities for gaining new partners, possible new markets, more actors engaged, and more revenue. It has also made the game into a product that can be sold and as the consumers grow the money to buy the product is increasing. The World Cup is what brings in the most money that is the main product and has shaped FIFA as an organization. Coca-Cola was brought in as an official partner to the 1978 World Cup and has since then shared ties with FIFA. Coca-Cola paid US\$ 8.33 million to FIFA for the World Cup Finals in 1978 to hold exclusive rights to marketing around the stadium (Tomlinson, 2014). This particular deal is argued to have been what put FIFA in the international sphere and the sport was turned into a universal game. Partnering with such a well-known company also built some sort of credibility for FIFA as well as opening the doors for other partners with big wallets.

“In no time, Havelange transformed an administration-oriented institution into a dynamic enterprise brimming with new ideas and the will to see them through” (FIFA, 2003: 6 cited in Eick, 2010: 3330). During his presidency, Havelange committed to developing the game in Africa and Asia and to expand the game, FIFA needed money. With the help of other FIFA officials, the 1982 Men’s World Cup in Spain was expanded from 16 teams to 24. A marketing program was also established to bring in big money to fulfill the plans of development. The program set the marketing rights to a remarkably high price tag not only to bring in big money but also to work with the few companies that could afford it, the major company being Coca-Cola. Patrick Nally who worked for FIFA during this time was in charge of the marketing and was the one who closed the deal with Coca-Cola. He is said to have “argued that the Coca-Cola connection gives sports organizations an aura of respectability, generated by the Coca-Cola global image of corporate cleanliness” (Tomlinson, 2014, 98). By partnering with FIFA and its exclusive product that is the World Cup, you are gaining access to a universal consumer market and audience that can not be compared when discussing sports.

Tomlinson (2014) refers to the golden triangle of international football in which we find sport, media, and marketing. During the expansion of the game, the golden triangle has been able to establish control of the game. When the contemporary world sees an increase in global forces, transnational organizations' impact is also increasing. FIFA is argued to have had a great impact in what is referred to as 'globalization', a process in which global processes overtake the local.

It is through the commercialization and expansion of the game that FIFA has been able to build its organization and its image. Through its partners' credible and respected images that mirror FIFA they have been able to lack good governance and governments and actors have looked away. It has also allowed companies to influence the global marketplace and its audience through investment in sports and FIFA. FIFA is no longer just the governing body of football but also an international channel of communication which gives them plenty of power and benefits in the form of revenue. As FIFA is a non-profit organization it is not surprising that they have worked hard on commercializing the game as they are obliged to spend their money to develop and promote the game which is also expressed in the FIFA 2.0 Vision. However, FIFA was not designed for commercial activity which has forced them to undergo several re-organizations to keep up with changes in the world. The main focus is said to be the greater good for the sport but with the commercialization and the new actors and stakeholders it has brought, it has created a lucrative space for FIFA officials and member associations.

#### **4.4 FIFA's soft power abilities**

FIFA can be seen to use both soft power and hard power. The soft power is utilized by the organization itself while hard power is done by individuals from within. FIFA's 'preferred outcome' is stated in its Statutes and the FIFA 2.0 Vision; 'promote the game of football, protect its integrity and

bring the game to all'' (FIFA, 2016a: 6). They are doing this by making the game accessible and inclusive for all. They are putting more money into the development of women and youth football and programmes and they are also working towards social development with the help of the sport. As they are the governing body of football one could say they hold a monopoly on the game, they have a great influence on the game and its image. In order to protect the attraction of the game and preserve its popularity they organize competitions where the World Cup is the major one that attracts billions of viewers. They have created a platform to showcase the game and its support with the help of commercialization. FIFA has also created a place for cultural exchange and diplomacy, a place that connects people, communities, and nations across borders. FIFA also shaped the norms and behaviors of its stakeholders by having set the rules and regulations of the game which also influence their governance and development of the sport. FIFA development programmes go from the grassroots level to the elite, both women and men and youth and adults. By supporting the game for all they demonstrate their initiatives and can influence their stakeholders to do the same. All of this is done through the beautiful game that is football and shows how FIFA as an organization utilizes sport as a form of soft power to achieve its goals.

How has FIFA then utilized hard power to achieve its goals? As mentioned above, hard power is achieving preferred outcomes through coercion and payments. The scandals surrounding FIFA include giving and receiving bribes for preferred outcomes which can be seen in for example the case of Jack Warner who took bribes in support of voting for South Africa hosting the 2010 World Cup. South Africa is then using hard power by bribing Warner and Blazer in order to settle the hosting rights. Member associations can also through football and FIFA utilize soft power. As mentioned earlier nations gain prestige through sports and in their performances. It contributes to nation-building, identity, and cultural formation, and by hosting the World Cup you can portray your country to the world and all the billions of

viewers. This once again shows the possibilities that sports bring by connecting people internationally through FIFA, the sport, and its stakeholders.

#### **4.5 Will FIFA ever be an organization of accountability?**

FIFA does not need to be accountable only due to its global governance and principles of good governance as an organization but also to be transparent towards its many stakeholders. These include “a person, entity or organisation which is not a member association and/or body of FIFA but has an interest or concern in FIFA’s activities, which may affect or be affected by FIFA’s actions, objectives and policies, in particular clubs, players, coaches and professional leagues” (FIFA, 2016b, 5).

Based on the values expressed in the FIFA 2.0 Vision and in the 2016 Statutes, to develop and promote the game FIFA has been able to express their identity and brand image as an international sporting organization but it is due to individuals within that this has been damaged. They have shown that their loyalty lies where the money is and not for the good of the game. As an organization, they have succeeded at universalizing the game through commercialization which has generated great revenues to give back to the game. But with money comes power and that power has been abused. The sport is what started the organization and is what shaped it but surroundings in the world have changed it.

Even though the role of the President is representing the organization, it is the President that has shaped FIFA from within making it an organization lacking accountability through his actions. FIFA as an organization has also failed at taking responsibility for the action made by FIFA workers. This has been able to undergo as stated in its 2016 Statues, FIFA officials are only needed to ‘observe’ the rule and regulations of the organization. FIFA has taken action against the scandals that have been through banning individuals found guilty of corruption and launching reforms to try to transform the

organization. What is lacking is reacting towards the action made by the corrupt and in that way holding the whole organization accountable for the action made by the ones representing it. If FIFA want to be transparent and accountable they need to recognize that actions of stakeholder and FIFA staff reflect upon the image of FIFA.

As mentioned before, FIFA is an independent self-regulatory organization that does not answer to another organization or country. However, as their headquarters is in Switzerland they are to some extent obliged to follow Swiss law. Swiss authorities have not shown much interest in interfering with FIFA and its work and wrongdoing until the indictments in 2015 by the U.S. Department of Justice.

This is the first time these types of actors show interest in the corrupt FIFA as allegations earlier have mostly been from its stakeholders and the media. With allegations now coming from a new direction it emphasizes the need for FIFA to improve its governance.

After the scandals that have been it is evident that FIFA felt a need to take action and responsibility in order to be an organization of accountability. Therefore they underwent reforms and restructuring its organizational structure to work for their passion, promote the game for all. It is also evident that it is their structure that enables corruption to take place. They went from a non-profit independent ISO into a business which allowed for the revenue to increase. The structure has created a hierarchical organization where the top individuals make and play by their own rules and not the ones of FIFA. Still, after 2015, through the new statutes the top individuals do not need to obey FIFA's regulations and statutes.

The structure of FIFA is so that only FIFA can punish FIFA employees. Its structure has also created a culture of loyalty within FIFA, especially at the top of the hierarchy. It is not until the direction of where the allegations of corruption are coming from that leads to convictions, that we see FIFA

taking real actions. It could be due to the investigations from outside that prove the allegations to be true. On the other hand, FIFA has an established Ethics Committee with an investigatory chamber for internal use when allegations arise. Once again it is shown that FIFA has a culture of secrecy and lucrateness where the loyalty is at times not always for the good of the game but for the good of game makers.

FIFA stated in its 2016 Vision that it needs to restore its image and become a credible organization again. One can then look at the International Olympic Committee, another major ISO that underwent reforms after allegations of corruption.; After having given the hosting rights of the 2002 Winter Olympic Games to Salt Lake City, Utah, accusations of corruption of the IOC were now looked upon. As a part of an organizational reform, the IOC 2000 Commission was established. The main objectives were to propose recommendations regarding the structure, rules, and procedures of the IOC. Three main areas were looked at: “the composition, structure and organisation of the IOC; the role of the IOC; and the designation of Olympic Games host cities” (IOC, nd). The new commission had 82 members and the IOC President was also the chairman of the commission. It consisted of a Plenary Commission, an Executive Committee, and three working groups, each working with one of the three main focus areas. (IOC). After having worked and come up with 50 recommendations in 1999, all 50 of those were later implemented. John J. MacAloon (2011) was himself a member of the IOC 2000 Commission and is therefore doing an ethnographic analysis. The author refers to the IOC after the 1998 scandals as a “full-blown legitimacy crisis” (292). He deems the reform to be successful (if one has a narrow definition of it) as the legitimacy of the IOC seemed to be restored. On the other hand, one could easily just call their ‘reform’ a crisis management.

Nelson and Cottrell (2016) question the fact that the IOC has not been held accountable for its actions by stakeholders even though the organization has faced multiple criticisms on for example corruption. The authors' solution to

this is that ‘‘The problems of the IOC could therefore be addressed by increasing the participatory access of relevant stakeholders to the governance process, strengthening the negotiating capacity of weaker actors, and creating advisory panels to monitor and report on institutional performance ‘’ (pg. 439). This could also be applied to FIFA, to give more power to its stakeholders instead of all power being laid out within FIFA.

#### **4.6 ISOs and IR**

It is argued in ‘Sport and International Relations - an emerging relationship’ (2004) that sport is important for the image and brand of a state and its national prestige by successfully hosting mega events and having high-performing winning athletes. Sport then becomes a form of diplomacy between states where international sporting organizations play a significant role as a bridge between the sport and the states. This essay has demonstrated that the Men’s Football World Cup is a product that FIFA are selling, making it a political battle between nations who bid and vote on the hosting rights. It is also a political and economic battle between the actors who fight for the broadcasting and marketing rights.

The book greatly shows how sports fit into IR by saying ‘‘sport, like music, engages positive passions, whereas politics is passionate primarily in its antagonisms. It is the ability to cross over between the local, national and international on the one hand, and to connect the mass and the elite on the other, that makes sport such an important phenomenon, in itself and as an object of study’’ (Levermore and Budd, 2004: 4-5). This is what ISOs like FIFA do and strive to work for, promote the game for all.

The author sees that the government of sports has mostly been private with a system of national and international federations that have vigorously protected their autonomy from the public while seeking public funding for their work. As new private actors emerged during the 1990s the governance of football was followed by complexity as new actors were aiming for more control over the allocations of football expanding revenue and wealth. ‘‘The

new elite, then, driven by commercial interests, has established structures to increasingly rival the long-established national, international and supranational associations that have governed twentieth-century football'' (Levermore and Budd, 2004: 117). This pushed ISOs to focus its governance on transparency.

Levermore and Budd (2004) sees FIFA's organizational structure as pyramidal. In the bottom we find the fans, players and clubs, then comes the confederations and member associations and in the top we find FIFA and its president. This essay would like to add that it is a hierarchical pyramid. The president is elected through a democratic internal process and his role is said to be representing FIFA but there is no denying his power and influence. With the allegation of corruption rising within FIFA over the years it shows that its hierarchical pyramidal organizational structure is insufficient. Its favoritism of key individuals is not viable. These key individuals have abused their power, broken codes of conducts and FIFA's objectives and code of ethics by using the money of the organization in wrongdoings. This has put the organization and its image at risk and also jeopardizes the future of football and the relations with its stakeholders.

## **5. Conclusion**

This essay has looked at the origins of FIFA and its organization to then demonstrate a timeline of some of the most significant scandals that have affected the organization to explore the base of the issue. It then looked at its two reform periods, the first one being from 2011-2014 and the second one 2015-2016. It is the latter one that has played a more crucial role in reforming the organization and restoring its image and work. In 2016 FIFA restated and updated its statutes in which they mentioned its objective of preventing corruption. It then looked at the revenues of FIFA and its commercialization of the game. Lastly, it looked at the aspect of accountability and its relations to IR.

FIFA is a self-regulatory organization that started with seven countries and their love for the beautiful game who saw a need for a collective to form its rules and regulations. It has since then grown immensely and been able to turn the World Cup into a product to sell with them having a monopoly over it. Their influence on the game and its stakeholders can not be denied. They are today not just an ISO but also a business seeking for partners. Firstly to award the hosting rights of the World Cup, secondly to sell the broadcasting and marketing rights and thirdly to sell tickets to the games. This allows them to interact with all their stakeholders all over the world. Corruption has been made possible through the globalization and commercialization of the game that brought FIFA to new heights of revenue. This money, belonging to the organization and its dedication to invest it into the game has been misused. The actions and lack of actions of FIFA do not only affect the organization internally but also its many stakeholders worldwide.

Argued here is that FIFA can never be an organization of accountability when not taking responsibility for the actions made by FIFA officials as the FIFA staff and all its stakeholders reflect on the organization itself. FIFA emphasizes its need to be an accountable and transparent organization, two important pillars for an actor of global governance. However, they never clearly acknowledge the allegations of corruption as an organization nor apologies for its action. This is argued to be due to the actions being done by individuals within the organization who represent FIFA and not by the organization as a whole. A culture of hierarchy has been detected within FIFA both before and after 2015 where loyalty to the FIFA family is crucial. This has overshadowed the initial passion for promoting the game globally. It is time for FIFA to get back to its roots and what is good for the game and not good for businesses and individual interest.

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