

OLYMPICS AND POLITICAL IMPACT: CASE OF SOCHI 2014

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EYLÜL ÇİSEM UÇAR

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of  
Master of Science

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Assoc. Prof. Irmak HÜRMERİÇ ALTUNSÖZ  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully  
adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science

---

Prof. Dr. M. Settar KOÇAK  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Prof. Dr. Erdal ZORBA (Gazi Uni., REK)

---

Prof. Dr. M. Settar KOÇAK (METU, PES)

---

Assoc. Prof. Irmak HÜRMERİÇ ALTUNSÖZ (METU, PES)

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Name, Last name: Eylül Çisem Uçar

Signature :

## **ABSTRACT**

### **OLYMPICS AND POLITICAL IMPACT: CASE OF SOCHI 2014**

Uçar, Eylül Çisem

M.Sc., Department of Physical Education and Sports

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Settar Koçak

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This study contributes to the discussions of the relationship between politics and the Olympic Games by focusing on the timeline of the Olympic Games and Sochi 2014 Olympic Games. The study presents a conceptual confusion about the aim of the Olympics and the world of politics, which are tangled with each other. In this study, the international and domestic media attitudes towards Sochi 2014 were analyzed during the 2014 Olympic Truce. The media coverage of most highlighted newspapers of top ten countries in the medal count (Norway, USA, Germany, Canada, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, Italy, France) and four Russian newspapers were analyzed. As a result of the study, It was concluded that politics had significant role on the Olympic Coverage despite all the efforts made by International Olympic Committee. Olympics has become a platform for the politic controversies and a new way of soft power.

**Keywords: Politics and Sports, Olympic Games, Sochi 2014, Soft Power, Media and Olympic Coverage**

## ÖZ

### OLİMPİYATLAR VE POLİTİKA ETKİSİ: SOÇİ 2014

Uçar, Eylül Çisem

Yüksek Lisans, Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Settar Koçak

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Bu çalışma, Olimpiyat Oyunları'nın tarihi ve Soçi 2014 Kış Olimpiyat Oyunları çerçevesinde siyaset ve Olimpiyat Oyunları arasındaki ilişkiyi irdeleyerek, siyaset ve Olimpiyat Oyunları'nın birbirinden kavramsal anlamda farklı olması beklenen ilişkisine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada 2014 Olimpiyat Ateşkesi sırasında Sochi 2014'e yönelik uluslararası ve yerel medya tutumları incelenmiştir. Madalya sayısında ilk on ülkenin (Norveç, ABD, Almanya, Kanada, Avusturya, İsveç, İsviçre, Finlandiya, İtalya, Fransa) en çok okunan gazetelerinin ve dört Rus gazetesinin Soçi 2014 hakkında çıkan haberleri incelenmiştir. Sonuçlara göre, yıllar içerisinde Uluslararası Olimpiyat Komitesi tarafından gösterilen tüm çabalarına rağmen, Olimpiyat Oyunları'da siyaset önemli bir rol oynamaktadır ve medya ile bu kitlelere yansıtılmaktadır. Olimpiyatlar, siyaset ve yumuşak güç için yeni bir platform haline gelmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyaset ve Politika, Olimpiyat Oyunları, Soçi 2014, Yumuşak Güç, Medya ve Olimpiyatlar

To “Pamuğum”



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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

NOC	National Olympic Committee
IOC	International Olympic Committee
UN	United Nations
WW2	World War Two
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USA	United States of America
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Queer
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization





## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Since the beginning, politics has always been a part of the Games and shaped the Olympics. Success or failure during the Games became connected with national status, pride, and, eventually, politics. As the popularity of the sports and Olympics increased, it became more attractive to the media, business and inevitably diplomacy. Countries became much aware of the potential of the Olympics. There is a stereotypical understanding coming to existence as a result of its potency that the Olympics is the derangement of sports and politics. (Zhemukhov, 2014). It became a device to ‘sell their ideologies’ to others.

The Olympics’ expansion and its popularity cannot be explained out of the historical periods and political business cycle of the world since the Games have been shaped with the transitions and developments of the world. The Olympic Games are 1936 Hitler Olympics (USHMM,1990); the time when the Olympic Games became famous with an ideological term, 1968 Mexico (IOC, 2018); the time when racism became important role player, 1972 Munich (Cosgrove, 2013); the time when politics became concrete part of the 2-week-event, 1976 Montreal, 1980 Moscow and 1984 Los Angeles (Guttman, 2002) ; the times when half of the world was absent because of the controversial boycotts.

Contrary to what is believed, the scandalous period of Olympics (the eras of the intervention of politics) is ‘over,’ Olympic Games are still used to show by people as

‘a voice’ to show their thoughts around the world. However, these are not silent reactions when the Olympic Games are taken into consideration (Younge, 2018). Countries still want to boycott the Games to show their responses to the others’ policies. More recent examples are 2008 Beijing, 2012 London, 2014 Sochi... Before 2008 Beijing, there were still discussions of boycotts around the world, which were related to the policies of the People’s Republic of China. However, the boycotts were only limited to individuals. In 2012 London, the situation no different from the previous Olympics. That time, India threatened to boycott the Games and took a lot of media reaction (Miller, 2003).

Sochi 2014 again became an important tool for the world of politics. Since 2007, when Sochi became the host city, the eyes of the world were on the Russian Federation. It took many reactions, both domestically and internationally (Gorenburg, 2014). Although the discussions were about one of the biggest sports events, aiming to be free from politics, especially the politics of the Soviet Union, the world mostly discussed the politics of the Russian Federation and why Sochi was a wrong choice.

One of the surface causes was the strict policies of the Russian Federation, concerning especially LGBTQ communities (Tiffany, 2016). Another one was the Ukrainian Crisis on the excuse of human rights. The issue of Ukraine was every countries’ concern, and this influenced a two-week-event. It is claimed that the world is no longer suffering from the Cold War or the division of the world into two: East and West. However, there are still discussions implying this division even in the sports world.

There are a lot of regulations in order to prevent the ‘physical’ intervention of the politics, such as the Olympic Charter setting the basics and the rules for the Games, the policies of the International Olympic Committee. However, these incidents occurring in the sports platform, especially the case of Sochi, shows that politics still use Olympics and the intervention of the politics is not even close to the emancipation. In addition to the case of the Sochi Olympics, the historical content of Olympic Games would be followed according to the timeline of the Games to analyze the importance of politics in the Olympic platform.

## **1.1 Purpose of the Study**

The purposes of the study were

- 1) to understand how Olympics as Soft Power became a platform for politics,
- 2) to analyze how ‘Western’ countries and ‘Russia’ released the Olympic Coverage of Sochi 2014 through media, new soft power?

## **1.2 Research Questions**

In this study, following research questions were addressed:

1. Why did the Olympics become a political platform to the countries?
2. Did the integration of politics continue in Sochi 2014?
3. On what did the media in top ten countries’, in the Winter Olympics Medal Count, highest circulated newspapers focus during the Sochi 2014 and Olympic Truce?
4. On what did the media in Russian Federation’s five highest circulated newspapers (three opponents, two government) focus during Sochi 2014 and Olympic Truce?
5. Is the ‘Cold War’ still valid on the Olympic Platform?

## **1.3 Significance of the Study**

Throughout the history of the Olympics, the world witnessed many incidents that integrated the Games and Politics. During the era of the Cold War, Olympic Games suffered at most because of the division of the world. Addedly to this period, Olympics have seen as a political crisis desk to ‘solve’ dual or multilateral problems in different eras. Although precautions have been taken, sanctions have been imposed, this issue has not been taken off the table. The true aim and spirit of the Olympics have been suffering for many years.

Sochi 2014 Olympics, which was hosted by Russian Federation for the first time after the collapse of Soviet Union, is one example. The case of Sochi shows that politics

still uses Olympics and the intervention of the politics is not even close to the emancipation. Sochi 2014 became an important tool for the world of politics. Since 2007, when Sochi became the host city, the eyes of the world were on Russian Federation. It took a lot of reactions both domestically and internationally. It is important to analyze the reactions and the depiction of the Sochi 2014 Olympics in the media. In order to look at the issue from different perspectives, both 'Western' media and 'Russian' media were analyzed.

Notwithstanding the fact that Cold War is over, it appears to be still going on, on the Olympic Platform. Despite all the regulations, the discussions continue, and a new topic related with politics is thrown into discussion in most of the Olympic Games. These issues are required to be discussed and remarked.

What is more, after the doping discussions concerning the Russian Olympic Committee and old and new Soviet and Russian athletes, anything related with Russian Federation and Olympics are still critic issue.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The Olympic Games, by definition, is on the biggest international sports competitions that is organized in every four years as Summer and Winter Olympics (IOC, 2015) It contains forty-two summer, fifteen winter sports branches (The Olympic Studies Centre, 2017). As a deeper meaning, Olympic Games is a ‘passionate celebration of humanism.’ It has the power to unite people from different backgrounds altogether and enables them to experience the values of Olympism (Bailey, 2017).

The Olympic Games is an ancient way of celebrating sports. In the modern era, the power of the Games continues with non-negligible efforts of International Olympic Committee (IOC) and National Olympic Committees (NOCs). The Olympic Games and Olympism are guided by the Olympic Charter and the Olympic Movement (IOC, 2015).

#### **2.1 Olympism & Olympic Movement & Olympic Charter**

“The goal of the Olympic Movement is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practiced without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play.” (IOC, 2015)

**The Olympic Charter:** The Olympic Charter is the declaration of basic principles of Olympism, which are directly related with the Olympism and its goals, Olympic Movement and its aims, equality and freedom, and the rules and regulations adopted by the International Olympic Committee.

The idea of equality in the charter is supported with a very strong source: The Declaration of Human Rights. In the Charter, it is stated:

“The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practice sport, without discrimination of any kind, in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and a fair play.”

This article and the others in relation to this resemble Declaration of Human Rights in many aspects: free and equal rights, prohibition of discrimination, equality before law, freedom of expression and opinion. Human Rights are both a reason and a tool for organization of the Olympic Spirit. With the Olympic Charter, the legal basis of Olympism has been laid and the rules of the Games have been supported in the international platforms. As the Human Rights assemble people under the same roof which is based on equality, the Olympic Charter and the Olympics itself assemble sportsmen under the same flag with only one goal: sports for all (IOC, 2015).

**The Goal of Olympics:** Olympism and Olympic charter serves for Olympics.

“The goal of Olympics is to place sport at the service of harmonious development of humankind, with a view of promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity (IOC, 2015).”

This goal is directly linked to the Declaration of Human Rights. However, the practice of this fails in many ways. What is more, although the United Declaration of Human Rights enables equality to all human beings and almost all countries in the world have signed this declaration, it is still argued that there are unfairness and inequality almost all of which are related to the politics, ideologies of the countries in the Olympic Games, in which freedom, equality and justice have to be ideally practiced.

Disregardless of the goals and efforts, Olympics has become a platform for the ‘practice’ of politics.

## **2.2 The History of the Intervention of Politics to the Olympic World**

### **2.2.1 Ancient Olympics and Its Mission & Impact**

There are many myths about how the Olympics started. It is believed that Olympics brought peace to ancient Greece. People from different segments of the society gathered around Mt. Olympus to prove their talents to the Gods and Goddesses and to honor them. Historically, the Games were created to unite the Hellenistic world, which was split into city-states who were constantly at war with each other. The idea was to gather amateur athletes competing for peace and good sportsmanship. The Olympics had the power to piece together that world, which hints the political aspect of the Games. After the Roman Empire conquered Greece in the mid-2nd century B.C, with the change of crown, Olympics came to an end. We again witness the effect of the politics in Olympics, overcoming it (Chester, 1971).

### **2.2.2 The Start of Modern Olympics and the First Halt**

The Olympic Games are divided into three periods: first period (1896-1912), second period (1920-1936) and third period (1948- present) (Pehoiu & Pehoiu, 2012). The reasons behind this division are politically-related since the Games were significantly affected by the state of the ‘realms’.

The first period covers the years between 1896 and 1912. The Olympic Games had to stop until 1896; French Baron Pierre de Coubertin wanted to resurrect the Olympics. He had the belief that sport could promote peace around the world. He first introduced the idea of starting the Games again in 1892. He travelled around the world and tried to persuade people that reviving Olympics would encourage the true spirit of sports, competition and peace. (Duràntez, 2001)

“The 19th century saw the taste for physical exercises revive everywhere ... the peoples have intermingled, they have learned to know each other better and immediately they started to compare themselves...How then should the athletes not seek to meet, since rivalry is the basis of athletics, and in reality, the very reason of its existence?”

1896 was the year the Olympic Games returned to the world stage. French Baron Pierre de Coubertin wanted to resurrect the Olympics with the belief that sport could promote peace around the world. For the unification of the athletic events popular around different countries and ‘the transformation of the notion of rivalry into noble competition, free from the notion of profit’ (FHW, 2004), it was decided to make the Olympics alive again. Eventually, with the great effort of Coubertin, Olympic Movement began in 1894 with foundation of International Olympic Committee (IOC). Thus, in 1896 Modern Olympic Games started with the hopes of peace. (FHW, 2004).

As Coubertin states: “All sports are for all people.” However, in the beginning, the Games lacked much popular support and contrary to expectations, the purpose of the Olympics missed the main target. The Olympics were overshadowed by the world’s affairs; the wars.

First halt occurred in 1914 when World War I erupted. Berlin Olympics had to be cancelled. The reasons were that Berlin, the host city, was one of the battlefields of the war and most of the participants were from involved countries. Although there were many controversies, IOC’s remit was to be apolitical and 1916 Olympics were skipped. However, cancelling the Games because of a political reason can be accepted as a political approach to the incident (Polley, 2012).

After the war, peace was ‘established’ around the world; the next Olympics were set to happen in 1920, in Antwerp. However, although “Olympic Games are for the world and all nations must be admitted to them”, Germany and its allies, Ottoman Empire, Austria who were accused of starting the World War I and breaking the peace according to the decisions taken in Paris Peace Conference in 1919. With this ‘judgment’, the decision was taken from the political platform and was implemented to the world of sports. These conflicts are one of the first concrete examples of politics in the Games (IOC, 2015).

The hopes of peace did not last long with the eruption of the World War I. The incident caused by all political reasons cost the Olympic Games’ cancelation. Physical and emotional status of the countries could not allow the Olympics to happen. This was the first halt to the chaser of peace (History, 2018).



### **2.2.3 'Hitler Olympics' and the Second Halt**

When it was time for 1936 Olympics, Berlin was the host city. It was kind of a return of Germany to the world community after its isolation with World War I. Although it had been Berlin was chosen as a host city, it happened and Berlin hosted the Olympics and the world still remembers the Games as The Nazi Olympics (Hitler Olympics), with an ideological term (USHMM, 1990).

In 1933, Germany underwent a change and Nazi Party took the control in all aspects of German life, also sports. In 1930s, German sports imagery was for to promote the 'superior' race: Aryan Race, parallel to the country's policies. This policy ruled the country in many other aspects and drew reaction from all around the world. The boycott discussions had started. In time of the boycott discussions in the United States, Avery Brundage stated that the Olympics were meant for "athletes not politicians". After voting, boycott was off the table for the Americans and for the other countries, boycott did not occur, athletes were to compete in 'New Germany' with the temporarily softened regulations (Ramsamy, 2018).

When the Games started, one of the biggest controversies was the Germany's Olympic team. Before the Olympics, the German team was reformed, and the team was consisted of the Aryan athletes. However, only Helen Mayer, a part Jewish fencer, represented Germany in Berlin 1936 and she won a silver medal. However, during the medal ceremony, she performed the infamous Hitler salute (Carpenter, 2016).

One of the biggest Olympic Stories in the history of the Games occurred in Berlin 1936 when an African American athlete Jesse Owens, won four gold medals having proven that Hitler's ideology of superior race was wrong. Jesse Owens was the most dominant athlete to compete during that time (Bajek, 2012). He bet German Athlete, Luz Long, in long jump. At the end of the big race, there was a standing ovation in the Olympic stadium full of Germans, who supported the ideology of Hitler and who were captivated by it. In either way, the audience was cheering the success of a sportsman who achieved the greatness. It was all over the news and it was a big shock for Hitler. Although at the end of the Olympics, Germany led the medal table, today the world still talks about Jesse Owens (Bajek, 2012).

‘The Nazi Olympics’ had another effect in the world of sports and politics (Large, 2007). It was a kind of a turning point for the Olympics because Berlin Olympics was the one broadcast live on television. (Noordegraaf et al., 2017) Live broadcast helped its popularity. And it was also a kind of a turning point for the world because it helped the ‘popularity’ of the New Germany’s ideology and the popularity of the games.

‘The Nazi Olympics’ can be considered as first failure of Hitler’s ideology. After the Games, media generally talked about the organization of the Games as friendly and peaceful. To some degree, Hitler could hide the crucial side of his ideology for two weeks (IOC, 2014). However, there was one important fact: “Olympic Spirit is neither the property of one race nor of one age”. The German team was consisted of almost all Aryan athletes and IOC did not take regulations or new rules against these incidents. In addition to this, the Games took place under the flags with Swastikas with the presence of Nazi army during the gradual heat of world’s politics. So, for Hitler, Berlin Olympics was a platform to practice of his new ideology. The world witnessed failure of the new ideology because of the power of the sport.

The 1936 Olympics was the last one before the World War II blew up. It was the second halt for the Olympic Games and two following Olympics were cancelled. The main reason arouses from politics. When Hitler invaded Poland, and Great Britain and France declared war on Germany in September 1939. It was the beginning of another World War all over the world; the opening of hostilities altered every plan and calculation, including the Olympics. The ironical point is that the Olympic Games’ main purpose is to promote peace. However, this was the second time the Olympics were cancelled because of the lack of peace.

#### **2.2.4 The Cold War Era**

The broadcast did change a lot of things. The most important thing was that the countries started to realize of the potential of the Olympic Games. It became a stage to show of the power you got in the world stage. When the war was over, in 1948 Olympic Games returned to the world stage in London. It had a political significance as participation was to symbolize political recognition and legitimacy. There were newly

established countries and some of the countries could not recover from the war. Although, the peace 'regained over' the world, there were still uncertainty of the world's then state. Japan and Germany were not invited to the Games since they were considered as the cause of the war.

After the WWII, Olympics became a place for political recognition and legitimacy. In 1952 Helsinki Olympics, the world was in a different state from the past. Those years were the beginning of the Cold War tension and the world had witnessed the separation of the East and the West. This polarization would affect everything in the upcoming year but for the Olympics, first influences of this conflict took stage in Helsinki. West Germany's first participation took place while East Germany did not participate. Meanwhile in the East of the World, the world witnessed the return of Soviet Union (USSR) to the Olympic Stage. And it was just the beginning of the 'Cold War' in the world and among the countries in the Olympic Stage. Basically, political Cold War was not enough, and the conflicts were taken into the sports stage. It was also the beginning of one of the biggest rivalries in sports world: USSR vs. USA (until 1988 Seoul Olympics). The separation is still going on, but we pretend that is over (Saum, 2010).

From 1952 to 1976, public attention was drawn to the Olympics. There was a widely held perception that the Games were a continuous of politics by other means. USSR gained importance with its success in the sports world. The USSR athletes won different championships in different sports fields. The tension between the East and the West reflected on the Olympic stage and this affected the popularity of the Games. People started to pay more attention to the Olympics since most of them saw the Games as a battlefield where the countries could show their power to the world. From my point of view, these fueled the sense of nationalism. One thing led to another, the success of the countries in different platforms turned into a kind of a cold war in sports world. And during this period, United States was the first one who turned Olympics into a weapon of the ongoing Cold War in the world of sports with boycott.

Mexico 1968 was very important in terms of politics. In order to evaluate 1968 Mexico Olympics, the situation of the world during 1960s has to be taken into consideration, just like the Sochi 2014. There was a universal unrest. There were ongoing wars: The Cold War affecting the whole world in different fields, The Vietnam War which was

a big concern for almost all of the countries in the world, Arab-Israeli Conflict which had a significant effect on the upcoming 1972 Olympics, Civil Wars in many countries. There were international conflicts: Cultural Revolution in China, Civil Rights Movement around the world, especially in United States, Ireland, student protests in universities in Europe. There were also important events and conflicts concerning the whole world such as nuclear threats, assassination of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia, anti-war movements around the world. These are the general headlines from 1960s in the world and actually the world was in a chaos. All of these incidents affected the Mexican Olympics.

The 1968 Mexico Olympics were kind of under the impact of this chaos but especially the Civil Rights Movement and racism. Although, nearly three decades had passed after the controversial, racist Olympics, 1936 Berlin, there were still criticism about racism and unfairness of the Games. Despite the unity of the world against Hitler's ideology back then, the black athletes still suffered from racism. Coubertin stated many years ago that racial distinctions should not play a role in sports. However, this was not the case for 1968 Olympics. As a 'solution' or a 'penalty' to the silent protest of two African- American athletes, two athletes were expelled from the Olympic Village and it was stated that they violated one of the basic principles of the Olympic Games: Politics play no part. Ironically, they were a part of the Olympic Project of Human Rights and the silent protest was against racism, which was one of the main principles of Olympic Games. It is valid for Sochi 2014, too. Olympics has to be free from discrimination, there were controversies about LGBTQ policies of Russia. This issue will be highlighted in the part of case of Sochi.

What is more, 1972 was the time when politics became concrete part of the 2-week-event. Terrorist attacks occurred during the Games in Munich. The conflict between Israel and Palestine became concrete during the Games. Personally speaking, one of the reasons why Palestinian group chose Olympic stage for this incident was the popularity of the Games. In addition to this, because of its popularity and its potential in the politic stage, the group chose to do that because they knew the world's eyes were on Munich, just like Sochi (Zhemukhov, 2014). The Ukrainian Crisis became an issue for the whole world because at that time, Sochi 2014 was about to be on the world stage.

### **2.2.5 The Era of Boycotts**

This is maybe the biggest concern of the Olympic Games after Munich. The positions of the countries and the actions taken by them changed the atmosphere. During the Cold War and the Iron Curtain Period, politics became an important player in the Games. The big role players USSR, US and Germany used politics as a weapon to show their political messages and ideological expressions. The popularity of the Games 'allowed' countries achieve their goals to some degree.

One of the reasons of the Olympics popularity, personally speaking, comes from the biggest rivalries in the history of the Games. There was not a physical war but the 'war' in the sports field and the 'war' of the minds made the Olympics more important for the countries of the West and the East. The biggest sport stage was basically turned into a battlefield with a mindful tactics: The Boycotts.

The Boycotts can be considered as scandalous side of the Olympics because it kind of put a halt to the Games. The reason is that when some countries were absent from the Games, the absolute success could not be measured since the success was one-sided. The Boycotts were kind of a thing since the beginning, but it became more popular during the Cold War era. To put an end to this and to disconnect the relationship between politics and sports, and in order to make the main mission come true, IOC decided to make new regulations. Boycotts were banned and if any country was to boycott the Olympics just even for once, that country would be banned for a life time.

There were many issues which led to IOC to take regulations about this. The era of the Boycotts was basically the cold war time between The East & the West in the sports field. Firstly, in 1976 Montreal, 28 African countries boycott over New Zealand after IOC's refusal to ban New Zealand for having maintained sporting relations with South Africa. Secondly, in 1980 Moscow, because of the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and Soviet Human rights violations the United States and six other countries boycotted the Moscow Olympics (Taylor, 1988). Thirdly, in 1984 Los Angeles, as a response to the boycott of 1980, USSR boycotted the Games which were hosted by the

United States. These chains of scandalous incidents and arbitrary actions of the countries made IOC make regulations about the boycotts (Guttmann, 2002).

When investigated the history above in a detailed way, it will not be unnoticed that the Olympics are more than sports. The Games became a platform to show the power of money and ideology, not the success of the athletes or the importance of Olympic Spirit. Once Coubertin stated: “In the Olympic Oath, I ask for only one thing: sporting loyalty.” (IOC, 2015). Although this oath is taken in every Olympic Ceremony, there are still a conflict about Olympics being bigger than the sports. One of the biggest conflicts against the Olympic Spirit is politics. There are many different rules, obligations and restrictions in the Olympic Charter in order to prevent these unwanted incidents.

#### **2.2.6 1988 Seoul and Olympics after Soviet Union**

1988 Seoul Olympics was inevitable on the platform of the Politics because of its geography. Sharing the same peninsula with North Korea and being close to Japan, which was heavily affected by the World War II, Seoul Olympics were a big controversy and full of tension. What is more, The Seoul Olympics were under the control of the government, which was strictly opposed the idea of IOC’ proposal in which it stated that the Olympics should be independent from the government and under the responsibility of the national Olympic Committees and IOC (Taylor, 1988) On the other hand, there were controversial hijack issues led by the North Korea with the aim of creating chaos before the Olympic Games in 1987. There also occurred major protests with in the South Korea. When the Seoul Olympics started ay 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1988, North Korea was absent. Despite all the regulations and efforts of IOC to convince and encourage peace on sports platform, boycott, once again, occurred in the Olympics.

## **2.3 Sochi 2014 Background**

### **2.3.1 Olympic Budget and Corruption Claims**

Sochi 2014 is the most expensive Olympics ever, with the \$51 billion budget, although the estimated cost was approximately \$12 billion, bit in the candidanship files. The newly established structures overran. It both overran the estimated budget and the previous budgets of the Olympics. Thomas Bach, president of IOC stated that the some of the extra budget was given for keeping up the legacy and sports culture in the country. However, according to the studies, there were corruption claims about the construction of the buildings.

### **2.3.2 Climate of Sochi**

Sochi, once known as summer capital in Soviet Era, was turned into a Winter village for the 2014 Winter Olympics. The average temperature of Sochi was 13.1 °C, the warmest place to host the Winter Olympics (Müller, 2014.) When Sochi was elected as the host city in 2007, it directly took a lot of attention from the media.

### **2.3.3 Ukrainian Crisis and Crimea**

Russia's foreign policy over the years and Sochi of late had crucial role during the games. Ukrainian Crisis broke out in 21 November 2013, in Kiev with the political protests of the citizens in favor of EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (Asmussen, 2014.) Ukraine then president Yanukovich's pontified close relations with Moscow brought along discussions both to Ukraine and European Union. Intended Association Agreement to be signed by EU and Ukraine was to strengthen relations and political ties (European Council, 2019). However, Ukraine's government being close to Russia made European Union uncomfortable because of the security and ideological concerns.

Sharing a border and being close to Russian Federation have showed Europe in the past that there was a possibility of security threat, invasion and war. What is more,

recorded tensions between the Russia and Georgia over the years and then recent events caused Russia and Georgia war in 2008 (CNN, 2014). After the collapse of Soviet Union, this was a major conflict in the region.

The annexation of Crimea was another important issue for the Games. Although it appeared in 18<sup>th</sup> of March 2014, the impacts of it coincides with Sochi 2014. Crimean Peninsula is a territory that was given by Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic to Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1954. After the fading of Ukrainian Crisis and Olympic Games, the troops of Russia were seen in the borders of Crimea. After the annexation of Crimea, there were discussions about joining to Russian Federation (Kobierecki, 2016). Coinciding timelines of these events causes security concerns in Europe, NATO member states. Russia's assumed security threatening policies in spite of the international treaties had influence on the Sochi 2014 and overshadowed the Olympic Coverage.

#### **2.3.4 Human Security and Violation of Human Rights**

With the United Nations Development Programme in 1994, the discourse of human security came into the light, after the ending of Cold War and then recent changing balance on the world politic platforms. The major concerns were the human rights and human security (Shinoda, 2004.) The main issues of human security are economy, food, health, environment, personal, community and politic (Asmussen, 2014)

Then possible illegal annexation of Crimea, Russia's domestic policies concerning the LGBTQ communities were the concerns of the countries. Before the Sochi 2014 started, protests around world started to occur concerning the LGBT laws, having passed in 2013 banning the gay 'propaganda' (Elder, 2013). There were discussions about boycotting the Games. However, because of the IOC's strict policy about boycotting the Games, none of the countries could do it. But the protests continue and people tried to get the attention to human rights violation on domestic level by using the mega event, Sochi 2014. As an answer to this, Russia released a statement in 2013, stating that gay athletes will not face any discriminations during the Olympic Games. However, this statement did not end the protests.



## **2.4 Soft Power**

With the Olympic- Politics intervention timeline, it can easily be seen that the countries saw the Olympics as a place to show their power. “Politics has used sports (and vice versa)” (Abrams, 2013). The significant efforts made by IOC cannot be ignored in the law. However, despite all the efforts and the regulation of IOC, “the maxim of ‘sports above politics’ are either wishful thinking or self-delusion (Makarychev, 2013).” The reason behind this statement is that Olympics will always have a secret aim behind sports and the ‘confidential governance of the Olympics or ‘extralegal’ actions made by the countries cannot be prevented by laws and this is and will always be affecting the sports world. Joseph S Nye described Soft Power as “a nation's ability to attract and persuade” with culture, political ideals and policies. This idea emerged in order to explain the foreign policies during post- Cold War era.

## **2.5 Previous Studies**

Wolfe, in his study titled ‘A Silver Medal Project: The Partial Success of Russia’s Soft Power in Sochi 2014’ aimed to “analyze Russia’s soft power attempt to introduce a new conception of ‘Russian-ness’ to both domestic and international audience.” He used qualitative data analysis and the documents he had chosen were newspaper tweets from USA: Wall Street Journal, NY Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post from March 2013-February 2014. He also did interviews with Russians national and local levels. As a result of the study, it was concluded that Sochi 2014 was unsuccessful because of the politics and history, whereas on domestic level it was a successful event because of the benefits of hosting the event.

Skvortsova, in her study titled ‘Media Portrayal of Sochi 2014 Olympic Games: Yet another wave of confrontation between Russia and the West (2016), “examined how the news media’s agenda reflects geopolitical standings of Russia and USA.” She also used qualitative analysis method and analyzed the media coverage of the 2014 Winter Olympic Games (7–23 February 2014) of Russia Today and NBC. Result of the study showed that history and geopolitics played big role in the coverage as NBC’s criticism

towards Russia was harsh and mostly related with their history whereas Russia Today's coverage was more moderate and positive.

Hutchings and colleagues aimed to analyze how Russia Today (RT) and BBC World News (BBCWN) interacted with audiences on their social media platforms during the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic in their study titled "Staging the Sochi Winter Olympics 2014 on Russia Today and BBC World News: From soft power to geopolitical crisis". They used discourse analysis method for 69 News and Broadcast, 1.7 Million Tweets. As a result of their study, BBC used more critical coverage and tweets while Russia used the games as a way of soft power. In addition to this, Twitter has been used "as appealing the interest of the audience with conspiracy theories and counter-hegemonic political discourse".

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This study was designed to analyze the media coverage of the 'Western' countries and the Russian Federation. This chapter clarified the research methodology in terms of research design, sampling, data collection and data analysis methods.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

In this study, qualitative research model was used to analyze the Sochi 2014 Olympics media coverage in top 10 countries in the Winter Olympics Medal Count to unveil the media focus during the Olympic Games. In order to understand the influence of politics on Olympic coverage, the newspapers from Western World and Russia were examined. The analyzing methods were content and contextual analysis.

#### **3.2 Sampling**

In content analysis, the sampling may consist of limited number of newspapers, journals, films, stories or different kind of communication vehicle, related to the to-be-observed issue. In this study, two different purposeful sampling methods were used for different aims. For the 'Western' perspective on 2014 Sochi Olympics, criterion sampling, was used. According to the official Winter Olympics Ranking List

(Classified by the number of Gold Medals, Before PyeongChang 2018), %10 percentage of the listed countries were chosen for the data collection. From the 10 countries, one newspaper with the highest circulation number were analyzed, from the point of reachability to most number of people. The chosen newspapers had the online archive.

According to the official Winter Olympics Ranking List (According to Gold Number, Before PyeongChang 2018), here are the top 10 countries:

1. Norway
2. United States
3. Germany
4. Soviet Union
5. Canada
6. Austria
7. Sweden
8. Switzerland
9. Russia
10. Finland

In order to compare the “Western” perspective, Russia and nonexistence countries Soviet Union and East Germany (ranked 11) were excluded top ten list. In addition, because of the inaccessible resources in Netherlands, France, which is ranked 14, is included. For this reason, following two countries were included in the list:

11. Netherlands (Ranked 12)
12. Italy (Ranked 13)

The analyzed news sites were chosen according to the previous statistical analysis of mostly circulated newspapers. (Statista, 2019)

1. Aftenposten (Norway)
2. USA Today (United States of America)
3. Bild (Germany)

4. Toronto Star (Canada)
5. Der Standard (Austria)
6. Dagens Nyheter (Sweden)
7. 20 Minuten (Switzerland)
8. Helsingin Sanomat (Finland)
9. Corriere Della Sera (Italy)
10. Le monde (France)

Additional to criterion sampling, maximum variation sampling was used. For the counter perspective to ‘Western Countries’ and understand the inside perspective of 2014 Sochi Olympics, four newspapers from Russian Federation (two anti-government, two pro-government) were analyzed (with the highest circulation numbers). For the selection of pro-government and anti-government, it was aimed to analyze the issue from two different sides.

The analyzed newspapers were:

- Novaya Gazeta (Anti-Government)
- Moskowskij Komsomolez (Pro-Government)
- Argumenty i Fakty (Pro- Government)
- Kommersant (Anti-Government)

### **3.3 Sources**

#### **3.3.1 Russian Media and Press**

Russian media and press bear the trace of tight control of the government. Most of the press are pro-government and there are a couple of private press. Although, there are notable restrictions on press freedom in Russia, access to free information is still possible. However, due to the country’s media policy, it is very hard to get the needed information and requires special subject focus (Eurotopics, 2016).

For the selection of pro-government and anti-government, it was aimed to analyze the issue from both perspectives. Newspapers with free access, no language barrier,

highest circulation numbers in their sites (pro-government or anti-government) were chosen. Expert opinion (Russian Media Analyst) was taken for the choices.

The selected newspapers were:

- Novaya Gazeta (Anti- Government)
- Moskovskij Komsomolez (Pro- Government)
- Argumenty i Fakty (Pro-Government)
- Kommersant (Anti-Government)

### **Novaya Gazeta:**

It is accepted as the most powerful anti-government newspaper in Russia with the circulation number of 187.700, founded in 1993. It mostly establishes research files. All content is free and there is no language barrier (Eurotopics, 2016). It is owned by businessman Aleksandr Lebedev.

### **Moskovskij Komsomolez:**

It is owned by the Russian Government and it is one of the biggest circulated newspapers in Russia with the circulation number of 700.000, founded in 1919. Although it is close to the government, it publishes critical opinions about the government. All content is free and there is no language barrier (Eurotopics, 2017).

### **Argumenty i Fakty:**

It is owned by the Russian Government and it is the most circulated newspaper in Russia with the number of 2.750.000, founded in 1978. All content is free and there is no language barrier (East View, 2018).

### **Kommersant:**

It is one of the few liberal press in Russia with the circulation number of 96.866, founded in 1989. All content is free and there is no language barrier. It is owned by billionaire Alişer Osmanov (Eurotopics, 2019).

### **3.4 Data Collection**

The data were collected from the online archive of the selective newspapers. The time period was from 1<sup>st</sup> of February to 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 2014, official Olympic Truce period, which is determined officially with United Nations and International Olympic Committee; 7 days before the Opening Ceremony and 7 days after the Closing Ceremony (UN & IOC). The old tradition is a common policy of IOC and UN's for the promotion of peace and true spirit of Olympic Movement.

During the time of peace promotion, the Olympic media coverage played important role for the Olympic Games. The selected newspapers' archives were scanned with the 'Sochi 2014 Olympics' tag. All the articles and news were taken for further content and contextual analysis.

### **3.5 Data Analysis**

In this study, both content and contextual analysis methods were used in order to examine the 'Sochi 2014 Olympics' coverage. Content analysis techniques aims to understand and interpret a discourse and it includes different techniques which are ranging in the middle of objectivity and subjectivity. (Biglin, 2014). In addition, contextual analysis method is to help to analyze the text within the historical and cultural setting. It combines features of formal analysis with features of "cultural archeology," or the systematic study of social, political, economic, philosophical, religious, and aesthetic conditions that were (or can be assumed to have been) in place at the time and place when the text was created (Behrendt, 2008).

The analyzed data were categorized according to the context of the coverage: sports related, and politics related. After the categorization, contextual content analysis method was applied on the politic- related coverage in order to highlight the Western and Russia's political perceptions. For the contextual analysis, the key words were defined according to the background issues of Sochi 2014 and general Olympic Coverage discourse.

### **3.6 Limitation of the Study**

The accessibility of the news was the key point in this study. The accessibility of the news was explained as following:

1. Aftenposten (Norway): Accessed.
2. USA Today (United States of America): Accessed.
3. Bild (Germany): Accessed.
4. Toronto Star (Canada): Accessed.
5. Der Standard (Austria): Although the most circulated newspaper was Kronen Zeitung, its archive was not open outside of the country. Thus, the second most circulated newspaper was chosen.
6. Dagens Nyheter (Sweden): Accessed.
7. 20 Minuten (Switzerland): Accessed.
8. Helsingin Sanomat (Finland): Accessed.
9. Corriere Della Sera (Italy): Netherlands was skipped because of the inaccessibility of the newspapers. Corriere Della Sera could be accessed.
10. Le monde (France): Accessed.

What is more, previous and different studies were used for the choices of most circulated newspapers. Russian media and press bear the trace of tight control of the government. Most of the press are pro-government and there are a couple of private press. Although, there are notable restrictions on press freedom in Russia, access to free information is still possible. However, due to the country's media policy, it is very hard to get the needed information and requires special subject focus (Eurotopics, 2019). Newspapers with free access, no language barrier, highest circulation numbers in their sites (pro-government or anti-government) were chosen. Two experts' opinions (Russian Media Analysts) were taken for the choices.



### 3.7 Delimitation of the Study

Sochi 2014 was analyzed and only one month of the coverages could be taken. Although five years passed from the Sochi 2014 Olympics, most of the archives were accessible and the discussions about the politics' intervention to the Olympics continue. Russia and Olympic-Related studies may still contribute to the current issues.

Table 1 Keywords used in the research

<b>Olympic Coverage</b>	
<b>Sports Related</b>	<b>Politic Related</b>
Gold	Politics/ Politic
Silver	Putin
Bronze	Ukraine
Success	LGBTQ
Achievement	Kremlin
Dissapointment	Political Controversy
Biathlon	Crimea
Bobsleigh	Pussy Riot
Skeleton	Climate
Curling	Soviet Union
Ice Hockey	Hitler
Luge	Communism
Figure Skating	Dictatorship
Short Track Speed Skating	Cold War
Speed Skating	
Alpine Skiing	
Cross-country Skiing	
Freestyle Skiing	
Ski Jumping	
Snowboarding	
Nordic Combine	
Opening Ceremony	
Closing Ceremony	

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

The selected newspapers are shown in Figure 1 and 2. The circulation numbers and the number of the news are correlated. Russian Circulation Average and Western Circulation are also correlated. From the Western newspapers, 870 news were analyzed whereas from the Russian Newspapers, 352 news were analyzed.

**Norway (Figure 3) :** In Aftenposten's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %46 of the news were politics related and %54 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin', 'Ukraine' and 'Crimea'. For the understanding of the %46 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the Norway- Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.

**Switzerland (Figure 4):** In 20 Min's Olympic Coverage, all the news was politics free. Two countries relations dated back to 1600s. Most of their relations have been based on education and trade. Although Crimea and Ukraine were a big concern for Switzerland, this did not have any effect on the Olympic Coverage. This issue stirred up the relationship between both countries around August 2014 (BBC, 2014).

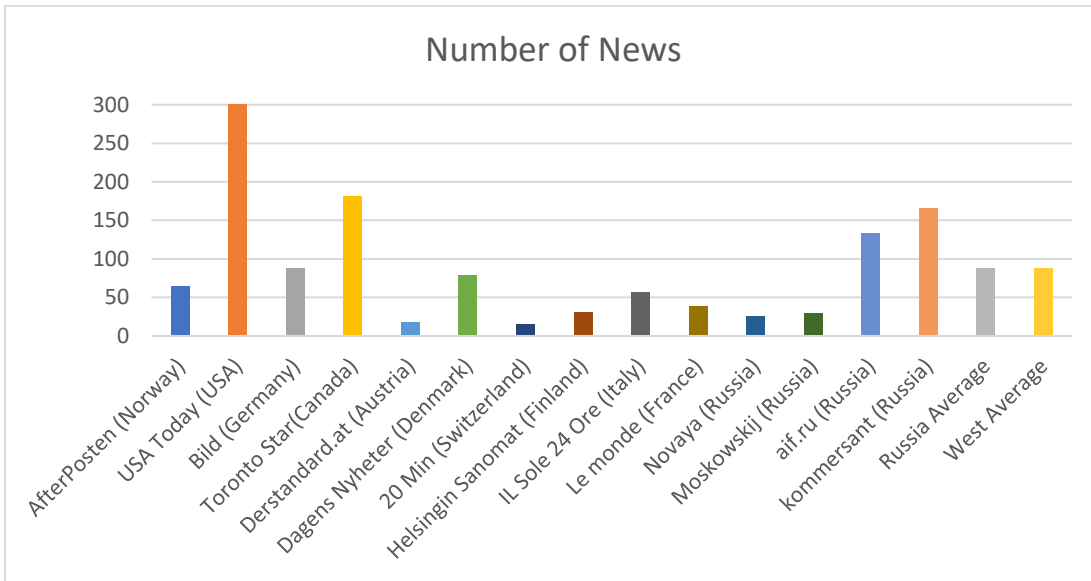


Figure 1 Number of News

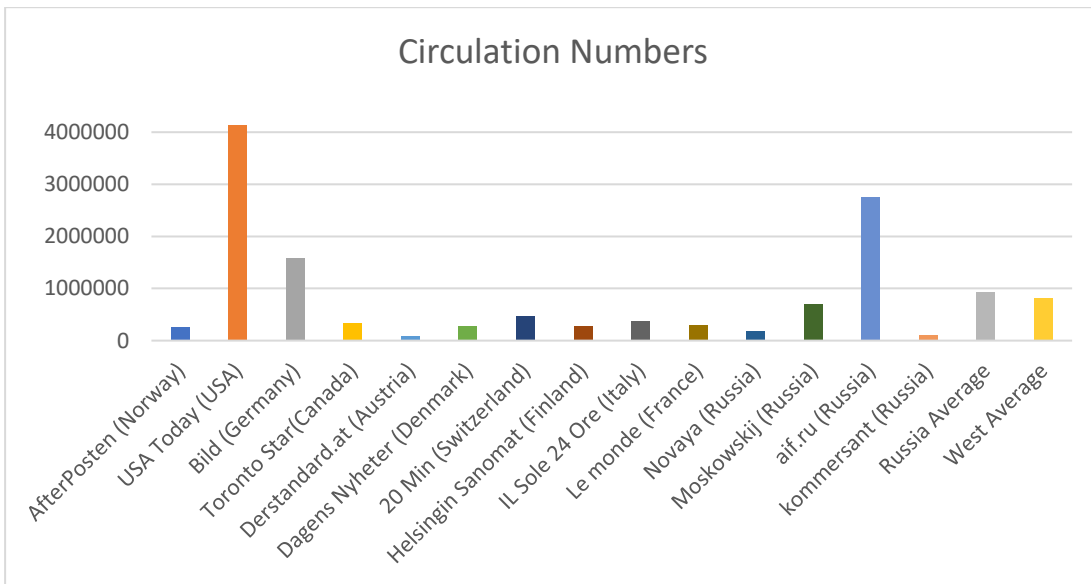


Figure 2 Circulation Numbers

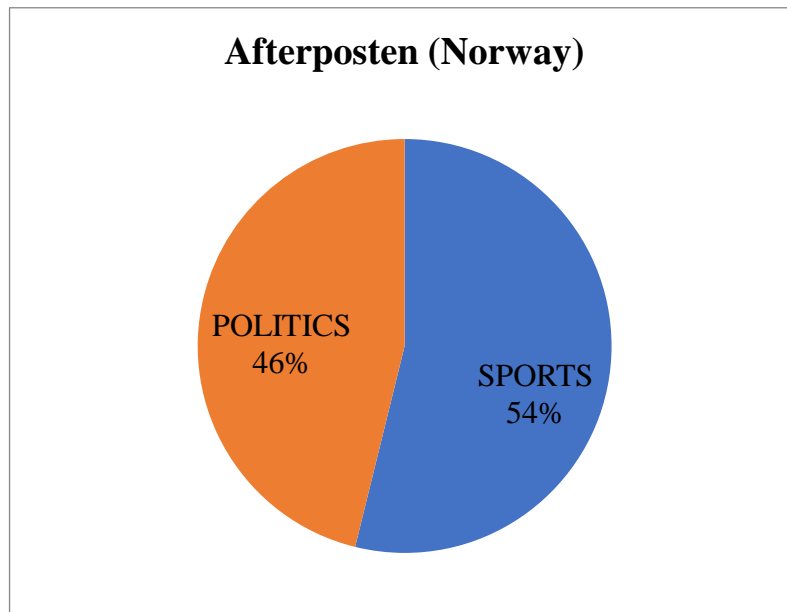


Figure 3 Distribution of the topics in Afterposten news

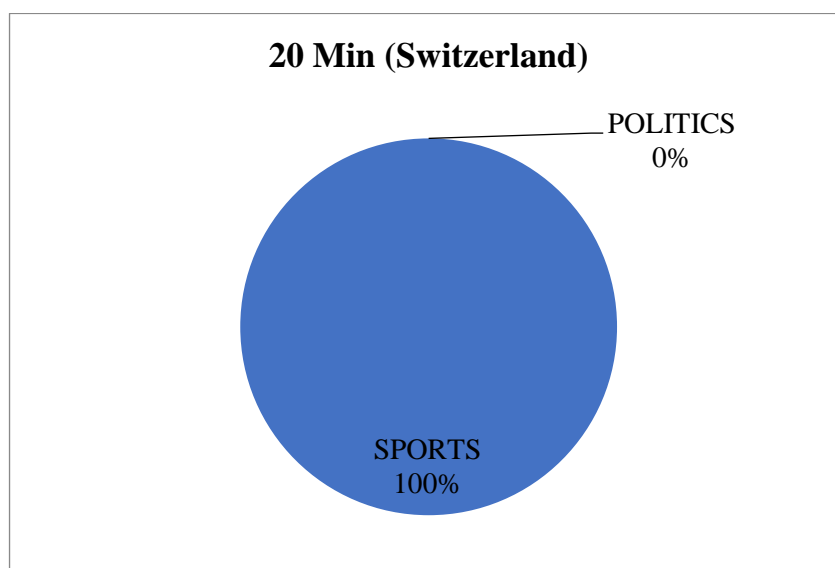


Figure 4 Distribution of the topics in 20 Min news

**Canada (Figure 5):** In Toronto Star's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %43 of the news were politics related and %57 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin', 'Ukraine' and 'Politics'. For the understanding of the %43 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the Canada- Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.

**Italy (Figure 6):** In Il Sole's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %37 of the news were politics related and %63 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin', 'Ukraine' and 'Politics'. For the understanding of the %43 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the Italy- Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.

**Austria (Figure 7):** In Derstandard's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %23 of the news were politics related and %77 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin' and 'Ukraine'. For the understanding of the %23 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the Austria- Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.

**Germany (Figure 8):** In Bild's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %25 of the news were politics related and %75 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin', 'Ukraine', 'Putin'. For the understanding of the %25 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the Germany- Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.

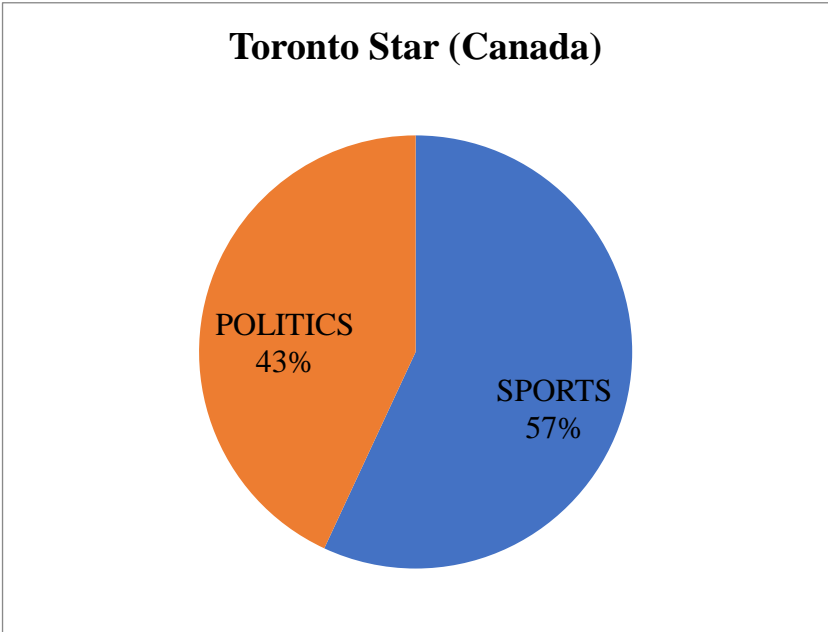


Figure 5 Distribution of the topics in Toronto Star news

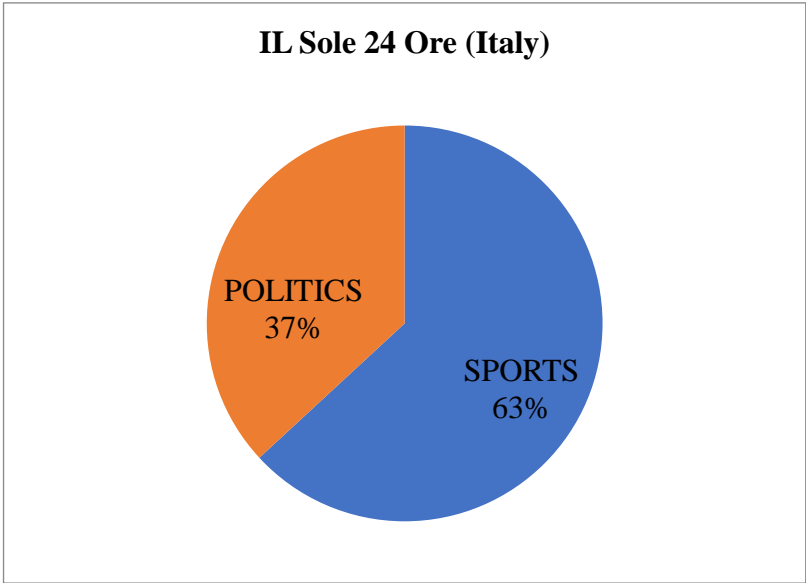


Figure 6 Distribution of the topics in IL Sole 24 Ore news

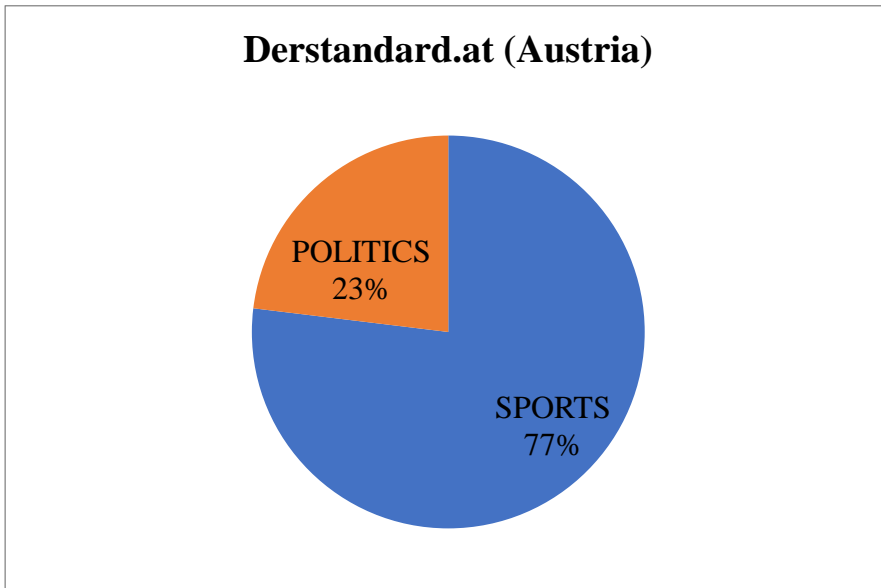


Figure 7 Distribution of the topics in Derstandard news

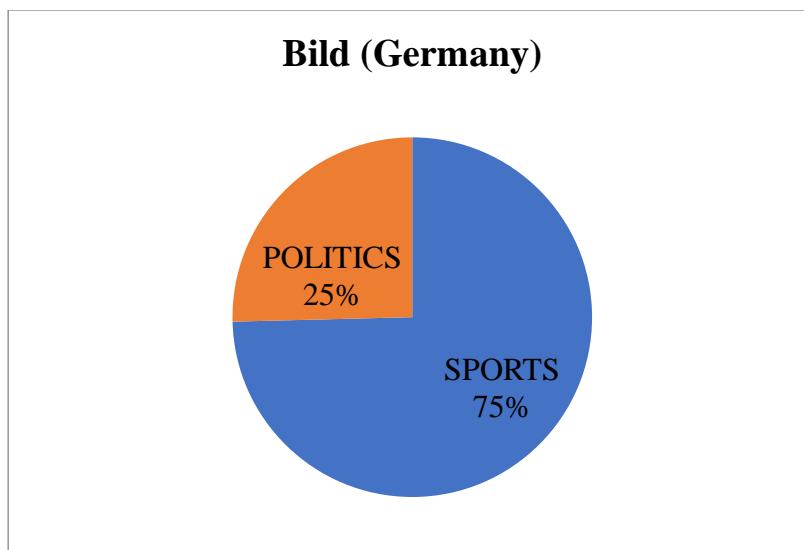


Figure 8 Distribution of the topics in Bild news

**The United States of America (Figure 9):** In USA Today's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %11 of the news were politics related and %89 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin', 'Ukraine', 'Putin'. For the understanding of the %11 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the USA-Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.

**Sweden (Figure 10) :** In Dagens Nyheter's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %9 of the news were politics related and %91 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin', 'Ukraine', 'Putin'. For the understanding of the %9 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the Sweden- Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.

**France (Figure 11):** In Le Monde's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %46 of the news were politics related and %54 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin', 'Ukraine', 'Putin'. For the understanding of the %46 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the France- Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.

**Finland (Figure 12):** In Helsingin Sanomat's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %61 of the news were politics related and %39 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. Mostly stressed words were 'Putin', 'Ukraine', 'Putin'. For the understanding of the %61 of political involvement, the incidents having occurred during and close to the Sochi Olympics and the Finland- Russia relationship over the years were analyzed.



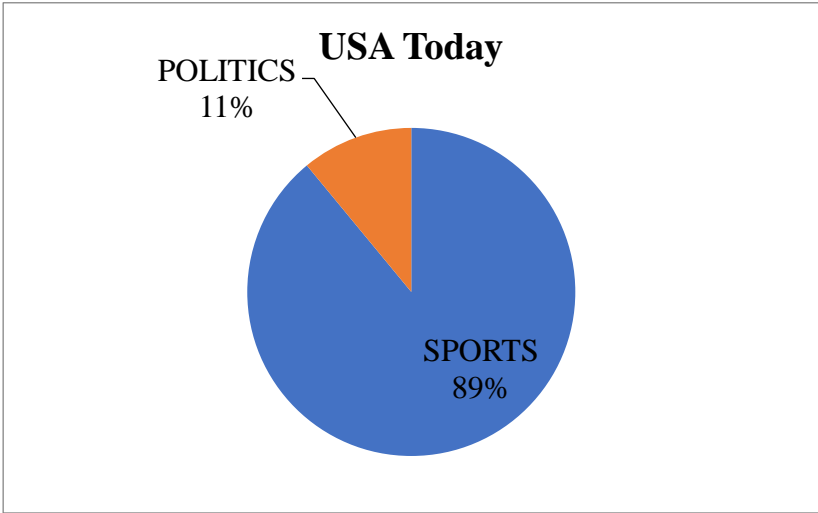


Figure 9 Distribution of the topics in USA Today news

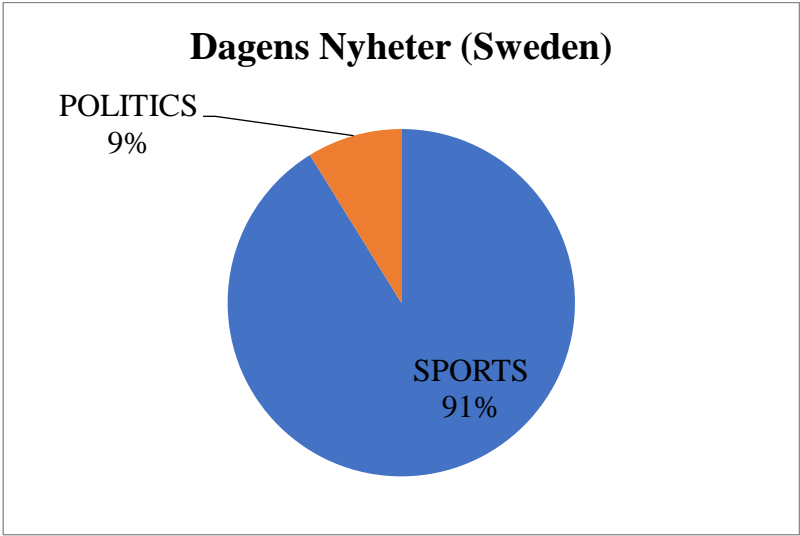


Figure 10 Distribution of the topics in Dagens Nyheter news

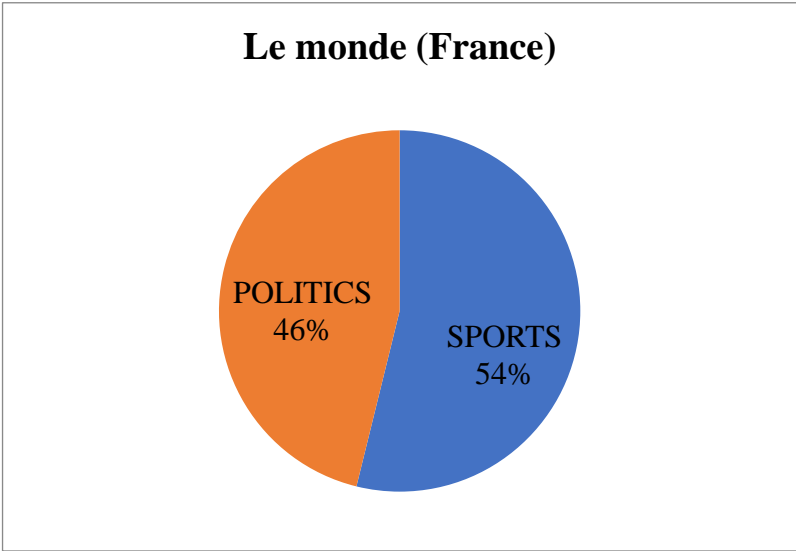


Figure 11 Distribution of the topics in Le Monde news

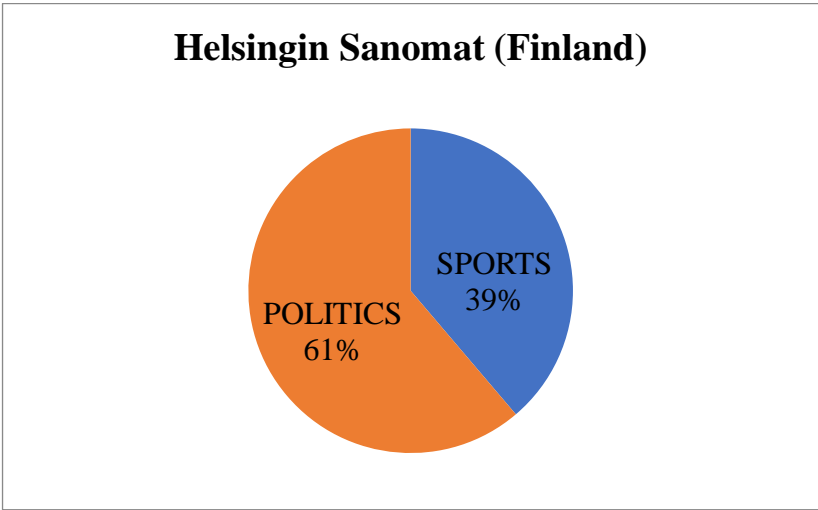


Figure 12 Distribution of the topics in Helsingin Sanomat news

**Novaya (Russia) (Figure 13):** In Novaya's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %26 percent of the news were politics related and %74 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. It is an anti-government newspaper, mostly establishing research files.

**Moskovskji (Russia) (Figure 14):** In Moskovoski's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %52 percent of the news were politics related and %48 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. It is a pro-government newspaper.

**Argument I Fakty (Russia) (Figure 15):** In Argument I Fakty's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %51 percent of the news were politics related and %49 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. It is a pro-government newspaper.

**Kommersant (Russia) (Figure 16):** In Kommersant's Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage, %20 percent of the news were politics related and %80 of the news were politics free. The key word distribution was as in the Table 1. It is an anti-government newspaper.

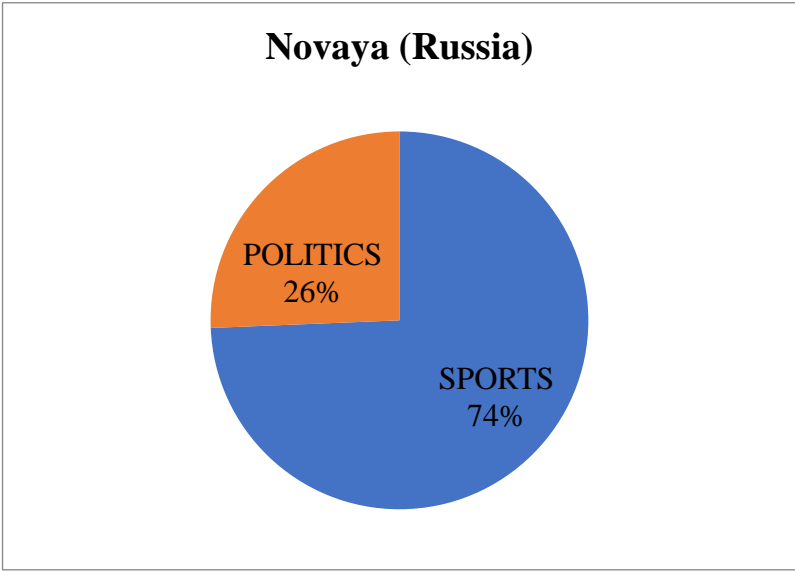


Figure 13 Distribution of the topics in Novaya News (Russia)

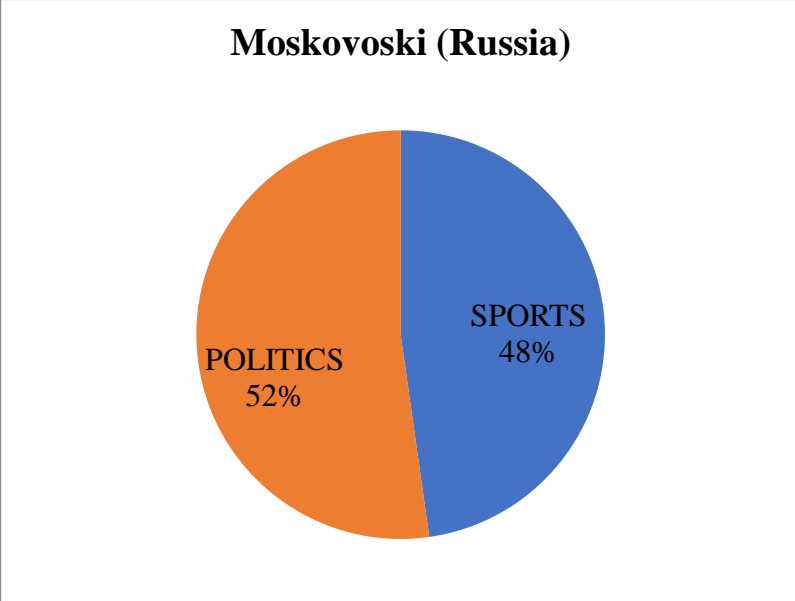


Figure 14 Distribution of the topics in Moskovski (Russia)

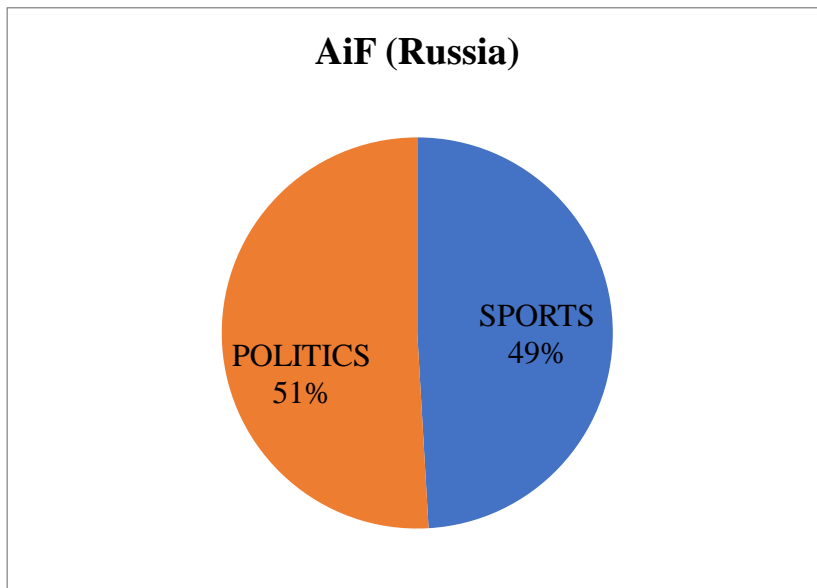


Figure 15 Distribution of the topics in Argument I Fakty (Russia)

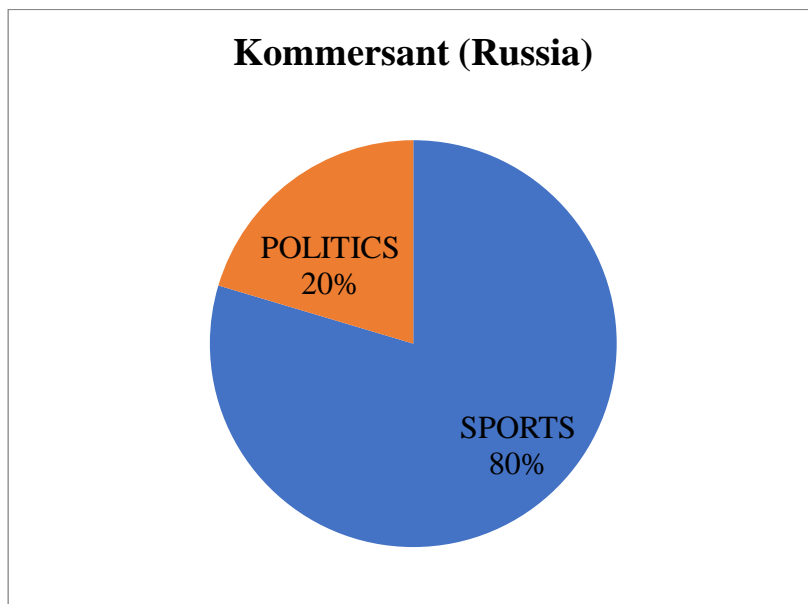


Figure 16 Distribution of the topics in Kommersant (Russia)

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

The purposes of the study were to understand how Olympics as Soft Power became a platform for politics and to analyze how ‘Western’ countries and ‘Russia’ released the Olympic Coverage of Sochi 2014 through media, new soft power.

According to the 14-newspaper analysis, it was observed that politics still intervene the Olympic Games. The relationship is based on mutual benefits. Both are fed by each other. Olympic Games popularity and politics importance among the multilateral relations of countries combine the two. By using the Olympic Coverage (media and Olympics as soft power), politics gives rise to turn Olympics into a new platform for itself.

The flow of history shows that Russia and ‘Western’ countries had multilateral or bilateral relations. The traces of these relations could be seen in the Olympic Coverage of Sochi 2014 Olympics.

#### **5.1 Research Question 1**

First research question of the study was to understand why Olympics became a platform to the countries. According to the literature review, history of the Olympic Games and the bilateral and multilateral relations among countries, it can be

interpreted that the ever increasing potential and size of the Olympic Games generate itself as a political platform to the countries.

## **5.2 Research Question 2**

Second research question of the study was to understand whether the integration of politics to the Olympics continued in Sochi 2014. As it is concluded from the results, Olympic Coverage was heavily affected by the politics. The integration continues despite all regulations taken by the IOC.

## **5.3 Research Question 3**

Third research question was to analyze the media in top ten countries', in the Winter Olympics Medal Count, highest circulated newspapers focus during the Sochi 2014 and Olympic Truce. For the ten newspapers, the data were given in the previous chapter.

Nordic countries, being close to the Russian Federation both on land and coastal waters, they were much more concerned with the security. In addition to these, their relations with Russian Federation are based on trade and economy. Notwithstanding, economy was the common concern for all countries except Switzerland. Because of the economic sanctions, interests of the countries suffered at the same time.

One of the most controversial issues between border neighbors, Norway and Russia has been Barents Sea, in which two countries share their coastal waters. This territorial problem was solved in 2010, however with Ukrainian Crisis, Norway stated that they were on the side of European countries and would be more strict about the law lines (EPRS, 2017). The Ukrainian Crisis and Crimea also were closely associated with the security of the Europe and the border countries (Sarikaya, 2017).

The other problem between Norway and Russia has been the towns near by the border; Nikel, Monchegorsk, Apatity and Kirovsk. These towns were built for mining and industrial purposes (AFF, 2011). In addition to this, during the Soviet Union era, Kola Peninsula, on which the towns situate, it was a strategic force place for the union. With

the environmental threat and the historical importance, Kola has been a hot topic between the two countries.

Apart from these, during the meetings with the Russian government after 2011 elections, which resulted in Putin's victory, the domestic diplomacies posing human rights threats were one of the topics being discussed (Wilhelmsen & Lundby Gjerde, 2018). Human rights violation was one of the biggest concerns of the Western countries during the Games, according to the media.

In the news distribution, it could be noticed that politics had an impact on the Olympic coverage. Most of the issues discussed in the news were Putin's policies about Ukraine and human rights. However, the Hitler Olympics comparison was done for the human rights news and Soviet union's 'legacy' was mentioned (Stakset-gundersen 2014). Stakset-gundersen stated in his article in *Afterposten*: "Sports and politics should not be mixed, but basic human rights are not politics". Regardless, the news was written with the political terms.

The other common point of almost all the countries was LGBTQ and Human Rights. Related with the Declaration of Human Rights, domestic policies concerning the LGBTQ rights were one of the most controversial things during the games. Although there were regulations of the laws by the Russian Federation specially for the Olympic Period, the controversies went on. The main target was the need of change in the domestic policies of the Russian Federation.

One of the blames also went to the IOC, being questioned as why Russia with very poor history of human rights, chosen as a host at the first place. If the laws had not changed during the Olympics, it would be rightful to discuss. However, countries laws outside of the Olympics should not be a concern of the other countries.

Security has been an issue on the table for decades, even since Soviet Union. From both countries' perspectives, they play a crucial role in each other's' security (Wilhelmsen & Lundby Gjerde, 2018). Russia has been seen as a big threat to the security of the world, even if borders are not common.

Switzerland set an example for the Olympic Coverage and idea of sports not being related with the politics.



Russia- Canada relationship was established in 1991. Sharing common interest on enterprises and business made this relationship strong. As a result of business and trade between both countries, Canada Russia Intergovernmental Economic Commission was founded in 2009. Since Canada- Vancouver was the host city in 2010 Winter Olympics, both countries shared common interests (CERBA, 2009).

However, the Ukrainian Crisis and Human Rights Violations affected this relationship. There was a strict and direct condemnation towards Russia concerning Ukraine. There were critical approaches to the Putin's policies. In the light of then recent events, the point of Canada's view of Russia has changed.

In addition to these, the popularity of ice-hockey in Canada and the rivalry between Russia- Canada sparked off the old rivalries; Soviet Union vs Canada. The Soviet Union news were all related with the Ice Hockey.

Russia- Italy relations started with Italy's recognition of Soviet Union in 1924. Since the recognition, they straitened the relation with economic and military treaties. With the Italy-Soviet Pack, signed in 1933, economic relations, security in Balkans and ally against German threat were ensured (Cortesi, 1933).

However, during the Cold War era, the relationship weakened because of the East-West ideological separation. The Communist Party in Italy kept the thin connection between the two countries.

After the collapse of Soviet Union, the mutual benefits became valuable as the two countries signed the trade agreements. Italy's being dependent on Russia's gas, market trades kept the countries bilateral relations over the years.

Notwithstanding, Ukrainian Crisis, Annexation of Crimea, domestic policies of Russian Federation about human rights were on the spotlight of the Olympic coverage. The comparison of Moscow 1980 and Sochi 2014 was done with Il Sole 24 Ore in order to highlight the fact that Russia was not far away from the burden of Soviet Union policies.

Before the Soviet Union, Russia and Imperial Austria experienced problematic relationship since both of the countries aim were to secure their frontier borders. Their imperial expansion caused them to encounter different occasions in the history.

After the establishment of Soviet Union, the relations between two countries changed shape. During the World War II, Austria allied with Germany against Soviet Union. After the war was over, the Austria had to sign a neutral treaty for the Cold War. And this led Austria to be the first European country to access Russian gas during cold war era.

After the collapse of Soviet Union, the two countries continued their relations. However, the general controversies about the Games were on the coverage of the news: concerns about safety, the depletion of nature and corruption scandals, criticism about Putin's policies.

Since the top ten countries in the Winter Olympic Count consisted of different 'Western' countries, the study could analyze various points of perceptions towards the Russian Federation. On the contrary, examining the Russian Federation's perspective gave the opportunity to explain their own 'tries' on the Olympic Games and Olympic Movement.

The timing of Sochi 2014 Olympics was another key point of this study. Although it was witnessed many different Olympics that the politics intervened the Games, because of the then-going crisis in Ukraine, Annexation of Crimea, the climate of Sochi, controversial domestic policies of Russian Federation, the eyes of the world were on Russia during this period. The platform was 'opened' to discussion by itself.

Although five years passed from the Sochi 2014 Olympics, most of the archives were accessible and the discussions about the politics' intervention to the Olympics continue. Because of the Russian Federation's controversial existence in the Olympic Games after doping scandals, the study might be hot topic.

It was strongly believed that The Sochi Olympics were supposed to improve the prestige of Russian Federation in the world. Although the timeline of Ukrainian Crisis and Annexation of Crimea did not clash with Sochi 2014, the involvement of Russian Federation to Ukrainian Crisis and later its annexation of Crimea made this expected upswing in Russia's image unsuccessful (Kobierecki, 2016)

According to the results, countries show similarities. Countries sharing common goals had common concern and issues. The countries were divided into: European Member States, Nordic Countries, USA, Canada and Switzerland.

As it is scene in the Table 1, European Union Member States (Finland, Germany, Austria, Sweden, France, Italy) share common approaches to Sochi 2014 Olympics. Concerning the security issues, the common points in the news were Ukraine and Putin's International Diplomacy. Condemnation from the European Member States came for the Annexation of Crimea and Sanctions were given to The Russian Federation after the Sochi 2014.

#### **5.4 Research Question 4**

Third research question was to analyze the media in Russian Federation's five highest circulated newspapers (two opponents, two government) focus during Sochi 2014 and Olympic Truce.

Table 2 summarizes that, Anti-Government newspapers criticized both domestic and international policies of Russia whereas Pro government newspapers only criticized about domestic policies. Budget was common concern for both sides, whereas the government supported policies which was seen as a human rights violation was not a concern for pro government newspapers.

#### **5.5 Research Question 5**

Since the top ten countries in the Winter Olympic Count consisted of different 'Western' countries, the study could analyze various points of perceptions towards the Russian Federation. On the contrary, examining the Russian Federation's perspective gave the opportunity to explain their own 'tries' on the Olympic Games and Olympic Movement.

The timing of Sochi 2014 Olympics was another key point of this study. Although it was witnessed many different Olympics that the politics intervened the Games, because of the then-going crisis in Ukraine, Annexation of Crimea, the climate of Sochi, controversial domestic policies of Russian Federation, the eyes of the world were on Russia during this period. The platform was ‘opened’ to discussion by itself.

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The Sochi Olympics were meant to improve the prestige of Russia worldwide. Russian involvement in the Ukraine on the other hand is regarded as undoing all of the efforts concerning hosting Olympic Winter Games.

On the other hand, Turkish Media did not give importance to the Sochi 2014 Olympic Coverage. Turkey was represented with 6 athletes, however, then the most circulated newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Posta*, did not make Olympic Coverage. The news was about the opening and closing ceremonies and the protocol having attended the opening ceremony. It can be taken to mean that Turkey does not give enough importance to the Winter Olympics.

Because of the potential of the Olympic Games and the unstable situations of the World, Olympics became a political platform for the countries. The integration of the politics still continued in Sochi 2014. Except for Switzerland, all the countries intervened the politics on the Olympic Coverage Anti Government newspapers in Russia lowered the politic involvement whereas, the political intervention of the pro government newspapers were higher than the sports coverage. Most of the countries used back references to the history. The Russian Federation still represents ‘the other’

and the 'Cold War' still valid on the Olympic Platform. Olympics with its high demands (sponsors, Money, potential) became a new way of soft power, especially with the Olympic Coverages. Sochi 2014 can be given as an example for the negative impact while Pyeongchang 2018 can be given as an example for the positive impact.

## **5.6 Future Recommendation**

For the Studies of Sochi 2014, official documents of the NOC and Russian Federation, if possible, can be reached out. Positive and Negative impact of Olympics as soft power can be studied. For a case study of the Olympics, instant data collection would be easier.

Table 2 Common Concerns and Issues of Western World

<b>Common Concerns and Issues</b>							
	European Security	Border Security	Human Rights	Putin Policy	Ideology	Economy	Old Sports Rivalry
European Member States	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Nordic Countries		✓	✓			✓	
USA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Canada	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Switzerland							

Table 3 Issues in Russia

<b>Issues/ Russia</b>					
	Domestic Policy Criticism	International Policy Criticism	Climate	Budget	Human Rights
Anti-Government	✓	✓		✓	✓
Pro Government	✓			✓	

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## APPENDICES

### TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

#### GİRİŞ

Başlangıcından beri, politika her zaman Olimpiyat Oyunları'nın bir parçası olmuştur ve Olimpiyatları şekillendirmiştir. Oyunlar sırasında başarı veya başarısızlık ulusal statü, gurur ve nihayetinde siyasetle bağlantılı hale gelmiştir. Spor ve olimpiyatların popülaritesi arttıkça, medya, iş dünyası ve kaçınılmaz olarak diplomasi için daha cazip hale gelmiştir. Ülkeler Olimpiyatların potansiyelinin farkına varmışlardır. Bununla birlikte, Olimpiyatların ve siyasetin birbirinden ayrı olduğu ve olması gerektiğine dair stereotip bir anlayış oluşmuştur (Zhemukhov, 2014). Ancak, olimpiyatlar ülkeler için ideolojilerini empoze edebilecekleri bir platforma dönüşmüştür.

Olimpiyatların büyümesi ve artan popülaritesi düşünüldüğünde, Oyunların şekillenmesi ve gelişmesi dünyanın tarihsel dönemleri ve siyasi iş döngüsünden ayrı olarak açıklanamaz. 1936 İdeolojik bir terimle anılan 1936 Hitler Oyunları, Olimpiyat Oyunları (USHMM, 1990.); ırkçılığın önemli bir yer tuttuğu 1968 Meksika Oyunları (IOC, 2018.); siyasetin 2 haftalık oyunların somut bir parçası olduğu 1972 Münih (Cosgrove, 2013); 1976 Montreal, 1980 Moskova ve 1984 Los Angeles (Guttman, 2002); tartışmalı boykotlar yüzünden dünyanın yarısının oyunları protesto ettiği olimpiyatlar ve daha birçok örnekte siyasetin Olimpiyat Oyunlarının içine girdiği gözlenmektedir.

Olimpiyatların skandallarla dolu dönemlerinin bittiği iddialarının aksine (siyasete müdahale dönemleri) , Olimpiyat Oyunları hala insanlar tarafından düşüncelerin gösterilebileceği seslerin duyurulabileceği bir platform olarak kullanılmaya devam etmektedir. Ancak, Olimpiyat Oyunları dikkate alındığında bunlar sessiz tepkiler değildir (Guardian, 2012). Ülkeler hala başkalarının politikalarına verdikleri tepkileri göstermek için Oyunları boykot etmek istemektedir. Günümüze daha yakın örnekler 2008 Pekin, 2012 Londra, 2014 Soçi olarak verilebilir. 2008 Pekin'den önce hala Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin politikalarıyla ilgili boykot tartışmaları konuşulmaktaydı. Ancak boykotlar sadece bireylerle sınırlıydı. 2012 Londra'da durum önceki

Olimpiyatlardan farklı değildi. O dönemde de Hindistan Oyunları boykot etmekle tehdit etmiş ve birçok medya tepkisi almıştır (Miller, 2012).

Soçi 2014 yine siyaset dünyası için önemli bir platform haline gelmiştir. Soçi'nin ev sahibi şehir haline geldiği 2007 yılından bu yana, dünyanın gözleri Rusya Federasyonu'ndaydı. Yurtiçinde ve yurtdışında birçok tepki aldı (PonarsEurosia, 2014). Tartışmalar siyasetten, özellikle Sovyetler Birliği siyasetinden uzak olmayı amaçlayan en büyük spor etkinliklerinden biri olmasına rağmen, dünya çoğunlukla Rusya Federasyonu'nun politikasını ve Soçi 'nin neden yanlış bir seçim olduğunu tartışmıştır.

Bunun en önemli nedenlerinden biri, Rusya'nın özellikle LGBTQ topluluklarıyla ilgili katı politikalarıydı (Rosenberg, 2016). Bir diğeri de insan hakları bahanesiyle Ukrayna Krizi'ne dahil olmaları idi (Washington Post, 2016). Ukrayna sorunu her ülkenin endişesi olmuştur ve Olimpiyat oyunlarında önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

Siyasetin “fiziksel” müdahalesini önlemek için pek çok düzenleme yapılmıştır. Oyunlar için temelleri ve kuralları belirleyen Uluslararası Olimpiyat Komitesi'nin politikalarını içeren Olimpiyat Tüzüğü bunlardan bir tanesidir. Bununla birlikte, spor platformunda, özellikle Soçi örneğinde meydana gelen bu olaylar, siyasetin hala Olimpiyatları kullandığını ve siyasetin müdahalesinin özgürleşmeye bile yakın olmadığını göstermektedir. Çok uzun süredir Olimpiyatların amacından sapması, olimpiyatın gerçek ruhunu öldürmektedir.

## **YÖNTEM**

Bu çalışmada Soçi 2014 Kış Olimpiyat Oyunları'nın Olimpik haberler çerçevesinde Rusya ve Batı medyasında nasıl yansıtıldığı incelenmiştir.

### **Araştırma Deseni:**

Çalışmada, Kış Olimpiyatları madalya sıralamasındaki ilk 10 ülkedeki Soçi 2014 Olimpiyatları Olimpiyat haberleri incelenmiş olup, bu incelemede nitel araştırma modeli kullanılmıştır. Siyasetin Olimpiyat haberleri üzerindeki etkisini anlamak için Batı Dünyası ve Rusya'dan gazeteler incelenmiştir. Analiz yöntemleri olarak içerik ve bağlamsal analiz kullanılmıştır.

## Örneklem:

İçerik analizinde örneklem, gözlemlenecek konu ile ilgili olarak sınırlı sayıda gazete, dergi, film, hikâye veya farklı türde iletişim aracından oluşabilir (Bilgin, 2014). Bu çalışmada, farklı amaçlar için iki farklı örnekleme yöntemi kullanılmıştır. 2014 Soçi Olimpiyatları'na 'Batı' perspektifi için ölçüt örnekleme kullanılmıştır. Resmi Kış Olimpiyatları Sıralama Listesine göre (PyeongChang 2018'den önce Altın Madalya sayısına göre sınıflandırılmıştır), veri toplama için listedeki ülkelerin %10'luk kısmı seçilmiştir. 10 ülkeden, en fazla tiraj sayısına sahip bir gazete analiz edilmiştir. Seçilen gazetelerin çevrimiçi arşivi olmasına dikkat edilmiştir.

Resmi Kış Olimpiyatları Sıralama Listesine göre en iyi 10 ülke:

1. Norveç
2. Birleşik Devletler
3. Almanya
4. Sovyetler Birliği
5. Kanada
6. Avusturya
7. İsveç
8. İsviçre
9. Rusya
10. Finlandiya

“Batı” perspektifini karşılaştırmak için, Rusya ve Sovyetler Birliği ve Doğu Almanya (11. sırada) ilk ondan hariç tutulmuştur. Buna ek olarak, Hollanda'daki erişilemeyen kaynaklar nedeniyle 14'üncü sırada bulunan Fransa eklenmiştir. Bu nedenle, aşağıdaki iki ülke listeye dahil edildi:

11. Hollanda (12. sırada)
12. İtalya (13. sırada)

Analiz edilen haber siteleri, daha çok dolaşan gazetelerin daha önceki istatistiksel analizlerine göre seçilmiştir.

1. Aftenposten (Norveç)
2. USA Today (Amerika Birleşik Devletleri)
3. Bild (Almanya)
4. Toronto Yıldızı (Kanada)
5. Der Standard (Avusturya)
6. Dagens Nyheter (İsveç)
7. 20 Minuten (İsviçre)
8. Helsingin Sanomat (Finlandiya)
9. Corriere Della Sera (İtalya)
10. Le monde (Fransa)

Ölçüt örneklemesine ek olarak, maksimum varyasyon örneklemesi kullanılmıştır. 'Batı Ülkeleri'ne karşı ve 2014 Soçi Olimpiyatlarının iç perspektifini anlamak için Rusya Federasyonu'ndan dört gazete (iki hükümet karşıtı, iki hükümet yanlısı) analiz edilmiştir. Hükümet yanlısı ve hükümet karşıtı seçim için konunun iki farklı yönden incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır.

İncelenen gazeteler:

- Novaya Gazeta (Hükümet Karşıtı)
- Moskowskij Komsomolez (Hükümet yanlısı)
- Argumenty i Fakty (Hükümet yanlısı)
- Kommersant (Hükümet Karşıtı)

### **Veri Toplanması:**

Veriler, seçilen gazetelerin çevrimiçi arşivinden toplanmıştır. Zaman aralığı, 1 Şubat - 2 Mart 2014 tarihleri arasında, resmi olarak Birleşmiş Milletler ve Uluslararası Olimpiyat Komitesi ile belirlenen resmi Olimpiyat Ateşkes dönemine göre belirlenmiştir; Açılış Töreninden 7 gün önce ve Kapanış Töreninden 7 gün sonra (UN & IOC). Eski bir gelenek olan Olimpik Ateşkes Dönemi IOC ve BM'nin Olimpiyat Hareketinin (BM) barışı ve gerçek ruhunu teşvik etmek için uyguladığı ortak bir politikadır.

Seçilen gazetelerin arşivleri 'Soçi 2014 Olimpiyatları' etiketi ile tarandı. Tüm makaleler ve haberler daha fazla içerik ve bağlamsal analiz için alınmıştır.

### **Veri Analizi:**

Bu çalışmada, 'Soçi 2014 Olimpiyatları' içeriğini incelemek için hem içerik hem de bağlamsal analiz yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. İçerik analizi teknikleri bir söylemi anlamayı ve yorumlamayı amaçlar ve nesnellik ve öznelliğin ortasında değişen farklı teknikler içerir. (Biglin, 2014). Ayrıca, bağlamsal analiz yöntemi, metnin tarihsel bir kültürel ortam içinde analiz edilmesine yardımcı olmaktır. Resmi analizin özelliklerini “kültürel arkeoloji” nin özellikleriyle veya o sırada ve yerde var olan (veya var olduğu varsayılabilen) sosyal, politik, ekonomik, felsefi, dini ve estetik koşulların sistematik olarak incelenmesi ile birleştirir.

Analiz edilen veriler kapsama göre sınıflandırılmıştır: sporla ilgili olanlar ve politika ile ilgili olanlar. Kategorilere ayrıldıktan sonra, Batılı ve Rusya'nın politik algılarını vurgulamak için politikayla ilgili kapsamda bağlamsal içerik analizi yöntemi uygulanmıştır. Bağlamsal analiz için anahtar kelimeler Soçi 2014'ün arka planında meydana gelen olaylar ve Olimpik Branşların söylemine göre tanımlanmıştır.

### **Araştırmanın Sınırlılıkları:**

Araştırma sadece Soçi 2014 Kış Olimpiyatları'nı ve Olimpiyatların bir dönemini ele almaktadır. Ulaşılabilirlik açısından seçilen kaynaklar kısıtlı olmasına karşın, Avrupa gazetelerine ulaşımında ciddi sorunlar ile karşılaşılmamıştır. Rus medyası ve basını hükümetin sıkı kontrolünün izini taşımakta olduğu için erişim konusunda sıkıntılar yaşanmıştır. Rusya basınından ücretsiz erişimi olan, dil engeli bulunmayan, sitelerinde

en yüksek tirajlı sayılar (hükümet yanlısı veya hükümet karşıtı) seçilmiştir. Seçimler için iki uzman görüşü (Rus Medya Analistleri) alınmıştır.

## **BULGULAR**

Belirlenen kelimelere göre, haberlerin içeriğindeki spor ve politika yüzdeleri belirlenmiştir. Çıkan bu yüzdeler, ülkelerin Rusya ile olan ikili ilişkileri ve dünya platformundaki ortak çıkarlara göre değerlendirilmiştir. Toplamda batı dünyasından 870 haber, Rusya'dan ise 352 haber analiz edilmiştir. Ülkelerde çıkan oranlar şu şekildedir:

- 1.Norveç: %46 Politika, %54 Spor içeriği
- 2.ABD: %11 Politika, %89 Spor içeriği
- 3.Almanya: %25 Politika, %75 Spor İçeriği
- 4.Kanada: %43 Politika, %57 Spor içeriği
- 5.Avusturya: %23 Politika, %77 Spor İçeriği
- 6.İsveç: %9 Politika, %91 Spor İçeriği
- 7.İsviçre: %0 Politika, %100 Spor İçeriği
- 8.İtalya: %37 Politika, %63 Spor İçeriği
- 9.Fransa: %46 Politika, %54 Spor İçeriği
- 10.Finlandiya: %61 Politika, %39 Spor İçeriği

Rusya'daki içerik ise şu şekildedir:

- 1.Novaya (Hükümet Karşıtı): %26 Politika, %74 Spor İçeriği
- 2.Moskovoski (Hükümet Yanlısı): % 52 Politika, % 48 Spor İçeriği
- 3.Argumenty Fackty (Hükümet Yanlısı): %51 Politika, %49 Spor İçeriği
- 4.Kommersant (Hükümet Karşıtı): %20 Politika, %80 Spor İçeriği



## **TARTIŞMA**

### **Araştırma Sorusu 1**

Çalışmanın ilk araştırma sorusu, Olimpiyatların neden ülkeler için bir platform haline geldiğini anlamaktı. Literatür taramasına, Olimpiyat Oyunlarının tarihine ve ülkeler arasındaki ikili ve çok taraflı ilişkilere göre, Olimpiyat Oyunlarının giderek artan potansiyeli ve büyüklüğünün ülkelere siyasi bir platform oluşturduğunu göstermektedir.

### **Araştırma Sorusu 2**

Çalışmanın ikinci araştırma sorusu, siyasetin Olimpiyatlara entegrasyonunun Soçi 2014'te devam edip etmediğini anlamaktı. Sonuçlardan sonuçlandığı gibi, Olimpiyat Kapsamı siyasetten büyük ölçüde etkilenmiştir. Entegrasyon, IOC tarafından alınan tüm düzenlemelere rağmen devam ettiği gözlenmektedir. Medyanın bu entegrasyonda önemli rolü bulunmaktadır.

### **Araştırma Sorusu 3**

Üçüncü araştırma sorusu, ilk on ülkede, Kış Olimpiyatları Madalya Sayısında, Soçi 2014 ve Olimpiyat Ateşesi sırasında en yüksek tirajlı gazetelerin odak noktasının incelenmesiydi.

İskandinav ülkeleri hem karada hem de kıyı sularında Rusya Federasyonu'na yakın olduklarından, genellikle daha fazla ilgileniyorlardı. Bunlara ek olarak Rusya Federasyonu ile ilişkileri ticaret ve ekonomiye dayanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, ekonomi İsviçre dışındaki tüm ülkeler için ortak kaygıydı. Ekonomik yaptırımlar nedeniyle, ülkelerin çıkarları aynı zamanda etkilenmiştir.

Sınır komşuları Norveç ve Rusya arasındaki en tartışmalı konulardan biri, iki ülkenin kıyı sularını paylaştığı Barents Denizi oldu. Bu bölgesel sorun 2010 yılında çözüldü, ancak Ukrayna Krizi ile Norveç, Avrupa ülkelerinin tarafında olduklarını ve hukuk çizgileri hakkında daha katı olacağını belirtilmiştir.

Norveç ve Rusya arasındaki diğer sorun sınırın yakınındaki şehirlerdi; Nikel, Monchegorsk, Apatity ve Kirovsk. Bu kasabalar madencilik ve endüstriyel amaçlar için inşa edildi. Buna ek olarak, Sovyetler Birliği döneminde, kasabaların yerleştiği

Kola Yarımadası, birlik için stratejik bir güç yeri idi. Çevresel tehdit ve tarihsel önemi ile Kola, iki ülke arasında sıcak bir konu olmuştur.

Bunların dışında, Putin'in zaferiyle sonuçlanan 2011 seçimlerinden sonra Rus hükümeti ile yapılan toplantılarda, insan hakları tehdidinde bulunan yerel diplomasi tartışılan konulardan biriydi. Medyaya göre, Oyunlar sırasında insan hakları ihlali Batı ülkelerinin en büyük endişelerinden biriydi.

Haber dağıtımında, politikanın Olimpiyat kapsamı üzerinde bir etkisi olduğu görülebilir. Haberlerde tartışılan konuların çoğu Putin'in Ukrayna ve insan hakları politikalarıydı. Bununla birlikte, Hitler Olimpiyatları karşılaştırması insan hakları haberleri için yapıldı ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin 'mirasından' bahsedildi. Stapoet-gundersen, Afterposten'deki makalesinde şunları söyledi: “Spor ve politika karıştırılmamalı, ancak temel insan hakları siyaset değildir”. Ne olursa olsun, haberler politik terimlerle yazılmıştı.

Neredeyse tüm ülkelerin ortak noktası ise LGBTQ ve İnsan Hakları idi. İnsan Hakları Bildirgesi ile ilgili olarak, LGBTQ haklarına ilişkin iç politikalar, oyunlar sırasında en tartışmalı konulardan biriydi. Rusya Federasyonu tarafından özellikle Olimpiyat Dönemi için yasalar düzenlenmiş olsa da, tartışmalar devam etti. Ana hedef, Rusya Federasyonu'nun iç politikalarında değişiklik yapılması gerektiği idi.

Suçlulardan biri de, neden çok kötü insan hakları öyküsü olan Rusya'nın ilk etapta ev sahibi olarak seçildiği sorusu ile IOC'ye gitti. Olimpiyatlar sırasında yasalar değişmemiş olsaydı, tartışmak haklı olurdu. Ancak, Olimpiyatlar dışındaki ülke yasaları diğer ülkeler için endişe yaratmamalıdır.

Güvenlik, Sovyetler Birliği'nden beri bile, onlarca yıldır masaya konu oldu. Her iki ülkenin bakış açısından, birbirlerinin güvenliğinde önemli bir rol oynarlar. Rusya, sınırlar yaygın olmasa bile dünyanın güvenliği için büyük bir tehdit olarak görülüyor.

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Norveç ve Rusya arasındaki diğerk sorun sınırın yakınındaki şehirlerdi; Nikel, Monchegorsk, Apatity ve Kirovsk. Bu kasabalar madencilik ve endüstriyel amaçlar için inşa edildi. Buna ek olarak, Sovyetler Birliğı döneminde, kasabaların yerleştiğı Kola Yarımadası, birlik için stratejik bir güç yeriidi. Çevresel tehdit ve tarihsel önemi ile Kola, iki ülke arasında sıcak bir konu olmuştur.

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İsviçre Olimpiyat Kapsamına ve sporun siyasetle ilgili olmadığı fikrine bir örnek oluşturdu.

Rusya-Kanada ilişkisi 1991 yılında kurulmuştur. İşletmeler ve iş dünyası ile ortak ilginin paylaşılması bu ilişkiyi güçlendirmiştir. Her iki ülke arasındaki iş ve ticaret sonucunda, Kanada Rusya Hükümetler arası Ekonomik Komisyonu 2009 yılında kuruldu. Kanada-Vancouver 2010 Kış Olimpiyatları'nda ev sahibi şehir olduğundan, her iki ülke de ortak çıkarları paylaştı

Ancak, Ukrayna Krizi ve İnsan Hakları İhlalleri bu ilişkiyi etkiledi. Ukrayna ile ilgili olarak Rusya'ya karşı katı ve doğrudan bir kınama vardı. Putin politikalarına eleştirel yaklaşımlar vardı. Son zamanlardaki olaylar ışığında, Kanada'nın Rusya'ya bakış açısı değişti.

Bunlara ek olarak, Kanada'daki buz hokeyinin popülaritesi ve Rusya-Kanada arasındaki rekabet, eski perçinleri ateşledi; Sovyetler Birliğı ve Kanada. Sovyetler Birliğı haberi Buz Hokeyi ile ilgiliydi.

Rusya-İtalya ilişkileri, 1924'te İtalya'nın Sovyetler Birliği'ni tanınmasıyla başladı. Tanınmasından bu yana, ekonomik ve askeri antlaşmalar ile ilişkiyi genişletti. 1933'te imzalanan İtalya-Sovyet Paketi ile ekonomik ilişkiler, Balkanlar'da güvenlik ve Alman tehdidine karşı müttefikler sağlandı. Ancak, Soğuk Savaş döneminde, Doğu-Batı ideolojik ayrılığı nedeniyle ilişki zayıfladı. İtalya'daki Komünist Parti iki ülke arasındaki ince bağlantıyı sürdürdü.

Sovyetler Birliği'nin çöküşünden sonra, iki ülke ticaret anlaşmaları imzaladıkça karşılıklı yararlar değer kazandı. İtalya'nın Rusya'nın doğal gazına bağımlı olması, pazar ticareti ile ülkeleri yıllar boyunca ikili ilişkileri sürdürdü.

Buna rağmen, Ukrayna Krizi, Kırım'ın ilhak edilmesi, Rusya Federasyonu'nun insan hakları konusundaki iç politikaları Olimpiyat kapsamının odağındaydı. Moskova 1980 ve Sochi 2014'ün karşılaştırılması, Rusya'nın Sovyetler Birliği politikalarının yükünden uzak olmadığı gerçeğini vurgulamak için Il Sole 24 Ore ile yapıldı

Sovyetler Birliği'nden önce, Rusya ve Emperyalist Avusturya problematik bir ilişki yaşadılar çünkü her iki ülke de sınırlarını güvence altına almaktı. Emperyalist genişlemeleri, tarihte farklı olaylarla karşılaşmalarına neden oldu.

Sovyetler Birliği'nin kurulmasından sonra iki ülke arasındaki ilişkiler şekil değiştirdi. II. Dünya Savaşı sırasında Avusturya, Sovyetler Birliği'ne karşı Almanya ile ittifak kurdu. Savaş bittikten sonra, Avusturya Soğuk Savaş için tarafsız bir antlaşma imzalamak zorunda kaldı. Bu da Avusturya'yı soğuk savaş döneminde Rus gazına erişen ilk Avrupa ülkesi haline getirdi.

Sovyetler Birliği'nin çöküşünden sonra iki ülke ilişkilerini sürdürdü. Bununla birlikte, Oyunlarla ilgili genel tartışmalar haberlerin kapsamındaydı: güvenlik endişeleri, doğanın tükenmesi ve yolsuzluk skandalları, Putin politikaları hakkında eleştiri.

Kış Olimpiyat Sayımındaki ilk on ülke farklı 'Batılı' ülkelere karşı, çalışma Rusya Federasyonu'na yönelik çeşitli algı noktalarını analiz edebilir. Aksine, Rusya Federasyonu'nun perspektifini incelemek Olimpiyat Oyunları ve Olimpik Hareket konusundaki kendi "denemelerini" açıklama fırsatı verdi.

Sochi 2014 Olimpiyatlarının zamanlaması bu çalışmanın bir diğer önemli noktasıydı. Politikaların Oyunlara müdahale ettiği birçok farklı Olimpiyat'a tanık olmasına

rağmen, Ukrayna'da devam eden kriz nedeniyle, Kırım'ın ilhak edilmesi, Soçi'nin iklimi, Rusya Federasyonu'nun tartışmalı iç politikaları, dünyanın gözleri Rusya'da dönem. Platform kendi başına tartışmaya “açıldı”.

Sochi 2014 Olimpiyatları'ndan beş yıl geçmesine rağmen, arşivlerin çoğuna erişilebilir ve politikanın Olimpiyatlara müdahalesi hakkındaki tartışmalar devam ediyor. Rusya Federasyonu'nun skandalların dopinginden sonra Olimpiyat Oyunlarındaki tartışmalı varlığı nedeniyle, çalışma sıcak bir konu olabilir.

Soçi Olimpiyatları'nın Rusya Federasyonu'nun dünyadaki prestijini artırması gerektiğine inanılıyordu. Ukrayna Krizi ve Kırım İlhakının zaman çizelgesi Sochi 2014 ile çatışmasa da, Rusya Federasyonu'nun Ukrayna Krizine karışması ve daha sonra Kırım'ın ilhak edilmesi Rusya'nın imajında beklenen yükselmeyi başarısız kıldı (Kobierecki, 2016.) Sonuçlara göre, ülkeler benzerlikler göstermektedir. Ortak hedefleri paylaşan ülkelerin ortak endişeleri ve sorunları vardı. Ülkeler ikiye ayrıldı: Avrupa Üye Devletleri, Kuzey Ülkeleri, ABD, Kanada ve İsviçre.

Avrupa Birliği Üye Devletleri (Finlandiya, Almanya, Avusturya, İsveç, Fransa, İtalya) Sochi 2014 Olimpiyatları için ortak yaklaşımları paylaşmaktadır. Güvenlikle ilgili olarak, haberlerde ortak noktalar Ukrayna ve Putin'in Uluslararası Diplomasisi idi. Avrupa Üye Devletleri'nden Kırım İlhakına yönelik kınama geldi ve Sochi 2014'ten sonra Rusya Federasyonu'na yaptırımlar verildi

İskandinav ülkeleri, hem karada hem de kıyı sularında Rusya Federasyonu'na yakın olduklarından, güvenlikle daha fazla ilgileniyorlardı. Bunlara ek olarak Rusya Federasyonu ile ilişkileri ticaret ve ekonomiye dayanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, ekonomi İsviçre dışındaki tüm ülkeler için ortak kaygıydı. Ekonomik yaptırımlar nedeniyle, ülkelerin çıkarları aynı zamanda zarar görmüştür.

#### **Araştırma Sorusu 4:**

Dördüncü araştırma sorusu, Sochi 2014 ve Olympic Truce sırasında Rusya Federasyonu'nun dört yüksek tirajlı gazetede (iki muhalif, iki hükümet) medyayı analiz etmekte. Hükümet karşıtı gazeteler Rusya'nın hem iç hem de dış politikalarını eleştirirken, Pro hükümet gazeteleri sadece iç politikaları eleştirdi. Bütçe her iki taraf

için ortak endişe kaynağı iken, hükümet insan hakları ihlali olarak görülen politikaları desteklemekteydi.

### **Araştırma Sorusu 5:**

Beşinci ve son araştırma sorusu, soğuk savaşın Olimpiyat Platformunda hala geçerli olup olmadığını anlamaktı. Ülkelerin çoğu tarihe atıfta bulundu. Rusya Federasyonu hala "ötekini" ve "Soğuk Savaş" ı Olimpiyat Platformunda hala temsil ediyor.

Kış Olimpiyat Sayımındaki ilk on ülke farklı 'Batılı' ülkelerden oluştuğu için, çalışma Rusya Federasyonu'na yönelik çeşitli algı noktalarını analiz edebilir. Aksine, Rusya Federasyonu'nun perspektifini incelemek Olimpiyat Oyunları ve Olimpik Hareket konusundaki kendi "denemelerini" açıklama fırsatı verdi.

Sochi 2014 Olimpiyatlarının zamanlaması bu çalışmanın bir diğer önemli noktasıydı. Politikaların Oyunlara müdahale ettiği birçok farklı Olimpiyat'a tanık olmasına rağmen, Ukrayna'da devam eden kriz nedeniyle, Kırım'ın ilhak edilmesi, Soçi'nin iklimi, Rusya Federasyonu'nun tartışmalı iç politikaları, dünyanın gözleri Rusya'da dönem. Platform kendi başına tartışmaya "açıldı".

Sochi 2014 Olimpiyatları'ndan beş yıl geçmesine rağmen, arşivlerin çoğuna erişilebilir ve politikanın Olimpiyatlara müdahalesi hakkındaki tartışmalar devam ediyor. Rusya Federasyonu'nun skandalların dopinginden sonra Olimpiyat Oyunlarındaki tartışmalı varlığı nedeniyle, çalışma sıcak bir konu olabilir.

Soçi Olimpiyatları'nın Rusya Federasyonu'nun dünyadaki prestijini artırması gerektiğine inanılıyordu. Ukrayna Krizi ve Kırım İlhakının zaman çizelgesi Sochi 2014 ile çatışmasa da, Rusya Federasyonu'nun Ukrayna Krizine karışması ve daha sonra Kırım'ın ilhak edilmesi Rusya'nın imajında beklenen yükselmeyi başarısız kıldı (Kobierecki, 2016.)

Öte yandan, Türk Medyası Sochi 2014 Olimpiyat Kapsamına önem vermedi. Türkiye 6 sporcu ile temsil edildi, ancak daha sonra en çok tirajlı gazeteler Hürriyet ve Posta, Olimpiyat Kapsamı yapmadı. Haber açılış ve kapanış törenleri ve açılış törenine katılan protokol hakkındaydı. Türkiye'nin Kış Olimpiyatlarına yeterince önem vermediği anlamına gelebilir.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

**Soyadı** / Surname : UÇAR  
**Adı** / Name : EYLÜL ÇİSEM  
**Bölümü** / Department : Physical Education and Sports

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