

TALLINN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

School of Business and Governance

Department of Law

Anastasiia Smirnova

**THE INFLUENCE OF SMALL-SCALE
INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIONS ON ESTONIAN-
RUSSIAN RELATIONS**

Bachelor's thesis

Supervisor: Lecturer Vlad Alex Vernygora

Tallinn 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	3
INTRODUCTION	4
1. THEORY OF THE INTECONNECTION BETWEEN SPORTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	7
1.1. The place of sport in international relations.....	7
1.2. Sport for development and peace as an instrument of international politics	10
2. SPORT FOR PEACE BETWEEN ESTONIA AND RUSSIA.....	17
2.1. General module.....	20
2.1.1. Attitude between Russian and Estonian people	20
2.1.2. Citizens' evaluation of Estonian-Russian relations	25
2.2. Additional module 1: Competitions with Russia/Estonia.....	30
2.3. Additional module 2: Visiting Estonia	33
CONCLUSION.....	39
REFERENCES.....	41
APPENDICIES	43
Appendix 1. Questionnaire. General module.....	43
Appendix 2. Questionnaire. Additional module 1:Competitions with Russia/Estonia	44
Appendix 3. Questionnaire. Additional module 2: A visit to Russia/Estonia.....	45
Appendix 4. Answers for the question "What do you think of Russian people?"	46
Appendix 5. Answers for the question "How do you evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?"	47

ABSTRACT

Sport is believed to have a unique capacity of bonding people and nations, and has, since the ancient times, been used by the governments to achieve certain aims in international politics. Just recently, however, governments, international organizations and researchers have begun to pay attention to sport's capacity for facilitating development and peace. We have attempted to analyse the role of sports in improving interconnections between the countries of Estonia and Russia, which are currently having troubles building strong relationships, due to several factors bringing distrust between the people of Estonia and Russia. For doing this, we have chosen the method of case study. By conducting a survey, we have evaluated the influence of international competitions as a whole, and competitions between Russia and Estonia, in particular, on the attitudes between the residents of Estonia (Tallinn and Tartu), and Russia (Pskov oblast). As a result, we have found out that the influence of participation in competitions between the countries on the attitudes between Russian and Estonian people is appreciable. We have also evaluated the role of socializing events in the process of social bonding between Russian and Estonian nations, which, according to our results, may also have a positive influence, but only if they encourage people from different countries to interact with each other. Overall, we see the high value of implementation of international competitions as a reconciliation tool between Estonia and Russia.

Keywords: sport, peace-building, sport for development and peace, SDP, Estonian-Russian relations, intercultural communication

INTRODUCTION

This paper is to concentrate on a particular segment of the Estonian-Russian relations and the influence that sport competitions exert on the two countries' interactions. In the modern fast-moving globalised world, it is hardly possible to keep the pace in development without international cooperation in business, science, technology, culture and other spheres. Concerning Estonia-Russia interconnections, there is a distinct set of tensions in this framework due to a number of serious factors – be it the complex history between the two countries, or the current grand disagreement between the political West and Russia. Despite the difficulties, even after the Ukrainian crisis, Russia is still the third biggest partner of Estonia by export and import, according to the latest data of the World Bank; while the European Union (EU), with Estonia as its member, is certainly an important partner of Russia in many spheres (World Integrated Trade Solution, n.d.). In addition, considerable number of Russian people lives in Estonia, which places more emphasis on importance of maintaining good diplomatic, economic and cultural links between the countries.

Meanwhile, improving personal attitudes of people towards other countries and nations should conduce to better diplomatic relations with other countries, as public opinion is one of the factors that exert significant influence on policy making of the countries, both in domestic politics and international affairs; while sport has always been considered a great influencer of communicative linkages between different nations. This paper is attempting to analyse the **influence** of sport on the process of shaping relations between nations and, more specifically, its **role** in improving relations between Russia and Estonia.

In the recent years, interconnection between sports and politics has become a popular subject for research amongst scholars. To introduce examples of research in this area we can cite the works of Victor D. Cha, Stuart Murray and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, for example. In these works, the aforementioned scholars prove that international sporting events have played an important role in international relations since the ancient times, not only serving the aim of improving the image of the countries and impelling the countries to adjust to international rules, but also being a suitable arena for the most influential international actors to meet and interact.

However, these scholars mostly explore the big sporting events (such as Olympic Games, FIFA World Cup, Wimbledon and similar) and their role in international relations, which largely owe these big results to their vast publicity (Cha 2009, Murray & Pigman 2009, Pigman 2014). Yet while, there is another effect that international sporting competitions of any level can have on international relations, which is being the subject of interest for many NGOs. According to UN's Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) Programme's reports, sport may be an effective tool for raising tolerance amongst people and peacemaking (Harnessing the Power of Sport for... 2008). From the perspective of SDP, the influence of sports on international relations is literally understudied. Moreover, in order to apply the effect of sports for increasing tolerance amongst people, a due account of many circumstances needs to be taken. The following paper is going to contribute to filling in the gaps in the emerging area of SDP.

The questions to answer are how international competitions between Russia and Estonia may influence relations between the countries, how they actually influence them and what can be done in order to raise effectiveness of sport as a reconciliation tool in the case of Estonia and Russia. The argument of this paper is as follows: international sports competitions between Russia and Estonia can serve as an effective tool for improving relations between the countries, but, for doing this, these competitions should be reorganized with more emphasis on the principles of fair play and tolerance in sport.

For answering the research questions, a combination of different methods is applied – from classic discourse analysis and case-study to statistical methods and surveys. As such, critical analysis of the existent literature on Sport for Development and Peace and discourse analysis are performed for examining discussions in the academic field about the role of sports in international relations and defining the advantages and limitations of the use of sports for reconciliation purposes.

Due to a somewhat controversial nature of sport, case study approach is chosen for the present paper. Whereas many people believe, that sport promotes virtue, esteem and fair play, some scholars are determined that sport provides arena for violence and nationalism. Recalling the words of George Orwell (1945),

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

Having regard to the above and to the lack of analytical research in the area of sport employment in peacemaking processes, we have carried out a survey for concluding if international sporting arrangements are actually working as a peacebuilding tool in the case of

Estonian-Russian relations. Disproportionate stratified sampling method was chosen for collecting the survey answers for acquiring similar number of respondents within certain categories (divided by gender, the fact of participation in international competitions and other factors), as the comparison of these subgroups was one of the primary tasks of the survey. As a result, the questionnaire (*Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*) was filled in by 61 respondents living in Estonia (Tallinn and Tartu) – 59% and Russia (Pskov oblast) – 41%, from whom 66% are Russian by nationality and 34% are Estonian, with approximately the same number of male (46%) and female (54%) respondents. From all the people who have completed the form 59% are engaged in different team sports (mostly volleyball), 50% have once or more participated in international sporting competitions and 31% have at least once taken part in competitions with Russia.

The questionnaire is comprised of 18 questions containing the ones regarding basic information about the questionnaire participants (age, gender and nationality), sports-related questions designed for finding out if respondents were practicing team sports, and if they have ever participated in any international competitions (with Estonia/Russia in particular), and questions regarding respondents' attitudes towards Estonian/Russian people and relations between their countries. For questionnaire data evaluation we used tabular analysis, including elaboration and subgroup analysis, and graphical methods were used for presentation of the results.

1. THEORY OF THE INTECONNECTION BETWEEN SPORTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1.1. The place of sport in international relations

Despite the popular opinion that politics should not interfere with sports, these two have always been interrelated in different ways. Just as sport has been capable of influencing political decisions since, at least, the tradition of Olympic Truce, so can sports be “employed” in the service of governments today.

In existing literature concerning the interdependence of sports and international relations, one can find a number of different approaches on defining the role that international sporting events play in international politics. While exploring the academic material in the field, it is possible to clearly distinguish the two main types of influence that international sporting events exert on international relations. The first type is directly associated with the influence of the big sporting events on international politics. The scholars investigating this type mostly concentrate on the political effects of the big sporting events, which are widely broadcasted and reach the big masses of followers. With the help of these sporting events important political messages can be passed to the public big international attention can be drawn to particular countries, economies may boost and international connections may be established and improved. Another type in sports influence on international politics is concerned with the smaller international sporting events, which do not have a lot of publicity, but still often have a considerable impact on international relations.

Victor D. Cha is one of the scholars exploring the first type of sport’s influence on international relations. In order to define the place of sports in international politics, he is building his reasoning on the three schools of thought in international relations: one considering state power to be central to understanding international relations; second regarding world politics as being supplemented by a variety of separate non-state actors that compose mutually dependent ties around the world, instead of seeing it merely in terms of powerful states; and

the third one emphasizing the role of non-material factors (like values, ideas and national identity) in international relations (Cha 2009, 1583).

According to each of these schools of thought, sport influences international relations in a certain way. Cha says that, in the view of the first group of scholars, sport is largely seen as another field for international competition and cooperation, where sportsmen are representing their countries (2009, 1583). This can mean that the direct use of sport as a tool of the governments mainly used for the purposes of demonstrating their power and improving the image of their countries. According to the second worldview, large international sports organizations have their separate considerable impact on other international processes which then influence international politics because of the “rich interconnectedness of the world” (Cha 2009, 1583). These scholars see sports organizations as separate international actors, which are not tied to the national governments and play their own role in international politics. The third school of thought, according to Cha (2009, 1583-1584), defines the role of sports in international politics by its ability to pass ideas to the people around the world and to be the source of national pride, and to raise patriotism and prestige of countries and nations.

In addition, Cha mentions another group of experts believing that sport “does not fit” in traditional ways of thinking in international politics. These experts believe that sport itself can help to understand international system even better than traditional theories do, as it is “important part of that system, and, as such, is shaped by it while simultaneously influencing it” (Budd & Levermore, as cited in Cha 2009, 1584). The problem here, according to the author, is that this group of experts, while pointing out the problems, do not provide solutions for them, and as the other schools of thought do not agree on the interconnection of sports and world politics, there is still no clear answer about the place of sports in international relations, according to Cha (2009, 1584).

At the same time, Murray and Pigman (2010) define two principal types of sport influence on diplomacy. Per them, the first category of sport diplomacy is based on the conscious employment of sport as a diplomatic tool by the governments. This category, which is a more classical view on sports and politics and which is better explored, includes such types of influence as boycotts of sporting events, employing sportsmen to deliver some political messages to the people, the usage of sporting events for public diplomacy goals and others (Murray & Pigman 2010, 1098-1099). The second category, according to the Australian-South African duo, consists of international competitions, which are not initially aimed at fulfilling any governmental goals, yet still influencing international politics while being arena for international diplomatic communication and negotiation (Murray & Pigman 2010, 1099). This

category is already considered to be more complex and less investigated. Inside this category, the authors distinguish two types of sport's influence on diplomacy, which are the effect of international sport on diplomacy and “the specialized diplomacy of international sport” (Murray & Pigman 2010, 1099), which means diplomatic activities that international actors (e.g. international sporting organizations) have to do in order to organize international sporting events. They add that the first category is surely smaller than the second one as most competitions are organised not for diplomatic purposes (Murray & Pigman 2010, 1106-1115).

In the work of Geoffrey Pigman (2014, 96), the scholar describes the similar way to think about sports-politics interconnection:

At the broadest level, one can distinguish between international sport used as a tool of diplomacy by governments, on the one hand, and international sport-as-diplomacy, the diplomacy that takes place between a range of different types of actors when international sporting competition is organized and hosted, on the other.

This means, among other things, that even when sport is not used by governments as a tool of diplomacy, it still has a significant influence on their public diplomacy, adding that this influence can bring different and often unexpected outcomes. For this and other reasons, the author believes that the deeper investigation of the area is needed, suggesting to conduct public opinion polls, surveys and other ways, including taking example of business feedback gathering (Pigman 2014, 109-111).

Approaches described above refer mostly to the first type of sports' influence on international relations, which is the influence that the big widely broadcasted international sporting events exert on international relations. However, there is another field of study exploring sport and peacebuilding interconnection, that does not only concentrate on the diplomatic impact of the biggest sporting events like the Olympics or FIFA World Cup, but also explores small-scale cases, which do not have much publicity in the world, but still exercise an important influence on relations between nations and countries. This is the recently emerged and actively developing area –the sector of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP).

1.2. Sport for development and peace as an instrument of international politics

The SDP approach is considered relevant for this research work because this approach studies the influence of the small-scale events on international relations, which are more numerous between the countries of Russia and Estonia than the big sporting events with plenty of publicity. For this reason, smaller international sporting competitions can have a considerable effect on relations between Estonia and Russia. However, the matter of sports' influence on international relations in the case of Russia and Estonia is not well-investigated. Hence, this paper aims to contribute to filling in this gap.

Sport as an instrument for development and peace building became the matter of interest for many scholars and NGOs just in the middle of the 1990s. Richard Giulianotti was the one who made an effort to contextualize the SDP sectors emergence, identifying the three stages of sport and international politics correlation. Per the scholar, the first stage of SDP sector's emergence is defined by the use of sports in colonial projects. During this phase, from around the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, the colonist empires made active use of sport in order to control and "civilize" the indigenous people of the colonized countries. After that, during the second stage, ('Sport, Nationalism, Post-Colonialism and Development'), serving the purposes of struggle and resistance for colonized populations, the anti-apartheid and liberation struggles came as the principal role of sport in international relations. Finally, in the third phase (from the mid-1990s until today), while the colonial, post-colonial, and development topics remain prominent in sports, the sport for development ideas and the SDP sector have fully emerged, according to the author (Giulianotti 2011, 209-211). Thus, the SDP sector is a new but already formed area of research, which has become a focus of much attention of many scholars and NGOs in the recent years.

Definition of Sport for Development and Peace can be found in the works of consultant, researcher and practitioner in Sport for Development and Peace from Columbia Alexander Cárdenas (2013, 25) He defines SDP in three ways: as a social intervention strategy, as a policy sector and a social movement, and as an emerging academic field. In the view of the scholar, as a social intervention strategy, SDP proposes "the use of games, physical activity and sport to address explicit peace and development objectives" including, in particular, the UN-originated Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Projects of this type are designed to tackle several social issues including gender equality, dispute settlement, peacekeeping, social

inclusion, violence, nationalism, social inequality, health education and others. As a policy sector and a social movement, SDP is to facilitate promotion of sport as a social catalyst, and creation of multi-sectorial alliances and partnerships involving central actors in peacebuilding. Finally, as an academic field, the study of sport as a tool for development and peace has been addressed by various disciplines, notably international development, conflictology, sport studies and sociology. In the words of the scholar, there is a growing range of academic literature in the SDP field that has been deepened by research, generally in the form of case studies targeted at estimating the role of sport and its capability to promote social development.

Although the study field of SDP has recently emerged, and therefore this research area is still underdeveloped, there is already a number of investigations that prove the effectiveness of sport when being used as an instrument for making peace, raising tolerance and uniting people from divided societies. Among successful examples of the use of sport for conflict resolution and post-conflict reconciliation there are Football for Peace (F4P) achievements in Israel, the Open Fun Football Schools results in Eastern Europe and Middle East, World Vision International work and Youth Reintegration Training and Education for Peace project conducted in Sierra Leone, Don Bosco Youth Project in Liberia, the SDP work in Columbia and Northern Ireland and many others (Lea-Howarth 2006, Sugden 2011, Cárdenas 2016).

To take the shine off, a number of successful examples does not guarantee that sport is always bringing a positive contribution to peacebuilding. Hard predictability of sports makes it harder to utilize sport as a tool in international relations and to evaluate its effectiveness as a conciliating tool. Pigman (2014, 103) noted that “[...] international sport, when not being used by governments as a diplomatic instrument, still affects the public diplomacy of governments significantly, and in very different and often unanticipated ways”. Moreover, not only can these affects be different and unexpected only when sport is not being used by governments, but even when international sporting events are organized for the purposes of the governments, the affects do not always come as expected. For instance, the 1998 Takhiti Cup, which was aimed at thawing the relations between the United States and Iran, although went on with a warm reception, did not have any significant effect, as the governments expected (Cha 2009, 1593). Many conditions, including sport discipline, place and timing for the sporting event and many others, should be considered in each case if we want to find out if sports can be used successfully for diplomatic purposes. Talking about the timing, for example, Cha (2009, 1593) argues:

Sport is most effective as a diplomatic tool when there is already some momentum on the ground generated by any number of variables including changes in domestic politics or a

leadership transition. Then sport can build on this momentum, and even help to achieve a diplomatic breakthrough in a way that ordinary foreign ministry bureaucrats' work cannot.

When the timing is wrong, however, the impact can be absent, as it was in the case of Takhiti games.

Yet, not always does contradictory nature of sport cause troubles. More than that, ability of sports to spark disputes can even enhance sports reconciling potential. Lea-Howarth (2006, 32) claims that conflicts which sport may trigger can facilitate attaining SDP goals, as it enables the emergence of “teachable moments”, required for learning the principles of fair play, responsibility, and acquiring conflict resolution skills. In his MA dissertation, Lea-Howarth mentioned John Lambert’s example when some coach, while running a football game with no referee, asked the players to resolve any disputes themselves. The disputes did arise as expected, gradually turning into chaos and disorder. However, the children re-collected themselves and resolved the disputes when they realized that there was no possibility for the game to go on until they solved the arguments. In the end, the coach complemented the children for “realising responsibility and respect are still important in the most competitive of scenarios.” (Lambert, as cited in Lea-Howarth 2006, 32). Thus, due to its contradictory nature, sport teaches to solve the disputes by creating them. While doing this, sport creates valuable experience not only useful for playing sports, but also applicable to the most spheres of life. None the less, it should not be overlooked that a close control of the process of the games that can provoke violence needs always to be kept.

In addition, choosing the right sport discipline is one of the essential conditions that should be observed for a successful SDP project. Interestingly, football is an absolutely dominant type of sport used in the projects employing sport for development and peace purposes. The primary reasons for this are, of course, the team play and high popularity of this type of sports, which are essential factors for the SDP projects. Yet, what puts football above many other team sports for the SDP programmes – is the simplicity of the game – easy rules and no excessive equipment necessities, a feature that is not characteristic for many other team sports which would probably be highly advantageous for peacebuilding through sport in other respects.

Except that, cultural peculiarities should also be reckoned when choosing the type of sport for the SDP project. In this regard, the choice of sport type for social bonding and conflict resolution through sports is easy when there is a popular sport adored by both sides of the divided society. However, the choice becomes more complicated when the confrontation sides’ popular sports are being symbol of segregation on their own. As such, in the case of Northern

Ireland one side representatives (Protestants) were traditionally engaging in the Anglo-origin games such as rugby, cricket and hockey, while the other (Catholics) were mainly taking up Gaelic games such as Hurling, Gaelic Football and Camogie (Cárdenas 2016). Of course, none of such traditional sports can be chosen for conciliation in that case. As football was the neutral type of sports, equally popular among the both sides in conflict in Northern Ireland, it was chosen for the SDP programme conducted in the unquiet Irish North, which was successful in the end, and gave a rise to the following projects in other regions. However, it would be wrong to say that football is a perfect type of sports which, therefore, should be chosen for all the projects using sports as a peacemaking instrument. Each case needs deep consideration and good planning with a due account of nations involved, cultures, religions, and other factors present in the local communities. In addition, as the number of the SDP type projects is growing, more diversity in the terms of sport types should be introduced attracting more people to participate in Sport for Development and Peace programmes.

As noted above, the whole project planning needs careful consideration of cultural and other peculiarities of the project sites. According to Sugden (2006), involved in describing the challenges of using values-based approach to coaching sport and community relations in multi-cultural settings basing on the Football for Peace (F4P) projects in Israel, many challenges of the mentioned projects emerged in consequence of the religious convictions which did not fully correspond to the values underpinning the project. The main problems were associated with the principles of equity and inclusion that project was aimed to promote. While both Orthodox Jewish people and more conservative Muslims involved in the project were ill-disposed towards women and men mixing in any sporting activity, these principles were difficult to adhere to. For these reasons, project facilitators had to make concessions, among other things, by organising girls' groups training separately from the boys, guided only by female coaches, and even participating separately in the finals "behind the closed doors" out of accord with the plans. This was "uncomfortable compromise" for all the participants, but taking into account the fact that "it was either compromise or cancel the tournament altogether", the compromise had to be accepted (Sugden 2006, 21). The same was noted by Giulianotti and Armstrong (2010), while describing the case in Liberia:

In many settings peacebuilding officials will have to engage with distinctive, deep-seated cultural values, which may proscribe forms of inter-gender social relations; they will also have to understand the different traumas and tragedies faced by women during recent conflicts, such as the loss of family members, mass rape, and other forms of sexual, physical and emotional abuse.

Significantly, the F4P projects organised in Israel were initiated by the UK facilitators following the example of similar projects held in Northern Ireland, where the problems of gender inclusion were not prevailing, but other locally characteristic challenges were persistent. In other words, cultural factors are essentially important to content with. According to Sugden (2006, 23), “Account must be taken of local traditions, customs and religious practices, if any progress is to be made.”

Except that, many scholars point out the importance of the “web approach” in peace-building, described by John Paul Lederach (Sugden 2011; Cárdenas, 2016). Lederach (2005, 74-85) claims that making a wide web of relations is essential for establishing sustainable peace. The author illustrates his thoughts with the example of the orb weavers, quoting Bill Everhart (as cited in Lederach 2005, 75):

Spiders are not little automatons making the same thing over and over. They’re flexible. And they’re not stupidly flexible; they’re smart flexible.

This is how peace-building should be done, according to Lederach – by constructing a wide web of relations while being “smart flexible”, where being “smart flexible” means “being able to adapt to, respond to, and take advantage of emerging and context-based challenges” (Lederach 2005,85). They need to always adopt to the environment at the same time producing strong well-knit relational webs. Importantly, these webs should unite all the levels of peace-makers connecting them both vertically, meaning leadership of local communities with people who are guiding the higher-level processes, and horizontally – establishing relationships among people divided by identity factors, such as ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic and others.

A nice example of successful implementation of the web-approach in SDP sector is the case of Columbia. According to Cárdenas (2016), “in Colombia the Football and Peace Network is one of the few initiatives from the region that brings together SDP officials and NGOs in the fields of sport, development and peace. Working under a common framework and with the logistical, technical and material support of the UN Development Program (UNDP), the German International Development and Cooperation Agency (GIZ), and the World Bank, twelve programs and foundations have joined forces with the aim of raising awareness on the use of football as a development and peace tool, as well as to collectively address, via sport, issues affecting children and youth in communities where programs operate.”

In particular, it is important to note the significance of collaboration between academic institutions and practitioners in the SDP sector and organizations in the area. As for Cárdenas (2016), such collaboration can enhance the peacebuilding skills and proficiency of SDP

officials to a great extent. What is more, collection of the positive results produced by the NGOs working in the field of Sport for Development and Peace proving the efficiency of sport as an instrument for building peace and social stability may help approaching policy makers in order to influence social policy on sports when it is needed, according to the expert.

In addition, non-sport activities play an important part in SDP programmes. In the same article by Cárdenas, *“Sport and Peace-Building in Divided Societies: A Case Study on Colombia and Northern Ireland”*, the author claims that non-sport activities should be carefully selected and incorporated within Sport for Peace sector, meaning that more consideration should be taken of the moral component of the SDP projects, though noting that it is not correct to regard sport by itself as an integral peace-building strategy (2016, 18). However, as explained by Lea-Howarth, “Evidence suggests that activities which explicitly aim at “team building” or social bonding are less successful than games which thrust people together in a natural way as part of their structure and work subliminally”, which is why it is better to incorporate the moral part right into sporting activities (2006, 30). As such, during the first two years of F4P projects in Israel football coaching was used as a “hook” to attract Israeli children keen on football, whom they then hoped to teach the five core-values in the classroom in-between the footballing activities. After project evaluation, however, F4P organisers realised that the method of splitting the football and group activities was in fact dividing the children rather than bonding them. Most often children were not interested in classroom activities, which hardly produced any results. For this reason, organisers decided not to make separate classroom activities in order to promote the values but to integrate the core F4P principles into all the project activities. As an example, the coaches could use a two-person activity where one person has to roll a ball towards a partner, who is facing away from him, after which he should tell the partner to sit exactly when the ball is under partner’s backside to teach the children from many different social groups to trust each other. Similarly, all the core values promoted by the project conductors were instilled to the children while playing (Lea-Howarth 2006, 30).

Thus, according to Lea-Howarth, the better way to promote certain values using sport is to integrate them right into the sporting activities, while activities aimed at “team building” and social bonding are not so effective. Nevertheless, other non-sport activities are not mentioned in that statement. The conclusion drawn by Lea-Howarth was based on the consequence of the unsuccessful results of classroom activities that could not catch the interest of the children. Collective leisure activities, on the other hand, while being an interesting pastime, may give people of different social groups a chance to get to know each other better in safe and comfortable surroundings which may raise tolerance and mutual understanding

between them. For this reason, arrangement of socialising events for the sportsmen along with the sporting competitions may contribute to social bonding between the people representing different teams. Thus, if it is referred to the international competitions, international relations are to be affected. In fact, even better can do organisation of the joint trainings for the different teams, which is not only a good possibility for sharing experience, but can also be a good bridging or bonding instrument.

What is more, some scholars recommend to conduct the games between the mixed-identity teams if the match is aimed at conflict elimination and social bridging. Again, Football for Peace project in Israel can be addressed as a successful example of this principle implementation. As well as the other core values of the project which were incorporated right into sporting activities, values such as social inclusion and equality were represented by playing football matches among the teams of mixed identity (Lea-Howarth 2006). In addition, formation of such teams eliminates the risk of violent behaviour and raising negative attitudes among the people of different identities. On the other hand, Youth Training, Reintegration and Education for Peace (YTREP) Programme is a good illustration of the opposite. The project, while being used throughout the whole of Sierra Leone, was not effective everywhere, as the fights broke out in 9 chiefdoms out of 149 involved in the project. According to Lea-Howarth, the possible reason for that was that the ex-combatants involved in the project usually had better skills at football than the villagers, which could often lead to resentment rather than respect during the games. The researcher claimed that “playing matches of rebels-versus-villagers (which the ex-combatants normally won) had potential to magnify the conflict; as has already been argued, using mixed-identity teams is important if a re-enactment of previous hostilities is to be avoided” (2006, 36-37). Thus, organization of the matches between the mixed-identity teams can conduce social bonding between the people in disagreement.

2. SPORT FOR PEACE BETWEEN ESTONIA AND RUSSIA

As we have found out and described in the previous chapter, for making sport an effective instrument for peacebuilding and social bonding, there are several factors that we need to consider. They include the right timing, choosing an appropriate sport discipline, taking a due account of cultural peculiarities, creating the useful webs of relations between the actors, the use of non-sport activities (though, its utility is argued) and others.

Recalling the words of Cha (2009), that “sport is most effective as a diplomatic tool when there is already some momentum on the ground generated by any number of variables including changes in domestic politics or a leadership transition”, we assume that it is not the best time for social bonding through sports in the case of Russia and Estonia now, as we did not notice significant turning points towards building better relations between the countries. Still, as stated by Lea-Howarth (2006, 42),

Whilst the distances and separation of the people involved in interstate war make peacebuilding through team-sports impractical, this is no longer the dominant form of warfare. In PSCs, which are characterised by dehumanisation, stereotyping and a deep mistrust and fear of the Other, team sports can play a valuable role in addressing the 3Rs, particularly reconciliation and rehabilitation and combating cultural violence.

Reconciliation, according to Kriesberg (as cited in Lea-Howarth 2006), “is primarily aimed at (re)building positive relationships between former enemies, both of whom may have committed atrocities against the other, and both of who may see themselves as the victim”. We believe, that it well describes the situation between Russia and Estonia. Therefore, we conclude that the timing for the use of sports as a peace-building instrument in the case of Estonia and Russia is appropriate.

As for the sport disciplines and cultural peculiarities, we have found no restrictions in the case of Russia and Estonia. The influence of non-sport activities is explored in the Subchapter 2.2. Finally, although the use of web-approach in Sport for Peace is hard to explore in the volume of the present paper, we have found some examples of existence of the relational

webs uniting organizations for cooperation between the countries, and local sports and facilities organizations, such as ENPI cross-border cooperation project and its partners, described below.

Talking about sports between Estonia and Russia in general, competitions in football, volleyball, athletics, aerobics and other kinds of sports are regularly held between Estonia and Russia, with especially good cooperation between the near-border areas of the countries. As an example, we can cite traditional volleyball aerobics and judo competitions in Tartu and Kohtla-Järve, in which teams from Pskov (Russia) are being permanent participants, as well as Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian and other teams (see, for example, Data record, n.d., International tournament in Aerobics 2016, International tournament in Volleyball 2016, International Volleyball tournament 2016, International tournament in aerobics 2015, Traditional international Judo tournament 2016). Except that, we can mention a series of sports competitions held in a Russian town of Porkhov and in Latvia organised by the ENPI cross-border cooperation programme between Estonia, Russia and Latvia with an objective of encouraging children and youth in sports activities, using cross-border cooperation between the countries “as a healthy sport competition promoter, thereby contributing to the expansion of active life opportunities for the young generation” (CBA: Young athletes from Latvia, Estonia and Russia competed in international competitions, n.d.). Another example of cooperation between Russia and Estonia through sports is “Cross Countries through Football” project held in Narva (Estonia) and Pechory (Pskov region of Russia) with the following objective (Cross Countries through Football, n.d.):

In the long term perspective the current project aims to create sustainable neighbourhood relations of children and youth on both sides of the border - in Estonia and Russia. Overall objective of the project is to encourage the cooperation in youth field between EC member states and EC neighbouring countries in the border region, thereby fostering mutual understanding.

The other similar projects supported by the ENPI programme include “Cross Border Athletics”, “CROSSBO ACTIVE” (Promotion of Healthy Life-Style Organizing Sport Events in Latgale and Pskov Regions), “Be good at sport” and others (Projects, n.d.).

The named competitions, being just a part of all the international sporting events involving Estonia and Russia, prove that the field of cooperation between the counties in sports is rather extensive. However, it is hard to find any investigations on how these competitions influence relations between the countries and its people. Therefore, we have conducted our own survey, which relies on the questionnaire filled in by the residents of Estonia and Russia.

In the course of our survey, the separate questionnaires for people from Estonia (in English and Russian) and Russia (in Russian) were created and completed with the use of Google forms. The people to fill out the questionnaire were contacted mainly with the use of social networks (“Facebook” for contacting people from Estonia and “vk.com” for gathering answers from Russia). Part of the questionnaire participants were selected and directly asked to fill the forms (the ones who engaged in sports), and the others were randomly chosen among the people 18-30 years of age from the selected geographic areas (Pskov oblast in Russia, Tartu and Tallinn in Estonia). In addition, a request to fill in the questionnaire was posted in social groups in Facebook (a few groups uniting the students of Tallinn University of Technology and several groups of sportsmen in Tallinn and Tartu).

As a result, 61 people completed the questionnaire:

- 46% male, 54% female
- 41% respondents from Russia and 59% respondents from Estonia, from whom 66% are Russians and 34% are Estonians
- 59% are engaged in different team sports (mostly volleyball)
- 50% have once or more participated in international sporting competitions (from 58 respondents, as three people did not answer the question about participation in international competitions)
- 31% have at least once taken part in competitions with Russia

The concerned questionnaire is comprised of 19 questions, which are divided into three main modules. The first module questions were put to every person filling out the questionnaire and consisted of the questions regarding general information about participants and sports-related questions. The other two modules of the form are containing questions for obtaining additional information about, first, organization of Russia-Estonia competitions and, second, the fact of visiting Estonia/Russia, and were only put to respondents if they said that they have participated in international competitions in Russia/Estonia and/or visited the named countries. To view the whole questionnaire, see *Appendix 1*, *Appendix 2* and *Appendix 3*.

In the following subchapters of the paper (2.1., 2.2. and 2.3) we are going to present the results of our survey analyses. Our aim was to figure out if engagement in team sports and participation in international competitions influences the attitudes of people towards other nation with which they play (Estonian/Russian) and their views on building relationships between the people of Russia and Estonia, which, for its part, influences political relations as

well. We have also evaluated the influence of other factors, such as gender, nationality, the country of origin and Russia/Estonia visiting experience in order to make sure that conclusions that we have made are actually connected with sport and not with the other factors. For presentation of the survey findings, they are divided into three general parts – to reflect the structure of the questionnaire.

2.1. General module

The main module is comprised of the nine questions all of which were answered by every person filling out the questionnaire and can be further divided into three logical parts. First of all, the module contains the questions regarding basic information about the questionnaire participants which is age, gender and nationality. Further, there are sports-related questions designed for finding out if respondents were practicing any type of team sports, and if they have ever participated in any international competitions and, specifically, in competitions with Russia or Estonia. Finally, in the first module respondents were asked about their attitudes towards Estonian/Russian people and relations between their countries. In addition, in the same module people were asked if they have ever been to Russia or Estonia (except for competitions participation).

Analyses of the answers from the primary module of the form is built on the two main questions which define the attitude of people from Russia and Estonia towards their cross-border neighbours. These questions are:

- “What do you think of Russian people?”
- “How do you evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?”

By looking for correlation between the answers for these questions with the other answers, representing people’s gender, nationality, participation in sports and international competitions and others, we can find out which of these factors are the ones that matter (see *Appendix 4* and *Appendix 5*).

2.1.1. Attitude between Russian and Estonian people

Starting from the very beginning of our investigation we have discovered several interesting consistent patterns. To start with the good news, in general, according to the survey results, most respondents both from Russia and Estonia are either favourably disposed towards

“the others” (34%) or do not express any special feelings, stating that all the people are different in Russia/Estonia as all the other people around the world (36%). (See *Figure 1*)

Still, 25% of all survey participants responded that they did not like the people from the other country. Notably, such an opinion is more popular in Estonia (33%) than in Russia (12%). However, there is also a bigger number of respondents expressing warm feelings towards foreign neighbours in Estonia (42%) than in Russia (24%), while in Russia there are more people believing in overall diversity of societies than in Estonia (56% compared to 22%). (See *Figure 2*) Given this, a conclusion that people from Estonia are more ill-disposed towards Russian people would not be correct. Rather than that, a more accurate observation would be that there are more neutral or indifferent people in Russia towards Estonians, while in Estonia people express more emotions towards Russian residents.

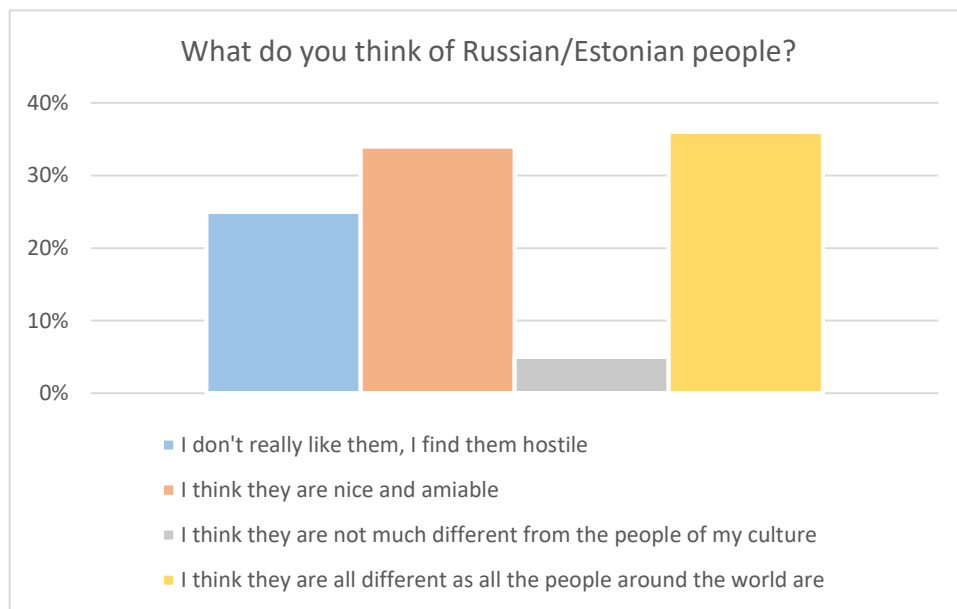


Figure 1. Answers for the question “What do you think of Russian/Estonian people?”

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 4*

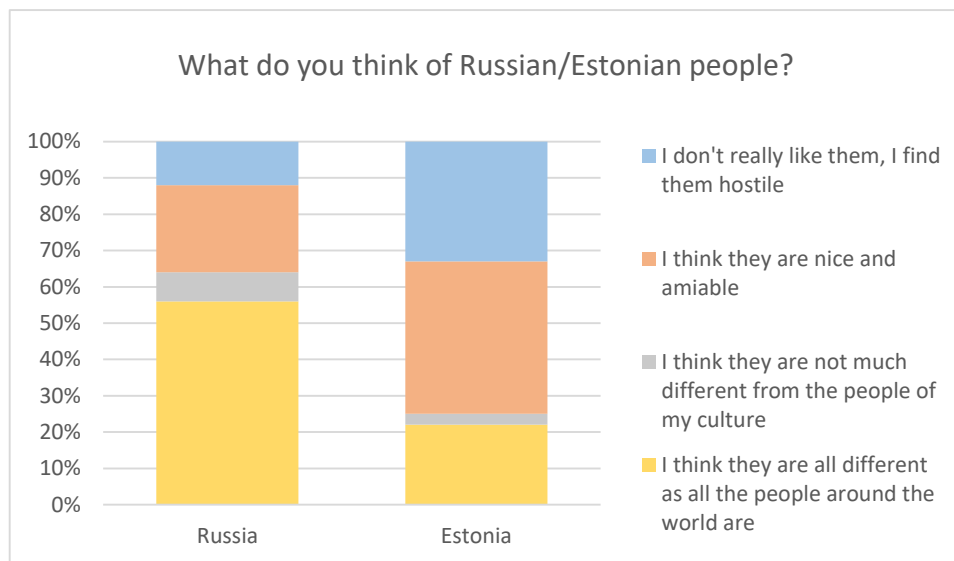


Figure 2. Answers for the question “What do you think of Russian/Estonian people?” as analysed separately among Russian and Estonian residents

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 4*

Furthermore, we figured out that men are more often badly disposed towards the other country’s inhabitants. As such, 36% of our male respondents answered that they did not like Russians/Estonians and were finding them hostile, while the same answer was only given by 15% of female interviewees.

Importantly, referring to the same question, a considerable difference is found in the answers of the people who have once or more participated in any international competitions with Russia/Estonia, and respondents who have never taken part in such. Sportsmen from Russia and Estonia who have played matches with the foreign teams less often say that they do not like Estonian or Russian people (11%). The number of interviewees that stated their dislike towards the other nation is almost three times bigger among the ones who have never taken part in international sport competitions. (See *Figure 3* and *Figure 4*) The influence of participation in any international competitions has an even better impact on attitudes between Estonians and Russians, with 14% of negative answers among the people who have participated in any international competitions and 38% of such answers among the ones who have not. Likewise, people engaging in any team sports are 19% less often (27% compared to 36%) expressing negative emotions towards Estonians or Russians.

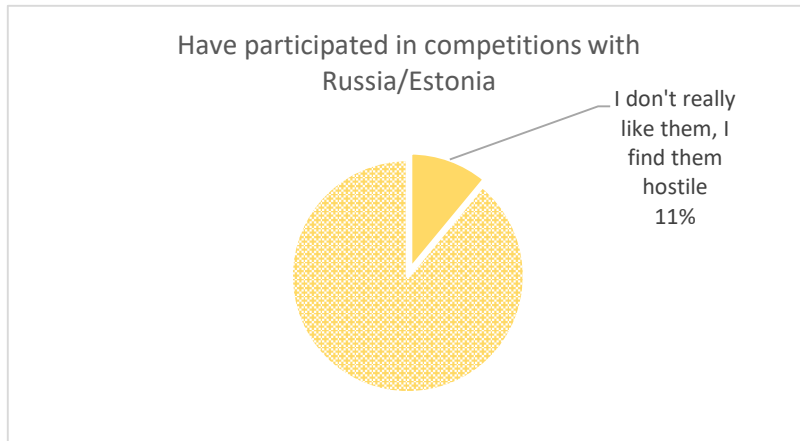


Figure 3. Percentage of negatively disposed people among the ones who have once or more participated in international competitions

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 4*)

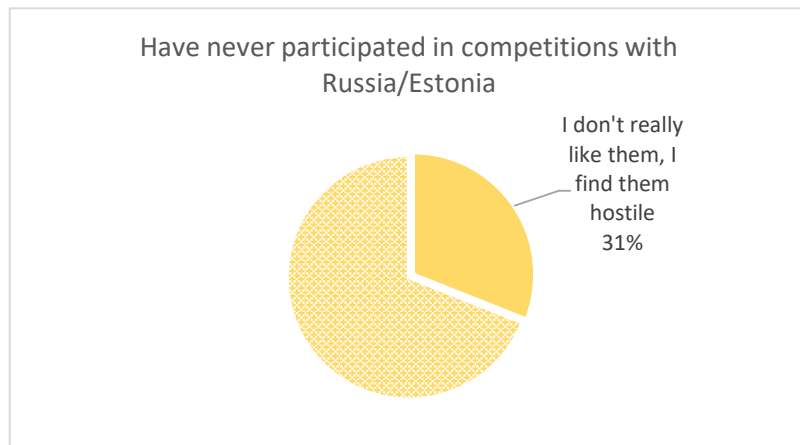


Figure 4. Percentage of negatively disposed people among the ones who have never participated in international competitions

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 4*

However, there is another fact that needs consideration. While analysing results, we have discovered that there are more female than male respondents among the people taking part in the survey who stated that they have participated in some international competitions (See *Figure 5* and *Figure 6*). Taking into account the fact that, according to our findings, women tend to be more rarely negatively disposed towards others than men, we can assume

that the results described above were caused by the gender differences instead of being the consequence of participation in sport competitions involving teams from different countries.

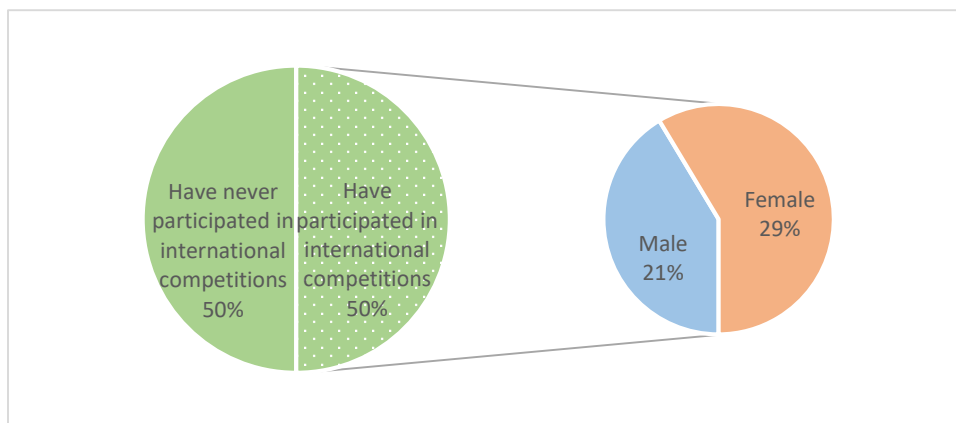


Figure 5. The number of men and women among respondents who have participated in international competitions

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 4*

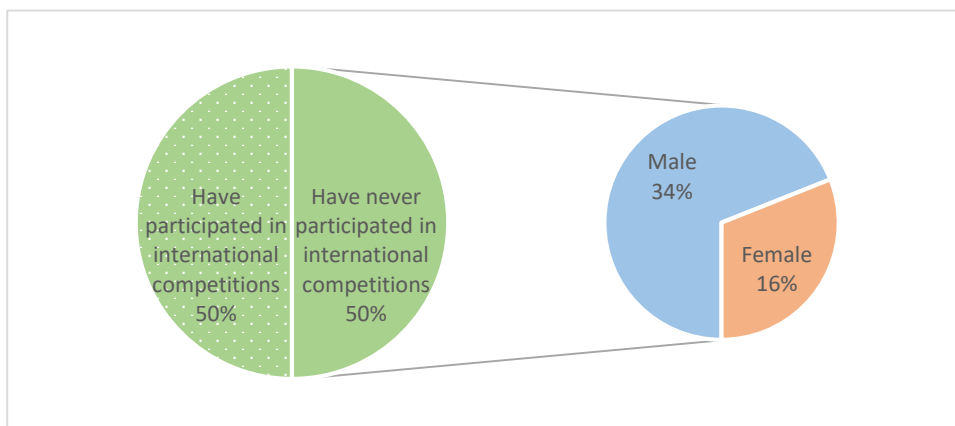


Figure 6. The number of men and women among respondents who have not participated in international competitions

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 4*

For this reason, male and female answers were counted separately in order to find out if the difference was caused by the gender feature or if it was the effect of sport activities. After having done calculations, we concluded that there is a correlation between sports and people's attitudes. Both among men and women completing the form there are twice more negatively disposed people among respondents who have never in their lives been involved in international sport competitions than among the ones who have. (See *Figures 7 and 8*)



Figure 7. Comparison of the percentage of negatively disposed **male** respondents among the ones who have and have not participated in international competitions

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 4*



Figure 8. Comparison of the percentage of negatively disposed **female** respondents among the ones who have and have not participated in international competitions

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 4*

2.1.2. Citizens' evaluation of Estonian-Russian relations

Now we are going to head over to the analysis of the answers given to the next question of our form: "How do you evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?". For this part, we were using a similar way to analyse the information as was used for the previous part. (See *Appendix 5*)

According to our findings, absolute majority of people (64%) believe that Estonian-Russian relations need to be improved, which goes in line with our problem statement. One respondent stated that he considers interpersonal relations between Estonians and Russians to be good, and political to be bad. Finally, while 8% of all respondents answered that they did

not know anything about Estonian-Russian relations, the remaining 26% are evenly divided in their opinions – half of them believing that Estonian-Russian relations are good, and the other half evaluating them as poor and seeing no necessity in rebuilding them. (See *Figure 9*)

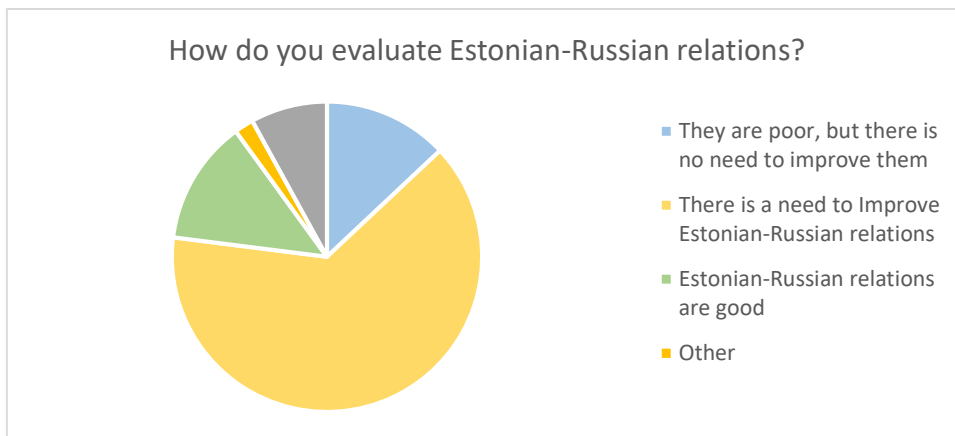


Figure 9. Answers for the question “How do you evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?”

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 5*

Respondents from Russia and Estonia are clearly divided over the evaluation of relations between their states. Although majority of them in both countries (72% in Estonia and 52% in Russia) are convinced that these relations need to be improved, the rest of the answers differ significantly among interviewees from Estonia and Russia. While 32% of Russian respondents evaluate relations as good, there were absolutely no Estonian respondents who shared the same view. Moreover, 22% of Estonians, admitting that trans-border relations are poor, do not see the necessity to reform and enhance them (there were no such answers among Russian respondents). (See *Figure 10*)



Figure 10. Answers for the question “How do you Evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?” among respondents from Russia and Estonia

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 5*

As for our main point of interest, we can see a correlation between participation in international sporting events and opinion about political situation, including preferences for development of relations between Estonia and Russia. Although the difference is not so perceptible we have still made several conclusions (see *Figure 11*).

Among the people who have taken part in competitions with other countries, comparing to the ones who have not, there are:

- 10% more people wishing for Estonian-Russian relations to improve
- Almost two and a half times less people who find relations poor, but do not want them to improve
- Three times more people who find Estonian-Russian relations to be good

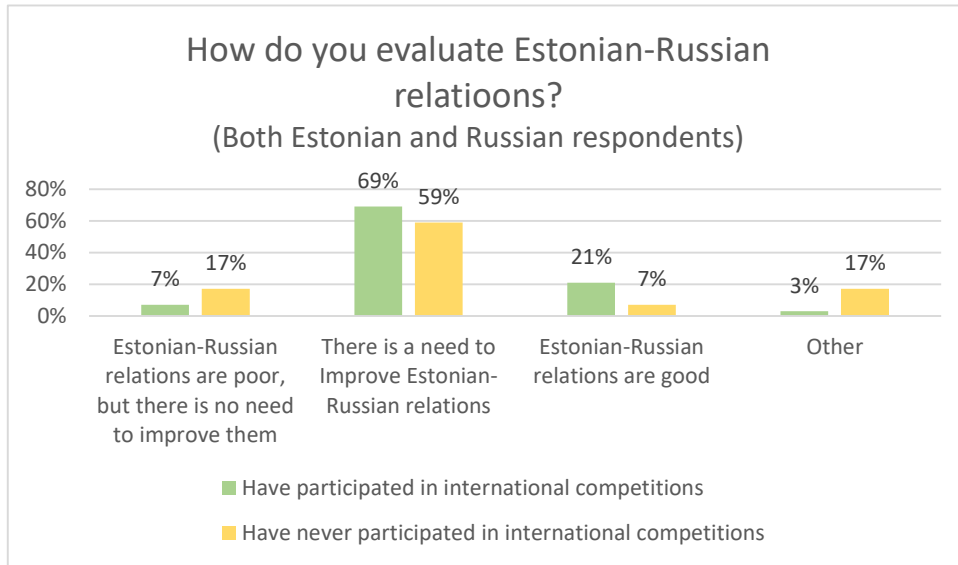


Figure 11. Answers for the question “How do you Evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?”

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 5*

As mentioned above, there were no people from Russian participants with a negative attitude towards improvement of Estonian-Russian relations which is why we supposed that the difference among Estonian people calculated separately is more tangible. Moreover, unlike Russians, Estonians seem to be more concerned with the evolution of the relationship between Estonia and Russia. This can be one of the reasons that 32% of people in Russia consider the countries’ relations to be good, while, we assume, hardly anyone who takes a closer look at these relations would say so.

For the reasons described above, we also counted the answers of Estonian respondents alone. Looking at *Figures 12 and 13*, we can see that the percentage of respondents wishing Estonia and Russia to cooperate is 17% bigger among the people who have participated in international competitions, while among the people who have never participated in such, there are more seeing no necessity for bending with Russia.

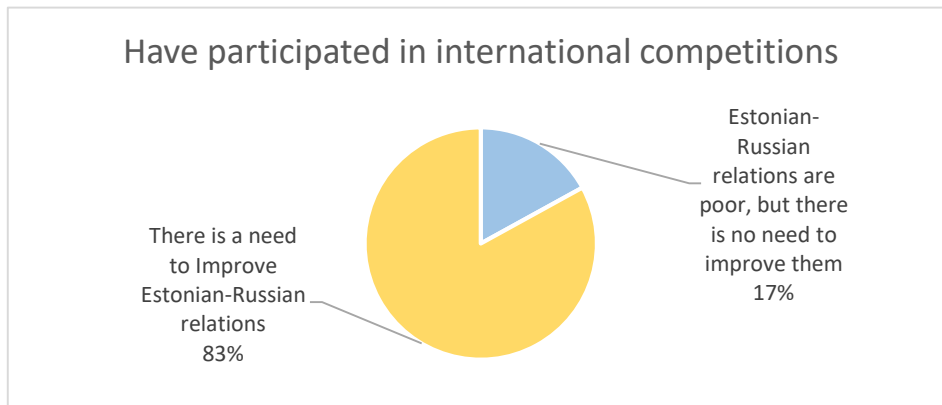


Figure 12. Answers for the question “How do you Evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?” among the ones who **have participated** in competitions with other countries

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 5*

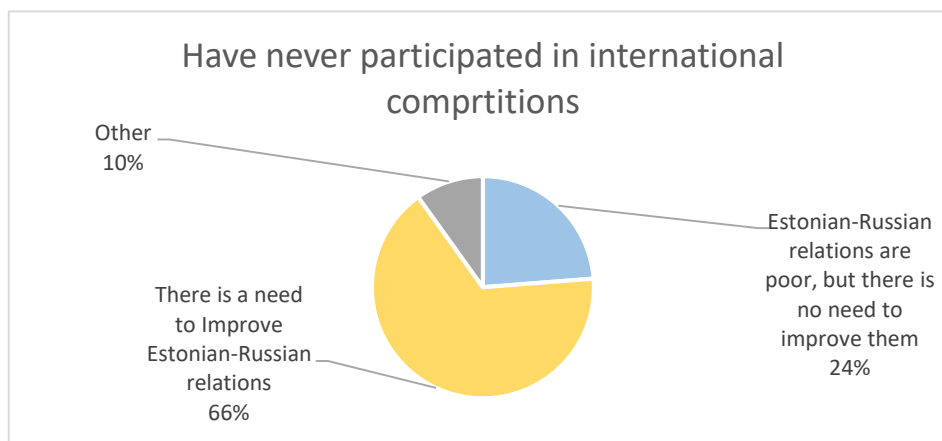


Figure 13. Answers for the question “How do you Evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?” among the ones who **have never participated** in competitions with other countries

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data provided in *Appendix 5*

Thus, after analysing the first module answers, we have come to the following conclusions:

- Most respondents have either positive (34%) or neutral (41%) feelings towards people from Russia or Estonia; 25% of interviewees do not like the neighbours and find them hostile
- There are more people who are neutral towards Estonians in Russia, while in Estonia people express more emotions towards Russian residents

- Men are more often badly disposed towards the other country's inhabitants than women
- There are almost *three times less* people who *do not like* the cross-border nation (Russian or Estonian) among respondents who *have participated in international competitions* than among the ones who have not
- Absolute majority of people believe that Estonian-Russian relations need to be improved
- Difference in opinions over Estonian-Russian relations evaluation:
 - 32% of Russian people evaluate relations as good; no Estonian respondents think the same
 - 22% of Estonian residents, admitting that trans-border relations are poor, did not see the necessity to enhance them; no respondents from Russia share the same view
- Among the people who have taken part in competitions with other countries, comparing to the ones who have not, there are:
 - 10% more people wishing Estonian-Russian relations to improve
 - Almost two and a half times less people who find relations poor, but do not want them to improve
 - Three times more people who find Estonian-Russian relations to be good

2.2. Additional module 1: Competitions with Russia/Estonia

This module's questions were only posed to the people who have at some point participated in international competitions. The questions were to gather additional information about the way competitions between Russia and Estonia are organized, such as where and when competitions took place, what other countries participated and what other events were organized for the sportsmen. The main purpose of these questions was to collect information about the impact of arrangement of socializing events along with international sports competitions on peoples' attitudes towards the residents of the other country.

Previously, we were writing about the different opinions of scholars concerning organization of social events, along with competitions, for social bonding and peace-building.

One of the opinions was presented by Cárdenas (2016), stating that special non-sport activities need to be incorporated within the Sport for Peace sector, with more attention paid to the moral component of the Sport for Peace projects. Lea-Howarth (2006), however, claimed that activities explicitly aimed at “team building” or social bonding are far not as successful as the sports themselves, and suggested to promote the values using sport by integrating them right into the sporting activities instead. We state, that social events are not created equal. When organised one way, they can produce an impact completely different from that which is organized in another way. For this reason, we have investigated the events that are organized in the course of competitions that are held between Russia and Estonia.

In the survey, there were twenty people who have taken part in competitions between Russia and Estonia, and therefore, twenty people answering the questions of the present module. Most of the competitions in which they had participated were held in Estonia, often including other countries, such as Latvia, Lithuania and Finland. Almost half of these competitions were also engaging people in special socializing events organized for the foreign teams as part of the competition programmes.

From all twenty people participating in games between the Russian and Estonian teams, only three respondents answered that they did not like Russian/Estonian people and were considering them to be hostile. It is important to note that they were the only people who were not interacting with the foreigners during the socializing events if such were included in the competitions’ programmes. All the other respondents participating in such events used the chance to talk to the people from other countries, even when all the others were only interacting with their own compatriots. None of the people who had a chance to talk to the trans-border neighbours and who have taken the chance showed antipathy towards them; even more, 57% claimed that they found them nice and amiable.

However, in general, the results do not show that organization of socializing events while conducting competitions helps bonding people from different states, specifically from Estonia and Russia. To say more, the effect is even opposite. Looking at *Figure 13*, we can see that 22% of people participating in competitions, which also included socializing events in the programme, stated that they did not really like the other country’s participants, while among the people participating in competitions where such events were not conducted, this percentage is 9%.

Nevertheless, we should also note that the part of people who considered Estonians/Russians to be nice is slightly bigger among the ones who had participated in

competitions that included socializing events (44%) than among the ones who participated in tournaments without them (36%). (See *Figure 14*)

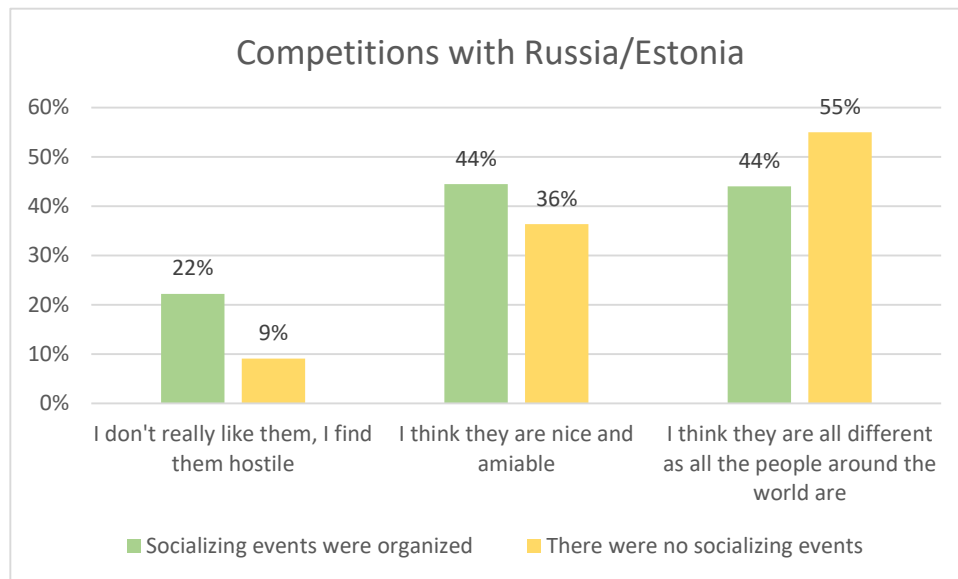


Figure 14. The influence of socializing events on interpersonal attitudes

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the answers for the questionnaire provided in *Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*

Thus, statistics show that, in general, socializing events for the participants of international competitions between Russia and Estonia do not make a remarkable positive contribution in social bonding between the sportsmen of different countries. However, another point to consider is the fact that not a single person that had a possibility to talk to their Russian/Estonian competitors, and who used the given possibility, showed antipathy towards them. Moreover, most of them claimed that they found their competitors nice and amiable. In view of this, we can assume that social arrangements organized in such a way that they involve everybody in interactions with foreigners can become successful examples of international social bonding.

We also need to note that allowance should be made for the comparatively small number of people who answered that they had participated in competitions with Russia/Estonia and therefore for a small number of the answers analysed for this part. A deeper analysis is needed for better evaluation of the actual influence of socializing events conducted in line with the athletic tournaments.

2.3. Additional module 2: Visiting Estonia

While analysing the last module's questions, we were trying to find out how visiting Russia or Estonia influences people's opinions about the residents of these countries. By doing this, we can gain a better understanding of the factors that influence the attitudes of Russians and Estonians towards each other.

For this part, we only examine the answers of the people who have not taken part in competitions with Estonia/Russia, as these questions were not obligatory to answer for the ones who have. The answers of 38 participants were analysed here (three participants did not answer the question about participation in competitions; as we needed these answers for this part of analyses, we did not count them).

Surprisingly, we found out that, in general, experience of visiting Russia/Estonia negatively influences attitude towards the people living there. More than 40% of Russians and Estonians who have visited the other country said that the country's residents were hostile, while only 9% of respondents who have never been to the neighbouring country have endorsed the same view. (See *Figure 15*)

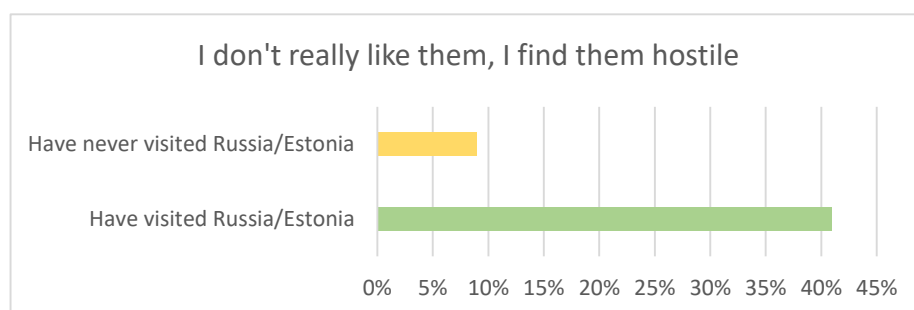


Figure 15. The number of people showing antipathy towards Russian/Estonian people

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the answers for the questionnaire provided in *Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*

Meanwhile, 55% of people without the experience of visiting the named countries considered the neighbours to be nice, while just 30% of respondents who have visited those countries share the same view. (See *Figure 16*)

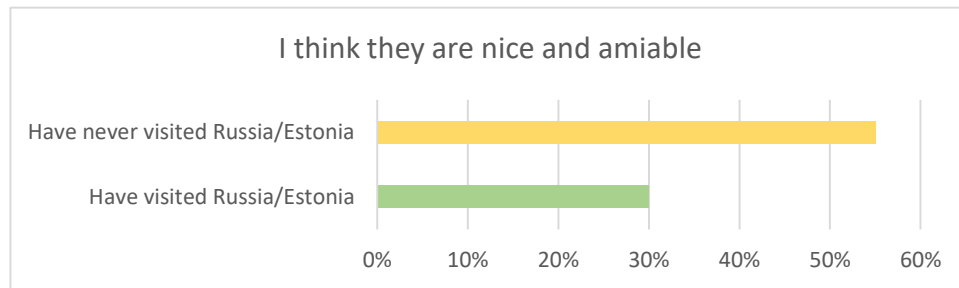


Figure 16. The number of people with a positive attitude towards Russian/Estonian people
Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the answers for the questionnaire provided in *Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*

As illustrated in *Figure 17*, from all the available answers for the question about attitude in the questionnaire, the one that stated that the other culture was not much different was mainly chosen by the people who have never visited the respective countries. (See *Figure 17*)

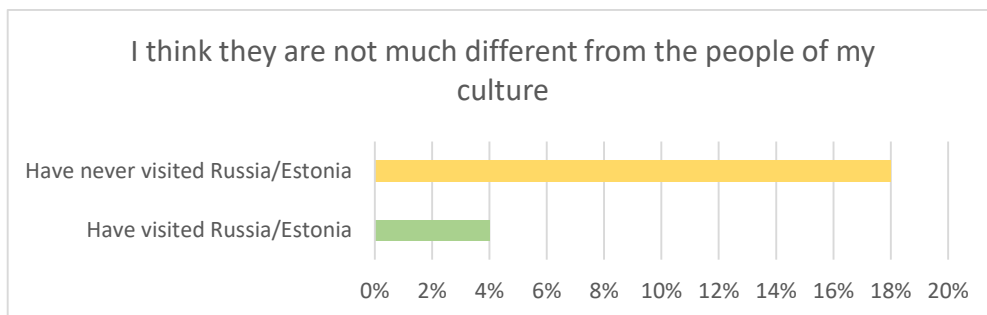


Figure 17. The number of people finding Russian/Estonian culture similar to their own
Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the answers for the questionnaire provided in *Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*

To be more exact, this option was chosen by 18% of people from Russia who have never visited Estonia and by no one who has. There was only one respondent from Estonia (Russian by nationality) who has visited Russia that stated that their cultures were not very different. (See *Figure 18*)

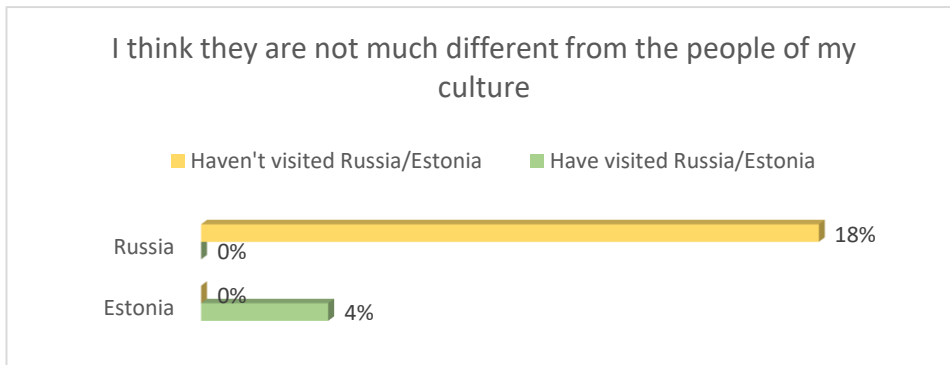


Figure 18. The number of people finding Russian/Estonian culture similar to their own
 Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the answers for the questionnaire provided in *Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*

Still, if one gets into a more in-depth analysis, it is possible to see that these results are more complex than they seem to be. The difference can be found in the answers of the people who, while visiting Russia or Estonia, had a chance to talk to the locals and the ones who did not have such a possibility. Among the ones who did not have such a chance, there are 15% more people disliking Russian/Estonian residents and 24% less positively disposed respondents, comparing to the ones who had a chance to talk to the locals and have used the possibility. (See *Figure 19*)

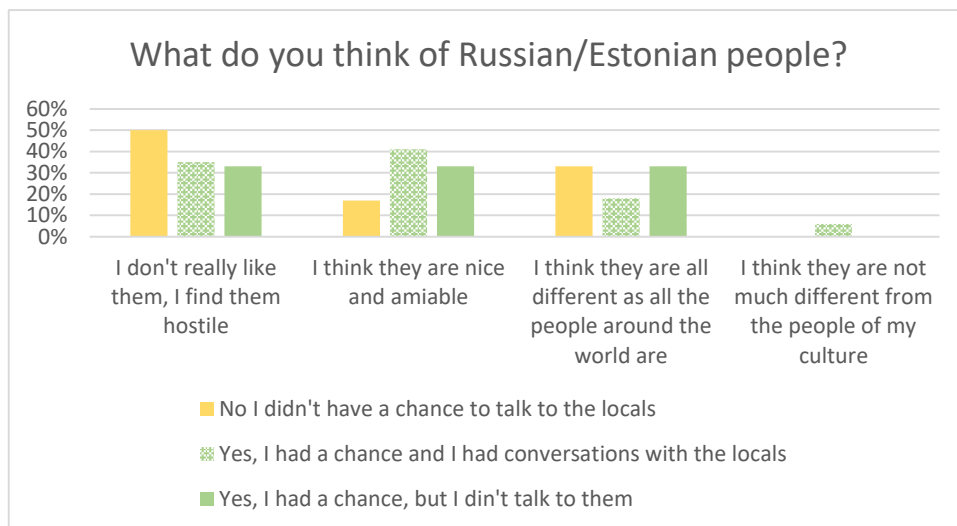


Figure 19. Attitude towards Russian/Estonian people among respondents who had/did not have a chance to talk to the locals

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the answers for the questionnaire provided in *Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*

Figure 20 illustrates the difference between the opinions (concerning Estonian-Russian relations) of the people who have visited Russia/Estonia and the ones who have not. It is no wonder that among the respondents who have never been to the other country there are more people who do not know anything about countries' relations. Among the ones who have visited the neighbouring country, there are 28% more people who believe that there is a necessity to enhance relations between Estonia and Russia and 9% more people admitting that relations are good, but not wishing for them to improve.

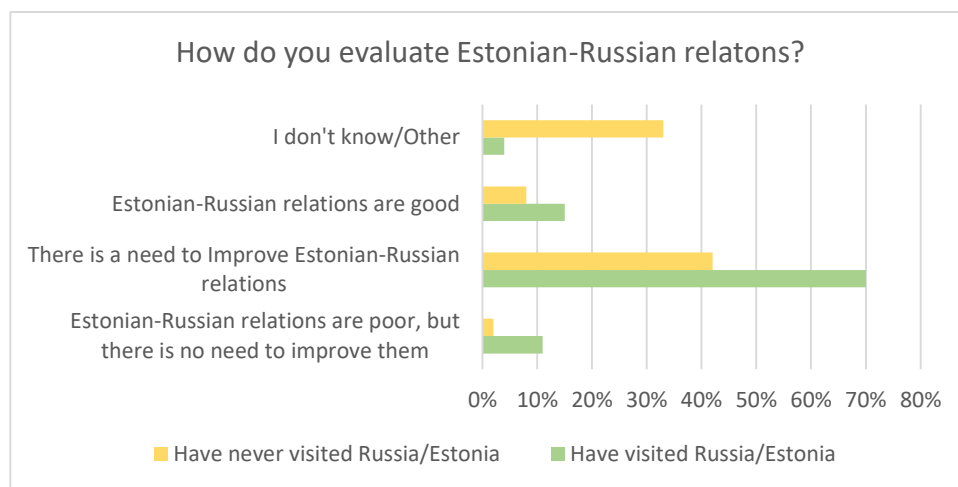


Figure 20. Estonian-Russian relations evaluation by people who have/haven't visited the countries

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the answers for the questionnaire provided in *Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*

As the next step, we have divided the answers into four categories, depending on whether respondents have or have not taken part in international competitions and if they have or have not visited Estonia or Russia (See *Figure 21*).

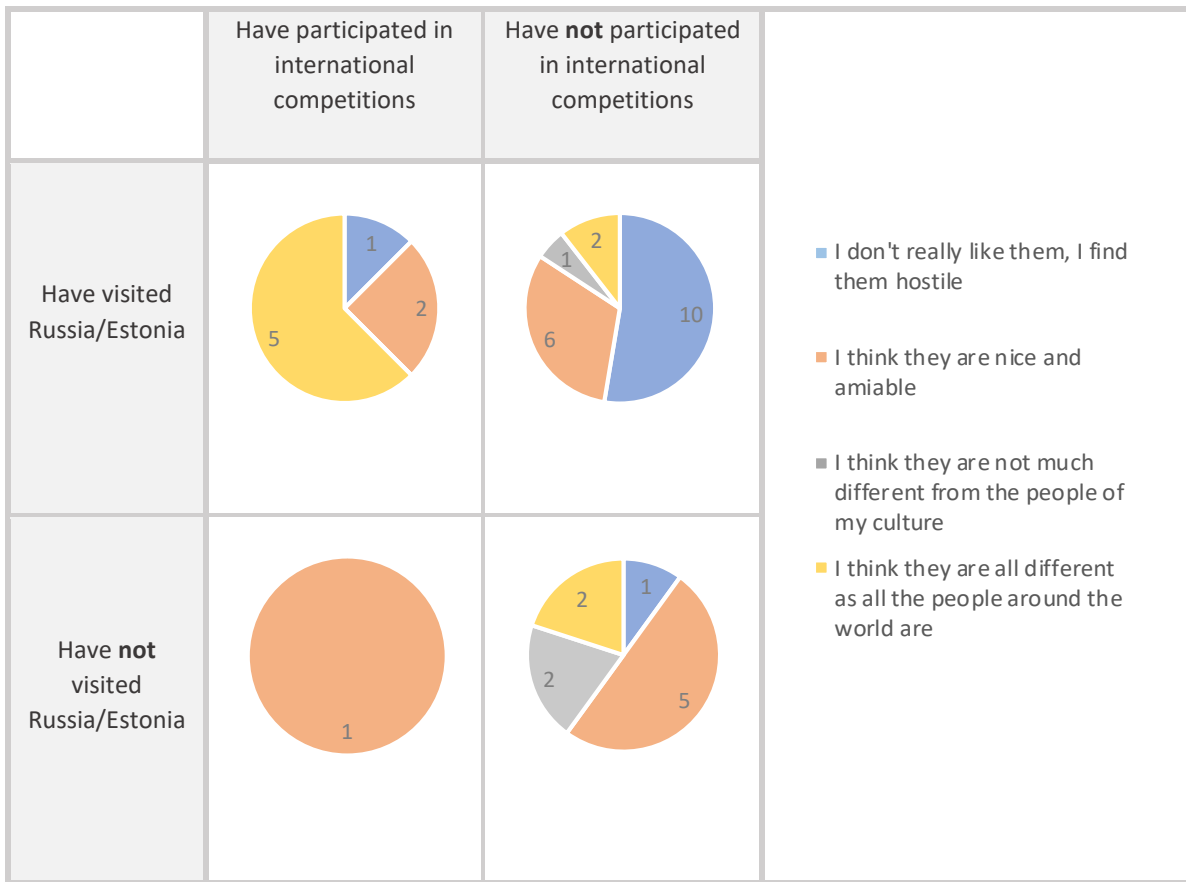


Figure 21. Attitude towards Russian/Estonian people among the ones who have/have not participated in international competitions and have/have not visited Russia/Estonia

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of the answers for the questionnaire provided in *Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3*

As the result, we have concluded that:

- The best attitude is found among the people who have never visited Russia/Estonia, but have taken part in international competitions; though, there is just one person in the category, which is why we cannot take this result seriously
- The worst result considering attitude towards Estonian/Russian people is found among respondents who have visited Russia or Estonia and have never taken part in competitions (with the biggest percentage of people considering Russian/Estonian people to be hostile (53%) and close comparatively small percentage of the ones considering them to be nice (35%))

- Among the people who have neither visited Estonia/Russia, nor participated in competitions, and the ones who have done both, percentage of ill-disposed people is relatively the same (10% and 13%), while the amount of well-disposed people is two times bigger among respondents who have never been to Russia/Estonia and have never played in any international sports matches.

These findings confirm that participation in international competitions enhances the impression of Estonians and Russians about each other, while visiting the countries of Estonia and Russia is generating the reverse impact.

We should also note that, considering the general influence of visiting Estonia/Russia without account of the fact of participation in competitions, in Russia percentage of the badly disposed people among the ones who have visited Estonia (25%) is less than that among Estonians visiting Russia (43%). Thus, we can assume, that the best way to bond people from Estonia and Russia using sport competitions is to engage the biggest amount of them in competitions which are held in Estonia.

CONCLUSION

By critical literature analysis and discourse analysis, this paper found that sport may serve as an effective reconciliation tool. Moreover, it is being actively used in this guise in numerous programmes all around the world. We have even found a few similar projects that engaged both Russian and Estonian sportsmen in international sporting events with the aim of enhancing relations between countries and people. However, we could not find any reports on actual evaluation of the influence of such events on attitudes between Russian and Estonian residents and their states. For this reason, we have conducted our own survey.

As we have found no barriers for utilizing sport as a peace-building tool in the case of Estonia and Russia, we have made an attempt to find out what is the actual influence of the ordinary international competitions that are held between the two countries on the attitudes between its residents. In the beginning, we supposed that competitions between Estonia and Russia, although may exert a tangible influence on Estonian-Russian relations, in fact do not influence the attitudes of people and relations between the countries significantly. However, during our investigation we have found out that attitudes of people are in fact considerably influenced by participation in any international competitions and competitions between Estonia and Russia, in particular. While, among respondents who have participated in competitions between Estonia and Russia, there are more people who are favourably disposed towards foreign competitors, the number of people who stated that they did not like Russians or Estonian's is almost three times smaller amongst them, comparing to the ones who have never taken part in such. Thus, already in the beginning of our survey we discovered that our assumption was wrong, and participation in international competitions, in fact, significantly influences attitudes between Russian and Estonian people.

Nevertheless, some truth may be found in the second part of our argument. We supposed that in order to be effectively used as a reconciliation and social bonding tool, international competitions between Russia and Estonia need to be reorganized. As we have figured out, about a half of all competitions between Estonia and Russia include socializing events as a part of the programme. We have explored the influence of these events on people's perception of each other. Unfortunately, we did not have a lot of answers to investigate this

issue, as only eleven people, from all the survey participants, have taken part in competitions with socializing events. Still, we have made several conclusions. First of all, we have found out that socializing events, in general, do not positively influence attitudes between people. While there was one person from nine, participating in competitions between Estonia and Russia without socializing events, who said that he/she did not like Russians/Estonians; among eleven people, participating in competitions where such events were organized, two respondents answered the same. However, we have also noticed that people, showing disregard towards Russians or Estonians, could be found only among the ones who were not interacting with the foreign competitors during socializing events. All the other respondents were either neutral, or positively disposed towards Estonian and Russian team members. In other words, no one who was communicating with the foreigners during socializing events expressed a negative attitude towards them, which means that socializing events may be useful for social bonding and peace-building if they involve everyone in interactions.

We have also discovered that visiting Russia or Estonia, in general, does not improve the attitudes between its people. On the contrary, the influence is negative. An especially negative effect on the attitudes between Russians and Estonians can be observed when Estonian residents visit Russia.

In sum, participation in competitions between Russia and Estonia positively influences attitudes between Russian and Estonian people. Travelling for the purpose of sports exerts a much better influence on attitudes between Estonian and Russian residents than the other kinds of travelling. Except that, attitudes are better influenced when Russian people visit Estonia, rather than vice versa. Finally, socializing events only have a positive influence if they encourage people from different countries to interact with each other. Thus, as follows from our findings, for the purposes of bonding Russian and Estonian people, and improving relations between countries, it is best served if competitions are held in Estonia and include socializing events, engaging everyone in interactions.

We need to admit, that we did not have enough information for conducting deep analysis of the role of socializing events in the process of social bonding. However, the fact that participation in international competitions enhances relations between the nations is evident. We believe, that the impact of sports can be further improved if a greater focus is placed on the principles of tolerance and peace in sports. Except that, for improving effectiveness of sport as a reconciliation tool, we encourage further investigation of the role of collective socializing events, held along with the competitions, in enhancing attitudes between the participants.

REFERENCES

- Cárdenas, A. (2013). Peace Building Through Sport? An Introduction to Sport for Development and Peace. *Journal of Conflictology*, Vol. 4, Iss.1, pp. 24-33
- Cardenas, A. (2016). Sport and Peace-Building in Divided Societies: A Case Study on Colombia and Northern Ireland. *Peace and Conflict Studies*, Vol.23, No.2, Article 4.
- CBA: Young athletes from Latvia, Estonia and Russia competed in international competitions. (n.d.). ENPI cross-border cooperation programme: http://www.estlatrus.eu/eng/news/cba_young_athletes_from_latvia (15.03.2017)
- Cha, V. D. (2009). A Theory of Sport and Politics. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 26, No.11, pp. 1581-1610.
- Cross Countries through Football. (n.d.). ENPI cross-border cooperation project: <http://www.estlatrus.eu/eng/projects/1648> (15.03.2017)
- Data record. (n.d.). Youth recreational educational sports centre "Brigantina" in Pskov: <http://pskov-brigantina.ru/news/> (15.03.2017)
- Giulianotti, R. (2011). Sport, peacemaking and conflict resolution: a contextual analysis and modelling of the sport, development and peace sector. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol 34, No. 2, pp. 207-228.
- Giulianotti, R., & Armstrong, G. (2010). Sport, the military and peacemaking: history and possibilities. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 32, Iss. 3 , pp. 379-394.
- International tournament in aerobics. (2015). Pskov Youth health-promotional educational sports centre "Brigantina": http://pskov-brigantina.ru/news/mezhdunarodnyj_turnir_po_sportivnoj_aehrobike/2015-12-15-164 (15.03.2017)
- International tournament in Aerobics. (2016). Pskov Youth health-promotional educational sports centre "Brigantina": http://pskov-brigantina.ru/news/mezhdunarodnyj_turnir_po_sportivnoj_aehrobike/2016-11-01-216 (15.03.2017)
- International tournament in Volleyball. (2016). Pskov Youth health-promotional educational sports centre "Brigantina": http://pskov-brigantina.ru/news/mezhdunarodnyj_turnir_po_volejbolu/2016-09-30-210 (15.03.2017)
- International Volleyball tournament. (2016). Pskov Youth health-promotional educational sports centre "Brigantina": http://pskov-brigantina.ru/news/mezhdunarodnyj_turnir_po_volejbolu/2016-05-16-198 (15.03.2017)
- Lea-Howarth, J. (2006). Sport and Conflict: Is Football an Appropriate Tool to Utilise in Conflict Resolution, Reconciliation or Reconstruction? University of Sussex. 49 pages (Master dissertation).

- Lederach, J. P. (2005). *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Murray, S., & Pigman, J. A. (2010). Mapping the Relationship between Sport and Diplomacy. *Sport in Society*, Vol. 17, No. 9, pp. 1098-1119.
- Orwell, G. (1945). *The Sporting Spirit*.
http://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/spirit/english/e_spirit (20.11.2016)
- Pigman, G. A. (2014). International Sport and Diplomacy's Public Dimension: Governments, Sporting Federations and the Global Audience. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 94-114.
- Projects. (n.d.). ENPI cross-border cooperation programme:
http://www.estlatrus.eu/eng/projects/?all=any+keyword&project_location=any+project+location&measure=1633&beneficiary=&country=®ion=&grant_amount=&startdate=&project_duration= (14.03.2017)
- Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group. (2008). *Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments*. United Nations.
- Sugden, J. (2006). The challenge of using a values-based approach to coaching sport and community relations in multi-cultural settings. The case of Football for Peace (F4P) in Israel. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 7-24.
- Sugden, J. (2011). Turning Drops into Ripples and Ripples into Waves. *Critical Pragmatism and Social Change through Sport in Deeply Divided Societies*. Israel: International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education, pp. 51-64.
- Traditional international Judo tournament. (2016). http://pskov-brigantina.ru/news/mezhdunarodnyj_turnir_po_sportivnoj_aehrobike/2015-12-15-164: http://pskov-brigantina.ru/news/tradicionnyj_mezhdunarodnyj_turnir_po_dzjudo/2015-11-16-158 (15.03.2017)
- World Integrated Trade Solution. (n.d.). World Bank: <http://wits.worldbank.org/country-analysis-visualization.html> (5.10.2016)

APPENDICIES

Appendix 1. Questionnaire. General module

Questions that were obligatory to answer are marked with the sign “*”

1. Age
2. Gender*
3. Nationality
4. Do you play any teams sports?*
5. If yes, what kind of sports?
6. Have you ever participated in any international sports competitions?*
7. Have you ever participated in international competitions with Russia?*
8. Have you ever been to Russia (except for participation in competitions)?*
9. What do you think of Russian people?*

 - I don't really like them, I find them hostile
 - I think they are nice and amiable
 - I think they are not much different from the people of my culture
 - I think they are all different as all the people around the world are

10. How do you evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?*

 - I think they are good enough
 - There is a need to improve Estonian-Russian relations
 - Estonian-Russian relations are poor, but I don't think there is a need to improve them
 - I don't know anything about Estonian-Russian relations

Appendix 2. Questionnaire. Additional module 1:Competitions with Russia/Estonia

1. When did competitions with Russia take place?
2. Where did they take place (country)?*
3. What countries were you competing against?
4. Did you have any socializing events with the competitors from other countries?*

 - Yes, but I didn't participate
 - Yes, Participants from different countries were interacting a lot; I got acquainted with many of them
 - Yes, most of the participants were interacting with their compatriots from the same countries, but I still got acquainted with some of them
 - Yes, but most of the participants were interacting with their compatriots from the same countries, so did I
 - No, no such events were organized
 - Other _____

5. Except that, did you have a chance to meet competitors from other countries during your free time? Did you communicate with them?*

 - Yes, I had a chance, and I had conversations with competitors from other countries
 - Yes, I had a chance, but I did'n communicate with competitors from other countries
 - No, I had no such possibility

Appendix 3. Questionnaire. Additional module 2: A visit to Russia/Estonia

1. What was the aim of your visit to Russia?*

 - Tourism
 - Visiting relatives/friends
 - Sports
 - Work
 - Study
 - Not to stay/transit
 - Other: _____

2. Did you have a chance to talk to local people? Did you use this chance?

 - Yes, I had a chance and I had conversations with the locals
 - Yes, I had a chance, but I didn't talk to them
 - No I didn't have a chance to talk to the locals
 - Other: _____

3. Did you enjoy being in Russia?

 - Yes, I would like to visit Russia again
 - No I did not like it

4. Other: _____

Appendix 4. Answers for the question “What do you think of Russian people?”

Russia		Hostile	Nice	Similar to my culture	All Different
Gender	male	17%	0%	17%	67%
	female	11%	32%	5%	53%
Nationality	Estonian	0	0	0	0
	Russian	12%	24%	8%	56%
Team sports	yes	11%	26%	0%	63%
	no	17%	17%	33%	33%
International competitions	yes	6%	29%	0%	65%
	no	25%	13%	25%	38%
Competitions with Russia/Estonia	yes	7%	36%	0%	57%
	no	18%	9%	18%	55%
		12%	24%	8%	56%
Estonia		Hostile	Nice	Similar to my culture	All Different
Gender	male	41%	41%	0%	18%
	female	21%	43%	7%	29%
Nationality	Estonian	33%	48%	0%	19%
	Russian	33%	33%	7%	27%
Team sports	yes	24%	41%	6%	29%
	no	42%	42%	0%	16%
International competitions	yes	25%	50%	0%	25%
	no	43%	38%	5%	14%
Competitions with Russia/Estonia	yes	20%	60%	0%	20%
	no	35%	39%	3%	23%
		33%	42%	3%	22%
Estonia and Russia		Hostile	Nice	Similar to my culture	All Different
Gender	male	36%	32%	4%	29%
	female	15%	36%	6%	42%
Nationality	Estonian	33%	48%	0%	19%
	Russian	20%	28%	8%	45%
Team sports	yes	17%	33%	3%	47%
	no	36%	36%	8%	20%
International competitions	yes	14%	38%	0%	48%
	no	38%	31%	10%	21%
Competitions with Russia/Estonia	yes	11%	42%	0%	47%
	no	31%	31%	7%	31%
		25%	34%	5%	36%

Appendix 5. Answers for the question “How do you evaluate Estonian-Russian relations?”

Russia		Poor - no improvement needed	Poor - need improvement	Good	Interpersonal - good, political - bad	I don't know
Gender	male	0%	50%	33%	0%	17%
	female	0%	53%	32%	0%	16%
Nationality	Estonian					
	Russian	0%	52%	32%	0%	16%
Team sports	yes	0%	63%	32%	0%	5%
	no	0%	17%	33%	0%	50%
International competitions	yes	0%	59%	35%	0%	6%
	no	0%	38%	25%	0%	38%
Competitions with Russia/Estonia	yes	0%	71%	29%	0%	0%
	no	0%	27%	36%	0%	36%
		0%	52%	32%	0%	16%

Estonia		Poor - no improvement needed	Poor - need improvement	Good	Interpersonal - good, political - bad	I don't know
Gender	male	27%	68%	0%	5%	0%
	female	14%	79%	0%	0%	7%
Nationality	Estonian	33%	62%	0%	5%	0%
	Russian	7%	87%	0%	0%	7%
Team sports	yes	18%	76%	0%	0%	6%
	no	26%	68%	0%	5%	0%
International competitions	yes	17%	83%	0%	0%	0%
	no	24%	67%	0%	5%	5%
Competitions with Russia/Estonia	yes	20%	80%	0%	0%	0%
	no	23%	71%	0%	3%	3%
		22%	72%	0%	3%	3%

Estonia and Russia		Poor - no improvement needed	Poor - need improvement	Good	Interpersonal - good, political - bad	I don't know
Gender	male	21%	64%	7%	4%	4%
	female	6%	64%	18%	0%	12%
Nationality	Estonian	33%	62%	0%	5%	0%
	Russian	3%	65%	20%	0%	13%
Team sports	yes	8%	69%	17%	0%	6%
	no	20%	56%	8%	4%	12%
International competitions	yes	7%	69%	21%	0%	3%
	no	17%	59%	7%	3%	14%
Competitions with Russia/Estonia	yes	5%	74%	21%	0%	0%
	no	17%	60%	10%	2%	12%
		13%	64%	13%	2%	8%