

The Politicization of Sports as a Soft Power Public Resource

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Abstract

The review article is devoted to the sports issues as a soft power resource. Being an integral part of social, cultural and political life of the society, sports are considered in the article in the context of a “soft” influence tool in country’s domestic and foreign policy. Branding of the Olympic movement and the actualization of sporting identity can serve examples of the mechanism for obtaining reputational dividends and promoting the country. In domestic policy of the state sports have a strategic importance for the regions management.

Keywords: Sports, Sports Branding, Sports Policy, Sports Politicization, “Soft Power”, Regionalism of Sports Policy

1. Introduction

In the globalization era sports are undergoing transformation from cultural-historical to socio-political phenomenon. A distinctive feature of sports in the today’s world is its apparent institutionalization under the conditions of market economy and information society. In fact, sports become a new historical form of institutionalization of socio-economic processes¹⁻²³.

The relationship of sports with policy in the XX century is becoming more and more obvious. International sports are today actively used in ideological and political purposes, and become an arena of mainstream policy. As a result of the intervention of the state into the sports sphere, it becomes one of the strategic instruments of countries’ foreign and domestic policy. Sports act as a state mechanism of non-administrative impact on public perception and the collective representation.

2. Results and Discussion

Russia is entering a five-year period (2013-2018) of great leap forward, therefore the sports issues become particularly relevant as a strategic tool in the state strategy

of our country. In addition to the winter Olympic and Paralympics Games in Sochi in 2014, Russia hosted the World Championship in Track and Field, the World Summer Student Games in 2013, as well as the World Championship in Water Sports in 2015, and the World Cup in Football which will be held in 2018.

Sports, as a social phenomenon, appear in the slave society and is used in accordance with the needs of social practice. Physical culture and sports have reached their peak in ancient Greece, which hosted the first Olympic Games (IX century BC).

The Olympic Games were a tool for peace, facilitating the negotiations between the cities, promoting understanding and communication between the states. Considering this period, we can speak about the origin of sports as a socio-political phenomenon, while physical culture becomes relatively independent branch of culture in various states.

Throughout the history of mankind sports in different degrees was popularized and engaged in the public life of society. For some time the sports really represented an organized competition, for the other time they were raised to the rank of worship, value, or even scholastically dramatized.

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The idea of the sports politicization in the XX century is not shared by all theorists. Thus, Norwegian anthropologist and historian Huizinga insists: "In modern sports such kind of links entirely disappeared. This is purely a worldly affair, not having any organic connection with the structure of society, even if exercising sports are prescribed by authorities. The sport is rather self expression of agonal instincts than a factor of a productive sense of solidarity. The perfection, with which modern social mechanisms are able to enhance the external effect of public events, changes nothing in the fact that neither Olympic Games, nor the organization of sports activities in American universities, nor noisily promoted competitions between countries are not able to elevate sports to the level of activity, creating style and culture. Whatever its value for competitors and spectators, it remains sterile function, where the ancient game factor mostly already managed to die"²⁰.

To parry the author one can use the following arguments: firstly, this book was released in 1938, so the most striking moments of political confrontation in sports of the XX century happened much later; secondly, the historical homeland of the author is Norway, known for its true democratic political structure, which does not contribute to occurrence of pseudo-political processes and phenomena; thirdly, IX Summer Olympic Games of 1936, held in Germany, are a prime example of not sporting but political rivalry of Nazi Germany. Hitler, who came to power, could not miss such a significant event and actively used international sports festival to promote his ideology.

The need for sports as an additional resource of lobbying the interests on the part of authorities has led to its politicization. Sports as a tool of domestic and foreign policy becomes the subject of our further research. Today we are witnessing intense developing of integration processes of physical culture and sports into the economy, culture, health, religion, ecology and other spheres of social and political life.

It is through the multidimensional relationships of sports we discover its multifunctional role in the modern world. Social characteristics and functions of modern sports in the Russian reality include the following: supranationalism, commercialization, atheism, branding, regionalism, bailout, as well as mobilizing, integrating and facilitating resources⁷. Noted sports characteristics in their relationship and combination solve a broad range of tasks in domestic and foreign

policy of the Russian Federation. Let reveal the theme of sports as a tool in the hands of state management, where the sports is the brand resource of regional and national development.

Visual appeal of sports has deep cultural roots. It is in this incarnation the sports carried a large social benefits. Primarily, here the most important fact is that such fights in the tribes that are familiar with this custom were used for judicial decision making. Other forms of justice except of fighting were unknown to these tribes. This is the only way to arrange variety of opinions. Another way of forming public opinion simply does not exist²⁰.

Success in high performance sports brings tangible reputational dividends to the region, country and political leaders (15). Sports based branding is an important resource in the implementation of the political course of the country at the present stage of international relations. The aim of sports branding is the formation of the modern image of Russia abroad. The topic of active handling to the sports as a tool of public diplomacy is increasingly common in modern political discourse, for example, in the works of O. F. Rusakova, one of the domestic founders of the "soft power" theory. Thus, the author separates "Olympics" as one of the parameters in the general "soft power" indices nomenclature: "...holding the Olympic Games serve a unique opportunity for the host country to win appreciation and admiration for the achievements in the field of sports from other countries"¹⁶.

Soviet sports also tackled the task of strengthening the foreign policy statuses of the USSR, and the international contacts of Soviet athletes contributed to the development of mutual understanding and friendship with those nations, with whom the Soviet state was interested to maintain good relationships⁴. During the "cold war" records in sports were a serious argument in the struggle of two political blocks for world domination.

While earlier, under the conditions when the Soviet athletes had to meet with teams representing the states that were in tense relations with the Soviet Union, the significance of the victory was repeatedly increased, today the tasks are more objectless – just the illustration of achievements. Today we can speak about Russian sports as a soft power in state policy of Russia.

Here is an example with the Olympic Games, which are used for political purposes. Recall that sports, as a social phenomenon, appeared in the slave society and were used in accordance with the needs of social practice. Physical culture and sports have reached their peak

in ancient Greece, which hosted the first Olympic Games (IX century BC).

The Olympic Games were a tool for peace, facilitating the negotiations between the cities, promoting understanding and communication between the states. Considering this period we can speak about the origin of sports as a socio-political phenomenon. Achievements of the national teams at the Olympics serve an important factor in the growth of the prestige and authority of the country in the world, strengthening the athletes' statuses in the sports world, development of different sports, and the increase of patriotic feelings in society.

The Olympic Games in Sochi serve an example of large-scale PR-phenomenon with a competent marketing in the Olympic movement. Olympics "Sochi-2014" is a national PR-project. Obviously, here the main idea is that Sochi-2014 Games would contribute to the economic prosperity of the South of Russia and, most importantly, would restore the international prestige of the country¹⁰. A kind of political myth about great-power ambitions of Russia, including the myth that "Russia is sports nation".

"The Winter Olympics in Sochi is most closely associated with the international image of Russia. Both the Russian Presidents, Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev, considered the upcoming Games as indicative act testifying the return the status of superpower to Russia"¹⁰. "More than medals, Russia wants to regain its pride"⁹.

Revealing are the opinions of the fans. Thus, among other comments on the research topic the statements, such as "Russia won the Olympics. Putin has gained political power and decided to wring out Crimea" sounded familiar¹⁹. Significant political periodicals of the world did not pass by the main sports event of quadrennium and cartooned its political context ("The Economist", "The Week", "Express", "Courier International", "The New Yorker", "Bloomberg Businessweek", and "WashPost"). The signs are becoming clear that the political interests were included into sports life of our country. Interestingly, that these periodicals criticized organizational aspects of the Olympic Games (including security and financial support), as well as the fact of manifestation of policy hybridization and sporting success from our party: the "Show of Vladimir Putin", the "Triumph of Vladimir Putin", and "Putin's Games".

Sports issues were reflected by the Western mass media relatively lowly in comparison with political criticism: "the authors lay emphasis on the unsolved problems of

the country and come to the conclusion that the Russian Federation with the current state of the economy could sink into oblivion following the Soviet Union"; "to expose Russia working on the own image as a spender, not able to take care of its own citizens"¹¹; "...the Russian President has achieved considerable success on the international stage <...>, whereas in the "internal front" - in the area of economic policy in his own country the President's success is not so obvious if not sad. The authors ("The Economist") note the dependence of the Russian economy on energy resources, noncompetitiveness of the Russian industry because of low productivity and high labor costs, as well as a steadily declining growth rates of the Russian economy against declining prices for oil and gas"⁹.

Thus, even before the opening of the Olympic Games, we were faced with the speculation on the issues of a terrorist threat, record costs and the personification of the country's leader - near-sporting topics, biased by journalistic community of other countries. The Olympic Games transform from a sporting event into an occasion for a critical analysis of the internal political and socio-economic life of Russia. Mainly, the West is beginning to mitigate potential success of Russia in their attempts to politicize sporting achievements. However to be fair we note that in fact the political context and the authority of the Olympics has been specified by the Russian party as early as at the stage of voting by IOC in 2007 by the very fact of the presence of the President of the Russian Federation. Thus, the political potential of the Olympics was privatized by V. Putin and assigned to his political image. We can talk about the formation of a new psycholinguistic construct, linking the image of the leader of the country and the whole Olympic movement.

While the year of Olympic Games in Sochi was the year of gathering "political bonuses" for the country and Putin, in particular, and, consequently, became the subject of political journalism, the previous Winter Olympic Games brought Russia reputational loss. Thus, "V. Fetisov stated that this was "a total collapse" and that for Russia this became a hard lesson, implying an extremely small number of medals in winter sports that were traditionally considered as "crown sports" for Russia. "We learned a lot from this lesson, and now Sochi is our chance for revenge..."⁹. In the result, the performance of the Russian team at the Winter Olympics in Vancouver in 2010 was widely seen as a fiasco¹⁰.

One of the researchers of the Russian athletes image in international mass media (on the example of publica-

tions about the Winter Olympics of 2010 in Vancouver), A.A. Gladkova in her work notes: “With their inherent skepticism the American journalists expressed the view that “the once-formidable Red Machine” has lost its former glory and turned into a team of athletes, who are unable to take a leaderships in sports. For the first time over many years, the defeat in hockey and figure skating, eleventh place in the team standings, just fifteen Olympic medals - “the fall of Russia in Vancouver to unusually low level” could not be prevented even by the support of the Russian authorities that was repeatedly stated by the USA Today newspaper. Consideration of the sporting events outcome through the prism of political confrontation between Russia and the USA is offered by another American publication, The New York Times, in its article suggests that the cold war between Russia and the US continues, though now in the field of sports. The desire to defeat the enemy, to prove their superiority is inherent in both Russian and American athletes. However, the Russia’s chances to win this “war” are steadily decreasing. This is confirmed by “mediocre performance” of the Russian team at the Olympics-2010”⁵. Overall, the Russian national team’s performance was evaluated critically; the most of the subjects were associated with the doping scandals and disqualifications. In addition, Russian athletes were criticized for a lack of tolerance and respect, and their successes were evaluated very loyally.

Considering image components of two Olympic Games we can conclude that both sporting events have been politicized, however, to varying degrees, with opposite polarity and different identification of lesion/success. In 2014 the political discourse of the Olympics was much broader, and the Games themselves were closely intertwined with politics. Whereas the Games of 2010 were hailed domestically and abroad as a fiasco, the Games in Sochi were seen as a claim for the Russia’s greatness. Determinants of lesion in Vancouver were lying in the plane of professional training of athletes (low teamwork, insufficient capacity, etc.), whereas the victory in Sochi was achieved due to the ambition and the personal involvement of Vladimir Putin.

Surely, in spite of the fact that the function of sports competitions was more in demand at any given historical time, the political component of the state or the Church was an integral part in the ideology, form, and implementation of sports. In our opinion, it is the XX and XXI centuries that marked the time of the instrumentalist approach to the sports, both in external and in the inter-

nal politics of states and regions. Refer to the review of those resources that are brought by the sports as a tool of soft power in resolving of political tasks relating to domestic policy.

In the framework of our assumptions, P. Bourdieu’s standpoint about sports seems to be particularly interesting. The author primarily notes that the analysis and understanding of any sports should be conducted in the context of its more unobvious social links with groups and classes”... to understand any kind of sports, one needs to determine the status, which is held by this particular sports in space of all sports. Such a space can be constructed based on aggregate indicators, such as, on the one hand, the distribution of the athletes engaged in some kind of sports according to their statuses in the social space, the distribution of various federations by number of their members, wealth, and social dimensions of leaders ...”³. Guided by the logic of the researcher, we will focus our attention on football, as the main kind of field-events, responsible for social networks and displaying the achievements of the internal policy of the region.

Background and key assumption in our research topic is the hypothesis that football as a system can connote a projection of the entire social reality of the region or country. Football and other sports are a mechanism and a tool of social ties between different population groups.

Understanding of the fact, why football is so popular, consists of several factors. These factors include commercialization, large-scale involvement and staginess, as well as relative simplicity of the rules, the minimum of necessary inventory, and the large capacity of the stadiums.

Thus, journalist S. Bobrov considers the football as a system at the regional level (Perm Region): “The most important thing in addition to the sports component is that such events aim at uniting and rallying participants. For example, previously disparate fan groups have already managed to find understanding through the tournaments organized by the federation”².

Regionalism in the sports policy of the state is obvious. In this part of our article we claim that in the internal policy of the state, sports have a strategic importance in the context of the management of the regions.

Immediate success of “Anji” football team (Makhachkala) is an example of the sort of regional anti-crisis management and conflict management. In the framework of domestic policy to stabilize tensions in the North Caucasus Federal District, the government actively involves the sports resource. In this case, the football per-

forms its socio-political function: consolidation of the population around the victory of the local club, the formation of a positive identity, the distraction from social, political and economic problems of the region.

The victory of a national team or local club provides momentary pleasure of the fans. Public emotions, which are generated by such mass shows that today are the end in itself of internal policy, lead to consolidation of society around the sporting successes and achievements, resulting in a stimulation of patriotic feelings and emotions through speculation on the sports issues. In this case, we are talking about both club and national patriotism. This manipulation through sports by means of the exploitation of the emotional sphere of a person or group of people is peculiar to the mass culture functions in general.

Besides, studying the level of sports development in the regions (low, medium, and high) using such indicators as the development of sports infrastructure, the success of local teams in the popular sports (football, hockey) and the involvement of population in sports seems to be diagnostic and informative technique. In turn, this demonstrates the significance of the region for the state and the state policy in the region.

The following fact attracts attention: the higher the life quality level of the region the more important are its achievements in sports in terms of the national team ranking. Consider this statement by the example of football and hockey, the most popular team sports in Russia. According to the statistics of the recent years, the top positions among Russian regions with high level of life quality were held by teams from Moscow, St. Petersburg, Moscow Region, Republic of Tatarstan, Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous District, Krasnodar Territory, and others¹²⁻¹⁴.

Accordingly, top ranked teams include "Spartak" (Moscow), "Lokomotiv" (Moscow), "Dynamo" (Moscow), "CSKA" (Moscow), "Zenit" and "Rubin" (St. Petersburg). Thus, "Zenit" was the champion of Russia in 2007, 2010, 2011/2012, while "Spartak" was the nine-time champion of Russia, "Lokomotiv" twice has become the champion of the Russian Federation, whereas "CSKA" - four times. "Kuban" football team increases the list of their accomplishments since the years of 2000, and to date is involved in the Premier League (2012/2013). The situation with hockey teams looks in a similar way: "AK BARS" (Kazan) is one of the strongest clubs in Europe and the KHL, "Yugra" hockey team (Khanty-Mansiysk) was in the Premier League of the Russian championship of 2008-2010 (since 2010 is included in the KHL), "Spartak"

(Moscow), "Dynamo" (Moscow), "SKA" (St.-Petersburg) and "Metallurg" (Magnitogorsk) are also teams included in the KHL.

The level of life quality is a comprehensive indicator, which integrates social indicators, such as the provision by the social infrastructure of the objects, the level of economic development, housing conditions, security of tenure, the level of social services provision, environment condition, etc. In special periodicals one can find many ratings of Russian cities and regions in terms of the life quality level. In this case each submitted model relies on its own development methodology. However, detecting common indicators and assessment criteria is not a problem. In general, in most cases we are talking about the economic development of the region, its housing sector, criminal situation, ecology, extent of psychological satisfaction of citizens with their life, and even the human development index.

In our research we consider sports similarly to the quality of life as a comprehensive indicator, where sports achievements of the region indicate the resulting regional management. We can consider a metaphorical comparison with demonstration performances: domestic sports competitions demonstrate the level of development of the region in comparison with other subjects of the Russian Federation. Irreconcilable struggle of "Barcelona" football team and "Real Madrid" is another vivid example of regional confrontation. The matches of these two clubs are the manifestation of the political struggle towards "independence-subordination" vector. Every victory of "Barcelona" adds to their political weight in the struggle of the Catalans for the recognition of Catalonia as an independent state on the map of Europe. Recall that "Barcelona" is one of the strongest clubs in the world, four-time winner of the UEFA Champions League. Note that "Barcelona" has a large sports background: the Summer Olympic Games of 1992 were held here, as well as several matches of the FIFA World Cup, the traditional Spanish Grand Prix in Formula-1, and motor racings. All of these sports competitions were provided with rich sporting infrastructure.

It is permissible to speak of sociocentrism in the implementation of the sports policy of the country and regions. Solidating people into a single society, the identity, as a kind of "soft power", helps to unite human efforts towards solving socially important tasks that, in turn, serves the basis for the stabilization of the political and social institutions. Thus, Petersson B. and Persson, E. note: "The Games will affect not only Sochi region, but also every Russian

citizen. The idea of national unity is often combined with various social challenges; in this regard the official propaganda claims that rallying around Sochi-2014 will help Russia to overcome a variety of severities¹⁰.

Mobilization of the population by sports through a managed identity. A person throughout his life operates to a large number of identities (regional, professional, ethnic, national, and class), though he does not realize a major part of identities. Under the influence of some socio-political factors in a certain timepoint the subject becomes aware of his social identity. Updating identity increases the degree of person's awareness. Accordingly, actualization of identity is the result of objective conditions, which may include low level of life of the population, its aloofness from status positions that affects the overall socio-economic situation. Social inequality provokes a clear categorization of people into "us" and "them" through a socio-psychological mechanism of causal attribution. The process of causal attribution involves the interpretation by a subject of interpersonal perception of causes and motives of behavior of other people. In the disadvantageous conditions of the life, the subject interprets the current situation as a result of the actions of other participants of social processes. In terms of aloofness from actual social structures, the individual is doomed to irrational methods of mobilization, which include various kinds of identity. Thus, identity is actualized in a potentially conflict situation, whose natural movement towards the conflict occurs through awareness of contradictions and the formation of the enemy image in the minds of the population, who are least able to afford themselves the use of resources to meet their needs in the system of social ties and relations^{7,8}.

Sports have full resources for mobilization of the population. Mass political movements (political and ideological, party and youth organizations, mass political manifestations, demonstrations, propaganda campaigns, etc.) are initiated by the ruling or opposition elites to engage in mass political actions of broad layers of the population, most of which are quite far from politics and interests of the elites, hardly understanding the meaning of the proposed political programs, to which they are mobilized using the method of forcing a collective political or nationalist sentiments.

Instrumentalist approach to the sports on the part of the leaders of political movements allows them to mobilize supporters into active fans group. The aim of establishing such groups is the availability of politically focused activists for nationalist, extremist and other anti-systemic move-

ments. In this context we are talking about sports-related youth subcultures as a separate sociological phenomenon. The mechanism of mobilization consists in the management of social identity of youth. The task of the interest groups and institutions consists in competent formation of the enemy image and the concept of "us-them". "When I ask how this enemy should look like – whether be anti-fascist, participant of the Bolotnaya Square manifestations, or police investigator for combating extremism, - Baharev D. persistently replies that there are quite many enemies of Russia to distinguish just one"^{7,8}. The youth of today is experiencing an ideological vacuum which is often filled with reactionary and radical ideas and ideologies. We see a kind of politicized sports clubs, which became a reserve for radical political groups.

Therefore, sports act as the mobilization factor of fans, both on the part of individual leaders of political movements, and the state itself. Organization and holding of the Olympic Games is an example of the mobilization and consolidation of the country's population, the major part of which are potential fans.

The works by Semenova Y.A., dealing with the civic identity, seem to be quite interesting. Thus, the author notes that the identity of a person living in a transnational world is quite multi-dimensional, multi-component and unstable: "...the identification space in the context of globalization becomes wider than the borders of individual state as a unity confined by territory. The identity transformation processes are characterized today by reviewing the foundations of national and state identity, the emergence of new objects of identification (for example, the world community, many local groups and subcultures) and new forms of identity (e.g. virtual identity), unattached to a particular place, as well as the emergence of hybrid identities through the intersection of the old and new classifications, through the conflict of traditional values and values of modernity"¹⁷. In our opinion, today the sports can and should be a form of human identity. Continuing the research in this context we can consider the work of Kiselev K.V. and Shcherbakov A.Yu.

In their article, which studies the factors of regional identity (in the context of Chelyabinsk Region), the authors find sports in the structure of the population identity: "Attention calls a significant proportion of identification characteristics associated with the industry and sports that is quite rare phenomenon for the regions of the Russian Federation."⁶

Facilitating resources for sports competitions are another function of sports, important for public sector institutions.

In this case we argue that sporting events at competent moderation reduce the degree of political protest. This is a kind of canalization of the masses protest activity.

In our previous works we referred to the study of Nikulin A. L.: “Based on the analysis of sports indicators <...> it is advisable to talk about sports as a substitution of the severe socio-economic and political situation by pursuance of getting pleasure. The harsh living conditions of the society lead to social tension, political indifference, and a lack of life chances; a future merges with the present resulting, consequently, in the emergence of a phenomenon called hedonism, as a compensatory means for ensuring stability.”^{7,8}.

In the theory of G. Simmel and his successor L. Kozer, sports competitions would serve as an example of institutions that play a role of protective valves in society, directing hostility to the substitute objects: “...the socially sanctioned right to express hostile feelings towards the opponent”¹.

Authorized “clearing the air” is a tool of political consolidation of society. The emotions that accompany sports, arising on the basis of rivalry and irreconcilable struggle, in the categories of L. Kozer perform group-preserving function.

3. Conclusion

Today sports are an integral part of social, cultural and political life of society. Comprehension of the socio-psychological effects and functions of sports in domestic and foreign policy allows us to speak of sports as an independent “soft power” mechanism in the national strategy of the Russian Federation.

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