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Sports diplomacy of Norway and Finland: a comparative analysis

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ABSTRACT

Anastasiia Lazarevich: Sports diplomacy of Norway and Finland: a comparative analysis
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The aim of the study is to compare the sports diplomacy of Norway to Finland. Sports diplomacy, being inherently a unique phenomenon, can have a significant impact on the world situation, international relations, and can be a part of the foreign policy in general. The research problem is approached with a complex of complementary research methods. The main methods employed are the method of comparative analysis and interview method.

The sources of the research included three interviews with representatives of various sports departments in Norway and Finland. In addition to interviews, the national and international documents on sports policies were also examined to obtain sufficient information. The place and role of sports diplomacy in the studied countries were investigated through these sources.

The results of this research suggest that countries do not have specific documents and institutions in the field of sports diplomacy. National documents emphasize that international sports projects can have a positive impact on relations between the participating countries, emphasizing the importance of developing sports for all. Finland recognizes sports as part of nation brand, and therefore can also use sports to promote its image and values. And this, in turn, allows us to talk about the potential use of sports diplomacy. Norway sees the potential of sports diplomacy as the way to represent the country in international competitions and therefore draw attention to it. Norway can also use the benefits of sports diplomacy to secure its established role as a third-party mediator in international conflicts and expands the pool of possible tools for conflict resolution. International cooperation for countries is an important source for the transfer of knowledge and best practices between countries and sports organizations.

This research provides a comprehensive analysis of sports diplomacy in Finland and Norway. A comparative analysis of the sports diplomacy of Finland and Norway was carried out, and some future prospect for its development were suggested. This work can be used as a basis for further consideration of the sports diplomacy of countries, as well as for a narrower study of the problem (by the example of comparing individual regions, sports, etc.). The significance of the study also lies in identifying the key institutions responsible for the development of sports diplomacy in Finland and Norway, in attempting to find methods for assessing the effectiveness of sports diplomacy, as well as the possibility of using recommendations by the external agencies of Finland and Norway in order to promote the image of countries through sports diplomacy.

Keywords: sports diplomacy, sport and policy, international cooperation, doping, national branding, international image.

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

List of Abbreviations

ADNO – Anti-Doping Norway
CDDS – Committee for the Development of Sports
EOC – European Olympic Committee
EPAS – Extended the Sports Sub-Agreement
FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association (International Federation of Association Football)
FINADA – Finnish Anti-Doping Agency
IAAF – International Association of Athletics Federations
IIHF – International Ice Hockey Federation
IOC – International Olympic Committee
KIHU - Research Institute for Olympic Sports
MLB – Major League Baseball
NAPMU – Nordic Athlete Passports Management Unit
NBA – National Basketball Association
NFF – Norwegian Football Association
NFL – National Football League
NHL – National Hockey League
NIF – Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports
NOC – National Olympic Committee
Norad – Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NSF – Norwegian Ski Federation
NSO – National sports organization
OCOG – Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games
OSCE – Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RUSADA – Russian Anti-Doping Agency
SME – Sports mega-events
SUEK/FINCIS – Suomen urheilun eettinen keskus/Finnish Center for Integrity in Sports
TUE – Therapeutic Use Exemption
UNODC – United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WADA – World Anti-Doping Agency
WADC – World Anti-Doping Code
WHA – World Hockey Association
YSEP – Youth Sport Exchange Programme

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Rationale

Since the XX century sport is becoming an increasingly important part of international political processes. In the modern world, it is already difficult to say that sport stands aside from politics, on the contrary, we can say that it is in the service of the state, playing an important role in its promotion on the world stage, it can also be considered as an instrument of political influence.

Interhuman problems have a special place in modern international relations. In this regard, the role of sports diplomacy is increasing, the main goal of which is to establish and strengthen friendly relations, cooperation and understanding between people and nations through sports.

Sports diplomacy is a part of the country's cultural and public diplomacy. Major international sports competitions serve to enhance mutual understanding, demonstrate the unity of aspirations of different peoples. The level of training of athletes, their desire to win, the ability not only to win, but also to meet failures with dignity - all of this is a contribution to the formation of a positive image of the state. It has great prospects and significant potential, which sets it apart from other types of cooperation. The rich sports heritage of the countries makes the possibility of cooperation in the field of sports very relevant.

The term sports diplomacy has relatively recently entered the political lexicon, and therefore it seems important to pay close attention to it, since, being inherently an interesting phenomenon, it can have a significant impact on the world situation, international relations and foreign policy of states generally.

Thus, the relevance of this topic is explained by the need to study sports diplomacy as a relatively new and promising direction of foreign policy; the importance of searching for new forms of cooperation, as well as the possibility of using the potential of sports diplomacy for the development of sustainable relations.

The scientific contribution of this research consists in a comprehensive analysis of the sports diplomacy of selected countries and the generalization of material on this topic. A comparative analysis of sports diplomacy of countries was carried out, the main differences and prospects were identified.

Theoretical significance. This work can be used as a basis for further study of the sports diplomacy of countries, as well as for a narrower study of the problem (by the example of comparing individual regions, sports events, etc.).

The practical significance is in identifying the key institutions responsible for the development of sports diplomacy in countries, an attempt to study anti-doping policy as a part of

sports diplomacy, as well as in the possibility of using recommendations by external departments in order to promote the image with the help of sports diplomacy.

1.2 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The theoretical basis of this research is the theory of neoliberalism. According to this theory, actors in international relations besides states, are various international governmental and non-governmental organizations, public associations, as well as individuals. Also, significant attention is paid to the development of international cooperation. According to supporters of the theory of neoliberalism, the range of topical foreign policy issues has become wider and more diverse. The liberal approach is more interested in the interaction of states in times of peace. It is also allows for considering many new diplomatic tools, such as public diplomacy, digital diplomacy, diplomacy 2.0, economic diplomacy, and sports diplomacy as well. It also considers the diversity of actors, including sports and its institutions, which makes it possible to conduct research within this paradigm.

The concept of soft power helps to achieve better understanding of the thesis topic. The idea that sport is one of the constituent parts that can form a positive image of the state abroad can be viewed through the concept of “soft power” developed by Joseph Nye. According to this concept, the strength of the state in the framework of foreign policy is not always equal to its military power. In modern realities, non-force methods of spreading influence are of much greater value when it comes to achieving the necessary results. (Nye, 2004).

Previous studies on similar topic have examined the links between sports and various parts of politics, international relations, and diplomacy. In the work by Bogolyubova and Nikolaeva (2019), theoretical aspects of sports diplomacy are disclosed, and practical approaches to its implementation are analyzed on the example of various states and international organizations. The book focuses on the sports diplomacy in modern international relations and foreign policy. The authors consider sports diplomacy through the prism of the soft power. To study the theoretical foundations of sports diplomacy, the works of Russian and foreign researchers are analyzed.

In works of Professor Barrie Houlihan (Houlihan, Zheng, 2015), it is stated that sport is one of the possible tools of soft power which can be used by states in its domestic and foreign policy.

Stuart Murray and Geoffrey Pigman (Murray, 2011; Murray, Pigman, 2014) made an attempt to analyze the convergence between international sport and diplomacy. Also, sports diplomacy is presented as a result of the interaction of both state and non-state actors. (Murray, Pigman, 2014). Murray also argues that sports diplomacy is increasing in practical recognition but there is a debate on should diplomacy and sport mix. The debate is still going on because there is

no theoretical definition of the term in the diplomatic studies. Murray argues that an in-depth understanding of sports diplomacy in theory can contribute to its wider practical use and therefore form a strong relationship between sport and diplomacy. (Murray, 2011).

Professor Steve Jackson (Jackson 2008; Jackson, Haigh, 2013) indicates that sport is associated with the promotion of image and culture of the states abroad and linked with different spheres, including economy and politics. He argues that sport takes a controversial position when it comes to its use in the context of politics. While there are many instances where sport has been seen as a means of preventing conflict and fostering better understanding, there are also many instances where sport has not only exacerbated conflict, but also served as a source of it. The author attempts to designate the features of sport as an object of culture and diplomatic practice; review some of the crucial aspects and shortcomings of the use of sport as a diplomatic tool; and designs an analysis of modern sports organizations and events to find out the consequences of the transition between state diplomacy and “corporate diplomacy.”

Jonathan Grix (Grix, Lee, 2013; Grix, 2013; Grix, Brannagan & Houlihan, 2015) studies sports mega events. Using the case-studies he highlights and analyzes how sports mega-events contribute to the increasing role of big developing countries in world politics. In his work, he finds out the reasons why developing countries host sports mega-events and what this phenomenon says about the importance of the Olympic Games and the World Cup in world affairs. (Grix, Brannagan & Houlihan, 2015). He takes three cases: The 2008 Olympics, which took place in Beijing, the 2010 World Cup held in South Africa, and the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics hosted by Brazil. Grix argues that organization of sports mega-events can be seen as a practice of state public diplomacy, aimed at demonstrating the possibilities of soft power, and at their further development. He argues that the Olympic Games represent the most political sporting event of all.

1.3 Research Questions

The aim of the study is to compare sports diplomacy of Norway and Finland. To achieve this goal, the following tasks were set:

- Analyze the theoretical framework of sports diplomacy.
- Define the place and role of sports diplomacy in the politics of Norway and Finland.
- Find out the main mechanisms for the implementation of sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland.
- Identify the role of anti-doping in sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland.

1.4 Data Collection and Methodology

Legislation or related documents were analyzed in order to establish the place and role of sport and sports diplomacy in the foreign policy of countries. Act on the promotion of sports and physical activity (390/2015), which is the main Act in Finland on sports policy, was analyzed to find out the responsibilities of and cooperation of the government administrative bodies in the field of sports and physical activity.

To identify the official position, as well as to obtain additional comments on existing problems, the speeches of top officials, ministers of sports and persons responsible for holding international sports events in the countries were analyzed. The speeches were taken from the official websites of the organizations, as well as from the websites of the respective structures and media. This was also applicable to the statements of the outstanding sportspersons, for example, to see the difference in the positions on the “Johaug case” and on the doping in general.

The next group of sources was composed of organizational and administrative documents. These documents make it possible to assess the degree of implementation of sports diplomacy of these countries at the moment. In addition, by studying these sources, it was possible to identify the similarities and differences in the goals and objectives of sports diplomacy of these countries. Such documents as reports from Ministries on Promoting Sport and Physical Activity in Finland (2020), Finland’s Country Brand Report (2017), *Idretten Vil! Langtidsplan for Norsk Idrett 2019–2023* (2019) and *Den norske idrettsmodellen* (2012) allow us to see the potential and distinctive features of the sports diplomacy of the respective countries.

Statistical indicators such as, for example, the statistics of the National Anti-Doping Agencies, as well as the results of countries' participation in major sports competitions, reveal problematic and promising areas of countries' sports diplomacy. Also, some statistical data was used to create a table on countries' sports diplomacy success. This table can be found in Appendix B.

This work uses the following principles of scientific research. The principle of determinism is the principle of cause - effect relationships of all phenomena of reality; the principle of consistency, which determines the essence of phenomena as internally connected components of an integral system: natural, social, mental. This principle allows to analyze the phenomenon within the framework of an integral complex of interrelated elements. Within the framework of this study, the system is sports diplomacy, and its elements are the policies of states in the field of physical culture and sports, the activities of international organizations and the international sports movement, etc. The principle of alternativeness is also used, which determines the likelihood of an event occurring on the basis of an analysis of objective realities and possibilities. This allows to see the untapped opportunities in the process, to learn lessons for the future. The use of the principle of comprehensiveness involves the consideration and explanation of the phenomenon

under study, not only in order to obtain complete information, but also the analysis of all its sides and aspects. Thus, this study analyzes the approaches to the sports diplomacy definition in both countries, identifies the general and distinctive features of its implementation.

To solve the set tasks, a complex of methodological principles was used. Analysis and synthesis were applied to obtain a complete and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study. One of the main principles was the comparison, which was used to identify differences in the definition of the concept of sports diplomacy, ways of its implementation. The generalization was used to form the final conclusion on the work. A combination of historical and logical analysis is the most effective for identifying a holistic picture of events. The historical-chronological principle was used to analyze the development of politics in the field of sports. To determine the need for some reforms, explanation the motives of the behavior of historical figures was used.

1.5 Thesis Structure

The work consists of 7 chapters, a list of used sources and literature and appendices. The first chapter provides an introduction to the work, describes its purpose and objectives, briefly presents the methods and main research literature on the topic. In the second chapter, the literature review is presented in more detail, divided into groups corresponding to the topic of the thesis. The third chapter presents the theoretical part of the work, outlines the main approaches and fundamental principles of sports diplomacy. The fourth chapter describes the main methods and how they were implemented in the thesis. Chapters 5 and 6 are directly devoted to the practical side of the problem, they describe the historical events that determined the direction of sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland, its current state. As a case-study, Chapter 6 analyzes the anti-doping policy, establishes a connection between sports diplomacy and anti-doping policy, identifies differences and development prospects. Chapter 7 summarizes and draws conclusions on the set goals and objectives.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Research on sports diplomacy

There is a need to study sports diplomacy as a relatively new and promising area of foreign policy. In the literature on sports diplomacy, there is a lack of specific studies in the sports diplomacy of countries; sports mega-events and events are more often analyzed in this context.

According to Professor Brian Hocking, (2011) the transition in literature on diplomacy towards the consideration of diplomacy by non-state actors took place outside of the sports literature. It is evident that after the dissolution of nation-states, it cannot always be counted as the main and only diplomatic actor. Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University Richard Langhorne (2005) argues that traditional actors of diplomacy have been challenged, because the relations have become more multifaceted. The environment of diplomacy itself has shifted. Langhorne notes the importance of global institutions and global private organizations as new diplomatic actors. He states that their emergence become possible due to number of factors, including the end of the Cold War, the information revolution, as well as an increase in the number of various experts, an increase in the number of states and the spread of national interests. (Langhorne, 2005)

All of this made possible to sports diplomacy literature to emerge. The literature on sports diplomacy based on two important concepts: “sport as diplomacy” and “diplomacy in sport.” (Murray, Pigman, 2014). According to Jonathan Grix, the diplomacy in sports is viewed through the use of sport to strengthen interests of the states in broader diplomacy (Postlethwaite & Grix, 2016). Murray and Pigman (2014) argue that this phenomenon is “complicated” yet complement that by the example of the Olympic Games which themselves are both a place and form of sports diplomacy.

So, there is still a need for further explanation of many issues, among which authors name the IOC as a diplomatic and political actor (Postlethwaite & Grix, 2016). Aaron Beacom (2012), in attempt to explain the role of IOC and Olympic Games, creates the concept of “Olympic diplomacy” and therefore sees IOC as the main actor. In Beacom’s view, the Committee is the organization which seeks to “expand its influence in international affairs” (Beacom, p.36).

The author develops the concept of “Olympic diplomacy” by identifying categories based on various activities related to the Olympic movement. He names “support diplomacy” as one of them, which includes logistic entities and activities. When trying to conceptualize the complicated system of sports strategies and actors, Beacom does not examine classification of the involved sports or broader organizations. Which supports the Postlethwaite and Grix (2016) statement of difficulty in creating evidence of diplomacy around sports organizations. Therefore, it leads to

vague categorizations and conclusions about the way of their analysis and assessment of their role in the existing research on diplomacy.

Pigman (2014) also states that sports competitions have played a role in diplomacy since the Ancient period. Participation in international sporting events has given and continues to provide an opportunity to represent their governments and peoples (recently sponsors have also been represented). This is being broadcast not only to foreign governments, but to the world community as a whole. The rapid increase in the number and variety of international sporting events over the past 50 years has led to an increase in people-to-people exchanges. Communication through international sports has been strengthened due to revolution in the information and communications technology. As a result, audience of global and major sports events has been increased to hundreds of millions of people. However, little research has been done in terms of the relation between international sport and public diplomacy. (Pigman and Rofe, 2014). Senior Lecturer in University of London J.S. Rofe (2016), who specializes on American relations and diplomacy and sport relations also adds that the actors involved in sports-driven diplomacy are diverse. Studying the football case, as the “global game” he names the most prominent actors in the field of sports diplomacy. And because there is a lot of actors in the field of sports and diplomacy, there is also a need of better understanding of the relationship between them. Judit Trunkos from University of South Carolina and Bob Heere from University of North Texas supports this point and explaining it further by analyzing sport through public diplomacy. (Trunkos and Heere, 2017)

English academic and essayist Lincoln Allison (2005) in his works presents sport as one of the most striking examples of globalization, due to fewer cultural and political barriers to international influence in sports than in other areas. Also, he mentions the duality of sport: a commercial activity and an activity that embodies “higher” social and ethical values. (Allison and Monnington. 2002)

Over the course of the twentieth century, sport has developed into a cultural phenomenon that gained international significance. As Hobsbawm writes (1991), during the interbellum sport definitely became “an expression of national struggles, with athletes representing their states or nations, the fundamental expression of their imaginary communities”. And therefore, as Victor Cha (2016), mentions, modern sport is inseparably connected with pride of the nation and prestige in the international arena. In the context of international competitions, elite sport has the opportunity to confirm national identity. And it also can be used to promote image of the state to achieve international recognition (Allison & Monnington, 2002), and to establish interstate relations with the help of soft power.

French researcher Robert Redeker (2008), who focuses on the sociology of sport, offers a critical view of the role of sports diplomacy in politics, which helps to objectively assess this phenomenon. The author argues that sport has absorbed politics, thus opening the way for the so-called post-politics. The researcher also considers sport to be a political opium, a para-diplomatic theater of sporting illusions, the victims of which are states and their international relations. Also, he considers sport as a propaganda for economic liberalism. (Redeker, 2008).

An unusual and potentially interesting concept for further research is the phenomenon of naturalization and the possibility of its use in the framework of sports diplomacy. Naturalization is considered to be an understudied aspect in the research on elite sports. Danyel Reiche (2016, p. 136) doubts the significance of the naturalized athletes as an explanation to Olympic success but agrees that in some cases it along with hosting the Olympic Games can be a possible contributor. In contrast, Grix (2016) stated that there is a tendency to recruit someone from abroad to represent a nation. Those athletes, in majority of cases, will not have any ties with receiving country. This concept, named by Dutch researchers “jus talenti” is aimed to develop fast-track admission programs in order to attract the most prominent migrants. (Jansen et al. 2018, p. 526). Following similar logic, Horowitz and McDaniel (2015) studied the possible effect of immigrant athletes on receiving country sports achievements. The researchers focused on medals won by athletes who competed for countries other than country of their birth during Olympic Summer Games from 2000 to 2012. The study found that countries in which medals were won by athletes who were not their citizens by birth, have won, on average, more medals in the Olympics than countries whose medals were won by native-born athletes only.

Modern research on sports diplomacy can be characterized as evolving. Most of the research directly on sports diplomacy is devoted to the case study of individual events, so we can say that there is a lack of research into the theoretical basis of sports diplomacy. In addition, a small number of country studies can be noted, mainly such works are written in the context of mega-events or as part of development policy. Also, many scientists consider sports diplomacy a part of public diplomacy and the concept of soft power but taking into account the expansion of the functions of sports in the modern world, it seems possible to talk about sports diplomacy as a separate phenomenon.

2.2. Research on sports diplomacy of Norway and Finland.

The problem of the use by the Finns of their sporting achievements for political purposes is presented in Russian historiography in the works of Researcher of Scientific Documentation Department of the State Hermitage Museum Lidiya Lempiainen (2007, 2008). The development of the sports movement in Finland from the very beginning turned out to be closely related to the

construction of key markers of Finnish identity. It is no coincidence that the first who began to pay close attention to the development of physical culture and sports were the leaders of the Fennomans movement. They considered sport to be an important means of developing citizens' ability to defend the nation, i.e. education of Finnish patriotism (Lempiainen, p.21) The difference between the Finnish sports movement and the Russian one was that the Finns were able to educate highly qualified teachers.

Professor at the Saint-Petersburg State University Irina Novikova notes that Finland's participation in the international Olympic movement should be seen as one of the important factors in the self-affirmation of the Finns as an independent nation in the international arena. The successes of Finnish athletes in the Olympic Games have served as an additional impetus for the development of interest in sports and strengthened a sense of national identity (Novikova, 2008).

Norway is interestingly presented in works of researchers of Polish origin. In work of Assistant Professor of University of Lodz Michał Kobierecki (2017a) sports diplomacy of Norway is analyzed in connection with public diplomacy and nation branding. According to the researcher sports diplomacy of Norway falls under the public diplomacy strategy, although it is not a key part of it. As for nation branding, it is considered to be a crucial part in the past, but not as important in current international image of Norway. It can be said that sports diplomacy plays a secondary role in the Norwegian national brand. But it should not be undervalued, because sports diplomacy can contribute to things other than image of Norway as sports country.

In work of another Polish researchers sport and physical activity is presented as a medium of cultural transmission and an important factor in the acculturation of migrants. In the study it is stated that sport has acquired a very important position in Norwegian society and sports activities is a constitutive part of Norwegian identity as well. (Kossakowski et al. 2016)

There are also comparative works which contain Norway and Finland. Green and Collins (2008) are comparing Australia and Finland in the field of national sport development policy. They argue that in Finland sports development is presented as a means of ensuring equal access for all citizens to sports facilities and encouraging them to participate in sports activities. It also linked with the universalism and egalitarianism, values usually associated with the social democratic principles.

It is worth noting the work of Michael Andersen (2018). He is a manager at Scandinavian Network for Elite Sport and former Chief Executive Officer at Team Denmark. His main focus is the analysis of Nordic elite sport. The author seeks to find out the success of nations performance, both on global scale and among each other in the field of elite sport and to find the reasons the countries chosen four different elite sport models.

2.3. Research on sport and sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland.

It seems that Norwegian and Finnish researchers focus more on particular parts of sports, such as sport as an identity building tool and elite sports studies. However, Nygård and Gates (2013) contributed to the sports diplomacy studies by analyzing it through soft-power concept. They argue that as a soft power tool, sports diplomacy can contribute to the image of the state; can serve as a dialogue platform; can help in building trust and reconciliation, integration and anti-racism. However, these mechanisms are not predetermined and can have unintended consequences. Soft power is the power of persuasion by which one subject, without coercion, persuades the other to want what subject wants. Sport can be used as an instrument of soft power on national and international levels. Also, sport and sports events can be used as trust-building tool, or, on the contrary, sport can reflect enmity between nations.

Kari Steen-Jonsen (2008) in his article studies the alternative, flexible types of sports organizations associated with a lifestyle sport (in this case, snowboarding). He tries to find how such organizations find its legitimacy in more traditional sports organizations both in their sports community and in their national sports structure. The researcher uses network theory to address this problem and argues that such networks when act as an organizational form, can on the one hand, create new social entities, but on the other can create conflicts with traditional sports systems.

Professor at University of Turku Pasi Koski and KIHU researcher Jari Lämsä (2015) study sport and elite sport in particular as a part of culture and national identity in the case of Finland as a sports nation. They argue that international sporting success is crucial in this regard. Also, they mention the growing importance of sport in cultural economic and political spheres which they compare with the arms race, but in the sports domain. This means problems, especially for small countries, which can have both limited populations and resources.

Professor at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences Eivind Å. Skille and Professor at Norwegian School of Sport Sciences Reidar Säfvenbom (2011) study the Norwegian sport policy. They argue that the organizational model is based on the historical division of functions between public authorities and voluntary sports organizations. They also touch upon the aspect of the voluntary sports sector. They also propose a solution to the implementation of sports policy through a focus on local sports clubs providing sports events and youth.

One of the interesting research fields in Finnish literature is the studies of Urho Kekkonen. In relation to sports Maiju Wuokko from University of Helsinki (2011) argues that Kekkonen use sports performances as an essential element in the image of Kekkonen as an invincible man. This myth was created in the years of his term and lasted after his resignation. The researcher shows

that Kekkonen's success in sports is partly fictitious and designed to reinforce his superiority and image based on it. Thus, Kekkonen's superb and masculine image was vulnerable and dependent on performance success.

In work of Professors Svein Andersen and Lars Ronglan (2012) Nordic elite sport is also analyzed through comparative study. They argue that there are similarities in the elite sports of the Nordic countries, but the differences are more striking. The differences also lie in the political and societal organizations and link is made how these differences which traces back to the World War II influence the way today's challenges are tackled in the different Nordic countries. As part of this works the article by Jarmo Mäkinen (2012), researcher on elite sports at Research Institute for Olympic Sports is included. He studied the Finnish elite sport organizations. He argues that elite sport in Finland is in the responsibility of sports federations and several clubs. He also highlights the weak position of the Finnish Olympic Committee.

Thus, we can say that mainly modern research in Finland and Norway is fixed on certain aspects of sports (such as elite sports research) and research on sports institutions. In particular, the works examine elite sports, the reasons for its successes and failures, as well as sports as an instrument of soft power. If we look at research on sports diplomacy in general, it is also worth noting the lack of comparative research directly on sports diplomacy, which can serve as the scientific contribution of this work.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Role of sport in IR and world politics

Sports events, competitions and sport in general are not only of a peacekeeping nature, as declared in the Olympic Charter (2020), but also fulfill an important function of communication between the peoples of the world. International competitions attract the attention of people from all over the world, activating their emotions, attracting attention. Therefore, this method of attracting the masses of the people around the world can be used both as a means of propaganda and for carrying out diplomatic actions.

International sports competition can function as a kind of catalyst for future state growth and government influence. An increase in the flow of tourists after sporting events, as well as attracting attention to the state from the whole world, since the most popular competitions are covered in the media can be considered as one of the positive aspects of sports' influence.

As part of the Doha Declaration Implementation Program, UNODC launched an initiative which is aimed at prevention of the youth crime through sport and its peacebuilding capabilities. The UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development highlights the importance of sport as an instrument for peace in promoting tolerance and respect. An evidence-based and sport-based "Line Up, Live Up" campaign was developed as a unique tool that combines experience from the UN and its partners in order to use life skills training in crime and drug use prevention through sport (UN Doha Declaration, 2015)

American researchers H. Ditcher and A. Johns (2014) point out that sport is characterized by duality: on the one hand, it can unite completely different groups of peoples, reflect their common interests. On the other hand, sport can also be an effective method of geopolitical influence, since it can influence the current state of affairs in various spheres of diplomacy, culture, politics and society as a whole. So, sport can help to strengthen existing alliances, or vice versa, become a catalyst for exacerbating interstate contradictions; can serve as a stimulus for growth in the economic sphere, and can become a source of propaganda, etc.

Former US Ambassador to Denmark James P. Cain was a supporter of sports as a means of bridging cultural differences and resolving conflicts. Ambassador Cain has launched an initiative to revive the use of sport in America as a diplomatic tool. Showcased by the State Department and hosted by numerous American embassies, Ambassador Cain's "American Spirit" project was also aimed at partnership with major American sports leagues such as NFL, MLB, NBA, NHL and others. In his speech at the Hague Conference on Diplomacy, he stated that: "Sport can be a powerful vehicle for building and strengthening relationships with a positive message of

shared values such as mutual respect, tolerance, compassion, discipline, equality of opportunity and the rule of law”. (Murray, 2014)

The connection between politics and sport has its roots deep in antiquity. The Cold War years are considered the peak point of the politicization of sports. Dwight D. Eisenhower, during his term as President of the United States (1953-1961), turned sport into one of the most important propaganda tools for confronting the USSR, since, in his words, it “aroused the interest of the widest audience.” (Osgood, 2006) The confrontations in the field of sports during the Cold War took place at all possible venues: the Olympic Games, World Championships, etc. A classic example is the 1972 basketball confrontation between the USSR and the USA, as well as The Super Series - ice hockey games series between the teams of the USSR and the NHL, as well as between the Soviet clubs and the clubs of the WHA from 1972 to 1991.

Even within the socialist camp, during sports competitions, there was a noticeable response to political action. For example, on December 6, 1956 - at the Olympic Games in Melbourne in the tournament semifinals, water polo match between the teams of the USSR and Hungary subsequently was named “Blood in the Water”. The match took place less than a month after the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian Uprising. As a result of a skirmish with a player of the Hungarian national team, the player of the Soviet team, Valentin Prokopov, struck him a blow with a fist and cut the skin over his right eye. But, despite the blood loss, the Hungarian player continued the game, diluting the pool water with blood. This fact aroused the indignation of the assembled spectators, most of whom openly sympathized with the Hungarian national team; some spectators ran out to the pool and began chanting anti-Soviet slogans. And the confrontation between the hockey teams of the USSR and Czechoslovakia had a long history and almost all of them were distinguished by a high degree of tension. Mutual provocations were common.

In the modern world, the importance of sports for the nation also can be seen. In 2011, after the declaration of independence of South Sudan, the British newspaper “The Guardian” wrote: “The new country needs many things: passports, stamps, currency, international relations, etc. For the Republic of South Sudan, there was another urgent priority - the football team.” (Rice, 2011)

Sports competitions reflect the peculiarities of the political life of a particular period of time, the development of integration processes in the world, current problems and trends in sports life and international relations.

Sport has been an important source of national identity construction, especially since it became the object of political manipulation. Scientists have long noticed that the formation of a national sports space is usually associated with international sporting success and the construction of national identity. (Horak & Spitaler, 2003)

Sport is a global phenomenon with many functions. These include the promotion of a healthy lifestyle, which has a high degree of importance for the economic sphere and for defense in any state. The upbringing function, the formation of an active life position, socialization and the promotion of participation in social processes also belong to the sports field. In addition, the country's sporting successes on the world and regional arenas form among the majority of the country's population a positive idea of the governmental program (Naumov, 2017).

Also, the use of sports image to promote healthy lifestyle, an impetus to unite people, motivation to transform sports achievements into successes in life is considered one of the channels for promoting a positive image of the leader of the state and the country itself, instruments of pressure on those policy areas of countries that are determined by international relations (Davydov, 2007).

Professor Tatiana V. Zonova (2012) in her article "The language of sport is as universal as the language of music" talks about sports as a factor in diplomatic dialogue. Holding international competitions is mentioned as a tool which helps to establish mutual understanding between peoples of different countries, and also shows the unity of their aspirations. As an example, the speech of at that time the Chairman of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly R. Migliori shortly before the Olympic Games in London is presented. In this speech he called on heads of state, parliamentarians and other officials to make the most of sports diplomacy to facilitate negotiations.

In the modern world, it is difficult to find countries and regions, political, economic associations that would not seek to use sport, sports competitions as a powerful and useful means of uniting peoples and solving political problems. Sports games have gradually become a necessary attribute of modern life. It is also worth noting the globality and comprehensiveness of sports. Sport, as such, has no opponents. Fans are equally interested in sports competitions, regardless of nationality. In addition, with the help of sports, the boundaries between representatives of the public and politics are erased, and sport is "diplomated".

Sports games also have an independent significance for solving urgent humanitarian and social problems of modern time, among which one can note the fight against racial discrimination, drugs, violence, illiteracy, etc. Sport, sports games have a large arsenal of means, a vibrant entertainment culture, and stable popularity. Through sports and sports-oriented programs, people strive to solve key issues which lie in practice of various authoritative international organizations, and sometimes achieve much more impressive results thanks to the public resonance that such events have.

Today, a large number of sports games are held in the world, uniting participants on a political, geographical basis, based on historical traditions and a willingness to solve urgent problems in sports and public life. It should be noted that such competitions, as a rule, are aimed

not only at identifying the best athletes, setting world records, but also include an extensive humanitarian and cultural programs. As part of the competitions, seminars and round tables, scientific conferences, meetings of ministers of sports, leading politicians, public figures, representatives of various organizations are held. Thus, games are multipurpose events, within which a whole range of critical tasks are declared.

Thus, we can say that sport is indeed an important part of human life. By being involved in many spheres of society, it is able to influence one of the key components - human emotions and feelings, which subsequently shape public opinion. Therefore, it is fair to say that sport can be and is used as a means of political influence. And in connection with the increasing involvement of sports in politics, the term sports diplomacy is increasingly used.

3.2. What is a sports diplomacy?

Emergence and development of sports diplomacy was not steady and gradual. There is no consensus among scholars when exactly sports diplomacy was born. One of the views is that the Age of Antiquity laid the foundation for the sports diplomacy. In 776 BC were the first Olympic Games, confirmed by written sources. This date is considered the beginning of the history of the Olympics. During the period of the Olympic Games in Ancient Greece, as well as seven days before their start and seven days after their end, a sacred truce was established, violators of which were severely punished. So, there was already, in a way, a sports diplomacy ahead of its time. Sports and sports competitions secured the most important humanitarian function - peacekeeping, which they have retained until our days. As a sign of respect for the ancient Olympic traditions, today in the Olympic Charter one of the main missions of the IOC is listed as follows: “to contribute to the service of sports for the benefit of humanity and the advancement of peace” (IOC Mission). Also, this position can be found in a number of UN documents: the UN General Assembly Resolutions: of October 25, 1993 A/RES/48/11 “Observance of the Olympic Truce” and A/RES/71/160 “Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace”. In the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development sport is recognized as one of the most important tools for achieving sustainable development (2015).

Others see the origins of sports diplomacy in the emergence of the modern Olympic Games in 1896 and in the creation of the IOC in 1894. The issues of the emergence of sports diplomacy for example, are considered in the works of the English theorist of international relations Adam Watson (Watson, 1992). In his opinion, the intensification of interaction between states contributes to the complication of diplomatic methods. In particular, A. Watson notes that along with states, non-state actors are increasingly participating in international relations, expressing certain aspirations of citizens to obtain political autonomy. In this regard, special attention can be paid to

international sports organizations, especially the IOC, which has assumed a “semi-diplomatic status” and is involved in diplomatic relations. Adam Watson also draws attention to the IOC attributes as a specific sign of its diplomatic capabilities: the presence of the Olympic anthem and the Olympic flag are signs of territorial sovereignty, proposals for the appointment of “Olympic attachés”, the revival of the concept of “Olympic truce” (Ibid. p. 120, 122) Based on this, the author dates the emergence of sports diplomacy at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, i.e. the time of the creation of the IOC and the revival of the Olympic Games.

The formation of sports diplomacy in its modern sense is most often attributed to the first half of the twentieth century, namely, the period between the First and Second World Wars. This position is shared by Aaron Beacom (2000), University College Plymouth St. Mark and St. John professor, actively involved in sports and international relations issues. The author cites materials from the British Foreign Office, where the 1908 London Olympics are not considered an important event in terms of foreign policy.

During the interbellum period the practice of high-ranking officials visiting the world championships and the Olympic Games began to take shape, which gives sports diplomacy not only peacekeeping and informational functions, but also a communicative one. Actors have also been changed. The formation and development of large sports organizations have included new influential players on the international arena, which, in turn, has created additional opportunities for the use of sports diplomacy.

Speaking about the origin of the sports diplomacy as a term, it is also worth mentioning its relationship with “classical” diplomacy. According to an outstanding English school theorist of international relations Hedley Bull (1977), diplomacy is a conduct of relations between states and other entities withstanding in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means. Its main task is the achievement by states of their foreign policy goals by diplomatic methods and means. Sport can be an effective mean of achieving these goals because it is based on ideals and values that are clear to everyone and has a huge audience.

The emergence of sports diplomacy as an independent direction of diplomatic activity became possible for a number of reasons, among which one can note the change in the diplomatic environment itself, which has become more susceptible to external factors. In addition, the growing role of sport in general and its institutions is important, as well as its high degree of attractiveness for the general public. Sport is becoming one of the main parts of the modern world. The number of existing sports and sports organizations is constantly increasing, their influence on the international arena is growing. The convergence of sports and diplomacy is taking place in terms of their possibilities of forming a positive image of the state abroad. (The quality of the

organization of international sports competitions, the level of training of athletes and their ability to meet defeat with dignity).

Sports diplomacy is generally viewed as a part of public diplomacy, which is understood as communication and policy of international actors in relation to citizens of foreign countries. (Pamment, 2012). Thus, in addition to the sports component, the broad interpretation of the concept of “public diplomacy” includes exchange programs, exhibitions, and dissemination of cultural (including sports) values of the state abroad. This approach is commonly used in historical science and in most social and human sciences, since the late 1950s in the studies of historical background, foreign policy goals and a public diplomacy strategy to analyze projects in the fields of culture, education, information and sports among others. One of the first works is made by American philosopher Henry Aiken (1959) and is devoted to public diplomacy of the USA.

To put it simple, sports diplomacy is the use of sport in order to achieve diplomatic goals of states, minimize disputes and bring people closer.

More specifically, Stuart Murray (2018) defines it “as the conscious, strategic use of sportspeople and sporting events by state and nonstate actors to engage, inform and create a favorable image among foreign publics and organizations, to shape their perceptions in a way that is (more) conducive to the sending group’s goals”.

Also, sports diplomacy of a state can be defined as an activity, both official and unofficial, of states, governments, special foreign policy bodies for the implementation of the state foreign policy objectives by organizing, holding and participating in international sports events with the participation of teams, athletes, coaches and their achievements. Non-state actors here are engaged in the sports diplomacy by state bodies which act as coordinators through their roles in sport.

International diplomatic practice has extensive experience in training specialized personnel for work in the field of sports international relations, which is one example of the connection between the political and sports spheres. Each National Olympic Committee (NOC) may appoint an attaché in preparation for the Olympic Games to facilitate interaction with the Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG) to act as an intermediary between the OCOG and its NOC. Among his responsibilities are the preparation of official visits; reception of sports delegations; work with representatives of the press and media; preparation of a cultural program for the participants of the games; distribution of materials about the country in which the games will be held (Olympic Charter, 2020).

One of the examples of so-called “basketball diplomacy” is the trip of American basketball player Dennis Rodman to the DPRK. The first took place in February 2013, weeks after the nuclear tests in North Korea, which were heavily criticized by Washington. By 2017, Rodman has made

at least six trips to the DPRK (Campbell, 2017). Is it likely that the basketball legend can really help prevent nuclear war? Most probably not, but such events deserve attention anyway.

Another American basketball player Shaquille O'Neal's visit to Cuba in 2016 is also worth noting. He was awarded the title of the U.S. Department of State Sports Envoy. Together with the then assistant head coach of the Dallas Mavericks (NBA club) Kaleb Canales, O'Neal met with young athletes in Havana, "to reach out to young people and promote cooperation and engagement in Cuba", said the press service of the Foreign Ministry of the USA. (Avcı, 2016)

Sports exchange programs and exchange of athletes aimed at achieving of mutual understanding can be seen as a manifestation of "smart" diplomacy and as a consequence of globalization and contribution towards the creation of a global community.

Despite the lack of a unified definition of what is sports diplomacy, reflected in the legal documents, both national and international, the interpretation given in this work is considered to be the most accurate reflection of the main aspects and differences of sports diplomacy from other types of public diplomacy. There is also a connection with the "classic" definition of diplomacy.

In addition, the following point of view of Stuart Murray (2011) about sports diplomacy seems very interesting: "While traditional diplomacy is a means of achieving foreign policy of the state, sports diplomacy is a means to a means of achieving these goals". And based on the above, we can proceed to further explain the phenomenon of sports diplomacy, the definition of its functions and forms.

Thus, it can be noted that there is no consensus about when sports diplomacy was born. Researchers have noted its signs in different eras; however, no consensus has yet been found. The same can be said about the meaning of the term "sports diplomacy". Sports diplomacy acts as a factor of integration, rapprochement of peoples, performs the "ambassador of peace", helps to develop mutual understanding and cooperation, to establish friendly relations between different countries and peoples. But on the other hand, sports diplomacy is often used for other purposes, far from establishing world peace. This speaks to the dual nature of sports diplomacy. Depending on specific political realities, peculiarities of international relations, diplomatic goals, sports diplomacy can both be used to resolve problematic issues and be a catalyst for conflicts and a way of political pressure. At the same time, it is not clear what exactly should be included in the definition - there are no clear criteria for the selection of institutions, policy directions, or should all sports-related events on international arena and sports events that have international status and used for such "diplomatic" national-level purposes be considered as "sports diplomacy"?

3.3. Functions and forms of sports diplomacy

Before proceeding to the description of the forms, goals, objectives and functions of sports diplomacy, it is necessary to say about its actors. In addition to the state and its government, many actors participate in the implementation of sports diplomacy, such as government agencies: ministries and departments responsible for the development of physical culture and sports, ministries of foreign affairs. Among non-state structures, it is worth noting international and regional organizations, including sports, professional and amateur sports societies, clubs, federations. There are also individuals - athletes, coaches, fans, journalists and related organizations such as the media, sports teams and business structures.

State can be named as the most important actor, yet it is not the only one. Non-governmental organizations use sport to raise awareness of social issues. Sport can also be used as a vehicle for various initiatives such as sustainable development, as reflected in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. International sporting organizations such as FIFA are highly visible and often considered as a controversial actor.

Sports diplomacy is associated with the use of the biggest international, regional or national competitions, primarily the Olympic Games, World or European Championships in the most popular sports (cricket, football, ping-pong, as well as other sports that have a large number of fans and viewership). Sports diplomacy relies on the general results of the state in sports, on major sports championships, on the overall contribution to the development of the sports movement. In addition, the authority of sports stars, outstanding athletes and coaches can be used as a means of sports diplomacy.

Celebrity sports diplomats can speak for millions of people and global sports corporations and brands such as Nike or ESPN, for example play the role in the sports diplomacy, yet the knowledge on their role, capacities or mediating effects is very limited. And of course, the companies can be expected to have different interests from states, NGOs, etc.

Among the large number of possible forms of sports diplomacy are official sports events, championships (international and national); informal (friendly) sports meetings; exchange of delegations of athletes and coaches; sports festivals, exhibitions dedicated to sports topics; sports congresses, conferences on sports problems; demonstration of sports achievements; establishing sports contacts. But, despite the significant number of positive and constructive forms of sports diplomacy, one cannot but mention its negative aspects. There are many examples of how sport was used for boycotts and ideological propaganda. This was typical during the Cold War.

In 2008, during the Olympic Games in Beijing, the so-called national sports houses were opened for the first time, which can also be considered a form of sports diplomacy. As part of the work of these houses, various exhibitions were held, as well as meetings with athletes, famous personalities, and, of course, honoring the Olympians.

Sports diplomacy can also be presented as a form of unofficial interaction between groups of the sports community among themselves and with official authorities on youth policy and sports.

The goals of sports diplomacy are largely identical to those of public diplomacy among which are increasing the degree of influence, creating and strengthening understanding among peoples; formation of a positive outlook on the goals and progress of implementation of the foreign and domestic policy pursued by the state; obtaining the support of public opinion; achieving cooperation between citizens of their country and foreign colleagues; constructing a positive image of the state and increasing its attractiveness which correlate with the concept of “soft power”. Among the tasks of sports diplomacy, work with athletes and fans should be pointed out as one of the most important. The goal of this work is to promote tolerance and mutual respect.

The increasing use of sports diplomacy methods in order to achieve their political goals can also be attributed to current trends in the field of world and domestic politics. Mass sports events, as well as the holding of sports competitions on the territory of a given country and the successful participation of their athletes in international competitions, help to form a positive image of the state. But of course, it can go in the opposite direction as it were with Sochi Games. Another function of sports diplomacy is to demonstrate certain foreign policy goals, intentions, achievements, interests of the state, as it were at the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Sports diplomacy most fully contributes to the implementation of such a diplomatic function as winning favor, because in most cases, sports contacts are aimed at constructive rather than destructive goals. So, the main functions are fostering and strengthening interhuman ties, advancing policy, developing a brand and image trade, creating a sort of reputation. But with that, the sport can be used for immoral or unethical ends.

It is also possible to formulate the point that on the basis of sports diplomacy of a particular time, it is possible to determine the nature of international cooperation of the corresponding period. Today, sports diplomacy is more often used as a tool for reflecting and increasing tension in modern international relations. The most recent case would be the decision that IIHF 2021 will not be played in Belarus or that Russia was deprived of the right to host world championships and apply for their hosting for four years since 2019. However, there are also opposite examples, like the 2018 Winter Games, which served as a platform for dialogue between the two Koreas.

Therefore, we can say about the great variety of forms of sports diplomacy and the high potential of its use. Its ever-increasing capabilities make it possible to solve numerous tasks of bilateral political cooperation. Despite the fact that at present it is mainly said only about the biggest official sports events, which, undoubtedly, are the most popular and most discussed in society and the media, there are many other forms of implementation of sports diplomacy, both

positive and negative, depending on whose interests are at the stake, which can contribute to the most acute humanitarian problems of the modern world.

3.4. Sports Diplomacy as a tool of Soft Power

The most commonly used interpretation of sports diplomacy is the inclusion of sports in the concept of “soft power. The idea that sport is one of the constituent parts of soft power that can form a positive image of the state abroad first appeared and developed by Joseph Nye in the 1990s., an American political scientist. According to this concept, the strength of the state in the framework of foreign policy is not always equal to its military power. In modern realities, non-force methods of spreading influence are of much greater value when it comes to achieving the necessary results. (Nye, 2004)

Sporting success is among them, being important elements of soft power. Therefore, taking into account the fact that the concept of “soft power” has a clear political nature, it no longer seems surprising that the slogan “Politics Out of Sports” remains only on paper. Back in the middle of the last century, G. Orwell (1945) said that serious sport is “war minus the shooting”. And the 40th President of the United States (1981-1989) R. Reagan believed that sport is the last opportunity that civilization provides two people for physical aggression. (Stolyarov, 1997)

The manipulation of sports and sporting activities by states for non-sporting purposes provides an insight into the broader soft power strategies used by states to advance their interests and improve their international standing (Grix et al., 2015).

Many studies on sports diplomacy as part of soft power refer to the phenomenon of sports mega-events. A sports mega-event is an organizational "one-time" activity aimed at achieving goals and objectives that are limited in time. (Meredith and Mantel, 1989)

The most outstanding sporting mega-events (the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup) are considered to have two main distinctive features. (Malfas et al., 2004) One of them is linked with the external organization of such events, which include media coverage, its appeal to foreign tourists and the different effects caused by it. (Jones, 2001; Parent, 2015) The second feature is related to the internal organization of the event. This includes such elements as how big is the event, in what time frame it will take place, as well as the number of the expected athletes and fans. (Chappelet and Bayle, 2005). Other studies of sports mega events have also noted the influence of the above characteristics on the organization of sports mega-events. (Frawley and Toohey, 2005, 2009). John Horne from the University of Edinburgh together with Assistant Professor at Vienna University Wolfram Manzenreiter (2006), for example, see the sports mega-events as type of competitions which are big enough in its scope to affect the national economy, and also to create considerable international media coverage. Similarly, sociologist Maurice Roche

from Sheffield University, noted that such events have a “dramatic, massive popularity and international importance” (Roche, 2000). University of Wollongong Professor Gordon Waitt (2001) wrote in his work that such sports mega events as “the Olympic Games ... evoke euphoria of the mass consciousness through the excitement, achievements of citizens and the “party syndrome associated with this event.”

But it is also worth noting that despite the fact that the use of sports mega-events can be considered as part of the soft power strategies of many major states, the benefits that can be derived from them remain overestimated, hyped, and not fully explored. It is necessary to understand how the soft power helps countries gain international recognition and prestige, as well as how the states can prevent backfire of these strategies.

But in general, sports mega-events can be considered as part of sports diplomacy, since they are of massive popularity and international significance, and also correspond to such goals of sports and public diplomacy as gaining public support, achieving cooperation between citizens of their country and foreign colleagues. as well as constructing a positive image of the state and increasing its attractiveness. From the point of view of soft power, mega-sport events help to broadcast the values and visions of the state, which it wishes to project onto the international arena to form a certain sustainable image. Also, the contribute to the economic situation in the country by attracting tourists and bringing positive attention to the state in general which can lead to international investments and capital flows.

The manipulation of sport and sports activities by states for non-sporting purposes provides a unique insight into the broader soft power strategies used by states to advance their interests and improve their international position. Sport and its competitive basis can be used by states and politicians to demonstrate the strength, authority, and ambitions of the state before other states.

Sports mega events provide states with excellent opportunities to develop their regions and cities and to build an internationally competitive investment environment. Through the processes of competition for places and the restructuring they promote, regions and cities can benefit in the long term.

Sport can and should serve for the establishment and achievement of friendly relations between states. We can see the emerging of a whole range of specialized terms – “football”, “ping-pong”, “cricket”, “basketball” diplomacy.

The generally accepted inclusion of sports diplomacy in the concept of public diplomacy seems logical. Although, in general, political elites also belong to the goals of public diplomacy, societies remain its main subject. Therefore, sports diplomacy in this case is definitely a part of public diplomacy, since it primarily affects society, the people. Thus, based on the specifics and

peculiarities of understanding public diplomacy, sport as a phenomenon loved by millions of people, relying on a large audience, may as well become an effective means of achieving goals.

Sports diplomacy is defined in different ways, in a narrower sense or in a broader sense of the diplomatic use of sport. This term is usually used when talking about the means of forming the state international image and about the foreign policy goals achievement. For the purposes of its use, sports diplomacy is sometimes referred to as positive or negative, depending on whose interests are at stake and what are the goals - international cooperation or on the contrary, of international tension. (Rowe, 2011; Saxena, 2011; Potter, 2009). So, there can be mentioned cooperative and confrontative sports diplomacy. For example, the role of sport in relations between Canada and the USSR, was usually described as a constructive, creating international cooperation through sports diplomacy, yet some researchers (Kobierecki, 2017b) argue that, it also included elements of confrontative sports diplomacy. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to talk about only the positive or only negative aspects of sports diplomacy, interpretation plays a big role, as well as the goals set by the parties.

Sports diplomacy received its development in the form of various sports games, which continue to develop in the period of the XX-XXI centuries. Sports diplomacy of the 21st century is characterized by an increase in the practice of negotiating at major sporting events. Leaders often attend major competitions, where they can conduct informal negotiations. The boycotting practice of such events by officials as a demonstrative refusal of dialogue appears precisely due to the emergence of this form of sports diplomacy which also demonstrates the duality of sports diplomacy.

In general, one cannot but say about the contradictory and ambiguous results of the development of sports diplomacy in the XXI century. Sports diplomacy can play the role of a positive factor in the settlement of interstate conflicts, contribute to the rapid resolution of pressing problems. The effectiveness of sport as a platform for international communication is no longer in doubt, but it has more than once been hostage to political intrigue, which not only made it impossible to achieve a settlement of conflicts, but also often aggravated the situation.

From a theoretical point of view, one of the challenges is that there is no common understanding what sports diplomacy is. This makes it difficult to form a single research block on sports diplomacy, and also blurring the already blurred boundaries with neighboring areas of research, including the study of sports policy. The main task here is not to reduce sports diplomacy exclusively to the actions of the state in the field of sports, because, as we found out earlier, there are many actors involved in sports diplomacy, including non-state actors. Another challenge is not to synonymize sport diplomacy and single performance of the athlete. Sport has many components that are not always visible, but which ultimately contribute to the sports diplomacy. Athletes'

performances are probably the most prominent sphere, but it is a tip of the iceberg and beneath the surface there are a lot which contribute to build this performance. This will be discussed in the following chapters.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

4.1 Comparative analysis.

In general, Norway and Finland are similar in many respects, for example, geographic location, area. Also, the model of their development refers to the mechanisms of the welfare state. Similar characteristics can be found in the field of sports, where the main emphasis is on the volunteer movement, as well as on the development of the concept of “sport for all”. These similarities are the starting points for distinctive features that will be explored and compared in this study.

One of the main methodological principle used in this study is the analysis. It is characterized by the isolation and study of individual components of the research object. Analysis is also characteristic of international and regional studies; it requires to seek the causes of certain actions of participants in international relations within the participants themselves. For example, the analytical approach prescribes to look for the reasons for certain foreign policy decisions of states within these states. The direction of international research, which aims to look for the reasons of certain actions of the state foreign policy in its domestic policy, is called foreign policy analysis.

Studies of politics, the welfare state, and social problems often highlight the similarities that exist in the Scandinavian countries, collectively referred to as the Nordic model. Likewise, Similarities can be found in sports systems, however, the differences are more noticeable. Differences exist in national elite sports systems and also can be found in prevalent models of political and social organizations in each country (Andersen & Ronglan, 2012).

In Finland, the sports movement as a whole is fragmented due to the process which has happened over the past couple of decades. Which ultimately led to the formation of a system in which organizational autonomy, decentralization and fragmentation are combined, as well as a centralized distribution of funds among different federations and clubs at different levels. Due to this situation, the development of elite sports is not supported financially as much as it was a couple decades ago. Doping scandals have seriously damaged the image of the elite sports on the organizational level, which in its turn led to a reduction in funding. As a result of this shift from elite sports policy, Finland's sports policy has focused on aspects of mass sport such as achieving a high level of health and well-being for the nation. (Andersen & Ronglan, 2012).

In Norway, the field of sport, managed by the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) and its affiliated organizations, is by and large autonomous with its own political and legal system. The state as well as private sponsors is acting as the main source of financing. With regards to elite sport, it can be said that is an exception in generally sceptic view towards the elites in Norwegian society. This became possible after the

mid-1980s, as athletes from Norway began to show high results in international competitions and thus received the support of society, which continues to this day. (Andersen & Ronglan, 2012).

Comparative cross-country studies are based on the methodology of comparative analysis. The study will rely on a combination of comparison methods. Qualitative comparative analysis makes possible to analyze several cases in complicated situations. This method allows to explain the differences in the cases, find out the reasons for the changes in the specific case, or vice versa, draw conclusions about why the changes did not occur. Usually qualitative comparative analysis is used when there are not enough cases for the application of conventional statistical analysis, as in this research, because there is not so much specific data on sports diplomacy. Overall, this should help to determine main similarities and differences in some aspects in sport and sports diplomacy, and comparison will be used to identify similarities and differences in the implementation of sports diplomacy.

The basis for the comparative analysis is individual country studies devoted to the historical development of the sports movement and sports diplomacy, as well as their current state.

The research will focus on the institutional and organizational foundations of sports diplomacy, as well as the main tools for its practical implementation. The emphasis is made on what role those tools and institutions play in terms of international aspects and international relations, branding, etc.

So, it can be said that the comparative analysis and its methods is the main way to obtain the necessary information and data that will be used throughout the study. Based on the comparison, conclusions will be drawn about the distinguishing features and common shares in the framework of sports foreign policy and sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland.

In addition, it is intended to use a qualitative type of comparison of case studies. Within the framework of this method, two cases are investigated that have much in common, but diverge at some points. Also, through this method, it is possible to generalize the available knowledge for subsequent analysis. The qualitative type of comparison allows the researcher to answer the questions of how and why certain actions and initiatives work or do not work.

Within the framework of this study the anti-doping policy is also the subject of comparison. It is supposed to compare the main assumptions, the causes of change and the current state. In order to do this, it is supposed to study the history of the issue, analyze the current documents in this area, and also look at the main challenges and key points of changes in the policy in the field of anti-doping. It is assumed that despite the general “zero tolerance” for doping, behavior in the international arena, as well as anti-doping legislation, has its own differences. Thesis will also indicate the reasons for the differences, as well as important similarities.

4.2 Document analysis.

Despite the usefulness and value of the interviews, the information obtained from them is insufficient to fully disclose the topic. In this regard, the following relevant documents on sports policies, including elite sports and anti-doping issues from Norway and Finland. Some of the EU documents were studied as well.

Overall, there were 31 different documents analyzed. In terms of volume, the biggest were the strategies such as the Finland nation brand strategy or the white paper for sports in Norway. The acts mainly dealt with Finnish sports and were short. The analyzed documents can be divided into two groups.

1. EU documents. They are needed to understand current trends in European sports diplomacy, as well as to define the place and role of Finland in EU sports diplomacy. Specifically, “The Grassroots Sport Diplomacy: Overview, Mapping and Definitions” and “Promoting a Strategic Approach to EU Sports Diplomacy. Background Paper.” (2019) These projects have been funded with support from the European Commission. And Report to Commissioner Tibor Navracsics. High Level Group on Sport Diplomacy (2018) is included here as well.

These documents are of interest for two reasons: first, they are trying to define what could concretely be termed “sports diplomacy” and shows the relationship between public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and sports diplomacy, which contributes to the theoretical part of the thesis. Second, the projects in which Finland participates are listed here, which helps to determine its contribution to the development of sports diplomacy, and Norway is also mentioned in these documents, which makes it possible to compare them in this framework.

National legislation.

1. Finland. Act on the promotion of sports and physical activity (390/2015). This Act is the main document regulating relations in the field of sports in Finland. It establishes the legal, organizational, economic and social framework for sports activities in Finland, defines the basic principles for financing physical activity and sports. The Decree on the Promotion of Sports and Physical Activity (550/2015) is an explanatory document on sports financial matters, namely government aid for sport organizations. It also sets out the provisions for regional promotion of sport and physical activity.

Also reports from Ministries on Promoting Sport and Physical Activity in Finland (2020) were useful to determine the relations and interests of different ministries in Finland towards sport and also these reports were helpful in terms of finding provisions which can be a part of sports diplomacy. In this regard, Finland’s Country Brand Report (2017) was also analyzed because it mentions sport as part of Finnish cultural heritage and therefore makes possible to use sports diplomacy, because country brand and image is one part of the sports diplomacy goals.

In sum, Finnish legislation and report documents allow us to find functions, goals, tasks and tools related to the sports diplomacy of Finland even if it is not directly mentioned in any of these documents and find the potential and prospects for its development.

2. Norway. Norwegian legislation does not have the special Sports Acts as in Finland's case. The law mainly concerns grants, distribution and compensation for sport funding. And the main assumptions which can help to frame sports diplomacy in Norway were found in the following strategies and reports.

Idretten Vil! Langtidsplan for Norsk Idrett 2019–2023 (2019). It is a long-term plan for Norwegian sports in the period 2019 - 2023. Idretten Vil! is a joint plan with clear goals and strategies for the presented priority areas. And Idretten skal! (n.d.) is a clarification of the overall goals set out in the long-term plan Idretten vil! These documents replaced sports policy documents from 2015-2019 and also the name of the documents had been changed which allow us to consider the change in policy as well. Therefore, documents are needed to understand the main aspects of sports policy and can also contain a potential sports diplomacy-related issues.

Den norske idrettsmodellen (2012) (The Norwegian sports model) is a report to the Storting that aims to set the framework for state policy in the field of sports. However, it is also interesting in terms of sports diplomacy because it mentions a lot of possible ways where Norway can develop its sports diplomacy and also despite the fact that sports diplomacy is not directly mentioned in this text, the provisions presented allow us to assume that sports diplomacy can be used in Norway, since the country has all the necessary resources.

Strategy for Norway's culture and sports co-operation with countries in the South (2005) and Three billion reasons. Development strategy for children and young people in the South (2005) are interesting for this thesis because through support for Sports for All, Norway is helping children in developing countries (with a focus on particularly vulnerable groups) to improve their mental and physical health. And through sport Norway tries to establish long-term cooperation and to promote active involvement in sports activities in developing countries.

Overall, these strategies and papers help to define the content, goals, and objectives of possible sports diplomacy of Norway. As in Finland, there is no special document regarding sports diplomacy. However, the difference is that Norway uses a more strategic approach towards sports and we can see some provision, which can be named as a sports diplomacy in strategies and white papers devoted to Norwegian sport.

4.3 Interview

An interview is a research method of obtaining information, which consists of communication between the interviewer and the respondent within the framework of a topic of discussion. It is a type of social interaction which falls under “question – answer” scheme. The distinctive feature of this method is that the interviewee becomes an object of research and an interacting subject. Interview and its methodology that is used in international research is in most cases taken from neighboring fields of research such as political science, sociology or anthropology. However, this also imposes some restrictions, which may be associated with the relationship between the researcher and the respondents, the peculiarities of the hierarchy in these relations, the type of questions and topics raised in the interview, location or communication barrier in connection with the use of foreign languages. (Kvale, 1996).

An in-depth interview is a type of interview. It is distinguished by the informality of the conversation; however, the interviewer is guided by a pre-drawn plan, which, of course, can undergo changes during the interview. In this case, we can talk about a semi-structured interview. An in-depth interview also requires the researcher to create an atmosphere that is conducive to detailed answers to questions and encourages the establishment of a conversation and subsequent discussion of questions. The interview guide has the same structure as the questionnaire (Showkat & Parveen, 2017). As a rule, it consists only of open questions. Techniques used during interviews can be different: life scenario, free conversation, role-playing questions, life story, etc. The interview method is, first of all, a conversation between the respondent and the interviewer. The interviewer must have the attentive listening technique and observe the ethical aspects of the conversation and the further use and replication of the results obtained.

The theme-centered interview is based on the focused interview method. It highlights experience and identifies subjects as targeted interviewees. However, theme-centered interviews do not require a single experimentally verified general experience; it is assumed that all experiences, thoughts, beliefs and feelings of a person can be studied through this interview (Schorn, 2000).

Semi-structured case interviews are suitable as a data collection method when there is little research in a given area, or when almost unconscious questions, such as values, ideals and arguments, are being explored, or when the information collected is intimate or emotional (McNamara, 1999).

The interview combines the method of polling and observation. The interviewer asks questions, receives answers and writes them down, while observing the response and behavior of the respondent during the conversation. These details play an important role in the subsequent information processing and its analysis.

Semi-structured interviews also allow the researcher to direct the conversation towards the fulfillment of the assigned tasks and provide an opportunity to ask additional questions, since the interview follows pre-formulated key topics rather than clear questions. In this type of interview, the opinion of the respondents is important, the interpretation of their opinion. In a well-organized interview, the interlocutor freely expresses his opinion and his views on the topics posed, which ultimately allows the researcher to obtain important information. (Watson et al, 2015)

The interview method in this study was useful for obtaining initial information about the use of the concept of sports diplomacy, as well as for determining the differences between the theoretical and practical dimensions of this term. Also, by conducting interviews it was possible to determine the differences in approaches to sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland.

4.4 Conducting interviews for the research.

Before sending interview requests, it was necessary to decide on the format of the interview, select the respondents and formulate questions. For this thesis, the most useful option is a semi-structured interview, since this topic has something in common with many other areas, such as sports policy, foreign policy, as well as their specific subsections, therefore, it was important to be able to change the topic during the interview without losing communication with the respondent and as a consequence of the quality of the interview itself. This is the advantage of openness in semi-structured interviews. During the semi-structured interview, the researcher usually has a set of topics or questions to explore but can use and develop ideas that arise during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. (Barriball & While, 1994)

With regard to the location of the interview, due to the impossibility of crossing the border, as well as time constraints, it was decided to use Skype, with which I was able to adjust to the schedule of the respondents.

Since it is impossible to interview every person related to the field of sports diplomacy in Finland and Norway, key institutions of each of the countries were selected to which the corresponding interview requests were made.

The responsibility for the sports policy of Norwegian Government rests with the Ministry of Culture, whereas the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) is the main body for the governance of the autonomous and self-governed sports sector in Norway. These are two prominent actors within Norwegian sports policy.

In Finland, besides Ministry of Education and Culture, the Olympic and Paralympic Committee can be highlighted as the main sports actors and big sports federations such as The Finnish Ski Association, Finnish Ice Hockey Association, The Finnish Gymnastics Federation as well, due to the large number of member clubs and members.

Each federation has members in the international bodies which allows to represent countries in international organizations.

Yet, the mainstay of the thesis is interviews with representatives of Norwegian Department of Civil Society and Sports and Division for Sport in the Department for Youth and Sport Policy of Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture as the most important state source of sports diplomacy.

Of the two sections of the Department of Civil Society and Sports, S11 is the most interesting since this section is responsible for sports. Also, among the functions can be distinguished the distribution of surplus finances coming from the state owned Norsk Tipping. The distribution takes place in several directions. The surplus goes to the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports for sporting events and is also received by non-profit and humanitarian organizations that help with the construction of sports facilities. In addition, the section is responsible for sports infrastructure, competitions, and anti-doping activities.

In Finland, sports policy is subject to the Ministry of Education and Culture, whose main activity is the preparation of legislative and regulatory acts, as well as the development of regulations on the use of the state budget for sports. The responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture is also to provide accessible and complete information to decision makers. The field of work of the Ministry also includes arts, culture, and youth work.

Therefore, the main interviews were held with Deputy Director General of Norwegian Department of Civil Society and Sports and Senior Ministerial Advisor in the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture and Director of the Sport Division at the Finnish Ministry of Education and Sport. Unfortunately, the Norwegian Department of Civil Society and Sports were unable to conduct an oral interview but agreed to answer my questions in writing. The Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture agreed to an interview, which was conducted via Skype.

In order to develop a theme and answer the aims and tasks set for the thesis, it was necessary to compose questions before sending interview requests. For this, the key topics were initially selected and the questions to them were accumulated. After that, the questions are combined into blocks corresponding to paragraphs and chapters of the thesis. Then a structure was drawn up and a logical order of topics and questions was built, which could be changed if the respondent was more interested in a particular issue. Finally, the guide was tested with a supervisor and the necessary changes were made. Thus, with the help of the interviews, it is planned to get answers to the following questions.

First of all, it was important to know, what is meant by sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland? However, it is obvious that sports diplomacy is an academic term, and therefore may not

be used by interviewees, but at the same time their competence can be attributed to sports diplomacy, therefore, to get an answer to this question, an additional sub question about sport and country image was formulated. It seems to be clearer and easier to answer. Indeed, during interviews it was noticeable that sports diplomacy is being used by respondents without thinking about that they are using it. They do not mention this term 'on their own' without asking, but the answers they give clearly corresponds with the definition of sports diplomacy and its goals.

Also, for better understanding of the topic, it was necessary to find out what are the most relevant areas of research in the field of sports diplomacy trends in sport & nation brand. However, it is understandable that staff not involved in scientific departments may not be aware of current research trends, therefore, in case the provided commentary turns out to be incomplete, it was decided to ask for recommendations, who to contact, as well as fill the information gap through document analysis. and scientific literature.

One of the issues is the place of doping and anti-doping policy in the Norway and Finland, especially when it comes to its international dimension. This question seems to be the most important and most acute in terms of the research on these two countries, because it helps to highlight certain differences in the vision of sports diplomacy and its practical implementation. And in order to find this is also necessary to learn about the place of anti-doping policy in the sports policy of Norway and Finland.

In conclusion respondents were asked to express their opinion on the prospects and directions of development of anti-doping policy and sports diplomacy in the country. The questionnaire used is presented in an appendix A.

After conducting two required interviews, it became clear that it is necessary to conduct interviews of the following persons:

The worker in the International Relations in Norwegian Sports Confederation and Olympic and Paralympic Committee. Unfortunately, despite reaching prior consent for the interview, it was not possible to conduct it, because I could not reach him after the holidays.

Interview with the Finnish representative of the European non-governmental sports organization (ENGSO) was suggested by the Finnish workers of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture. The interview was anonymous. The interview took place on December 28th via Skype. Unlike the previous Skype interview, this interview was more informal, than semi-structured, seeming more like a conversation. The interviewee was quite responsive and answered the questions that were within interviewee's competence and expressed opinion on the rest. Thanks to interviewee's rich working experience, it was managed to cover many areas of sports in the interview, incl. sports diplomacy. However, after sending the interview transcript interviewee

refused to give permission on using it. Instead, it was suggested that the interviewee would write a shorter statement, covering the questions asked before.

In general, the tasks set for the interview were solved at the level of the minimum necessary requirements. Unfortunately, due to the refusal of potential respondents to give interview, it was not possible to reveal the difference in approaches to sports diplomacy in the best way. But in general, the interviews conducted were able to provide additional insight for answers to the research question.

4.5 Ethics of the researcher.

In all interviews, it was my responsibility as an interviewer to comply with the rules of ethics both when writing questions and conducting interviews. The main ethical problems in scientific research boil down to the following questions: is the information published reliable? Is there any harm done to those involved in the research process? Is the confidentiality of the individuals under investigation respected? Does the research procedure involve deception or misleading? (Markham, 2009) So, the main ethical principles which help to answer the above-mentioned questions are honesty; confidentiality; respect for the personal boundaries of the respondent; respect for the respondent; sensitivity, politeness. Also, the transcript of the interviews was sent to the respondents to avoid possible misunderstandings and misleading assumptions.

It should be specially mentioned that there are specific ethical standards in the Internet space - netiquette. Therefore, this thesis takes into account the recommendations of the Association of Internet Researchers Ethics Working Committee (Markham & Buchanan, 2012).

5. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT STATE OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN NORWAY AND FINLAND

5.1 Legislative and institutional framework of sports diplomacy in Norway

Before considering the legislative and institutional framework of countries sports diplomacy, it is worth noting that specialized documents, strategies, and programs for the development of sports diplomacy have not been developed in any of the researching countries. This fact can be explained by the fact that the phenomenon of sports diplomacy is often included in the sphere of humanitarian or public diplomacy and is implemented as an integral part of them. Also, it can be possible that actors do not consciously think about sports diplomacy as such. They do things that could in the view of the academic analyst count as sports diplomacy, but do not themselves acknowledge this.

However, all states have accepted international documents, such as the UN General Assembly resolution “Building a peaceful and better world through sport and the Olympic ideal” (2017), which supports the tradition of ending military conflicts during the Games, as well as the resolution “Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace” (2014), etc. In general, the above documents emphasize the importance of sport as a means of strengthening international cooperation and peaceful existence. This thesis is reflected in the IOC Olympic Charter (2020), which is supported by countries.

Contact and cooperation across national boundaries and ethnic groups in the field of sports is often effective in situations where it is important to build trust between countries or ethnic groups after war or other form of conflict. However, there are also cases where recent or previously conflicting parties avoid their national teams from meeting each other. This is why, for example, Israel is part of the European qualification groups in football rather than middle Eastern/Asian group. But nevertheless, the sport has a huge advantage: it is practiced in all countries, and basically according to the same rules. Sport is associated with play, joy, unity, participation and respect for the rules of other athletes. In this way, sport, through its intrinsic value, can contribute to creating trust, approach and development of local communities after a conflict situation. This statement fits well with Norway's established role as a third-party mediator in international conflicts and expands the pool of possible tools for conflict resolution.

Norway can also work in the field of sports diplomacy on organizational level. The Council of Europe is the most important intergovernmental body for sports policy issues in Europe, and that only covering all European countries. Sports has been part of the co-operation in the Council of Europe since 1976 when the Steering Committee for the Development of Sports (CDDS) was given a mandate to promote the Council of Europe's core values: human rights, democracy, and

the rule of law in and through sport. In 2007, CDDS was replaced by The Extended the Sports Sub-Agreement (EPAS) (Den norske idrettsmodellen)

Norway joined Extended the Sports Sub-Agreement from the start in 2007. Of the topics that EPAS has worked with in recent years, and which Norway has been concerned with, may be mentioned the autonomy of sport in Europe, manipulation of sports results (match-fixing) and migration of young athletes to Europe from other continents. (Den norske idrettsmodellen) To some extent the latter statement can be used also as a means of sports diplomacy because athletes represent the country in international competitions and therefore draw attention to it. Successful performances make people talk about the country even more. Therefore, sports migration can also work as sports diplomacy.

The Ministry of Culture plans to continue their active involvement in the sports field through Council of Europe and follow up the work in both EPAS and with the two sports conventions (the Anti - Doping Convention of 1990 and the Convention against Tribute Violence of 1985). In the interview they agreed that cooperation is important in order to understand each other's positions on various issues. Cooperation forms a basis for working towards a common understanding on important sports policy issues such as non-discrimination, antiabuse, fair play, good governance, combatting match-fixing and anti-doping (Interview 1). International cooperation is mentioned as an important source for the transfer of knowledge and best practice between countries and sports organizations. And it also can be used for communicating Norway's own view and seeking to mainstream it as will be mentioned later as part of "imagined exceptionalism."

The state has been, and still is, an important contributor to the development of sport in Norway. Sport policy issues are on the agenda of the Norwegian Parliament. The Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) is a largely autonomous sports organization, being almost a monopolist in the field of competitive sport and its organisation. The Ministry of Culture of Norway is responsible for public sport policy. (Bergsgard and Rommetvedt, 2006)

NIF also has some provisions closely related to sports diplomacy. In the strategy "Idretten Skal! 2019–2023" (n.d.) is said that sport will work for a good governance characterized by democracy, openness and honesty. All these points are crucial in terms of Norwegian image and its values. Also, strategy mentions that sport shall strengthen cooperation and ensure a common understanding of roles between organizational levels. Also, it has a paper dedicated to sport in development co-operation – "Building communities through sports" (n.d.), which can be seen as means of sports diplomacy.

One of the values and priorities of Norway is ecology and environmental protection. The two Olympic Games – 1994 and 2016 (Youth) which were held in Lillehammer were presented as the “Green Games”. And the 1994 Winter Olympic Games are often treated as a reference point for the commitment of the International Olympic Committee to sustainable development. Concerning legislation, the government's sports policy is described in a white paper to the parliament. And here it will also act as the main source for the sports diplomacy related provisions, because according to the Department of Civil Society and Sports, they do not normally use this term. The current white paper named *den norske idrettsmodellen* (the Norwegian sports model) was presented to the parliament in 2012. The government is currently working on a new white paper, due to be finished in 2021. In this report to the Storting among the main goals of sports policy, it is mentioned that the state will provide financial support to the leading Norwegian sports in order to provide the basis for an ethically and professionally qualified sports environment at the highest level, and so that leading sports can continue to act as a creator of cultural identity in Norwegian society (*Den norske idrettsmodellen*). This statement also corresponds with the soft power concept, because sport here act as a broadcaster of the values and visions of the state, which it wishes to project onto the international arena to form a certain sustainable image. In this case, it is cultural identity of Norway.

Speaking about the cultural dimension of Norwegian sports policy and sports diplomacy, it can be said that sport is part of cultural policy since the 1970s. The emphasis on unity represents a smooth changing of sport importance from internal value to the social. One aspect of the concept of culture is that it is an expression of values, references and symbols that bind people together. When sport is part of the concept of culture, it is because of its ability to create excitement and belonging. In summary, it can therefore be said that sport is important in itself, as a community arena and because of its potential to contribute to solving challenges in other areas of society, which also correlates with the definition of sports diplomacy. But in the 1970s it was used by Norway on national rather than international level.

The report also mentions the importance of hosting major international sporting events for Norway. And this is one of the means of sports diplomacy, because hosing suchlike events can demonstrate the country's image in best of ways. State interest here is mentioned in connection with political reasons and when it is considered particularly interesting to have the event added to Norway. An example of such an event is the Youth Olympic Games which is held in Lillehammer in 2016. State subsidized the Games, which makes it a special case, because the state usually does not provide financial support for the implementation of international sporting events in Norway.

In the follow-up to the Government's tourism strategy (2007), Innovation Norway has led a working group that has looked more closely at the possibility of developing especially the big

cities as arenas for big international sporting events and cultural events. As a result of this initiative, Innovation Norway has prepared a White Paper for event tourism (2011), which can serve as a source of inspiration and a bank of ideas for the work of attracting and organize major sporting events. So, these documents can help to formulate future tools for Norwegian sports diplomacy, if it would be necessary.

Norwegian sport has an extensive international involvement. NIF, the special federations and other players in Norwegian sports carry out active sport-specific cooperation in a number of international sports forums such as the European and International Olympic Committee (EOC / IOC), international special federations, etc. Also, a collaboration agreement covering support for youth sport and sports clubs in Norway has been signed by Statoil with the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports. NIF also has a framework agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Strategy for Norway's culture and sports co-operation with countries in the South, 2005).

Through such a commitment Norwegian sports organization can work for their positions and contribute to influencing other countries' sports organizations with values such as grassroots democracy, local community participation, volunteering, volunteer work, non-discrimination, etc. This statement corresponds with the sports diplomacy, because its main positive function is to create ties and demonstrate the country's positive image.

In Norway, for the date, there is no specific document concerning sports diplomacy or mentioning that term. Neither is institutions. However, we can find the sports diplomacy-related issues in different sports or foreign policy documents. The analysis of the main provisions and goals of the institutions of sports policy and foreign policy such as NIF and The Ministry of Culture allows us to say that sports diplomacy is to some extent used by Norway, and it also has great potential even if right now we cannot be sure that the concept itself is acknowledged directly.

5.2 Legislative and institutional framework of sports diplomacy in Finland

Finland, as Norway, doesn't have specific documents and institutions in the field of sports diplomacy. Until the 1960s Finnish sports policy was aimed at supporting competitive sports in its traditional sense. (Kiviaho, 1981). In the next two decades, sport has become an instrument for the implementation of social policy in connection with the introduction of many aspects of social life in the political domain. (Woodward, 1986). As a consequence, political parties became interested in sports issues and subsequently, new connections between the state and voluntary organizations, including sport, began to develop (Heikkala et al., 2003).

The specific features of sports diplomacy are not directly mentioned in sports legislation, however, it seems worthy to mention them in order to understand the further direction of

development of sports policy, which determines the presence and nature of sports diplomacy, even though there is no such term in the documents.

The 1980 Sports Act was the main document, which regulates the sports policy in Finland. It was created on the basis of the report of the Sports Act Committee in 1976. This Sports Act (1980) was the first document that acknowledged sport as a social value. It also structured the existing framework in the sports infrastructure and sports programs in the country (Heinilä, 1987). With the adoption of the Act, the Finnish government tried to shift the focus of the sports policy from competitive and elite sports to a commitment to sport for all. So, it can be said that for Finland in the second half of the XX century the main goal for to shift their vision of sports from competitiveness to mass participation. And therefore, the potential of sports diplomacy is also shifted from participation of the athletes in major sports events, which served as a tool for independence in the early 1900s to more grassroot-oriented approach, which to some extent uses nowadays

The Direction of Finnish Sports Policy for the 1990s is a report which identifies the main priority for the Finnish sport as sport for all and “achieving well-being through exercise and sport.” (Vuori et al., 2004, p. 332). Commitment to the principles of sport for all is also noted in the Sports Act, adopted in 1998. Also, the emphasis in the Act is placed on the growth and development of young people. And despite the support for elite sport mentioned in the text of the document, the criteria for resource allocation continued to support the Sport for All. (Sports Act, 1998). In reports from Ministries on Promoting Sport and Physical Activity in Finland which were made with the aim of gaining an understanding and awareness of the actions and interests of various administrative bodies in the field of sports and physical activity promotion, it is said that sports and physical activity are part of intersectoral cooperation. (Reports from Ministries, 2020)

It can be said that Finnish sports policy is aimed to promote sports and physical activity, as well as the organization and hosting of competitions and related civic engagement and, through them, achieve the well-being of the population. Also, sport contributes to the people’s health and encourages children and youth to grow and develop. This aim is implemented in accordance with such principles as gender equality, non-discrimination, social inclusion, multiculturalism, respect for the environment and sustainable development. And all of these statements mentioned in documents as well can be used as a means of sports diplomacy because it corresponds with its functions such as are fostering and strengthening interhuman ties, advancing policy, which in turn allows to develop a brand and image, create a sort of reputation.

In general, Finland's sports policy declares that it focuses its internal attention on the development of mass sports. However, the principles that the state applies to achieve the well-being of the population (equality, non-discrimination) are also part of the national brand of

Finland. (Finland's Country Branding Strategy, 2017) Therefore, we can say that despite the absence of specific provisions for the development of sports diplomacy and promotion of its image through sports, Finland has a base for this and significant potential for the development of sports diplomacy.

In addition, it is possible to see some features of sports diplomacy in the activities of other actors. The most important sports actors in Finland besides the Olympic and Paralympic Committee are big sports federations like cross-country skiing, ice hockey, gymnastics, and football. Ministry of Education and Culture also add that a lot of the Finnish sports federations has members in the international bodies and that's also very important for Finland as a country that sport has all representatives working in different bodies in international organization. Almost all of the federations have at least some contacts with other countries, depending on what kind of sports they are doing. (Interview 2). Institutes, Universities, Sports Federations, NOC - they are autonomous sport actors in Finland. For the Government cooperation relies on multilateral organizations: Council of Europe, EU, UNSECO. In that framework Ministry of Education and Culture states to have a very good kind of relationship with other countries. And also, Finland has an active cooperation with the Nordic countries (Interview 2). Cooperation between individual federations and other sports actors can also be part of sports diplomacy. Therefore, the fact that each federation has a representation in an international organization and links with other organizations allows us to speak about the great potential for the development of sports diplomacy in this direction.

Finland has a holistic concept of branding and image building. (Finland's Country Branding Strategy, 2017; Tehtävä Suomelle, 2010) It does not say much about sports and sports diplomacy directly, but it can still be said a little about it, because the sports diplomacy in question is aimed at solving image tasks as well. The Foreign Service is aimed to work to strengthen human rights, equality and democracy. That is a main part of Finnish brand and as will be seen later, many projects that can be attributed to sports diplomacy are aimed precisely at this. Also, Finnish brand represents the awareness of the country's cultural heritage, the colors created by its contemporary culture from music and movies to literature and sports. So, Finland acknowledges sport as a part of the brand, which means that we can say that projects aimed at the development of sports can be part of sports diplomacy.

Ministry of Education and Culture also mentioned the impact of 2001 Lahti doping scandal: "That was the case that we don't want to have anymore because it ruins our whole image on sport globally, so that's definitely one thing to avoid" (Interview 2). As a result, funding for sports has dropped significantly. Finnish sport has lost a lot, both financially and in terms of athletic performance and support for athletes and high-performance sports in society because of this

doping case. (Ibid). As well as the financial implications, the doping incident confirmed the negative aspects of elite sport and reinforced the argument that state investment is better directed towards supporting Sport for All rather than elite sport. (Green and Collins, 2008) In this case, we can see that anti-doping issues can be named as part of sports diplomacy. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Also, this event greatly influenced the direction of development of Finnish sports and reoriented some of the possible tools of sports diplomacy - in this case, the success and participation of athletes at major sports events.

In a report of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Reports from Ministries, 2020), the following objectives are mentioned: strengthening Finland's international status; securing Finland's independence and territorial integrity; improving the security and wellbeing of people living in Finland; promoting sustainable development, international stability, peace, democracy, human rights, rule of law and equality. These objectives are proposed to be achieved through fostering international cooperation and promoting development cooperation through sport. Report of Ministry of justice also shows interest in promoting social inclusion, democracy, equality, and equity as well as reducing discrimination in society. (Reports from Ministries, 2020). In short, all the goals of this report fit into sports diplomacy concept which allows to build the nation brand and transmit state values by the state through existing concepts and policies.

Ministry of Education and Culture also said some words on the term 'sports diplomacy'. In particular, it has not got a clear concept but traditionally it has been that sport has been a means to conduct also some other political aims or have a policy through sport and through sport means, because sport is an easier way to take into some 'tricky' questions on the table between the parties. It is acknowledged as a kind of way of soft diplomacy. Ministry of Education and Culture also states that in a practical level cooperation is done directly by other actors than Ministry (Interview 2).

To sum up, Finland, like Norway, does not directly use the term sports diplomacy, however, recognizes sports as part of its brand, and therefore can also use sports to promote its image and values. And this, in turn, allows us to talk about the potential use of sports diplomacy by the Ministry of Education and Culture, for example, or sports federations and NGOs.

We also can say that sport is an important component of the foreign policy of all countries. The countries do not have a specialized domestic legal framework related to sports diplomacy. The existing provisions are reflected either in the strategies for the development of sport-related issues or noted in the documents devoted to the development of cooperation in the field of sports. Many national documents emphasize that international sports projects can have a positive impact on relations between the participating countries, emphasizing the importance of developing sports for all. Sport policy is shaped by the legislature, which cannot be said about the sports diplomacy

of countries. Both of the countries promote sport for all, and sport and community. Also, they appeal to the public in terms of health, fitness, and community development. Active state role and limited commodification of sport can be mentioned. Unpaid voluntary work is crucial for the organization of sports.

In general, the countries have the potential for the development of sports diplomacy, both in terms of developing the drafting and adoption of special documents, and from the practical part. In practice, countries actually use sports diplomacy, despite not naming their actions directly. And the next paragraph will be devoted to the practical side of the issue.

5.3 Tools of sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland

As mentioned earlier, sports diplomacy can take many forms. This paragraph will focus on the tools that are used most frequently in these countries. Here, under the tools of sports diplomacy, we mean those projects, as well as auxiliary processes that are directed or potentially can be directed towards achieving the goals of sports diplomacy.

Sport policy aimed to achieve medals have implications for sports diplomacy, and therefore can be named as an auxiliary tool of sports diplomacy. Also, these results, especially in elite sports can be determined in absolute or relative terms. The performance of nations can be expressed in terms of medals from the Olympic Games or World Championships, top 8 athletes, the number of athletes preparing to compete in the championships, or time and distance, etc. In addition, success can be interpreted in relative terms such as economic, sociological and political determinants (such as population and wealth). The result is the possible consequences of success in elite sport. Sporting success is not only an end in itself, but also a means by which other (government) goals can be achieved, such as increasing social cohesion, national pride and international prestige. (SPLISS methods)

The social importance of athletic performance should also include reflection on whether the ways in which results have been achieved are considered valuable or not. This draws attention to national views on which sports are important and to public opinion about the processes leading to the achievement of results. Maybe it's not the total number of medals that matters (for small countries like Norway and Finland), but the kinds of medals and how they were won.

Norway's overall national expenditure on sport is rated by De Bosscher et al. as "low" in comparison with such countries as Belgium, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands and United Kingdom, yet no nation except Norway, receives a good level of development on scientific research, which was a key element of elite sport systems in the former Soviet Union and East Germany. (De Bosscher et al. 2008) And I believe that this explains a lot in terms of sports performance both in absolute terms and in comparison, with Finland. In addition to the lack of funding in Finland,

compared to other countries, there is also a lack of training facilities. In this case, this forces to focus not only on winter sports, but also to choose certain types of them to the detriment of others. So, for example, comparing Norway and Finland, in speed skating, since 1994 Norway has 12 medals and Finland has none. The simplest explanation is that Finland does not have indoor ice rinks, while Norway has four. Of course, it is not a direct link between sports facilities and sports policy in general with sports diplomacy, but nevertheless, infrastructure that was built in order to improve the overall performance at sports events can also be used to host such events in regional or global scale, which in its turn allows to talk about potential sports diplomacy.

Sports diplomacy is also aimed at projects in developing countries. Sport is used to develop community spirit and cohesion in refugee camps, as a means of building a sense of community by strengthening social structures and safety networks. Countries targeted in this area value external support for sports initiatives, which also help improve communication between nationalities in the camp and communities within the country.

With regard to sports mega-events, the emphasis can be placed on the fact that this type of championship is a prerequisite for the international spread of sport, which in turn is important for sport's role as a cultural communicator and identity creator across national borders. Norway expects that implementation of sports events (excluding the Olympics) can, as a general rule, be carried out without government subsidies from the gambling funds. Major international championships and events are also of interest beyond their purely sporting significance. It is a close link to the importance of championships for recruitment to, and the development of, a culture of volunteering on which Norwegian sport is completely dependent.

Considering the mega summer sports events such as a summer Olympics and world championships in men's football the government of Norway suggests that "In addition to being very costly, these events are so large that it is questionable whether they can be carried out in a satisfactory manner in Norway". (Den norske idrettsmodellen) However, "the government believes it is important that Norway should be able to arrange sporting events that in practice require state support. There are events that, both from a sports and other point of view, will be of interest to add to Norway". (Ibid)

Norway hosted the Winter Olympics twice: in 1952 in Oslo and in 1994 in Lillehammer. The Lillehammer Olympics combined excellent organization, attraction of national flavor, as well as elements of mass culture. The innovative opening ceremony played a key role. (Leonard, Small, 2003, p. 73) International media called the 1994 Lillehammer Olympics "one of the most atmospheric and effective Olympic Games" or "fairytale games". (Owen, 2014)

Oslo also put its bid for the 2022 Olympics. However, the city withdrew its bid, because according to the evaluation, there would be too much burden for Oslo if it were to host the

Olympics. (Norway turns down Winter Olympics 2022) The similar evaluation was also presented by NIF. The main problems of the Oslo bid were listed as poor communication, bad organization, and lack of support on the grass-root level. (Mangelrød and Christiansen, 2015) Soon after the bid withdrawal, IOC called Oslo 2022 in its statement a “missed opportunity” for Norway.

Finland has not made any recent announcements about hosting Olympic events and is concentrating on hosting the World Cup and World Championships, mainly in cross-country skiing. The only Olympic Games, which were hosted by Finland are The XV Summer Olympic Games in 1952. They were organized in Helsinki.

As for the Winter Games Finnish cities previously applied four times: the City of Lahti applied for the 1964, 1968 and 1972 Games and Tampere for the 1976 Games. There was also Helsinki 2006 Winter Olympics bid which was a project of the cities of Helsinki, Lahti and Lillehammer to host the 2006 Winter Olympics. However, the bid was not short-listed.

The World Championships in individual sports are a layer that both Finland and Norway can successfully develop further. Both countries host stages of the World Cup in sports such as skiing, biathlon, ski jumping, Nordic combined. Norway and Finland also hosted world ski championships. In this case, Norway has a little more opportunity, since it has a more developed infrastructure, while in Finland almost all objects are concentrated in one place, which makes it impossible to hold several competitions at the same time.

Summer sports are rather an isolated case, but also interesting. At various times, countries have hosted competitions in sports such as athletics, karate, shooting (Finland), wrestling, handball, beach volleyball (Norway). Both countries hosted World Orienteering Championships – Norway in 2019 and 2010, Finland in 2001. But this is more a one-time event. For a more representative and clear view on the country's sports diplomacy success through some statistical data, the corresponding table can be seen in Appendix B. However, a few important comments are worth making. First of all, it is obvious that the table does not represent all international sports competitions held in countries recently. The selection was made based on the importance of these events in terms of the implementation of the country's sports diplomacy, as well as the potential for public involvement in this competition. Generally, it includes the events that are more important for the country's image. Therefore, for example, the stages of the biathlon world cup, held both in Finland and in Norway, were not included, as they are of secondary importance in comparison with cross-country skiing, which were included in this list. Despite this, outstanding athletes from both sports are presented in the table. In the section of outstanding athletes, the sample was made based on the number of medals won by athletes and the importance of those medals to a country (for example, an athlete became the first national representative to win a medal

in his/her sport). Also included were the flag bearers of the Olympics, as this emphasizes their recognition by the state.

Thus, financial costs and long distances between objects are the main constraints to hosting mega sporting events. But there is an opportunity to reconsider the joint bid for the Winter Olympic Games. There are examples when the Olympic Games were nominally held in one city, but in fact in several. But this will require really strong cooperation, and little is known how ready countries are for this and do they consider it necessary.

Concerning the participation in sports events both countries have a great potential. The National Olympic Committee of Norway was created in 1900. Norwegian athletes took part in almost all summer Olympics, starting with the Paris Olympics in 1900 and all winter ones since the Games in Chamonix in 1924. The country twice became the host of the Olympic Games - in 1952 (Oslo) and 1994 (Lillehammer). In addition, the sports movement was supported and supported by the example of the royal family itself. Olaf V, King of Norway from 1957 to 1991 - several times participated in the Olympic Games, and in 1928, at the Summer Olympics in Amsterdam, became the champion in sailing in the class of six-meter yachts.

Sport in Finland has been more important in terms of international recognition from the very beginning of the active struggle for independence. Sport played an exceptional role in the transformation of Finland into an independent state and a country with a high standard of living. Finnish athletes marched at the opening ceremony of the 1908 Olympic Games without a flag, since the Russian Empire forbade athletes to compete under their own flag, and they refused to go under the Russian one, thereby demonstrating their political intentions. Finland's participation in the international Olympic movement should be seen as one of the important factors in the self-affirmation of the Finnish people as an independent nation in the international arena. The successes of Finnish athletes in the Olympic Games have served as an additional impetus to develop interest in sports and strengthened a sense of national identity. The European community saw Finland as a distinctive nation with strong sports traditions. Of course, nowadays the political side is not of the utmost importance for Finland, but the needing attention can be attracted through participation in international competitions.

Countries are successful in winter sports. At the moment, we can say that Norway has better results in terms of medal prospects - in this aspect, the country is much more successful than Finland in most Olympic winter sports, except hockey. In summer events, Norway has the same number of Olympic gold medals as Finland more medals, but relatively fewer in terms of total number, but it has more positive dynamic in terms of medals won in the last several Games rather than Finland. Therefore, speaking about the use of sportsmen as a means of sports diplomacy, we can say that Norway has the potential in terms of victories and success at major

international competitions, and Finland has success in popular sports that have a large audience, for example, the aforementioned ice hockey or Formula 1, which features two Finnish racing drivers - Kimi Räikkönen and Valtteri Bottas.

5.3.1 Tools of sports diplomacy in Norway

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norad and other companies provide grants for various sports initiatives. The funds are given after application to sports organizations, first and foremost NIF and the humanitarian organization Right to Play. In 2010, for example, and according to NIF, approximately NOK 46 million was given to the sport's international development and solidarity work, mainly so that development work can be conducted through local partners, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. This is a doubling of the support since 2003. (Den norske idrettsmodellen)

In addition to cooperation with countries in the south, NIF is engaged in Barents cooperation. Through extensive people-to-people cooperation, sports are the largest area of cooperation in the field of culture in the Barents region. The goal is that contact, exchange and cooperation between young people in the sports field will later lead to strengthened contact and cooperation across borders in areas such as science and trade. The work is mainly financed through funds allocated through the Barents Secretariat. (Den norske idrettsmodellen)

Kicking AIDS Out Movement is an international network that produces information materials and was created to promote the use of sport to disseminate information about HIV / AIDS. It includes organizations from southern Africa, the UK, Norway and Canada.

In 2011, NIF was commissioned to lead a working group for sports and gender equality under the UN Office for Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP). The work is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is a declaration of confidence in Norwegian sports that NIF has received this assignment from the UN, and it also gives Norwegian sports a good opportunity to work for the gender equality perspective in the UN's work with sports and development. (Den norske idrettsmodellen)

“Right to Play”. This non-governmental organization was founded in 1994 by former Norwegian skater Johan Olav Koss. The organization works primarily in refugee camps and launches programs that use sport as a means of promoting the physical and mental development of children. Norway supports such projects in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Benin and Palestine / Israel.

Norway Cup is a football tournament boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 19. It was established in 1972 And it is one of the largest football competitions in this age group. (Strategy for Norway's culture and sports co-operation with countries in the South, p. 41-43). The main idea of the tournament is to promote personal communication, as a result of which mutual understanding and friendship will develop, because a common interest in football can bring young

people together across cultural, social and economic boundaries. (Shearer, 2014, p. 55) This approach aims to achieve peace through the interaction of people from different communities, and not through government decisions. (Hasselgård & Straume, 2012). During the 1995 Norway Cup, the Palestinian team played against an Israeli team for the first time. When the Palestinian team departed for Oslo, Yasser Arafat temporarily interrupted peace talks with Israel to travel to the airport and wish the team good luck.

The Norwegian Football Association (NFF) uses football schools and tournaments as a method of intercultural communication and reconciliation. NFF acts on the principle that sport should be open to all and that no one can be discriminated against on the basis of social or cultural origin, gender, disability, age, sexual orientation, or similar reasons.

Norway supports the organization of such events and benefits from them in terms of building a national brand. The country pursues the same goal by awarding sports scholarships to foreign students to study at Norwegian universities. (Jarvie, 2014). This is so that foreigners can visit and discover Norway and its values - a method often used in public diplomacy. Sports are also used for the adaptation of migrants. Since sports activities are a constitutive part of the Norwegian identity, doing sport is another 'channel' of assimilation with the culture of the host country. In many cases, sports activity can increase the opportunities for migrants to get into the mainstream culture of the host country. NIF has established Youth Sport Exchange Programme (YSEP) which aimed at young professionals from Norway and partners in Southern and Eastern Africa. Through YSEP NIF give youth from Norway and Africa the opportunity to experience each other's realities, cultures and ways of organizing sports which can be considered as a tool of sports diplomacy.

The Norwegian sports model contributes to creating trust, approach and building local communities after a conflict situation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Strategy for Culture and Sports Cooperation with countries in the South states that sport is a positive and hitherto underutilized driving force for development and peace: When it comes to peace and conflict work, "well-organized sports activities will be able to teach the participants respect, honesty, communication, cooperation, empathy and understanding of rules... Sports can therefore create a basis for greater trust and respect between people" (Strategy for Norway's culture and sports cooperation with countries in the South, p. 39). Voluntary sport is also mentioned in terms of function as a school in democracy. And strengthening of voluntary sport is an element in building infrastructure in a society.

The country has made a lot in terms of building its international brand, despite relatively limited assets in terms of soft power and small population. (Kobierecki, 2017a) Despite the success of sports diplomacy, it plays a supporting role in the branding of the Norwegian nation. However,

this role should not be underestimated - the goals of sports diplomacy go beyond associating a country with sports performance or promoting Norway as a sports country.

5.3.2 Tools of sports diplomacy in Finland

In general, speaking of sports diplomacy, the Ministry of Education and Culture says that “If we don’t use it so much it doesn’t mean that we undervalue it if it’s used by other countries and by other occasions. We see the value of it when it comes to cooperation in the other parts of the world.” (Interview 2)

Finland cooperates on sports issues with organizations such as the European Union, the Council of Europe and UNESCO. The Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland cooperates with different organizations on sports issues and participates in sport-related matters in the European Union.

Finland uses sports as an integral part of building friendly relations with other countries. The country more or less uses the straight bilateral cooperation in sport but not using it so much as a kind of side of some other discussions. The most indicative example in this case is the example of relations with China. 2019 has been declared the Sino-Finnish Year of Winter Sports. The theme year and preparations for the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics are expected to increase Chinese interest in Finnish knowledge of winter sports. Finland, in turn, will help develop cooperation and export business opportunities with a focus on the Beijing Olympics. However, the Ministry of Education and Culture while acknowledges cooperation with China does not consider this to be sports diplomacy (Interview 2) despite the fact that it fits into the definition of sports diplomacy and correspond with its goals.

Finland supports junior football teams that are coming to the tournament in Helsinki. (Helsinki Cup) The tournament, which has been played since 1976, has played a role in promoting the well-being and community of children and young people for decades. Helsinki Cup is a tolerant, equal, international, and respectful junior football tournament for girls and boys.

Another important initiative from Finland is the New leaders Program. (Interview 3) It is led by Finnish National Olympic Committee in cooperation with several National Olympic Committees (Lithuania, Ireland and Azerbaijan). The initiative is supported by IOC and EOC. The main idea of this program is to create a platform which would allow young people a space to exchange their ideas in order to change the sport movement in Europe. It also aimed at supporting equality, sustainability, human rights, and ethics. It is intended to implement the IOC Gender Equality Recommendations as well.

The main sports-related priority of the Finnish Presidency of the Council of the EU was fighting against corruption and safeguarding children which are both connected with good

governance. Also, social sustainability, where diversity and gender equality were crucial elements. (ENGSO, 2019) This continues the logic of the Brighton Plus Helsinki Declaration in 2014 and other initiatives aimed at equality. The priority goal of the Declaration is the development of a sports culture that will actively involve women in all spheres of sports and physical culture. Its principles include fairness and equality in society and sport, ensuring equal and safe access to sports facilities, developing school and youth sports, actively involving women, achieving equality in elite sports and leadership in sports. Also increasing access to learning, training and professional development, development of information and research in the field of sports, equal pay in sports and strengthening cooperation at the national and international levels.

It is interesting to consider such a phenomenon as The EuroGames. This sports event supports the LGBT community through sport. But at the same time, it is open for everyone, regardless of sex and sexual identity, age, or physical ability. Helsinki hosted the EuroGames in 2016. The event was organized by HÖT - sports club for representatives of sexual and gender minorities, which was founded in 1997. The EuroGames 2016 held 14 events and 3000 people participated in total. (EuroGames Helsinki 2016)

There are special organizations in Finland responsible for the development of eSports. eSports is recognized as a part of the Finnish sports community by the Finnish Olympic Committee. Helsinki Expo and Convention Centre is hosting an eSport event, Assembly, which is the biggest eSports event in Finland (eSports in Finland). In the long term, eSports is able to enhance the image of the nation among young people. In Finland, professional players are officially recognized as athletes, which suggests the country's growing interest in this area. Also, eSports teams and players have a good income and popularity among youth.

The LiiKe organization was mentioned separately. This non-governmental organization was established in 2001. Sport is the main tool used in the projects of this organization. The main goal of the organization is the development of children and youth in developing countries, through sports and health education. It is another possible form of sports diplomacy – sports development and aid for developing countries through sport and also it is education development through sport programs which also can constitute a part of sports diplomacy and is a part of Finland national brand. If we are talking about development aiding Finland cooperates with countries in Asia and Africa through LiiKe – an organization which is doing a small-scale development cooperation between Finland and Tanzania. This organization in cooperation with iSports Development Aid Tanzania educated physical education and sport teachers and coaches. Also, LiiKe provided the necessary equipment to schools and helped to build and maintain sports' fields in this schools. In the field of sports education, LiiKe has also established a master's degree Program in the University of Dar Es Salaam. This was made in cooperation with the University of Jyväskylä.

Finnish sports diplomacy and sport policy has the negative tendency for athletes to perform on the international stage which reduces the number of opportunities to broadcast values to a wide audience through successful performances and competing athletes. In this regard, it is possible to revise the existing organizational structure, organize experimental groups to prepare athletes specifically for major starts, such as the world championship and the Olympic Games. Also, in Finland little attention is paid to international multilateral projects outside of cooperation within the EU. In general, the Finnish experience in the field of sports diplomacy should be viewed from the point of view of potential development and long-term goals.

Sports can be used to accelerate development processes. Sports projects are also supported to find opportunities for self-expression, integration and promotion of gender equality. (Development strategy for children and young people in the South) Projects rely on sports, and countries use sport as a tool for branding. Countries are actively using the well-established image of athletes in the mass consciousness to strengthen countries' image abroad and within themselves. This method can be considered quite effective, since athletes are often mentioned in the media, forming a positive image of the country, glorifying it at and outside competitions. It is also worth clarifying that it is represented to varying degrees in each country.

Sport has also acquired a very important position in Norwegian society. Sport is a part of life of all Norwegians. Despite the fact that sport did not play such a key role in the formation of Norway as a nation, much attention is paid to sports, starting with schools and kindergartens which regularly organize various sports classes, both in winter and in summer. It was after the World War II when sport in Norway has begun to be socially perceived as a valuable national resource. The emerging ideas of the welfare state favored the promotion of sport as a cultural value. Sport was also promoted as a cultural common good. A review of sports events held in Norway allow us to assume them as a part of state sports diplomacy, because they are used to create a positive image of Norway or to draw attention to the country (despite that there is little emphasis in existing public diplomacy strategies sports).

Norway is a leading winter sports nation. This is expressed both through the fact that a number of winter sports have great support in the population and through good international results in a number of winning sports. Sport is one of many topics in the political and societal debate in Norway. However, it is important to be aware that the field of sport, managed by the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) and its affiliated organizations, is by and large autonomous with its own political and legal system. Except for martial arts, there are no public laws specifically pertaining to sport in Norway. Sports diplomacy, in the meaning described previously, plays a diminutive role in the political discourse in Norway.

Sport constitutes an important part of the Finnish culture and national identity. Finland has always had a strong sports culture, equally when it comes to participating or empathizing with their compatriots while watching sports.

Countries do not use the definition of sports diplomacy, and it is not enshrined in any document. Each country in the study seeks to use sport as a diplomacy tool in different ways. For example, Norway is characterized by an emphasis on the performance of athletes specializing in winter sports and participation in projects to help countries of the South. For Finland, sport is more a means of achieving domestic political goals than foreign ones. However, the country seeks to develop sports cooperation, including international.

Norway and Finland are characterized by a strong differentiation of results by sport, associated with geographic and climatic characteristics. Financing the sport sector in Finland is a problem, which seems to be insufficient to demonstrate good results.

High-level political interaction between the state and partners from third countries was used to attract interest and participation in projects at the local level. Some projects are directly related to the new priorities of the international development goals of states and, therefore, support the country's broader international activities in the field of diplomacy. Some projects place particular emphasis on engaging with top-level stakeholders (e.g., ministries of sports and education), which allows projects to support the development of sustainable structures that meet the long-term goals of partner countries.

The organization of large-scale sports events is not the main focus of sports diplomacy in Norway, it can be seen as part of promoting the brand of the nation-leader in winter sports, since the World Cup stages in skiing and biathlon are held annually in various cities in Norway. For Finland, this thesis is only partially applicable, as lack of funding and infrastructure reduces the number of potential sporting events.

There is a large layer of potentially beneficial areas for the development of sports diplomacy, for example, in the field of projects of assistance to the countries of the South, it is possible to expand the number of countries to which assistance is directed. It is also possible to organize projects in conjunction with other countries, which will help reduce the burden on the budget and strengthen cooperation.

It is also possible to highlight the general development opportunities. Sports diplomacy should be based on narrower provisions dealing directly with sport and its interaction with politics. A sufficiently high efficiency of informal negotiations through major sporting events should be used. The lack of television cameras, a large number of observers, and an official protocol make them more trusting. It is possible to increase the number of existing programs for the

implementation of sports diplomacy through international training camps, exchanges, and competitions on different scales and target groups.

6. SPORTS DIPLOMACY OF NORWAY AND FINLAND IN THE FIELD OF ANTI-DOPING.

6.1 The problem of doping in the modern world

In recent decades, doping scandals in professional sports have been talked about almost as often as about outstanding victories of athletes. The use of illegal drugs and the fight against them is one of the main and extremely painful problems in world sports.

Doping is defined as the commission of one or more anti-doping rule violations set in Articles 2.1 to 2.11 of the World Anti-Doping Agency Code. (WADA 2021) Doping, according to the Code, is not a substance, method of exposure or something else material, but, inter alia, an offense entailing responsibility. This approach differs significantly from that used in the 20th century, when doping was considered to be any means of influencing the athlete's body (taking pharmacological drugs, using parenteral methods of administering drugs, etc.), prohibited by the International Anti-Doping Law in force at that time. Doping was defined as biologically active substances, methods of artificially increasing performance, which have side effects on the body and for which, as a rule, there are special detection methods. Currently, a significantly different approach is used to define the concept of doping.

Prohibited List identifies the Prohibited Substances and Prohibited Methods. Prohibited Method is any method so described on the Prohibited List. Prohibited Substance is any substance, or class of substances, so described on the Prohibited List. The substances prohibited for intake by an athlete at any time include the following subsections: Non-approved substances, anabolic agents, peptide hormones, growth factors, related substances, and mimetics, Beta-2 agonists, hormone and metabolic modulators, diuretics and masking agents, stimulants, narcotics, cannabinoids, glucocorticoids,

Prohibited Methods are manipulation of blood and blood components, chemical and physical manipulation, gene and cell doping. A more detailed description of the methods and substances can be found in the Prohibited List (2021) on the WADA website.

In 1928, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) was the first to ban doping, followed by other international sports federations. However, these bans had no effect, since athletes were not tested for doping at that time.

In the 1950s, amphetamine use migrated from army to sports. Amphetamines helped to cope with fatigue from hard exercise. On August 26, 1960, doping had its first victim: Danish cyclist Knut Jenssen collapsed during the 100-kilometer race at the Olympics in Rome. An autopsy revealed traces of amphetamine in his blood. On July 13, 1967, British cyclist Tommy Simpson died during the 13th stage of the famous Tour de France. Drugs and alcohol had been found in his

system. He is also famous by his quote: “If 10 kill you, I'll take nine” (Fotheringham, 2011) Up to this point, doping was not perceived as cheating and was common, in particular, in cycling. The death of Simpson confirmed the need to implement anti-doping measures.

In 1966, the first doping tests were introduced at the World Cup and Cycling Championships. In 1967, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) created a medical commission that published the first list of prohibited substances. The first tests at the Olympic Games were carried out in 1968 at the Winter Games in Grenoble and at the Summer Games in Mexico City. By the 1970s most international federations have introduced doping tests for athletes. Various international federations and governments of the countries of the world developed their own anti-doping legislation, had their own systems of punishment. International cooperation in the field of doping was handled by the Council of Europe.

The emergence of such a cultural phenomenon as the doping scandal is associated with the loud coverage of the use of illegal drugs in the 1980s and 1990s. These were mainly athletes from sports such as athletics, weightlifting, swimming, cycling, as well as cross-country skiing. The doping scandals of the time combined public censure against doping athletes and calls for sports organizations to act. This concept really penetrated the consciousness of people. The key events in the formation of the doping scandal as a special direction can be considered the disqualification of sprinter Ben Johnson at the 1988 Games in Seoul, as well as a series of doping scandals called the “Festina affair”. As it turned out later, over the next few years, the results of six of the eight runners-up in the final 100m race at the 1988 Seoul Olympics, where Johnson competed, were in doubt. For this reason, she was dubbed “the dirtiest race of all time.” After the doping scandals during this Olympics, the problem of doping reached the international level, and not individual drugs were banned, but all drugs based on the same substance. The Festina affair has increased public and political attention to the problem of doping. There were demands for tougher anti-doping policies from the media, as well as national governments. The creation of the World Anti-Doping Agency in 1999 is a by-product of the IOC's efforts to reform anti-doping policy existed at the time (Hanstad, Smith, & Waddington, 2008). The creation of WADA and the adoption of the Anti-Doping Code in 2003, combined with the development of the organization's structure, gave a political dimension to the global anti-doping movement.

The establishment of WADA first of all united the anti-doping services of different countries, which were themselves interested in ensuring that their athletes taking illicit drugs did not get to major tournaments and were “weeded out” even during domestic competitions. The emergence of WADA heralded a tightening and strengthening of anti-doping policies, at least in elite sports. Several types of testing were created, biological and blood passports of athletes appeared, and tough sanctions were introduced against violators. Also, testing began to be carried

out during the out-of-competition period and a monitoring system for the location of athletes was introduced. (Aguilar, Muñoz-Guerra, Plata & Del Coso, 2017; Dimeo & Møller, 2018). However, along with the tightening of policies and the identification of more positive samples of athletes, other ethical issues emerged, such as the right to privacy (McNamee & Tarasti, 2010), the principle of strict accountability (Geeraets, 2018) and individualization of responsibility (Waddington & Møller, 2019). In addition, as the media coverage of doping scandals intensified, so did the public reaction. According to Dimeo & Møller, athletes who are caught using illegal drugs or are suspected of using them become the “folk devils” of anti-doping folklore (2018).

In general, doping can be viewed as a moral problem, since sport is a way of developing a person's moral character, and the use of illegal drugs and methods of improving athletic performance is contrary to both the principle of fair play and moral attitudes. Therefore, when considering this issue from the moral point of view, it can be said that the main purpose of anti-doping policy is to ensure that the ethics and morals of the athlete and sport as a whole is protected (Sandvik, 2020)

Some scholars view anti-doping as limitation the freedom of choice of athletes and their development in sport (Foddy & Savulescu, 2007), some see it as potential restriction in moral agency in sport (Brown, 1980), others argue that anti-doping limit athletes as people (Savulescu, Foddy, & Clayton, 2004). Some admit that doping is potentially harmful and is a problem to modern sport and society, some confine anti-doping regulations to set of moral boundaries. But nevertheless, all scientists agree that the current restrictions include ethical problems as well.

In sum, we can say that the anti-doping movement includes a wide range of actors from anti-doping and sports organizations, national governments, and intergovernmental organizations, to stakeholders and the media, as well as research and development, the athletes and sports leaders. A general perception of the main actors and their connections in the global anti-doping movement can be obtained from Appendix C. As can be seen, WADA is the main actor in the field of anti-doping. It is also worth noting that the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) is an independent legal body that settles sports-related disputes and also deals with the resolution of doping cases.

The problem of doping requires increased attention. It discredits sports in the eyes of public opinion and sponsors do not want to finance those sports where there is a high probability of being drawn into a doping scandal. Also, it deteriorates the country's image in the international arena. Therefore, it was decided to consider doping and anti-doping policy in the context of sports diplomacy in order to see the connection between the country's image and its positioning in the world arena with doping scandals and pursuing a consistent and active anti-doping policy as a way to broadcast its ideas and values.

6.2 The place of anti-doping policy in sports policy in Norway and Finland

6.2.1 The place of anti-doping policy in sports policy in Finland

Anti-doping policy in Finland complies with the conventions and also comply with the World Anti-Doping Code (2003, revised in 2021) and the Finnish Anti-Doping Rules (2021), which is based on the World Anti-Doping Code. Finland has also adopted ratified the UNESCO International Anti-Doping Convention and the International Convention against Doping in Sport 2005. SUEK (Finnish Center for Integrity in Sports) will update the criteria for anti-doping programs to comply with the Code and national standards. At the same time, anti-doping programs will expand when criteria are included alongside anti-doping activities to combat anti-competitive manipulation and spectator safety and comfort. The pilot organizations are working on the criteria and programs together with SUEK. The aim is to introduce everyone to the new criteria at the turn of the year. Anti-doping activities are conducted through the FINCIS. Finnish Olympic and Paralympic Committee is also an interested party in this field. Finland has an anti-doping service in amateur sport, recreational sport and fitness. It is called Dopinglinkki (www.dopinglinkki.fi) Thus, the very fact of the existence of specialized institutions allows us to speak about the existence of a policy in the field of countering doping. Also, international anti-doping cooperation is carried out within the Council of Europe, the European Union, UNESCO and WADA.

FINCIS cooperates with different bodies on national and international level. For instance, it collaborates with The Finnish Olympic Committee and the Finnish Paralympic Committee. They share the common goal of upholding and promoting the ideals and goals of fair play in the sports community, and to combating doping nationally and internationally. It also should be mentioned that both parties argue that doping is not accepted in any form and that doping violations are prevented through training and communication. Education is often pointed to as one of the distinguishing features of Finland, including in its branding strategy. Therefore, the reduction of doping through education can be part of the brand of the nation and sports diplomacy as well.

Finland is actively involved in the development of doping control and international cooperation with legislative bodies. In addition to international cooperation, Finland is interested in cooperation in the Baltic region within the framework of cooperation between the police and customs authorities. (Ministry of Education and Culture Memorandum)

Finland along with Norway is part of International Anti-Doping Group (IADA). The IADA Agreement promotes best anti-doping practices and experiences. IADA countries take initiatives and influence WADA. The IADA agreement covers Australia, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Japan, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and New Zealand.

The Ministry of Culture and Sports organizes official meetings at which representatives of various authorities such as customs, police, representatives of various ministries and national doping organizations exchange information, and meetings for doping researchers from various fields are funded by Ministry of Culture and Sports. (Ministry of Education and Culture Memorandum) Another doping research network exists between Dopinglinkki and the National Institute for Health and Welfare, the Finnish Youth Research Network, the Finnish Student Service and the Sports Medicine Foundation through the exchange of information and knowledge. Those meetings could also be used as a means of sports diplomacy in order to advance policy and create development initiatives.

Anti-doping policy in Finland is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Culture, which is the source of its funding and is also responsible for the main anti-doping efforts. In addition, the Ministry of Education and Culture coordinates the development of sports organizations, as well as their financial support in the anti-doping field. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Health is responsible for medicine legislation and the Ministry of Justice is responsible for updating and amending the Criminal Code.

The overall goal of anti-doping policy is to prevent the use of substances or methods harmful to the health of athletes in order to improve athletic performance.

The main challenge that can be identified, according to the Ministry of Education and Culture is the lack of education (Interview 2) because education is the most crucial part of anti-doping in any case, because preventive measures are the key for the anti-doping policy. The other part is to have those countries which are not so well-developed in the anti-doping field to get involved or to better develop their anti-doping system in order to have a Convention and Code function globally and to have a real kind of fair competition globally. (Ibid) Another point is to have better understanding and cooperation between international federations, IOC and the government in the anti-doping policy and doing it. Here we can trace the “aid rhetoric”, which is also seen in sports projects and which can be presented through sports diplomacy.

The main direction for the development of anti-doping policy in Finland is education which has been one of the priorities and continues to be like that. (Interview 2) The other one is testing and that’s other means to do the anti-doping policy. The Anti-Doping Code and the Convention gives the Ministry a guideline of what to do and how to formulate anti-doping policy in the future.

In 2009 Ministry of Education and Culture also established with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health a kind of helpline in the first place but now it’s also done its own study on education and training on antidoping outside elite sports. It is called Dopinglinkki, it’s also doing preventive work on another kind of drugs, alcohol. In general, Dopinglinkki provides information on doping issues mainly for the recreational sports athletes and their circle, but also can be used

by the professionals. The more recent kind of development which would be very interesting to hear about and to do research is how the social media interferes to doping and antidoping, how it affects young people's opinion about doping and antidoping and that kind of questions. Nowadays Dopinglinkki is funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Funding Centre for Social Welfare and Health Organisations. Previously, support was also provided by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. The service was developed in cooperation with the Finnish Center for Professional Ethics in Sports. It also could serve as a means of sports diplomacy, because it can help to promote the image of Finland if the research would be expanded towards the social media and young people in different countries. Finland can use this platform to establish new ties and transmit its values.

In 2014 Finland had a kind of working group which gave its outcome on how to develop the anti-doping policy further. It was a working group between Ministries and sports organizations. It also concerned the governance of anti-doping. It was also eligible to the question of how to govern the ethical issues in sport and Ministry of Education and Culture established several structures and also broaden the scope of the national anti-doping organizations to be a kind of organization of sport integrity (FINCIS, former FINADA). Ethical issues are of the primary importance in the course of Finnish policy. Therefore, using the anti-doping measures to raise awareness of social issues can be counted as a sports diplomacy. Ethical issues are also mentioned both by FINCIS and Ministry of Education and Culture. Finland promotes such values as inclusivity and openness, supports non-discrimination and sustainability in the field of sports and snit-doping in particular.

According to the statutes, the Finnish Government finances around 95% of the national anti-doping programme. Cooperation between SUEK and the Government is constructive and supportive. SUEK cooperates with the national federations on a daily basis. (The implementation of the WADA code in the European Union) Significant work has been done under the European Anti-Doping Convention to support European States in building anti-doping systems and to prepare common views among European countries on WADA's activities, regulations and standards.

Olympic and Paralympic Committee of Finland along with SUEK organized The Clean Win program in which The Golden Baton serves as a symbol of fair play in sport. This project challenges its recipients to promote clean sport and commit to its values. Golden sticks move in championship series, in international sports events held in Finland and between sports schools. Each year, the sports academy or sports institute challenges the next actor through the baton to come up with new ways to take the message of a pure sport in sport. This project is interesting in terms of sports diplomacy as well, because it can help to promote Finland's image as a doping-free

country and establish new contacts, both between people and between the various organizations involved in this project.

In general, the fight against doping and an active anti-doping policy are in line with the main goals of Finnish sports diplomacy, as outlined in the previous chapter. In particular, this allows Finland to support education in third countries, as well as promote country's brand.

6.2.2 The place of anti-doping policy in sports policy in Norway

Norwegian anti-doping policy as Finnish is developed in line with international agreements and conventions on the issue, including the Council of Europe's and UNESCO's anti-doping conventions, and, for sports organizations and athletes, the World Anti-Doping Code. Challenges occur when individuals, organizations and states do not abide by the rules.

In this regard, Norway highlights the establishment of WADA as a crucial step towards clean international competitive sport. And the Government of Norway considers itself as an integral part of global anti-doping work. (ADNO). The main means of implementing the anti-doping policy of Norway in the international domain is bilateral cooperation. Through cooperation, Norway is trying to transfer its experience and its vision of doping-free sport around the world. (Hanstad, 2015).

The main objective for anti-doping work of NIF (before the establishment of ADNO) was 'All Norwegian sports shall be free of doping' (NIF, Rammeprogram for Norges idrettsforbunds antidopingarbeid 1992-1995). NIF has done a great job in terms of establishing ethics and values. The set of measures carried out affected all levels of Norwegian sports - from internal administration to the widest target groups.

Anti-Doping Norway was established on 3 June 2003 by the Norwegian Sports Confederation and the Olympic and Paralympic Committee (NIF) and the Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs (KKD) as an independent body. This was made to separate the doping-related cases and from the state and NIF. Previously, it was NIF that organized the doping controls itself. NIF and the ministry appoint the board, but otherwise have no direct influence on Anti-Doping Norway's work. (ADNO) Anti-doping Norway's work in Norwegian sports is financed with "betting" funds from the Ministry of Culture. In recent years, extensive work has also established against doping as a health and societal problem, with funding from the health authorities.

Through extensive preventive work, Anti-doping Norway wants athletes and leaders to think through their choices and values. It also initiates research on anti-doping-related topics. Preventive work includes lectures, programs, work via social media, courses and seminars.

Anti-Doping Norway has co-operation agreements with the Norwegian Police Directorate and the Customs and Excise Service. The agreements shall facilitate good dialogue, information flow and competence sharing for the prevention and spread of doping substances.

Anti-Doping Norway argues that it “must be at the forefront of the development of new methods and help build new knowledge” as well as “all top athletes internationally [should be] subject to the same strict control regime as in Norway”. That correlates with the moral leader role. This is also confirmed by the thesis that Anti-doping Norway wants to be a driving force in the international anti-doping work. (ADNO)

The government provides funding for Anti-Doping Norway, which is an independent foundation tasked with the responsibility to manage anti-doping work in Norway. Anti-Doping is a major focus area for the government's sport policy, and arguably one of the most important issues in international sports cooperation.

Some early Norwegian anti-doping campaigns focused on adverse effects on health and human behavior. Tangen & Møller (2019) see in them the elements of propaganda. Over time the focus has shifted to encouragement on fair play and aversion to cheating. For Norwegians, a combination of high performance and morale is important.

Norway has promoted clean sport and sees itself as one of the founders of the world anti-doping movement. As stated earlier, the most important aspects of anti-doping work for Norway are ensuring the health of athletes and the nation and promoting fair play. For Norway, it is important to transmit the set of values through sport, because it is believed that sport can be a carrier and mediator of values. (Hanstad et al. 2006) This statement, in my opinion, is quite consistent, both with the general political line of Norway, and with the fact that anti-doping policy can be included in sports diplomacy since it falls under this definition.

The Follow-Up Report by Norway on the recommendations of the Monitoring Group of the Anti-Doping Convention (2010) support the international cooperation and states that much work has been put into helping countries with less developed anti-doping measures.

What sets Norway apart from Finland, for example, is that Norway sees itself as a kind of moral leader in the field of doping and ethics in sport. (Gilberg, Breivik & Loland, 2006). This role can be seen in Norway's anti-doping policy.

So, Norway anti-doping activities can be part of sports diplomacy, because they promote the image Norway as the leader and source of exceptional skills and knowledge. Norway's anti-doping policy is also based on existing anti-doping legislation and functioning institutions. NIF as well as the Ministry of Culture are the main actors in this field. The work carried out by these organizations is quite active. Finland also has its national Anti-Doping regulations, yet they called Anti-Doping Rules instead of Anti-Doping Code. But nevertheless, they are created in accordance

with WADA Code. The main difference here can be found in the key players. For Norway, it most likely be NIF, because of its high degree of autonomy and vast area of work. Finnish NOC is less active than its Norwegian counterpart, so here we can probably name the Ministry of Education and Culture as the most important actor in sports diplomacy.

Both Anti-Doping organizations (ADNO and FINCIS) are primarily aimed to oversee doping control. But FINCIS is also aimed at ethical issues and participates in different programs (e.g. IntegriSport project Next ERASMUS+) and probably has a broader scope of interest and activities than the Norwegian counterpart, which mainly focuses on doping issues and doping prevention.

In general, it can be said that differences in anti-doping measures correlate with differences in approaches to sports diplomacy and their goals. Norway, which positions itself as a leader country (in winter sports), also sees itself as such in the anti-doping field. Finland, having learned a tough lesson after the Lahti scandal, has done a huge job to regain its position in sports, including the work in the anti-doping. Therefore, it was important for them to prevent possible repeated cases. And the work is now aimed at preventing such situations both in Finland and in third countries. In particular, this is done through educational projects, which are also part of Finland's brand strategy.

6.3 Anti-doping as part of sports diplomacy of Norway and Finland.

The relevance of the study of the topic of doping and anti-doping can be explained by the increased media interest in doping scandals, tough attitude towards individual athletes accused of using prohibited substances, as well as political and public pressure. Sport correlates with the core values of the modern society, which among other things include the strive to push the boundaries, the tendency to extensive use of scientific discoveries and technological inventions. Also, sport is individualistic by its nature and elite sport in particular, has a distinct performance spirit. (Gilberg et al, 2006)

The media play a big role in promoting clean sports and anti-doping, as doping scandals are a topic that sells well and attracts attention. Therefore, the media often do not attach much importance to indirect parameters and circumstances, which often radically change the attitude to the case. Therefore, we can say that in most cases, all responsibility for a positive doping test falls solely on the athlete. (Tangen & Møller, 2019)

Lecturer Emmanouil Georgiadis from University of Suffolk Georgiadis and Irini Papazoglou who works at the Psychiatric, Sismanogleio General Hospita (2014) studied the Olympic medal winners that were banned. The study argues that the feelings that the athletes experienced, were completely opposite – from admiration to disapproval, and so on. Athletes were

worried about their public image and its change. Also, they believed that their close circle and the media criticize them harshly, which made the athletes even more distressed (p.65). And the athletes, in turn, represent a country whose image is also damaged.

The position of defender of clean, doping-free sports around the world is also supported by the Norwegian anti-doping authorities. They also work towards the ultimate goals of equal opportunities to every athlete. They try to achieve it by protecting clean athletes and punishing dopers and cheaters. Tangen & Møller (2019) call it a “moral duty” of some sorts. These high moral aspirations are rooted in Norway's conviction that they have the best practices and knowledge to share with the rest of the world. (Tangen & Møller, 2019). This interesting concept is indirectly confirmed both in the stated goals of ADNO, and in an interview with the Ministry, in which they say that everything works great, and nothing needs to be changed.

Moral values, the pursuit of equality, fair play, and responsibility for these concepts are one of the fundamental elements that construct the Norwegian identity. These concepts, together with altruism and kindness, are the core of the Norwegian Social Democratic welfare state. This importance of morality, responsibility, purity, fairness, kindness, equality and protection is reflected in Norwegian anti-doping policy.

Statement on the Norwegian anti-doping policy made by Tangen and Møller corresponds to the definition of sports diplomacy and its functions. The authors argue that ADNO sees itself as a source of “morality” because it provides the necessary knowledge to remove doping from sport, which considers immoral. Also, the anti-doping policy and political anti-doping campaigns of Norway are presented by the country as part of its altruistic mission. Or at least the country tries to convince the world about it. (Tangen & Møller, 2019)

So, the core of the self-perception of Norway lies in the principles of morality, decency and responsibility for the common good. And that image is transmitted onto the anti-doping discourse and anti-doping policy, when every athlete who is caught cheating (and is not a citizen of Norway) is by default viewed as immoral and bad.

The Finnish representatives when asked how the anti-doping policy correlate with the concept of sports diplomacy said that it is a part of it. Having expressed doubt that anti-doping as such is a theme of diplomacy, they nevertheless confirmed that when exercising sports diplomacy in a large scale it might be one issue among others. (Interview 2)

Unlike Norway, which, as noted earlier, consistently promotes its concept of exclusivity, Finland in the field of anti-doping adheres to the general line set in sports policy. More on this will be discussed in the next paragraph, but in my opinion, the idea of KIHU researcher Jari Lämsä (2012) on the impact of legitimacy input on sport turned out to be key in defining and implementing anti-doping policy and sports policy in general. The key event here is doping,

expressed in the public's response to Finnish skiers doping violations in 2001, heavily contributing among other things to the breakdown of the skiing federation (Lämsä, 2012).

In the field of sports, athletes are the main players in doping and anti-doping policy as part of sports diplomacy. Initially, they receive all the damage, which is then transmitted to the country's image. The commercialization of sport has allowed doping scandals to emerge and become a separate area of discourse. Also, in my opinion, we can say that doping is destructive sports diplomacy. And anti-doping, through active joint and individual work, can help build contacts and build a favorable image. Or at least not mess up the current one.

6.4 Problems and prospects of sports diplomacy in Norway and Finland in the field of anti-doping

In this section of the thesis the research will take a look at how countries' image has suffered since the removal of the top stars. And I will conclude how they cope with the consequences. And how does this all relate to sports diplomacy.

Every year, from about 3,000 doping samples are taken by Norwegian and Finnish Anti-Doping agencies. And from that 10-15 people in Norway and around 3-7 in Finland are convicted of using doping.

The Ministry of Education and Culture says that in the country like Finland only few cases are enough (to damage the image of the country) not to mention the kind of case like "the Lahti case", almost 20 years ago. And in that regard, they highlight anti-doping policy and its efficiency as an instrument to prevent such cases, continuing that was the case that they do not want to have anymore because it ruins the Finnish image on sport globally, so that's "definitely one thing to avoid" (Interview 2). Also, interviewees mentioned that a lot have happened after the Lahti case and the country and the Ministry and the ski federation in particular did not want to this to happen again. Admitting in the media the athletes had used doping was named as a crucial part to go forward.

Ministry of Education and Culture also said that a lot of work has been done and it was done according to the lines Council of Europe Anti-doping convention because there was no other international anti-doping Code at the moment. Also, the money was withdrawn for a while from the Ski Federation because of the 'Lahti case'. The interviewees said that they "have a kind of obligation from the Convention to do it (anti-doping policy) right way" (Interview 2)

The existing research on doping and anti-doping is considered quite marginal, but the Ministry of Education and Culture expressed hope that it will become better in the future. Especially, the social science research on anti-doping.

SUEK and Finland in general supports cooperation between anti-doping organizations is considers it very close. Good practices are shared regularly, and new operating models are actively developed together. Cooperation is carried out in areas such as education, communication, intelligence and research. SUEK is currently coordinating the work of the training working group. Nordic co-operation has been particularly significant in building quality testing systems and developing the operations of organizations. An agreement has also been signed between the Nordic countries, which entitles athletes from the contracting countries to be tested anytime, anywhere. The first Nordic anti-doping agreement was signed in 1986.

In 2013, the Nordic countries established a joint and co-funded Blood and Steroid Profile Analysis Unit (NAPMU, Nordic Athlete Passports Management Unit) in accordance with the requirements of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). NAPMU operates in Oslo, Norway.

Even though it has been said that Norway pursues the so-called concept of “imagined exceptionalism” and Norway has an active and rather successful anti-doping policy, that does not mean that Norway has zero cases of doping. The first known case of doping in Norway dates back to 1977. Knut Hjeltnes, a discus thrower, and a shot putter tested positive on anabolic steroids. He publicly admitted his fault and then even published a book about it, called “Dopet”. From 1977 to 1985 there were 24 positive doping tests among Norwegian athletes. The number increased from 1998 to 2002 - 38 positive tests. However, this is more indicative of improved detection of banned substances and stricter doping control than an increase in doping use.

The most striking, or at least one of them is the case of Martin Johnsrud Sundby, Norwegian cross-country skier. This case became public in July 2016, despite the fact that 2 samples were taken in 2014 and early 2015. Martin Jonsrud Sundby has twice used more salbutamol than the amount that the FIS regulation considers normal in the TUE. The Court of Arbitration for Sport ruled that he had taken too much of the medicine. He violated anti-doping rules. His punishment was a two-month disqualification and deprivation of two victories in the World Cup races, victories in the Tour de Ski and the overall World Cup. Sundby, his team and the Norwegian Ski Federation (NSF) officials disagreed with the rule violation allegations. It came as a shock to them.

The fact of the Sundby anti-doping rule violation was made public on July 20, 2016, at a press conference of the NSF with the participation of Sundby, team doctor Knut Gabrielsen, federation president Eric Røste and press attaché Espen Graff. Their main position was that Sundby should not be blamed for the violation, even though according to 21.1.3 of the WADA Code the athlete is responsible for what they eat and use. Also, the athlete should know the anti-doping rules and be sure that TUE meets all WADA standards and procedures.

Later, former Minister of Culture and then a member of WADA's Executive Committee, Thorhild Widvey, corrected Røste, saying that doping should not be considered in the context of

collective responsibility and that the responsibility is the burden of the athlete. However, it has also been said that if the athlete's support network, including doctors and administrative personnel do not understand or will not understand the established set of rules, they need to study it or otherwise they will be replaced. (Lersveen 2016).

The question remains why the press conference at which the Sundby doping case was announced took place almost 2 years after the first suspicious sample was taken. The conference took place only after the CAS convicted the athlete, and it seemed clear that the case could not be kept secret and received an acquittal for Sundby is impossible. In the international media, this case was highlighted as doping, and not as a possible negligence in the use of a drug or as a technical error in taking a drug testing sample or dispensing a dose. One of the harshest comments can be seen in the statement of the Finnish journalist, Pekka Holopainen, who wrote that the Sundby case puts the first nail in the coffin of Norwegian skiing (Johannessen 2016). In our opinion, this is certainly a very harsh and emotional comment, but nevertheless suchlike comments damaged Norway's image as the righteous anti-doping leader and the source of the ultimate knowledge.

This case only fueled a discussion in society about where the legal use of drugs and methods that improve the state of the body ends, and where doping and cheating begins. And despite the fact that in Norway, which sees itself as a country with zero tolerance to doping, 15 percent of the Norwegian population believes that Norwegian skiers use illegal substances that improve athletic performance (Rørtveit and Berntsen, 2016).

Norwegian anti-doping policy suffered heavy losses after the anti-doping rule violation and disqualification of Martin Johnsrud Sundby. It is obvious that the very fact of such a sudden recognition that in a country like Norway, a top athlete with high status, takes prohibited substances, damages the image of Norwegian sports and anti-doping policy in particular. It also questions the effectiveness of the policy, and at the time the case raised questions about the sincerity of Norwegian sport regarding anti-doping policy. And one of the worst consequences to Norway is that the self-image of the Norwegians has also been shaken. The soon after followed the Therese Johaug case made the situation worse, in which Norway was also disappointed with the CAS decision to ban the athlete for 18 months. The President of NSF Erik Røste said that "Penalties for violating the doping rules must be strict, but not unreasonable." (Skiforbundet om CAS-dommen). Therese's teammate and another outstanding athlete, Marit Bjørgen said that the penalty was unfair. (Ibid) In contrast, Finnish cross-country skier Aino-Kaisa Saarinen said that this is a very serious doping offense, and the judgment is fair. (Parkkinen, 2017) These statements shows that Norway is reluctant to believe that their athletes can use doping. Nevertheless, those two cases greatly damaged the image of Norway.

Another interesting case is work with RUSADA. It seems to correspond to the role of a medium, but at the same time demonstrates the change in the opinion, when it comes to the prevalence of the “dominant” role of Norway in the anti-doping field and its “zero tolerance” to the foreign dopers.

ADNO is a strategic partner of RUSADA since 2009: during 2009-2011 RUSADA, in cooperation with ADNO, developed a comprehensive anti-doping program covering all the main activities of RUSADA. The goal was for the Russians to establish an effective anti-doping program according to the World Anti-Doping Code (WADC). Anti-Doping Foundation Norway assists the Russian Anti - Doping Agency in this work. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has contributed financially to obtaining this the agreement in place. The project was supposed to be extended for 2012-2014, but it, apparently, was not implemented. The current position in relation to RUSADA and Russian sports in particular is visible in the statement of WADA vice-president from 2016 to 2019, Linda Helleland, who admitted that Russia has made some progress in cleaning up its anti-doping sector, but it has largely escaped punishment for its past sporting crimes — a situation she finds “untenable”, and for which she said, “Russia should bear the brunt of the responsibility, including financial penalties”. (Walker, 2019)

RUSADA also cooperates with the Finnish Center for Integrity in Sports (formerly the Finnish Anti-Doping Agency) for the training of doping control officers. Interaction with FINCIS is in the field of testing, education and investigation and in the field of training TUE and Anti-Doping Disciplinary Committee members. This meets the requirements set by The Ministry of Education and Culture to have those countries which are not so well-developed in the anti-doping field to get involved or to better develop their anti-doping system.

Through doping scandals, in my opinion, the difference in ideas and reactions is the most visible. Finland admitted its “mistake”, reformed its policy and is acting in accordance with it to this day. The Norwegians to the last denied the Sundby case, as this could shake their established image. A tough negative attitude towards foreign doping can still be traced.

Norway and Finland are developing cooperation which supports academic research and also participate in anti-doping meetings. Norway actively supports cooperation between the countries and organizations, as it is a key aspect for strengthening anti-doping programs (ADNO). Finland, as mentioned earlier, also supports initiatives to improve the quality of anti-doping policies in other countries.

Work with young people in the anti-doping field can be identified as another potential area for development. Young people are more susceptible to outside influences that can lead to the use of illegal drugs and also, they are more likely to believe that doping is commonly used in the sport.

Therefore, it is also important to carry out preventive work in this area. And this is where the work of anti-doping policy should be directed, and values of the country can be transmitted.

7. CONCLUSION

In conclusion of this study, the following assumptions can be drawn based on the set goals and objectives.

Sport has historically played an important role in any society and serves as a powerful advocacy platform that can be used to promote a certain type of culture. International sports competitions are becoming a tool for the actions of politicians. In this regard, sports and sporting events, in particular, are a platform for interaction between various political actors and economic actors.

In modern international relations, sport is used as a development tool, as an instrument of “soft power”, as a tool for dialogue and rapprochement of multicultural societies, as well as a tool for ensuring peace in international relations.

The emergence and development of sports diplomacy is directly related to the involvement of sports in the sphere of international relations. This type of public diplomacy has been actively developing in recent decades and is aimed at achieving mutual understanding between peoples, strengthening peace and cooperation through sports. But it also can be used for less moral goals and principles.

In the foreign policy of Norway and Finland, the implementation of sports diplomacy occurs as an integral part of public diplomacy and the concept of branding. Also, the term sports diplomacy itself is not documented in laws and strategies. However, at the same time, Norway and Finland base their policies in this area, guided by such international documents as resolutions of the UN General Assembly “Building a peaceful and better world through sport and the Olympic ideal” (2017) and “Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace”(2016), IOC Olympic Charter (2020) etc., thereby emphasizing the importance of the development of sport as a means of strengthening international cooperation and peaceful existence. In the national legislation of the country, separate provisions are highlighted related to sports diplomacy, such as establishing relations, demonstrating the country's image, etc., allowing us to talk about the potential for the development of sports diplomacy.

Among the mechanisms and tools for the implementation of sports diplomacy, the following can be distinguished, used by the studied countries.

- participation of athletes in international competitions;
- the use of the authority of sports ambassadors - outstanding athletes;
- representation of countries in international sports organizations;
- expansion of cooperation with sports organizations in the main areas of sports development;

- hosting World and European championships in the most popular sports (especially winter), as well as complex international sports events, including the Olympic Games;
- country's sports achievements at major world championships.

Norway is characterized by an emphasis on the performance of athletes specializing in winter sports and participation in projects to help countries of the South. For Finland, sport is more a means of achieving domestic political goals than foreign ones. However, the country seeks to develop sports cooperation, including international.

The organization of large-scale sports events is not the main focus of sports diplomacy in Norway, it can be seen as part of promoting the brand of the nation-leader in winter sports, since the World Cup stages in skiing and biathlon are held annually in various cities in Norway. For Finland, this thesis is only partially applicable, as lack of funding and infrastructure reduces the number of potential sporting events.

There is a large layer of potentially beneficial areas for the development of sports diplomacy, for example, in the field of projects of assistance to the countries of the South, it is possible to expand the number of countries to which assistance is directed. It is also possible to organize projects in conjunction with other countries, which will help reduce the burden on the budget and strengthen cooperation.

It is also possible to highlight the general development opportunities. Sports diplomacy should be based on narrower provisions dealing directly with sport and its interaction with politics. A sufficiently high efficiency of informal negotiations through major sporting events should be used. The lack of television cameras, a large number of observers, and an official protocol make them more trusting. It is possible to increase the number of existing programs for the implementation of sports diplomacy through international training camps, exchanges, and competitions on different scales and target groups.

For Norway and Finland, the development of sports diplomacy also occurs through the implementation of projects in developing countries. Sport is used to build a sense of community, cohesion by strengthening social structures and safety networks. It also supports initiatives aimed at establishing gender equality and promoting social inclusion in sports.

Norway more than Finland can use the potential of participation of athletes in international competitions, since it significantly surpasses the country in the number of medals, both in winter and summer Olympic sports. However, Finland can take advantage of the most popular sports with a wide audience, in which Finnish athletes are represented - ice hockey and Formula 1. Finland has an advantage in these events.

If we think about the possibilities of using athletes to promote the country's image, it should be said that recently in Norway, the existing lag in the results of performances in summer sports is gradually starting to level out, which in the future will allow the country to use the results of athletes' performance with even greater efficiency.

A huge doping scandal in Finland at the beginning of the 21st century has seriously undermined people's confidence in high-performance sports in this country. This led to the development of amateur sports, not elite sports. However, the country seeks to develop initiatives aimed at using sports as a means of achieving good relations, democratic values, etc. Today, the effectiveness of existing projects is difficult to assess; they require consideration in a longer perspective. Sport is also a part of Finland's cultural heritage and therefore can be used to promote the brand of the country.

Speaking about the development potential of sports diplomacy in countries in general, its level can be assessed as high. And the broad prospects for its development should be noted. First of all, this concerns the strengthening of cooperation in the field of sports at the regional level, which can help in achieving long-term cooperation, strengthening regional and international ties. Also, each of the countries has the potential to expand the areas of implementation of sports diplomacy, since today, the main efforts of states are concentrated in one or two areas. The development of the legislative framework dedicated to sports diplomacy and the main directions of its development will also become a significant impetus to enhance efficiency.

Thus, sport can be a social, cultural and political force and, therefore, be one of the key tools for the implementation of modern international relations. Countries use sport and sports diplomacy to gain influence - both in and through sport because of its universal appeal, its ability to evoke positive emotions to connect people at all levels. In addition, it can foster effective cultural relationships based on reciprocity, trust and cooperation, as well as help develop human capital. Trust is a prerequisite for building a nation's brand through sports. This requires a well-thought-out strategy based on clear communication and analysis of events, as well as a well-functioning political, economic and social structure.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How important do you think is to develop cooperation in the field of sports between countries?
What area of sports cooperation you would point as the most important?
2. What, in your opinion, hinders the development of sports cooperation and sports diplomacy?
Do you think there are situations in sports that have the opposite effect of what diplomacy and sports diplomacy in particular is designed for?
3. How could you describe the term sports diplomacy? In your opinion, what role does it play in the politics and scientific discourse of a country?
4. Who would you name as the most important sports diplomacy actors in modern politics?
5. How do you assess the efficiency and viability of institutions and bodies that are responsible for the development of cooperation in the field of sports and sports diplomacy? Do you consider it necessary to create a special executive sports diplomacy body?
6. What projects in the field of sports diplomacy are carried out in today's (country's name) policy? What are the prospects and further directions of their development?
7. How, in your opinion, does anti-doping policy correlate with the concept of sports diplomacy?
What are the main directions for the development of anti-doping policy? What are the main challenges that can be identified?
8. Can you say that there is a designed research area in (country's name) dedicated to sports diplomacy?
9. What documents regulate sports diplomacy in (country's name)? Do you consider it necessary to create a sports diplomacy development strategy for the country?

Appendix B STATISTICAL DATA ON COUNTRIES' SPORTS DIPLOMACY SUCCESS ¹

		Norway	Finland
Olympic Games hosted	Summer Olympics	-	1
	Winter Olympics	3 (incl. 1 Youth Olympic Games)	-
Other sports mega-events hosted (World Championships, European Championships) status, image sports events		FIS Nordic World Ski Championships, The 2020 FIL European Luge Championships, 2020 World Sprint and All-round Speed Skating Championships (allround also in 2017 and in 2013), Nordic Opening, Holmenkollen FIS World Cup Nordic (Holmenkollen Ski Festival) ² .	7*FIS Nordic World Ski Championships, The 47th Biathlon World Championships, The 2017 World Figure Skating Championships, IIHF World Championship, Karjala Cup (hockey), 2005 World Athletics Championships, Nordic Opening ³ .
Olympic medals	Summer Olympics (gold/silver/bronze)	152 (56/49/47)	303 (101/85/117)
	Winter Olympics (gold/silver/bronze)	368 (132/125/111)	167 (43/63/61)
Outstanding athletes, Olympic champions, world champions		Bjørn Dæhlie, Therese Johaug, Marit Bjørgen, Petter Northug Jr., Johannes Klæbo (cross-country skiing), Tora Berger, Liv Grete Skjelbreid-Poirée, Ole Einar Bjørndalen, Emil	Kaisa Mäkäräinen (biathlon), Kiira Korpi (figure skating), Paavo Nurmi, Antti Ruuskanen, Tero Pitkämäki (athletics), Matti Hautamäki, Janne Ahonen (ski jumping)

¹ The table was compiled by the author based on open sources

² Nordic Opening and Holmenkollen FIS World Cup Nordic are annual events.

³ Karjala Cup and Nordic Opening are annual events.

	<p>Hegle Svendsen, (biathlon) Aksel Lund Svindal, Kjetil André Aamodt (alpine ski), Ole Gunnar Solskjær (football), Sonja Henie (figure skating), Johann Olav Koss (speed-skating), Roar Ljøkelsøy, Johann André Forfang, Robert Johansson (ski jumping), Magnus Carlsen (chess).</p>	<p>Aino-Kaisa Saarinen, Pirjo Muranen (cross- country skiing), Enni Rukajärvi (snowboarding) Teemu Selänne, Saku Koivu, Mikko Koivu (ice hockey), Tanja Poutiainen (alpine ski), Mika Häkkinen, Kimi Räikkönen (Formula-1), Juha Kankkunen, Tommi Mäkinen (rally).</p>
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Appendix C STRUCTURE OF THE GLOBAL ANTI-DOPING MOVEMENT

