

Sports Spectacle, Media and Doping: The  
representations of Olympic drug cases in Athens  
2004 and Beijing 2008

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# Abstract

This thesis explores the depiction of doping in the press. My interest in the topic stemmed from an early personal experience in competitive athletics where I was exposed to an in-sports reality that tolerated the use of performance-enhancing substances. However, references to doping in the media appeared to depict it in a different way. In order to investigate the divergence, the thesis analysed the reporting of two Olympic Games, namely Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008. It focused on empirical data and thus all articles that referenced doping were collected one month prior, during and one month after the two Olympic Games. In total 1274 articles were collected and analysed.

Adopting a post-structuralist approach, the discourse analysis of the data leads to the identification of journalistic techniques that constructed discursive statements of doping. It was observed that first of all, in the case of highly publicised drug cases, these statements could be understood as constructing a moral panic episode. Secondly, the same discursive statements were circulated in the press even in the absence of positive doping samples. The thesis draws on the theories of moral regulation and governmentality to make sense of the constant presence of doping discursive statements in the press. It argues that inducting doping into sport spectacle makes its depiction seem apolitical and disconnected from society. However, in-depth theorisation of the phenomenon shows that its mediated construction plays an active role in influencing public policy.

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 My Personal Experience of Doping: A Non-Mediated Drug Case

It is spring 1997, I am fifteen years old and I am in Preveza, Epirus where the local schools athletics championship takes place. I have just run my race and still breathless I'm thinking "Oh my God, I'm actually going to shake her hand for real". About half an hour later I'm stepping on the pedestal and there she is: the country's hero, the only Greek athlete to have won a gold medal in 60m at an Indoors European Championship (Stockholm, 1996), was standing in front of me! Katerina Thanou was looking relaxed and with a big smile on her face shook my hand and said: "Congratulations". "Thank you" I said and almost fell off the pedestal with the excitement. Not long later I was repeating the scene in my head. "However", I thought, "She is not that tall" while trying to compare our bodies and simultaneously being self-aware of my smallish figure "If she can run that fast, then maybe...I could be good too!"

Almost two years later, I have reached an elite amateur level. I am in Corinth, Peloponnese competing at the National Junior Athletics Championship. Somewhere, in between races, a well-known coach in Greek athletics came and talked to me. It transpired that he had been appointed by the Greek athletics federation to monitor the performances of young athletes.

And it was indeed a good time to be a young athlete in Greek athletics. Athens had just been awarded to host the 2004 summer Olympic Games and a strong Greek team was yet to be created. Some athletes were doing very well in the world athletics arena and for the very first time they were bringing a number of medals back home. The so-called 'spring of the Greek athletics' was evident. At the same time, the

Greek state announced a significant increase in state funding devoted to the development of all Olympic teams. Many athletics events were broadcasted live on the national television and the popularity of sport in general was increasing. It felt as if something was happening, something was progressing and I was in the middle of that 'something'.

We shook hands and had a short conversation: "You are very fast indeed, but at the same time very slim. Almost weak I'd say for a sprinter. I reckon that with the proper training and medical guidance, your training will show a significant improvement. We'll do a great job..." The words kept circulating in my head. Did he mean what I thought he meant? He did not say anything explicit, but my experience of competitive athletics made me understand exactly the meaning of his words.

When I returned home after the championships, I ran to my coach (he had not joined the team in Corinth) and told him what happened. He nodded as if this was a familiar story to him and said: "My advice to you is to never quit participating in sport, but do not get into professional training, it will only damage you". I had learnt to trust him and follow his guidelines. At the same time, the prospect of semi-professional training that would include the use of performance-enhancing substances and the potential of becoming more competitive was equally appealing. I had heard stories, just like everyone else, about athletes who use prohibited substances to better their performance, but, for me at the time, it was so confusing.

However, I realised that my size and age, and the rapid development of athletics in our country meant that if I was going to be involved in athletics, this would require all possible training methods. Or at least my limited sources of information and the closed competitive community made me believe so. I also became aware that being a member of a community of athletes who train competitively, would get me access to conversations around drugs. I was expected to talk about them in a normative, yet secretive style. I was facing a dilemma and I had to make a decision. I was almost eighteen and I had to decide between training

competitively with all the consequences this would bring into my life or cease training all together in order to focus on my studies and get into University.

More importantly, whatever I was about to decide, I had to come in terms with a reality in sport that was very different to what I had in my mind when I started training. I thought that sport is one of the few fields of the modern world that is pure, healthy and honest. I was one of the numerous pupils in Greece learning that the ancient Greek spirit was eternal and still present in Greek sport. Coming face to face all of a sudden with a reality that was very different was difficult, let alone full of unanswered questions. The decision was too painful and the prospect of training under these circumstances too risky. I was not going to go down that road, I was going to terminate any involvement I had in sport and never, EVER try to find answers to the questions surrounding my mind!

## **1.2 The Marion Jones Story: A Very Mediated Drug Case**

It is September, 2000 when the Sydney Olympics take place. As usual the athletics events, and even more specifically the sprint events, have a central role in the broadcasting of the Games. In the women's sprinting events as well as the long jump, one American athlete has been dominating the track over the previous years to the point that no other athlete seemed to be capable of competing against her. Marion Jones claims to be at her best form ever and the sporting audience is anticipating seeing her perform.

Indeed the American champion does not let her audience down: she wins the 100m, 200m and 4x400m in style and comes third in the long jump and the 1x400m relay race. In total she leaves Sydney with five medals, three of which are gold, a truly astonishing achievement. She becomes one of the super star figures of the Sydney Games and a

celebrity especially for the American media. One of her numerous front pages includes Vogue (spring, 2001) in which she was photographed in a red nightdress under the heading: "Greater than Gold: Marion Jones, the New American Hero".

Three years later, the 'BALCO affair' became known as one of the most significant drug stories of the recent times. The Bay Area Laboratory Co-operative (BALCO), a company ran by Victor Conte, was proven to have provided a number of international sport stars with banned performance-enhancing substances which were undetectable at the time, namely 'the clear' and the 'the cream' (Fainaru-Wada & Williams, 2003). The list of the well-known sport stars who were implicated was long (including names like Tim Montgomery, Dwain Chambers and Kelli White), but the biggest name of American athletics was still unspoiled. In the media, Marion Jones systematically denied any involvement with banned performance-enhancing substances or methods ("Marion Jones denies steroid charges", 2004 April 27) and she was still the number one athlete in the world sprint events.

However, in October 2007 Marion Jones pled guilty to lying to federal agents, admitted to using banned performance-enhancing substances during the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, was stripped off her five Olympic medals, was asked to return IAAF prizes worth \$700.000, and was facing a six month jail sentence (Armour, 2007, Shipley, 2007). On October 5, 2007 she stood crying when facing the media: "I ask you to be as merciful as a human being can be... I have been dishonest, and you have the right to be angry with me" she added ("Disgraced Olympic Gold Medalist Marion Jones Sentenced to 6 Months in Prison", 2007 January 11).



**Figure 1-1**

She was now standing in front of the press alone, disgraced, guilty, stripped off her sporting glory and financially broken (Figure 1.1). She alone was made visible in the media coverage, which positioned her as solely responsible for her drug use, although her case was arguably linked to the BALCO story. The competitive athletics culture that I had experienced as a social space, in which everyone was comfortable talking about drugs because they were just another means for achieving excellence, was nowhere to be seen.

### **1.3 WADA's Official Stance: A Mediated Punitive Approach**

In November 2007, the World Anti-Doping agency asked the US anti-doping authorities to review all the drug tests provided by Marion Jones in the past. Dick Pound, then president of WADA, suggested that maybe some of her samples were found negative because the substances she had taken were undetectable at the time. If this was proven to be the case, he insisted that she should be punished more harshly for having taken banned substances.

WADA's official policy has always been a punitive approach to the phenomenon of doping. Their website eloquently expresses what they want to achieve with such an approach: "The World Anti-Doping Agency's (WADA) mission is to lead a collaborative worldwide campaign for doping-free sport" (WADA, 2011a, para. 1). The picture (Figure 1.2) that accompanies their mission statement depicts a young boy wearing sporting outfit, standing on a football pitch. In front of the boy is WADA's logo mapped onto the grass.



**Figure 1-2**

The link between professional sport and amateur/adolescents sport is thus clearly made. WADA want to 'fight doping' until they eliminate the phenomenon from modern sport as a whole and thus, they represent professional sport as a possibly completely doping-free space.

## **1.4 Reflections on the Three Snapshots of Sport and Doping**

The experience I had within competitive athletics revealed to me one possible, complex reality of the competitive world of athletics. However, when it came to the media's depiction of the Marion Jones story the

representation of her drug use was sharply divergent from my own experience. The competitive culture of sport was not visible in the reports. Arguably the experiences of competitive athletes in sports differ according to setting, time and culture. It would be over simplistic to suggest that Marion Jones faced the exact same questions and dilemmas that I experienced in sport, but nevertheless she was inevitably part of a wider culture of athletics. This reality was absent from the depiction of doping in the media.

At the same time, the strictly punitive approach of the IOC and WADA that targets the athlete seemed inexplicable from my perspective, as I had seen an athletics culture within competitive sport that tolerates and even promotes drug taking as part of the quest for performance enhancement. In addition, WADA's position on doping seemed to correspond with the depiction of the Marion Jones case: it suggested doping-free sport could be achieved by tracing and punishing the athletes who use performance-enhancing substances. Marion Jones was one of them and therefore, she had to be harshly punished.

Again my experience seemed to be out of kilter with the dominant depiction, although it certainly was one of a number of experiences an athlete could have in sport. The difference between my experience and the events captured in the other two snapshots, is that the two latter ones had been filtered by the media before leaving the in-sport reality and reaching a wider audience (in the first case via newspapers and TV, in the second case via an online website). To me the representation of a drug story in the press and the stance of WADA was only a part of the picture, not the whole. Could then representations like mine (or other alternative portrayals) find their way in the depiction of doping in the media? And if the depiction of doping does not include such portrayals, what is there to replace the missing representations? And why would any of these be important?

## 1.5 The Role of the Media

Academic research has analysed the media as a factor that shapes the modern world because of its capacity to present *selective* information to the public. That is, the media can decide which information is newsworthy and which is to be obscured. By doing so, the media's disproportional depiction of certain events can create false impressions for the public (Cohen, 1972).

Such impressions create a dominant point of view on any issue which is not necessarily random: Hall *et al.* (1978) argued that a dominant idea is always supported by an authority that aims to reproduce and maintain it. It has also been argued that such dominant points of view have the power to shape the public discussion on a given matter. Van Dijk (1992, p.1) argued "this power is not restricted to the influence of the media on their audiences, but also involves the role of the media within the broader framework of the social, cultural, political, or economic power structures of society". In that sense, the media influence not just a virtual debate between the sender and the receiver, but also hold the power to influence social reality.

Therefore, taking into account the role of the media in communicating and debating the concept of doping could reveal 1) Which representations of doping are selected as newsworthy information, and which (if any) are silenced? 2) How are the existing doping depictions communicated in the media? 3) Do these depictions construct a dominant point of view of the phenomenon? 4) Given that the depiction cannot be neutral and the media could take any stance out of many on the issue, which one do they pick? 5) What kind of wider social and political implications does this stance hold (if any)?

## **1.6 Widening the Horizons: What Understandings of Doping Are Existent?**

The starting point for the exploration of the representations of doping will be to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. In this way, it will become clear what kind of representations should be expected for an accurate depiction of doping to exist. In order to do so, Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the main perspectives on doping. The first perspective will be the official stance of the World Anti-Doping Agency, as it is the institution that defines the rules on the prohibition of doping in competitive sport. Then, the discussion will take into account the perspectives the athletes themselves hold on the phenomenon. Of course, their perspective differs according to their sport and it is difficult to clearly investigate it, as the confession of performance-enhancing drug use would have serious consequences on their careers. As a result, the chapter will discuss the limited, available information on their motives and experiences.

In making better sense of the perceptions of competitive athletes, the discussion will situate their understanding of doping within the culture of competitive sport. In this way, the context in which doping takes place will become clearer as its main characteristics will be presented and discussed. The exploration of the literature on the culture of competitive sport and the perceptions of competitive athletes on doping will also highlight the methodological complexities of investigating the phenomenon, as well as the main areas on which research has focused.

The available information on the anti-doping stance, the perceptions of athletes and the characteristics of competitive sport, will provide a background for exploring relevant academic theorisations. By discussing the existing conceptualisations of doping, a range of approaches to the issue will become evident. First of all, the chapter will present the academic debate on the rationale behind the anti-doping rules and the implementation of the policy, as both critics and supporters of the anti-

doping rationale have expressed their arguments in the literature. As a result, different approaches to the understanding doping have been generated and help to demonstrate the possibilities for its representations in the media.

The chapter will then consider the media and how do they work. First of all, it will focus specifically on the depiction of sport spectacle in the media, by debating its definition and its characteristics. As doping in the media has to do with sport stars and the breaking of rules, the chapter will also take into account the specificities of the depiction of sport celebrities, both when they are depicted as role models and when their behaviour is seen as deviant. Finally, it will focus the discussion on the existing research on the representation of doping. The chapter will conclude that the existing literature has focused mostly on drug cases that were depicted as scandals, and not on doping cases that did not receive extended publicity.

As a result, the third chapter of the thesis will discuss the theories that could be utilised in making sense of the data derived from the coverage of doping in the press. Given that the existing literature has mainly theorised doping cases that were depicted as scandals in the media, the chapter will debate the notion of deviance and the newsworthiness of scandals and deviant behaviour. The concept of moral panic will be proposed as a means for understanding the representation of doping as deviant in the media. Classic and contemporary conceptualisation of moral panics will be presented and discussed.

However, the concept of moral panic as a theoretical tool has been used to explain only short-term events in the media. The chapter discusses the need to subject the concept to wider theorisation in order to make sense of the depiction of doping as a whole. As there is a clear attempt in the literature to discuss moral panics in relation to the theory of moral regulation the chapter presents the academic debate on the connections between the two concepts. Simultaneously, it is observed that the theory of moral regulation has similar characteristics to the

Foucauldian concept of governmentality, as both terms describe regulatory procedures. The chapter draws on these frameworks as a way of exploring the mediation of doping.

## **1.7 How Will the Thesis Search for Answers? Methodological Approach and Considerations**

The thesis in order to investigate the depiction of doping in the media will ask two main questions: 1) How is doping discursively constructed in the media? 2) What are the implications of the media discourses of doping? These research questions will be re-affirmed at the end of the literature review after having discussed extensively the relevant themes in the literature.

In order to explore the two research questions the thesis will adopt a poststructuralist perspective. It is suggested that meaning is always fluid and in constant transformation and so in order to capture complex mediated meanings, a poststructuralist approach that recognises these complexities should be taken into account. The construction of language is shaped by discourses, which are “ways of knowing” (Liao & Markula, 2009, p.40) and so everyone using the language (including the media) communicates via a number of discourses. Thus, the methodology of the study is based on the identification of discursive elements in the language of the press, which result in constructing the meanings of doping. In order to do so, the methods are designed to identify repetitive statements in the text and repeating journalistic techniques, which construct common discourses of doping.

These methods are applied to two case studies: the Greek newspaper coverage of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games and the British coverage of the Beijing 2008 Games. Analysing the coverage of doping over time will reveal the depiction of doping not only during, but also before and after a

drug case that is depicted as a drug scandal. Moreover, choosing to analyse two dissimilar case studies, will show patterns in the construction of doping discourses over time and across cultures. The marked difference in level of doping cases in the two case studies provides a valuable opportunity to uncover the characteristic features of the representation of doping under variable circumstances.

## **1.8 What Kind of Findings Emerged? The Analysis of the Data**

The findings are presented in three chapters. The thesis will firstly present the findings from the Athens 2004 case study. The Athens 2004 Games had a number of drug cases that were reported in the press. However, one stood out and produced the most articles: that was the case of Katerina Thanou and Kostas Kenteris, the two Greek champions who evaded an anti-doping test in the eve of the opening ceremony of the Games. As a result, the presentation of the Athens findings is divided into two chapters: the reporting of doping prior to this Greek drug incident and its reporting after the case took place.

The second case study, Beijing 2008, was an event in which doping stories were almost absent. Even the positive samples for performance-enhancing drugs during the Games did not produce many articles. Thus, the third data analysis chapter will present all the findings deriving from the Beijing Games. The presentation of the findings is done by explaining the journalistic techniques found in the coverage of the Games, which in combination with each other construct discursive statements. Hence, each discursive statement is linked to the journalistic techniques used to construct it. For each journalistic technique presented examples are given to support the findings.

## **1.9 How Can the Findings Be Theorised? Discussion**

Chapter 8 discusses the findings of the analysis. The chapter considers the usefulness of the concept of moral panic in theorising the Athens 2004 doping case. However, this theorisation alone is shown to be inadequate to explain the depiction of doping in the absence of an over-reported drug incident, as was the case with Beijing 2008. The theory of moral regulation is therefore proposed as means of explaining both a moral panic episode and discourses of doping when a drug case does not over-report in the media. Finally, it is argued that the moral regulation of doping through its mediated depiction can be understood as a technique of governmentality. It is applied by governmental and transnational organisations (such as WADA) to teach the athletes and the citizens to be responsible and self-restricted in order to follow the rules, laws and regulations that the institutions define.

## **1.10 Why Does All This Matter? Conclusions and Implications**

The thesis will conclude by discussing the implications of the mediated depiction of doping at two levels: its implications for the sporting world and its implications for the wider society. First of all, the consequences that representations of doping hold for the athletes, their support personnel, the sporting institution and the spectators will be discussed. However, it is also argued that the consequences of the depiction of doping extend beyond the sporting world. The thesis ends by considering the role of the sport spectacle in 'responsibilising' the citizen and the implications of this process for wider public health policy.

## Chapter 2 Setting the Scene

The chapter offers an exploration of the complexities of doping as discussed in the academic literature. It will show that doping is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and sociological arguments have debated it from different angles. Since the chapter argues that doping is a complex phenomenon it will also consider the extent to which that complexity is reflected in its media representations. Slippages between media representations and the recognition of the realities of doping within the academic research will indicate that the media is actively involved in constructing the phenomenon of doping, rather than simply reflecting it. In line with this argument, the chapter will discuss some of the characteristics of the media in relation to sport, before presenting case studies of the depiction of doping in the media. However, it will be argued that the existing literature offers a partial portrayal of the phenomenon, which the thesis will address and expand.

Research has argued extensively that in order to understand sport it should be examined as an activity within a social context (Whannel, 2000, Cashmore, 2010, Connor, 2009). The first aim of this chapter is, therefore, to contextualise doping by showing how different theoretical perspectives have linked it to various social aspects. However, as professional sport is an institutionalised phenomenon, the starting point of the chapter will be to introduce the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), the institution that has been funded in order to eliminate doping. The chapter will discuss WADA's definition of doping and explore its implications, given that most official sport organisations have signed up to WADA and its policies related to the prohibition of substances and practices considered to enhance performance, be injurious to health or contrary to the spirit of sport. Research focused on the characteristics of drug use in competitive sports will also be considered since they reveal to some extent the reaction of the in-sport reality to WADA's rules.

It should be noted that the thesis will repeatedly use the term 'sporting institution' in the following chapters. This term refers to the established organisational entities that regulate competitive and mass sport. For example, the previously mentioned WADA or the IOC, are organisations that hold the power to define, regulate and inspect modern sport. The social dimension of sport is not captured by this term, which refers to any expression of sport that falls out of the regulations of sporting institutions. For example, a new sport that is created by a group of teenagers within a specific social setting and is not regulated yet (e.g. skateboarding, when it was firstly conceived).

The chapter observes that both the perceptions and experiences of athletes who use performance-enhancing substances and the stance of the sporting institution are nuances of the same phenomenon. The chapter will consider the arguments used for the prohibition of doping, pointing to a number of themes that recur in the academic debate. It will thus argue that a fully accurate representation of doping in the media would include the different faces of the phenomenon.

The chapter will explore some of the main characteristics of the media in relation to sport, specifically those relating to sport spectacle and sports celebrity. In the first case, it will be argued that one of the functions of the media is to spectacularise both sport and doping for commercial reasons. Secondly, since drug scandals concern – without exception – sport stars, the concept of sport celebrity will be examined. It will explore both the depiction of sport stars as role models and as villains. By doing so, the chapter will provide a clear understanding of the interrelationship between sport and the media before presenting existing case studies that have analysed the portrayal of doping.

The case studies that follow will highlight incomplete and biased elements of the representation of doping in the media, which are situated within the framework of the arguments of the official anti-doping lobby. Existing research has focus almost exclusively on doping scandals within a circumscribed period of space and time. Thus, the thesis will aim to

expand the existing literature by taking into account a wider range of doping incidents and offer explanations for the resolutely partial media depiction of an evidently complex and multifaceted phenomenon.

## **2.1 The Institution of Sport and Doping**

In general terms, doping can be understood as the use of prohibited substances and methods by athletes to enhance their performance. However, when it comes to the specificities of the term and the rules that are implemented by anti-doping policy, doping appears to be more complicated and its definition less clear. A first question is who defines doping? Most federations of sports have their own definition. Thus, we could find a wide range of rules and regulations concerning doping in competitive sport that change and update over time. An effort to set a standard across the sporting federations was made with the foundation of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). The chapter will focus on the definition of doping given by WADA as this is the sporting institution that leads anti-doping policy on a global scale, constructing the official stance on the phenomenon.

### **2.1.1 World Anti-Doping Agency**

WADA was established in 1999 after the first World Conference on Doping in Sport in Lausanne. Its foundation was triggered by the 1998 Tour de France doping case. The case was known as 'The Festina Affair', after a masseur of the Festina team was stopped at the Franco-Belgian border with four hundred doping products found in his car. That revelation initiated an investigation, which led to the uncovering of a number of drug incidents related to professional cycling. The impact of the case led the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to organise the conference that

established WADA in the world of professional sports. Interestingly, the IOC was not directly involved in the case, as the Tour de France is not an Olympic event. However, the sense that doping was getting out of control pushed the IOC to intervene, possibly in order to maintain their respectability and reinforce its authority over sport.

Since its establishment WADA created an effort to universalise anti-doping rules, definitions and standards. WADA's funding comes 50% from the IOC and 50% from governmental sources. Its endeavour to globalise anti-doping rules and regulations is expressed mainly through the 'Code' and the 'International Standards'. According to its official website 'The World Anti-Doping Code is the core document that provides the framework for harmonized anti-doping policies, rules, and regulations within sports organizations and among public authorities' (WADA, 2011a, para.1).

The Code is designed to work in cooperation with five 'International Standards' consisting of the Prohibited List, Testing, Laboratories, Therapeutic Use Exemptions (TUEs), and Protection of Privacy and Personal Information. They aim to synchronise the activities of the world anti-doping organisations. The Prohibited List names all the prohibited substances and methods in competitive sport. The regulations that concern Testing aim to organise the procedure of testing and guarantee fairness and transparency of the process for all athletes. The International Standards for Laboratories attempt to harmonise the production of valid tests results and reporting from the laboratories that work in cooperation with WADA. The Standards for Therapeutic Use Exemptions define the cases in which an exception for therapeutic purposes can be granted and to harmonise these regulations across countries and sporting federations. Finally, the International Standards for the Protection of Privacy is to ensure that all parties involved in the collection and processing samples respect the rules concerning the athlete's privacy.

WADA's activities do not stop by framing the definition of doping and updating the list of International Standards. It has developed a systematic procedure of surveillance by tracking an athlete's whereabouts at any time and maintaining the right to test the athletes in and out of competition. This is achieved through an online database system (ADAMS), in which an athlete can sign in and report their whereabouts at any given time. Furthermore, it has developed a network of laboratories and medical staff whose mission is to test a large number of samples from athletes worldwide.

The agency launched a more sophisticated anti-doping programme called 'Biological Passport'. It is based on "the monitoring of selected biological variables which indirectly reveal the effects of doping" (WADA, 2011d, para.1) as opposed to the traditional way of detecting prohibited substances. The athletes' biological profile is stored and updated throughout their career, which makes any irregularities in their blood easier to detect. In other words, it is a technologically advanced surveillance system, which is based on the athletes' medical profile.

Finally, WADA has also funded medical and social research programmes along with an education/prevention programme. WADA's official website states: "WADA believes that a long-term solution to preventing doping is through effective values-based education programs that can foster anti-doping behaviours and create a strong anti-doping culture" (WADA, 2011b, para.1). In other words, it maintains that the long-term solution to the problem of doping is prevention through education.

All of these activities have one common aim: to globalise and harmonise WADA's anti-doping policy and eliminate doping. As it reads in their official mission statement "The World Anti-Doping Program was developed and implemented to harmonize anti-doping policies and regulations within sport organisations and among governments" (WADA, 2011c, para.1). Indeed the Code was made obligatory for all countries involved in the Olympic Games under the Olympic Charter 7. Only sports

that adopt and implement the Code can be included and remain in the programme of the Olympic Games.

### **2.1.2 Definition of Doping**

However, in order to know what exactly is to be eliminated WADA had to define doping, which until then had many and broad definitions (for example the 1999, IAAF definition). WADA's definition of doping is given within the first pages of the Code and is consisted of eight paragraphs (Appendix A). According to the Code any athlete that has a prohibited substance or its metabolites or markers in their body violates the doping rules. It does not distinguish between the use of performance-enhancing substances (PES) by amateur or adolescent athletes and the professional/ competitive use of PES. Therefore a young, amateur athlete who uses a substance from the prohibited list can be defined as a doped athlete, despite not being involved in the level of competitive sport over which WADA's jurisdiction might be expected to extend. For example, a seventeen-year-old skateboarder who smokes cannabis recreationally without any intention of improved sporting performance, or an amateur bodybuilder who takes steroids for aesthetic reasons, both count as doped athletes in WADA's terms.

Despite this, the role of the Code and its rules is to regulate competitive sport. One of the arguments for having such regulations is to guarantee fairness in a competitive setting. For this reason, the Code contains rules for in and out of competition periods and the punishment for an infraction is a period of disqualification from sporting events (which in the case of the seventeen year old smoker could not be implemented). Therefore, WADA's anti-doping rules, which concern competitive and in most cases professional athletes are mixed up with amateur substance use where rules and the drug taking itself is taking place under different

circumstances than the professional use of performance-enhancing substances. So, what is the logic behind the definition of doping?

### **2.1.3 Inspecting the Rationale: Anti-Doping Rationale as a Functionalist Tool**

Functionalism is an early school of thought that has been used to support the logic of prohibition. Functionalism is based on the assumption that what holds society together is its intrinsic “tendency to maintain itself in a state of balance, so that it continues to operate efficiently” (Coakley, 2003, p.35). From this perspective, such balance is dependent on common values and consensus between the members of one community. In that sense, functionalists assert that any form of social institution works in favour of society as it produces and reinforces shared values. The sporting institution is not an exception to the rule: it is seen as an institution that promotes the values of society and thus, any changes proposed in sport would encourage the reinforcement of the already established traditional values of society (Loy & Booth, 2002).

Within this theoretical framework doping is seen as a form of deviance that disrupts the smooth function of sport. As a result, the proposed changes in policy-making would encourage harsher sanctions on the doped athletes and more sophisticated systems of surveillance. The functionalist approach, however, fails to capture that sport reflects wider social reality. As a result doping is put out of its social context and the view of the people who have the power to police doping is assumed to be *a priori* correct.

Concomitantly, the studies that adopt a functionalist approach and support the rationale for the prohibition of doping seem in many cases to use the language of the Code thereby taking for granted its correctness. For example, Arvaniti (2006) mentioned that athletes need education on the disastrous consequences of doping on their bodies, which aligns with

the argument that doping damages the athlete's health. She emphasised that "it is a common agreement that doping must be eradicated; it is a disaster for sports, the Olympic Movement, and for society in general. But is it so simple that we can be optimistic this will happen?" (p.356). Similarly, Hong (2006) argued that:

It is generally acknowledged by official statement and educational material that using drugs in sport, especially the banned drugs on the list of WADA, is unethical. It gives athletes an unfair advantage and is cheating. It also damages athletes' bodies (p.323).

In these cases, the official line is understood as an unquestionable truth, and not as a statement that needs to be examined and questioned from an academic point of view. Such an approach has been criticised for the language it uses to talk about doping. Indeed, it has been noted that the language used by the previous studies lacks a critical edge and depends on generalisations to pursue an argument. For example, Digenstad *et al.* (1996) argued that "The usual frameworks for drug discourse are typically taken for granted rather than critically examined" (p.1828). However, a functionalist approach although adopted by a number of scholars to talk about the prohibition of doping, is not the only possible approach in the theorisation of the phenomenon. Critical literature has utilised a number of theoretical frameworks in order to put the current anti-doping policy into context and understand its aspects from different perspectives.

#### **2.1.4 Arguments and Counter-Arguments for the Protection of the Athlete's Health**

One fundamental aspect of the anti-doping policy is the three arguments on which the prohibition of doping relies: the health, the moral and the spirit of sport. More specifically, the argument of the anti-doping rationale is that doping is unhealthy and must be prohibited. Implicit in this argument is that doping-free sport is, by contrast, healthy. However, a

closer examination reveals that this argument is inconsistent. For example, Digestad *et al.* (1996) observed that “Some sports, such as boxing and rugby, are dangerous even without drugs and some drugs can reduce the danger” (p. 1833). Indeed, some sports are by definition violent and they can cause serious injuries to the athletes.

Apart from some sports being unhealthy by their very nature, it has been argued that professional training in general is not necessarily healthy. König (1995) argued that there have been numerous athletes of all sports who have ruined their bodies because of overtraining and (accepted) technological aids in sports. Connor (2009) argued that professional sport is not in reality a healthy activity as athletes subject themselves to immense levels of pain and over-training and he concluded that if we are to seriously protect the athletes’ health then we need anti-training rules not just anti-doping sanctions:

To actually make elite sport healthy we do not need anti-doping codes, we need anti-training codes limiting the type and amount of training an athlete can do. We also need anti-competition codes restricting the number of games/meets/competitions in which an athlete can engage (Connor, 2009, p. 335).

To the counter arguments of the unhealthy side of doping Lippi *et al.* (2008, p. 443) added that prohibited drugs have in reality the same effect as other allowed performance-enhancing substances and techniques; and as a result medical supervised doping is safer than knowing that some athletes use them unsupervised.

Moreover, it would appear that the prohibition of doping has created new health risks for the competitive athletes. As early as 1991, Voy drew attention to this ‘sad paradox’: the athletes tend to use the less detectable drugs instead of the less harmful, because of the harsh penalties which are imposed on them in the case of a positive drug test. “As a consequence, anti-doping regulations which are justified partly in terms of a desire to protect athletes’ health actually constrain athletes’ choices towards the use of more dangerous, but less detectable, drugs” (p. 246).

Therefore, it follows that for a number of reasons the sport's regulations are not consistent in protecting the athlete's health in all situations.

The counter-arguments which demonstrated that the athlete's health is not always protected by the sporting regulations, were further utilised by a theorisation that conceptualises sport as social space in which athletes are victims of the sporting institutions. Neo-Marxist theories argue that the unhealthy parts of professional training need to be obscured and minimised in order for the sporting institution to make the most profit out of the over-trained athletes who are willing to risk their health. According to these theories the athletes have been exploited by those who are at the top of the social pyramid, in order to offer spectacle which distracts those who have no economic power in society from the hardships of their position. The doped athlete is thus, conceptualised as an exploited individual used by a system that prioritises economic profit (Brohm, 1978). Projecting doping as the unhealthy part of professional sport obscures other unhealthy aspects of sport and preserves the image (and profit) of the institution, which publically supports the 'health' agenda of sport.

Critics of Neo-Marxist approaches highlight that the emphasis on the athlete as an exploited individual, minimises the role of the individual who chooses to be involved in sport and the opportunities for personal expression through sport, as well as the potential for athletes, especially the ones who compete at a top level, to gain (financially and personally) from sport. Given the discussion that debated the health argument from different perspectives the second argument for the prohibition of doping is the moral aspect of drug using in sport.

### **2.1.5 The Moral Argument and the Concept of Meritocracy**

The second argument for the prohibition of doping is that it gives an unfair advantage over other competitors. Indeed sports in general seem to have been invested in the idea of being fair. As Cole (1995, p. 228) put

it “as a mythic site sport is understood as a democratic and meritocratic site in which individuals compete”. However, the concept of sport as a meritocratic space has been broadly critiqued. Lippi *et al.* (2008) argued that the ‘winning at all costs’ culture that has dominated sport makes the athlete seeking for any mean of taking advantage over one competitor and thus, fairness in sports is not the goal for the athletes.

Similarly, Digenstad *et al.* (1996) argued that in practice the anti-doping policy is by definition unfair. They maintain that only a number of performance-enhancing substances are actually banned. Moreover, they stated that, “tests are made for amphetamines but not for insulin. These are examples of the apparent arbitrariness of drug policies that has been pointed out by many commentators” (p. 1828). Although, WADA has now expressed the will to invent a test for insulin (so far no such test exists), the point Digenstad *et al.* made in 1996 could be applied to a numerous other examples: training in altitude is performance-enhancing and has the same effects on the body as blood doping. However, the first technique for enhancing someone’s performance is accepted and the second one is banned.

Differential access to technology and knowledge has also been sited as examples of unfair practices in sport. Digenstad *et al.* (1996) argued that the anti-doping rationale is not consistent because while drugs in sport may indeed give unfair advantage, “no such concern is expressed about technological advantages such as specially designed running shoes or bicycles” (p. 1833). In that respect, only the athlete who is privileged enough to afford the latest technological advances in a given sport will have access to them, which is evidently not fair. Coming from a privileged social class will give an athlete an advantage over their underprivileged opponents. Parry (2006) added that sport allows a range of unfair advantages to take place. “For example, only certain countries are able to take advantage of the knowledge and technology required for the production of specialised technical equipment” (p. 274). He thus, noted the strong link between sport and society in the sense that the so-

called fair arena of sport is in reality influenced by a number of social factors that make it unfair.

Connor (2009) summarised the discussion by arguing that sport mirrors a range of wider social inequalities. He stated that whether someone succeeds in competitive sport is not only dependent on their talent, but it is also determined by various social factors such as their gender, ethnicity, class or spatial location. For example, he argued that “at a global level there is a simple reason why African athletes perform well at track events, but not field events or swimming – it is because running requires very little in the way of material resources” (p. 336). In conclusion of these arguments, it is observed that sport is unfair in a number of ways. Policing doping on the basis that it provides an unfair advantage may try to make fair one factor out of many that make sport a non meritocratic social space, but at the same time it obscures the other inequalities that are cultivated within the premises of modern sport since doping is the only unfair visible factor.

A more radical stance was adopted by Savulescu *et al.* (2004) by saying that actually doping is far from being unfair because it gives a chance to athletes who are genetically underprivileged: “By allowing everyone to take PES, we level the playing field we remove the effects of genetic inequality” (p. 667). According to them sport is unequal by definition as we are all born with different genetic characteristics. They argue that it would be fairer to account for genetic differences between athletes and then celebrate the ones who have worked harder to win instead of the most genetically gifted ones.

The final moral argument for the doping ban is that doping is cheating simply because it is against the rules of competition. This seems to be a circular argument as a prohibition cannot only be based on the fact that something is prohibited. Every law or rule has to be based on a moral justification other than itself. Parry (2006) has also argued that there are other activities in sport that are against the rules of the game, but under particular circumstances they are allowed. For example pace-making is

against the rules of the IAAF, however, in many cases it is allowed in order for record-breaking attempts to take place. In that sense, rule breaking in sport does sometimes take place without punishment.

In summary, the meritocratic argument of doping is undermined by the array of other factors that make sport unequal. More importantly, the regulations that are imposed solely in the case of doping make drug taking in sport the predominate visible marker of unfairness.

### **2.1.6 The Endemic Nature of Doping in the Spirit of Sport**

The final argument for the prohibition of doping is that it is 'against the spirit of sport'. According to WADA the fundamental rationale for the world anti-doping Code is that there is an intrinsic value in sport ('the spirit of sport') and the anti-doping program aims to protect it. What exactly this intrinsic value about sport is, is not clearly defined. König (1995) argued that:

The phrase contrary to the spirit of sport cannot claim to be an analytical term as it does not really determine anything. It does not clarify, it mythologizes instead; it speaks in riddles rather than solving them, to cut it short: it is a ritual incantation (p. 249).

On the other hand, WADA mentions that it is "How we play true. The spirit of sport is the celebration of the human spirit, body and mind" (WADA, 2011e, para. 1). Doping is presented as fundamentally antithetical to the 'spirit of sport' and for that reason the anti-doping policy is essential to protecting and preserving 'clean' sport. However, Beamish and Ritchie (2005) argued that doping is far from antithetical to the spirit of sport because it is a product of competitive sport culture: "The behaviour of today's athletes emerged from the activities of a number of different people pure scientists, applied scientists, political leaders, sport leaders, coaches and athletes to name just a few..." (p. 429). As a result, doping

must be considered as the result of the actions of social groups that work together. Moreover, these groups are all part of competitive sport and thus, what produces doping in reality is the culture of modern sport, which of course concerns more than just individual athletes.

In order to explore and understand this culture Kleft (2009) argued that the 'nature of sport' is about continually overcoming what we know as the current limits of the human body. He argued that competitiveness is an element in modern sport and this precise element includes doping as it emphasises the need to overcome any opponent. However, he made clear that this element is in reality the product of the social construction of modern sport: "The nature of sport is not something natural in itself it is a historical social competitive construction" (p. 10). Savulescu *et al.* (2004) added that sport from its foundations was all about super human performances at the cost of even human life as, "The marathon was run in the first modern Olympics in 1896, and in many ways the athletic ideal of modern athletes is inspired by the myth of the marathon. Their ideal is superhuman performance, at any cost" (p. 666). Finally, Tamburrini (2006) as discussed previously argued that the need for doping was created within the premises of competitive sport, as modern sport is all about seeking advantages over your opponents. The abovementioned discussion tends to show that doping is in reality not antithetical to the logic of sport, but endemic in the element of competitiveness, which is a fundamental component of modern sport.

Moreover, a closer inspection of this argument reveals the relativity of the term. Competitive training and training in general is in most cases assisted by technological aims. Therefore, it is hard to see why the use of trainers is more natural and compatible with the spirit of sport than the injection of a hormone that is naturally produced by the body. At the same time, the very power to determine what constitutes the spirit of sport and on what grounds needs to be questioned.

For example, Monaghan (2000) argued that bodybuilders have normalised drug use within the premises of competitive bodybuilding.

Dunning and Waddington (2003) argued that they often form close-knit communities in which drug use is both accepted and widespread. Within this social space they feel secure to perform their drug use in sport and “reject the hostile stereotyping of the wider society and to sustain their own more positive definition of themselves and their activities” (p. 353). Within the accepted and normalised culture of bodybuilding the use of doping substances is perceived as one more factor that can help to construct a stronger body (with little difference to the weights used in their training). In that sense, the use of doping practices is not seen as against the spirit of sport, but rather as part of it.

The evidence that emerges from the literature indicates that doping could be considered, not to be contrary to the spirit of sport, but part of the competitive culture. The discussion so far has shown that there are more than one interpretation of the theory behind the prohibition of doping. The academic theorisations of doping have provided divergent perspectives on the phenomenon. However, its prohibition has resulted in the implementation of the anti-doping policy in practice, which initiates a new discussion and a new theorisation all together.

## **2.2 Theorising Doping: the Implementation of Anti-Doping Policy Debated**

When it comes to the theorisation of doping, a main focus of the debate within the academic literature concerns the practical application of the anti-doping policy. Certain voices within the literature point to the success of the policy while others, more critical perspectives suggest that there are problems with its application in practice. Again the literature shows that there are a number of perspectives one could consider when discussing doping.

### 2.2.1 Anti-doping Policy: a Functionalistic Success?

Studies that support the functionalist perspective on WADA's ambition to harmonise the anti-doping policy (see previous discussion), acknowledge the need for compliance among national governing bodies with WADA's rules and regulations. They point to the success of the application of the anti-doping policy in practice by referring to federations or governments that have adopted WADA's rules. Hong (2006), for example, states approvingly that China is in line with WADA's proposals:

Athletes in high-risk sports, such as swimming and athletics, are required to report their whereabouts and contact information to their sports associations when they are leaving their permanent residence or regular training venue for more than 48 hours (Hong, 2006, p. 320).

Similarly, Gilberg *et al.* (2006) state that in the case of Norway the sporting federations proposed to undertake more frequent anti-doping tests, test the athlete in and out of competition and adopt IOC's stricter sanctions in case of a positive sample. In this study, the fact that rules become stricter in certain sports to comply with WADA's regulations is seen as evidence for the successful application of WADA's globalised anti-doping policy.

Furthermore, the success of the policy is emphasised by referring to a significant number of drug tests carried out or to the number of drug tests to be carried out by a federation:

The Chinese sports authority has made great progress in the fight against drugs in sport at the 10th National Games. It now plans to carry out 4,500 doping tests during the 2008 Olympic Games. That will be more than at the 2000 Sydney Games, which conducted 3,000 tests, and the Athens Games in 2004, which had 3,500. The China Doping Control Centre will work 'around the clock' during the Games (Hong, 2006, p. 326).

Finally, Dvorak *et al.* (2002) when discussing the compliance of FIFA with WADA's rules stated that evidence of the successful collaboration was the decision to perform more than 20.000 doping controls annually on football players. What is not made clear by these arguments is that they only demonstrate the will of the federation or the governing body to comply with WADA's rules, they do not prove that these rules are effective or successful.

### **2.2.2 Harmonised Anti-Doping Policy at a National/Local Level: a Paternalistic Theorisation**

The fact that WADA aims to apply a universal anti-doping policy irrespective of different cultural and sporting contexts could be discussed as a paternalistic approach to policy making. One concern that has arisen surrounds the difficulties in applying such a paternalistic policy to a national and local level as the anti-doping programme necessitates the collaboration of governments, sporting federations and sporting authorities in order to become harmonised across sports and federations.

One of the first problems with implementing the policy is the application of the same set of rules over a number of cultures and social contexts. Girginov (2006) argued that:

While the WADA is interested in achieving harmonization of its policy across all Sporting Governing Bodies, SGBs would be concerned with the interpretation of the code in a particular cultural context and coaches and athletes would emphasize the importance of reality in dealing with doping on a daily basis (p. 258).

It is implied that there is a problem in expecting the same rules and regulations to be applied to more than one cultural context and across sports, as their interpretations may vary.

Tamburinni (2006) expanded this argument, which led him to support removing the doping ban. He maintained that a harmonised anti-doping policy cannot be applied because doping ban violations are relative to the particular context in which they occur: “It is precisely this cultural relativistic ingredient that gives rise to the most powerful criticism to WADA’s new anti-doping policy” (p. 204). He maintained that the standardisation of doping regulations results in treating all cases in a similar way, and in punishing equally harshly individuals coming from different sporting cultures. He thus argued that paradoxically, although a harmonised anti-doping policy aims to be fairer across sports, it has actually achieved the exact opposite: it is unfair because sporting cultures and individual cases are not all the same and therefore, one standard would not be effective in judging them.

Hanstad *et al.* (2010), despite acknowledging that WADA had made progress in harmonising and universalising the anti-doping policy, argued that the policy has faced scepticism and resistance at a local level because its harmonisation program is very difficult to be applied in practice. The authors also added that apart from the lack of enthusiasm in adopting WADA’s regulations, many national sporting federations treat athletes differently in different countries, which is a threat to the sense of fairness of the anti-doping policy. Therefore, they argued that the Code is not adopted in many countries according to WADA’s prescribed policy. On the contrary, it is interpreted in dissimilar ways or in some cases even rejected. Indeed the withdrawal of European Union funding to WADA on the basis of unsatisfactory conditions, goes some way onwards pointing to the resistance WADA’s paternalistic approach has faced.

### **2.2.3 Anti-Doping Policy and Surveillance of the Individual Athlete**

Critics of a harmonised anti-doping policy show it to be problematic when applied to different sporting cultures. At an individual level, however it has been argued, that each case is different even within the same sport culture. Morgan (2006) stated that the rules of that policy are morally unfair to every athlete. He argued that:

The anti-doping programme is morally flawed because it has overstepped the boundaries of fairness by seeking to impose a lower standard for what counts as evidence of such drug use by athletes and for instituting criminal-like procedures that only contribute to the morally noxious environment (Morgan, 2006, p. 195).

The anti-doping policy does not recognise the uniqueness of each case, and it makes the procedure unfair by needing less evidence than in the past to prosecute an athlete.

It has been argued that the anti-doping policy is not only unfair to some athletes, but is also a system of surveillance that invades their private lives and compromises their human rights. Kleft (2009) argued that the anti-doping policy is in many respects harsher than the policy applied to recreational drug use and other forms of deviance. He argued that in almost all cases in wider society (with the recent exception of war on terrorism) the whereabouts policy would be considered a breach of basic human rights. However, in the case of competitive sport all athletes (including the 'clean' ones) must allow an intrusion into their private sphere if they want to compete professionally.

Kleft (2009) concluded that in the case of professional athletes this could be more easily applied because they are used to being controlled all the time. For example, their performances are constantly monitored, their diets are controlled, the hours they sleep and their daily routines are always under surveillance. At the same time, they are labour force for the

entertainment industry and since modern sport is highly commercialised they are also seen as commodities. For commodities he emphasised, human rights do not apply.

Indeed, the anti-doping policy focuses almost exclusively on the competitive athlete. Possibly because they are not only the ones who perform, but also they are used to being monitored and controlled. Until recently, only the athlete was mentioned in the anti-doping sanctions and consequently only the athlete was facing punishment. It should also be noted that the most recent revision of the Code mentions support personnel and coaches for the first time, which points to the recognition of an in-sport culture that promotes drug taking. For example, its current wording bans:

Possession by an Athlete Support Personnel Out-of-Competition of any Prohibited Method or any Prohibited Substance which is prohibited Out-of Competition in connection with an Athlete, Competition or training, unless the Athlete Support Personnel establishes that the Possession is pursuant to a therapeutic use exemption granted to an Athlete in accordance with Article 4.4 (Therapeutic Use) or other acceptable justification (WADA, 2009, para. 24).

However, it remains very unclear what the consequences for the athletes' support team could be if any. Nevertheless, even if the new anti-doping rules include members of the athlete's team, the anti-doping policy still primarily targets the athletes, then their support staff and obscures the culpability of other members of sporting institutions.

It has been argued in the literature that there is a shift evident in the focus of the implementation of the world anti-doping policy from athletes to organisations. According to Girginov (2006) such a change "marks an important cultural orientation, which recognises the mutually constructive relation between the individual and the group, and further reinforces the organisational context of the issue" (p. 255). He pointed out that due to this alteration the sporting organisations are now made responsible for recognising the cultural context in which doping takes place.

Nevertheless, the ultimate responsibility for drug violations remains with the athlete. This is called the strict liability principle, which “stipulates that athletes have to be solely and legally responsible for what they consume” (Girginov, 2006, p. 258). As a result of this principle the main ‘weapon’ for implementing the anti-doping policy remains the procedure of drug testing.

#### **2.2.4 The Failure of Anti-doping Testing**

Testing is the primary method of enforcing the anti-doping policy in order to minimise the extent of doping in competitive sport. However, the fact that drug taking in sports seems to be an established practice has led to questions regarding its effectiveness: in the case of anabolic steroids, which are primarily training drugs, the drug test is ineffective some hours before or after the competition (Yesalis & Cowart, 1998). At the same time, other training drugs are developing quickly and continually and the technology of drug testing is often behind (Kammerer, 1998). For example, the 1980s Moscow Olympics was the first time that the widespread use of testosterone became noticed, yet no one tested positive (O’Leary, 2001).

Furthermore, the ability of current drug testing to recognise all different kinds of drugs is subject to criticism. The test that the IOC uses is the urine test, which has some basic limitations: a positive test can only indicate that the athlete is exposed to a drug, but it cannot prove if this was voluntary. Secondly, a positive sample cannot determine the effects of the drug on an athlete’s performance (Mottram & Gunnell, 1996). Many ways of tricking the drug test have been discovered historically, like replacing urine with a clean sample or using diuretics.

Trusting the lab results can also be problematic. Kondo (2006) argued that one of the reasons doping defies resolution is the problem of borderline results: “Ambiguity is sometimes present in the standards used

to distinguish between positive and negative results; hence the resulting possibility of false positive and false negative results can occur” (p. 304).

Drug testing in sports has also failed because, as mentioned before, only a part of them are, in practice, banned (Dingelstad *et al.*, 1996). Some researchers such as Millar (1996a, 1996b), Coomber (1993) and Cashmore (2010) have already suggested that drugs in sport are so numerous and so well established that no drug test can eliminate them.

In reality, there is very limited evidence as to what the athletes themselves believe on the case of anti-doping testing. In one of the few survey studies that asked professional athletes’ perceptions on drug testing Dunn *et al.* (2010) collected data from 974 elite Australian athletes who self-completed a questionnaire. They concluded that: “There is a difference between being detected using a PED and drugs for recovery/medical reasons and they believe that penalties should reflect this difference” (p. 330). In other words, they are in a position to identify blurred lines between accepted and unaccepted use of prohibited substances that the anti-doping test cannot help to distinguish.

The above discussion pointed to a number of themes and perspectives that emerged from the theorisation of doping in the existing literature. These perspectives concerned both the logic of its prohibition and the implementation of the anti-doping policy. Given that the official anti-doping stance has now been presented the chapter will investigate the available information of the in-sports reality of performance-enhancing substances.

## **2.3 Moving Away from the Rules: Theorising the Relationship Between Doping and the In-Sport Reality**

This section examines the reality of the in-sport competitive culture in order to contextualise the debates on performance-enhancing substances in sport. Athlete perspectives on doping remain hard to access and can be surrounded by anecdotal rather than empirical evidence. However, the theorisation of doping would be incomplete without an investigation of the culture that surrounds the most relevant subjects of the issue.

### **2.3.1 Characteristics of Performance-Enhancing Substance (PES) Use in Competitive Sports**

Competitive athletes are the group most pertinent to an inquiry about doping, as well as being the main gatekeepers in controlling information related to the activity. They are the social group that can reveal the characteristics of PES in competitive sport along with anyone else involved in the procedure (coaches, support personal, medical doctors). However, competitive athletes who use rarely discuss such practices.

Since doping is prohibited in competitive sport, expressing a view that supports the use of doping substances or methods or revealing information about its use could affect an athlete's career in a profoundly negative way. Athletes are mostly unwilling to discuss the issue and tend to follow the logic of the IOC and WADA. For this reason it has been observed that there is limited rigorous and objective evidence on the athletes' perspectives and experiences of doping (Savulescu *et al.*, 2004). The literature on doping reflects the difficulty in conducting research with 'insiders': there is small number of in-depth qualitative studies that explore the perceptions of competitive athletes. At the same time, there is a larger amount of quantitative literature conducted through surveys and a

significant number of studies that combine populations of amateur or adolescent PES users, and professional athletes use.

### **2.3.2 Athletes' Subcultures: Closed Communities That Normalise Doping**

The lack of information about the athletes' in-sport subcultures has led to the small number of in-depth qualitative studies on doping and in some cases, without a clear framework in which they can build their questions. For example, in 1984, a study asked American weightlifters and competitors in field athletics to consider whether they would accept taking a 'magic drug' that would guarantee success for the next five years, but would kill them after that. Goldman *et al.*, (1992) found that 52% of the athletes asked would take the pill. The study revealed that there is an athletes' subculture in competitive sport that has normalised the use of performance-enhancing substances, and that athletes' desire to win might lead to an acceptance. However, the study has been seen as unrealistic: Beamish and Ritchie (2005) claimed that the question asked positioned the public and sport policy makers to assume that performance-enhancing drugs are shortcuts or magic pills that automatically lead to results: "Substance use is completely removed from the social and historical context within which it occurs" (p. 414). In addition, other aspects leading to success such as training and effort are effectively discounted.

The literature that is based on qualitative interviews with competitive athletes has confirmed the presence of an athletic subculture that has normalised doping practices within its premises. Schneider (2006) argued that cyclists may not be scandalised by doping cases as there is a subculture in competitive cycling that understands the use of doping substances or methods. Moreover, Christiansen (2005) when interviewed thirty-four Danish riders, concluded that athletes perceive that there are a

number of subcultures within sport with differing attitudes towards doping: “What separates them (the subcultures) are the various combinations of talent and attitude regarding how far they are willing to go in order to fulfil their ambitions” (p. 511). In this respect, not only a doping subculture is evident within professional cycling, but also in reality more than one subculture are existent.

The notion of doping as a normalised practice was further explored by Connor (2009) who drew attention to the concept of the ‘networked athlete’. He stated that “an athlete does not ever make it to elite level competition without the assistance of a host of support staff; be it coaches, doctors, nutritionists, physiotherapists, and/or bio-mechanics to name just a few” (p. 339). In that sense, if competitive sport allows for a subculture that normalises doping then that includes more than just the athletes.

One study that was able to elicit accounts of doping from competitive athletes that were willing to discuss their experience in a frank and open manner was conducted by Pappa and Kennedy (2012). Interview data provided by them showed that competitive athletes perceive doping as a normalised activity in sport. However, the athletes considered themselves to have individual responsibility for drug taking, even though they were in a position to identify the involvement of team personnel in this practice. Evidence from this study, therefore, was able to support the ‘networked athlete’ conceptualisation of doping in sport and draw links between the perceptions of athletes and the role of their support personnel in forming doping subcultures.

To draw information from athletes who were willing to present to the public their own experience with PES the auto-biographies of a few athletes add to the existing knowledge, especially since empirical evidence is limited. For example Dwain Chambers (2009) and Reiterer (2000) have authored auto-biographies in which the athletes talk about their experience with performance-enhancing prohibited substances. They both claimed that a number of people knew about their drug use and

they were only taking substances under the guidance of professional doctors. They also talked about a culture in competitive athletics that allows and in some cases demands the use of performance-enhancing substances.

To summarise the discussion, the limited empirical evidence available shows that a first characteristic performance-enhancing substance use in competitive sports is the existence of a culture that does not include only the athletes and tolerates the use of PES.

### **2.3.3 Competitive Sport: Pressure to Perform and Prevalence of Doping**

A second characteristic of PES in competitive sport seems to be the perceived necessity of their use, which would then lead to a widespread use of performance-enhancing substances. Such a need derives from a number of factors that put pressure on the competitive athlete. For example, Bloodworth and McNamee (2010) conducted focus groups with male and female athletes from 13 different sports and concluded that athletes did not report any external pressure to use performance-enhancing substances, although they named various circumstances under which they could be 'pressurised' to use them: for example, injury recovery and economic pressures to succeed in elite sport.

Rabinowicz (1992) interviewed groups of athletes and noted that Olympic athletes tended to feel that most successful athletes were using doping substances. This suggests that athletes are aware that doping can be part of the in-sport reality of athletes. Moreover, since they see the more successful athletes as the ones that use PES, it follows that in order to be successful in competitive sport they have to use PES. In this respect, the tendency of the athlete to use doping substances in order to enhance their performance could be understood as nothing more than over-conformity to the sport ethic. Coakley (2003, p. 168) defined the

sport ethic as “a set of norms that many people in power and performance sports have accepted as the dominant criteria for defining what it means to be an athlete and to successfully claim an identity as an athlete”. In other words, it is the set of characteristics anyone who wants to be identified as an athlete should have. One of these characteristics is disciplined subjection to the coaches’ orders during training. In that respect, doping can be seen as the unquestioned acceptance of the principles of discipline and competitiveness that would push an athlete to do anything that would enable them to train harder and enhance their performance.

Given the over-conformity of some athletes to the sport ethic and the belief that all top athletes use PES, it follows that these would put pressure on all athletes to be competitive and use PES themselves. Again, as the information from within the competitive sport world is limited, we can only check this indication by searching for evidence that would suggest a widespread use of PES in sport. In this case, the information is not only limited, but also unclear as to how well we can measure the use of PES in sport. However, a brief look at the history of PES indicates that although the use of such substances and methods were present since the ancient games (Voy, 1991, Yesalis & Cowart, 1998, Waddington, 2000, Houlihan, 2002) and it was accepted as part of the athletic performance, it was only in the 1960s and 1970’s with the boom in the use of anabolic steroids that it was realised as a problem (Yesalis & Bahrke, 2005). This led to the founding of the Olympic Medical Commission by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1967 and the announcement of its first list of prohibited substances. At the next Olympic Games, in Mexico 1968, the first drug tests of the Olympic Games were introduced and the use of steroids was banned (Ware, 1998).

Since its prohibition, the prevalence of doping has become more difficult to estimate. The evidence for the use of drugs in sport comes mostly from survey research, because it reaches wide populations of athletes, allows participants to be anonymous, and produces quantitative

results, which are geared towards understanding its prevalence. However, difficulties are still present when it comes to accessing information from professional athletes, which leads researchers draw on the experiences of amateur and adolescent populations and use them to help understanding professional contexts.

There is not enough evidence to indicate clearly the extent of doping in professional sport today. Three extended inquiries have been conducted and although two of them undertook the research in the 1980's, the lack of information still makes them informative. However, even these three enquires reached contradictory conclusions: Canadian (Dubin, 1990) and Australian (the Senate Committee, 1989) research indicated an increase in the extent of performance-enhancing substance use in the last decades, while British research (Coni, 1988) concluded that steroid use had decreased over the previous decades and Rasmussen (2005) argued that the real prevalence of doping is low and that the anti-doping policy is chasing an 'imaginary evil'.

Apart from these inquiries other survey research does provide some indication of the prevalence of doping in competitive sport. Back in 1975, Ljungquist interviewed elite Swedish male track and field athletes and 31% admitted having taken anabolic steroids, while Pat Connolly, a coach of the US women's track and field team during the 1980s, estimated that between the 1984 and the 1988 Olympic Games the proportion of athletes in the team who used drugs went up to 40% from 15% (cited in Dubin, 1990).

Moreover, in 1989, the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, reported that at a high level of certain sports (including athletics) athletes use steroids to a great extent for competing effectively and in 1995, a survey of 448 British Olympic Athletes showed that 86% of track and field athletes felt that doping is a serious threat in their competitions: 26% of them agreed that doping had increased the last year compared to the 6% who said that the doping had decreased (Sports Council, 1996). While the British Medical Association (2002) argued that the exact extent

of the problem is unknown but it should be much greater than the official statistics show and it has increased significantly the last 50 years.

Moreover, Waddington *et al.* (2006) collected replies from 706 members of the Professional Football Association and concluded that the footballers' use of performance-enhancing drugs appeared to be rare, but the use of recreational drugs was more common. On the contrary, Alaranta *et al.* (2006) received replies from a total of 446 athletes financially supported by the National Finnish Olympic Committee who completed a structured questionnaire during their national team camps in 2002. 30% reported that they personally know an athlete who uses banned substances and 15% of the athletes reported that they had been offered banned substances. They concluded that athletes in different sports have a different approach to doping, suggesting that there is highest risk of doping in speed and power sports and lowest risk in sports demanding motor skills (Alaranta *et al.* 2006, p. 842).

At the same time, the hypothetical scenario of gene doping has entered the academic debate. McCrory (2003) observed that the list that became effective from 1 January 2003 included genetic doping for the first time. He maintained that the potential problems with gene doping will increase as more and more candidate genes are identified: "With more potential gene targets available, once the gene transfer technology is safe for human use, then Pandora's Box of applicable uses in sporting performance will be available" (McCrory, 2003, p. 193). He described a futuristic vision with tests involving "innovative, non-invasive, and as yet unknown means of detecting gene transfer use" if we are to avoid elite sport becoming "a race of tissue-engineered supermen and superwomen" (2003, p. 193). As hypotheses are not facts, it is interesting that a fictional scenario of an upcoming 'disaster' has entered the scientific literature since academic research is primarily concerned with the study of empirical evidence.

In summary, there are factors that put pressure on the athletes to use PES in competitive sport. Although there is not enough empirical

evidence to investigate this further, there is a significant amount of literature dedicated to exposing the prevalence of doping in competitive sport. A widespread use of PES would indeed point to the notion that competitive athletes feel the need to use them. The available information, which mostly comes from survey research, points to the prevalence of doping within some competitive sports.

#### **2.3.4 Mixing Them Up: Surveying Competitive and Amateur/ Adolescent Athletes**

Survey research that focuses on amateur and adolescent athletes is more common as these target groups are easier to access and their perceptions of doping do not affect a professional career. The use of such substances by amateur or adolescent athletes occurs outside the competitive, professional domain and may entail different motivations and characteristics. Some research fails to differentiate between amateur and professional which can obscure these potential crucial differences. Kartakoulis *et al.* (2008) surveyed 532 people of both sexes, aged 14 years and above, in 22 gyms around Cyprus. They concluded that “Respondents were unclear as to the impact that such substances might have on their health” (p. 284). However, the respondents engaged in one or more sports with a very small percentage (6%) participating in competitive sports.

Similarly, Evans (2009) collected data from 100 athletes attending four gymnasia by using an anonymous self-administered questionnaire. He focused on the ways users preferred to take anabolic steroids (injectable and oral intakes used in cycles lasting four to twelve weeks). He reported that most of these athletes used steroids regularly and reported the effects and side effects on their body.

Baker *et al.* (2006) investigated the prevalence of abuse of certain prescription medicines amongst 146 health club attendees. They reported

that anabolic-androgenic steroid use is widespread amongst recreational gym users. They also reported an enormous increase in the use of growth hormone and insulin with smaller increases in other drugs. The above examples did not differentiate between the use of performance-enhancing substances for competitive purposes and their use for aesthetic or any other reasons.

In another category of conducted studies, Laure and Bisinger (2007) surveyed the student population on the first year of secondary school (sixth grade) in a school in east France and followed it for 4 years. "At the beginning of the study, 1.2% stated that they had taken doping agents at least once in the preceding 6 months, and this had risen to 3.0% four years later" (660). The study concluded that doping exists in preadolescent athletes. In a larger sample Wanjek *et al.* (2007) surveyed 2319 adolescents (the study did not make clear whether they were athletes or not) from 16 Thuringian schools: "Three hundred and forty-six students out of 2287 students indicated use of prohibited substances from the WADA list in the previous year" (p. 346). Again, no differentiation was made between adolescent and professional use of performance-enhancing substances.

No matter how accurate such research is in revealing information related to the prevalence of use of PES among adolescent and amateur populations, the implied link between professional doping use and amateur use is confusing as it a) connects two different uses of PES (in the second case the use of PES takes place out of competition and for not professional purposes) which then b) creates the impression that professional doping use is a public health issue although it concerns a relatively small and controlled social group.

Perhaps, the unnoticed difference between the populations links back to the definition of doping. It was previously mentioned that WADA's definition is not clear as it mixes up competitive with amateur use of performance-enhancing substances and methods. The same confusion is found within the academic research as the word 'doping' is used to

describe performance-enhancing substances but outside of a competitive setting.

The main point of the above discussion is that doping in sport is not a one-dimensional phenomenon. It is expressed through a number of ways (the rationale of WADA, the cultures of competitive athletes, the Anti-Doping policy) and it has been conceptualised through a number of sociological perspectives. It is important to recognise the complexity of the phenomenon of doping prior to investigating its depiction in the media, in order to highlight which aspects of the debate are represented and which left out.

However, before we examine the themes emerging from studies that have examined the portrayal of doping in the media, we need to understand how the media operate, with particular attention to the representation of sport. Finally, previous studies of the representation of doping will be evaluated with the aim of tracing commonalities and patterns that have arisen.

## **2.4 How Do the Media Work? Media Discourse**

Critics of the media have long argued that, rather than simply reflecting reality, the media actively construct that reality (Cohen, 1973). The selective combinations of words, sounds and images in the media create a representational system that audiences are called upon to decode in order to make sense of the meanings shared with us. Hall (1997, p. 2) argued that such representation is not neutral because it produces culture: “culture is about ‘shared meanings’”. These shared meanings can be understood as constituting discourse. Butler (1997, p. 34) proposed that discourse defines “the limits of acceptable speech” and it is a fundamental concept in understanding the media.

The term discourse is used by many sciences and so it can be difficult to define with clarity (Mills, 2004). Nevertheless, it is a term heavily influenced by the work of Michael Foucault. Foucault suggested that discourse referred to “the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualisable set of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements” (Foucault, 1972, p. 80). Mills (2004) explained that “by the general domain of all statements he meant that ‘discourse’ can be used to refer to all utterances and statements which have been made, which have meaning and which have some effect” (Mills, 2004, p. 53). Foucault did not imply that discourse translates reality into language, but that it should be seen as a system which structures the way we perceive reality (Mills, 2003, p. 55).

Foucault proposed that discourse about reality inevitably requires position taking. He argued that there is lack of access to the truth and so questioned the possibility of objectivity (MacDonald, 2003). However, Foucault asserted that reality can exist independently of discourse, but it is only through discourse that we can exchange ideas and express opinions about it. Finally, since discourse limits the ways by which we can understand and discuss reality it creates a network of power relations (Matheson, 2005), which are expressed by spoken, written and mediated meanings.

It has been argued that media hold the power of defining what constitutes common sense and right and wrong (Matheson, 2005). Such a power is not only gained through the use of words, sounds and images or the absence of these as the ‘unsaid’ remains one of the most effective mechanisms of power (MacDonald, 2003). When the term discourse is introduced into the frame of media analysis we start from the basis that mediated texts and in particular news is a socially constructed product and thus it is not just reflecting the social reality; it can intercede in the social construction of reality (Fowler, 1991, Gutevitch *et al.*, 1982).

Although the media may emphasise their neutrality, such neutrality is in fact an unrealistic goal. As they are subject to influence as far as

discourse is concerned, the position taking of those that control the mass media cannot be ignored (MacDonald, 2003, Hall, 1973). Fowler (1991) argued that each medium of communication takes for granted that there is always one reasonable point of view, on any matter presented. He also added that those media that attempt not to compromise fail to survive. Consequently, everything that is presented to the public is likely to be uttered from a particular perspective (Fowler, 1991, MacDonald, 2003) and within the limits of one or more particular discourses. Generally speaking, meaning making within the media requires position taking, which is restricted or made permissible by a number of discourses.

#### **2.4.1 Media and Sport Spectacle**

The aspect of sport that lends itself most to mediation is that connected to spectacle. Sport spectacle has the capacity to constantly reshape itself in relation to social, political and economic meanings (Tomlinson, 2002). As a result, the concept requires close examination. Extra features added to sporting competitions, such as the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games, have been created exclusively for enhancing the mediated spectacle of sport. Indeed, sport offers huge opportunities in constructing successful spectacle: It belongs to leisure space and time and this generates an *a priori* expectation of comfort, rest and excitement away from the responsibilities of modern life. Consequently, the audience is already positively positioned towards what sport has to offer as a spectacularised event. Sport spectacle aims to create a mediated reality so well constructed that it convinces the audience that they are a vital part of it, although they remain inactive and apart. The media play the role to make the spectacle of sport accessible to everyone.

Kellner (2003) argued that modern professional sport amounts to mediated mega events, which are highly competitive events, create a

hectic pulse for a short period of time and then, with equal speed, cease. Well-spectacularised sport maintains distance from its audience, in order to create anticipation. For example, the Olympic Games only take place once every four years for a short period of time.

The media have played a decisive role in the spectacularisation of professional sport (Kellner, 2003, Roche, 2000) and the globalisation of some sporting competitions would be impossible without the media's role in achieving huge audiences worldwide (Rowe, 2004, Cashmore, 2000). The spectacularisation of mediated sport and the audience that follows have resulted in the development of the sport market: it has been argued that a spectacularised event includes all the features that create a reality based on commodity (Debord, 1977). Mediated sport has become a new ground for advertisement and making profit (Bernstein & Blain, 2003). Kellner (2003) argued, that the entertainment business needs continually to invent appealing concepts for the public. A spectacularised event needs to be capable of being highly attractive and at the same time of creating pseudo-needs among the audience. The spectator is thus transformed into a consumer.

It is important to consider the marketable value of sport and doping, therefore, when considering the mediation of the phenomenon. One of media's primary aims is to be sellable to their audience, for profit and for survival. It has been argued that doping is an inherently sensational topic and journalists who write about it use it as a means to grab the audience attention (Sefiha, 2010). In this respect, the spectacularisation of doping itself is to be expected. Indeed, in the literature, drug stories like the 1988 Ben Johnson case have been recognised as contributing to the spectacle of sport (Hills & Kennedy, 2009).

However apart from its commercial side, the political side of the sport spectacle is not to be forgotten (Tomlinson, 2002). For example, the constructed spectacle of the opening and closing ceremonies of mega-events hold political meanings. On a first level, the ceremonies aim to promote sport in a simplistic way: as a global celebration of athletic

excellence and a celebration of the nations involved. However, a second reading of the selected images made for a worldwide audience suggest that their political meanings are very far from straightforward. Tomlinson (2000) argued that “analysis of opening ceremonies confirms that the Olympic idea is no simple, pure, and untainted set of values” (p. 179). It can depict and reproduce conservative values. For example, the militaristic parade of the athletes, with the flag of each country in front of every bloc, which takes place in front of political leaders. In that sense, sport spectacle is highly political as it celebrates and reproduces the current *status quo*. Its analysis will reveal not only how doping becomes spectacularised, but also what other meanings (commercial, political or other) the spectacularisation of doping holds. In taking a closer look in the sport spectacle the depiction of the athlete has a central role and for this reason it is examined next.

#### **2.4.2 Media Sport Celebrities and Deviance**

Constructing the image of a celebrity is central aspect of sport spectacularisation and in recent years the analysis of sports celebrities themselves has entered the sociological literature (Andrews & Jackson, 2002, Cashmore, 2000, Nalapat & Parker, 2005). Andrews and Jackson (2002) observed that although a celebrity is someone whom most people are unlikely to meet, a virtual intimacy is created between the celebrity and the audience and this virtual connection is capable of causing real effects on the way individuals interpret their experiences.

This comes as a result of the fact that the image of a celebrity is not neutral. It holds meanings and messages, the celebrity themselves is a signifier (Andrews & Jackson, 2002). Rojek (2001) argued that the meanings of the sport celebrity relate to idealised and healthy characteristics associated with being a role model such as determination, talent and discipline. The image of the role model sport star is an

investment for the world of professional sport, the media and even governing bodies as it represents different agendas that are invested in sport: sport as a healthy activity, the sport person as a disciplined, hard working citizen, sport as a great spectacle, sport as commodity (Wagner, 2009). For example, Darnell and Sparks (2005) concluded that there is a direct link between the media's representation of such an idealised body and the commercial use of their image.

On the other hand, Whannel (2002) questioned the construction of the athlete role model. He argued that such link should not be assumed without problematising the concept. In many cases, athletes have not been behaving as role models. For example, the violent behaviour of Eric Cantona during the course of his career is difficult to be associated with promoting social values. In that sense, Whannel argued that the link between a role model and a sport celebrity can be constructed by the media and not generated by someone's athletic abilities.

Rojek (2001) noticed that the mediated image of a celebrity can combine both ideal and notorious personifications: "I treat celebrity as the attribution of glamorous or notorious status to an individual within the public sphere" (Rojek, 2001: 10). In that sense, the mass media play a key role in the creation of a celebrity as they hold the power to communicate the status of the celebrity they want to highlight. But what is the value of mediating the image of a celebrity?

The focus on celebrities creates personalised news. It has been argued that personalised news is more likely to attract the attention of the viewers (MacDonald, 2003). Pierre Bourdieu suggested that "human interest stories create a political vacuum" and argued that such news enables the media to put the focus "on those things which are apt to arouse curiosity, but require no analysis" (1998, p. 51). It has been observed that media move steadily from matters of public concern towards more private personal approaches (MacDonald, 2003). Such a realisation may point as well to a particular tendency mass media have developed in focusing on an individual.

Mass media, however, would not exist without an audience that is receptive to such representations. Rose (2003) when analysing the concept of celebrity, argued that there is a sadist element to the audience in the sense that we all take pleasure in seeing a celebrity turning from a role model to a villain. She argued that the audience projects their shameful selves to the celebrity and thus, take pleasure when they are punished instead of them.

In sport the use of the super athlete image in the media, like all celebrities, relies on 'common sense' generalisations and stereotypical depictions of the successful man/women (Andrews & Jackson, 2002). For example, generalisations could include the assumed natural physicality of the black athlete in cases like Michael Jordan and the happiness of the family man in cases like David Beckham (Cashmore, 2004). It is also based on constructing an exaggerated/ bigger than life image of a sport celebrity in attempting to build expectations of an upcoming remarkable sporting achievement. Take for example the depiction of Sebastian Coe and Steve Ovett before their race in the Moscow Olympics (Whannel, 1992).

The sudden diminishing of such an idealised image to the image of a 'cheater' drug user, however, is a spectacularised aspect of a media celebrity that is in many ways unique. First of all, sport celebrities cannot be compared to other media celebrities (for example singers or artists) although the cases seem similar. In both groups the celebrity becomes established as a well-known figure and then every scandal or deviant behaviour has newsworthy value (Whannel, 2002).

Sport celebrities differ from other celebrities who appear in the media. For example, a story that concerns the drug use of a pop singer is not treated the same as a story about the drug use of an athlete, because the singer has not broken the rules of their professional code and their 'failed' image is not contrasted with a previously perceived 'healthy' lifestyle. In that sense, the career of the artist is not necessarily damaged, while in

the case of a sport celebrity a doping case has real and usually catastrophic effect on an athlete's career.

Whannel (2002) argued that the sports body has become subject to suspicion and admiration to an equivalent degree. The deviance that surrounds the sports body does not only concern suspicion around drug use, but also violent behaviour, aggression, sex scandals and deviant behaviour outside of the sports arena. Incidents such as that involving Mike Tyson, when he bit rival, Evander Holyfield's ear in 1997 or Eric Cantona, when he attacked a fan during a football game in 1995, have always attracted the attention of the mass media as examples of deviant behaviour in sport. In the same category, incidents of sexual abuse caused by sport celebrities receive equally extended publicity.

Blackshaw and Crabbe, (2004) argued that this type of deviance can be used by the media and the sports world for consumption. The celebrities' actions are presented as examples of deviance, but at the same time as a spectacle of the sport world that the viewer or the reader can now access. In this type of spectacle the 'deviant' person can actually seek such publicity, or at least they can be sure that his career does not depend on it.

Again it should be noted that a doping case for an athlete differs because a drug case can be consumed and spectacularised by the media, but the career of the athlete involved is unlikely to benefit. On the contrary it is most likely to be effected in a negative way. Even if doping incidents are consumed by spectators and they receive extended publicity, it is unlikely for a professional sports person to seek such publicity. Taking into account that professional athletes have limited time to compete at high standard, a disqualification would in many cases mean the end of their career.

The sudden denunciation of famous sport stars seems to be a distinct phenomenon, as they are not the underprivileged 'usual suspects' for example, football hooligans. In other words, they are not a social group where one could expect to find deviant behaviour. Whannel (2002)

introduced a term that aimed to describe the sudden change in the depiction of sport stars from role models to villains. He noted that the recent growth of the media have played a key role in this, which has resulted in a rapid exchange of information. He added that when a significant event takes place it tends to dominate the media and reporting anything else becomes temporarily very difficult: “They are drawn in, as if by a vortex... The vortextual effect produces a short-term compression of the media agenda in which other topics either disappear or have to be connected to the vortextual event” (p. 206). He argued that in middle of a vortextual event all media outlets are drawn into it. In that respect, when a scandal about a sport star erupts and becomes news, the media, in that particular vortextual moment, over report it and analyse it in a way that makes every alternative voice very difficult to be heard.

So far, it has been possible to identify the connections between the media and sport spectacle, in order to argue that doping can be seen as part of the sports spectacle. Importantly, the relation between a mediated spectacle and commoditisation should not be ignored. The main characteristics of the sports celebrity have also been examined, since a drug story usually concerns one or more well-recognisable star athletes. The next section will consider existing research that has investigated the media representation of doping and the celebrity athletes implicated in drug cases.

### **2.4.3 Media Narratives of Doping and Sport**

An important theme in existing media research on doping is the importance of national identity in relation to the ‘cheater’ athlete. Denham (1999), on examining the media’s response to the American athlete, Flo Jo’s death, concluded that there was a divergence of the approach chosen by the U.S. media on the one hand and the international media on the other. The international media, even though she had never tested

positive, tended to allege prohibited drug use. For example BBC commented that she stole the gold medal from more deserving athletes and that she had built a too masculine body to be feasible without chemical assistance. On the other hand, Denham noted that the U.S. media underreported potential drug use. He argued that they conformed to the dominant values of the country that require its athletes to be 'clean' and 'above reproach'. He added that nationalism and heroification of the athlete would not allow any chance of supporting the opposite point of view.

Similarly, the depiction of suspicions surrounding another American athlete, Carl Lewis, was portrayed differently in U.S. and international media. Denham (2004a) maintained that not only did the U.S. media underreport the case, but they also only published material that could not be avoided. He observed that "U.S. newspapers downplayed the Lewis revelations" (Denham, 2004a, p. 177). On the other hand, Denham concluded that the International headlines depicted Lewis in negative tones, by implying that he was responsible for a 'cover up', hypocritical and shamed. Again national identity seemed to play a decisive role in shaping the media discourse of doping, which resulted in representing the one fact in two different ways: the athlete as hero and the athlete as villain.

Continuing with the theme of nationality, Laine (2006) examined the media coverage of two Finnish drug incidents. One of the very first conclusions was that the Finnish media presented the drug cases as something that concerned all Finns and not only the athletes. Secondly, these stories were presented as causes of national shame for the Finns. Laine connected the shame discourse the media offered to the public with the discourses around the Finnish national identity. She concluded that the representation of a doping case as 'shame' links with a long standing self-stigmatisation tradition Finns are prone to reproduce. It is worth noting that shame no matter how negatively the term is used, can function, according to Laine, as a nation-unifier.

Finally, Jackson (1998) interrogated the depiction of Ben Johnson during the Seoul, 1988 scandal. He argued that Johnson was portrayed as a dramatised case of national shock: “Ben Johnson’s depiction in the Canadian media constructed a nations ‘common structure of experience’. The drug case was presented as a Canadian crisis of identity” (p. 230). He was depicted as a cheater who cast shame on the whole nation.

In all these case studies, the authors pointed to the way the nationality of the medium in relation to the national identity of the athlete(s) played a decisive role in the way the athlete(s) were represented to the public. In other words, a dominant narrative in the depiction of doping was the notion that athletes should be role models for their nation, while the doped athlete is immediately pronounced a villain. When the national identity of the media and the nationality of the athlete is the same, the drug case is often over-dramatised or under-reported. However, a common understanding is that the accused or the doped athlete is vilified as an immoral cheater. This consensus is in line with the stance that the sporting institution takes on the issue and obscures any alternative perspective.

A second narrative identified in the literature is the relation between the athlete and their health. For example, in the case of the American football player, Lyle Alzado, Denham (2000) argued that when Alzado blamed steroids for a brain lymphoma that finally caused his death, journalists accepted this charge without questioning it further. However, there was and there is still no evidence that anabolic steroids can cause such brain malfunction. In addition, experts at that time maintained that such a scenario was highly unlikely. It was noticed that journalists were inclined to repeat the side effects steroids can cause before presenting Alzado’s case and they unreservedly connected his death with his steroid use. This case pointed to the way that the media can perpetuate the assumption that drugs in sport are necessarily unhealthy, while other aspects of professional sport are not highlighted as potentially unhealthy.

In a second case, the death of the Danish cyclist Knud Jensen during his race in 1960 Rome Olympics, was immediately presented as a result of amphetamine use, adding weight to the notion of doping as a health problem. Möller (2005) however argued, that the suggestion that his death was a result of drug use had also insinuated the scientific literature and was often presented as a fact with no further reference. However, an examination of the historical sources reveal that the primary cause of his death was high temperatures and a lack of effort made to cool him down. Further research revealed that the Danish team was indeed given a drug, but not amphetamine and that amphetamine would in fact saved him under such extreme conditions. No matter which is the truth, the example shows that the media possess the means in creating 'facts' and unquestioned 'truths'.

In another case, Denham (2007) demonstrated the way that, after the American baseball player McGwire was caught positive for anabolic steroids, the media tended to highlight his supersize muscles and thus, underlining his unhealthy physique. He argued that the athlete became instantly a *persona non-grata* among the sport journalists. Again, a doping case was communicated on the basis of being unhealthy and thus, the athlete caught positive ought to be denounced.

Denham (1997) argued that the sports magazine *Sport Illustrated* had published a series of sensationalised steroid stories over the 1980's, which influenced policy makers. Its agenda was to demonstrate the dangers of the use of steroids primarily among youngsters. Not surprisingly, when policy makers debated the 1990 anti-steroids act in the USA the future of American youth became the focus of the discussion. He also argued (2004b) that journalists in the summer of 2002 "cited baseball's drug problem as a reference point in raising larger, idealistic points about values, fairness and integrity" (p. 55). In conclusion of case studies that pointed to the depiction of doping as a health issue, we see that media's portrayal comes in agreement with the official anti-doping line that doping practices are necessarily unhealthy. Moreover, it was highlighted that the depiction of doping has also influenced policy-making.

In other words, it has immediate and real consequences not only on sports, but also on the wider society.

Finally, Plymire (1999) investigated the reaction of the American media in regard to the case study of the Chinese women runners who set an astonishing number of records in a very short period of time back in 1993. She pointed out that although the Chinese women had never tested positive, the media were willing to accuse them by claiming that the only way to achieve so many records was to have used illegal substances. The qualitative discourse analysis of the stories journalists used showed that the accusation against the Chinese women was constructed by publicising the views of western European and American coaches, athletes and officials.

A second conclusion reached was that, the coaches, athletes and officials involved were trying to distance themselves from the drug taking issue in sports. Thus, the responsibility for potential drug taking was individualised and placed on shoulders of the athletes. Finally, the case study showed that the media can create discourses that surround doping, without having adequate evidence to prove the athlete's guilt. This case study demonstrated that the individualisation of the athletes can be a technique used by the media, as they reproduce the stances of team members who distance themselves from a possible drug case.

Taking into consideration these case studies it is possible to conclude that the media tend to follow only one of the numerous perspectives on doping, which is the official understanding of the phenomenon as this is given by the sporting institution: Doping is immoral and thus, a doped athlete is a villain (and not a hero for their nation), doping is necessarily unhealthy and the responsibility for potential drug use is placed exclusively on the competitive athlete. All three narratives conceptualise doping as being antithetical to sport and thus, against its spirit.

This case study research goes some way towards demonstrating that the media favour one perspective on doping, and that they represent doping in other impartial and incomplete ways. For example, they tend to

present 'facts' to their audience without necessarily having substantial evidence to support their claims. Sefiha (2010) noted that one vital factor missing from the media's depiction of doping is the insider's knowledge of the in-sport reality. When he examined North American PED coverage, the author concluded that the use of performance-enhancing substances was mainly presented in terms of mainstream drug use and crime. Sefiha (2010) argued that these narratives were "characterized by limited sources, lack of historical context, and highly evocative language that marginalizes history while distilling complex issues into binaries of good and evil" (p. 215).

Methodologically, it could be argued that research on the media representation of doping has a tendency to be selective: the focus has been placed on specific drug cases that are depicted as scandals. Thus, the conclusions reached, although rich in information relating to the case under examination, concern a limited period of time and case studies that are only indicative of a wider theorisation.

Another conclusion that might be reached concerns the geography of the countries examined. As it became apparent from the overall literature review, the cases studied concern mainly English speaking countries. Some cases in other countries were examined as well, but they were less frequently represented and the case studies analysed were smaller. Consequently, the analysis of a much larger spectrum of countries is needed to investigate the depiction of doping in a more holistic way.

The current thesis will develop this research in a number of ways. First, it will expand the existing research on the portrayal of doping beyond the mediation of one drug incident at a given time and space. Second, the thesis will concern itself with questions of why dominant narratives of doping occupy such a large proportion of the media, in order to explain why the media are interested in perpetuating these narratives. It will focus on the specific techniques used by the media to frame cases of doping, and the relationship between these techniques and the broader role of the media in contemporary society. Existing research has sought

to make sense of the reporting of incidents that concentrate moral outrage by identifying the media processes that might be said to amount to 'moral panics'. The next chapter will provide a theoretical framework for theorising the drug cases in sport that have been over reported in the media and have attracted attention in the academic literature. As mediated doping stories depict the use of performance-enhancing substances as a form of deviance (breaking the rules of the game), the chapter will provide a general framework for understanding how deviance has been theorised in the literature.

## Chapter 3 Doping and Moral Theories

The previous chapter reviewed case studies analysing the depiction of doping. One common characteristic across the cases was that they all focused on a type of doping *scandal*, that is, a doping story that received extended publicity in the media and depicted as problem. However, not all PES cases receive extended publicity in the media. Consequently, current research may not be representative as it focuses more on 'over reported' cases (Denham, 2004, 1997, 1999). This thesis argues that first of all, a representative analysis of doping should not only concern doping cases that were over reported in the press, but a wider spectrum of mediated doping instances. Secondly, the depiction of certain doping cases as scandals requires further conceptualisation, in order to further explain the characterisation of scandal as a form of deviance with moral dimension.

However, since doping scandals are mediated forms of deviance the chapter will also focus on theorisations of how deviant behaviour is depicted in the media. In order to do this, the chapter will address the concept of moral panic, which has been understood as a short-lived over-reporting of deviant behaviour. Then, this concept will be considered in relation to the theory of moral regulation. This study argues that analysing the discursive construction of doping in the media will reveal the possibility of a doping discourse that makes the phenomenon an object of both moral panic and moral regulation. However, reflections on the concept of moral regulation inevitably led to comparisons with the Foucauldian concept of governmentality. The chapter will concomitantly discuss governmentality in relation to the theory of moral regulation and doping. The chapter begins by exploring the concept of deviance and its application to understanding the conceptualisation of representation of doping in sport.

### **3.1 “Deviant for whom?” Shifting the Understanding of Deviance**

The previous chapter argued that doping can be viewed as deviant behaviour (Luschen, 2000), as it concerns the direct violation of sporting rules and the indirect violation of society’s conventions: the use of prohibited substances and methods. It is the breaking of a professional code of behaviour, but at the same time, it is the violation of symbolic values of the wider society such as fairness. It is not a coincidence that in many cases doping has been framed by terms such as ‘good’ and ‘evil’, which point to the moral symbolic value the phenomenon holds. Thus, the regulation of doping, currently a constant, on-going process, does not only address professional behaviour but also concerns the behavioural values of modern society.

Any conceptualisation of deviance and deviant behaviour rests on the supposition that the limits of accepted behaviour have been violated. The violation of any accepted code of behaviour tends to have consequences, usually in the form of punishment, for the individual or the social group that broke the rules. The regulation of crime and the limits of accepted behaviour have long been discussed in criminology and the sociology of deviance. However, a turning point in the understanding of those terms, took place in the decades of the sixties and seventies, which were characterised by the flourishing of social movements that questioned established approaches to understanding society.

Becker’s (1963) *The Outsiders* was the starting point for questioning the perceived idea that crime was fixed and conceptualised deviance as being relative. Coming from a labelling approach, Becker (1963) introduced research questions such as “deviant to whom?” and “deviant from what?” to explorations of deviance and crime. It was suggested that rule breaking itself cannot always be considered as deviant behaviour. He (1963) pointed out that what it is considered normal for a specific social

group, another could label as deviant behaviour. Similarly, Taylor *et al.* (1973) contended that while massive amounts of rule breaking occur in society, only little amount is regarded as deviant behaviour.

Becker also introduced the term 'moral entrepreneur' for the first time in *The Outsiders* to describe groups of people that appear to have greater capacity to define deviance and have traditionally been more likely to have their views reflected in the mediation of deviance. This approach examined the dominant social groups and institutions, since their point of view was heard the most. Their role in deciding the limits of accepted behaviour was highly debated and theories for the understanding and supporting of the weak were developed.

The role of the media as a dominant institution engaged in constructing 'deviant behaviour' has also been the subject of much debate (Young, 1971, Cohen, 1972, Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994). Furthermore, its role in creating demands for stricter approaches to the regulation of 'deviant' behaviour has been identified. This characteristic of media reporting was not only seen as the unintentional result of news reporting, but also as the manipulated attempt of the ruling classes to preserve their *status quo*. For example, Hall *et al.* (1979) argued that in the middle of crisis hegemonic practices are applied by the dominant social groups in order for their dominance to be maintained. Part of their practices is to manipulate the media to reproduce hierarchical structures. Thus, the media become servants of existing power relations. They also added that in the middle of a 'crisis' dominant groups advocate harsher social control measures, which are presented as the only solution.

Although these theories of deviance interrogated the role of the media in amplifying deviance they did not examine the processes through which it occurs. The exact mechanics of media reporting, the ways the media perpetuate or influence power relations and how measures of social control are proposed as the solution, however, were explored in detail through the concept of moral panic. This term was developed in early

seventies and remains one of the most used concepts in the sociological and criminological literature.

### **3.2 Theorising Media and Moral Panics**

As noted before, the case studies on doping and the media that were presented in chapter two had a common characteristic: they all considered drug cases that attracted extensive publicity. These stories dealt with cases of rule breaking that erupted suddenly and produced numerous articles in the media for a short period of time. Following heavy media exposure, they disappeared quickly. Short lived 'disaster' episodes that concern 'deviant behaviour' and dominate the media for a short but intense period of time have been conceptualised as examples of 'moral panic'.

The term 'moral panic' was introduced by Young (1971); however, it was Cohen (1972) who came up with a complete conceptualisation of the theoretical tool of moral panic, which has proved to be very influential. The original moral panic concept continues to be widely debated and its definition has shifted over time, leading to new understandings of how moral panic is best understood and positioned within the literature (Critcher, 2008, 2009; DeYoung, 1998; Garland, 2008; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Hier, 2003, 2008; Hunt, 1997; McRobbie, 1994; McRobbie & Thornton, 1995; Rohloff, 2008; Rohloff & Wright 2010; Thompson, 1998; Ungar, 2001).

However, Cohen's (1972) definition remains the starting point of the discussion, as it was the first definition to capture the moralising power of the media through his understanding of the creation of 'panics':

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or groups of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical

fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved (or more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible (Cohen, 1972, p. 9).

Cohen identified the role of the media in over-reporting an alleged danger for the public. He argued that a threat is represented to the audience disproportionately to the real danger it entails. He also recognised that the threat cannot only be a person or a group of people, but also a condition or an episode. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) argued that not only must the threat that causes a moral panic be clearly identifiable, but the person or social group who takes the blame for it, should also be clearly visible. The social group who takes the blame for the perceived 'disaster' was characterised by Cohen (1972) as 'folk devils', who are demonised in the media. However, Hier *et al.* (2011) noted that the folk devil is not the actual source of the moral panic. It is rather "the ideological embodiment of the moral panic" (p. 261). In that sense, the 'folk devil' is the personification of the potential danger. As an abstract condition cannot be blamed easily, a person or group of people become a more clearly and easily depicted target.

The demonisation of the 'folk devils' is triggered by the role of another social group, the 'moral guardians', who help in spreading the panic by appearing in the media and repeating regularly the dangers of the potential threat. The term parallels the term 'moral entrepreneurs' introduced by labelling theorists in order "to identify persons and organisations that take the initiative to define certain forms of behaviour as deviant or reprehensible" (Becker, 1973, p. 147). Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) took his point further by arguing that these groups have access to the media and can, therefore, participate in defining deviance and dangers to the public in the guise of protecting the welfare of the public.

More analytically, Critcher (2011b) identified eight stages in the emergence of a moral panic: emergence, media inventory, moral entrepreneurs, experts, elite consensus, coping and resolution, fade away and legacy. In the emergence stage of the moral panic a new 'disaster' or form of 'deviance' appears and seems to become threatening. Then the media inventory stage over exposes the case to the public in short period of time and by describing the 'folk devils' in stereotypical and sensationalised discourses. Thirdly, 'moral entrepreneurs' pressurise for harsher sanctions in order to tackle the 'problem'. During the fourth stage of the moral panic 'experts' appear in the media and confirm the dangers of the threat. Any alternative or opposite stance is marginalised or silenced in the public eye.

Then, the new stricter laws or rules are confirmed. Their implementation is represented to the public as the solution to the 'threat' and a way out of the 'problem' (Cohen, 2002, Critcher, 2003; Rohloff & Wright, 2010, Pike, 2011). During the seventh stage of the moral panic, which is its fade away phase, the 'danger' becomes under-reported, although there is still the possibility of its recurrence. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994, p. 229) noted that "even those that seem to end without impact often leave informal traces that prepare us for later panics". Finally, the 'legacy' stage establishes the new discourses and moral boundaries that are now reshaped after the 'disaster' (Critcher, 2011b, Pike, 2011). Cohen (1972) argued that

Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way the society conceives itself (p. 29).

In this way, he pointed that a moral panic can have long and permanent consequences in society (for example, changes in policy making), however, he did not go into detail as to how and when this can be expected to reoccur.

Cohen emphasised that although moral panics seem to address a 'problem', the results are counter-productive in solving the problem of crime because they generate uneven social control: when a so-called 'threat' to society is over-reported, more emphasis is put on it, while at the same time, other under-reported crime is obscured. Given that sometimes a moral panic episode can be influential in policy making and in dominant understandings of society, it can be argued that the media play an active and potentially unintentional role in creating an unequal social control system (Cohen,1972).

Pearson (1983) added that moral panics not only fuel demands for stricter rules, they also give rise to nostalgia for a 'golden (past) age' of more severe discipline. By this nostalgia, it is implied that such discipline restrained deviance. Moreover, he argued that looking back to a more disciplined past, causes anxieties in the present. For example, 'lack of parental control' generates anxiety about the moral discipline of youth (whereas in the past a strong parental control could keep them under moral discipline and thus there was no ground to worry about their potential criminal behaviour). In this way, a moral panic around the behaviour of the youth at present is repeatedly reproduced.

In summary, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2011, p. 21) argued that a classic moral panic is "the outbreak of moral concern over a supposed threat from an agent of corruption that is out of proportion to its actual danger or potential threat". Critcher (2011, p. 42) added to its definition that it is a "short-lived, exaggerated, even irrational (episode), evidenced by heightened and sensationalistic media, rooted in moral conservatism". It can thus, be expected that a moral panic is a story that will erupt suddenly in the media, it will be over-reported for a short period of time, it will be linked to a potential threat for society, will be described in sensational language and it is likely to push for conservative social change.

This classic conceptualisation of moral panic proved to be highly influential, generating three primary traditional models. The first one is the

'interest group' model of moral panic. This theoretical framework follows Cohen's (1972) initial understanding in which a moral panic is the unintended outcome of the media's depiction of a moral threat. Such threat is triggered by interest groups who aim to draw the attention of the public to a perceived moral danger (Ben-Yehuda, 1994, Hier *et al.* 2011). In that respect, it is a social group that pushes for publicity and not the media *per se*.

The second moral panic model is the 'elite-engineered' model. In contradiction to the 'interest group' model, the 'elite engineered' model conceives moral panic as the intended outcome of the media depiction of potential dangers, which has the effect of taking attention away from other issues (Hier *et al.* 2011). Finally, the third moral panic model was conceived by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) and they named it the grassroots model. Hier *et al.* (2011, pp. 261-262) explained that "this model stipulates that moral panic originates with the general public. In the grassroots model, moral panic is understood to provide release for a reservoir of social insecurity". This model focused on the link between the perceived danger and the general public, as the media may over-report a case, however, what it is important is how the public perceives the depiction of the 'threat'. If it regards it with general insecurity then, that's what will makes it a moral panic case.

### **3.2.1 The Other Point of View: Risk, Anxiety and Moral Panic**

One of the harshest criticisms of the concept of moral panic was inspired in the eighties by a wave of social theorisations that were initiated by anxieties surrounding chemical, nuclear, environmental and medical issues (Ungar, 2001). These social threats were understood and defined as 'risks' and the citizen was asked to respond in terms of risk management and responsibility. These seemingly ever-present social anxieties led to a feeling that society is full of potential risks that require

continuous management. Douglas (1986) argued that “risk is about turning uncertainties into probabilities” (p. 42). Within this framework the citizen was confronted with a number of probable risks and with a number of necessary responsible actions that they had to take, in order to avoid the threat.

Beck (1992) used the term ‘risk society’ in order to make sense of the abovementioned anxieties. According to him, an anxiety concerns realising a potential risk. Such risks have consequences, which are: “Very complex in terms of causation, unpredictable and latent, not limited by time, space, or social class, not detectable by our physical senses and are the results of human decisions” (Beck, cited in Ungar, 2001, p. 273). Beck (1992) introduced the idea of ‘public guardians’, whose function allegedly was to provide the public with ‘no-risk’ guarantees. He, however, maintained that such guarantees, especially in the middle of a crisis, are unrealistic. For example, when a so-called pandemic illness is about to spread, it is unrealistic to expect to quickly invent the vaccine.

In revising the risk society debate, Holloway and Jefferson (1997) indicated that the fear of crime is an under-examined concept in the existing literature and they argued that it is largely hypothetical, subsequently anxiety is created because we can never be certain about the parameters of risk and safety. In this discussion, Holloway and Jefferson (1997) identified that risk is based on hypotheses and not facts. Moreover, they argued that the fear of crime tend to individualise both victims and offenders and puts the perceived potential offenders (deviants) in a vulnerable position. Their observations are consistent with the conceptualisation of moral panics so far: risk, which is highly hypothetical, creates fear about potential crime. When a potential threat becomes visible it creates anxiety, which in turn creates the need to identify the offender.

The interrelated nature of risk society and moral panic was addressed by Ungar (2001) in relation to the term risk society:

Moral panic has conventionally focused on social control processes aimed at the moral failing of dispossessed groups. Risk society issues tend to involve diverse interest groups contending over relatively intractable scientific claims. However, the former have come closer to the latter as diverse media and attention to a broader range of voices allow folk devils to contest the setting of moral boundaries. Social regulation processes, in other words, have become less predictable and more fractious (Ungar, 2001, p. 277).

In this way he maintained that it is not only the concept of moral panic that has shifted, but also its relationship to social regulation. Since moral boundaries are increasingly challenged, social control becomes equally unpredictable and less clearly defined than in the past. These shifts in contemporary mediated society have informed the re-conceptualisation of moral panics.

### **3.2.2 Re-Conceptualising Moral Panics**

McRobbie and Thornton (1995) identified a number of changes that have occurred in society which influence the way moral panics may operate. First of all, they argued that the media themselves have changed in over twenty years: more media are available to the public (for example, youth press and a wide variety of magazines), while the lines between tabloid and broadsheet media have been blurred (they use the example of Guardian adopting a tabloid style in presenting its headlines). Furthermore, the invention of 'home-made' videos and the option to broadcast them to a wide audience has also blurred the line between the professionals and the amateurs of the media industry. In that sense, moral panics, nowadays, concern a more diverse and wide spectrum of the media.

McRobbie and Thornton (1995) also recognised that in the 1990's many social groups such as interest groups, campaigning experts and lobbies became aware of the moral panic concept. These groups wanted

to intervene in the public debate and give the 'folk devil' a voice to 'fight back'. However, Hier *et al.* (2011) added that:

Although folk devils and their supporters can and do fight back, their resistance to dominant claims can be subverted, particularly when primary claims are integral to the validation of (especially state-based) regulatory programs. In other words, moral panics represent episodes of contestation and negotiation that emerge from and contribute to or reinforce broader processes of moral regulation (Hier *et al.*, 2011, p. 260).

Finally, they pointed out that various businesses (for instance the recording industry) place emphasis on understanding the stigmatisation of youth culture. In doing so, they identified, apart from the suggested 'deviant behaviour', a number of other discourses (for example the significance of hair styles or dances) which then became profitable sources for some businesses, making youth culture more mainstreamed and less marginalised than before. They suggested that moral panics, "once the unintended outcome of journalistic practice, seem to have become the goal" (p. 560). Changes in the range and availability of the media in many cases allowed the 'folk devils' to fight back and have a stronger presence within the media. In addition the term became popularised and used more broadly as a way of understanding how moral panics operate in contemporary mediated discourses.

Hunt (2011, p. 57) observed that moral panic episodes may be part of a longer running episode in contrast to Cohen's initial conceptualisation of moral panic as an isolated and rare phenomenon. He writes: "it is unclear why a definitional fiat should exclude important, longer-running episodes". Similarly, McRobbie and Thornton (1995, p. 562) argued that "it is not to be an isolated phenomenon but a connective strategy". In that sense, moral panics were not seen as isolated phenomena of their own, but as products of a wider moralising process. For example, Watney (1987) argued that white, male, heterosexual normativity constitutes a prevailing discourse that permeates common sense constructs of everyday life.

Consequently, alternative or challenging perspectives are more likely to become part of a moral panic case.

Hier (2008, p. 172) discussed the probability of the sudden eruption of a moral panic episode as the “volatility of moralisation” and noted that the volatility of moral panic discourses consists of the “sensational, inflammatory and spectacular”. He stated that even though he discusses moral panic as a volatile phenomenon, he conceived of this volatility as part of an everyday moralising process:

Whereas criminologists regularly characterize what I am calling the volatility of moralization (or what has been referred to as ‘moral panics’) as irrational, disproportional, and exceptional forms of social action, this article conceives such volatility as a much more routine extension of everyday life operating through flexible configurations of risk and responsibility (Hier 2008, p. 173).

Taking into account that moral panic is not an exceptional, but rather a common phenomenon and part of everyday discourses led Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994, p. 229) to argue that moral panics have to be understood in a wider context: “A close examination of the impact of panics forces us to take a more long-range view of things, to look at panics as social process rather than as separate, discrete, time-bound events”. In a similar line, Hier *et al.* (2011) and Hier (2008) added that research, even the revised literature, has failed to explain the more common aspects of moral panics. They argued that in many cases moral panics continued to be theorised as rare constructions of deviance. As a result, they are under-used as a theoretical tool for exploring wider theories of social regulation (Hunt, 1999; Moore & Valverde, 2000). However, it has been argued that moral panics “contribute to on going processes of moral regulation within and beyond the State” (Hier *et al.* 2011, p. 260). It has also been noted that not only the concept of moral panic can contribute further in understanding moral regulation processes, but the researcher must do so in order “to assess the broader foundations that give rise to and sustain ongoing processes of moral regulation” (Hier

*et al.* 2011, p. 260). In other words, the moral panic concept could be more informative, when understood in a wider context.

In summary of the previous discussion, the understanding of moral panic seems to have shifted since the time of its first introduction. This is partly in response to changes in social circumstances: the media are increasingly widespread and accessible, social groups including journalists, politicians and the police are aware of what a moral panic and its consequences are, and 'folk devils' have gained a voice that allows them to respond to accusations. As a result, it has been suggested that, moral panics are more likely not only, not to disappear, but to flourish in modern societies (Hier, 2008).

Simultaneously, a number of the original characteristics of moral panics seem to have remained intact over time. For example, moral panics tend to be nostalgic, invoking a more disciplined past; they not only need to have a clearly visible threat, but also a clearly visible offender; the media (unintentionally or not) contribute to creating them, they are recurring, stricter rules are suggested as a way to address them and minimise the risk. Finally, moral panics have two key players: moral entrepreneurs and folk devils. The moral entrepreneurs are the ones who have the power to reinstate the threat through the media (thus, usually they are people high in the hierarchy of institutions or governments) and the folk devils are the social individuals or groups that take the blame for the perceived deviance.

Arguably, an important change in the understanding of moral panics emerged when they were conceptualised as part of processes of in everyday life (Hunt, 1999), rather than as rare and isolated phenomena. Moral panics can be seen as part of a constant moralisation process, which is not restricted by time or space and thus its conceptualisation should be continuous. The next part aims to explore such a continuous process of regulation by debating the theory of moral regulation in which moral panics can serve as a useful analytical tool.

### 3.4 Moral Regulation

The term moral regulation was introduced by Corrigan and Sayer (1985), who maintained that the state (to a certain extent consciously) aims to remake the individual into a responsible citizen. It does that by employing a number of “activities, forms, routines, and rituals“ (1985, p. 4), which lead to the formation and regulation of the citizen’s social identity. Corrigan and Sayer (1985, p. 4) concluded:

We call this moral regulation: a project of moralizing, rendering natural, taken for granted, in a word ‘obvious’, what are in fact ontological and epistemological premises of a particular and historical form of social order.

For them moral regulation was a form of state social order that employed a number of techniques in order to regulate the citizens. Ruonavaara (1997, p. 280) added that the definition implies that “moral regulation is a legitimating activity; its function is to make certain social arrangements seem justified and natural”. As a result, the citizen would not second-guess a new regulatory order that would be applied by the State.

According to Corrigan and Sayer, the State is in the position to do so, because it can actively take part in the process of moral regulation. They say that the State promotes discourses that “define, in great detail, acceptable forms and images of social identity: they regulate, in empirically specifiable ways” (Corrigan & Sayer 1985, p. 3). In this way, the State has an active/conscious role in the formation and implementation of moral regulation within a society.

However, it has been argued that moral regulation should not be confused with social control. What is different about moral regulation is that it tries to describe the relations between the state and the conduct of the individual (Dean, 1994). It aims to also shape the individual, not only control it through a number of prohibitions. Corrigan and Sayer, in their

original conceptualisation of the term, argued that it has 'totalising' and 'individualising' aspects (Corrigan & Sayer, 1985, pp. 4-5). It is totalising because it unites all citizens under the 'umbrella' of the nation and the state. It is also individualising as it aims to personalise its address in order to influence and appeal to individuals from different social backgrounds within the community. Moral regulation techniques can also act to "problematize the conduct, values or culture of others and seek to impose regulation upon them" (Hunt, 1999, p. 1). Hunt (1999) argued that moral regulation employs a number of moralising discourses, which construct a moralised citizen. This 'moral' aspect has the means to regulate or to problematise: "The 'moral' element in moral regulation involves any normative judgement that some conduct is intrinsically bad, wrong or immoral" (Hunt, 1999, p. 7). In that respect, moral regulation strategies have a third function too: they individualise, they totalise and they problematise.

Another element that Hunt (1999) added to the theory is the focus on self-control projects. He noted that a key characteristic of recent, western governance is the 'governmentalisation' of the masses, along with the impetus to regulate the self. The governance of the self is rooted in the mobilisation of social anxieties that underpin self-control projects that in turn support the process of moral regulation. Hunt (1999) argued that there are three key players involved in this process: "governments, experts and individuals" (p. 217). In summary, Hunt (1999, p. 219) argued that "moral regulation can be understood as a combination of two general strategies, that of re-traditionalisation and that of self-help". It is the "conduct of conduct to moral governance" (Hunt, 1999, p. 220).

Moral regulation is a form of state control, which aims to regulate the conduct of people and to create specific social positions through various strategies which are communicated to people via "education, propaganda, enlightenment" (Ruonavaara, 1997, p. 289). Given the conceptualisation of a constant moralising process as the process of moral regulation, the concept of moral panic seems to have a number of elements that are similar to moral regulation. They both deal with the 'moral' aspect and aim

to explore the same regulatory processes. The next section explores this relationship in more detail.

### **3.4.1 Moral Panic and Moral Regulation**

In recent sociological and criminological literature there is a clear attempt to discuss the concept of moral panic in relation to the theory of moral regulation. Hier (2008) argued that the 'moralisation' (i.e. moral regulation) of a society is strongly linked with risk discourses of everyday life. Moral regulation may work through sensational discourses, rather than rational arguments. The volatility of moralisation for the regulation of the public, also incorporates discourses about values and emotions (Hier, 2008; Walby & Spencer, 2011). They also argued that the volatility of moralisation depends on pre-existing risk discourses and themes (Hier, 2008, Hier *et al.* 2011). In summary, it has been argued that a moral panic is "the volatile short-term manifestation of long-term moral regulation processes" (Hier *et al.* 2011, p. 254). In other words, moral panics are parts of moral regulation.

Concomitantly, Critcher (2009) agreed that analysis of moral panic cases need to be considered in the wider context of moralisation and incorporated into the conceptualisation of moral regulation: "Analysis of moral panics and/or moral regulation therefore involves considering which groups are identified as the source of harm, when and why, all within the overall process of moralization" (Critcher, 2009, p. 24). However, Hier *et al.* (2011) noted that there should be discursive and conceptual criteria in order for the short-lived moral panics and the on going process of moral regulation to be clearly distinct from each other. Currently the relationship between the two concepts remains contested and requires further exploration. In particular, it may be possible to identify points of connection between the concept of moral regulation and Michel Foucault's account of governmentality, to which this chapter will turn next.

## **3.5 Michel Foucault and Governmentality**

Any discussion of moral regulation needs to take into consideration Michel Foucault's account of governmentality. The thesis will debate the term and explore its possible links to moral panic and moral regulation. However, governmentality would be impossible to discuss without having understood the term of discourse. The term was briefly touched earlier and in relation to the media. However, a closer examination on a concept that has been used by different disciplines and it have been defined in a number of ways is considered necessary in order to make clear how the thesis will make use of it.

### **3.5.1 The Concept of Discourse**

Foucault used and defined the concept of discourse in various ways. As reflective this might be of his constant rethinking of his work, it creates difficulties in clearly defining discourse. For example, Mills (2003, p. 53) argued that "he has used the term discourse to refer to 'regulated practices that account for a number of statements', that is the unwritten rules and structures which produce particular utterances and statements". By this definition he highlights discourse as a way of producing unwritten regulations that the population follows although these regulations have never been clearly stated or explained to them.

As mentioned earlier, Butler (1997, p. 9), in an attempt to define discourse in clear and simple terms, argued that it is the "limits of acceptable speech" in the sense that we all have learnt to speak without exceeding a structure of knowledge that defines what is expected of us to say or rather what is expected of us not to say. Discourse should be thus seen as "something which constrains our perceptions" (Mills, 2003, p. 55)

as it holds that power to define what is considered accepted, true or even what can be productive.

Discourse should not thus, be confused with what is true or real. Foucault does not deny the existence of objects or meanings outside of discourse, but he claims that it is only through discourse (and the structures it imposes on our thinking) that we can make sense of them. Therefore discourse is not what it is real, but it determines what we perceive as real. Discursive statements seem to be fixed and non-negotiable in the sense that our structures of knowledge do not appear to change. However, they are in reality subject to constant change (Mills, 2003). Thus, what we understand as true, correct and accepted is constantly reshaped. The constant negotiation of discourse is caused by a number of conflicting powers that interact with each other. Foucault (1998, p. 101) argued that “Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it”. The concept of discourse is central to understanding his views on the art of governing.

### **3.5.2 The Concept of Governmentality: Definition**

Foucault used discourse in the concept of governmentality as well, which he perceived in the later stages of his research. The term ‘governmentality’ was first introduced by Roland Barthes in the 1950’s, but it was Foucault who made it central to his analysis (Brockling *et al.* 2011). Using this term he attempted to incorporate an analysis of discourses of power; techniques used by an authority to govern and the ways such power discourses are individually internalised by each person. His ideas on governmentality or the ‘art of governing’ are drawn from a particular understanding of government. It follows that the first step in exploring governmentality is to define what government means. Dean (1999, p.11) argued that:

Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.

In other words, government is a combination of agencies, which aim to regulate, and aim to shape the conduct of a citizen.

However, in Foucauldian terms a government is not the only system in which power is concentrated and by which power is exercised. Foucault (1981) recognised that power is fluid and relational. As Sugden and Tomlinson (2002: 6) argued “power is a relationship, a dynamic, and involves human agents struggling over resources and outcomes”. In that sense it is agents and not systems that exercise power and as the existence of power involves two sides it can never be power without resistance.

Governmentality aims to capture the fluidity of power and can be understood as a concept based on the supposition that power is exercised and seeks to shape conduct on the individual by working on a number of levels and through a variety of techniques. In one of Foucault’s definitions of governmentality he stated:

By this word I mean three things:

The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of *savoirs*.

The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the

administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalised' (Foucault, 2007, pp. 102-103).

The main points of this definition are that, first of all, the art of governing targets the population by using techniques that promote security. Secondly, forms of social control which are used by the government, such as discipline and sovereignty, do not only result in creating controlling techniques, but they also encourage the population to develop a number of behaviours. Finally, Foucault argued that such a procedure took place during and after the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus, when we talk about governmentality we refer to a concept that can be applied to the western states that have gone through the administrative phase of their governments.

In a second approach to defining governmentality Foucault argued that it is:

A sort of complex of men and things. The things government must be concerned about [...] are men in their relationships, bonds, and complex involvements with things like wealth, resources, means of subsistence, and, of course, the territory with its borders, qualities, climate, dryness, fertility, and so on. 'Things' are men in their relationships with things like customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking. Finally, they are men in their relationships with things like accidents, misfortunes, famine, epidemics, and death (Foucault, 2007, p. 96).

Here Foucault made the point that governmentality is not only about the controlling mechanisms of a given government. It also has to do with the individual citizen and the development of their behaviour. More specifically, it sees a person and their relations to social expressions as a 'subject' that has to be taught how to behave. As Foucault put it in another part of his research, "we should be trying to discover how multiple bodies, forces, energies, matters, desires, thoughts and so on are gradually, progressively, actually and materially constituted as subjects" (Foucault, 2004, p. 28). Therefore, governmentality is about subjecting

the active citizen and working through their desires, bodies and thoughts. Bennett (2003) noted that this definition of the act of governing includes notions (such as the abovementioned desires and interests) that usually were considered part of culture and not part of governing. Foucault incorporates them as part of governmentality.

In order for power to work on the subject's desires, thoughts, interests and goals it may use a number of institutions that are typically controlled by the government (for example, universities and hospitals). However, Joseph (2010, p. 223) argued that governmentality is not only about the institutions a government uses, but it also: "raises the issue of how these institutions and practices come to work in the way that they do" (Joseph, 2010, p. 223). In that sense, the practices the institutions use in order to shape the behaviour and the beliefs of every person (or group of people) and how these practices construct 'correct' behaviours are part of the art of governing.

As the art of governing, according to Foucault, is more about shaping and teaching the individual and less about punishing and dominating them, it comes as no surprise that in many cases studies on governmentality investigate "the extent to which liberal practices are preoccupied with the limitation of direct intervention" (Opitz, 2011, p. 93). In other words, they have focused on identifying and analysing the indirect strategies government has developed to control its people and the way people respond and resist the exercised power.

In short, when it comes to the definition of governmentality Gordon (1991, p. 2) argued that governmentality or in other words "governmental rationality" "is the 'conduct of conduct': that is to say, a form of activity aiming to shape, guide and affect the conduct of some person or persons". It is mostly concerned with the indirect conduct of conduct in contradiction to moral regulation theorisations that see direct links between a moralising system and the conduct of a citizen. Moral regulation process aims to make a regulation accepted by the citizen without resistance, whereas governmentality develops all the indirect

techniques to teach the citizen how to behave and it also recognises the diverse responses a citizen can have to such an order. Joseph, (2010, p. 223) added that “The concept brings together the practice of governing and the necessary rationality of government that makes governing possible”. Governmentality refers to all the governmental practices (that are applied straight from the government or from other institutions) that aim to point to the citizens what to have as goals, what to desire and how to behave, but also acknowledges that this exercised power is resisted in a number of ways by the individual.

### **3.5.3 Characteristics of Governmentality: Two Poles of Governance**

One of the main Foucauldian characteristics of governmentality is that the art of governing is achieved through two poles of governance: the ‘totalisation’ and ‘individualisation’ of power. Garland, (1997, p. 174) explained that these poles are “the forms of rule by which various authorities govern populations, and the technologies of the self through which individuals work on themselves to shape their own subjectivity”. In this respect, the art of governing works at two levels: one is the wider social level in which it aims to generalise the techniques of governing populations. For example, laws are the same for every person. Secondly, it works on an individual level, in which it aims to teach the person how to develop and shape themselves.

As these techniques are produced by a number of governing agencies, the concept captures the relationship between the individual and the institution, and the techniques used to communicate discourses between the two. Foucault (1991) argued that governmentality is “the analysis of who can govern and who is governed, but also the means by which that shaping of someone else’s activities is achieved” (Mills, 2003, p. 47). The way that shaping takes place is through the acts of the ones who govern by totalising and then individualising. Foucault went on to say

that an essential element of the art of governing is that the individual needs to be free.

### **3.5.4 Characteristics of Governmentality: The Notion of Freedom**

“(Government) consumes freedom, which means it must produce it. It must produce it, it must organize it” (Foucault, 2008, p. 63). Foucault argued that the freedom of an individual within the premises of an organised state is produced, guarded and organised by the government itself. The individual has to be free, but at the same time, they need to know the limits of their freedom. These limits are also defined by the state through a number of apparatuses of security. Foucault (2007, pp. 48-49) argued:

This is that this freedom should in fact be understood within the mutations and transformations of technologies of power. More precisely and particularly, freedom is nothing else than but the correlative of the deployment of apparatuses of security. Freedom that is no longer the exemptions and privileges attached to a person, but the possibility of movement, change of place, and processes of circulation of both people and things. I think it is this freedom of circulation, that we should understand the word freedom, and understand it as one of the facets, aspects, or dimensions of the deployment of apparatuses of security.

In that sense freedom is not only given by the government, but it is also managed by mechanisms of security in a way that allows the citizen to be free within specific limits. It is precisely within these limits of freedom that power is exercised: “Power is only exercised over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free” (Foucault, 1982, p. 221).

Thus, the individual is not passive in the process of exercising power. On the contrary they are ‘active subjects’ through which and by which power is implemented (Garland, 1997). Thus, as Garland (1997, p. 175) put it “it constructs individuals who are capable of choice and action,

shapes them as active subjects, and seeks to align their choices with the objectives of governing authorities”. In that sense government does not aim to suppress of individual’s ability to take action, but rather to guide the actions the citizen will take to specific directions (Dean, 1999, Garland, 1997).

In order for such governing to be achieved the state employs a variety of techniques through its institutions for building the sense of self-control and ‘responsibilised’ freedom (Garland, 1997). For example, one technique could be drug testing in the work environment. The worker is made aware of what they should not be doing (taking drugs) and an apparatus of security (drug testing) is available to prove their responsible or irresponsible behaviour.

### **3.6 Governmentality and (vs) Moral Regulation**

The concepts of moral panics, moral regulation and governmentality seem to have similarities as they debate similar social phenomena. They concern the governing of conduct of the individual and the public in general (Hier *et al.* 2011). More specifically, Hunt (1999, p. 2) argued that “moral regulation movements provide instances of an intimate link between the ‘governance of others’ and the ‘governance of the self’”, while Foucault (1989, p. 296) stated that governmentality aims “to show how the government of the self is integrated with the government of the others”. In both cases, the theories conceptualise the government’s actions to regulate the citizen.

There seem to be four approaches used to discuss moral regulation in relation to governmentality. The first approach was primarily developed by Dean (1994), who argued that the concept of moral regulation has a number of limitations and thus, it needs to be replaced by governmentality. The second approach prefers moral regulation to

governmentality (Ruanaavara, 1997), while the third maintains that the terms are in some cases tautological and in some others they are distinct. Finally, the fourth approach argues that the terms are compatible with each other and thus can be used in combination (Hunt, 1999).

Dean (1994) argued that moral regulation uses the term 'moral' in problematic ways: "The adjective, moral, remains indeterminate because it delineates no clear domain that is (even relatively) autonomous from forms of political regulation and state power" (Dean, 1994, p. 155). In other words he argued that the 'moral' aspect of moral regulation is nothing more than the social regulation generated by the state. He stated that the Foucauldian term and the moral regulation concept are similar, but he maintained that governmentality captures the strategies of the state when it comes to the ethical formation of the self. He added that governmentality:

Defines a novel thought-space across the domains of ethics, government, and politics, of the government of self, others, and the state, of practices of government and practices of the self, of self-formation and political subjectification, that weaves them together without a reduction of one to the other (Dean, 1994, pp. 157-8).

In that respect Dean (1994) argued that the term governmentality more accurately describes the mechanics of state control and the mechanics of ethical self-formation. Thus, he suggested that the term moral regulation can be replaced by the Foucauldian notion of governmentality.

Critcher (2009) argued that one distinction between the two terms is that moral regulation is externally imposed while ethical self-formation (the result of governmentality) is internally generated: "Moral regulation is formal activity directed at others. Ethical self-formation is informal monitoring of the actions of the self. The ideal of discipline is that it should be self-imposed" (Critcher, 2009, p. 28). Thus, Critcher aimed to capture a difference between the two terms and so he highlighted that both terms can be sustained.

He argued however, that some moral regulation issues involve monitoring the self as much as monitoring the behaviour of others, which is ultimately governmentality. For example, such behaviours could include the use and abuse of recreational drugs and alcohol. He argued that these activities are some unaccepted behaviours that concern the general population: “There are morally acceptable and morally unacceptable versions of such behaviour. This is not the case with weapons or paedophiles” (Critcher, 2009, p. 29). As a result, in the case of abuse of drugs the disciplining power of the state targets both the others and the self, which is what governmentality describes.

At the same time some scholars have seen moral regulation as preferable to governmentality. For example, Ruonavaara (1997, p. 283) argued that governmentality since it is a Foucauldian concept is closely linked to his perception of the world that focuses on “impersonal discursive formations, strategies, and tactics of power” and excludes any personal action. She stated that “the actor and his/her motivation cannot be dissected from the theory, and ‘moral regulation’ should be designed as an action concept” (Ruonavaara, 1997, p. 283). Moreover, she maintained that moral regulation is a more easily understandable term and thus, it is preferable over the complicated concept of governmentality.

On the other hand, Hunt (1999) saw governmentality as compatible with moral regulation. Firstly, he discussed ‘governmentalisation’ as the procedure by which something is seen as suitable to be governed. Then he added that governing also includes all the programmes, strategies and tactics, which are made to regulate the actions of others. Hunt (1999) argued that ‘governmentalisation’ is compatible with the conception of moral regulation, because, although these strategies are directed towards others, they also aim to regulate the self: “I will insist that ‘acting on others’ includes all forms of external action (surveillance, constraint, coercion) and these forms are directed to stimulate and incite the governance of the self” (Hunt 1999, p. 185).

From the theorisations of the two concepts it can be observed that the main differences they have are: 1) moral regulation sees the governmental intervention as a technique that numbs the reaction of a citizen by making the regulations seem justifiable. On the other hand, governmentality conceptualises the governmental interaction with the citizen as more active by making them want the same goals as the government and thus, by making them eventually want the regulations to take place. 2) Governmentality went a step further in recognising that these regulatory techniques can only be applied to a citizen that is free. The next session narrows down the debate to discuss governmentality and moral regulation in relation to doping.

### **3.7 Doping and Governmentality**

The conceptualisation of doping in relation to moral regulation and governmentality has been marginally explored in the literature and it mostly concerns links doping has with the Foucauldian concept. Foucault was concerned with how the art of governing takes places within a neo-liberally organised state. The term governmentality refers to the conduct of conduct or in other words to the ways, techniques and strategies employed by a government in order to create structures of knowledge in which the citizen is allowed to operate, think and develop. It is characterised by the totalisation and individualisation of power and is based on the supposition that the individual has to be free. The original conceptualisation understood governmentality within the context of the liberal state, however, literature has suggested that a 'global governmentality' is today exercised by multiple agencies (for example, International Monetary Found) (Dean, 2002). Thus, when we are to understand governmentality by a non-state, transnational agency we need to examine how this art of governing interrelates with existing

domestic governing techniques and attempts to extend them across a variety of nations (Dean, 2002).

The relation between the athlete and the sporting institution is a relation between a governing agency and a governed population. The power relation between the two is strongly linked with security discourses. The prohibition of doping and the technologically advanced anti-doping program create the limits within which the athletes are allowed to perform (Park, 2005, Burke & Hallihan, 2008). For example, the highly intrusive surveillance system of WADA, that aims to globalise the anti-doping policy, has also been criticised as a system for teaching the sporting population how to govern themselves. Park (2005) argued that sport should be central in the application of the concept of governmentality as it holds a key position in the technologies that govern the social body. Such technologies aim to maintain the body as healthy, disciplined and productive. Concomitantly, she argued that WADA being a governing body that aims to regulate the doped body, wants to also govern the athletes' decision making:

WADA does not simply operate to detect who is doped and who is not by conducting drug testing and penalizing doped athletes. Rather, WADA employs, as the art of governing doped bodies, cultural as well as educational programs that seek to shape athletic conduct by working through their desires, aspirations, and beliefs (Park, 2005, p. 179).

In that respect, WADA is a sporting authoritative organisation, which intends to teach athletes how to discipline themselves and to place the responsibility of obeying or rejecting the rules strictly on them.

However, if we are to examine the relation between WADA and professional athletes as a relation between the governing body and the governed population we need to take into account a number of statements. First of all, WADA (and the IOC) are both transnational agencies and the difficulties of applying the concept of governmentality to a global scale have been highlighted. However, it has been argued that

the way to do this is to examine the domestic strategies for the shaping of the athletes' conduct and then see them in a global context requiring a focus on the micro-techniques applied to the shaping of the athlete's behaviour to different national contexts. On the other hand, the restriction to the state has been criticised as problematic (Dean, 1994, p. 152):

Above all, it ignores the multiplicity of agencies and authorities involved in the governance of the life-conduct of individuals, families, groups, and populations. This is clearly illustrated by the multiple and overlapping jurisdictions involving local, regional, national, international, and global authorities within which actors are located.

Given that institutions in many cases overlap, other non-state agencies should be examined in order to see if and how concepts such as moral regulation or governmentality can apply. In the case of doping this could concern the transnational nature of WADA, but also the local governments and how they interact in order to regulate doping. Indeed it has been argued that there is no reason why studies of governmentality cannot be extended to other types of sociological analysis (Garland, 1997).

Secondly, given that governmentality is exercised through a number of institutions and through a number of techniques it can be useful to examine the structures of knowledge that teach the free athlete how to behave or what kinds of discourses are employed by the sporting institution to exercise its conduct of conduct. Furthermore, it is necessary to examine how the art of governing within the premises of sport can become productive as Foucault claimed. One way to do so is to take into account the depiction of doping in the media as, according to Kirkwood (2004: 48), "WADA strongly controls the information that is released to the sports media regarding drug testing, so as to continue to promulgate the IOC's discourse on the drug war". In that respect, analysing data regarding the portrayal of doping in the media would reveal techniques of reproducing or maintaining dominant discourses of doping in the public. Hoberman (2005) observed that although the volume of coverage on

doping has increased, its depiction continues to frame PES use in moral and ethical terms.

Foucault, in his contextualisation of governmentality did not include the analysis of the mass media specifically as a way for making sense of the art of governing. However, he argued that governing bodies aim to construct codes of behaviour that are aligned with the goals of the government. In this respect, analysing the meanings of the mass media would reveal the discursive construction of 'common knowledge' among the population, which indicates what is valued in society, and what is not, what is accepted and what is not. In the case of professional athletes, it not only teaches them how to behave within the premises of sport, it also teaches the spectators what to think of the athletes' behaviour as well. In this respect, analysing the media would provide an analysis of the governing strategy of constructing common codes of understanding sport and its productive results (i.e. policy making).

One further article is concerned with links between the concepts of anxiety, governmentality and doping. Burke and Hallihan argued that these concepts help explain the ways dominant discourses on doping in sport have been utilised in order to broaden the phenomenon into a public health policy issue instead of a strictly professional sporting one. Such understanding of doping would eventually lead to the involvement of governmental policies in sport. They argued that:

Some effects of this expansion of governmental involvement into the sport drugs discourse include the capacity to expand government-sanctioned drug testing to include testing for recreational drugs, the intrusion of both central governments and scientific experts into the domain and the curtailment of civil liberties for athletes (Burke & Hallihan, 2008, p. 41).

They maintained that in Foucauldian terms the dominant discourse on drugs in sport creates and maintains a perceived 'truth' about the phenomenon. That perceived truth concerns everyone involved. Thus, they argued that "athletes submit themselves to the regimes of 'truth'

produced by experts about drugs in sport” (Burke & Hallihan, 2008, p. 45). Then if an athlete misbehaves their punishment is seen as a preventative measure for future health issues both in sport and in the wider population.

They concluded that this regulation of doping in sport has many characteristics of the Foucauldian governmentality: Increased state intervention, the athlete who freely agrees to intrusions in their private lives, the education of the athlete and supporters of sport to accept it, the support of the media to these truth-producing policing institutions (Burke & Hallihan, 2008).

As doping in sport is regulated on the basis that is a public health issue it should be expected that a number of the circulated discourses would be health discourses. Critcher (2009) highlighted that health discourses dominate the contemporary examples of moral regulation and he added that according to Foucault this is to be expected. The body and its health are put into focus and all individuals are asked to take care of their body and maintain its health. In other words the body of each one person is put into the process of governmentality: “We are all invited to take ‘responsibility’ for our own body, rather than neglecting it and then expecting the health care system to fix it” (Critcher, 2009, p. 25). In that respect, the athletic body becomes the example for the regulated, healthy body and thus, doping is perceived as the irresponsible treatment of the body, which is to be avoided. As a consequence, the doped athlete is the immoral example for the public and has to be punished for the greater good and the public health.

In summary, a small part of the literature has theorised doping as part of governmentality. The main points made are that WADA’s role in regulating doping is the role of the moral expert, which holds the power to take decisions on what is moral and immoral about drugs in sport. However, its transnational character exceeds the theorisation of governmentality, although it has been suggested in the literature that studies of governmentality should expand and take into account both local and international governing bodies. The studies that aimed to

contextualise WADA's role in doping in terms of governmentality connected its authoritative power with the concept of surveillance and how the mechanics through which athletes freely engage with WADA's regimes and learn to be self-controlled.

A second point made is that discourses about self-regulation and anxiety have recently been linked with public health issues. A way to theorise doping in Foucauldian and moral regulation terms is to see how rules that concern professional athletes are broadened and seen as a matter of public health. In that respect, the athlete should not only learn to be responsible and be self-controlled, but at the same time the doped athlete's harsh punishment is perceived as a necessary measure for the public health. However, the studies of doping and governmentality and moral regulation have not taken into account the role of the media in depicting discourses about doping. They have mostly discussed doping by investigating its policy making. The thesis argues that taking into account the portrayal of doping in the media will provide evidence on whether we could use the concepts of moral panic, moral regulation and governmentality when theorising doping. At the same time, on the theoretical basis, it will provide evidence on the relation these three concepts have with each other.

This thesis, therefore, proposes to explore the representation of doping in the media. A number of concepts that are employed in the analysis were introduced including: the concept of sport spectacle, consumption and the vortextual depiction of the celebrity sport stars. Then, the chapter presented existing research on the depiction of doping case studies demonstrating that their representations were partial and focused mainly on doping 'scandals'.

This chapter further explored the term 'scandal' and its relation to definitions of deviance in order to contextualise this key component of the mediation of doping. The concept of moral panic was analytically introduced as a way to understand the relationship between media, deviance and scandal. In addition, moral regulation and governmentality

were presented as wider sociological theories that address the governance of an individual or a group of people. These theoretical tools will be used in the analysis of media representations of doping in sport.

### **3.8 Research Questions**

The two broad research questions that underpin this study are:

How is doping discursively constructed in the media?

What are the implications of the media discourses of doping?

These questions will be addressed through an analysis of the representation of doping during the Athens and Beijing Olympics. The choice of these two cases allows comparison of reporting during and in the absence of 'scandals' and within two different national media: Greek and British. The concepts of moral panic, moral regulation, and governmentality will be used as part of an in-depth analysis of how doping stories are framed and how they may provide insights into understanding characteristics of the mediation of sport and 'deviant behaviours'. The following chapter discusses the appropriate methodology by which the study will gather evidence to answer the research questions.

## **Chapter 4 Methodology**

The aim of the study is to investigate the discursive depiction of doping in the media. In order to do so, the methodology and associated methods chosen should allow for the in-depth exploration of complex mediated meanings. As media language is rich in symbolisation and intertextual connotations, the chapter is focused on the methodology that could best capture the complex aspects of discourse statements. The approach to media analysis that was employed to analyse the newspaper articles was therefore media discourse analysis.

The chapter begins with the conceptualisation of methodology and methods chosen, followed by a discussion of the sampling and data collection techniques. The chapter will also present the systematic, step-by-step analysis of one of the reportages analysed. The example aims to break down the process of analysing printed texts used in this study and to expose the mechanics of the analysis of the data.

### **4.1 Post-Structuralism as Research Paradigm**

The research paradigm of this study comes from the perspective of post-structuralism. The main supposition on which post-structuralism rests is that meaning is not fixed and still, but fluid and constantly in process of being reshaped. As Storey (2009, p. 126) put it, poststructuralists “reject the idea of an underlying structure upon which meaning can rest secure and guaranteed. Meaning is always in process”. As a result, post-structuralism values the analysis of language as its close examination reveals “how language structures reality” (Liao & Markula, 2009, p. 40). For poststructuralists, language is the key for unpacking the way we understand the world, because it is only through language that knowledge comes into existence. As a result, it is only through the

examination of language that we can challenge and eventually change common sense and widely accepted ideas (Martin, 2009).

#### **4.1.1 Language and Discourse**

The term language in this thesis refers to texts, images, sounds and non-verbal communication that when put together construct a web of meanings. For poststructuralists however, and more particularly for Michel Foucault, the order of meanings was not random. It was constrained, enabled, or constituted by discourse (Storey, 2009). Liao and Markula, (2009, p. 40) argued that “discourses are ways of knowing and everyone using language participates in the circulation of these knowledges”. In other words, what we know through language is filtered by a range of discourses that produce the end product of language.

As mentioned earlier, Foucault (1972, 1977) gave a number of definitions for discourse throughout his career. This chapter is mostly concerned with how discourse can be traced in the meanings media produce. In one definition he argued that it is a “regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements” (Foucault, 1972, p. 80). Thus, discourse can be traced in language by the identification of statements that constructs it. Kennedy and Hills (2009, p. 19) argued that we can unpack discourse by analysing the repetition of statements that are used to portray an event and “the effect of that framing on individual’s behaviour, thoughts and opinions”.

However, discourses are not to be mistaken for parts of language. On the contrary, discourse exceeds language. It can limit or allow language to be formed and it can use language to create knowledges. In other words, it “produces possibilities and exclusions” (Colebrook, 1999, p. 176). Moreover, it can obscure contradictions within language (Kennedy & Hill, 2009) and thus, it holds the power to silence valid points of view. It also holds the power to project visible perspectives as accurate, real and

unquestionable. According to Foucault (1972), we can only understand the world through discourse, and thus it can construct what we perceive as true and real. As a result the essence of discourse is that it has command over the way knowledge is formed and understood, which has implications on how power is used.

#### **4.1.2 Power, Discourse and Language**

Indeed Foucault (2000, p. 340) maintained that power “exists only as exercised”. He did not believe that power is an entity only in the position of the ruling classes. He argued that “certain groups become powerful and influential by tactically using discourses” (Liao & Markula, 2009, p. 40). By this he meant that the ability to use discourses could exercise power, but power is not an independent entity owned by a few. Exercising power for Foucault is fluid (just as the formation of knowledge) and a main way to do so is through the use of discourses in language.

At the same time, discourse exists within power relations and thus, it is not necessarily good or bad (Liao & Markula, 2009). Colebrook (1999, p. 164) argued that “power is crucial to the formation of knowledges”. Thus, for Foucault the analysis of the connection between language, discourse and power would reveal the ways power is exercised in society.

However, when it comes to the analysis of power through discourse we should not assume that power pre-exists its effects. It does not abstractly exist and it is not just expressed at points through discursive language. On the contrary, as Foucault (1972) stated, power only exists when it is exercised thus it is only substantial through its end products. Colebrook, (1999, p. 168) argued that:

Power is the production of certain effects. The reactive illusion then often follows of thinking of power as some preceding cause, as though power had a nature or being which is expressed through its effects. But the contrary is just the case. Power is effect or activity.

In that sense, the central question for Foucault is 'how' power is exercised (Liao & Markula, 2009). Consequently, when the discussion of exercising power through discourse comes to sport, the researcher aims to analyse how discourse shapes our understanding of sport in particular ways.

#### **4.1.3 Foucauldian Media Discourse Analysis**

The study concerns the depiction of doping in the press and thus, discourse analysis was applied to data from the analysis of news. It has been argued that "media reporting can be regarded as an authorising practice. The media language and images are, therefore, embedded in and saturated by social context" (Barker-Ruchti, 2009, p. 217). Thus, in order to unpack the media language and make sense of the social context surrounding it, we need to focus on the analysis of text, images and their intertextual relationship.

In order to trace elements of discourse in written words and images we need to have a clear understanding of what discourse is comprised of. Foucault, in another attempt to define discourse, stated that it is "an individualisable group of statements" (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 30). Therefore, discourse is comprised of repeated statements. Kennedy and Hills (2009, p. 20) argued that "patterns of representation where images or words are positioned in similar ways again and again can be understood as discursive formations". Kennedy and Hills (2009) also argued, that if we want to comprehend the underlying discourses of media sport, we need to analyse all the elements that are incorporated in discourse and its statements. In other words, media discourse analysis (in our case discourse analysis of newspaper texts) focuses on the identification of repeated statements that form elements of discourse. The following part will explain the techniques that were used in this study for the identification of these elements.

#### 4.1.4 Discursive Statements

The methods involved an interpretative analysis of the text and images by using discourse analysis and included the identification of repetitive discursive statements. Foucault (1972, p. 80) saw statements as the 'atoms of discourse'. The statements are constructed by elements of discourse that can be a word, phrase or sentence communicated in the text or in the images of the coverage.

Such elements of discourse are communicated in the mediated text by a number of journalistic techniques. For example, these techniques may be comprised of sensationalised key words by which a certain impression is created (Fairclough, 1995, Potter & Wetherell, 1994, Seale, 2001, Slater & Tonkiss, 2001). Such words in the current research could be 'shame' or 'disaster'. They can also be broad terms or ideas that are used in the everyday talking, are taken for granted and consequently, and appear to require no justification (Potter, 1996, Slater & Tonkiss, 2001). Such ideas in the case of doping could be the notion that 'doping should be eradicated' or speaking in the first person on behalf of the public. Another journalistic technique is defining a 'shared' problem and advancing its solution (Wood & Kroger, 2000). An example could be the presentation of doping as problem in sport and proposing harsher sanctions as a prospective solution.

Furthermore, what is missing from the text is not to be ignored, as media tend not only to highlight certain aspects of the news with the methods mentioned above, but they also tend to suppress other aspects of the same issue (Slater & Tonkiss, 2001, Salkie, 1995). For example, in the discussion of doping in sports, the death of an athlete consuming prohibited performance-enhancing substances could be emphasised, but the fact that many other athletes are using such substances with no harm could remain unspoken.

The analysis of the images in this research took place in two levels: the denotation and the connotation level (Danesi, 2002, O'Sullivan *et al.* 1998). First of all, the denotation level was taken into consideration (Barthes, 1964, Hawkes, 1977, Penn, 2000). This process involved the deconstruction of the image into its literal parts, including the text associated with the image. A list of all objects in the image was drawn up with consideration of, the colour, size, location of all elements.

Secondly, the connotative part of the analysis was researched. In this part the meaning of its literal parts was examined. Emphasis was given on how the elements relate to each other and what was absent by a choice as can be useful to consider (Penn, 2000). Finally, the communicated meanings of the images were considered in relation to the accompanying text.

## **4.2 Sampling**

In order to answer the two research questions the analysis of the study took into account two case studies. As the study is of an interpretative nature, a more in-depth analysis can be achieved by examining a number of specific cases (Priest, 1996). The case studies that will be presented here are the 'Athens 2004' and 'Beijing 2008' Olympic Games. The competition of Olympic Games was chosen for research for it is an international, highly publicised sporting mega-event. Consequently, the media's response to drug cases during that period drew a wide audience. 'Athens 2004' and 'Beijing 2008' were the two most recent Olympics at the time the research was undertaken. The gathering of the data of 'Beijing 2008' was completed by collecting the information from the British press one month before, during and one month after the Olympic Games of 2008. The collection of the data started one month before the opening day of the Games in order to take into consideration media's reactions before their inauguration. The British press was chosen as Britain was the

next country to organise the Olympic Games (at the time of the initiation of the research). Reports relating to doping in each of the national British daily and Sunday newspapers were analysed.

The case study of 'Athens 2004' was examined by undertaking archive research of all daily and Sunday national Greek newspapers that were published one month before, during and one month after the period of the Games. Existing literature on the subject has focused on English speaking societies such as Great Britain and the United States. Language and cultural differences remain barriers for extending consistent research between countries. The thesis provided comparable analysis between British and non-English coverage. In that respect, the methods were applied to both cases in the same way. Moreover, examining the media of the country hosting the Olympics will eventually yield a more complete understanding of the concept of doping, as the possible differences or similarities between the coverage of the host nation and of a nation that was not at the time hosting the Games will be identified and the possibility of applying a theory to both case studies will further be explored.

This selection also means that the analysis deals with media discourse of two different languages. For one of them (English) research has examined examples in the past, but for the second one (Greek) hardly anything has been written before. Thus, in the first case the study will build on the existing literature, while in the second case it will add knowledge in an area that has not been adequately researched.

Athens 2004 was an Olympic Games full of drug cases, which created many highly publicised stories. On the other hand, Beijing 2008 was an Olympic Games in where drug incidents were absent and even the positive tests that occurred were not well-publicised. This provided an opportunity to unpack characteristics of media coverage in two very different contexts: one with a widely reported 'scandal' and one without.

Finally, as mentioned above the data was collected for one month before, during and one month after the Games in both the Athens and Beijing Olympic Games. It was previously noticed in the relevant literature

that the depiction of doping is mainly analysed in small case studies. This study expanded the cases analysed by taking into account all drug 'scandals' and references to doping that were published in the coverage of two Olympic Games, as 1274 articles in total were collected and analysed over a longer period of time.

#### **4.2.1 The Greek Press**

As the study concerned two cultures the differences in the culture of the media and more specifically in the culture of the press should be explained. In Greece, the press can be categorised in three main groups: political, financial and sporting. This study was interested only in the political and sporting press, since this has the highest circulation and covers the wider range of sporting information. The political press in Greece is then divided into daily and Sunday press. This study dealt with both categories and with the newspapers that have substantial national circulation. The newspapers that fall into these categories are the ones that follow in the table 4.1.

**Table 4.1: Greek political newspapers and their affiliation**

Daily Political Newspapers	Political affiliation
Adesmeftos Typos ('Unbound Press')	New Democracy (center-right)
Apogevmatini ('Afternoon's [Daily]')	New Democracy (center-right)
I Avgi ('The Dawn')	SY.RI.ZA (left)
Avriani ('Tomorrow's [Daily]')	PASOK (center-left)
Eleftheri Ora ('Free Times')	Golden Dawn (nationalist/far right)
Eleftheros ('[The] Free [One]')	New Democracy (center-right)
Eleftheros Typos ('Free Press')	New Democracy (center-right)
Eleftherotypia ('Press Freedom') High circulation	Leftish
Espresso	Tabloid
Ethnos ('Nation') High circulation	PASOK (center-left)
I Hora ("The Country")	New Democracy (center-right)
Kathimerini ('Daily') High circulation	New Democracy (center-right)
Ta Nea ('The News') High circulation	PASOK (center-left)
Rizospastis ('Radical')	Communist Party of Greece (far left)
Traffic News	Tabloid
To Vima ('The Tribune') High circulation	PASOK (center-left)
Vradyni ('The Evening's [Daily]')	New Democracy (center-right)

These are the newspapers with national distribution and the highest circulation in Greece. In Appendix B a table shows the average accumulated circulation of these newspapers for the year 2011 plus the rest of the newspapers that have a national distribution, but not significant number of newspaper sold. However, the study will take into examination the newspapers that reach a wide audience.

The sporting newspapers do not normally have a political affiliation, but some of them tend to support a team. For example the newspaper *Protathlitis* supports the Greek team Olympiakos, while the newspaper

*Derby News* the team Panathinaikos. They are classified as tabloids and for that reason they often called 'opadikes' = fans' papers. However, the current study will take them into account as during the Athens 2004 Games they all had extensive reportages from the Games. The table 4.2 shows the sporting newspapers with national distribution and high circulation.

**Table 4.2: Greek Sporting Newspapers**

Daily Sporting Newspapers	Affiliation
SporTime	Independent
Protathlitis (the Champion)	'Olympiakos'
Goal News	Independent
SportDay	Independent
Filathlos (the spectator)	Independent
Fos ton Sport (Light of Sport)	'Olympiakos'
Ora ton Sport (Time for Sport)	'AEK Athens'
Derby News	'Panathinaikos'

The data of Athens 2004 were collected in the 'Kapnergostasio' library of Athens where the newspapers' archive is held. The relevant articles were found, printed and also stored in digital form in the period June 2007- September 2007. The total number of doping related articles identified in the Greek press was 1203.

#### **4.2.2 The British Press**

Data from the British press included newspapers with national distribution and wide popularity from across the broadsheet, Berliner and tabloid spectrum. The British press, similarly to the Greek, can also be divided into daily and weekend press and the study examined both

categories of newspapers. More specifically, the newspapers in the study are shown in tables 4.3 and 4.4:

**Table 4.3: Circulation Figures of most Daily British Newspapers**

<b>Daily Newspapers</b>	<b>Circulation in 2011</b>
The Sun	3,001,822
Daily Mail	2,136,568
Daily Mirror	1,194,097
Daily Star	734,311
Daily Telegraph	651,184
The Times	457,250
The Guardian	279,308
The independent	185,035

**Table 4.3: Circulation Figures of Sunday British Newspapers**

<b>Sunday Newspapers</b>	<b>Circulation in 2011</b>
News of the World	2,789,560
The Mail on Sunday	1,958,083
Sunday Mirror	1,092,816
The Sunday Times	1,039,371
The Sunday Telegraph	496,128
Daily Star Sunday	316,712
The Observer	314,164
Independent on Sunday	152,561

In the case of Beijing 2008 the newspapers were bought and the relevant articles were isolated before, during the after the course of the Games. There were 71 doping related articles in the British press during the Beijing Games. Given the above information it can already be observed that there are cultural differences between the newspapers of the two countries. For example, the Greek newspapers tend to be

categorised according to their affiliation to a political party, whereas the British press is specified by its tendency to speak to its audience according to their social class. Conducting cross-cultural analysis entails an extra level of complexity that has to do with understanding the media discourse of two cultures. In order to further address and investigate such a complexity the translation issues of the articles will be debated.

### **4.2.3 Translation Issues**

Conducting intercultural discourse analysis required the translation of the Greek press into the English language. It has been argued that “translators need to negotiate meaning between two social frameworks, by creating a new act of communication out of a previously existing one” (Olier, 2004, p. 76). In other words it is the quest to find equivalence between the source language and the target language. Given that discourse is based on meanings created by a sequence of linguistic components, translation should ideally recreate the same discourse across two cultures.

There are issues associated with the accuracy of translation when it aims to capture and reproduce the same discourse from the source to the target culture. First of all, as the limits of discourse are hard to define there is not a general agreement on whether someone can reproduce the exact same discourse from one language to the other, or whether translation involves two discourses (Lotfipour-Saedi, 1990, Pym, 1992). The thesis’s position on this dilemma was to adopt a translation approach that sees the process of translation as discursive work. Indeed, Pym (1992) argued that the very notion of translation lies on the supposition that the same discourse can be expressed by words in two different cultures. Otherwise the translation would not be possible. What a translator needs in order to translate discourse is

a discursive competence which requires not only the mere search for meanings from one language to another, but requires, above all a search for understanding the relationship between text, discourse and social practice-between text and society (Pym, 1992, p. 73).

The translator needs to be constantly aware of the social context within the text was written and its meanings created. Below is an explanation of the methods applied in the translation of the Greek articles into English, in order to translate discourses in an accurate a way as possible.

- The type of the writing was taken into account (newspaper language) and translated words/phrase to words/phrases **within** the same **style** (happy, angry, formal, informal).
- **There were stylistic differences among newspapers relating to the audience they addressed** (for example, sport fans, intellectual, conservative audience). The translation followed the same style of speaking.

In some cases a word or phrase of the source language did not have an exact equivalent word/phrase in the target language. In these cases words or phrases were added in brackets in the text to communicate the meaning, but to also make the reader aware of the divergence in translation. It should be noted at this point that all translations of the Greek sources were undertaken by the author but I have had advice from a reader whose first language is English who has looked over all of the translations.

As a final remark, the reader should be aware that an absolute accurate translation of discourse was very difficult to be achieved. This is due to cultural differences between meanings (some words have similar but not identical meanings) and the discourse they construct is culture specific. However, being aware of these limitations and following the above methods minimise the differences in discourse between the source and the target text. Moreover, seeking to understand discourse in order to translate it may play a role in the better exploration and understanding of the discourses themselves.

Finally, having debated translation issues and the methods applied to minimise them, the thesis' stance is that the benefits of intercultural research are considered more significant than the limitations of translation that are to be faced when such research is conducted. The above methods showed how such issues were dealt during the analysis of the data.

### **4.3 Pilot Analysis of Selected Articles: 'The Triumph Waived the Sadness' in Eleftherotypia, 14-08-04**

Since media discourse analysis involves the analysis of media texts, including words and images that only make sense in relation to each other, it was then considered helpful to present a step by step example of how the analysis was done from the first level of analysing the article to the final product of analysis that is presented next in this study. In doing so, two levels of analysis are demonstrated:

- The **first** level includes the translation of the article (if the article is not in English) and the denotative level of the images used.
- The **second** level of analysis, involves the connotation level of the analysis of text and images. This involves the identification of key words, terms, phrases or sentences according to the hyphenated criteria. In other words, the last stage of analysis (which is also the one used in the Analysis Chapter), aims to capture the construction of media discourse. All levels of analysis are demonstrated in the following pilot analysis of a reportage devoted to a doping case.

The reportage includes a front page (Figure 4.1) and four other pages of text from a politically left newspaper of high circulation. The drug case discussed is the big story of the Athens Games: the night before the opening ceremony of the Games, two Greek sprinters evaded an anti-doping test and were taken to a hospital. One of the two (Kostas Kenteris)

was scheduled to be the last torchbearer of the opening ceremony and the person who would light the Olympic flame. The following reporting of the incident was published the day after the opening ceremony and thus, two days after the incident took place.

#### 4.3.1 Front Page: Translation and Connotation Level



Waived the sadness

Figure 4-1

“Magic moments, dream moments! Greece sent yesterday unique images to the whole globe. Beauty, greatness and truth begun with the truest opening ceremony. The Flame of the 28<sup>th</sup> Olympic Games lit by the hands of Nikos Kaklamanakis, is sending a message of peace to the whole world. Pp.25-42”

“Towards disqualification Kenteris-Thanou”

“The IOC is expected to make Kenteris and Thanou say Goodbye to the Games, for their dubious behaviour. See Article p.8”.

## Spectacularisation as Discursive Statement

In the front page three-quarters of the page is a photograph taken during the opening ceremony of the Games. It shows the Greek and the Olympic flag in the stadium and the crowd in the background. The colours are vibrant and the angle of the camera is almost at the same level of the track. It is thus, a picture taken from within the venue. The ceremony is represented as spectacle in the front page of the newspaper, indicated by the size of the picture, the vibrant colours used and the angle by which the photo is taken.

At the same time, the drug case is presented as antithetical to the spectacular ceremony. The text used in the photo is: “unrepeatable ceremony – tributes from the international media. The triumph (continue at the lower part of the front page) waived the sadness”. The words “the triumph” are written in white font, while the words “waived the sadness” in black. The contradiction is represented with the words and the colours used: triumph ≠ sadness, white ≠ black.

Moreover, the thin line between the photograph of the opening ceremony and the rest of the front page signifies a distinction between two different themes. Through this antithetical representation the doping incident becomes part of the sport spectacle. The condemnation of doping, communicated by the contradiction, adds value to the spectacle of the opening ceremony, as it can serve as an unexpected and additional news story that becomes part of the story.

A second smaller picture is used at the left, bottom side of the front page. It depicts a scene of the opening ceremony. The news presented in this picture is the same as the news presented by the bigger picture, which dominated the page. This is a way, to emphasise the significance of the event and spectacularise it further. The text that follows the image uses emotive and strong words to communicate the spectacle. For example “magic”, “dream”. Moreover, phrases taken from the Olympic anthem are used within the text: “The beauty, the greatness and the true begun with the truest opening ceremony” (p. 1). In this case, the words

are not only emotive and strong, but they also reference the Olympic anthem, thus, they aim to escalate the effect of the spectacle. The words following the quote from the Olympic anthem say that this has started with the “truest opening ceremony”. Finally, the newspaper informs the reader that it has dedicated seventeen pages to the event, which also points to the importance of the ceremony and the attempt to spectacularise the events.

### Individualisation as Discursive Statement

A thin white line distinguishes the photo of the opening ceremony from the rest of the front page, which deals with the drug case. The cartoon used depicts two Greeks on their way to the Games. One of them says that the symbols of the Games are now missing. They disappeared when the authorities asked them to undertake an anti-doping test. The cartoon thus parallels the athletes with the two mascots of the Games. It is implied that the two athletes were the symbols of the Greek Games and since they disappeared they are now suspicious too.

Finally, at the right, bottom side of the front page the paper presents the case of Kenteris and Thanou. Next to the text there are two small pictures of the athletes, depicting only their heads. In this case, no national symbols are visible on them. This fact points to their isolation from the sport celebration. They are referred to by their names only and not as representatives of Greece anymore. The sub-heading adds that they are expected to be disqualified, providing an indication of their further individualisation.

### Confusion/Suspicion as Discursive Statement

The text that accompanies the photo of Kenteris and Thanou mentions that the athletes are about to be punished for their dubious behaviour. The choice of the word shows suspiciousness. Moreover, the

text makes no effort to explain what happened to the reader. The lack of explanation also signifies confusion and suspicion. The cartoon used in the front page, clearly implies the guilt of the athletes. This is communicated as the two people of the cartoon mention that the mascots (implying the athletes) have disappeared and somebody is still looking for them to pass an anti-doping test. The suspicion then is clear, as the fact that they evaded a test signifies guilt.



- Tried to assure the public that “under no circumstance this means the end for the Olympic games in Greece” speculating that the doping case will not affect the entirety of the Games.

- Asked the public to attend the Games in spite of the disappointment they might feel.

### **Walking the line**

Late last night governmental sources said that “the individuals responsible will be targeted” but truth is that government keeps walking the line since:

1: Choosing to be discreet about a case that’s on the front page of the international press and refusing to answer all the questions rising from the so-called accident gives the impression that there’s an official guideline of burying the case.

2: It keeps insisting that the case is “strictly a Greek Olympic commission one”

3: Even if it’s proved that the two Olympic champions were not doped there are behaviours that are to be condemned since they didn’t fit in the Olympic spirit and should have been banished from day one from both the Greek government and the Greek Olympic commission.

4: It’s not acceptable for Greece, which gave birth to the whole Olympic ideal not to give the example when it comes to defending these values. It’s not surprising that 95% of the questions asked yesterday at the press conference were all Thanou-Kenteris case related. It was rather obvious that the governmental representative felt awkward since he couldn’t even answer the simplest of

questions like whose property was the motorcycle the two athletes rode when the accident happened, who took them to the hospital etc. questions that nevertheless made the feeling of doubt regarding the claims of the ones involved in the case bolder.

Some of the major questions asked yesterday at the press conference were:

- 1) Do you think that the master of the Greek Olympic team managed the case properly?
- 2) In a project as grand as the Olympic Games don’t you think that the actions held were both tragic and ridicule?
- 3) Is the government aware if the two athletes are willing to be tested –even now– for any illegal substances so that the case can close?
- 4) Why did the doctor’s announcement take

place at the Prime minister's office?

- 5) Given that the two athletes are in a way front men of the Greek government, that's not to be judged only by the on-time delivery of the Olympic works but also by the respect shown in the rules, what was the official reaction to make up for that "misfortune"?

**All political parties in silence**

No official statements from most of the other political parties up to today despite of the

great scandal that marks the day as one of the most important in the modern history of Greece. In spite of what seemed to be the unofficial line – push for answers, ask tough questions, give results fast- after some thought the second biggest political party in Greece claimed that "we cannot interfere or condemn anyone." sticking with the governmental guidelines "let's wait and see".

The communist party on the other hand asks for the removal

of everyone involved in the case. It recons the cost of the case in the Olympic case is a great one, considers simply unacceptable the denial of the anti doping test from the two athletes and profound the results. In a press conference the party representative stated that "only the truth will be accepted and only under hard evidence it will act as redemption process for all the harm done. Doping kills fair play".

#### **4.3.4 "A sense of cover up for Kenteris-Thanou": Connotation Level**

##### Confusion/ Suspicion

The two first pages of the reportage are devoted to the reaction of the Greek government and the rest of the political parties to the incident concerning the athletes. The title ("A sense of cover up") puts emphasis on an alleged suspicion. It overstates the sense of confusion and escalates the drama by maintaining that a cover up has been attempted, while also being vague about the details or evidence. The text

characterises the Greek government as struggling to compose their reaction to the case. For example, the journalist mentions that the home secretary faced difficulties in answering all the questions regarding the case. Furthermore, the text states that he even struggled to answer the simplest questions “like whose property was the motorcycle the two athletes rode when the accident happened, who took them to the hospital etc.”. Such a reaction implies lack of clarity in the answers and at the same time it generates the suspicion of a cover up. Moreover, in its second part the article argues that “it was not possible for final decisions to be made”, which implies that the uncertainty will not end very soon.

The final part of the article deals with the reaction of the rest of the Greek political parties. The subheading highlights the confusion and suspicion surrounding the case as all the political parties are “in silence”. Even the opposition, which is usually expected to be critical of the government, decided to “wait and see”.

Finally, the cartoon placed in the middle of the first page further demonstrates the sense of suspicion and confusion. The first character speaking observes that the king is naked although he is wearing a Greek flag. The second character answers that this happens because the king has doped the Greek flag. Therefore, even if he is wearing a (doped) flag he seems naked. The cartoon implies that Kenteris (many times commonly referred as the No.1 athlete of the country), although protected under his Greek identity, now seems suspicious as a drug case is involved.



became apparent that it was impossible for “final decisions” to be made since neither of the two athletes attended the hearing due to official doctor guidelines that kept them from leaving the hospital. Earlier that day the president of the medical anti-doping committee along with the chief of the Greek team visited the two athletes in the hospital to inform them about the hearing later that day. “They were informed about the procedure of the hearing and about the necessity of their formal invitation, but they were also told that the decision to attend it was absolutely up to them” said the chief of the Greek team on his way out of the hospital. Both athletes suffered no profound injuries or traumas apart from some scratches and are expected to recover in about a week’s time.

### **Paperwork**

Earlier the team leader of the Greek Olympic team Giannis Papadogiannakis and the team leader of the

Greek athletics team, handed in the necessary paperwork.

-A ‘strong card’ is the medical report from the KAT (hospital) doctors, in which it is mentioned that Kenderis and Thanou had to stay hospitalised and thus they were not in position to present themselves before the committee.

-Earlier the president of the IOC’s medical committee, Partrick Samas, visited the two Olympic champions at the hospital, in order to officially inform them about the procedure of the hearing. The sub-leader of the Greek team, Manolis Kolympadis, went with him at the hospital: “Samas explained to them that he had to give them the call for the hearing. Whether they decide to present themselves or not has nothing to do with it”, he stated when he left the hospital.

### **Katsibaldis: We were strong enough in 1985**

“There is no doubt that there are many who have been annoyed by the amazing leaps Greek athletics achieved, and especially after the success in Portugal (Euro 2004) (the success of) our sport in general. George Katsibaldis, ex-president of the Greek athletics federation and ex-parliament member, talked yesterday to ‘Freepress’ regarding the Kenderis-Thanou case. He stated:

“The way the Kenderis-Thanou case was handled, gave the chance to some to feel happy. However, our Greek sport and civilization do not allow us to let them (be happy). We shouldn’t drift and overdraw one single occasion that happens a lot of times in sport. I remind you that in the European Indoors Athletics Championships of 1985, we had the courage and the strength as we were in the administrative position of the Greek Athletics

Federation to withdraw the athletes that were suspicious for the use of prohibited substances, with the aim to protect them and also protect the athletic ideal. A fact that made the then president of IAAF Primo Nebiolo and the presidents of athletics federations who were in Athens for the Games, to pay tribunes to our country, because it showed that above all is the protection of the Olympic idea. I wish and I believe that the Olympic Games will show great success.

### **Saraslanidis**

Pluto Saraslanidis, the former coach of Voula Patoulidou when she succeeded in Barcelona, 1992 but also the coach of Kostas Kenderis when he started in athletics, stated yesterday regarding everything he has heard: "The day has not started well. There is of course a tone of exaggeration in everything that has been said, because no one is an expert. We have, however, a fact which is

that the procedure the IOC has started and it is an important matter for athletics.

I agree with the unannounced doping controls, this is why the performances have dropped over the last 7-8 years. Maybe at some point the measure should become harsher. I propose to do a test every month and maybe when the time gets closer to a race, to check all the athletes every 15 days. WADA should become even stricter.

### **Indicative**

"For Kenderis value I will say that he is a diamond both as a person and as an athlete and also he is the biggest talent in sprinting that the country has ever seen. I want to believe that Kenderis is not the type of athlete who would need to be part of this (doping)... He is a natural champion. When he was 20 he ran 100m in 10"43, 200m in 20"76 and 400m in 45"70. We had indicatives of his talent. He reached his peak

after years of hard work. Mr. Tzekos had an incident in Germany, 1997 that became known in the media and his is a person who bothered many times the foreign press. Kenderis is a different person to Tzekos. As about Katerina Thanou, I can't really express an opinion. She is right from her start the creation of Chris Tzekos", Saraslanidis stated and he also added: "On Monday, there is a world conference for athletics coaches in Athens. I will propose for the better management of anti-doping controls and I will also suggest for stopping the vilification of the athletes."

The old tennis champion, Aggeliki Kanelopoulou maintained: "For sure it is sad what is going on at the moment. We should wait before we reach any conclusions. For a year now, Kenderis and Thanou have been troubled (by the authorities). It is not good to only turn against the Greek athletes.

#### **4.3.6 “To be disqualified...”: Connotation Level**

##### Dramatisation as Discursive Statement

The beginning of the text immediately emphasises the importance of the incident by directly connecting the incident to wider issues of Greek identity. The text reads: “...the Kenteris-Thanou case that already shamed the nation before even the Olympic Games started”. In that sense, the drug case influenced in a negative way the nation as a whole, not only the two athletes.

##### Individualisation as Discursive Statement

The individualisation of the athletes is not only achieved by the absence of attempts to defend them in the article, but also by the expected disqualification of the athletes “in order to protect the Greek sports spirit and the status quo of the country”. Therefore, if Greek identity is to be protected, the athletes will have to be isolated. Moreover, the pictures used show Thanou and Tzekos celebrating a victory and Kenteris competing in a race. The subheading asserts that “things have become very difficult for Costas Kenteris and Katerina Thanou”. The athletes are referred only by their names and not their national identity.

Furthermore, when the leader of the Greek Olympic team visited the athletes at the hospital, the process of individualisation was demonstrated by the quote from him included in the article: “They were informed about the procedure of the hearing and about the necessity of their formal invitation, but also that whether they would attend it or not is absolutely up to them”. Thus, the responsibility for their actions is strictly placed upon them, while the Greek Olympic team distances its position from the position of the athletes. They are not part of the team anymore and are, thereby, individualised. Finally, an ex-president of the Greek athletics federation maintains that when the Greek federation was strict enough to

withdraw athletes who were suspicious of doping allegations, the sporting world agreed with the decision. It is thus, implied that the withdrawal of the two athletes could now be a correct move, which will result in the direct isolation of Kenteris and Thanou.

### Doping-as-epidemic as Discursive Statement

In the last part of the article a well-known Greek athletics coach argues for the implementation of stricter anti-doping rules in professional sport. He therefore implied that doping is out of control and this is why we need harsher sanctions.

### 4.3.7 “Medical Jokes”: Translation/Denotation Level



‘Medical jokes’

Figure 4-4

<p><b>Translation</b></p> <p>Only a few of the foreign reporters that are in Greece to cover the Olympic Games find it</p>	<p>odd that two of the elite Greek athletes are involved in an avoid-the-anti-doping scandal. Since the unexpected</p>	<p>and for many out of the blue Kenteris first place in Sydney’s Olympic Games international press (and especially</p>
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German press) didn't stop wondering "such a great performance by someone who came out of nowhere?"

Peter Mathews- sports caster says it's hard to find any other pair of athletes in the world who have so many achievements with so few participations and Sunday Times reporter Bob Hews believes that even though not every athlete who has a few great performances is doped "but in this case they [Kenteris and Thanou] have to explain themselves as for why they failed to attend the test. If you ask me that is a lot worse than actually being tested positive." Please note that the majority of the press considers the official announcements of the athletes 'medical jokes'.

Another well known sports caster for New York Times George James pointed out that "this scandal hurts Greece because it's a small country and brings out only a few world class athletes, so when

one or two of them get tested positive then the disappointment is major. I understand the feelings of all Greeks that froze once they found out about the two athletes. You see the Games as an opportunity for your country to prove that it can achieve great goals, that a small country can achieve great things. I sense that this story did you harm already." Many reporters also reminded the recent scandal with American pharmaceutical company BALCO. A case that's still open and may involve some Greek athletes apart from many Americans.

#### **Ferdinand: similar case**

The Kenteris and Thanou case bears really close resemblance to that of Rio Ferdinand who was called by "Sports England" to give blood for an unexpected test. Ferdinand left Manchester United stadium without doing so and he was fined with an 8 months ban from playing. His attorneys claimed that their client

forgot that he had to appear for the test but when he tried to contact them to rearrange an appointment it was too late. The sample he brought in two days later (it was tested negative) was never taken under consideration since it not in line with the procedures of the organisation. The president of WADA tried to dismiss the penalty and he was given just the one third of the highest possible penalty.

#### **World press: Dark clouds over Greece**

Only a few hours away from the opening ceremony and the Kenteris- Thanou case seems to be the centre of attention of the world press. Sky News states "Greek hero missed test" and reports that the athlete that was to light up the flame for the opening ceremony is most likely to be excluded from them since he failed to attend an anti-doping test. Kenteris is a Greek national hero and his exclusion from the

Games will be a great hurt the nation which it's about to welcome the Games to their spiritual Home." while Reuters talks about dark clouds over Greece and includes a statement of the International Olympic Committee "It seems that Kenteris didn't attend his anti-doping test which I

find totally stupid. If this is the case then he is an idiot and deserves to be excluded from the Games."

London Times refer to the case as 'a riddle' and ask why a national hero of Greece would bring such a crisis in his country just days before

the opening of the Olympic Games and the French "L'equipe" also refers to the Qatar incident where both of the athletes seemed to be preparing in April last year without informing they Greek commission beforehand where they were.

Two pictures accompany the article. The first one shows journalists waiting outside the 'KAT' hospital where the two athletes were hospitalised. The second image shows someone holding the British newspaper *The Guardian* outside the hospital. The newspaper is open to the page where the news about the Greek scandal is presented.

#### **4.3.8 "Medical Jokes": Connotation Level**

##### Individualisation as Discursive Statement

In many cases throughout the reportage the drug case is referred to as the 'Kenteris-Thanou' case. The use of a hyphen between the names of the athletes links them together and at the same time, objectifies them and makes their names signify the drug story, further individualising them from the rest of the athletes.

At the same time, Kenteris' previous achievements are questioned. Phrases such as "he came out of the blue" and "out of nowhere" are used to describe his past victories. This can serve as an indication of the isolation and questioning of the athlete. Phrases like these position the athletes as disconnected from their sporting environment or national

identity. Coming out of the blue or out of nowhere clearly represents the athlete as alone with no sporting background and social context. In this way, not only is he represented as individualised, but also his lone responsibility for the drug case is depicted as a logical consequence from his constructed past.

Finally, when the newspaper refers to the two athletes they are referred to as “them” and not “us” anymore. In this way, the newspaper distances itself from the athletes, with whom they previously aligned themselves, which isolates and individualises them further.

### Confusion/Suspicion as Discursive Statement

The element of confusion/suspicion was again demonstrated in the above article. The article deals mainly with the reaction of the international press to the incident of the two athletes. A question reprinted from the time Kenteris won the Gold medal in 200m in Sydney Olympics constructs the athlete as suspicious as it questions his previous achievements: “such a great performance by someone who came out of nowhere?” At the same time, the newspaper does not object to this stance. The sentence that introduces the reader to the article states that the drug case came as no surprise for the international press. Thus, the athletes were portrayed as already under suspicion, even before the incident.

The athletes are not only represented with a suspicious and confused present (and potentially future), but they are also depicted as having a suspicious and confused past. The previous example of L’Equipe highlights the suspicious past of the athletes. In this way, their case becomes more problematic and unclear, which adds to the pattern of suspicion and confusion.

The last article deals with the reaction of the foreign press. The title “clouds over Greece” implies a suspicious case. The same line is followed in the text when for instance a part from the French newspaper L’Equipe

is quoted. The part chosen by the Greek newspaper, talks about the preparation period of the two athletes when they were reported to be in Qatar, but in reality nobody knew where they were. Again the text chosen reflects a highly suspicious case.

The newspaper quotes foreign journalists who maintain that the athletes were considered dubious before the Athens Games. The use of their names adds significance to their saying, as these are not anonymous rumours but opinions that come from well-known sports casters. This article ends with the suggestion that this “scandal” may be linked with the BALCO case. This is a hypothetical scenario as it is not supported by evidence, and it serves to escalate the sense of suspicion.

Furthermore, another technique that communicated confusion and suspicion used sensational words that implied these terms. An example is when the discussion came to the announced medical reports. These reports were published on a daily basis and they aimed to inform the public about the health condition of the two hospitalised athletes. The article questions their validity. For example the title “Medical jokes”, implies the incredibility of these reports. This is because the title suggests that the medical reports regarding the condition of the athletes cannot be taken seriously, but should rather be seen as a joke. As a result, what they say it is not credible, which also implies that the reports aim to cover up a fake accident athletes were reported to have. Hence, the whole case of the athletes’ accident is communicated as suspicious.

Finally, the article on the left side of the page discusses the case of Rio Ferdinand. The reader is immediately faced with a parallel between the incident of 2004 and the case of the English footballer. As Ferdinand was punished for evading a drug test, the reader is asked to assume that since the case is similar the Greek athletes will, eventually, have to be punished as well.

### Dramatisation as Discursive Statement

The last article of the reportage is devoted to a presentation of how the international media reported the incident. The main title is “clouds over Greece”. The title takes for granted that the whole country and all the Greek people are influenced by the drug case. No alternative opinion or non-homogenous dimension is given to the reader.

The numerous foreign media quoted and their reporting of the drug case dramatises the effect of the incident for the Greek reader. The drug story is depicted as of global significance and thus, the audience is asked to realise that this incident has exceeded the Greek borders.

### **4.4 Final Remarks**

This pilot study of one article aimed to demonstrate the methods used to analyse all the articles discussed in the subsequent analysis chapter. It is apparent from the pilot analysis that one article can combine more than one discursive statement. Such statements are interrelated and interact with each other to construct complex and complete doping discourse.

However, due to time and space limitations the next chapter cannot demonstrate the analysis of all the articles that were taken into consideration at the same level of detail. In order to find an appropriate way of presenting the findings of the study, the analysis chapter presents the data in categories rather than dealing with the articles one by one. Each category is a discursive statement and examples from a number of articles are presented in order to demonstrate it. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that there is more than one discursive statement in each article and they only work in combination with each other. The analysis of each of the two case studies is presented first and this is followed by the discussion section.

#### **4.4.1 The Limitations of Objectivity and Media Discourse Analysis**

The discussion of methodology ends with some considerations about the relationship between the researcher and the issue to be researched. The researcher will always be invested to a certain degree in the project and thus, they will undoubtedly adopt a subjective position towards the issue under discussion.

In the case of media analysis it is necessary to start from the basis that the data exist independently of the researcher and they are not the product of interaction between the researcher and the researched. The abovementioned methodology was designed in a way that minimises the subjective opinion of the researcher. However, the personal involvement of the researcher in the project and the fact that an interpretation is always also based on the researcher's experience and personal knowledge are not to be ignored. Making myself aware of such limitations was a way to address possible subjective conclusions.

Finally, it should be noted that is not the purpose of this study to investigate the response of the audience to the media's messages. The decoding procedure performed by the audience does not necessarily follow the encoded meaning produced by the media, as it interprets the messages under the impact of such factors as social class or personal experiences (Ross & Nightgale, 2003, Croteau & Hoynes, 2000, McQuail, 1997). However, the current study will focus on the media as they are the source of the information the audience receives and the audience is invited by the media to be positioned in specific ways. The current study will, therefore, restrict its analysis to the way media texts position the audience and how this creates the frame of any discussion possible related to doping.

## **Chapter 5 Athens 2004: Before the ‘Scandal’**

On the day before the Athens Olympics opening ceremony, a doping story broke that dominated press reporting of the Games thereafter. This doping case provided an opportunity to observe continuities and change in press reporting before and after a ‘scandal’ occurs. This chapter will present the context of the doping case. Key background information relating to overall instances of positive samples and other contraventions of the WADA anti-doping code during the Games will be provided. Discourse analysis of the Greek reporting of doping will then be presented, using examples, to identify repeating elements of discourse and the journalistic techniques used to construct them. This will be followed by a chronology of events of the doping incident in order to provide a framework within which the discourse analysis of the post-‘scandal’ reporting can be considered.

### **5.1 Context**

The Athens 2004 Olympic Games had 25 positive doping samples and not surprisingly the Greek media covered all drug cases. However, the case that dominated the newspaper coverage of the Games concerned the athletes Kostas Kenteris and Katerina Thanou, who evaded an anti-doping test on the day before the Opening ceremony.

The Greek sprinters were two of Greece’s biggest hopes for a medal in athletics. Kenteris and Thanou could not be located in the Olympic village on the evening of 12 August 2004. Later the same day the athletes were reported to have had a motorcycle accident and to have been hospitalised. Kenteris was scheduled to be the last torchbearer of the opening ceremony, a fact that made the case more newsworthy. For

these reasons the drug case was depicted as a major story in the Greek press.

Articles and references to the incident were evident from the time it occurred until September 2004 when the case was taken to court. There was extensive reportage in every broadsheet and tabloid newspaper about the case at the time of the scandal, including news from the hospital, interviews with officials and analysis of what happened. The coverage in many cases was also accompanied by more generic articles about doping substances, their effects and side effects, the anti-doping test, and the speculated gene doping. The Greek press repeatedly referred to the case as the 'Kenteris-Thanou scandal', however, when the chapter will refer to the case will use the word 'scandal' in quotation marks in order to avoid the moralising connotations the word entails.

The second most publicised case was the case of the Greek weightlifter Kostas Sampanis. He won a bronze medal in the Games, but soon afterwards tested positive for testosterone. The Greek weightlifting team had received extended publicity by the Greek media and it was considered to be the most successful Greek team in the history of Olympic Games. Therefore, hopes had been placed on its athletes who were all well known to the Greek public. The positive sample of the Greek weightlifter was the first doping incident for this team and thus, the case was debated in the Greek media. However, its coverage was significantly less than the doping story of the two sprinters.

A third case that also received coverage was the case of the Russian shot put champion Irina Korzhanenko, who was stripped of her gold medal after she failed a drug test immediately following the competition. The fact that the event was the only one held in the stadium of Olympia where the ancient Olympic Games were hosted added symbolic value to the doping case.

The rest of the doping cases of the Athens Games were reported in the media, but they did not create headlines. In addition, some articles related to doping were published prior to the start of the Games. They

covered the Bay Laboratory Corporation (BALCO) case and how the organisers of the Games were preparing to address doping in Athens. The BALCO story involved some of the most important sprinters in International athletics, mostly Americans and British.

It was evident that the first and major 'scandal' of the Games was the case of the two Greek sprinters. As a result, the press of Athens 2004 can be divided into two parts: the period before the 'scandal' with the two Greek sprinters and the time after the 'scandal' took place. The division is made because of the change in attitude and writing style that characterised the Greek press before and after the major doping case. Before the Greek doping incident, there were significantly fewer articles devoted to doping than after this case.

Before the start of the Games the coverage on doping consisted of a few generic articles giving a historical review of the phenomenon and the dangers for the athlete's health. The case of Marion Jones and the BALCO story were also highlighted as well as the stripping off of a gold medal from the 4x400 US team in Sydney. The next section, presents the analysis of those references to doping published before the 'scandal' of the two sprinters.

## **5.2 The Greek Press Before the Greek 'Scandal'**

A number of patterns in the press coverage of doping related issues prior to the doping case were identified, including: the technique of distancing Greek athletes from associations with drugs; dramatising drug 'scandals'; generating fear around the spectre presented by drugs; assuming consensus regarding the public's attitude to doping; and creating confusion and suspicion around doping. While the Greek media were unable to retain their distance from doping cases quite so readily after the Kenteris and Thanou story broke, the elements of discourse

identified in the pre-‘scandal’ coverage reoccurred, but gained a new intensity and regularity. It is interesting, therefore, to reflect on the press’ framing of doping before Greek athletes became so heavily implicated in the practice.

### **5.2.1 Distancing: “We are ‘clean’, but what about the others?”**

Before the Kenteris-Thanou story broke, the Greek newspapers distanced Greek sport from involvement in doping. References to doping were related to its occurrence outside of Greece. The effect of distancing was achieved through a number of ways: emotionally neutral language, speaking in the third person, and an implied distance between the Greek community and the ‘other’. These techniques amount to the practice of objectivity as understood by Richardson (1997). For example, on 25 July the newspaper *To Bima* (p. A31)<sup>1</sup> included an interview with the Greek Olympic team leader, who clearly stated that all Greek athletes were ‘clean’, but he also ‘othered’ non-Greek athletes by implying that they use doping substances: “We are ‘clean’, but what about the others?” were his words, which also formed the title of the article.

Moreover, the newspapers reported the stripping off of a medal from the American team in Sydney 2000. The newspaper *Chora* used the title “The US 4X400 team has its Sydney gold medal taken away” (n.p.) to report the incident. The title communicates the whole story to the reader without emotion. First of all, the articles report any news related to doping without taking an obvious stance. This occurred in the reporting of the incident between Marion Jones, the American sprinter who won five gold medals in Sydney, and her ex-husband C.J. Hunter, an American shot putter disqualified from the Sydney Olympics following a positive anti-

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout the discussion chapters some newspapers page numbers are missing. This is because the archive used to retrieve the extracts was not consistent in making all page numbers visible.

doping test. *Athletic Echo*, on 24 July presented the news that Jones' ex-husband accused her of using doping substances during the Sydney Olympics in 2000. The two subheadings used present two sides to the story: "Her ex-husband maintained that she was on a cocktail of prohibited substances in Sydney" and "He is doing it to take revenge because she broke up with him" argued the lawyer of the athlete. Despite the apparent even-handedness of the approach, the newspaper used the title "Jones is doped" (n.p.) to project the message that the American was more likely to have used prohibited substances.



Figure 5-1

The image accompanying the text had the following caption: "Jones' ex-husband considers her gold medals in Sydney fake" (Figure 5.1). The contradiction between the image and the message underneath created the impression that maybe her victory was unfair. The text throughout the article was written in the third person, creating a distance from the news through a lack of personal involvement in the story on the part of the author and the reader. For example, the argument that Jones was on drugs is put into the mouth of her ex-husband: "Jones' ex husband did not hesitate to claim that Jones was addicted to these substances".

The accusation of Marion Jones by her ex-husband regarding the use of steroids during the Sydney Olympic Games is a story that held some significance for the Greek team. This is because Katerina Thanou, the Greek sprinter who was second in Sydney, would take over the gold medal position if Marion Jones were disqualified. The Greek press underlined the possibility. In *Ethnos* (24 July), the information related to Marion Jones was presented and then the only subheading of the article said “Thanou to be (is) first” (p. 8). In this way the Greek athlete takes distance from doping, as it is implied that she deserves the first place because her rival cheated while she played fair.

Stories about doping were always associated with other countries in this part of the coverage. For example: “The Americans had included Young (an athlete who tested positive) in the two first qualifying rounds, although the prohibited substance nandrolone had already been traced in his body” (n.p.) (“The U.S 4x400m team”, 24 July). The newspaper used the word “Americans” in order to signify ‘the other’ and imply a separation from “Us” (the Greeks). In this way, it distanced itself from the event that took place, which was the loss of a gold medal as a result of doping.

Moreover, the effect of distance between ‘us’ and the ‘other’ was not only achieved verbally, but also visually. In the article below, the news about the stripping off of the American’s team gold was communicated by the bold letters in the main headline. However, a smaller insert in the middle of the main story had the title “Efenataki [achieved] a new national record” (Figure, 5.2). Efenataki was the Greek champion in 1.500m and the article reports that the runner had participated in Madrid Grand Prix and broke her previous own national record.

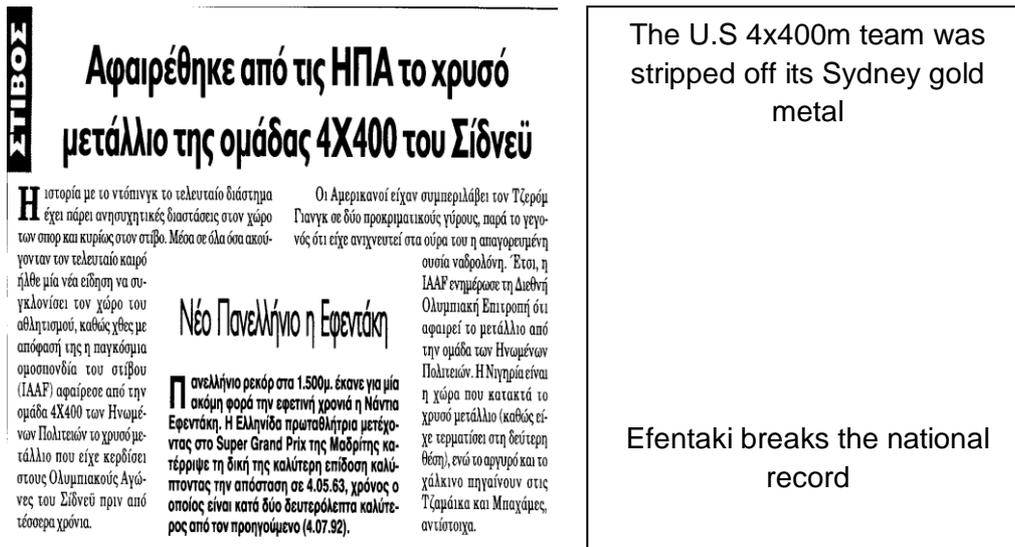


Figure 5-2

Given the layout of the page and the content of the two articles, it can be argued that visually the second article reinforced the drug-free character of Greek sport in contrast to the drug story of the ‘othered’ U.S. team.

Finally, the Greek press aimed to take distance from doping by defending all Greek athletes when something dubious was written about them in the International press. The newspaper *Espresso* included a two-page article entitled “New war of mud against (=attempt to blackmail) Kenteris-Thanou” (n.p.), (Figure 5.3). The subheadings added: “Why do they prefer Mexico for their training ground”, “The hideous article of ‘Independent’” and “4 years of poison from the ‘foreign decision making powers’”.



### 5.2.3 Generating Fear: “Warning...It’s Lethal”

A motif that was present in the Greek coverage before the incident of the two Greek sprinters was the recurring use of words that signify danger. The use of such words had the effect of connecting the phenomenon of doping with fear. Examples of this could be found in generic articles about doping. For example, the front page of an 8 page reportage in Goal News on 4 August was entitled “The doping file: Warning... it’s lethal” (n.p.), (Figure, 5.4, 5.5).



Figure 5-4

The words and accompanying graphics on the front page collectively created an impression of danger. The title and photograph (a close up shot of a police man holding a haul of syringes) were positioned against a black background, above four, smaller images of vials of medicines. The



The explanation of how the cocktail of drugs are used is connected with a “toxic dose”, which is a reference to danger for the body.

#### **5.2.4 Consensus: “Public Vilification (of Doping)”**

Fowler (1991) argued that “the ideology of consensus assumes that the interests of the whole population of a given group are undivided, held in common” (p. 62). He also noted that consensus is a crucial practice for the press because it maintains its relations to the government and capital while at the same time also supports its relationship with the readers. The representation of doping in the press was no exception. In “File: Doping - Warning it kills”, one of the subheadings of the report is “General vilification: the scandal of athletes’ deaths ‘hits’ doping”, pointing to the existence of a general anti-doping consensus.

#### **5.2.5 Confusion/Suspicion: “Jones May Have Used Drugs in Sydney”**

In addition to the newspapers’ tendency to dramatise instances of doping through the use of emotive words, another discernible pattern in the reporting was the creation of suspicion or confusion around the events. The emotive words previously described, tended to be used in conjunction with the lack of rational and complete explanation of the phenomenon. The lack of willingness to explore the issue in-depth was expressed by the use of words that signify doubt. For example, in the *Athletic Echo* article, “Jones is doped” (24 July) the opening reads that “Jones may have used drugs in Sydney” which does not give a clear indication as to what had really happened.

### 5.3 The Story Breaks: An Overview of Greek Newspaper Response

The coverage changed, however, once news of the 'scandal' broke. The incident concerning the two Greek sprinters took place a day before the opening ceremony of the Games. Starting with reports that the athletes could not be found in the Olympic village on 12 August 2004, the Greek media gave constant coverage to the 'scandal', not only during the first days it became known, but also throughout the duration of the Olympic Games and after the end of the Games, until the last days of September. They covered a wide range of information related to it and they adopted various stances as new information about the events became available.

On 12th August 2004, the Greek media reported the news of the athletes' evasion of the test and their accident. Some newspapers took the side of the athletes in their reporting of the incident (*Protathlitis*, *Athletic Echo*, *Adesmeytos*, *Kathimerini*, *Sportime*, 13/08/2004), while others blamed the athletes for their behaviour (*Apogeymatini*, *Eleyteros Typos*, *Ta Nea*, *Eleftherotypia*, 13/08/2004). Others preferred to distance themselves from the incident and to take an ambivalent stance (*Kathimerini*, *Chora*, *Derby Sports*, 13/08/2004).

The mixed reaction of the Greek press continued over the following weekend 14 and 15 August 2004. However, most newspapers had now turned against the athletes (*Derby Sports*, *Goal News*, *Ethnos*, *Athletic Echo*, *Bima*, *Avgi*, *Apogeymatini*, *Elefteros Typos*, *Eleftherotypia*, *Chora*, *Bradini*, *Fos ton Sport*, 14/08/2004, *Bima*, *Kathimerini*, *Goal News*, *Eleftherotypia*, *Sportime*, 15/08/2004) and outnumbered by far the ones that defended them (*Sportime*, *Protathlitis*, 14/08/2004, *Protathlitis*, 15/08/2004). A number of newspapers talked about the indecisiveness of the Greek Olympic Committee (GOK) regarding the case (*Athletic Echo*, *Filathlos*, *Fos ton Sport*, 15/08/2004).

Until 18th August little new information was available and the majority of the newspapers went on to openly blame the athletes for the incident (*Athletic Echo*, 16/08/2004, *Avgi*, *Filathlos*, *Goal News*, *Eleftherotypia*, *Apogeymatini*, *Apogeymatini*, 17/08/2004) with only two taking their part (*Sportime*, 17/08/2004, *Protathlitis*, 18/08/2004). At the same time articles that discussed the international extent of doping appeared frequently (*Avgi*, *Apogeymatini*, *Eleftherotypia*, *Ta Nea*, 17/08/2004) along with generic doping articles (*Ta Nea*, 17/08/2004) and some that turned against the Greek Olympic Committee (*Apogeymatini*, *Kathimerini*, 17/08/2004).

On the 18 of August 2004 the main story was that the athletes returned their Olympic passes, which means that they were irreversibly out of the Games. The news was delivered by most newspapers as the athletes' and their coaches' expulsion from the Games (*Kathimerini*, *Chora*, *Derbi*, *To Bima*, *Athletic Echo*, *Sportime*, *Eleftherotypia*). At the same time the press (*To Bima*) was concerned with a new doping case.

The following day (19th August) the athletes presented themselves before the disciplinary committee with the majority of the newspapers positioned against them (*Athletic Echo*, *Kathimerini*, *Apogeymatini*). The coverage divided the case into various sub-stories, for example, suspicions about the accident, extent/easy access to doping, politicians talking on the subject (*Ta Nea*, *To Bima*, *Apogeymatini*, *Sportime*).

From that date until the 24 of August the Greek media provided continuous coverage of the 'scandal' despite the fact that the case was not progressing. In doing so they presented interviews in which athletes, journalists and politicians discussed doping and included generic articles and comments on the case. However, the general position of the press was that the athletes and their coach were guilty (*Eleftherotypia*, *Kathimerini*, *To Bima*, 20th August, *Eleftheros Typos*, *To Bima*, 21st August, *Eleftherotypia*, *Kathimerini*, 22nd August). Other topics arising in the Greek press during that time were criticism of the International

Olympic Committee (IOC), debates on changes that are needed to doping regulations and a survey of public opinion on doping.

On 24 August police invaded the company warehouse of Christos Tzekos, who was the athletes' coach (he owned a company that sold dietary and nutrition supplements). The incident was seen as a means to blame Tzekos for selling products that were not checked and approved by the Greek Pharmaceutical Organisation (*To Bima, Kathimerini, Avgi, Sportime, Ta Nea, Eleftherotypia*)

On 28 August a second police search of Tzekos' company became the main story. This time it was the police department of financial crime that entered "Aias" (the name of Tzekos' company) offices with most newspapers turning again against Tzekos (*Eleftherotypia, Rizospastis, Apogevmatini, Filathlos, Kathimerini, Eleftheros Typos*). Generic articles and comments debating doping always followed the main stories. The common themes dealt with the extent of doping, other drug incidents of the Athens Games and the responsibility of the politicians for these phenomena.

On 31 August, Kostas Kenteris appeared before the Greek court for the first time. The majority of the press was not supportive of him (*Apogevmatini, Kathimerini, To Bima, filathlos, Traffic, Score, Ta Nea, Ethnos, Eleftherotypia*). Over the following days the investigation of the case continued to be the centre of attention.

On 7 September, it was Katerina Thanou's turn to appear before the court and on 9 September, Christos Tzekos did the same. Again generic articles and comments debating doping were frequent, along with articles dedicated to the court case in general, and columns concerning the role of politicians in the case.

On 21 September, Tzekos was called to the court for the second time, but this time he was interrogated as a suspect. Two days later Kostas Kenteris and Katerina Thanou were also called as suspects for a second hearing. Articles that discussed the court case were common (*Score,*

*Protathlitis, Sportime, Filathlos, Goal News*) along with articles dealing with the other drug case of the Games (*To Bima, Goal News, Derby news*).

## **5.4 Summary**

This chapter has provided the context necessary to make sense of the doping case that dominated the Athens Olympics. The following chapter will provide a close examination of the Greek press reporting once the 'scandal' broke. The discourse analysis of the coverage of the doping pre-'scandal' presented in this chapter is useful to identify change and continuity in the reporting of doping when a major doping incident occurs during an Olympic Games. Prior to the case, recurring patterns within the press reporting of doping could be identified. These included 'othering' those involved in drugs; dramatising instances of doping; generating fear through issuing of warnings about the dangers of doping; constructing a consensus of opinion amongst the newspapers' readership and surrounding incidents of doping with confusion and suspicion. The next chapter will explore in detail the discursive construction of doping after the 'scandal' broke, and consider the extent to which similar or different patterns emerge.

## Chapter 6 The Athens 2004 ‘Scandal’

This chapter presents an analysis of the Greek newspaper coverage of the doping ‘scandal’ that dominated Athens 2004. While the case dramatically changed the quantity of reporting and necessitated a change to some of the stances that the newspapers were making regarding Greek sport’s relationship with doping, there were recurring motifs evident across the pre- and post-‘scandal’ reporting. These included dramatisation, individualisation, consensus, the use of the ‘voice of authority’, techniques of distancing, the creation of confusion/suspicion (including questioning of past events) and sentimentality (the use of emotive words). The chapter will argue that these repeated patterns in the discursive framing of doping constitute statements understood in Foucauldian terms as elements of discourses present in the reporting of doping. Each motif is illustrated by detailed examples extracted from the data corpus.

The following sections aim to demonstrate the mechanics of meaning construction during the reporting of the case. This includes the identification of recurring motifs in the text, as well as the ways these recurring motifs were communicated in the print media, that is, on the use of journalistic techniques. The recurring motifs will be identified, prior to the illustration of the journalistic techniques employed to communicate them. Extracts from the newspaper coverage are included to exemplify the patterns of reporting. This attempt to identify and analyse a number of recurring motifs should not obscure the fact that the motifs overlap in order to create complex meanings, and one technique can be employed in the construction of more than one element of discourse. To provide an overview of the relationship between elements of discourse and the techniques used to construct them, a table has been provided below. The table 6.1 summarises all the elements of discourse identified along with the journalistic techniques used to communicate them and examples that demonstrate them.

**Table 6.1: Summary of journalistic techniques used in post ‘scandal’ coverage of Athens 2004**

Element of discourse	Journalistic technique	Example/Date
<b>Individualisation</b>	Questioning of past history	“The victory-surprise of Kenteris in 200m of Sydney Olympic Games increased distrust”, ( <i>To Bima</i> , 2004, p. A16)
	Missing information	“Night of mystery with Kenteris and Thanou - doping in the background” ( <i>Eleftherotypia</i> , 2004, p. 1)
	Objectification/Use of hyphenation	“Thriller with Kenteris-Thanou”, ( <i>Chora</i> , 2004, n.p.)
	Voice of authority	“Rogge sends ‘clean’ message”, ( <i>To Bima</i> , 2004, p. B3)
	Direct accusation	“The nuclear scientist of track and field”, ( <i>To Bima</i> , 2004, p. A14)
<b>Confusion /Suspicion</b>	Graphic (re)presentations	 ( <i>To Bima</i> , 2004, p. B5)
	Hypotheses	“Three scenarios for Kenteris and Thanou”, ( <i>Kathimerini</i> , 2004, n.p.)
	Questioning the past history	“The candle was burning...”( <i>Ta Nea</i> , 2004, p. 43)
	Unanswered questions	“Eight questions regarding the motorbike accident” ( <i>Eleftheros Typos</i> , 2004, n.p.)
	Sensationalisation	“The accident: under unclear circumstances” ( <i>Ta Nea</i> , 2004, p. 41)
	Inconsistency between title &text	“Secrets, mistakes and lies”, ( <i>The Bima</i> , 2004, p. B2)
<b>Spectacularisation</b>	Sentimentality/ The use of front page	“The triumph took away the sadness” ( <i>Eleftherotypia</i> , 2004, p. 1)
	Repetition	“Heavy climate in the IOC for the two athletes” vs “Heavy climate for the two athletes” ( <i>Eleftherotypia</i> , 2004, p. 29)
	Consensus	“We demand the truth”, ( <i>Athletic Echo</i> , 2004, p. 9)
	Dramatisation of Greek identity	“Shame”, ( <i>Athletic Echo</i> , 2004, n.p.)
<b>Doping as epidemic</b>	References to fear	“The war continues”, ( <i>Protathlitis</i> , 2004, n.p.)
	Extent of doping	“Checks for anabolics in gyms”, ( <i>To Bima</i> , 2004, p. A5)
	Requirement of police Involvement	“Invasion of the police (financial crime department) to ‘Aias’ base”, ( <i>To Bima</i> , 2004:A22)

## **6.1 Doping at a Distance – Individualisation: “The King of Sprints is Naked!”**

Prior to the drug case, the Greek press tended to distance themselves and the nation from the phenomenon of doping. In order to do so, they protected and defended the Greek athletes from doping related accusations or suspicions. In the days after the Greek doping case erupted the press were able to continue to maintain their anti-doping stance by separating the athletes from the nation and thus individualising them. Since the media distanced themselves from the doping case, the recurring motif of individualisation included the isolation and the blaming of the athletes. Such an effect was achieved through a number of journalistic techniques: questioning the past, objectifying the athletes, missing information and direct accusation.

### **6.1.1 Questioning the Past**

During the Greek doping incident one of the techniques employed was to construct a suspicious past for the athletes: this was communicated not only by questioning the innocence of the two athletes in the case of the Athens drug case, but also by questioning their previous victories. The newspaper *To Bima*, on 15 August 2004, published an article titled “Tzekos’ athletes have been the target (of WADA) for eight years” (p. A16) (Figure 6.1). The title implied that Tzekos’ athletes were under suspicion of violating the doping rules a long time before the Athens Games. Thus, their previous athletic triumphs were put into question. The two subheadings accompanying the title directly cast doubt on their past: “The victory-surprise of Kenteris in the 200m at the Sydney Olympic Games increased distrust”, and “The first whispers have started since 1999 for Thanou when she was absent from the International IAAF meetings” (“Tzekos’ athletes have been the target

(of WADA) for eight years”, p. A16). The way the athletes were featured was as if they had shed all previous positive or admirable attributes.

The picture on the right side of the title depicted Harris Papadias, an athlete formerly coached by Tzekos, who had won a European Indoors Championship in 60m. The caption of the photograph says: “Harris Papadias was the first white athlete to have won a gold medal in 60m Indoors Championship in 1997”, (p. A16).

	<p>The surprise-victory of Kenteris in 200m of Sydney Olympic Games increased distrust</p> <p>The first whispers started in 1999 for Thanou when she was absent from the International IAAF meetings'</p> <p><b>Doping case</b></p>
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Figure 6-1

The caption implied that the victory of a white male in sprints was in itself a suspicious case. The media’s tendency to connect race and natural ability has been highlighted in the literature (Harris, 1993, Whannel, 1992). Davis and Harris (1998) argued that black athletes are portrayed as naturally gifted, while white athletes are seen as intellectual, hard working or leaders. In this case, dominant discourses about the natural talent of black athletes enabled the success of the white male to be seen as suspicious in the context of drug use (Hall, 1997). Since Papadias was a former athlete of Tzekos, Tzekos’ career is placed under suspicion as are the athletes that he coached.

In a second example, the newspaper *Apogevmatini* on 17 August published an e-mail that Nikolas Makrozonaris' father sent to Katerina Thanou's website. Nikolas Makrozonaris was a young Greek Canadian sprinter, born of first generation Greek immigrants in Montreal, Canada. His father had allegedly sent an email to Katerina Thanou claiming that her coach (Chris Tzekos) behaved suspiciously in the past. The email read: "I knew there was something wrong with him, since the first time I saw him, you (Katerina Thanou) were there too. Since then I never believed in your medals" (p. 27). Later in the email, the father added: "...when Mr Papatolis (the Greek team leader) introduced us to Mr. Tzekos, instead of congratulating the kid (Makrozonaris), he (Tzekos) grabbed him by his weak arm, looked into my eyes, took the wicked expression of a crafty person and said to me: "What are these things? Bring the kid to Greece to give him his 'vitamins'" (p. 27). The incident described in the e-mail had happened according to Spyros Makrozonaris before the opening of the Athens 2000 IAAF Grand Prix. In this way, Tzekos' suspicious past as well as his athletes' was directly addressed. Furthermore, the newspaper seemed to take a clear stance in supporting the validity of Makrozonaris' view, for after quoting the e-mail it finished the article with the sentence "Everybody can now come to their own conclusions" (p. 27).



Figure 6-2

The title of the article “Electronic attack from Makrozonaris’ father” (p. 27) further enhanced the defensive positioning of Tzekos. At the same time, a second smaller article was positioned on the right side of the page. It was entitled “Who is Nicolas Makrozonaris” and introduced the Greek Canadian sprinter to the readership, along with a picture in the centre of the article. The tone of familiarity adopted in the article lent further validity to his father’s e-mail. In so doing, Tzekos’ past career was put into question with the result he was constructed as individually responsible for the drug ‘scandal’.

On 20 August, another newspaper, *Eleftherotypia* (Figure 6.3) published an article “Bucket loads of pills” (p. 22). The reader was informed that the Greek Pharmaceutical Organisation imposed a fine on Christos Tzekos in July 2003, for importing illegal dietary supplements. Despite the incident occurring two years previously, the report makes a connection with the current ‘scandal’ through the use of the word “pills” in the headline.

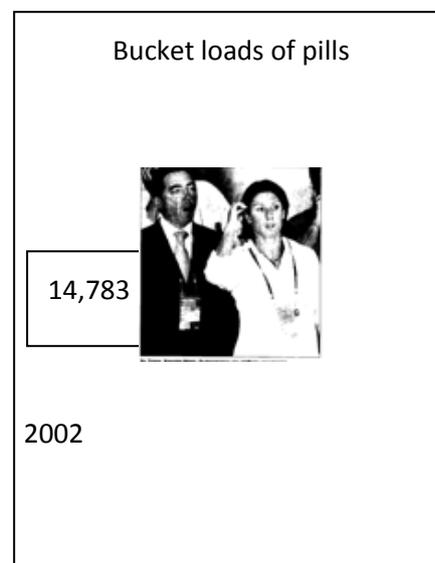


Figure 6-3

## 6.1.2 Missing Information

A second technique used to individualise the athletes was the omission of information that could be used to identify them with wider social groups. For example, information relevant to their national identity, their sporting career, their childhood or other background data was routinely missing in newspaper reports. On 13 August, the newspaper *Eleftherotipia*, communicated the news of the case on its front page with the headline “Black shadow over the celebration” (p. 1) (Figure 6.4). Small, close up photographs of the athletes and their coach, were shown against a black background. In all three cases no national symbols were visible. The subheading above the images read: “Night of mystery with Kenteris and Thanou – doping in the background” (p. 1). They were referred to by their names only without any other qualification. They were not presented as champions, or as athletes or Greeks. As a result the media can be seen as selectively omitting information as well as highlighting preferred aspects of an issue (Slater & Tonkiss, 2001, Salkie, 1995).



Dark Shadow Over the Celebration

Figure 6-4

### 6.1.3 Objectification/ The Use of Hyphenation

Another technique by which the athletes were individualised was through the use of conjunctions to link their names every time the newspaper intended to refer to the ‘scandal’. Conjunctions can refer to the use of ‘and’, commas and hyphens. In Greek, the use of hyphenation is a common way to connect two words together to create one meaning. In the case of the drug ‘scandal’ the conjunction of the athletes’ names “Kenteris-Thanou” bound them together into a single entity. Moreover, the single entity was used to signify the drug case. Thus, the use of ‘and’, comma and hyphen constructed a metonym by which the individuals Kenteris and Thanou became one being, presumed to bear an equal share of the guilt for the doping incident.

For example, in *Chora* on 13 August (Figure 6.5) the title of an article was “Thriller with Kenteris-Thanou”. The hyphenation objectified the two athletes as one conjoined name became a concept that signified the doping case.

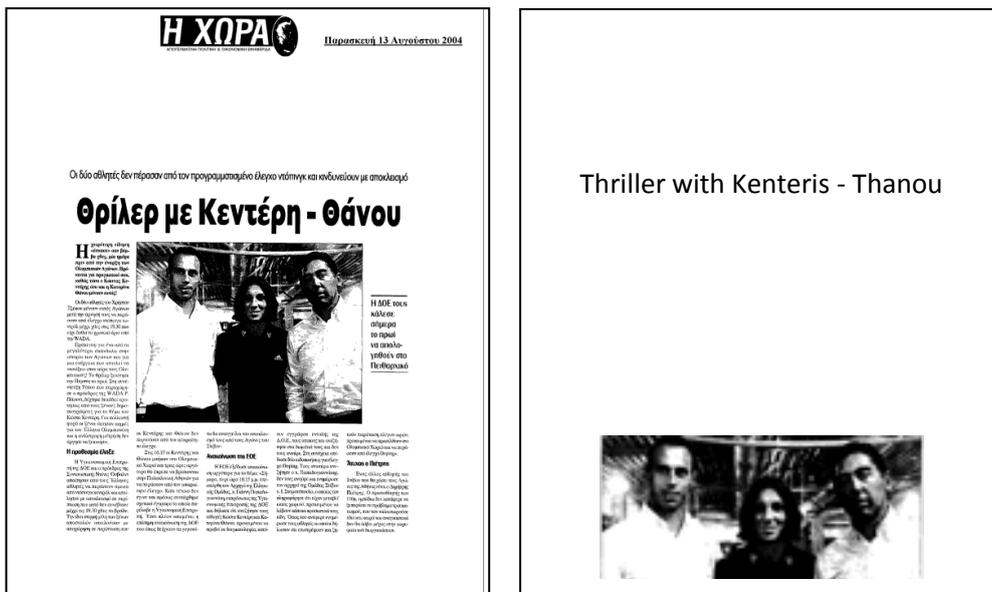


Figure 6-5

In a second example, on 13 August, the newspaper *Eleftherotipia* (Figure 6.6) used the title “Sense of cover up for Kenteris-Thanou” (pp. 4-5). Their names were transformed into a single term representing the doping case.



Figure 6-6

Sense of cover up for Kenteris-Thanou

In *Kathimerini* on 18 August, the headline “Judgement day for Kenteris-Thanou” (n.p.), (Figure 6.7) similarly used a hyphenated construction with the result that they jointly came to signify the doping ‘scandal’.





### 6.1.4 Voice of Authority

The use of voices of authority in combination with the absence of the athletes' own voice was another means to 'other' the two athletes. Using this technique the newspapers presented the opinion of a person, who usually held a position of power, which went unquestioned, while the voice of opposition was usually absent (Critcher, 1993).

In the Athens drug case Kenteris' and Thanou's voices were absent since they decided not to speak out about the incident. However, the gap created by their silence was filled with voices of power. For example, the newspaper *To Bima*, on 14 August 2004, had one of its main articles (Figure 6.10) entitled "Rogge sends 'clean' message" (p. B3). The article communicated what the president of the IOC said at a press conference about the case the day before. In this article, the only voice heard was the official view of the IOC. According to them the blame for the incident was put squarely on the two athletes: Rogge stated that the "Olympic Games are more powerful than isolated individuals" (p. B3). It has been argued (Cohen, 1972, Critcher, 2003) that experts are socially accredited individuals who pronounce their diagnoses and solutions to an issue. Rogge, speaking on behalf of the sporting institution, was positioned in a state of power, which granted him an authoritative expert voice.



Figure 6-10

The picture enhanced the effect of authority: Rogge's photograph took up ¼ of the page, placed next to the title. It was a snapshot of his press conference speech, while the suit he was wearing and the label of 'Athens 2004' in front of the desk also denoted his position of authority.

The article below the photograph dealt with the views of the Greek team leader regarding the case. The headline read, "There are other Greek athletes" (p. B3). The discourse of individualisation was again evident as the Greek team leader tried to focus on the remaining team and in so doing implied that the two sprinters were not part of the team anymore.

On the left side of the article was a further item: "This is how the IOC looked for Kenteris-Thanou" (p. B3) which presented what happened when the anti-doping committee was trying to locate the two athletes. The story was reiterated from the point of view of Mr. Dimitris Valasiadis (the person responsible for sampling in Olympic village). The constant employment of experts in combination with the absence of the athletes' voice excluded any suggestion of any involvement of sporting institutions (IOC and the Greek Olympic Committee) in the doping case.

In another example the newspaper *Eleftherotypia*, on 14 August, included the article "Katsibardis: We dared in 1985", (Figure 6.11) in its multipage coverage of the 'scandal'. Katsibardis was a former president of the Greek Athletics Federation (SEGAS) and a former parliament member. The article published his opinion on the case:

I remind you that back in 1985, when we hosted the European Indoor Athletics Championship in Athens, we had the courage and the strength to withdraw our athletes, for whom there were suspicions of the use of prohibited substances. The goal was to protect the athletes and the athletic ideals (p. 29).

The person speaking was positioned as the voice of an expert, as he had been a member of the Greek sporting institution in the past.



Figure 6-11

The opinion the person of authority championed was further reinforced by the layout of the page. Katsibardis' words were set underneath an article entitled "Towards disqualification..." (p. 29), which pointed to what was about to befall the two athletes. Thus, Katsibardis' opinion confirmed what was previously mentioned in the newspaper. His picture was put under the title of the article, as was usually the case when a person in authority was speaking. The expected disqualification of the athletes individualised them further, as they were about to be punished and therefore removed from the Greek team.

In a final example the same newspaper interviewed George Vecsey, an American *New York Times* columnist, on 17 August (Figure 6.12). The interview started with the note that George Vecsey had asked not to talk about Kenteris and Thanou. However, the first question asked by the Greek journalist was "Can we talk about doping in general?" (p. 26). Moreover, the title of the article was "We have numerous doped athletes" (p. 26). In the right middle section of the page underneath the picture a subheading was added: "On Kenteris and Thanou case: Don't take it

personally. They will be humiliated if their guilt will be proven, not you or your country” (p. 26).



Figure 6-12

The journalist also answered questions related to the organisation of the Athens Games, their future impact on the city, the candidacy of New York City for the 2012 Games, etc. However, his quotes related to doping were singled out of the text and served as the title and a subheading to lay emphasis on them. The individualisation of the athletes was again evident since the journalist’s viewpoint that they will be humiliated if proven positive came from an expert and a respected professional.

### 6.1.5 Direct Accusation

Finally, a way of individualising doping was to directly accuse the athletes of the ‘scandal’. The newspaper *Chora*, on 14 August, titled a two page article “Global outcry against the two athletes”, (n.p.), (Figure 6.13).

**Η ΧΩΡΑ** Σάββατο 14 Αυγούστου 2004

Νίκη και προβάλλει για τη χώρα, πόγκαν όλων των ηλικιών με το καμάρι τους ο Κεντέρης

## Παγκόσμια κατακραυγή για

Το 2004, ο Κεντέρης είναι ένας από τους καλύτερους αθλητές του κόσμου. Ο Κεντέρης είναι ο πρώτος Έλληνας που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Ο Κεντέρης είναι ο πρώτος Έλληνας που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Ο Κεντέρης είναι ο πρώτος Έλληνας που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες.



**Βήμα - βήμα το μεγάλο χρονικό της**

Ο Κεντέρης είναι ο πρώτος Έλληνας που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Ο Κεντέρης είναι ο πρώτος Έλληνας που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Ο Κεντέρης είναι ο πρώτος Έλληνας που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες.

**Η ΧΩΡΑ** Σάββατο 14 Αυγούστου 2004

η Θάνου και ο προπονητής τους Τζόζος • Ριζύ χυαίρ; προηγούμενο για την Ελλάδα

## τους δύο αθλητές

Μουδιασμένη η κυβέρνηση

Το σκάνδαλο είναι αυτό που αφορά τους δύο αθλητές, Κεντέρη και Θάνου, οι οποίοι κέρδισαν το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Ο Κεντέρης είναι ο πρώτος Έλληνας που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Ο Κεντέρης είναι ο πρώτος Έλληνας που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες.



**Πώς βρέθηκαν και από ποιον μεταφέρθηκαν στο ΚΑΤ;**

Η κυβέρνηση είναι η πρώτη που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Η κυβέρνηση είναι η πρώτη που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Η κυβέρνηση είναι η πρώτη που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες.

**φυγής και το παρασκήνιο**

Η κυβέρνηση είναι η πρώτη που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Η κυβέρνηση είναι η πρώτη που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες. Η κυβέρνηση είναι η πρώτη που κέρδισε το χρυσό μετάλλιο στα 100 μέτρα στους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες.

Figure 6-13

Global outcry against the two athletes

Step by step the big chronicle of their runaway including the background stories

The content of the article went on to openly blame them:

How many rewards did Kostas Kenteris and Katerina Thanou receive? How much money was spent for facilities, how many squares and even boats got the name of the 'son of the wind' (Kenderis). But in the last and most important moment for the contemporary Greek history, they darkened the country that 'knocked down its walls' for them (n.p.).

In this case the newspaper directly criticised the athletes and positioned them as solely responsible for the 'scandal' serving to isolate and vilify them through the process of individualisation.

The layout of the pages enhanced this effect. Two pictures of the athletes were put on the right and left part of the pages. The photographs showed the two athletes running during a race. The article that was set in between the two pictures was titled "Step by step the chronicle of their

runaway including the background stories”. The newspaper linked their running to being runaways and not to their sport or to victory.

Chris Tzekos (the athletes’ coach) was also targeted: In *To Bima*, 15 August, the article “The ‘nuclear scientist’ of track and field” (p. A14) discussed Tzekos’ involvement in the case (Figure 6.14).

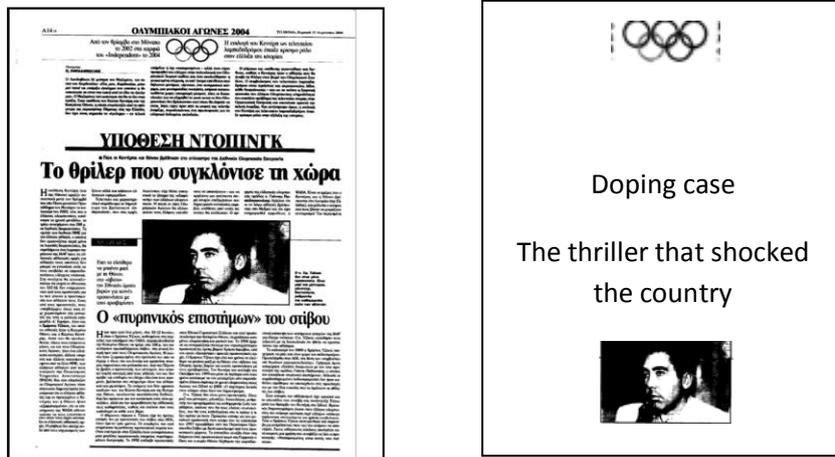


Figure 6-14

The title of the article pointed to the coach’s guilt, since he was not referred to by his name, but by the phrase ‘nuclear scientist’. The characterisation was placed under a close-up of Tzekos for the connection to be clear. The phrase was a reference to chemistry and science in order to hint at the use of chemical substances for the athletes’ training.

The sporting newspaper *Goal News* on 15 August, 2004 (p. 22) included an article (Figure 6.15) entitled “Fallen Olympic Champions”. The title directly accuses the athletes of no longer worthy of their Olympic title although their guilt was not proven.



Figure 6-15

The subheading “expelled from the track” presents a sense of the punishment the athletes ought to face, as well as the story in the text that informs the reader that the Greek Olympic Committee decided to remove them from the team until the IOC makes a decision regarding their case. Therefore, the title takes a direct stand against them although the article presents descriptive information about the decisions made by sporting institutions.

## 6.2 Confusion/Suspicion – “The Accident: Under Unclear Circumstances”

The journalistic techniques discussed above demonstrated the ways the print media individualised the athletes when the case broke out. However, the individualisation of Kenteris and Thanou was not the only reoccurring motif of the representation of the Greek doping case. Another element of discourse that was evident throughout the period after the drug case was the motif of suspicion and confusion. During the coverage of the Greek ‘scandal’ the feeling that was communicated repeatedly by

the print media was that, although the athletes did not test positive, they were still under suspicion. Moreover, the reoccurring gaps in the explanations of what had happened led to confusion in understanding the case. The journalistic techniques that constructed these effects were the use of graphic representations, hypotheses, unanswered questions, sensationalisation and inconsistencies between the title and the text. These techniques did not only show lack of willingness to research in-depth the case, but the always recurring motif of confusion and suspicion orchestrated to some degree an emotive response from the audience.

### **6.2.1 Graphic (Re)Presentations**

It has been argued that the use of text in combination with images creates complex meanings (Hall, 1997). In the case of the Greek 'scandal' graphic representations were added to articles and maximised the sense of suspicion and confusion. For example, in an article "16 hot (unanswered) questions for the case of Kenteris-Thanou" (p. B5) in *To Bima*, (Figure 6.16) the layout included generic information on Human Growth Hormone in between sixteen questions (which are left unanswered) that the newspaper identified as relevant to the Kenteris-Thanou drug case.

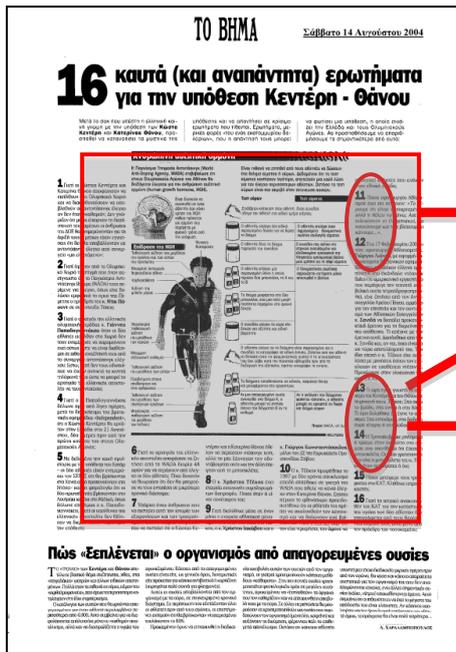


Figure 6-16

One of the questions was

Why did Kostas Kenteris and Katerina Thanou decide to go into the Olympic village and risk a doping test, if they were not 'clean'? Didn't they know that as soon as they got their Olympic passes the IOC's official would know about their arrival or did they maybe have a guarantee that they would not have asked to take an anti-doping test? (p. B5).

However, one image is used in the middle of the article, which actually deals with a different theme. At the top of the picture, the heading "Human Growth Hormone" overshadows the content. The picture shows the drawing of a human body and next to it are pills and boxes. The picture is accompanied by text, which explains how the human growth hormone affects the human body and how the anti-doping tests aim to catch the "cheaters". On the one hand, the main article raises and leaves unanswered questions in relation to the story that surrounds the case. The implied guilt and connection between the two themes adds to the suspiciousness of the case for the two athletes.

In a similar case the newspaper *Eleftherotipia* on the same date, included a cartoon (Figure 6.17) under the title “Sense of cover up...”(p. 4).

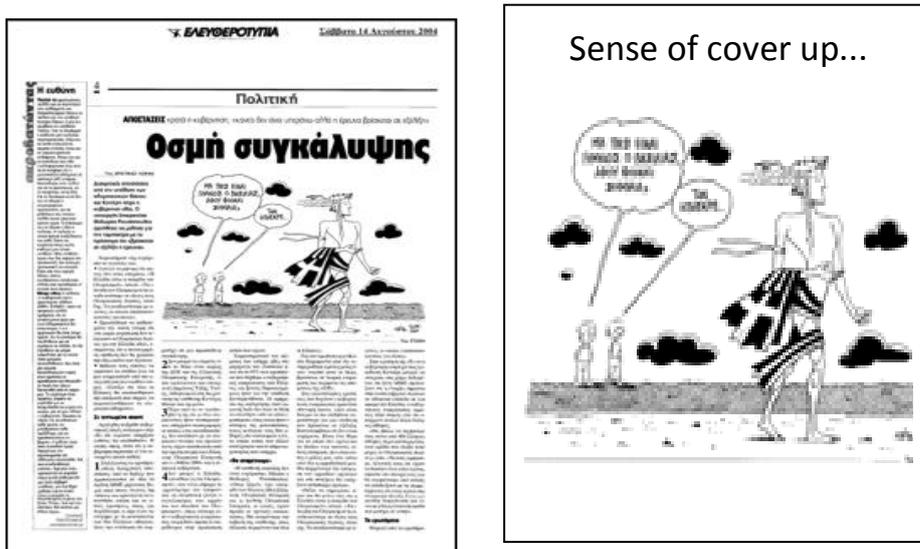


Figure 6-17

The content of the article that is situated on left side and under the cartoon discussed the drug case. The cartoon was positioned in between the title and the text. The title communicated that the case was suspicious and the caption of the cartoon further enhanced this: “ – How can the king be naked since he is wearing the flag? – He doped it...”, (p. 4). It was implied that the king was Kenteris and that since the ‘scandal’ emerged his Greek national identity was not enough to cover up his shame. He was humiliated in public because he used performance-enhancing drugs.

Finally, the newspaper *Ta Nea*, on 31 August published an article (Figure 6.18) titled “Background thriller”, (n.p.). The article aimed to summarise and evaluate the case and in order to do so it included three graphic tables: One was a table counting the “truths” of the doping case, the second was counting the “questions” that were raised during the case, and the third one the “lies”.



Figure 6-18

Truths

Question marks

Lies

The graphics visually depicted the confusion and the suspicion that arose from the drug incident. This is because naming questions, truths and lies indicated that the case was not clear. Even after the Games were over, the use of graphics continued. This style of representation contributed to the sense that this was a suspicious and confusing case as the reader was not only presented with text, but also with images and graphs that were confirming the motif.

### 6.2.3 Use of Hypotheses

Another technique employed by the print media was the presentation of hypothetical sentences as facts. Hypotheses are statements that may or may not be true. In an article in *To Bima* on 14 August, entitled “The

whole truth about Kenteris- Thanou” (p. B2), a hypothesis was presented: ”If it will be proved that they left the Olympic village although they knew about the doping test, the International Olympic Committee seems determined to be harsh on them”.

In “Three scenarios for Kenteris and Thanou”, in *Kathimerini*, on 15 August, a fair amount of space was dedicated to three scenarios that were presented as likely to happen. The article (Figure 6.19) offered three possible future outcomes of the case as if they were news, although none of them was a fact. It stated that

the following scenarios were taking place: 1) The Greek Olympic Committee could decide to withdraw Kenteris and Thanou from the Games... 2) The Greek Olympic Committee could punish the two athletes... 3) The Greek Olympic Committee could leave things the way they are and the International Olympic Committee could judge whether the athletes could be considered ‘clean’ and thus, eligible to compete or whether there is a ‘shadow’ in their samples and thus, they should be disqualified (n.p.).



Figure 6-19

The use of hypotheses presents the reader with speculation about future events that may or may not occur. The effect, however, is to create an impression that one of these scenarios will happen. Arguably this creates confusion as the reader is left with reporting on the case that may or may not be an accurate portrayal of events.

## 6.2.4 Questioning the Past

This journalistic technique was also mentioned in the reoccurring statement of individualisation. Bringing up controversial stories about the athletes from their previous career not only individualised them, but also constructed a suspicious doping case at that time. In one more example, the newspaper *Ta Nea* on 14-15 August published an article (Figure 6.20) title “The candle was burning...”, (p. 43).

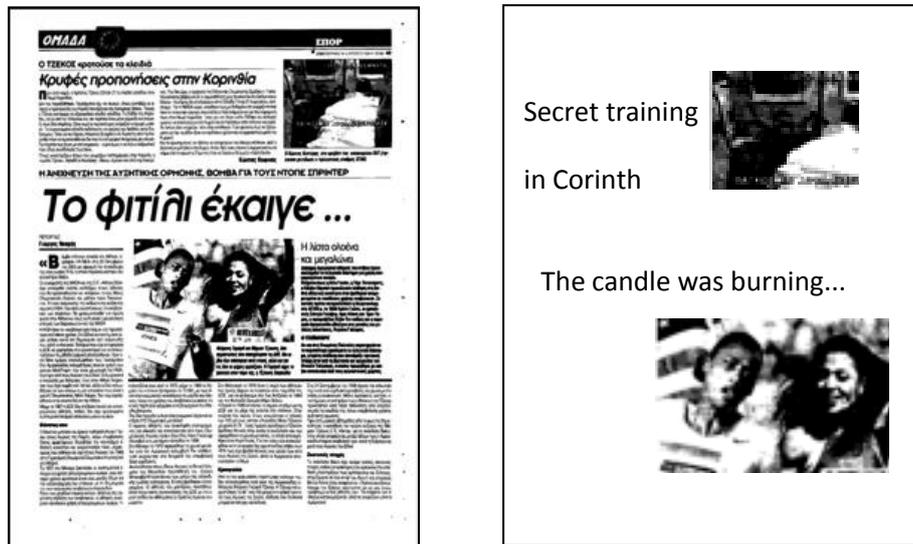


Figure 6-20

The article informed readers that, since human growth hormone was detected by the anti-doping tests, the list of sprinters that were using it continued to grow. The example of Marion Jones was put forward, while the article also discussed the sudden death of Florence Griffith-Joyner. This was a generic article about doping. However, there was a second article at the top of the page titled “Secret training in Corinth”, (p. 43). Next to the title a current picture of Kenteris in hospital was used. The article on the top of the page implied that the athletes were having secret

training while WADA was in search of them. The combination of the two articles together enhanced the effect of suspicion as they both discussed suspicious actions of sprinters (and Kenteris) in the past.

In a second example, the newspaper *Eleftheros Typos* on 29 August published an interview with Lakis Nikolaou (Figure 6.21), the medical doctor of the football club AEK Athens, when Christos Tzekos was hired to overlook the physical condition of the players. The article was entitled “Tzekos was giving supplements everywhere”, (n.p.).



Figure 6-21

Tzekos was giving supplements everywhere

He was saying he would make us...Gods

The doctor argued that Tzekos gave dietary supplements to the players: “...these problematic supplements did not have any

pharmacological contents written on them. When I was asking the answers were vague, thus I said I cannot be the medical doctor of the team if I am not to know what it was given to the athletes". The subheading in the middle of the page quotes: "I asked him to leave because his methods are not in accordance with my moral code. I'm still worried about AEK Athens FC". The former doctor of the team accused Tzekos of suspicious behaviour in the past, which implied his culpability in the case of the Athens 'scandal'. Moreover, on the right side and next to Lakis Nikolaou's interview, a second interview was reported with a former FC AEK player, Michael Kasapis who talked about Tzekos. He supported the view that some players were secretly taking his supplements. Furthermore, he said: "He should be given all the substances he was selling!!! He destroyed many people!!! He was destroying young kids!!! People that wanted to have families and now they can't!!!" Directly accusing the coach for his past acts, constructs a sense of suspicion for his present actions.

In a final example, the tabloid newspaper *Espresso*, on 26 August, dedicated two pages to the doping case (Figure 6.22). The title was "They were sponsoring... doping with billions", (pp. 10-11). The main article argued that new information that came into light indicated that the state was sponsoring the production of champions who were taking prohibited enhancing performance substances (p. 10):

According to information, the state funds given for the production of doped athletes were following a weird path. They were going to a gymnastics sports club that has its base in Kolonos (an area in Athens) and through the club (they were reaching) Tzekos and his companies with the supplements that included testosterone, ephedrine and the rest of the prohibited substances. **The advocates who investigate doping cases find new data every day.**



Figure 6-22



The information the article claimed was about what was happening before the Athens Games. Once more Tzekos' past activities made any of his current actions suspicious. The sense of suspicion was further reinforced with two smaller articles that were placed on the sides of the abovementioned article. The first one was titled "Doping samples touched number twenty" and the second one "Tzekos had expanded his network to Cyprus", (pp. 10-11). The first article pointed to the extent of doping in Athens Games and the second suggested that Tzekos' business was expanded to Cyprus before the Olympic Games. Both articles maximised the suspicion around doping articulated in the main one.

## 6.2.5 Unanswered Questions

One more technique to achieve the effect of confusion/suspicion was asking questions regarding the case and then leaving them unanswered. In *Eleftheros Typos*, on 14 August “Eight questions regarding the motorbike accident” (Figure 6.23) consisted only of questions with no answers or adequate explanations of what the answers were. For example, the first question was:

The question regarding the time that the motorbike accident in Gounari street took place and the time that (the two athletes) were transferred to the hospital remain unanswered...Nobody knows the exact time of the accident and the real time that the two athletes were hospitalised (n.p.).

The article ends with unanswered questions that serve to highlight the lack of a resolution to the case.

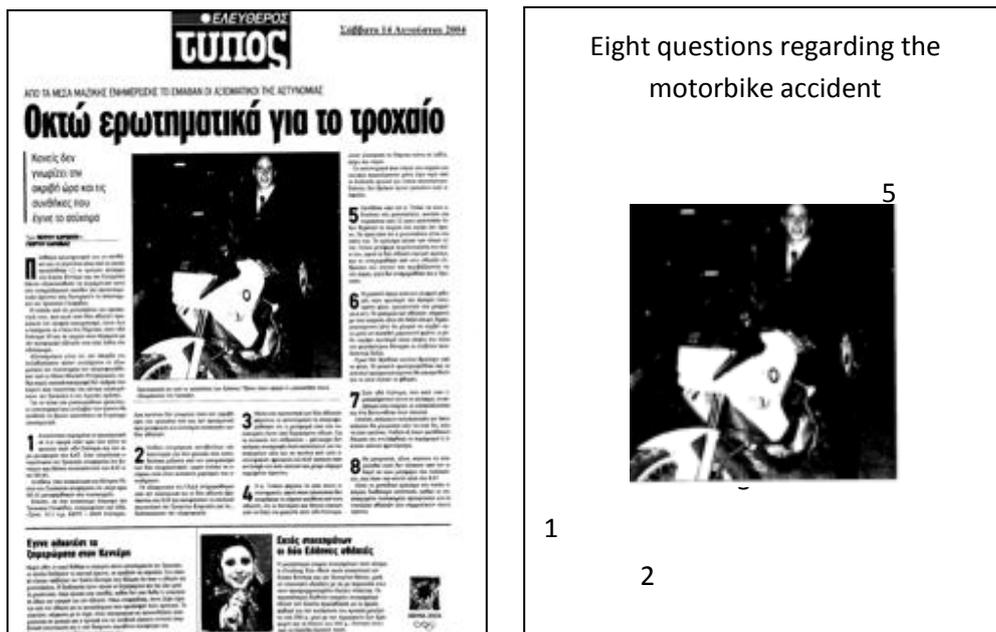


Figure 6-23

The layout of the page put emphasis on the number of unanswered questions. Each one of them was numbered with a big and bold number that stood out from the text.

The same technique was employed by another sport newspaper *Score* on 14 August 2004 under the title, “Many question marks”, (p. 16). Again the content discussed questions that arose from the emergence of the doping case (Figure 6.24). The subheading informed readers about: “Unclear circumstances of the accident, inadequate press updates”, (p. 16). The photo caption placed in the middle of the page read

The circumstances and the timing of the motorbike accident of the two athletes were very strange and it is only logical to ask why, although they were said to have crashed somewhere close to Tzekos’ house [photo] they were taken to the hospital by ‘some citizen’ (p. 16).

Discussing questions without supplying concrete answers adds to the confusion and suspicion of the ‘scandal’.



Figure 6-24

## 6.2.6 Sensationalisation

A further journalistic technique used in the print media that created the effect of suspicion and confusion was the sensationalisation of the drug case. The concept of sensationalisation is understood by Cameron (2001) as the tendency of the media to “adopt more rhetorically tailored language to represent the identified problem” (p. 122). In this case, this could mean using language that includes many adjectives to characterise the ‘scandal’ in a confusing or suspicious way. This effect was in some cases enhanced by the lack of rational explanation.

An example of this technique was demonstrated in the newspaper *Ta Nea*, “The accident: under unclear circumstances” on 14 August (p. 41) (Figure 6.25). The title included the adjective “unclear”, which pointed to the suspicious nature of the case. The content of the article reported that the police had not found any evidence on the street where the accident was reported to have taken place and that there were no witnesses. Moreover, a citizen that lived in the area said that he did not hear or see anything. The news that there was lack of evidence regarding the accident in combination with the use of an emotive adjective generated the sense of suspicion and confusion.

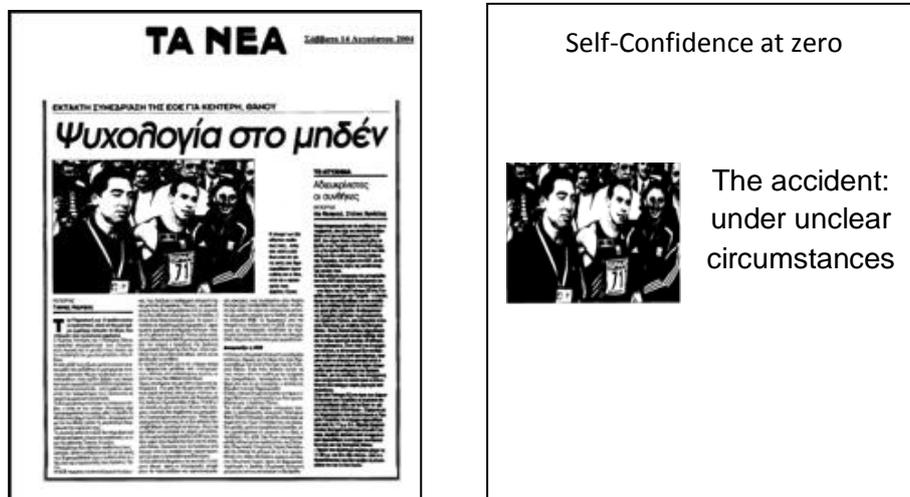


Figure 6-25

In one more example the newspaper *Apogevmatini* on 19 August, published an article titled “Suspensions of faking the athletes’ accident”, (p. 9), (Figure 6.26). The use of the word “suspicion” and “faking” indicated the motif of both confusion and suspicion. The text stated: “third testimony of the key witness to police, because there are gaps in the case of the motorbike accident of Kenteris and Thanou”.



Figure 6-26

Finally, the article directly discussed the “rumours that were being spread”, as the situation was presented as “blurry”. For example, two sport authorities were said to have refused to speak to the journalists. The article highlighted this point even more, as it finished the paragraph by presenting two examples of misinformation. The first one concerned all the private television channels and the second one an anonymous source. In both cases, the newspaper appeared positive that the truth was otherwise and it used phrases such as “in reality” and “we didn’t find anything like that”. In the second case, the newspaper evoked a separate article for further support of its stand. Finally, it should be noted that the athletes were again reported to be at an “unknown” location.

### 6.2.7 Inconsistencies Between Title and Text

One more technique employed was the lack of consistency between the title and the content of an article. This happened when the title of an article promised to inform the reader about something or explain a situation that was not fully explored in the main text. For example, in *To Bima*, “Secrets, mistakes and lies”, on 14th August (p. B1), the main text devoted five pages to the ‘scandal’. The first one was entitled “The whole truth about Kenteris-Thanou” (Figure 6.27) and dealt with the newest information available on the doping case. What took place over the previous days was presented again and the newspaper reminded readers that everybody was unfavourable for the two athletes. Then the article devoted its space to present the position of Jacques Rogge, president of the IOC. Two more articles were used, one explained step by step how the IOC went looking for the athletes, while the other was a mini interview with the leader of the Greek team, who stated that there are more Greek athletes out there who can win medals.

The next page dealt with the questions surrounding the reported accident of the athletes, while a second article presented the current situation of the athletes in the hospital. A third smaller one, reported that their sponsors had ceased considering them part of their teams. The text did not fulfil the expectations set out in the heading, as there was no attempt made to explain with evidence what has happened. The text informed the reader that the IOC had given the athletes two more days to confess and that the Greek Olympic Committee was expected to withdraw the athletes from the Games, before they heard from the IOC. The information dealt with the latest news on the case and it was far from presenting the “whole truth” of the ‘scandal’.



Figure 6-27

### 6.3 Spectacularisation of Doping: “Black Shadow Over the Celebration”

Along with individualisation and confusion/suspicion another discourse statement emerged: the spectacularisation of doping. The analysis of the Greek print media revealed that the drug ‘scandal’ was spectacularised via a number of journalistic techniques. The journalistic techniques that were implemented to produce this discourse statement were the sentimentality/the use of front page, repetition, consensus and Greek identity and shame.

#### 6.3.1 Sentimentality and the Front Page

The spectacularisation of the drug case was evident in the Greek coverage. One technique used to achieve this was the repeated use of emotive words, without further explanation or evidence. Cameron (2001) referred to the tendency of the media to represent an issue from an

emotional perspective as 'sentimentality' (p. 124). The use of emotive words became more potent in combination with pictures that aimed to enhance the sport spectacle. For this reason, the newspapers' front pages are good examples of the technique of sentimentality. Front pages aim to encapsulate the main stories of the day in one page, in a minimum number of words and to attract potential buyers (Reah, 2002). Thus, the use of eloquent pictures in combination with emotive words in the front pages served to maximise the effect of spectacularisation and make the newspaper more attractive to the reader.

For example, in *Eleftherotypia* on 14 August, the news of the opening ceremony and the drug story (Figure 6.28) were presented together on the front page: A colourful snapshot of the opening ceremony took over three-quarters of the front page, with the main heading, in large white font, across the middle. The emotive word "triumph" and its background signified the success of the opening ceremony. However, the drug case was also part of the front page. The heading "triumph" was completed by the phrase "took away the sadness" (p. 1) in the middle, bottom side of the page. The emotive word "sadness" referred to the drug 'scandal' and the font was smaller and black in contrast to the way the word "triumph" was written. The doping case, therefore, became part of the sport spectacle by contrasting with the successful opening ceremony.

Furthermore, on the right, bottom corner two small photographs of the athletes were included in the front page under the title "Towards disqualification Kenteris-Thanou" (p. 1) and a cartoon was used (Figure 6.29).



Figure 6-28



Figure 6-29

- “Phoibos and Athena (the mascots of the Games) have disappeared. They are looking for them to take an anti-doping test” (1).

The cartoon depicts two Greeks on their way to the Games. The dialogue of one of them implied that the Greeks lost their mascots, Kenteris and Thanou due to their evasion of the anti-doping test. The phrase “took away the sadness”, the pictures of the two athletes under the title “Towards disqualification Kenteris-Thanou” and the cartoon communicated the doping story in the front page. All three linguistic elements were positioned at the bottom of the page and they were

distinct from the rest of the front page by a white, thin line. The antithesis created contrasted the doping ‘scandal’ with the sport spectacle of the opening ceremony.

In a second example the newspaper *To Bima*, on 14 August had as the main story of its front page the potential gains the country had been credited with from the opening ceremony of the Games (Figure 6.30). However, the newspaper used Kenteris’ photograph on its first page next to the title “The persons and background story of a ‘national drama’” (p. 1).

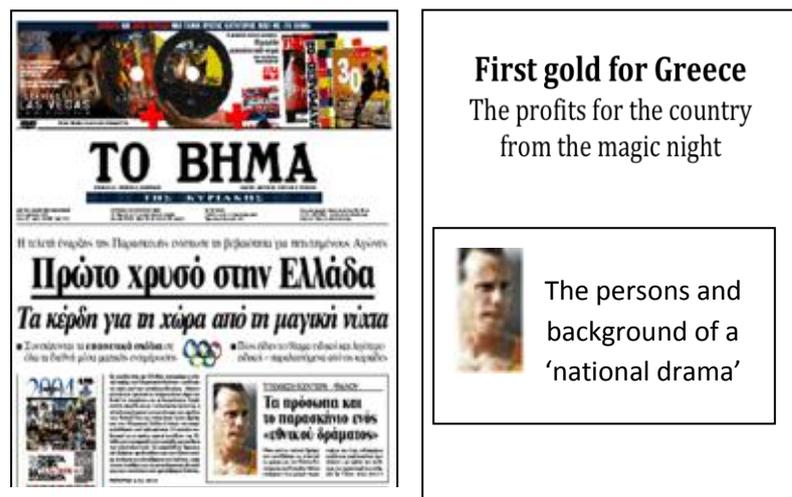


Figure 6-30

The emotive phrase “national drama” came in contrast to the main title of the front page. Moreover, the news of the drug story was framed by a thin, black line, which visually separated it from the news about the opening ceremony. Again, a contradiction was created between the doping case and the opening ceremony of the Games. This contrast did not hide the doping case, on the contrary it included it in the front page of the newspaper. Consequently, the drug ‘scandal’ was part of the constructed spectacularisation of sport.

### 6.3.2 Repetition

The spectacularisation of the doping case was also achieved by repetition of information. Information can be repeated by rephrasing, repeating the same title or even the same articles. For example, *To Bima's* coverage on 14 August used the title “Heavy ‘weather’ in the IOC for the two athletes” (p. B1). The article dealt with the “chronicle” of the case. The main article of the following page was titled “Yesterday’s chronicle of the Olympic thriller”. In the first case, the precise time is used in order to signify accuracy and to dramatise the events. In the next page, the article again uses the precise time in bold for the same reasons. No new information was included in the second case and thus, the information presented earlier was repeated.

In a second example, the newspaper *Apogevmatini* on 17 August (pp. 26-27), published the e-mail sent to Thanou’s website from Nicolas Makrozonaris which was discussed earlier (Figure 6.31). Next to the article regarding the email, a second smaller article introduced the Greek Canadian sprinter to the Greek public.



Figure 6-31

To take his...  
vitamins

Electronic attack  
from Makrozonaris' father

Who is  
Nicolas  
Makro  
zonaris

The email was reprinted in the 27<sup>th</sup> page of the newspaper. However, the previous page had almost the same content. Spyros Markozonaris (the sprinter's father) gave an interview to the newspaper explaining his opinion on Chris Tzekos. Phrases he had included in the email were replicated here. For example, Tzekos' words "what are these things? Bring the kid to Greece to give him his 'vitamins'" (p.26) were repeated by Makrozonaris' father. The last phrase was also the title of the article while Nicolas Makrozonaris' photographs were used three times in the two pages. The repetition of Makrozonaris' opinion gave emphasis to the incident. The repetitive use of pictures added to the effect of spectacularisation.

#### **6.4 Dramatising the Crisis of Greek Identity – “We Demand the Truth”**

Another recurring motif that emerged from the coverage of the doping case was the dramatisation of a crisis in Greek identity. The fact that the athletes were two of the country's best chances for a medal in athletics and they were well known and popular among the Greek public made the doping case more newsworthy. Moreover, Kenteris was scheduled to be

the last torchbearer on the night of the opening ceremony, so he was directly linked to the sport spectacle of the Athens Games. Neither Greek athlete had ever tested positive before nor had Greek sport experienced a major 'scandal' in the years before the Athens Games. As it was demonstrated in the previous part of the analysis the Greek media were defensive of the athletes when it came to doping allegations from the foreign press, because of the role that they played in standing in for Greek identity. The events were therefore dramatised as something grave and unexpected that had undermined Greek identity, just before the country's own Olympic Games. The techniques employed for achieving this dramatisation were the use of consensus and the (re)presentation of reports from the international press.

#### **6.4.1 Consensus**

A journalistic technique that has been discussed previously and assisted in the dramatisation of national identity was the positioning of public opinion. The examples that follow demonstrate the positioning of the Greek public in the reporting of the Athens drug case. It is argued that the coverage assumed that the Greek public agreed on the catastrophic effects of the doping case, thus dramatising Greek national identity.

For example, In *Eleftherotypia*, "Towards disqualification....", 13 August (p. 29) the audience is presented with the wish that the case should be over before the opening ceremony, presuming that the whole issue would be forgotten by the mega-spectacle of the Olympic ceremony. An assumption here was that the case influenced the whole Greek public and that the public wished the same thing. In two more cases in the same article the wish for something to happen was stated, with the implication that this wish was expressed by the whole public: "Let's not forget what Kenteris was", was the prompt and "if only it was like that" was also written elsewhere in the same page. The pronoun "we" and a wish was

applied to the cases to represent not only the journalist, but the audience as a whole.

This point was also demonstrated in the article “Self-confidence to zero” *Ta Nea*, 14 August (p. 41), (Figure 6.32). The first sentence of the article states that “the scandal froze all Greek smiles” (p. 41). Greek national identity was assumed to have only one reading. It was taken for granted that all Greek people identified with the athletes and felt devastated about the doping case.

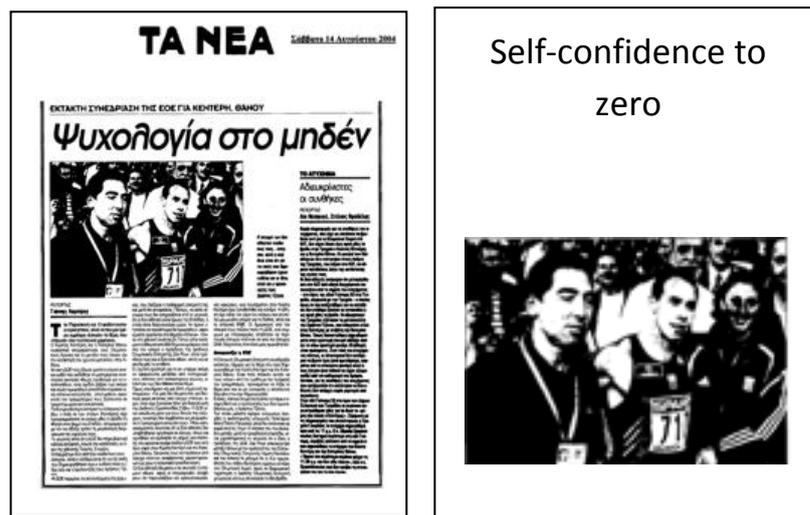


Figure 6-32

In a third example, the sport newspaper *Athletic Echo* on 14 August included the article “We demand the truth” (n.p.), (Figure 6.33) in its coverage of the ‘scandal’.



Figure 6-33

The content of the article spoke on behalf of the whole of the Greek public:

Even the maître of thrillers Alfred Hitchcock, could not write a scenario like the one the Greeks are experiencing for about two days. The emotions of all of us, changed from one moment to the other, when the unbelievable story of Kenteris and Thanou became known (n.p.).

Later on the same article used the subheading “Wound to our pride”. The newspaper’s writing took for granted that the whole of the Greek public had only one view of the doping case. In this way the readers were positioned with a stance that was assumed to be their own. In this case, the newspaper dramatised the Greek identity crisis by presuming a shared response to the Greek doping ‘scandal’.

#### 6.4.2 (Re)Presentation of Reports from the International Press

One more technique used to achieve dramatisation was the inclusion of comments or reports from international journalists and press. One representative example of this tendency was located in the final part of

the article published by *Eleftherotypia* on 14 August (p. 31), (Figure 6.34). It presented some of the pertinent reactions of the foreign mass media. This section focused on the great significance of the story and how much the Greek image had been damaged in the eyes of the rest of the world. In other words, the crisis of Greek identity was dramatised by the impact of the doping case in the international media.



Figure 6-34

The page included two articles dedicated to the reaction of the international press. The first story on the top of the page discussed the opinions of some well-known sportscasters that were in Athens covering the Games. For example, Peter Matthews a British sportscaster stated: “It’s difficult to find another pair of world class athletes with such limited participation in major athletic events” (p. 31). It was implied that the two athletes wanted to ‘hide’ for long periods of times.

At the same time, the article prepared the reader for such statements. The opening paragraph started by informing its readers:

Only a few foreign journalists that are in Athens covering the Games seem to be surprised that the two world class Greek athletics athletes, Kostas Kenteris 31 and Katerina Thanou 29, are involved in a case of evading an anti-doping test (p. 31).

Moreover, the picture underneath the title showed journalists outside the 'Hilton Athens' Hotel. Some of them were sitting down possibly waiting, while cameras and other technological equipment were visible in the picture. The caption added: "Cameras, microphones, recorders and pens are waiting outside 'Hilton' hotel to...be set on fire. A 'fire' that didn't surprise the foreigners..." (p. 31). The dramatisation of the Greek identity crisis came as a result of letting the Greek public know that the international press was unsurprised by the shameful actions of the Greek athletes.

In the same way, the second article on the page was entitled "Foreign press: Clouds over Greece" (p. 31). This time the article used quotes taken from the international media to inform the reader of the vilification of the Greek athletes: "Greek hero evades an anti-doping test", *Sky News* stated and continued: "The athlete who is to light the Olympic fire the night of the opening ceremony is likely to be disqualified from the Games, because he evaded an anti-doping test" (p. 31). The picture that accompanied the article showed someone holding the British newspaper *The Guardian*. A photograph of Kenteris was visible in the open page of the newspaper. In the background behind the newspaper the hospital in which the two athletes were taken was seen. The caption of the picture added: "A photograph that 'speaks' for itself...The foreign newspaper writes about Kenteris, with KAT hospital in the background" (p. 31).

These two articles were used in order to illustrate the attention given to the case by the international media and highlighted the global significance for Greek identity. The text implied that the incident was not a surprise for the foreign press, an implication that shamed the nation. The communicated shame and pressure on the nation dramatised the crisis of Greek national identity.

In a second example of this technique the sport newspaper *Goal News* on 14 August included the article “In the centre of the planet” in its coverage of the drug case (Figure 6.35). The article presented what nine international media reported regarding the doping story. The Greek newspaper republished their titles, included a short description of their content and a snapshot of their front pages or websites.



Figure 6-35

<p><b>“CNN” (USA)</b></p> <p>“Mystery with doping”</p> 	<p><b>“BBC” (Great Britain)</b></p> <p>“Shadow in Athens”</p> 	<p><b>“L’EQUIPE” (France)</b></p> <p>“Kenteris Scandal”</p> 
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<p><b>"GLOBE AND MAIL" (Canada)</b></p> <p>Doping 'clouds'</p> 	<p><b>"BILD" (Germany)</b></p> <p>"Shock at the beginning"</p> 	<p><b>"ROTTERDAMS DAGBLADET" (Holland)</b></p> <p>"They evaded the anti-doping control"</p> 
<p><b>"GAZZETTA DELLO SPORT" (Italia)</b></p> <p>"IOC is waiting"</p> 	<p><b>"AS" (Spain)</b></p> <p>"National idol"</p> 	<p><b>"HURRIYET" (Turkey)</b></p> <p>"They didn't attend"</p> 

Moreover, the opening paragraph of the article stated:

Just at the time the whole world was starting to talk positively about Greece, suddenly...black shadows fell on (the country). The news of the Kostas Kenteris' and Katerina Thanou's case went around the world and became the first story of the biggest international media (n.p.).

The article dramatised the crisis of Greek identity as it presented the reader with a global vilification of the drug 'scandal'. It was implied that Greece was humiliated because of the drug case implying that the Greek reader should feel the same because of the athletes' shameful behaviour.

The sporting newspaper *Protathlitis* on 15 August included the article "Everything will be done according to the IOC's regulations" (Figure 6.36).

The subheading above the title highlighted that there was a “Downpour of questions for Gizel Davies regarding Kenteris and Thanou” (n.p.).



Figure 6-36

The text of the article repetitively stated the importance of the presence of foreign journalists during the press conference: “The presence of the director of press of the IOC Ms Davies in yesterday’s press conference [...] was the reason for... a storm of questions by the foreign journalists regarding the Kenteris and Thanou case”. At the same time the picture inserted under the title of the article depicted Gizel Davies surrounded by journalists holding microphones and cameras. The caption emphasised that they were non-Greek journalists, representatives of the international media.

### 6.4.3 Sentimentality in the Crisis of Greek Identity

A journalistic technique that was discussed earlier and was evident again in the case of the dramatisation of the Greek identity crisis was the

repeated use of emotive words. According to Cameron (2001) the media tend to represent issues from an emotional perspective. In this case using emotive words such as “shame”, “shock” or “thriller” developed the dramatisation of Greek identity. The readers were also regularly reminded that their national identity was affected by the “shame” of the ‘scandal’, as the athletes who were involved were Greek.

For example the sports newspaper *Athletic Echo* on 16 August 2004, entitled one of its articles regarding the doping case “Big shame” (p. 23), (Figure 6.37).



Figure 6-37

The subheading of the article was “The president of Greek democracy took a stance for the humiliation (we faced) about the Kenteris-Thanou case, while at the same time the websites of the two athletes were ‘set on fire’ from the ‘thunder’ of the people”. The emotive words used in the title and the subheading dramatised this Greek identity crisis as it was implied that the “shame” and the “humiliation” influenced the Greek public. Moreover, the images placed in the middle of the page were snapshots

from Kenteris' and Thanou's websites. They showed e-mails that were sent to them after the case emerged. The caption under the first snapshot was: "One of the many electronic messages, with which sport spectators 'bombarded' Kenteris and Thanou". The article used emotive words such as "thunder" and "bombarded" to dramatise the incident. At the same time the fact that the Greek president spoke in public about the case, added to the dramatisation of the Greek national identity.

In a second example, the only newspaper (*Prothathlitis*) that defended the athletes over the duration of the doping case, on 13 August published an article entitled "The war goes on" (Figure 6.38). It used two subheadings, one above the main title and one below it. The first one was "Thriller with the golden kids Kenteris, Thanou who were called for an anti-doping test" and the second one below the title was "They are confessing at the disciplinary committee of the IOC today morning" (n.p.).

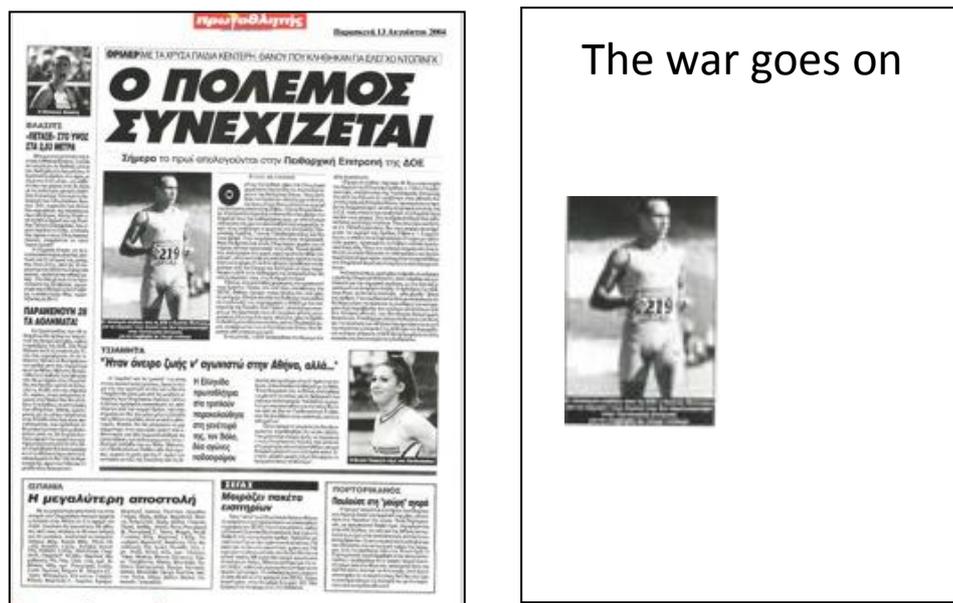


Figure 6-38

The word "thriller" was yet another emotive word that dramatised the drug case. At the same time, the title of the article implied that this time the reader was positioned on the side of the athletes and that they were

in a war against the ones who want to damage the two athletes. Nonetheless, Greek identity was again under threat and thus, dramatised.

#### **6.4.4 References to Fear**

Another journalistic technique in the coverage of the Greek doping case was the use of catastrophic scenarios in order to escalate the tension. The doping ‘scandal’ was represented as dangerous for the Greek Olympic Games and thus, dangerous for the Greek national identity. A catastrophic scenario was presented in *Eleftherotypia* on 13 August “The celebration starts under grey clouds” (n.p.). The coverage started by emphasising that it was going to present a “huge bomb”. The implication was that something ominous had happened, it was not over yet, and if it would not be over soon, it would have serious consequences for the Games. Another reference to fear was contained in the wording that this case should be over soon, the implication being that if not, it would cause disagreeable repercussions for the Games.

In a second article, the newspaper *Chora* on 14 August published an article entitled “The hide and seek of Kenteris and Thanou threw a heavy shadow over the Games” (Figure 6.39) with the subheading “Run or not, win or lose they damaged the Olympic ideal”. The article is a comment of a well-known journalist on the case. He argued in the text:

Like some citizens were discussing, Kostas Kenteris should present himself before WADA and asked to be tested in order to stop the allegations and suspicions from the international press that have severely damaged the big and expensive effort of Greece (to organise) these Games (n.p.).

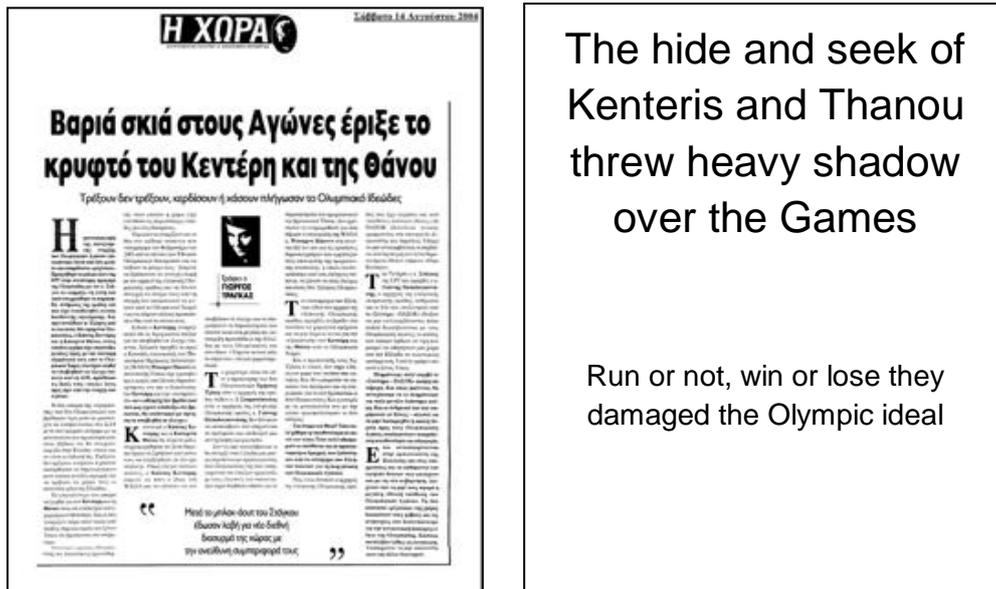


Figure 6-39

The article supported the view that the behaviour of the athletes constituted a threat for the success of the Olympic Games. Therefore, the ‘scandal’ was a threat for Greece and the Greek people, since this was the country hosting them.

### 6.5 Doping as a Public Health Epidemic; “They Were Selling Anabolic Steroids at Gyms”

A final statement that repetitively showed in the reporting of the doping case was the construction of a doping epidemic. The drug incident of the Athens Games was connected with the use of anabolic steroids by amateur and in some cases by adolescent athletes. It was also presented as a very widespread phenomenon not only in Greece but also in the world in general. The ‘scandal’ was reported as a phenomenon that required the intervention of police and the law to regulate it or eliminate it. The journalistic techniques employed to reinforce this effect were references to fear, to extent of doping, and to police.

### 6.5.1 Confusion between Amateur and Professional Use

A first journalistic technique found in the analysis was the suggestion that doping was widespread. The references did not only refer to the competitive and professional level, but also to the amateur level of training, particularly among young athletes. However, a connection between the two levels of athleticism was made either by implication or by direct reference. For example, the newspaper *Kathimerini*, on 29th August included the article “The ‘dope of the neighbourhood’ is uncontrolled” (n.p.), (Figure 6.40).



Figure 6-40

Moreover, the newspaper *Ta Nea*, on 17 August published the article “They are giving anabolic (steroids) to teenagers” (Figure 6.41). The subheading added “3 out of 100 sixteen years old use prohibited substances in Greece” (n.p.).

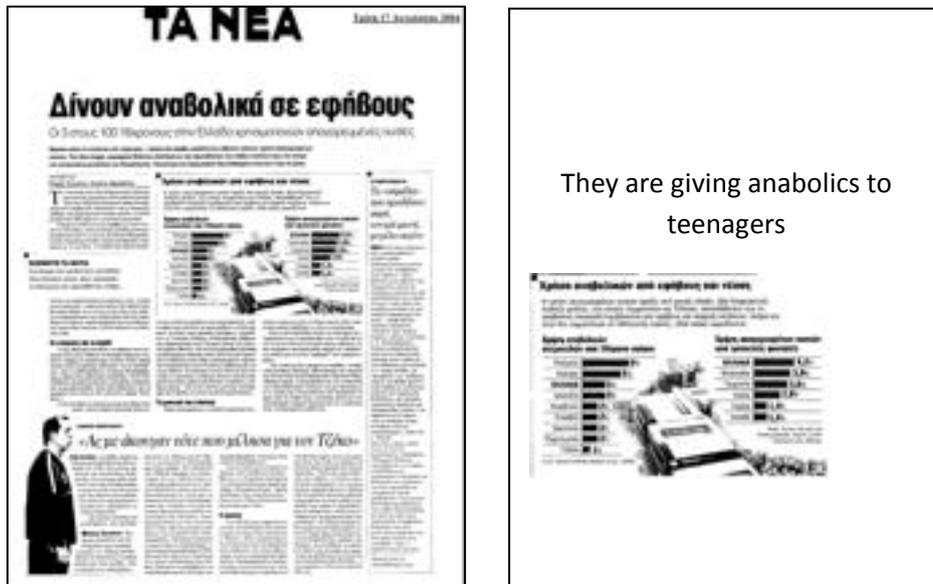


Figure 6-41

The summary paragraph before the main body of the article underlined that the phenomenon of doping has reached the dimensions of an epidemic in Greece. The main article begins by presenting the results of quantitative research undertaken among student athletes and concluded that 4.3% of Greek amateur student athletes use performance-enhancing substances. The distinction between professional and amateur use is not made while at the same time the article uses these results as evidence of a doping epidemic.

In one more example the newspaper *To Bima*, on 20 August, included the article “Tzekos was distributing anabolic steroids in gyms” (Figure 6.42). The subheading added, “The file of Greek Pharmaceutical Organisation was sent to an advocate after the initiative taken by the minister of health – According to judicial circles the motorbike accident was ‘directed’” (n.p.).



Figure 6-42

The main text of the article reported that nutritional supplements that were found in Tzekos' warehouse contained ephedrine, a stimulant banned by the WADA. It was reported in the article that he was distributing such supplements in gyms for amateur users. Such a link connected the drug case of the Olympic Games with amateur use of dietary supplements.

### 6.5.2 The Chronology of Events

The coverage also detailed the chronology of events as they unfolded as the anti-doping officials searched for the two athletes in the Olympic village. For example, the sporting newspaper *Score*, on 15 August included the article "The thriller step-by-step" (p. 9), (Figure 6.43).



Figure 6-43

It claimed that would present the chronology of the facts to the reader. However, the sequence of the words used added to the intensification of the case. For example, the paragraph starts:

The clock was showing Thursday, 18:15 when Mr. Dimitris Valasiadis, the person responsible for the sampling of the anti-doping Olympic centre, knocked on the door of the Greek team's leader: "I want to give you the official call for the sampling of Kenteris-Thanou, whom I could not find (p.9).

Giving the precise time at the beginning of the sentence makes the case seem like a police report. The events follow one another and the reader is informed of the precise times the events occurring as the search for the athletes took place.

### 6.5.3 Police Involvement

An article in *Kathimerini*, communicated the involvement of the police financial department in investigating Tzekos' warehouse (21 August, p. A16). The photograph used added to the involvement of the police to the case (Figure 6.44): A police officer was depicted holding his gun and

standing next to dietary supplements, suggesting a need to police the doping crisis.



Figure 6-44

At the same time the title suggests that the need for police intervention necessary for the protection of the wider society and not just for the athletes. The article maintains that police have started to invade gyms around the capital to check for anabolic steroids. In this way the drug incident of professional athletes became a public health issue and the involvement of police was considered to be necessary.

In another example the newspaper *To Bima* on 28 August published an article (Figure 6.45) entitled “The police (the department responsible for financial crimes) invaded the headquarters of ‘Aias’ (the name of Tzekos company)” (n.p.).



**Figure 6-45**

The photograph placed in the middle of the page, depicted police officers in the warehouse of the company. The necessity for the involvement of the police and the significance of the police actions was visualised as well as highlighted in the text. The caption of the photograph put emphasis on the decisiveness of the police's actions: "After the advocate's order the auditors of SDOE invaded the headquarters of 'Aias' by breaking the lock of the main entrance" (n.p.).

#### **6.5.4 Request for Harsher Measures**

The newspaper *Avgi* published an article on 25 August (Figure 6.46), in which it suggested that harsher measures on doping are necessary. The title was "Independent body for the control of doping should be founded" (n.p.).



Figure 6-46

The request for stricter sanctions is deemed to be necessary by the newspaper, because the problem of doping (according to the newspaper) is out of control.

## 6.6 Summary

This chapter presented an analysis of the Greek newspaper coverage of the most reported drug case during Athens 2004. The story that broke the day before the opening ceremony dominated the press reporting from then on, and provided an opportunity to compare the discursive construction of doping prior to this major incident and afterwards. While the Greek press employed techniques to ‘other’ those involved in doping prior to the case – a strategy that could not be maintained after the incident – there was, nevertheless, a similarity in the pattern of reporting of doping throughout the period of analysis.

The next chapter will analyse the British press reporting of doping during the Beijing Olympics. Three factors make this a very different case study. The first is that the press reports were written in a different language and therefore allows consideration of the extent to which a similar discourse might be observable despite linguistic differences.

Secondly, the Olympics were not being held in the same country of the press that will be analysed, with the result that their investment in the image of the Games is likely to be different. Nevertheless, since Britain was to host the subsequent Olympic Games in 2012, there might be an interest in preserving the image of drug-free sports.

The third factor that differentiates the Beijing case from the Athens case, is that no major drug 'scandal' occurred during the Beijing Olympics. It may be anticipated, therefore, that the pattern of reporting will reflect this different situation. The next chapter presents the results from the Beijing analysis.

## Chapter 7 Beijing 2008

This chapter will present the results of the discourse analysis of the British press reporting of doping during Beijing 2008. The chapter will identify repeating patterns in the discursive construction of doping in the British press, drawing parallels with the Greek case. Although Beijing 2008 had no major doping 'scandals', there were motifs within the reporting that were common to both Olympic Games. For example, athletes accused of association with drugs were similarly isolated from the communities in which they had previously played a large part, e.g. athletic teams, as well as wider sporting and national communities. Once again, this construction framed the athlete as individually responsible for doping. The creation of confusion and suspicion around doping was present in both Athens and Beijing reporting, as was the incorporation of doping into the spectacle of the Olympics through dramatic reporting.

The techniques that were used in the reports were also common to the two cases. These techniques were not restricted to one overarching motif alone, but could be identified across more than one element of discourse. They included the construction of consensus among their readerships; the questioning of present performances; the direct or indirect accusation for the athlete; and the use of voices of authority, which included other athletes. This chapter will provide an overview of the coverage of Beijing 2008 before presenting examples from the discourse analysis.

## 7.1 Overview of British Press Reporting of Doping During Beijing 2008

In contrast to Athens 2004, the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games did not have major doping cases. Instead, a number of stories involving past and present suspicions appeared in the British press. For example, the case of the British 400m runner Christine Ohuruogu, who had evaded an anti-doping test three times before the Games, was the subject of reporting across a range of newspapers: *The Guardian*, 10/08/2008; *The Independent*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *Daily Express*, 15/08/2008; *The Times*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, *The Independent*, 20/08/2008; and *The Independent* 24/08/2008. In another case, suspicions surrounding Usain Bolt's three world records in sprints, were reported in: *The Independent*, 16/08/2008, 17/08/2008; *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Mail*, *The Independent*, 18/08/2008; *Daily Mail*, 19/08/2008; *Daily Express*, 21/08/2008; *The Independent*, *Telegraph*, 24/08/2008.

The only 2008 Olympic Games drug case that concerned the British press to a greater extent, possibly in part due to the British interest in the case, was the positive sample of Lyudmila Blonska, who was the British athlete Kelly Sotherton's number one rival in women's heptathlon. The case was reported in: *The Guardian*, 08/08/2008; *Sunday Mail*, 10/08/2008; *The Sun*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Times*, *The Guardian*, 21/08/2008. However, generic articles about doping were part of the coverage of the Games, although to a lesser extent than Athens 2004. These appeared in: *The Independent*, *The Times*, 08/08/2008; *The Sun*, 14/08/2008; *The Independent*, *The Times*, 15/08/2008; *The Independent*, 19/08/2008, *The Times*, 24/08/2008a.

Two further cases that concerned the British press were the controversies involving the British sprinter Dwain Chambers (*Daily Mail*, 08/08/2008, 18/08/2008 and *The Observer*, 17/08/2008) and Katerina

Thanou, who had reinvigorated press interest following claims that she was intending to sue the IOC members for not letting her compete in the Games (*The Times*, 08/08/2008; *The Sun*, *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Daily Telegraph*, 11/08/2008).

The British coverage of the 2008 Olympic Games also included voices of athletes debating and condemning doping (*News of the World*, 31/08/2008; *The Guardian*, 19/08/2008; *The Independent*, *Daily Telegraph*, 12/08/2008; *Daily Express*, 11/08/2008). Finally, the remaining doping-related articles discussed the other athletes whose samples tested positive during the Beijing Games. The case of Fani Chalkia, the Greek 400m hurdles runner and Olympic gold champion from the Athens 2004 Games was reported in *The Times* (18/08/2008). *The Guardian* (16/08/2008) reported news of a North Korean shooter stripped of his medals and expelled from the Games, along with a Vietnamese gymnast and a Bulgarian 15000m athlete. Their names were not mentioned in the article. A case of two positive drug tests among the by members of the Spanish women's hockey team which could lead to their disqualification appeared in the *Telegraph* (11/08/2008). The positive test of Tasos Gousis, a Greek sprinter, was reported in the *Daily Express*, *The Guardian* (09/08/2008) and *The Independent* (10/08/2008). The disqualification of Irish show jumper, Denis Lynch, was reported in *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Mail* (22/08/2008). Finally, the news that some Russian athletes had tested positive for drugs was covered by *The Sunday Times* (10/08/2008).

The next section will take a closer look at these articles, with the aim of identifying repeating patterns that could be said to constitute statements of discourse. While the amount of coverage of doping issues in the British press during Beijing 2008 is substantially less than in the Greek press during Athens 2004, the chapter will consider whether comparisons can be drawn from the discursive construction of doping in the two cases.

## 7.2 Keeping Doping at Arm's Length: Practices of Individualisation

Despite being a markedly different case, a recurring motif that became evident from the analysis of the 2008 Games was that of individualisation and the tendency of the press to distance themselves from the concept of doping – a motif previously highlighted in the Athens coverage in Greece. In addition, a number of journalistic techniques similar to those discussed in the Greek coverage were employed by the British press. These included: isolating those deemed responsible for doping, constructing consensus (positioning the public), directly accusing athletes, questioning the present and using the voice of the expert athlete.

### 7.2.1 Isolation and Responsibility

The first journalistic technique that had the effect of individualising doping was to isolate those responsible. The athlete who used performance-enhancing drugs was presented as the only one responsible for their drug taking. To achieve this effect, the press re-circulated past drug cases, targeting the athlete who was involved in them.

For example, *The Times*, on 20th August 2008 included the article, “She may say that she doesn’t care, but the new golden girl will be forever tarnished” (p. 5), (Figure 7.1). The title implied that Christine Ohuruogu would never escape from her past history regarding the drug incident. The article stated: “However, the wild celebrations...were tempered by questions about her suitability to be the poster girl of the 2012 Games” (p. 5). The text implied that since she was responsible for evading three drug tests in the past, it was questionable whether she should be the face of the 2012 Games. No other person or institution was

mentioned as being involved in this case. Thus, the athlete stood out as having sole responsibility for the drug 'scandal', and as the only one that should be punished.

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Meet the real star of the Olympics Business, page 41 >

## Olympics News

# She may say that she doesn't care, but the new golden girl will be forever tarnished

**Rick Broadbent Beijing**

Christine Ohuruogu completed her journey from sporting exile to the top of the Olympic podium when she won the 400 metres in the Bird's Nest stadium yesterday.

However, the wild celebrations at her family home in Stratford, East London, a short jog from the site of the new Olympic stadium, were tempered by questions about her suitability to be the poster girl for the 2012 Games.

Ohuruogu, 24, is now the most successful track athlete in Britain, with the Commonwealth, world and Olympic titles, but she will be haunted forever by the three missed drug tests that resulted in her being banned from the sport for a year. "I don't really care what people say or think," she said yesterday. "I'm happy."

Her time of 49.62 seconds was enough for her to beat the favourite, Santa Richards of the USA, and become the first British woman to win the event and only the fourth to claim a gold medal on the track.

The latest of suspicion continues to swirl in Ohuruogu's mind. Under new rules she would have been barred from competing in Beijing because those who have served a doping ban must miss the Games after the ban expires. The rule is not applied retrospectively.

Speaking after she won the world title in Japan last August, Lord Coe said: "She could be one of our ambassadors, but we have never discussed anyone being the face of 2012."

Last night he was part of the presentation party that handed the medals and bouquets to Ohuruogu, Shericka Williams and Richards. "He was really happy, it's been a great British Olympics," she said.

Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, sent his congratulations, and Gordon Brown has said he will send a personal letter to all of Great Britain's Olympic medalists.

Ohuruogu missed three random drug tests between October 2005 and July 2006. Athletes have to say where they will be for an hour every day for five days a week, a UK Sport letter can then turn up at the allotted place unannounced.

After the third missed test, Ohuruogu received a one-year ban from the International Association of Athletics Federations, athletics' governing body, and had her British Sport Lottery funding stopped. She took her case to the Court of Arbitration for Sport, but it upheld the ban while stating that there had been "no suggestion that she is guilty of taking drugs" and that "this case can be viewed in all the circumstances as a busy young athlete being forgetful".

Ohuruogu was also banned for life from the Olympics because of a British Olympic Association bylaw barring anyone with a doping conviction from representing Britain. Ohuruogu completed her one-year exile only three weeks before the World Championships in Japan last year, where she made a remarkable comeback by winning the 400 metres. She then overturned her BOD ban on appeal. The London Panel agreed that there had been significant mitigating circumstances.

Her reason for missing the second test was that she was at home finishing an article for a charity newspaper when she should have been at Northwick Park, North London,

who told her she was allowed to wait for only an hour, when it would have taken the athlete 90 minutes to make the trip.

The final straw came when she was not at the Mile End stadium when a test is carried out. "We went to train at Mile End but there was a school sports day so we ended a last-minute change and went to Crystal Palace," she said.

It remains to be seen whether London 2012 and commercial sponsors

now embrace her. However, Olympic greats such as Jonathan Edwards and Steve Cram applauded her triumph. "I have never seen an athlete prepare for races so perfectly," Edwards said. Cram added: "Christine is almost a reluctant hero, but she is made for the Olympics. It's also a excellent figure. One of eight children born to Nigerian parents, she took a part-time job at Newham Council in East London

during her exile and ran up debts of £20,000. When asked whether the controversy had changed her, she said last week: "I think it just defined who I was. I'm the same person, I'm just a bit more robust than I would have been."

Britain's previous female track champions have all been honoured. Ann Frazier is an MBE. Sally Gunnell an OBE and Kelly Holmes is a Dame. Time will tell whether Ohuruogu's past prevents her joining them.

**Fame and fortune**

**Dame Kelly Holmes**  
Middle-distance runner who hit the headlines after winning gold medals in the 800 and 500 metres in Athens in 2004. Retired from athletics in December 2005 and has become a television personality, appearing on programmes such as *Dancing on Ice* and *Superstars*. Works with nine charities and runs mentoring programmes and promotes companies such as Norwich Union.

**Daley Thompson**  
World champion in the decathlon in Moscow in 1980 and Los Angeles in 1984. After his retirement from athletics in 1992, he moved into television, appearing presenting motivational speaking and fitness training. Appeared in commercials for Lucozade, played football for Mansfield Town and has also worked as a fitness coach with Boris Becker and Tim Henman.

**Sir Steve Redgrave**  
Rower who won gold medals at five consecutive Olympic Games from 1988 to 2004, works for the BBC and has his own leisurewear clothing range. He endorsed brands such as Walkers and Flora ProActive, runs his own charity and works as a motivational speaker. Britain's greatest Olympian has also written three books and been knighted.

**Eddie "The Eagle" Edwards**  
The first competitor to represent Britain at Olympic ski racing was working as a plasterer before he set off for Calgary in 1988. His comically inept performances earned him a place in the nation's hearts and commercial success. Edwards released books, videos and records before he was declared bankrupt in 1992. Has trained to become a lawyer and a film of his life, starring Steve Coogan, will be released this year.

**Christine Ohuruogu**  
A photograph of Christine Ohuruogu, a young woman with glasses, smiling.

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Figure 7-1

In a second example, the story that Greek sprinter Katerina Thanou threatened to sue the IOC officials for not letting her participate in the Beijing 2008 Games appeared. The *Telegraph* (S20) delivered the news in an article entitled, "Thanou to sue IOC over Olympic Ban" (p. 5), (Figure 7.2).



Figure 7-2

It could be argued that the newspaper was giving space for an athlete's voice to be heard in opposition to the perspective of the representatives of sporting institutions, thus arguing a case for considering a less individualised view of doping. However, the language of the newspaper positioned the reader against the athlete. For example, the opening paragraph of the article read: "Greek sprinter Katerina Thanou will sue the 'totalitarian' International Olympic Committee" (p. 5). The use of quotes suggested doubt that the term 'totalitarian' was reasonable, assigning it to the athlete and making it clear that the newspaper wanted to distance itself from the term. The effect of this technique undermined any potential sympathy that the reader may have had with the athlete's position.

The article continued: "The IOC had clearly had enough of Thanou but the decision by the disciplinary commission is not the end of the affair" (p. 5). The newspaper indicated its stance against the athlete through its use of informal and ironic language. It implied that the athlete was irrational for wanting to sue the IOC, and was trying the patience of the committee.

In this way, the athlete was presented as acting in isolation, as solely responsible for her deeds, and as unreasonable in arguing otherwise.

## 7.2.2 The Construction of Consensus

A second journalistic technique that individualised responsibility for doping was speaking on behalf of the public, thereby positioning the public as automatically agreeing to the newspaper's perspective. By constructing a shared consensus, the newspapers took for granted homogeneity among the readership, assuming a single point of view. An example of this can be found in a *Times* article from 21st August with the headline, "It was a race of blazing, blinding brilliance: don't let him fail us now" (p. 7), (Figure 7.3).



Figure 7-3

The headline made the assumption that the reader was anxious that Bolt was going to let them down by testing positive for drugs, and that they hoped that this would not come to pass. It anticipated an anxiety about Bolt's involvement in drugs, and assumed that the readership shared in this suspicion. By presenting the anxiety as an established, shared opinion, the newspaper could be said to bring the fear into being. The article constructed a consensus among its readership that the very magnificence of the performance made it questionable: "It was a run of blazing, blinding brilliance: and you wished with all your might that you were witnessing the deeds of a man, a human being like me and you, rather than a creature of pharmaceutical fancy" (p. 7). The reader was directly addressed as sharing the newspaper-constructed consensus. The paper thereby closed down any possibility of an alternative reading, and did not present any other opinion itself.

### **7.2.3 Questioning the Present Performance**

One more technique that had the effect of individualisation was the questioning of the athlete's current performances through suggesting drug involvement in the past. *The Times* on 20th August included the article "Ohuruogu has perfect answer but the questions run and run" (p. 74), (Figure 7.4).



Figure 7-4

The title suggested that although Ohuruogu won the 400m race in 2008, the three missed anti-doping tests three years ago was still enough to question her achievement in Beijing. The content of the article continued:

But the megawatt smile that could light up the Olympic village turned instantly to a scowl when questions turned to her three missed drugs tests. The ban lasted only for a year, the suspicion is there for a lifetime. That is the lot she inflicted on herself and, unwisely at times, Ohuruogu has played the victim. She has never been that, however viciously some of her critics have attacked (p. 74).

By reminding readers of her three missed drug tests, her present triumph in Beijing was rendered questionable. Moreover, readers were informed that, despite her attempts to cast herself in such a role, she was not a victim. This implied that Ohuruogu held full and sole responsibility for any hypothetical past or present involvement in drugs.

## 7.2.4 Direct Accusation of the Athlete

One more way to isolate the athlete from the institution and individualise responsibility for doping was the direct accusation of the athlete involved in a drug case. For example, *The Sun*, on 20th August, ran an article on its back page under the headline “Oh No, Christine must not be face of 2012” (n.p.) (Figure 7.5).



Figure 7-5

The headline took a straightforward stance. The newspaper directly suggested that because of Ohuruogu's past missed drug tests she should not represent the 2012 London Games. The potentially positive overtones of the accompanying image of a smiling Ohuruogu were graphically annihilated and inverted by the gigantic characters of the words “Oh No” positioned at the side of her face. The ironic image used in combination with the informal, but straightforward language of the title, directly served to accuse the athlete for missing three drug tests in the past. The article was categorical in isolating the athlete from the larger community by denying her the right to represent the Games.

## 7.2.5 Voice of the Expert Athlete

The individualisation of responsibility for doping was also achieved by publishing interviews with other athletes demanding the punishment of colleagues who test positive for drugs. Newspapers presented the voices of athletes who vilified other athletes in combination with the absence of voices that could defend the latter. For example, the *News of the World*, on 31st August (p. 62), (Figure 7.6), included an article with the headline: “Cycopaths: Hero Hoy blasts the drug cheats”.

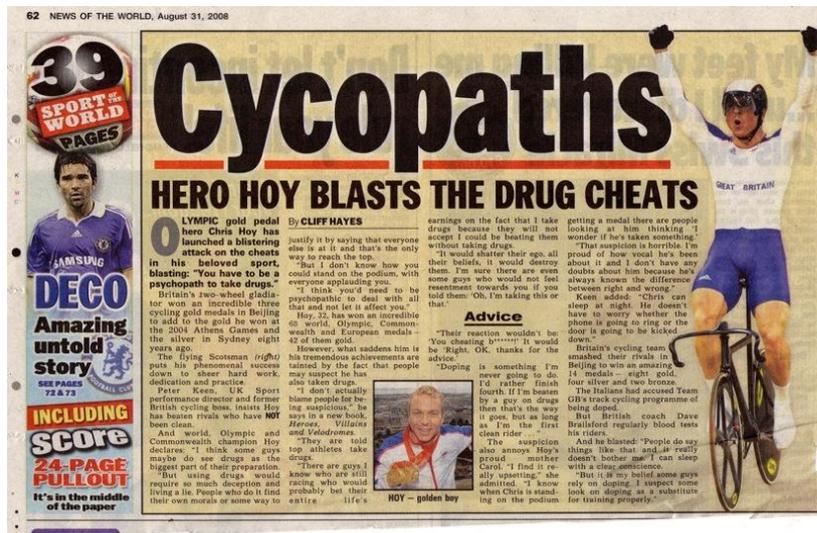


Figure 7-6

In the article, the British Olympic Champion Chris Hoy discussed doping in sport. In the opening paragraph, Hoy was quoted to say: “You have to be a psychopath to take drugs” (p. 62). In this case, the voice of an athlete who was a champion and had never been tested positive for drugs was utilised to represent the expert’s voice to vilify the doped athlete. The two pictures that accompanied the text further underlined Hoy’s authenticity. Hoy was depicted with his arms held aloft in triumph, just after one of his successful races in Beijing. In a smaller inset photograph, he was shown with his gold medals. In both cases he was

wearing the British vest. He signified British success in the Beijing Games and thus his opinion was accorded great importance. His position in connection with the absence of the opposite point of view individualised further athletes involved in a doping case.

### **7.3 Confusion/Suspicion around Doping**

The second recurring motif that became evident from the British coverage of the Beijing 2008 Games was the repeated suggestion of confusion and suspicion around athletes' involvement in drugs. This motif was also evident in the Greek coverage of the Athens 2004 Games. And like in Athens 2004 coverage the motif does not only show unwillingness to approach the matter in reasonable terms, but the recurring pattern implies that this was a way to manage the representation of doping. A number of journalistic techniques were employed to communicate it: indirect accusations of doping and, once again, questioning the present, and the voice of the expert athlete.

#### **7.3.1 Indirect Accusations of Doping**

The first technique to communicate the sense of confusion and suspicion was to reference doping indirectly without a positive sample to have taken place. Raising the question of doping in cases where the athlete had not tested positive came with a direct and categorical answer as to the innocence of the athlete. For example, the newspaper *Daily Mail* on 18th August published the article "After 32 drug tests in seven days the lightning Bolt must be a clean running machine who is now set for the first sprint double since 1994" (p. 71), (Figure 7.7).



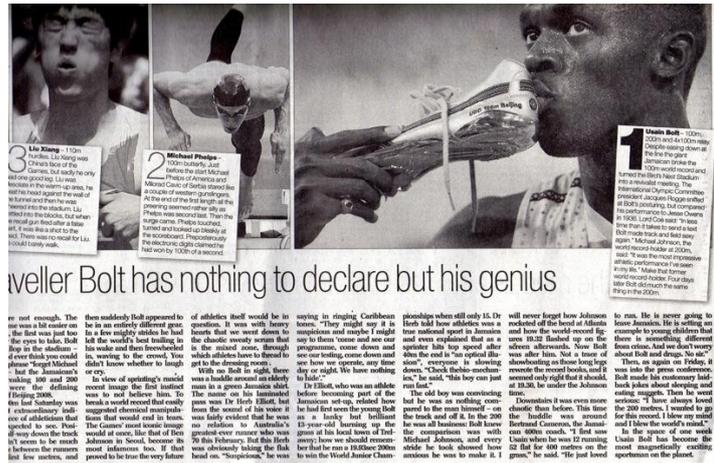


Figure 7-8

The article raised and at the same time answered the question whether Usain Bolt was connected to a doping case. Irrespective of how defensive the article was of Bolt's innocence, the sense of confusion and suspicion was created. This was because the question of doping was raised although there was no positive sample.

### 7.3.2 The Voice of the Expert Athlete

A second technique to achieve the sense of confusion and suspicion was the employment of an athlete/role model to condemn the athletes who consume performance-enhancing drugs. For example, the newspaper *Daily Express* on 15th August published the article "Ohuruogu lucky to be at these Games" (p. 83), (Figure 7.9).



### 7.3.3 Questioning the Current Performance

The third journalistic technique used to create confusion and suspicion was raising questions about athletes who achieved exceptional performances. For example, the *Daily Express* on 21st August presented an article entitled “Bolt races into immortality” (p. 78), (Figure 7.10).

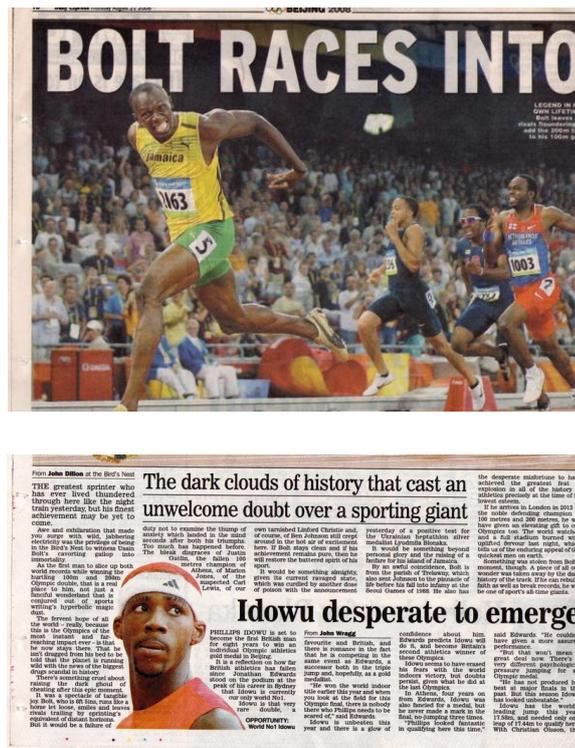


Figure 7-10

The subheading of the article was “The dark clouds of history that cast an unwelcome doubt over a sporting giant” (p. 78). The words “doubt” and “dark clouds” contributed at once to the sense of confusion and suspicion. The text added,

The fervent hope of all the world really, because this is the Olympics of the most instant and far-reaching impact ever-is that he now stays there. That he isn't dragged from his bed to be told that the planet is running wild with the news of the biggest drugs scandal in history (p. 78).

The article was written the day after Bolt's victory and world record in 100m. There was no evidence of a positive drug test or an assumed use of performance-enhancing drugs. Yet, the references to 'doubt' and 'drug scandal' evoke confusion and suspicion in their ambiguity and lack of substance.

## **7.4 Spectacularisation of Doping in Beijing**

Despite the lack of major drug cases during Beijing 2008, it is still possible to argue that doping was subject to spectacularisation. Sport spectacle inducted doping in its narratives, as it holds the ability to absorb moral and ethical issues and make them part of a spectacularised depiction. Doping although it connotes both moral and ethical dilemmas became part of the sport spectacle by being depicted in simplistic terms. Emotive language instead of in-depth analysis was used in order to communicate doping such a way. The instant, non-rational reaction that this language generates to the audience, makes doping part of sport spectacle. The journalistic technique of sentimentality was employed to dramatise the occurrence of doping in the Games and thus, to achieve such reactions.

### **7.4.1 Sentimentality**

The journalistic technique employed for the spectacularisation of doping was the technique of sentimentality. As demonstrated in the previous chapter in relation to Athens 2004, sentimentality was an important and powerful technique employed by journalists. In this case emotive words were used in order to make doping part of the sports

spectacle. For example, the *Daily Express*, on 20th August ran the article “Ohuruogu takes the hard route to redemption” (n.p.) (Figure 7.11).

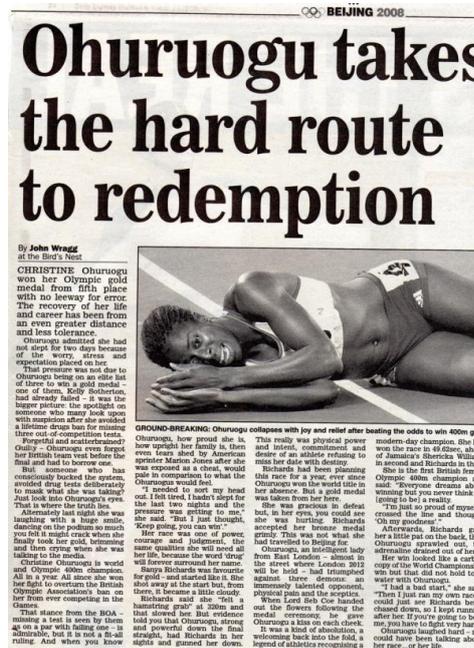


Figure 7-11

The caption of the photograph added: “Ground-breaking: Ohuruogu collapses with joy and relief after beating the odds to win 400m gold” (n.p.). The language used reminded the reader of the past drug case, but at the same time it made it part of the Beijing 2008 spectacle, as the article was written the day after Ohuruogu’s victory in 400m. Consequently, the celebrations of her victory were presented in connection with sentimental references to the past drug case, and thus doping became part of the sport spectacle.

A second example of sentimentalising a doping case came from the positive sample of the Greek sprinter Tassos Gousis that took place before the start of the Games. *The Independent* on 10th August included the article “Gousis stages rerun of Greek doping tragedy” (n.p.) (Figure 7.12).



Figure 7-12

The title used emotive words such as “tragedy” to deliver the news of a positive doping sample. The caption of the picture was: “Greece lightning: Tassos Gousis shows a dramatic improvement in Osaka last year”, while the main body of the text read: “Yesterday, following in the tainted spike-marks of Kostas Kenteris, Tassos Gousis found himself out of the Greek team for the Beijing Games after testing positive for the anabolic steroid methyltrienolone” (n.p.). In both the caption of the photograph and the text affective words were used, such as “dramatic” and “tainted spike-marks”, along with intimidating medical terminology used to identify the banned substance, which have the result of dramatising the positive doping sample.

A final example of the spectacularisation of doping at Beijing 2008, is the positive sample of the Ukrainian heptathlon champion Lyudmila Blonska during the Beijing Games. The *Daily Mirror* on 21st August delivered the news of her positive drug test by a smaller article entitled “Cheat’s shame” (p. M5).



Figure 7-13

The text stated that the Ukrainian champion could be “stripped of her medal” (p. M5). The language of both the title and the text was emotional and heightened the drama of the event of a positive drug test during the Games.

## 7.5 Warnings and Requests for Harsh Measures

The final motif that was recurring during the Beijing 2008 coverage of the British press was that of warning or asking for harsher measures. The press warned the public about the existence of doping and, at the same time, supported the case that doping was dangerous. The main journalistic technique employed was the use of generic articles about it. These were included in the newspapers without the existence of a contemporary doping sample. A subsidiary technique employed to construct warnings was use of a voice of authority.

## 7.5.1 Generic Articles about Doping

The first journalistic technique was the use of generic articles about doping. They were included in the British coverage of the 2008 Games mostly before the beginning of the Olympic Games, without any drug cases having taken place beforehand. For example, the article “Race begins to salvage the credibility of sprinting” in *The Times*, published on 15th August (p. 4), (Figure 7.14). The article was a comment about connection between sprinting and performance-enhancing drugs.

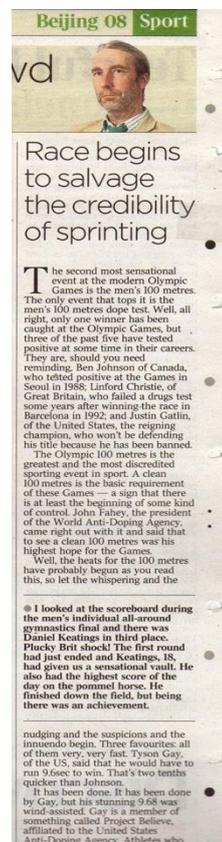


Figure 7-14

The opening paragraph of the article declared: “The second most sensational event at the modern Olympic Games is the men’s 100 metres. The only event that tops it is the men’s 100 metres dope test”.

The article warned about the numerous positive drug tests that sprinting has produced and implied a widespread use of performance-enhancing drugs. In this way, it generated fears about doping, warning of the possibility of their use in the forthcoming Olympic Games.

## 7.5.2 Voice of Authority

The second journalistic technique employed in warnings and calls for harsher measures was the voice of authority. As discussed in the Greek coverage of Athens 2004, the voice of an expert comes from a well-known and accredited individual who diagnoses and proposes solutions to a problem (Cohen, 1972). An example in the British coverage of the 2008 Olympic Games was the article in *The Independent*, 08 August, "Cheats may kill off sport, says WADA chief" (p. 59), (Figure 7.15).



Figure 7-15

In the article a WADA chief warned about the dangers of doping and its moral dimension: “But does that mean we can change sport back to its very essence as a fair playing concept? We must. Otherwise we are morally bankrupt” (p. 59). The reader is thus positioned with an accredited opinion that diagnosed the dangers of doping and proposed its elimination.

A second example came from the voice of the Olympic athlete who asked for harsh measures against another athlete who had been tested positive in the past. This was the case of Kelly Sotherton, the British heptathlon champion, who spoke in public about Luydmila Blonska, who had been tested positive in the past for doping substances. *The Mail on Sunday*, on 10th August, delivered her stance in the article “Ban my drug cheat rival” (p. 86), (Figure 7.16).





Figure 7-16

The title was a direct request for harsh punishment measures against the athlete who was caught having used prohibited substances in 2003. The body of the article enlarged on the headline: “It is hard to digest because she shouldn’t be here but the only way to deal with it is to beat her” (p. 86). The athlete speaking assumed the role of the expert (as an Olympic champion) and asked for harsh measures against doping, by demanding the Olympic ban of an athlete who was tested positive for doping in 2003.

A further example of the ‘expert athlete’ was the article “Davies still feels victim of dopers” in the *Daily Express*, on 11th August (p. 63), (Figure 7.17). Sharron Davies was a British swimmer who won the silver medal in Moscow 1981. The athlete who won the gold medal in that race was Petra Schneider, an East German athlete, who later admitted to using performance-enhancing drugs. Davies stated in the article: “I would not like them to take her medal away, but they should change the record books” (p. 63).



Figure 7-17

Davies as a former athlete asked for the punishment of an athlete who had used prohibited substances in the past. She was the voice of the expert/role model and thus, her opinion was expected to be valued by the reader.

## 7.6 Summary

Despite the differences between the two case studies of Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008, there were repeating motifs across the two Olympic Games, and across the two languages used in the press reports. Discursive elements that were common to both cases included the isolation of the athlete and subsequent individualisation of responsibility for doping; the creation of confusion and suspicion around doping; and the spectacularisation of doping. In addition, the Beijing reportage presented warnings and requests for harsh sanctions, which were

observable in the reports that populated the pre-‘scandal’ coverage of the Greek press in Athens 2004.

Similarly, the techniques used to construct the statements of discourse were also observable in the Athens coverage. In both Athens and Beijing, newspapers used constructed consensus among their readerships; questioned performances; directly or indirectly accused the athletes and used voices of experts, including those of the athletes themselves. Considering the marked differences between the two case studies, it remains to be asked, how is it possible to understand the consistent presence of elements of discourse across two Olympic Games, with or without a major doping case? The next chapter will consider this question in the light of research on sport, doping and media spectacle.

## Chapter 8 Discussion

The following chapter presents an analysis of the discursive depiction of doping in contemporary media drawing on theoretical tools related to moral panic (Young, 1971, Cohen, 1972, Critcher, 2003), vortextuality (Whannel, 2002), moral regulation (Critcher, 2009, Hunt, 1999) and governmentality (Foucault, 2000, 2007, 2008). The first part of the discussion explores the position of doping in the mediated and spectacularised sports arena, arguing that doping becomes part of the sports spectacle. The theoretical concept of vortextuality helps to explain how the spectacularised images of sport celebrities can transform from hero to villain and form part of the spectacle of sport. In addition, the chapter will explore how the reporting of doping 'scandals' employed techniques associated with traditional and more contemporary characteristics of moral panics, with implications for understanding contemporary journalistic practices as well as contributing to deeper understanding of moralising processes.

The second part of the discussion will consider the concepts of moral regulation and governmentality in relation to the moralising discourses associated with doping and ultimately sport and public policy. The governmentality of doping draws on moralising processes to allow the application of more governmental and trans-governmental strategies for the rational regulation and self-restriction of not only professional athletes, but also of the public. These discourses have implications for theorising spectacularised, moralising processes occurring within and beyond sport.

## 8.1 “Shock in the beginning”: Doping Discourse as Sport Spectacle

Both the analysis of the Athens 2004 Greek coverage and the British reporting of Beijing 2008 exhibited a pattern of spectacularisation of doping. In Athens 2004, the sudden eruption of the Greek ‘scandal’ one day before the opening ceremony of the Games blended with the scheduled spectacularised opening ceremony of the Olympic Games. The depiction of doping became part of the sport spectacle through the perceived antithesis between the deviant drug ‘scandal’ and the depicted purity of the Games. This was demonstrated eloquently by the journalistic technique of sentimentality, which connotes the use of emotive words and images, employed on the front pages. For example, the day after the opening ceremony of the Games the newspaper *Eleftherotypia* had the headline “The triumph took away the sadness”, (p. 1). The triumph signified the success of the opening ceremony by contrasting it to the sadness of the drug incident.

Moreover, the analysis of Athens 2004 revealed that the reporting of the doping story used frequent repetition of words, headlines, and even articles to contribute to its spectacularisation. For example, the articles “Heavy climate [pessimistic predictions] in the IOC for the two athletes” and “Heavy climate for the two athletes” were published on the same date and on the same page by the newspaper *To Bima* on 14 August (p. B2). The repetition of the wording of the titles contributed to a sense of significance and shared meaning. In addition, the doping case was represented as an unanticipated event with major importance. For example, the sporting newspaper *Goal News* on 14 August 2004 (p. 32) included the article “In the centre of the planet” in its coverage of the case. In this article the reactions of the international press were reprinted in the Greek media. Among them the German newspaper *Bild* had chosen the title “Shock in the beginning” (n.p.). Evidently, the case was presented both as a surprise (“shock”) to the German readers and by

reprinting it in the Greek press as an event of major importance as it exceeded the borders of Greece.

Similarly, doping became part of the sport spectacle in the reporting of the Athens 2004 'scandal', through its portrayal as an event that affected the entire population. The analysis highlighted repeated statements of consensus, through which the media positioned the audience as genuinely involved in the 'scandal'. "We demand the truth", was a main article of *Athletic Echo*, (p. 9) a sport newspaper, creating the impression that the whole public had shared interest in the story creating a sense of national importance.

Finally, the dramatisation of Greek identity contributed to the spectacularisation of doping. For example the newspaper *Athletic Echo* on 16 August published the headline "Shame" (p. 23), to generate emotional reactions to the audience. In a second example, the newspaper *To Bima*, on 14 August (p. 1) the day after the opening ceremony of the Games, had on its front page the heading "The persons and background story of a 'national drama'". The analysis explained that the emotive phrase 'national drama' contrasted with the main title of the front page, which was "First gold for Greece: profits for the country from the magic night" (p. 1). The contradiction between the sense of being proud of being Greek for the success of the opening ceremony and the sense of feeling ashamed for the drug case, demonstrated the media's portrayal of the Olympics as central to Greek national identity, heightening the importance of the sports spectacle.

It was evident from the analysis that national identity was strongly linked to the spectacularised depiction of drug cases. In this respect, there was a clear connection between the supposed apolitical leisure space of sport and the very overt political discursive construction of the doping case. Interestingly, although sport is perceived as non-political and thus 'light' newspaper content, the projection of political discourses were made in a way that were both dominant and allowed no alternative reading (e.g. the use of consensus).

The spectacularisation of doping was also evident in the mediation of the Olympics when there was no particular drug 'scandal'. The analysis of Beijing 2008 and Athens 2004 prior to the drug case revealed doping stories that contributed to the Olympic spectacle as part of the everyday reporting of sport. For example, the newspaper *To Bima*, on 25 July (p. 79) published the article "We are 'clean', but what about the others?" in which the Greek head of the Olympic team stated that all Greek athletes are dope-free while expressing concerns about the possible guilt of athletes of other nations. Subsequently, the technique of distancing was employed in a way that included doping in the reporting of the Olympics in the absence of an event.

In a second example, the newspaper *Chora* included the article "The Gold medal from Sydney was stripped from the U.S 4x400m team" (n.p.) in its pre-'scandal' depiction of doping. The language used to describe the event was emotive which dramatised the event: "the world was rocked". Stories of doping that occurred beyond the events of the particular Games appeared as a feature of sports reporting within the Games and could be spectacularised through dramatic reporting.

Similarly, doping was part of the reporting of the 2008 Games despite the absence of major doping 'scandals'. For example, the *Daily Express*, on August 20 published the article "Ohuruogu takes the hard route to redemption" (p. 25). The title implied Ohuruogu's possible involvement with prohibited substances and thus, doping became part of the story of Ohuruogu's victory in the 400m. In a second example from the analysis, the positive sample of a Greek sprinter was communicated by the newspaper *The Independent* on 10 August using emotive language: "Gousis stages rerun of Greek doping tragedy" (p. 16).

Doping was a feature of the everyday reporting of the Olympics Games in both 2004 and 2008. Journalistic practices and techniques were used to incorporate doping into the broader sports spectacle. During the drug incident in 2004 doping was spectacularised through a number of techniques such as sentimentality, over reporting, creating

consensus, positioning the story as a matter of national importance, and by the use of emotive language which dramatised the events. At other times doping was still part of the sports spectacle in a more subtle way which still drew on journalistic techniques associated with spectacularisation.

### **8.1.1 “Attempt to blackmail Kenteris-Thanou” vs. “Global outcry against the two athletes”: Doping as a vortextual event**

The depictions of athletes who tested positive for or were suspected of using PES were key features of the sports spectacle. Whannel’s concept of vortextuality will be used to explore the transformation of sport celebrities from heroes to villains within the media. He proposed that their representation as fallen stars can be understood as part of a vortex cycle that includes phases of celebration, punishment, redemption and surveillance.

The uniqueness of sport celebrities (who then become villains in the media) is that the audience is already often familiar with their representations (Whannel, 2002). A key aspect of the Greek doping case was their positioning as role models prior to the events in Athens 2004. Their position as national celebrities added to the sensationalism of the case and, in this case the story moved from the sports pages to the front pages of the newspapers. According to Whannel, sport stories that “break out of the sports page ghetto and hit the front page have an added resonance” (Whannel, 2002, p. 151). In this study, the only time that a doping story hit the front pages was during the coverage of the incident of the two Greek sprinters.

The general sense of doping as a constant presence within the sporting landscape arguably created a sense of suspicion surrounding athletes which could be heightened with links to doping. The suspicion surrounding Kenteris and Thanou after they missed their tests was

particularly relevant to this study. Whannel (2002) described the suspicion of the sports body as a phenomenon that is part of a wider 'vortextual' event and not an isolated phenomenon. He argued that contemporary sports celebrities embody many identities, which are reflected in their representations in the media. In that sense, sporting celebrities can go from being depicted as disciplined, successful and moral to being portrayed as scapegoats, immoral and fallen super stars. This cycle of representations means that sports stars can be subjected to a vortex of communicated identities and, therefore, their representations can be expected to be multi-dimensional and floating.

With the growth of a new competitive individualism, and the professionalization of sport, maverick individuals became the focus for moral castigation... Major stars take on the character of floating signifiers, whose connotations cannot neatly be contained by the needs of either sport institutions or moral entrepreneurs (Whannel, 2002, p. 213).

The findings of this study point to the vortextual depiction of the athletes involved in a drug case. The most publicised 'scandal' of the Athens Games, highlighted a number of discursive statements that pointed to the 'failure' of the two athletes since they were involved in a drug case. These statements included individualisation, confusion and suspicion. For example, the newspaper *Chora*, on 14 August, entitled a two-page article "Global outcry against the two athletes" (n.p.), which pointed to the athletes' isolation.

However, the analysis noted that before the drug case Kenteris and Thanou were depicted in a different way. They were two of Greece's most celebrated athletes and its biggest hopes for medals in the Games. They were depicted as national heroes and sport stars who were beyond suspicion of deviant behaviour. The newspapers did not hesitate to defend them, even without demonstrating evidence, against allegations and suspicions coming from the foreign press. For example, the Greek tabloid *Espresso* on August 4 in its coverage "Attempt to blackmail Kenteris-Thanou" (pp. 8-9) aimed to defend them. The article defended

the athletes against the British newspaper *The Independent*, which accused the athletes of suspicious behaviour. The Greek newspaper answered in return that this was not the case and reported the British article as highly offensive. The depiction of the athletes represents the process of vortextuality as they were represented as people above any suspicion and then as condemned, guilty individuals. Thus, celebration was followed by punishment in the spectacularised vortex of sport stars depiction.

Whannel (2002) argued that “as surveillance and discipline have become more prominent features of top-level sport, the transgressions of sport stars have encountered greater exposure and less tolerance” (p. 154). In this respect, the athletes were exposed to the constant gaze of the media and to being under constant surveillance. The spectacularisation of doping and the depiction of sporting celebrity were the beginning of the discussion. The next section will argue that the spectacularised deviance of doping may seem to be symbolic, but it can also be perceived as a moral panic case with real effects on social policy and practice.

## **8.2 The Athens 2004 Doping ‘Scandal’ as a Moral Panic Episode**

Reiner (1998:196) noted that “deviance in its broad sense is the staple, defining feature of newsworthiness”. Actions and events that can be positioned as deviant, such as doping, attract the attention of the media and also form a basis for developing moral panics. The next section of this chapter explores the construction of the events surrounding Kenteris and Thanou during Athens 2004 in relation to classic elements of moral panic as well as more contemporary reconceptualisations of the concept.

### 8.2.1 Athens 2004 Case: Emergence/Media Inventory Phase

The emergence of the Athens 2004 incident resulted in the sudden over exposure of the doping case, mostly during the very first days after its occurrence. This 'inventory phase' (Cohen 1972, Critcher, 2011) included the suddenness of the occurrence, which then led to the production of numerous front pages and headlines in a short period of time, arguably over reporting the event. Moreover, the analysis revealed evidence of confusion and suspicion within this part of the coverage, particularly during the first hours and days after the event took place. The confusion and suspicion pattern communicated the 'rumours' and 'ambiguous' perceptions of the media's first 'unorganised' reaction to the case: the newspaper *Ta Nea* published the article, "The accident: under unclear circumstances" on 14 August (p. 41), which according to the analysis pointed to the suspicious nature of the case.

Confusion and suspicion were also highlighted by the media's practice of 'sensationalisation'. This journalistic technique included the repetitive use of emotive language and sensational headlines for the depiction of the Greek case. Taking as example one of the articles previously analysed, the newspaper *Ta Nea* on 14 August (p. 41) used the headline "Self-Confidence at Zero" in order to communicate the case in emotive terms. The highly emotive language pointed to an ambiguous discussion. The use of emotional, ambiguous language is consistent with Cohen's argument of the media's very first reaction after a 'disaster'.

The inventory phase is also identifiable through strategies of: "exaggeration and distortion, prediction and symbolisation" (Cohen, 1973, p. 236). This is usually communicated with over reporting, sensational headlines, melodramatic vocabulary, misleading lines and repetition of untrue stories that later are to be proven false or just different than the initial estimation.

The analysis highlighted that in a number of cases there was inconsistency between the title and the text of the article published. In one of the examples, the newspaper *To Bima* on 14 August included the article “The whole truth about Kenteris-Thanou” (p. B2) in its coverage. Although, five pages on the doping incident were included, the actual text presented partial information regarding the case and not a rational explanation of what had happened (or the whole truth as claimed by the title). Thus, the text did not fulfil the expectations generated by the title of the article and the sense of confusion and suspicion remained.

Additionally, the analysis pointed out the journalistic practice of the repetitive use of hypotheses. According to Cohen, the use of hypotheses is part of the media’s first reaction to a moral panic. The analysis identified the use of hypothetical sentences in the news: “Three scenarios for Kenteris and Thanou”, (n.p.) was one of the examples, published by the newspaper *Kathimerini*. Continual questions were asked and then left unanswered: “Eight questions regarding the motorbike accident”.

Finally, the last stage of the ‘inventory’ phase of a moral panic is the stage of symbolisation (Cohen, 1972). In this phase neutral names can signify more complex ideas. The findings of the study pointed to the repetitive use of hyphenations, which objectified the names of the two athletes and made them signify the doping ‘scandal’. For example, the newspaper *Chora* on 14 August included the article “Thriller with Kenteris-Thanou” (n.p.), in the coverage of the events. The analysis explained that the hyphen was used to connect the names of the athletes and to employ this connection to signify the drug case of Athens 2004 Olympic Games.

In summary, the discussion so far highlighted a number of points extracted from the analysis that are supported by the existing classic and contemporary moral panic literature and argue for the existence of a doping moral panic episode.

### 8.2.2 “Rogge sends ‘clean’ message”: Moral Entrepreneurs, Experts and the Role of the ‘Expert’ Athlete

Apart from the sudden and unorganised first reaction of the media to a ‘disaster’ conceptualisations of the moral panic term have identified the role of moral entrepreneurs in amplifying the perceived danger of the ‘threat’ (Cohen, 1972, Critcher, 2003, Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994). Moral entrepreneurs in this case were the sporting authorities who were in a position to express publicly their opinion on the drug case. For example, the president of the IOC, Jacques Rogge, according to the newspaper *To Bima*, sent a ‘clean’ message against the two athletes (p. B3). The analysis highlighted that his opinion was repetitively published in the Greek media and was presented as unquestioned, respected and always correct.

For Hier (2008), one of Cohen’s arguments was that

although moral panics centre on a particular folk devil, the source of panics is to be found elsewhere: folk devils only come to symbolise a threat when moral entrepreneurs lay claim to the problematic nature of certain activities that are subsequently presented by media outlets as factual (p. 176).

In the Athens 2004 drug case, the ‘voices of authority’ communicated the problematic nature of the athletes’ actions and thus, positioned the audience with what and who is wrong in the case of doping.

In addition to moral entrepreneurs, ‘experts’ were used to explain the events. The classic definition of a moral panic argued that “...socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions” (Cohen, 1972, p. 9). The analysis of this study demonstrated the use of many ‘voices of authority’, who appeared as experts to condemn doping. These socially accredited individuals were politicians, medical doctors or journalists. For example, George Vecsey, the American *New York Times* columnist who was interviewed on 17 of August by the newspaper

*Elefthrotypia* and stated: “Don’t take it personally. They will humiliate themselves if their guilt is proven not you or your country” (p. 26). In this example, a person presented themselves in the press as ‘expert’ and from a power position declared their stance on the case.

The analysis also revealed athletes also constituted a social group of ‘experts’. The analysis of the data demonstrated that athletes who had never been tested positive for prohibited substances were willing to criticise other athletes who were suspicious of doping and request for harsher measures to be taken. For example, the opinion of Nikolas Makrozonaris (the Greek-Canadian sprinter) was presented as the voice of the ‘expert’ athlete who held suspicions against Chris Tzekos (Samara, 2004, p. 27).

The use of the ‘expert athlete’ in the Greek coverage of the Athens 2004 drug incident goes some way towards showing that in contemporary moral panics the voice of ‘experts’ can come from a greater array of social groups than the traditional, dominant societal groups of politicians, journalists and businessmen/women. They can even be part of the same social group (athletes) as those who are portrayed as offenders: ‘Folk devils’ and ‘experts’ could be professional athletes. The apparent contradiction can be theorised by the vortextual depiction of sport stars, which allows the constant presence of celebrity athletes in the media. When they are represented as role models they are given the ‘power’ to condemn other athletes who at that time are represented as villains. The spectacularised depiction of the sport celebrity added a new element to the communication of a moral panic episode in the press.

### **8.2.3 “We Demand the Truth”: Elite Consensus/ Request for Public Support**

A moral panic requires that the media incorporate the public into the moralising discourses. The analysis of the data revealed that the media

were not only speaking on behalf of the public, but were aligned with the opinions of the moral entrepreneurs and experts. For example, the newspaper *Ta Nea* claimed the Greek public had their “Self-confidence at zero”, 14 August (p. 41). Moreover, the first sentence of the article clearly stated that “the scandal froze all Greek smiles” (p. 41). In this way, the reader was positioned alongside the media as having a unified Greek response to the events.

#### **8.2.4 The ‘War’ Against Doping: Request for Stricter Sanctions**

After the first unorganised reaction of the press a more organised approach to the representation of the ‘disaster’ occurs. This is often in the form of a request for stricter rules in order to control or minimise the ‘problem’ (Cohen, 1973, p. 9). Critcher (2003) stated that the original moral panic conceptualisation took into account

how increased social control measures are proposed: diffusion from a local to the national arena, escalation of existing control and innovation of new measures. Moral entrepreneurs, (petition politicians, and eventually the government) to increase the powers of the police and courts (p. 12).

It became evident from the analysis chapter that stricter measures were proposed to control doping. In the case of Athens 2004, doping was depicted as an epidemic through the use of techniques such as: discussing fears and concerns; highlighting the extent of doping; requesting the involvement of police; and, advocating harsher measures to tackle the phenomenon. For example, the newspaper *Avgi*, 20 August in its article “Independent body for the control of doping should be founded” (n.p.) argued directly that stricter rules should apply for the elimination of doping. In this case, the press did not communicate the voice of a moral entrepreneur who asked for harsher sanctions to take

place, but the newspaper was the moral entrepreneur and the medium that transferred the message to the public.

### **8.2.5 “We Were Brave Enough in 1985”: Nostalgia for a Purer Past**

It has been argued that moral panics tend to be nostalgic of a more disciplined and moral past (Cohen, 1972, Beck, 1992, Young, 1971). Geoff Pearson (1983) emphasised that moral panics often incorporate a past 'golden age' where society's inflexibility and strong moral discipline resulted in the prevention of delinquency and disorder. Whannel (2002) argued that in sport this is a common theme as:

It is the intrusion of money, through professionalism, that in turn has fostered violence, cheating, lack of respect for rules and the use of performance-enhancing drugs, and so destroyed the Corinthian ideals of amateurism. In structure this discursive element contrasts a golden past with a corrupted present (p. 159).

In the Greek newspaper coverage there were references to an ideal sporting world, in which doping would not be present. For example, the article from *To Bima* on 21 August “Katsibaldis: We were brave enough in 1985” (p. 29) in which an old member of the Greek athletics federation maintained that in the past they had made all the necessary decisions to keep the sport clean of doping. As a result, the past was perceived as more ethical in comparison to the present.

### **8.2.6 Celebrity ‘Folk Devils’**

Although almost all of the previous discourses seem to fit into the definitions of moral panic there are a number of findings that cannot be fully explained by the existing moral panic literature. Moral panic theories

often assume that members of the deviant group will be marginalised, undereducated and underprivileged. However, sport stars are often represented as heroes or role models and viewed as having privileged and desirable positions within society. In the case of doping, members of this privileged group of people are the ones that symbolise a threat to the social values and ideas.

The analysis revealed an extended pattern of individualisation of the athletes Kenteris and Thanou, who were accused of using prohibited substances. A number of journalistic techniques such as questioning of their past history, missing information, objectification, voice of authority, and direct accusation positioned the responsibility for the drug 'scandal' directly on them: for example, the newspaper *To Bima* in the article "Tzekos' athletes have been the target (of WADA) for eight years" (p. A16) a subheading was "The victory-surprise of Kenteris in 200m of Sydney Olympic Games increased distrust" (p. A16) to depict Kenteris as a suspect for drug use before the Games of Athens. By questioning his past victories the athlete was portrayed as a suspect and the responsibility for potential doping involvement was targeted at him.

In a second example, the newspaper *Eleftherotypia* included the article "Night of mystery with Kenteris and Thanou - doping in the background" (p. 1) in its coverage of the drug case. The two athletes were the clear focus of the incident even in the early stages of confusion and uncertainty. The previously mentioned concept of the vortextual depiction of the media celebrity could explain the apparent contradictory finding of the 'celebrity folk devil'. Their coach was also individualised, being the only other person to be depicted as related to the case: for example, *To Bima* accused him directly in its article "The 'nuclear scientist' of track and field" (p. A14).

In more recent conceptualisations of moral panic McRobbie and Thornton (1995) argued that

folk devils' are less marginalised than they once were; they not only find themselves vociferously and articulately supported in the

same mass media that castigate them, but their interests are also defended by their own niche and micro-media (p. 559).

Although athletes' voices did occupy space in the coverage as moral entrepreneurs, the athlete-offenders' voices did not appear in the mainstream press. Their voices remained silent throughout the duration of the intense moral panic phase.

### **8.2.7 “They Are Giving Anabolic (Steroids) to Teenagers”: Doping as a Threat to Public Health**

One of the strongest points for arguing that the Athens 2004 drug case was a mediated moral panic episode was that the perceived danger of doping was not only communicated as a problem of professional sport, but as a public health issue. After the first unorganised response of the media to the doping case, a number of articles were published connecting the drug use in local gyms to amateur athletes. For example, the newspaper *Kathimerini*, on 29 August included the article “The ‘dope of the neighbourhood’ is uncontrolled” (n.p.). The article presented no evidence that could link the doping case of the two athletes to amateur steroid use in local gyms. In a second example, the newspaper *Ta Nea*, on 17 August published the article “They are giving anabolic (steroids) to teenagers” (n.p.). The subheading added “3 out 100 sixteen years old use prohibited substances in Greece” (n.p.).

A second way of discussing doping as a public issue was the reported necessity for the involvement of the police. For example, the newspaper *To Bima* on 28 August 2004 published an article entitled “The police (the department responsible for financial crimes) invaded the headquarters of ‘Aias’ (the name of Tzekos company)” (n.p.). The analysis pointed to the pictures that accompanied that article, which depicted police surrounding the warehouse where the company was based. The involvement of the

police in Tzekos' company implied that the case exceeded the borders of professional sport and it was now a matter of public concern. Although the article did not specify how this was linked to a wider public policy issue the involvement of the police signifies the importance of the doping case and the perception that it does not only concern the world of professional sport, but the wider society.

At the same time, the depiction of the issue as a public health matter draw links between doping and recreational drug use. For example, the way police invaded the warehouse, the continuous warnings that these drugs were given to teenagers, the consequences of drug use to health are all discourses commonly communicated in the press when dealing with recreational substance use. The 'war on drugs' demands harsher measures for controlling recreational drug use and, in parallel, the same was suggested for doping substances.

### **8.2.8 Summary**

It can be argued that the Greek doping case of Athens 2004 had many elements consistent with a moral panic episode. There were clearly defined 'folk devils', a clearly defined 'threat' ('doping'), moral entrepreneurs (the athletes, journalists, politicians and sporting officials), a health 'threat' to the wider society when doping was seen as 'epidemic', moral discourses of doping as 'evil' and the request for harsher sanctions. While most of these discourses were consistent with existing conceptualisations of a moral panic episode, two characteristics differentiated: the element of the celebrity 'folk devil' and the 'expert' athlete.

### 8.3 Doping Discourse and Moralising Theories

Although elements of moral panic were present in the depiction of the Athens 2004 drug case, the concept of moral panic alone is not enough to make sense of the coverage of doping throughout two Olympic Games. The following part of the discussion will place the Athens 2004 doping moral panic discourse into a wider theoretical framework and will argue that it is part of a constant moralisation process. Hall *et al.* (cited in Hier, 2008:176) argued that "...the news is not a creation of the media per se; rather, the media reflect pre-existing relations of domination". Hence, the existence of a moralising process in the case of doping could reflect pre-existing power relations between the sporting institution, the media, the athletes and the public. For example, the pattern of individualisation positioned the athletes and coach as responsible for a drug 'scandal'. Thus, the possible involvement of the sporting institution was concealed by the media. The dominant understanding of doping as decided by the institution, was communicated to the public by the press and signified the power position of the sporting institution. In addition, the concept of moral regulation is useful to demonstrate the connections between the Athens 2004 doping moral panic and the way doping was depicted in Beijing 2008, despite the absence of a drug 'scandal' during the later Olympic Games.

In recent theorisations, the concepts of moral panics and moral regulation have become more interconnected. Initially, Cohen (1972/80, p. 9) argued that a moral panic was a periodic phenomenon, which occurs rapidly and unexpectedly in time. However, that component of moral panics has been challenged: Schissel (1997) argued that "moral panics as historical and socio-political phenomena are not unique and evolutionary, but they occur regularly and predictably throughout history." (p. 59). More than ten years later, Hier (2008) maintained that due to Cohen's initial statement criminologists have tended to understand moral panics as exceptional rather ordinary forms of social control. For both

Schissel and Hier, a moral panic should be regarded as a periodic, but at the same time as a regular and ordinary phenomenon.

In illustrating this point further, McRobbie and Thornton (1995, p. 560), argued that

moral panics, once the unintended outcome of journalistic practice, seem to have become a goal. Rather than periods to which societies are subject 'every now and then' (Cohen 1972/80: 9), moral panics have become the way in which daily events are brought to the attention of the public.

Interestingly, McRobbie and Thornton, added that moral panics should be understood not only as 'ordinary', but also as 'daily' discourses of social control. The idea that discourses of social control can be found in the everyday public debate, suggests that moral panic has become so much part of everyday life that it reoccurs not just from time to time, but far more often than Cohen's initial statement.

Certain social circumstances, therefore, allow for the regular reoccurrence of moral panics. This section will argue that these circumstances are the existence of moralising discourses, which are constantly present in the media in a submerged and underreported way. The findings showed that the doping discourses that were found throughout the coverage of the moral panic episode occurred even when there was not a positive sample that was communicated as a 'scandal' by the media. In that sense, doping moral discourses did not completely fade away after the major doping incident of Athens 2004. On the contrary, they were still present in Beijing 2008 irrespective of the lack of positive samples. Similarly, before the eruption of the Athens 2004 drug case the Greek press circulated the same discourses of doping that were found in the analysis of Beijing 2008 data. Thus, the reporting of doping could be seen as a constant regulating process that is in its peak when a doping case receives extended publicity and reaches the portrayal of a moral panic episode.

### 8.3.1 Submerged Discourses and Moral Regulation

This section discusses elements of the media's depiction of doping that occurred outside of the doping case in Athens 2004. There has been little discussion of the period after the eruption of a moral panic episode within the literature. Disaster researchers have briefly talked about a recovery phase: "During which the community either recovers its former equilibrium or achieves a stable adaptation to the changes which the disaster may have brought about" (Cohen, 1980, p. 13). Cohen referred to this as the 'fade away' phase of a moral panic.

According to him the moral panic ends, as "the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible" (Cohen, 2002, p. 1). As Critcher (2003) noticed "Cohen leaves open the possibility that the condition may re-emerge" (p. 18). It was found that even after the first days of the Athens 'scandal', the repetitive doping discourses did not completely disappear from the press. They were still present, but they were less intense than in the first phase. For example, on 20 August, *Eleftherotypia*, published the article "Bucket loads of pills" (p. 22) and on 23 September the same newspaper included an article titled "Kenteris-Thanou were called, as suspects this time, (to testify) again". That second phase in which the moralising discourses are still communicated in the media, is considered to be necessary for the understanding of the moral regulation of doping.

In order to investigate the period in which a moral panic submerges, the study took into account the British coverage of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, an Olympic Games with no major doping 'scandals', as well as the Greek reporting of the Athens Games before the eruption of the drug case. Both the analysis of the Beijing 2008 data and the Athens 2004 data before the drug incident revealed that references to doping were communicated, even in cases where a positive drug sample had not occurred.

Starting with the Greek reporting of Athens 2004 before 13 August 2004, the analysis found that references to doping appeared. The discursive statements that emerged from the analysis of these articles comprised, first of all, of the process of the spectacularisation of doping, through the use of emotive language. For example the newspaper *Chora* described the stripping off the gold medal from the US 4x400 relay team as “more news to rock the world of sport” (“The Gold medal from Sydney was stripped of the U.S 4x400m team”, 24 July).

The media also articulated fears about doping by health risks. For example, the newspaper *Goal News* published the following article titled: “The doping file: Warning... it’s lethal” on 4 August which discussed the health risks associated with the use of doping substances and methods. Finally, the discursive statement of confusion/suspicion was evident. For example, the previously mentioned article “We are ‘clean’, but what about the others?” (p. A31) left suspicions as to whether other countries are dope free and set the scene for a possible doping issue.

In this respect, it could be argued that the moralising discourses of doping were present in a submerged form before the drug case with the two athletes occurred. Critcher (2011a) argued that the moralising discourses of everyday life allow for the sudden eruption of a moral panic episode. The data showed that indeed submerged discourses of doping were circulated in the press before the ‘scandal’ concerning the two sprinters.

In the case of Beijing 2008, there were also submerged discourses of doping evident throughout the British coverage of the Games. The depiction of Usain Bolt during the Beijing Olympics demonstrated this point. Bolt won three gold medals in Beijing (100m, 200m and 4x100m) and broke an equal number of world records. The analysis revealed the presence of discourses of suspicion that implied that he may have been involved with prohibited performance-enhancing substances and methods, although he did not test positive during the Beijing 2008 Games. In an example taken from the analysis, the newspaper *Daily*

*Express* on 21 August presented an article entitled “Bolt races into immortality” (p. 78). The subheading of the article “The dark clouds of history that cast an unwelcome doubt over a sporting giant” (p. 78) was an indirect reference to doping and discourses of suspicion were attached to the elite sprinter.

In a similar case, the British athlete Christine Ohuruogu was considered suspicious, especially after her victory in the 400m race. She had missed two anti-doping tests before the Beijing Games and although she did not test positive during, her name was connected to doping in the press. The analysis of the data demonstrated the indirect questions of doping that were present in the reporting on her victory: For example, the newspaper *The Times*, on 20 August 2008 included the article “She may say that she doesn’t care, but the new golden girl will be forever tarnished” (p. 5). The title implied that she would be permanently under suspicion. In another example, of the individualisation of Ohuruogu, the newspaper *The Sun* on 20 August 2008 published the article “Oh No, Christine must not be the face of 2012” (n.p) to directly position the British runner as a suspect character. In the case of Beijing 2008, the athletes were characterised as potential perpetrators irrespective of the lack of evidence of doping.

Moreover, similarly to the depiction of the Athens, ‘expert’ athletes and moral entrepreneurs were also present in the Beijing 2008 coverage of the Games. The WADA spokesperson was repetitively heard in the media, stating that doping phenomena will not be tolerated: for example, the article “Cheats may kill off sport, says WADA chief” (p. 59) in *The Independent*, 8 August. In this article, Chris Hoy, the British cyclist who won four medals in the Games, condemned athletes who had tested positive for doping. Kelly Sotherton, the British heptathlon athlete, asked for the paradigmatic and harsh punishment of the athlete Luydmilla Blonska who tested positive in the Games. She also suggested that stricter doping rules in general should be applied.

### **8.3.2 Moralising Discourses Without a ‘Scandal’**

Interestingly the two cases of Usain Bolt and Christine Ohuruogu, neither of whom tested positive, featured in of the largest number of articles with references to doping in Beijing 2008 press coverage. By contrast, there were few stories about the athletes who did test positive in Beijing 2008. In one of the examples, the heptathlon athlete Lloydmila Blonska lost her gold medal due to a positive anti-doping test. However, her case did not become highly publicised.

Therefore, an observation was that not all drug cases are newsworthy and thus, they are not depicted as ‘scandals’ in the media. On the other hand, dominant doping discourses continued to be a part of the Olympic press coverage irrespective of the lack of drug cases in Beijing 2008. In fact, they were more prominent in two cases of athletes that were not tested positive of drug use. This showed that doping moralising discourses can remain substantial irrespective of a drug incident or a positive test and there can be positive doping cases that do not lead to a moral panic episode.

McRobbie and Thornton (1995) and Watney (1987) pointed to the everyday endorsement of moralising discourses and their reproduction by the media. Beijing’s 2008 data revealed continuity between the doping discursive statements of Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008. The submerged moralising phase of doping discourses reminds the audience of the existence of doping (moral panic) and thus, creates the ground for a sudden over reporting of an event in the media. The doping moral panic episode confirms the warnings and fears, and creates the demand for harsher measures to take place, which will eventually lead to its submerged phase. More specifically, the analysis of the British coverage of 2008 demonstrated the patterns of individualisation (taking distance from doping), confusion and suspicion, spectacularisation and dramatisation and the statement of warning/terrorisation. All of the above repetitive statements were also part of the Athens 2004 coverage,

especially during the portrayal of the Greek drug case, which was the biggest story of either of the Games. This evidence demonstrates the continual presence of the doping moralising discourses in the press and thus, supports existence of continuous processes of moral regulation. In that respect the Athens 2004 doping 'scandal' was the peak expression of a constant moral regulation process.

### **8.3.3 Moral Regulation and Governmentality**

The chapter has shown so far that the Athens 2004 drug incident can be seen as a moral panic case and that the continual moralising discourses of doping are part of a process of moral regulation. The moral regulation of doping can be viewed as an ongoing and constant process, and further attempts to understand it require conceptualising it as part of broader ongoing social processes. This chapter draws on Foucault's understanding of governmentality to explore whether the moral regulation of doping (and its moral panic episodes) can be understood as part of wider governing strategies and techniques. In this way, the implications and its impact can be fully understood. Foucault (2007) argued that governmentality is the conduct of conduct. In other words he maintained that governmental strategies are applied in order to teach the public to teach themselves how to behave. As Garland stated, governmentality is "the forms of rule by which various authorities govern populations and the technologies of the self through which individuals work on themselves to shape their own subjectivity" (1997, p. 174). These governing forms, according to Foucault, individualise and totalise. The moral regulation of the depiction of doping in this research shows two levels of regulation: first of all, on a literal level the athletes are targeted and are punished individually. For example, the article "Kenteris-Thanou were called, as suspects this time, (to testify) again" (n.p.) published by *Eleftherotypia*, on 23 September stated that the two accused athletes were called to testify at court for their misbehaviour. They had already been expelled from the

Olympic Games. Although the coverage individualised the crime of doping, the punishment does not target only the two accused athletes, it aims to restrain other athletes from taking doping substances.

Moreover, the depiction of doping works on a symbolic level as well: the athletes are being punished in order for the rest of the public to be self-controlled. Articles that communicated the dangers of doping to the wider population by drawing on the notion of an epidemic were evident. For example, the article “They are giving anabolic (steroids) to teenagers” published by the newspaper *Ta Nea*, maintained that in local gyms youngsters were given anabolic steroids. This discursive statement turned the individual responsibility of a professional athlete into something wider: it totalised the effects of doping. A whole new population (teenagers and their families as well) were now actively incorporated into the doping story. They were called to take responsibility for the social (not only professional) phenomenon of drug taking in sports. The discursive statements associated with the doping epidemic included the request for harsher measures. The audience was positioned as actively involved in asking for harsher sanctions to be applied not only to professional athletes, but also to the broader public, specifically teenagers and amateur athletes. Thus, the effects of the moral regulation of doping are not only to individualise but to also totalise. The depiction of the phenomenon exceeds the sporting professional world and makes it part of the public contact and debate.

Secondly, the concept of governmentality entails that the act of governing can only be applied to free individuals. According to Foucault (2007, p. 48) “freedom is nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of apparatuses of security”. In the case of doping, Park (2005) argued that the highly pervasive anti-doping surveillance system is being applied to individuals who apparently are freely giving their permission for the intrusion into their private lives. The findings of the thesis support this stance, as the ‘expert’ athlete was evident throughout the depiction of doping in both Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008. By this it was implied that athletes were freely agreeing with the anti-doping

system and they were asking for the implementation of punitive measures. The notion of freedom in governmentality legitimises the culture of surveillance as it is applied to informed and free individuals. Similarly, the free athletes who condemned other athletes and seemed in agreement with the rules of the sporting institution made doping seem non-endemic to professional sport.

In conclusion, the ways media depicted doping can be understood as a governmentally employed strategy for the conduct of people. However, Foucault conceived the concept in order to discuss the state's ways of controlling the citizens. In the case of doping, the situation is more complicated: the media in both case studies come from two different states and the harsher measures suggested concern their national policies. However, at the same time doping is internationally controlled by WADA, which is a transnational agency. Thus, in this case the concept of governmentality concerns both the state intervention in public policy and conduct, but also an international governmentality applied to different national contexts by WADA. Kirkwood (2004, p. 48), argued that "WADA strongly controls the information that is released to the sports media regarding drug testing, so as to continue to promulgate the IOC's discourse on the drug war".

In answer to the question of whether the concept of moral panics and the theory of moral regulation can be linked to the theory of governmentality in the case of doping, this chapter argues that doping moral panics are an extreme expression of a constant moral regulation process. The research defines moral regulation as the ever-present moralising discourses of doping in the press. The focus here is the 'moralising' element, as these discourses characterise doping as a moral phenomenon that needs to be regulated (doping is cheating and unfair). The concept of governmentality is not limited to moralisation. It is a concept that captures a variety of governmental strategies and techniques in order to make the citizen responsible for their freedom and their conduct. In that sense, the research revealed that the moral regulation of doping via its mediated depiction is one of the numerous

governmental techniques applied to the citizens to both moralise and teach them how to behave. Governmentality in the case of doping is conveyed via spectacularised, mediated professional sport. Its depiction points to the regulatory power of the media which is expressed by the continually circulated discourses of doping, which remain the same over time and obscure other potential representations and meanings.

## **8.4 Summary**

In summarising the preceding discussion, the analysis of the data revealed a number of discursive statements that constructed the depiction of doping. The first part of the discussion related doping to the concept of sport spectacle. It was argued that the perceived antithesis between doping and sport makes the phenomenon of doping part of sports spectacle. Since doping is depicted as part of the narrative of the Olympic Games, the discussion pointed to the spectacularised ways it was portrayed. It was stated that sudden over reporting of the events that takes place within the depiction of sport spectacle, are placed in the leisure space of the reader who is not expected to take them into critical examination. However, they are far from neutral and apolitical.

The second part of the discussion argued that in the case of the Athens 2004 drug case an episode of doping moral panic was evident. It was stated that the doping moral panic is more complicated than the model the original theory proposed. McRobbie and Thornton (1995) observed that contemporary moral panics are less monolithic than those the classic model described. Nevertheless, they continued, “recent moral panics do remain overwhelmingly concerned with moral values, societal regularities and drawing of lines between the permissible and the less acceptable” (p. 592). The doping moral panic as communicated during the Athens 2004 drug incident was indeed concerned with drawing the line between the permissible and the prohibited athlete behaviour, in a

less monolithic way than the moral panics of the past. This was because this new moral panic had some unique characteristics as well as the many elements that supported traditional understandings of moral panic. However, the basis of the doping moral panic remained a one-sided, totalitarian position that distinguished the permitted from the prohibited. As Gatson, (2007) put it “moral panic does not recognise polysemy on the contrary emphasizes the one good way, the one truth, the one boundary line, which no one who wished to remain inside the group must cross”.

The third part of the discussion identified that the same discursive statements were evident in the coverage of the Olympic Games in the absence of a drug ‘scandal’, but were under reported. The discussion argued that this is part of the doping moral regulation process. The theorisations of a moral regulation emphasise the need for a dominant social order, which defines what is permitted and what is prohibited and ensures the application of the rules. The media then communicate the rules to the public. In the case of this study, the sporting institution defined the sporting rules and the media communicated them to its audience.

The study argued that during the underreporting phase of doping moralising discourses were still communicated in the media. Additionally, they aimed to articulate a warning sign to the audience for an upcoming doping ‘disaster’ that may occur. The submerged phase of the doping moral panic, allowed for its sudden over reporting to take place, as the audience was expecting a ‘scandal’ to boom. As a result, the process of the moral regulation of doping was constant and continuous irrespective of a drug case. The discussion stated that in contradiction to contemporary theorisations of a moral panic, the depiction of doping remains resistant to public debate. Contemporary moral panic theories have argued that recent moral panics have been discussed in the mainstream media and the term is often used by journalists, politicians and businessmen/women. However, its portrayal revealed a significant lack of public debate that regards the phenomenon of doping as a moral panic case.

The chapter ended by arguing that its moral regulation can be theorised using the concept of governmentality. More specifically, it was argued that the doping moral panic episode was an extreme expression of the constant moral regulation of doping. The moralising effect of moral regulation is one of the elements governmentality uses to teach the citizen how to behave. This was expressed via the mediated sport spectacle and the doping discourses circulated in the media across two countries. This may in part reflect that it is partially regulated by a transnational agency, through its spectacularisation.

The discursive construction of doping is a form of moral regulation that is expressed through moral panic episodes and constant, submerged moralising discourses. It remains invisible and resistant to critical thinking because it is communicated within the premises of sport spectacle. In this respect, it is seen as symbolic and entertaining rather than a real threat. However, its discourse is embedded within policies of the wider society, which can use the depiction of doping in professional sport to convey a sense of threat to the wider public. Consequently, the significance of its discursive depiction is that it presents the audience with a spectacularised moralising discourse, which requires no interpretation or analysis. It is placed in a social space (sport) that holds symbolic value for the audience. The symbolic value of the depiction of doping seems harmless, requires no critical thinking yet at the same time it signifies the moral values of the whole of society and thus, catching an offender becomes symbolic and substantial for the society as a whole. In conclusion, the response to the real health threat that concerns drug taking in sports is neither proportional nor rational. The final chapter of the study will debate the implications of the discursive depiction of doping for the wider society.

# **Chapter 9 Conclusions and Implications of the Discursive Depiction of Doping in the Media**

This study is an analysis of the depiction of drugs in Olympic sports. Driven from a personal experience in semi-elite athletics, I became interested in the role doping plays in modern sport. Being a competitive sport 'insider' I was exposed to an in-sport reality of performance-enhancing drugs. At the same time, I was simultaneously exposed to representations of doping that were unrelated to my experience with the phenomenon, but nevertheless, were nuances of the same issue. As a result, I realised that doping in sports can have many aspects and its experience can differ according to subject position. For example, it is likely that a professional athlete, a politician and a sports spectator have different experiences of doping.

It might be expected that in order to present an accurate depiction of the issue, the media would try to capture the complexities of the phenomenon and represent it in a wide range of ways. However, there appeared to be no representations of doping that match my experiences with drugs and sport. I therefore became interested in examining the kinds of representations of doping that exist in the media and the kind of implications those representations hold for society.

In order to do so, the thesis in the beginning provided a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of doping. This helped in identifying what might be expected to be found in its mediated depiction. The debate started by situating doping in its social context and by exploring definitions. It was concluded that the definition of doping is not clear and thus, it creates confusion: while WADA's definition of doping references the competitive setting explicitly by proposing disqualification from sporting competitions as a result of doping violations, sporting officials

have developed prevention programmes that target other populations such as amateur and adolescent athletes.

It has been argued that a universalised anti-doping policy has faced resistance at a local level because it is problematic to apply one policy to all cultural settings. Scholarly debate has also highlighted the ways globalised anti-doping policy obscures the peculiarities of each sport and the different in-sport cultures that are developed among athletes. Moreover, it was noted that the anti-doping policy targets predominantly the athletes individually, which ignores the participation of third parties in drug taking in sport and the potential responsibility of the sporting institution. It should be noted that the latest version of the anti-doping code (WADA, 2009) recognises the responsibility of support personnel. However, it is still unclear what the consequences for their potential involvement in doping are.

At the same time, the arguments for the prohibition of doping have been subject to interrogation. The health argument has been objected to on the basis that professional training in sport is not always healthy. Thus, if the sporting institution wants to protect the professional athlete's health then anti-training rules need to be applied as well as anti-doping sanctions. The moral argument has been questioned by arguing that sport is not fair: it reflects wider social and financial inequalities. Therefore, not all athletes have access to the latest technological advantages or the newest sporting equipment. Moreover, it has also been argued that doping can even be seen as a way of evening the genetic inequalities of the athletes and in that respect, it makes competition fairer and not more unfair.

The final argument for the prohibition of doping was that it goes against the spirit of sport. Critics have highlighted that this is a vague and unclear argument as it does not clarify what exactly is the spirit of sport. Furthermore, it has been argued that doping is far from being against the spirit of sport, because modern, professional sport is all about gaining an advantage against other competitors. Thus, doping is in line with its spirit,

it is not against it. Finally, modern sport can entail huge financial rewards and thus, the incentive for winning is immense. Record breaking is a goal in professional sport, which requires any means necessary to improve one's performance. Doping is one of the ways to enhance performance and thus, it should not be seen as contrary to the spirit of professional sport.

It was thus evident from the theorisation of doping that there is a spectrum of approaches to the issue. The second part of the literature review took into account theorisations of the media and the mediated sport spectacle. It was argued that the depiction of doping cannot be explored without considering it in the context of sport spectacle. Since doping 'scandals' concern individual athletes that in many cases have been previously depicted as role models, the concept of the media celebrity was discussed. It was argued that the vortextual depiction of media stars should be taken into account as the depiction of doped athletes has become part of sport spectacle. The chapter concluded by arguing that existing research tends to focus on the most widely reported drug cases.

These 'scandals' depict doping as deviant behaviour, which is what makes them newsworthy events. The next step was to gain a deeper understanding of the conceptualisation of deviance and deviant behaviour. It was observed that an interesting shift in the understanding deviance took place in the 1960's and most importantly in the 1970's. During those decades critical criminology questioned the perceived inflexibility of definitions of deviance. They read deviance as a relative and socially constructed phenomenon instead of a naturally existing one. The new approaches to deviance proved to be influential, since in many cases they contributed to a change in policy making. They became the argumentation behind harm reduction policies, where the aim was not to punish the offender, but to protect them as much as possible and minimise the harm caused by one's actions. Interestingly, there has not been an equivalent turn in sports anti-doping policy. The approach still in

use is the punitive approach to breaking the sporting rules, which is expressed by a highly sophisticated surveillance system.

Such understanding of deviance led to the conception of a term that captures the effects of mediated deviance. The concept of moral panic describes the short period after a 'disaster' or 'deviance' becomes known in the media in which they tend to over report it. They also represent it in ways that convey a sense of panic to a public, which is then ready to accept harsher disciplinary measures. The moral panic concept is strongly linked with the thesis as it is particularly concerned with the depiction of perceived problems or disasters. However, it remains a theoretical tool limited by its inability to account for social phenomena occurring over time and in different places. The discussion searched for a theory that could incorporate the concept of moral panic and place it into a wider social context. The theory of moral regulation captures the everyday process of moralisation, and it was noted that moral panics have been discussed in relation to moral regulation. The analysis of the depiction of doping would thus, potentially add to the theoretical debate on the relation between moral panic and the theory of moral regulation.

A similar theory that describes a permanent process of regulation is the Foucauldian concept of governmentality. By this term Foucault aimed to capture the strategies and techniques applied by the state in order to regulate the citizens. The concept has similar features to the concept of moral regulation (a totalising and individualising effect) and they have been discussed in relation to each other in the literature. The analysis of the depiction of doping could investigate the theoretical links between the two concepts since they both describe regulatory processes.

In order to examine the role of the depiction of doping the thesis analysed the coverage of a sporting event that is both prestigious and includes a great number of sports: the Olympic Games. In order to analyse the depiction of doping in newspaper coverage two very different case studies were chosen: the Greek press coverage of Athens 2004 and the British press reporting of Beijing 2008. The Athens Olympics was

characterised by a drug 'scandal' that involved two first class Greek athletes plus an extended number of positive drug cases that made the phenomenon of doping one of the most significant aspects of the Games. Moreover, the press coverage was given by the host country's perspective.

By comparison, in Beijing 2008 doping instances were almost absent and even in the cases of the few positive samples of the Games, the media did not pay much attention on these cases. Notably, some indirect references to doping unrelated to positive cases of the Games, attracted the attention of the British press (for example, indirect references to Usain Bolt's possible involvement in doping).

The methodology employed to analyse the data was media discourse analysis, a technique suitable for the identification of complex meanings in the media. Indeed, the analysis of the collected data revealed a number of discursive statements that were constructed in the press by a number of journalistic techniques. Most of these statements were the same in the coverage analysis of both Olympic Games, although the two cases were differentiated by the number and publicity of the drug incidents and by language and nationality.

The discussion that followed linked the discursive statements of doping with sport spectacle and the vortextual depiction of sport celebrities. Then the discussion argued that the Athens 2004 'scandal' had extensive characteristics associated with a moral panic episode. However, some of its qualities could not be explained by classic or contemporary moral panic theories. They were differentiated because of spectacularised elements in the depiction of celebrity athletes. Moreover, the discussion argued that although the over reporting of the drug case faded away, the same discursive statements were constantly circulated in the press in a submerged way. The continuous discursive depiction of doping generated expectations for a drug 'scandal' to occur. It constructed the volatile nature of the doping moral panic. Additionally, more than just identifying a moral panic episode the discussion linked the two phases in the depiction

of doping under the wider theories of moral regulation and governmentality. It argued that the discursive depiction of doping has a constant regulating effect that is inducted in the wider moral regulation process which is part of governmentality. The following section provides the conclusions of the current research.

## **9.1 Implications of the Discursive Depiction of Doping for Sports Spectacle**

The discursive depiction of doping has, first of all, implications for the construction of sports spectacle. The perceived antithesis between sporting ideals and the corruption of doping added to sport spectacle. The strong link between the media and consumption is also important. As a result, the very first implication of the discursive construction of doping is to make sport spectacle seem unexpected and thus, increase newspaper sales.

Additionally, such a perceived contradiction has a second set of implications, which are mainly political. Doping is depicted as deviant behaviour in sport. Thus, the visibility of the 'dark side' of sport is concentrated on doping, and so other sides of professional sport that could contradict the impression of purity and wholesomeness of the institution remain hidden. As Wagner (2009) put it doping obscures conflicting agendas in sport. For example, sport is commonly advertised as an activity that boosts health. However, professional sport and intense training is not necessarily healthy (e.g. it can easily lead to injury). This conflicting statement about sport is hidden by the presence of doping in the media: doping is depicted as the unhealthy side of sport and thus, any other potentially unhealthy nuance of sport is obscured in the public gaze.

More specifically, the thesis analysed how doping is inducted into sports spectacle. It is argued that this is achieved through a number of

journalistic techniques that represent doping in simplistic terms and use emotive language to describe it. As a result, the depiction of doping does not describe the phenomenon in rational terms, but on the contrary it asks for an emotional and apolitical reaction from the audience. In that sense doping is constructed as part of the sport spectacle.

## **9.2 Implications of the Discursive Construction of Doping for Policy Making**

The incorporation of doping into sports spectacle makes it visible to the public usually during their entertaining and leisure time. The spectacularised depiction of doping allows for a moral panic episode to be seen as a symbolic and entertaining phenomenon rather than a real case of moral panic, making it resistant to any alternative representation. This could explain why representations of doping in the media are limited to doping as deviant behaviour.

It became evident from the analysis that references to doping as a phenomenon of moral panic were absent from the press. This contradicts the claims of recent conceptualisations of moral panic. Contemporary moral panic theories have suggested that in recent times the concept of moral panic has spread beyond academic discussion and has entered the public debate. McRobbie and Thornton (1995, p. 559) noted that “‘Moral panic’ is now a term regularly used by journalists to describe a process which politicians, commercial promoters and media habitually attempt to incite”. The lack of such public discussion in the case of doping suggests that doping has not been acknowledged to be a moral panic and thus, it remains an active and effective moral panic case which allows for its regulation.

It has been argued so far that doping, due to its complex characteristics, has been resistant to critical examination. At the same

time, athletes are the social group that predominantly takes responsibility in the case of a positive anti-doping test. The extended pattern of individualisation of responsibility for doping was evident throughout the reporting of the Athens and Beijing Games. Foucault (2007) argued that governmentality has the potential to simultaneously totalise and individualise. - totalise because it refers to the population as whole, but also individualise because it speaks to each person individually and holds them responsible for their own behavior. In order for an individual to be part of a well-behaved group, they need to be self-restricted and self-taught how to behave.

The mediated depiction of doping demonstrates the presence of totalising and individualising discourses. The media communicate that success in professional sport is about winning and breaking records, which is achieved by demonstrating efforts to enhance performance. At the same time, the IOC and WADA propose that an athlete should do so without using PES, which is viewed as antithetical to sport. The combination of these two discourses demonstrates how the sporting institution can totalise the athletes as a group; defining how they should all behave. The responsibility for being good athletes (i.e. aiming to enhance their performance without using performance-enhancing substances), however, is positioned as an individual enterprise. In this way, the discourses are simultaneously totalising and individualising. But how are the official discourses of the sporting institution linked to the media?

The stance on doping which dominated the media coverage reflects the voice of the sporting institution. However, the analysis chapters identified an absence of the voice of the athletes who were accused or tested positive for doping substances. Kirkwood (2004, p. 48) argued that “WADA strongly controls the information that is released to the sports media regarding drug testing, so as to continue to promulgate the IOC’s discourse on the drug war”. The discursive statement of the individualisation of the responsibility of doping was evidently present in the mediated depiction of the phenomenon. The result of communicating

this discourse is that the responsibility of the sporting institution in drug taking (the circulation of the totalising discourse of linking the good athlete with the constant quest for performance enhancement) is obscured.

Sport policy appears to be based on a simplistic understanding of sport and doping: sport is seen as pure and moral, and doping as wrong and immoral. The athlete who breaks the doping rules is thus seen as personally culpable because the responsibilities of the sporting institution are obscured. The approach of the anti-doping policy to the phenomenon has always targeted the athlete and it has been a punitive oriented one.

This thesis argues that sport policy corresponds with doping's mediated depiction. From the evidence of the discourse analysis presented here, after the moral panic episode, there were calls for harsher measures against doping, while athletes themselves condemned those who were tested positive for PEDs. As a result, the depiction of doping not only accords with the official anti-doping policy, but it also advocates a stricter policy. Indeed, the anti-doping Code and WADA's surveillance system have become more intrusive and harsh over recent years, targeting mainly the athlete and, more recently, support personnel, but never the sporting institution. In that sense, doping, as part of sport spectacle, acts as a means for reproducing and reaffirming the power of the sporting institution.

However, the thesis also showed that the depiction of doping has real consequences on public policy making. The issues would only involve regulation of a profession if the discursive construction of doping influenced the rules of sport. However, evidence from the analysis showed that the various representations of doping included warnings of the effects it has on public health and the necessity of involvement of the police. As a result, the moral regulation of doping creates an issue for public policy and the regulation of the wider population.

One way of demonstrating these implications is illustrated by the severity of the legal consequences occasionally faced by athletes

accused of doping. As the anti-doping code is not a law, but a set of rules applied only to the professional sporting setting, athletes should not have to face any legal consequences when using PEDs. However, in some cases it has been proven that disciplinary apparatus extends outside of the sporting context and holds real legal consequences for the athletes involved. For example, in the case of the well-known BALCO case, the FBI investigated the events and interrogated the athletes. Marion Jones who refused to speak about what she knew and also denied that she had used prohibited substances, was eventually taken to court for perjury. She was sentenced to six months in jail and stripped of her medals.

Similarly, the outcome of the Greek doping case of Athens 2004 demonstrated the serious legal consequences a doping case could have. The athletes involved, after a trial that lasted almost seven years, were found guilty of perjury (faking the motorcycle accident on the eve of the Athens Games). The two sprinters were sentenced to a suspended thirty one month jail term, while their coach, Chris Tzekos was found guilty for distributing banned substances and was sentenced to a suspended thirty three month jail term. The seven state hospital doctors who claimed to have treated the athletes during their hospitalisation and two witnesses to the alleged crash were handed down sentences of between six and fifteen months for perjury. The athletes' lawyers appealed the decision, which finally led to their acquittal, although Chris Tzekos was still found guilty and was given an eleven-month sentence.

It becomes apparent, that the impact of a drug case is not necessarily limited to professional sport. Moreover, the moral regulation of doping does not only influence the athletes in ways that exceed the sporting rules. It may have consequences on regulating the public as well. The analysis and discussion chapters argued that the depiction of doping constructs the phenomenon as an epidemic that is a threat for the population, especially the youth. The idea that doping, although part of professional sport, has effects on wider society is the link between its depiction and its use for the moral regulation of the public. As a result, the

citizen is called to take responsibility for their own health and for the health of their children, because doping is now an existing danger for everyone. Punishing the athletes who break the rules is not enough, because doping is understood as a phenomenon that is part of everyday life. Therefore, 'self-responsibilising' the individual becomes part of the spectacularised depiction of doping, which is a main technique of governmentality.

Moreover, the thesis showed how the mediated construction of doping paves the way for public health policy change. The emotive language used through the journalistic techniques that constructs it part of the sports spectacle asks for an emotional and uncritical reaction from the audience (see previous section). After the first emotive reaction to a drug case the media ask for harsher sanctions to take place. Ironically, the media have prepared the audience by presenting them with irrational language to think that policy change is the outcome of a rational decision.

### **9.3 Theoretical Implications of the Discursive Construction of Doping**

Finally, the implications of the depiction of doping touch the debate on a theoretical level. First of all, it was argued that doping could be a case of moral panic. The discussion described the characteristics that make it a moral panic case, some of them identified by the original and contemporary theorisations and some elements, which did not fall into these theorisations added new characteristics to the doping moral panic. For example, the representation of the sporting celebrity and its induction to the sports spectacle makes it a complex case of moral panic. Moreover, it was also argued that it is a new, but also an active form of moral panic because there is a significant lack of public debate when it comes to examining doping as a moral panic in the public sphere. Thus, theoretically the thesis argues that contemporary forms of moral panic

may include cases that have not been acknowledged as such in the public arena.

Moreover, the thesis discussed the theoretical connections between the concept of moral regulation and the Foucauldian term of governmentality. It was argued that for the existence of moral regulation the role of the media alone is not enough. Moral regulation implies a power structure that needs to be maintained. By putting PES use in professional sport into its broader context the thesis showed that the sporting institution is the authority in charge of defining what is immoral in sport and the rules that athletes should follow. The media are in a position to communicate the official stance on doping in the public sphere. Therefore, a power structure pre-exists the depiction of doping and sets the social conditions for the existence of a moral regulation process.

The discursive statements of doping did not erupt for a short period of time and then disappear. On the contrary, the thesis showed that even in the case of an Olympic Games that did not have major drug 'scandals' the discourses of doping were evident in the press. It was argued that the doping has a zenith phase and a submerged phase in its depiction in which the discourses remain in the press in an under-reported way. Contemporary moral panic theories have noted the daily endorsement of moral panic discourses in the media. They have also noted that they recur way more often than the original theory suggested. As a result, the occurrence of moral panic discourses in the everyday reporting of events can be understood as a continual process of moral regulation (Cricher, 2011).

Finally, the thesis also showed that the depiction of doping was incorporated into the construction of sports spectacle as the antithetical aspect of fair competition. The spectacularised elements of the discourse of doping in the press place doping in the sphere of entertainment, which makes its critical understanding less urgent, as sport tends to be considered as a space of its own in the public sphere (Whannel, 2002). It

tends to be depicted as unrelated and independent from the rest of the society. Thus, its process of moral regulation tends to be less visible and less serious to the public.

Theoretically speaking, the thesis draws links between the moral regulation of doping and the concept of governmentality. It is argued that the moral regulation of doping through its spectacularised mediated depiction is a technique of governmentality, which has both governmental and transnational implications. The moral regulation of doping via its mediated representation is achieved by communicating episodes of moral panic and repetitive discourses to the audience. At the same time the moral regulation of the phenomenon aims to self-discipline free individuals, both within and outside sport. Thus, the discursive construction of doping can be conceptualised as a means of governmentality, since it is applied by state agencies to free individuals and aims to teach them how to be self-controlled and accept on their own volition highly sophisticated and intrusive surveillance systems. Finally, the moral regulation of doping has real effects in terms of sporting and public policy. Therefore, the power exercised from the institution to the individual is productive and thus, a means of governmentality.

## **9.4 Impact of Research**

The thesis has impact for both the sporting world and for the world outside of sport. The study aims not only to point to the complexities of doping. It also aims to raise awareness of similar complex phenomena in sport that could be depicted as invisible cases of moral panic and thus, resistant to alternative representations. An example from the recent press is the case of gambling, which was represented as a threat of greater importance as doping: On 19 March 2011 Denis Oswald, a member of the executive board of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) claimed that:

Based on the information we have, the problem is extremely serious. Investigations by Interpol have confirmed that the amounts of money involved are very big. The current threat to the credibility of sport is greater than the doping threat (Swiss Broadcasting Corporation, 2011).

Knowing or being able to recognise the characteristics of a case within sport that could be depicted as a moral panic can minimise and prevent the consequences of a new moral panic in sport. Thus, part of the impact of the thesis is that it can serve as a theoretical tool for the acknowledgement and prevention of other moral panics in sport.

Secondly, the thesis showed that the partial depiction of doping in the press results in obscuring the responsibilities of the institution. As a result, the anti-doping policy targets primarily the athletes and their support personnel. No alternative approaches have been applied to sports policy, like the alternatives tried in the case of recreational drugs. For example, the harm reduction policies that aim to minimize the harm caused by drug use rather than punishing the users. Thus, the thesis can serve as a tool for the rethinking of policy making when it comes to the anti-doping rules in an attempt to shift the anti-doping policy from the punishment approach to rules that are harm reduction oriented.

Thirdly, the study maintains that doping not only becomes part of the sport spectacle, but also its depiction influences the uses of sport spectacle. This is because the constructed contradiction between sport spectacle and doping hides the contradictory agendas of sport. Moreover, the subsequent changes made to both law and rules of sport are presented as of minor importance since doping is discursively positioned in the sphere of entertainment. As a result, the impact of the thesis for the sport spectacle is to illuminate the need to give serious consideration to this space of entertainment.

Fourthly, the discursive construction of doping is not limited in its impact to the world of sport. There are also impacts of the thesis for the wider society. The study showed that by not acknowledging cases of

moral panic, they remain resistant to critical examination. Moreover, the discursive construction of a phenomenon that appears restricted to sport can have effects on wider policy making and on the construction of dominant discourses in relation to public health and self-restriction of the citizens.

Finally, at a theoretical level, this thesis provides empirical evidence to illuminate the way moral panics are linked to moral regulation and to show the connections between moral regulation and governmentality. Thus, the study has an impact on understanding the governance of contemporary societies.

## **9.5 In a Nutshell**

The thesis initiated from a personal experience in competitive sport and the questions that experience generated. However, it was the blend of personal experience, qualitative research, and discourse analysis that enabled this work to make professional/policy contributions to the field, but also to answer personal questions. So, in a nutshell what are the main answers the research gave?

Sport Studies: First of all the depiction of doping does not take into account the complex culture of competitive sport (Pappa & Kennedy, 2012). It individualises the responsibility of the phenomenon and disconnects it from its social context (in-sport reality). The thesis showed that the discursive patterns that describe it have the power to make contradictory statements seem compatible. For example, the sporting institution asks from the athlete to constantly enhance their performance in order to compete at a professional level. However, the same institution prohibits the use of one of the means to do so (performance-enhancing substances). Although, this is contradictory in terms the depicted individualisation of the responsibility of doping hides the oxymoron

statement and makes the athlete the only responsible for drug use in competitive sport.

**Media Studies:** The thesis described in detail the mechanics of discursive representation in the press. As discourse analysis has been criticised for being unclear, the thesis presents an in-depth analysis of how discursive statements can be identified. It does so by breaking them down to journalistic techniques and by identifying repeated elements of discourse in the media.

**Public Policy:** The thesis argues that the emotive language used to describe doping leaves gaps in the rational explanation of the phenomenon. Moreover, it paves the way for policy changing to take place as after the emotive reaction to a threat a suggestion for harsher measures deemed necessary. The thesis also showed that doping is connected with fears regarding the wider public health and thus, the proposed measures do not only refer to the regulation of a profession, but also to the regulation of the public. More importantly, the media play an active role in preparing the public to accept these measures, as after presenting them with emotive language they describe the new regulations in rational terms. Thus, the public is expected to think that they know why these measures are proposed, although the perceived threat was not explained to them rationally.

The final chapter described in detail the implications the depiction of doping has for the in-sport and out of-sport reality, its impact and the thesis' most important contributions to knowledge. There are only a couple of last answers to be given. Facing my 17-year old self again (and in parallel every teenage athlete in competitive athletics), I may still not have all the answers to the questions that surrounded my mind back then (and surely not all the answers a young athlete in competitive sport might be seeking for), but I can now reply to my curious younger self that a) the culture of competitive sport is complex and is obscured or depicted in very simple terms by the media. That's why I couldn't see any representations of sport in the media that I could identify with. b) Doping

is part of the sport culture, but its responsibility is individualised by the media. That's why I had to talk about it in a normative yet secretive style.

c) The media except of representing sport and doping in literal terms, are also invested in other agendas. For example, they are commercialised entities, they express power relations and they pave the way for more conservative policies to take place. That's why the most relevant subjects to drug taking in sport, competitive athletes, are not necessarily being heard in the press and other persons (such as politicians) are finding a voice in the media way more often.

# Appendix A

## a) Definition of Doping

According to WADA:

“Doping is defined as the occurrence of one or more of the anti-doping rule violations set forth in Article 2.1 through Article 2.8 of the Code. The following constitute anti-doping rule violations:

### **1 Presence of a Prohibited Substance or its Metabolites or Markers in an Athlete’s Sample**

1.1 It is each Athlete’s personal duty to ensure that no Prohibited Substance enters his or her body. Athletes are responsible for any prohibited Substance or its Metabolites or Markers found to be present in their Samples. Accordingly, it is not necessary that intent, fault, negligence or knowing. Use on the Athlete’s part will be demonstrated in order to establish an anti-doping violation under Article 2.1

1.2 Sufficient proof of an anti-doping rule violation under Article 2.1 is established by either of the following: presence of a Prohibited Substance or its Metabolites or Markers in the Athlete’s A Sample where the Athlete waives analysis of the B Sample and the B Sample is not analyzed; or, where the Athlete’s B Sample is analyzed and the analysis of the Athlete’s B Sample confirms the presence of the Prohibited Substance or its metabolites or Markers found in the Athlete’s A Sample.

1.3 Excepting those substances for which a quantitative threshold is specifically identified in the Prohibited List, the presence of any quantity of a Prohibited Substance or its Metabolites or Markers in an Athlete’s Sample shall constitute an anti-doping rule violation.

1.4 As an exception to the general rule of Article 2.1, the Prohibited List or International Standards may establish special criteria for the evaluation of Prohibited Substances that can also be produced endogenously.

## **2 Use or Attempted Use by an Athlete of a Prohibited Substance or a Prohibited Method**

2.1 It is each Athlete's personal duty to ensure that no Prohibited Substance enters his or her body. Accordingly, it is not necessary that intent, fault, negligence or knowing Use on the Athlete's part be demonstrated in order to establish an anti-doping rule violation for Use of a Prohibited Substance or a Prohibited Method.

2.2 The success or failure of the Use or Attempted Use of a Prohibited Substance or Prohibited Method is not material. It is sufficient that the Prohibited Substance or Prohibited Method was Used or Attempted to be Used for an anti-doping rule violation to be committed.

## **3 Refusing or failing without compelling justification to submit to Sample collection after notification as authorized in applicable anti-doping rules, or otherwise evading Sample collection**

**4 Violation of applicable requirements regarding Athlete availability for Out-of-Competition Testing, including failure to file required whereabouts information and missed tests which are declared based on rules which comply with the International Standard for Testing. Any combination of three missed tests and/or filing failures within an eighteen-month period as determined by Anti-Doping Organisations with jurisdiction over the Athlete shall constitute an anti-doping rule violation**

## **5 Tampering or Attempted Tampering with any part of Doping Control**

## **6 Possession of Prohibited Substances and Prohibited Methods**

6.1 Possession by an Athlete In-Competition of any Prohibited Method or any Prohibited Substance, or Possession by an Athlete Out-of-Competition of any Prohibited Method or any Prohibited Substance which is prohibited Out of-Competition unless the Athlete establishes that the Possession is pursuant to a therapeutic use exemption granted in accordance with Article 4.4 (Therapeutic Use) or other acceptable justification.

6.2 Possession by an Athlete Support Personnel In-Competition of any Prohibited Method or any Prohibited Substance, or Possession by an Athlete Support Personnel Out-of-Competition of any Prohibited Method or any Prohibited Substance which is prohibited Out-of-Competition in connection with an Athlete, Competition or training, unless the Athlete Support Personnel establishes that the Possession is pursuant to a therapeutic use exemption granted to an Athlete in accordance with Article 4.4 (Therapeutic Use) or other acceptable justification.

**7 Trafficking or Attempted Trafficking in any Prohibited Substance or Prohibited Method**

**8 Administration or Attempted administration to any Athlete In-Competition of any Prohibited Method or Prohibited Substance, or administration or Attempted administration to any Athlete Out-of-Competition of any Prohibited Method or any Prohibited Substance that is prohibited Out-of-Competition, or assisting, encouraging, aiding, abetting, covering up or any other type of complicity involving an anti-doping rule violation or any Attempted anti-doping rule violation”** (WADA website, last accessed 03/08/2011: 18-25)

## Appendix B

### a) Circulation of all Greek Newspapers in 2011

	<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>Papers Sold</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Acropolis	44,961	0.19%
2	Ano Kato	6,733	0.30%
3	Avgi	686,245	2.76%
4	Kathimerini	11,540,657	46.45%
5	Nike	204,897	0.83%
6	Logos	68,882	0.28%
7	Rizospastis	2,542,518	10.19%
8	Bima	9,699,177	39.02%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24,794,070</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
1	ESPRESSO	5,640,123	9.96%
2	Adesmeytos Typos	3,223,105	5.70%
3	Apogevmatini	3,171,357	5.63%
4	Avriani	939,464	1.66%
5	Ethnos	9,873,977	17.44%
6	Elefteri Ora	262,049	0.46%
7	Elefteros	1,215,124	2.15%
8	Elefteros Typos	3,696,063	11.71%
9	Elefterotypia	10,316,617	18.23%
10	Estia	683,970	1.21%
11	Bradini	315,468	0.56%
12	Xora	192,539	0.47%
13	Ta Nea	14,050,503	24.83%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>53,580,359</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
1	ESPRESSO of Sunday	1,462,716	3.24%

2	REALNEWS	4,364,132	9.67%
3	Adesmeytos Typos Sunday Edition	508,982	1.13%
4	Apogevmatini of Sunday	420,564	0.93%
5	Sunday Avriani	168,285	0.37%
6	Ethnos of Sunday	4,944,700	10.96%
7	Elefteri Ora of Sunday	95,533	0.21%
8	Vradini of Sunday	75,178	0.17%
9	Epoxi	96,969	0.24%
10	Kathimerini of Sunday	5,790,591	12.83%
11	Sunday Avgi	254,134	0.56%
12	Nike of Sunday	30,769	0.07%
13	Chora of Sunday	42,407	0.11%
14	Sunday Elefterotypia	6,392,046	14.17%
15	Logos of Sunday	12,351	0.03%
16	Prin	71,445	0.16%
17	Proto Thema	7,730,615	17.13%
18	Sunday Rizospastis	1,154,105	2.56%
19	To Arthro	130,407	0.29%
20	To Bima of Sunday	7,411,823	16.43%
21	To Paron	544,131	1.21%
22	Typos of Sunday	1,975,301	7.53%
	TOTAL	43,677,184	100.00%

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