

Truth or Spectacle?
News Media Framing of Champion Cyclists and Doping Suspicion in the
Mediatized Spectacle of the *Tour de France*

By Leah Stanley

A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Communication Studies.

Acknowledgements

My sincerest thanks to my supervisor Dr Thomas Owen for his time, patience, unwavering enthusiasm and encouragement over the journey of this thesis, and for the many invaluable lessons and skills I have learned from him along the way.

I would also like to thank my family for their support and understanding, particularly my brother Cameron for his calm and perspective, and my husband James for introducing me to the *Tour de France*, and for helping me find the time in the day to give this research the attention it needed.

Finally to our little girl Elle, who joined us part way through this project, thank you for the joy you bring me every day that has helped me see this thesis through.

Abstract

This research compares the media framing of two champions of the *Tour de France* cycling race, Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome, in *The Times of London* and *The New York Times* newspapers during the *Tour* events of 2004 and 2017, respectively. These athletes were selected due to both their cycling prowess, and to widespread suspicions they took PEDs (doping) during their respective 2004 and 2017 *Tour* wins. In doing so, this research examines how news media publications portrayed suspicion of doping relative to each rider, through the identification and analysis of frames which connected the riders to suspicion of doping (rider doping suspicion frames). Furthermore, it compares whether or not these narratives differed, indicating consistency or variability in the news media constructions of rider doping suspicion.

The research findings revealed significantly fewer frames related to doping suspicion for Chris Froome compared to Lance Armstrong, despite similar grounds for doping suspicion and similar levels of *Tour* success. Furthermore, the findings show that Armstrong was the topic of dedicated discussions on doping suspicion in both publications, indicating the salience of doping suspicion for Armstrong compared to Froome. These findings reveal inconsistencies in the news media publications' approaches to doping suspicion narratives, which can be connected to logics governing mediatization and media spectacle juxtaposing a tension in the news coverage between news values favoring sporting purity, and media logics facilitating the mediatized spectacle of the *Tour de France* event. Furthermore, analysis of framing motifs across the framing data further indicated similarities and differences between the riders that contributed to the disparity in framing between them, informing discussion of; rider media strategies, rider celebrity, national bias, and *Tour* public image strategies, as influences on news constructions of doping narratives.

Overall, this research concludes that news media publications are highly variable moderators of rider/doping suspicion in the *Tour de France* as it applies to race champions, subject to many influences and constraints inherent in the framing of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome, within the wider context of the mediatized spectacle of the *Tour de France*.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	1
Abstract.....	2
Table of Contents.....	3
List of Figures.....	9
List of Tables.....	10
Attestation of Authorship.....	11
 1. Introduction.....	 12
1.1 Background.....	15
1.1.1 Doping in the <i>Tour de France</i>	15
1.1.2 Suspicious Champions: Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome.....	17
1.1.3 Mediatization Theory and the Mediatization of Sport.....	18
1.1.4 Mediatization and News Media Coverage of Doping in the <i>Tour de France</i>	19
1.1.5 Doping Amid the Media Spectacle of the <i>Tour de France</i>	20
1.1.6 News Media Approaches to Doping in Sports Coverage.....	21
1.1.7 Doping Narratives in News Coverage of the <i>Tour de France</i>	22
1.2 Research Methodology and Parameters.....	23
1.2.1 Methodology: Framing Analysis.....	24
1.2.1.1 Criticism of Framing Analysis.....	24
1.2.2 News Sample.....	25
1.2.3 Data Periods.....	25
1.2.4 News Outlets.....	26
1.2.5 Databases.....	26
1.2.6 Search Terms and Sample Cleaning.....	27
1.3 Study Design.....	27
1.3.1 Definition of a Rider/Doping Suspicion Frame.....	27
1.3.2 Pilot Study.....	28
1.3.3 Article Analysis and Categorization.....	28
1.3.4 Frame Collection and Recontextualization as Sub- Categories.....	29
1.3.5 Coding for Contextual Orientation and Doping Suspicion Orientation.....	29
1.3.6 Frame Density Calculations.....	30

1.3.7	Frame Motifs.....	30
1.4	Findings.....	30
1.5	Discussion.....	33
1.5.1	Contrasting Media Strategies Between Riders.....	33
1.5.2	Rider Celebrity and Newsworthiness.....	34
1.5.3	National Bias by News Outlets.....	34
1.5.4	Evidence of a desire by <i>Tour</i> organizers and news media to project a ‘clean’ <i>Tour de France</i>	35
1.6	Conclusion.....	35
1.7	Chapter Outlines.....	35
1.7.1	Chapter Two: Literature Review- A History of Doping and the <i>Tour de France</i>	36
1.7.2	Chapter Three: Literature Review: Mediatization of Sports, Media Theory and Doping in the <i>Tour de France</i>	36
1.7.3	Chapter Four: Research Methodology and Design.....	37
1.7.4	Chapter Five: Research Findings.....	37
1.7.5	Chapter Six: Discussion.....	38
1.7.6	Chapter Seven: Conclusion.....	38
2.	Literature Review One: A History of Doping, Media and the <i>Tour de France</i>.....	40
2.1	The Humble Beginnings of Professional Cycling and Doping 1860 – 1900.....	40
2.1.1	Amateurism vs. Professionalism; The Denouncement of Doping 1890 – 1940	43
2.1.2	The Adoption of Anti-Doping 1960 – 1970.....	44
2.1.3	Doping Goes Dark 1967 - 1980.....	46
2.1.4	<i>Omerta</i> 1980 – 1998.....	48
2.1.5	The Festina Affair 1998.....	50
2.2	The Rise and Fall of Lance Armstrong.....	51
2.2.1	Early Career and Cancer Diagnosis.....	52
2.2.2	Return to Cycling, Victory at 1999 <i>Tour de France</i>	53
2.2.3	Evidence Emerging 2000-2010.....	56
2.2.3.1	Relationship with Michele Ferrari.....	57
2.2.3.2	<i>L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong</i> Released.....	58
2.2.3.3	SCA Promotions Case.....	58

2.2.3.4	'The Armstrong Lie', <i>L'Equipe</i>	59
2.2.3.5	Floyd Landis.....	59
2.2.4	Conviction.....	59
2.2.5	Confession and Armstrong Summary.....	60
2.3	Beyond Lance Armstrong: The Rise of <i>Team Sky</i>	62
2.3.1	Introducing Chris Froome.....	63
2.3.2	Froome the Reigning Champion.....	64
2.3.3	100% Clean? Trouble with TUE's.....	65
2.4	Summary.....	68
3.	Mediatization, Media Theory and Spectacle: Paving the Way for Doping in the <i>Tour de France</i>.....	69
3.1	Mediatization Theory.....	69
3.1.1	Mediatization of Sport.....	71
3.1.2	Mediatization of the <i>Tour de France</i>	73
3.1.3	The Mediatized <i>Tour de France</i> : A Precedent for Doping.....	74
3.2	The Mediated Construction of the <i>Tour de France</i>	78
3.2.1	News Media in Society.....	79
3.2.2	The Political Economy of News Media.....	81
3.2.3	Commercial News Media and Sports News.....	82
3.3	Competition and Commercialism: Towards Media Spectacle.....	83
3.3.1	The Mediatized Spectacle of the <i>Tour de France</i>	85
3.3.2	Celebrities and Scandal.....	88
3.4	Writing the News.....	90
3.4.1	Journalism, Public Relations (PR) and Commercial Logics.....	91
3.4.2	Journalists, Source Capture and Power Dynamics.....	91
3.4.3	Spectacle vs. Values.....	93
3.5	Summary.....	94
4.	Research Methodology and Design.....	95
4.1	Research Questions.....	95
4.2	Research Aim.....	95
4.3	Supplementary Research Questions.....	96
4.4	Framing Analysis Methodology Review.....	96

4.4.1	Analyzing News Texts: Framing Analysis Methodology.....	97
4.4.2	The Origins of Framing Analysis.....	99
4.4.3	Framing in Media and Communication Studies.....	101
4.4.4	Framing Studies of Sport in the Media.....	102
4.4.5	Addressing Criticisms of Framing Analysis.....	103
4.4.6	Summary.....	106
4.5	Research Design.....	106
4.5.1	News Sample.....	107
4.5.2	News Content Data Periods.....	107
4.5.3	Selection of News Outlets.....	109
4.5.4	Selection of Databases.....	110
4.5.5	Search Terms.....	111
4.5.6	Sample Cleaning.....	111
	4.5.6.1 Criteria for Exclusion.....	111
4.5.7	Article Categorization.....	112
4.6	Framing Analysis.....	113
4.6.1	Determining a Rider/Doping Suspicion Frame.....	113
4.6.2	Text Fragments as Frames.....	114
4.6.3	Pilot Study: Establishing a Systematic Method Identification and Interpretation of Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames.....	115
4.6.4	Umbrella Frame Categories in the Main Study: Frame Identification and Organization.....	117
4.6.5	Converting Text Fragments into Frame Sub-Categories.....	117
4.6.6	Coding Frames Thematic or Episodic: Frame Contextual Orientations.....	118
4.6.7	Coding Frames for Doping Suspicion Orientation.....	120
4.6.8	Frame Word Count and Article Word Count to Identify Framing Density...121	
	4.6.8.1 Frame Density by Corpus.....	121
	4.6.8.2 Frame Density by Article.....	122
4.6.9	Common Themes Among Framing Sub-Categories: Framing Motifs.....	122
4.7	Summary.....	123
5.	Research Findings.....	125
5.1	Executive Summary of Key Findings.....	125
5.2	Article Categorization: ‘NM Doping’ Articles and ‘Doping’ Articles per Corpus.....	127

5.2.1	Lance Armstrong Corpora.....	128
5.2.2	Chris Froome Corpora.....	129
5.2.3	Lance Armstrong Compared to Chris Froome.....	129
5.3	Framing Analysis.....	130
5.3.1	Identification and Organization by Umbrella Frame Categories and Sub-Categorization.....	130
5.3.2	Contextual Orientation of Frames per Corpus.....	134
5.3.2.1	Lance Armstrong Corpora.....	135
5.3.2.2	Chris Froome Corpora.....	136
5.3.3	Doping Suspicion Orientation of Frames per Corpus.....	136
5.3.3.1	Lance Armstrong Corpora.....	137
5.3.3.2	Chris Froome Corpora.....	138
5.3.4	Frame Density.....	138
5.3.4.1	Frame Density by Corpus.....	139
5.3.4.2	Frame Density by Article.....	140
5.3.5	Framing Motifs.....	142
5.3.5.1	Interpreting Framing Motif Tables 12 – 17.....	143
5.3.5.2	Framing Motif 1.....	144
5.3.5.3	Framing Motif 2.....	145
5.3.5.4	Framing Motif 3.....	147
5.3.5.5	Framing Motif 4.....	150
5.3.5.6	Framing Motif 5.....	151
5.3.5.7	Novel Frames.....	152
5.4	Summary.....	154
6.	Discussion of Research Findings.....	155
6.1	Armstrong and Froome: Contrasting Media Relations Strategies.....	155
6.2	<i>Team Sky</i> : Controlling the News Media Narrative.....	157
6.3	Froome Rides for the Team, Armstrong Stands Alone.....	159
6.3.1	Celebrity and Source Capture.....	161
6.4	Backing the Home Hero: National Discrepancies in the Coverage.....	163
6.5	The <i>Tour</i> is Reformed, Doping Problems are in the Past.....	165
6.6	Summary.....	169

7.	Conclusion.....	170
7.1	Research Summary.....	170
7.2	Future Research.....	174
	7.2.1 Consolidating influences: The Political Economy of the <i>Tour de France</i>	174
	7.2.2 Celebrity, Scandal and Suspicion.....	174
7.3	Research Limitations.....	175
	7.3.1 Representation of ‘News Coverage’	175
	7.3.2 Forms of Doping Dialogue.....	176
	7.3.3 Technological Variation.....	176
	7.3.4 Counter Narratives to Mainstream News.....	177
7.4	Conclusion Summary.....	177
	References.....	180
	Referenced Newspaper Articles from Data Sample.....	192
	Appendices 1-8.....	197

List of Figures

Figure.1 Framing of Casual Responsibility for Bullying in US Schools: Bullies and Their Families (Kim and Telleen, 2017, p.732).....	98
Figure 2. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Doping and NM Doping Articles: Lance Armstrong, The Times Corpus.....	128
Figure 3. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Doping and NM Doping Articles: Lance Armstrong, The New York Times Corpus.....	128
Figure 4. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Doping and NM Doping Articles: Chris Froome, The Times Corpus.....	129
Figure 5. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Doping and NM Doping Articles: Chris Froome, The New York Times Corpus.....	129
Figure 6. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Contextual Orientation: Lance Armstrong, The Times Corpus.....	135
Figure 7. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Contextual Orientation: Lance Armstrong, The New York Times Corpus.....	135
Figure 8. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Contextual Orientation: Chris Froome, The Times Corpus.....	136
Figure 9. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Contextual Orientation: Chris Froome, The New York Times Corpus.....	136
Figure 10. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Doping Suspicion Orientation: Lance Armstrong, The Times Corpus.....	137
Figure 11. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Doping Suspicion Orientation: Lance Armstrong, The New York Times Corpus.....	137
Figure 12. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Doping Suspicion Orientation: Chris Froome, The Times Corpus.....	138
Figure 13. Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Doping Suspicion Orientation: Chris Froome, The New York Times Corpus.....	138
Figure 14. Clustered Column Chart Showing the Density of All Frames across each Corpus, and by Contextual Orientation Codes and Doping Suspicion Orientation Codes.....	139
Figure 15. Box and Whisker Graph of Frame Density (All Frames) by Article for Each Corpus.....	141
Figure 16. Pie Chart Showing Total Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames per Frame Motif (and Including Novel Frames) Combined Across Four Corpora.....	142

List of Tables

Table 1. <i>Total Number of Doping Articles and Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames per Corpus</i>	31
Table 2. <i>Four Corpora for Analysis with Article Search Return Data</i>	112
Table 3. <i>Pilot Study Articles With and Without Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames</i>	116
Table 4. <i>Umbrella Frame Categories</i>	117
Table 5. <i>Frame Contextual Orientations</i>	119
Table 6. <i>Code Criteria For Frame Doping Suspicion Orientation</i>	120
Table 7. <i>Example Frame Sub-Categories by Doping Orientation Code</i>	121
Table 8. <i>Example Table for the Presentation of Frame Motif Data</i>	123
Table 9. <i>Sample of Text Fragments Identified as Composing Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames by Umbrella Frame Category per Corpus, with Corresponding Frame Sub-Categorization and Coding, Including Total Number of Frames per Sub-Category and per Umbrella Frame Category per Corpus</i>	131
Table 10. <i>Number of Frames Identified per Umbrella Frame Category per Corpus, Including Number of Sub-Categories, Frame Contextual Orientation and Total Number of Frames</i>	133
Table 11. <i>Abbreviations Used in Table 8 – 13 and Their Definitions</i>	143
Table 12. <i>Frame Motif: ‘Rider Suspicious due to the Tour de France’s Reputation for Doping’</i>	144
Table 13. <i>Frame Motif: ‘Rider’s Response to Doping Accusations/Accusers’</i>	145
Table 14. <i>Frame Motif: ‘Rider the Focus of Doping Suspicion’</i>	148
Table 15. <i>Frame Motif: ‘Rider Linked to Suspicious Team’</i>	150
Table 16. <i>Frame Motif: ‘Suspicion of Rider is Unjustified’</i>	151
Table 17. <i>Novel Frames</i>	152

Attestation of Authorship

"I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning."

1. Introduction

The *Tour de France* is a mediatized sporting mega-event; an event created, molded and expanded by and through media to achieve the status of a beloved spectacle on a global scale, attracting an audience of millions (Frandsen, 2017). Yet, the mediatization and commercialization that has propelled the event to global prominence through the leveraging of staggering feats of athletic endurance, hardship and suffering, has also been abetted by an ongoing legacy of athlete doping.

Perhaps the most significant doping scandal to hit the event in recent years - Lance Armstrong's confession to doping in January 2013 - obliterated an otherwise fairytale narrative that had seen Armstrong ride from cancer survivor to the *Tour's* most dominant champion (Meyer & Watson, 2014; Tiger, 2013). Yet, in taking a closer look into Armstrong's career, it is clear that doping suspicion had circulated well before his confession in 2013, particularly in the form of the 2004 book *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong*, regaling witness testimony to Armstrong's drug use (Ballester & Walsh, 2004; Walsh, 2012).

In the wake of the Armstrong scandal, a new champion began his ascent to *Tour de France* glory. Just 5 months on from Armstrong's confession, Chris Froome claimed his first *Tour de France* crown, a title he took again in 2015, 2016 and 2017; performances that established him as the *Tour's* new outright superior (Rice, 2017). Yet, much like Armstrong in 2004, Froome's performances in the 2017 *Tour de France* were shadowed by doping suspicion, this time in the form of a United Kingdom Anti-Doping Agency (UKAD) investigation into possible doping by his team – *Team Sky* (Cycling News, 2018). Yet again, the purity of the leading rider of the *Tour de France* came with a performance-enhanced question mark.

As a discerning observer of the *Tour de France* and a former endurance athlete, I find it difficult to ignore the ongoing record of doping and doping suspicion associated with champions of the *Tour de France*. But what of the media covering the race? Though banned, doping has continually been revealed to have assisted athletes to achieve the spectacular feats so successfully leveraged by media on a global, commercial scale (Frandsen, 2017; Schneider, 2006). When cause presents to suspect that these subversive tools of the trade have been employed by champions to assume the *Tour* crown, are suspicions of doping confronted in the media coverage? While doping scandals offer a salacious quality enticing to media audiences, doping suspicion of beloved champions in action can be seen to threaten the spectacle of the event and those invested in it (Nicholson, Kerr & Sherwood,

2015). Certainly, doping speculation risks undermining the very qualities that make *Tour de France* champions admirable, and marketable (Kellner, 2003).

More specifically, what do news media publications and news journalists covering the race make of this conundrum? News makers leverage the audience appeal of the *Tour de France* spectacle, while also being obligated to provide balanced, rigorous reporting consistent with news and journalism ethics (Hargreaves, 2014; Zelizer, 2004). Do news outlets report doping suspicion of champion riders in defense of socially conscionable sporting purity, or does the thrill of the race spectacle and enrapturing celebrity athletes suppress such determinations?

These questions, and the uncanny comparison of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome in the circumstances surrounding the 2004 and 2017 *Tour de Frances* respectively, inspired this research. Taking a framing analysis approach, I investigated the news coverage of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome over four weeks of the respective *Tour de France* races. In doing so I sought to identify the extent to which the riders were framed relative to doping suspicion, how they were framed, and the similarities and differences in the framing between them indicative of narrative approaches to doping suspicion in the news coverage. I selected renowned agenda-setting newspapers *The Times* (London) and *The New York Times* as the source of news content for analysis, both Western commercial newspapers with credible reputations as ‘Elite Press’, and which feature coverage of the *Tour de France* event and the riders studied, aligning with their respective British and American nationalities (Billard, 2019; Peterson, 1981; Singer, 2013).

Framing analyses has been criticized for a lack of systematic method, resulting in analysis that is overly selective and difficult to repeat with consistency of results (Cacciatore, Scheufele & Iyengar, 2016; Gamson, 1975). Considering these criticisms, I developed a systematic approach that combined qualitative identification of frames with quantitative comparison of frame salience and density. The metrics obtained for comparison included:

- The proportion of articles in each corpus (four corpora, one for each rider in each publication) that featured rider/doping suspicion frames.
- The number of distinct doping frames per corpus
- The density of doping frames per article and per corpus (frame word count as a percentage of article word count).

- The proportion of frames coded as *validating* doping suspicion (V), *dismissing* doping suspicion (D), or making an *impartial reference* to doping suspicion (I).
- The proportion of episodic versus thematic doping frames
- The relative salience of frames per corpus as organized around common motifs observed in the framing

The results of the framing analysis showed that both riders were framed in terms of doping suspicion during the data periods in variable quantities - despite their comparable successes in the *Tour* and comparable causes for doping suspicion. Key quantitative framing findings - overall frame count, frames per article, and frame density (per corpus and per article) - all featured higher totals for Lance Armstrong compared to Chris Froome, revealing Armstrong was framed relative to doping suspicion more often and in a greater proportion of the coverage. Importantly, frame density per article revealed that suspicion of Armstrong was discussed thoroughly in single feature articles in both publications, indicated by articles recording 90% (*The Times*) and 75% (*The New York Times*) frame density – a feature of the Armstrong corpora not observed in either publication's coverage of Froome. These findings all point to suspicion of Armstrong having a greater salience in the news coverage than that of Froome.

Furthermore, the doping suspicion orientation coding analysis showed both riders were framed predominantly in impartial references to doping suspicion revealing that, in the majority of cases, framing of doping suspicion neither attempted to support suspicion, nor detract from it. Thus, while suspicion of the riders was acknowledged, it seldom elicited a discussion in the news coverage regarding the validity of the concerns.

Comparisons of the qualitative analysis of framing motifs across the four corpora offered key insights into the varying approaches to framing of doping suspicion between the riders in each publication. By conceptualizing these findings in terms of media and communication studies theories of mediatization of sport, media logics and processes, commercialization and media spectacle; I interpreted possible influences on framing in each case, suggesting potential contributions to the disparity in framing between the riders. These included:

- That Froome evaded interactions with media concerning doping suspicion, limiting the news narrative, while Armstrong leveraged his media profile to mount aggressive doping denials.
- That Armstrong commanded greater media attention as a celebrity athlete than Froome.

- That both news publications expressed national bias towards their native riders, yet Armstrong had greater cross-national appeal.
- That both riders were framed in terms of historical doping in the *Tour de France*, but only Armstrong is framed relative to current doping problems in the event - suggesting that Froome is competing in a *Tour* that has moved on from doping.

Ultimately, the findings and my interpretations each suggest both similarities and inconsistencies in the news media publications' approaches to doping suspicion in the case of Lance Armstrong compared to Chris Froome. As a result, this research serves to reveal that news media framing of doping suspicion of *Tour de France* champions is variable, despite similar circumstances of *Tour* success and cause for suspicion. Furthermore, I reason that the variability interpreted in the framing promotes the conclusion that news media publications both expose and suppress doping suspicion of champion riders during *Tour de France* coverage, a concern for those who look to news media to uphold sporting purity with objective balance.

It is relevant to note that where 'sporting purity' is referred to in this thesis, the intention of the term relates specifically to sport *without* performance enhancing drugs, in line with the values of WADA and the *Tour de France* event's anti-doping policy, and concurrent societal expectations (Johnson, 2016; World Anti-Doping Agency, 2015). While there is debate among sport scholars as to the mechanisms of power exercised upon athletes and societies through an institutionalized demonisation of doping asserted through the anti-doping movement, and importantly, the relative fairness of these measures and their consequences for the perceived purity of sport, this is not a focus of this research nor referred to in the use of the term 'sporting purity' in this thesis (Henne, 2015).

Furthermore, in making use of the term this thesis does *not* refer to the relative fairness of sport owing to various other contributing factors such as commodification, race or gender, to name but a few active features of academic debate on the topic (Henne, 2015; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2007). Rather, this research narrows the term 'sporting purity' to specifically posit that athlete doping is inarguably considered a transgression of anti-doping values, which are widely upheld by sporting institutions and recognized by society as crucial to the fairness and integrity of sport (Bahkre & Yesalis, 2002; Schneider, 2006; Van Reeth, 2013)

1.1 Background

In focusing on the framing of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome, this research samples news media coverage of two highly successful champions of Road Cycling, in the sport's most celebrated event: The *Tour de France*; a highly mediatized sporting mega-event. But the event also has an enduring reputation for riders taking performance enhancing drugs (PEDs), a significant transgression in the ethics of sport and society (Horky & Stelzner, 2016; Nicholson, et al., 2015). The background literature explores the origins of the *Tour's* doping problem, its links to the mediatization and commercialization of the event, and the subsequent tensions underlying news coverage of doping during the *Tour*, establishing a premise for the analysis of doping narratives in the news coverage.

1.1.1 Doping in the *Tour de France*

Following the tradition of professional endurance cycling events, the *Tour de France* was first contested in 1903, the result of an interest in cycling ignited among the working classes following the industrial revolution (Mignon, 2016)). Professional cycling races, including the *Tour*, were viewed by working athletes as an opportunity to earn extra money, a job like any other, catered for by news media who orchestrated events (including the *Tour*), and thriving on increased circulation afforded by coverage of days, or even weeks-long races. At the time, the consumption of performance enhancing substances by workers to achieve work objectives was commonplace and the 'job' of the athlete cyclist was no exception (Bahkre & Yesalis, 2002; Johnson, 2016). In fact, drug use by cyclists was an open and accepted part of the *Tour de France* right through to the 1960s, with professional cycling ultimately following the amateur Olympic movement into banning doping, with the adoption of anti-doping protocols in the 1967 *Tour* (Vandeweghe, 2016). Cyclists of the day were dismayed by the exclusion of doping from the *Tour*, describing the use of drugs as a necessary coping mechanism, enabling them to perform the spectacular feats of endurance demanded by spectators and media orchestrators (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Mignon, 2003; Schneider, 2006). Yet, the resolve by *Tour* organizers to hold fast to anti-doping, while maintaining, and over time *increasing* the endurance demands of the *Tour*, somewhat paved the way for a legacy of doping infringements and scandals that have peppered the event's history from 1967 through to today (Schneider, 2006; Van Reeth, 2013).

Despite these testimonies to the role of the media in shaping the *Tour's* history with doping, very little media and communication studies have been conducted to investigate the influence of the media on doping within the *Tour de France*, a gap in the scholarly discourse of the event to which this research contributes

1.1.2 Suspicious Champions: Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome

Over the course of his career, Lance Armstrong won a record seven *Tour de France* titles (1999-2005), exhibiting a dominance in the race which (combined with his inspirational recovery from cancer) propelled him to a level of celebrity that transcended the sport of cycling (Meyer & Watson, 2014; Tiger, 2013). However, Armstrong had been shadowed by doping speculation since his first win in 1999, with accusations culminating in the 2004 book *L.A Confidential*, written by journalists David Walsh and Pierre Ballester, and released on the eve of Armstrong's assault on a sixth consecutive *Tour de France* title. Yet, it would take U.S Federal and United States Anti-Doping investigations to reveal the extent of Armstrong's doping, with Armstrong himself confirming almost all of the allegations in the book during his primetime confession to Oprah Winfrey in 2013 (Goddard, 2013).

Armstrong faced condemnation for his actions and was banned from competing in all sports, stripped of his cycling victories, sponsorships, and endorsements, and stood down as chairman of his cancer charity *Livestrong* (Fotheringham, 2015). Though Armstrong's personal losses were significant, so too was the impact of the scandal on the *Tour de France*. Reacting to the scandal, cycling's governing body *Union Cycliste Internationale* (UCI) and the *Tour de France* organizers (*La Société du Tour de France*), took the opportunity to take a stand against doping, not only stripping Armstrong of his *Tour* titles, but leaving those races void of a winner - an acknowledgement of the prolific doping in the sport at the time, and a declaration that doping would not be tolerated (Homewood, 2012).

It is in the shadow of *Tour de France* doping history (including Lance Armstrong's recent doping confession in January 2013) that Chris Froome won his first *Tour de France* title in July 2013. This would mark the first of four *Tour* victories for Froome, whose career continues at the time of this research. Like Armstrong, Froome's victories have classed him among a special few in *Tour de France* history who have won multiple *Tour* titles (Fife, 2011). However, like many of these riders, there is considerable (albeit inconclusive) evidence to suggest Froome's success may not have been achieved sans drugs. At the time of the 2017 *Tour de France*, this included a well-documented investigation by UKAD into Froome's cycling team (*Team Sky*) for suspicious activity in 2012, in which Froome's teammate, Sir Bradley Wiggins, won the race with Froome riding in support (Cycling News, 2018).

These conditions place Froome in the 2017 *Tour de France* in a position very similar (with respect to doping suspicion and *Tour* success) to that of Armstrong in the 2004 *Tour de France*, whereby both riders were multiple race champions and favorites to win, and competed amid a chronicled backdrop of doping suspicion. These similarities in the circumstances surrounding the two riders during these race periods therefore establish a comparable basis upon which to investigate, analyze and compare news media approaches to doping suspicion of champion riders in coverage of the *Tour de France* event.

1.1.3 Mediatization Theory and the Mediatization of Sport

While the historical reputation for doping that haunts the *Tour de France*'s credibility as a 'drug-free' event is an important contextual consideration for this research, the role of media (and specifically news media) in the *Tour de France*, and the effects of mediatization and commercialism on the *Tour*, its mediated constitution and the doping problem; posits important contextual and conceptual frameworks for this research.

Mediatization refers to the embedding of media processes in social life, with media simultaneously influencing, and influenced by society and social constructs (Hjarvard, 2008; Krotz, 2017; Schulz, 2004). Increasingly media scholars have applied mediatization concepts to understand the relationship between professional or elite sport and media as symbiotic - whereby one does not exist without the other (Nicholson, et al., 2015). As such, professional sports events both inform, and are governed by, media logics inherent in media processes which select, present and enable the mediation (media coverage) of sport (Altheide & Snow, 1991; Frandsen, 2017; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). Given this connection between sport and media, scholars attest that studying sport through its coverage in the media offers insights into the culture of sport itself (Horky & Stelzner, 2016; Nicholson, et al., 2015; Zion, Spaaj & Nicholson, 2011).

This intertwining of sport and media certainly rings true for the *Tour de France*, an event founded by French newspaper *L'Auto* for the purpose of increasing circulation (Frandsen, 2017; Johnson, 2016). The *Tour* has since become an enduring success, benefitting the press in affording increasing exposure to larger audiences, in turn leading to increased commercialization which, with the assistance of modern media technology, propelled the event to reach immense sporting and cultural status, described by Frandsen (2017) as a global sporting mega-event. As such, the *Tour de France* can be understood as a deeply mediatized event, liable to the influence of formative media logics,

affecting both the *Tour de France* itself, and the media outlets and agents whose work reflects, reproduces and constitutes the *Tour*.

1.1.4 Mediatization and News Media Coverage of Doping in the *Tour de France*

By connecting the observations of history, media and sociology scholars describing the *Tour* and its mediatization and motivations for athletes to dope, this research views the mediatization of the *Tour de France* as linked to the doping problem. One such example of this connection has already been established above: that the *Tour de France* was founded by a newspaper for the purpose of increasing circulation, a media logic driving the event to capitalize on its duration, and in doing so delivering a race of staggering athletic hardship that in turn precipitated athletes' use of drugs as a coping mechanism, albeit legally at the time (Mignon, 2003). This defining result of the mediatization of the *Tour* - its duration and reputation for endurance and suffering - remains a significant part of its appeal to modern audiences, and a feature of several scholars' claims who regard these attributes of the *Tour* as key reasons athletes in the event continue to dope, despite anti-doping legislation (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Mignon, 2003; Schneider, 2006). Therefore, the mediatized constitution of the *Tour de France* cannot be divorced from its doping problem, with research into media coverage of doping within the *Tour de France* a pertinent means of exploring the ongoing intersections of the *Tour de France*, doping and the media.

Media logics that inform mediatization are variable across different media genres and formats, resulting in variation in media content and packaging - important distinctions for this research in the selection of news media as the media genre for analysis. Media scholars attest that the role of news media in society is to assist the public in understanding the world around them (Altheide & Snow, 1979; Couldry & Hepp, 2018). Thus, unlike entertainment media, news media has a responsibility to inform the public on events and issues that shape and influence public life. Increasingly, media and communication studies have acknowledged the coverage of sport in news media publications as subject to these same influences and powers, shaping the reconstruction of sport and the values it embodies, with the power to influence social perspectives (Horky & Stelzner, 2016; Nicholson, et al., 2015; Palmer, 2000). Therefore, in selecting news media, specifically commercial Western newspapers (*The Times* and *The New York Times* newspapers) as the media content for analysis, this research investigates coverage of the *Tour de France*, by news publications driven by specific logics, one of which is to report objectively on social issues - including doping.

While news media are expected to report on reality, media and communication studies' scholars acknowledge that this 'reality' is also a product of human reconstruction by those who produce the news (Richardson, 2007; Schudson, 2011; Zelizer, 2004). Thus, news produced by journalists and moderated by editors, is subject to various influences that affect the lens of those who produce it, both consciously and subconsciously (Zelizer, 2004). Media and communication studies theory acknowledges the influences of news ownership, media political economy and media ecology as direct and indirect influences on news content, along with various influences on journalists constructing the news, including commercial imperatives, source capture, access to information, personal bias and subjectivity (Hargreaves, 2014; Reich, 2011; Schudson, 2011). Consequently, these influences affect public reception and understanding of the news and the realities of social life that it describes, limits, and emphasizes; affording the news considerable power to affect change, or uphold the status quo (Schudson, 2011). These external and internal influences thus impact news media logics, with formative consequences for news content, including the coverage of doping during the *Tour de France*.

1.1.5 Doping Amid the Media Spectacle of the *Tour de France*

To assume that commercial news media provide coverage of sport solely for the benefit of informing society would be to ignore the role that sports coverage plays in attracting the news audience - as evidenced by the *Tour's* foundation story (Frandsen, 2017; Nicholson, et al., 2015). Commercial news media must abide by commercial logics as well as news values, both of which influence the coverage of sport in news publications. Sociologist Guy Debord (1967) and media scholar Douglas Kellner (2003) attest to the significance of 'spectacle' in modern society as a product of increased globalization and commercialization, whereby commercial media (and corporations leveraging media) seek to capture audience attention through ever-more aggrandizing means. The result is a 'spectacular society' where corporations seek opportunities to impress their insignia on the public consciousness, with media coverage of professional sporting events affording lucrative opportunities benefitting both the event and media covering it (Kellner, 2003; Moller & Genz, 2014).

The success of the *Tour de France* as a mediatized spectacle is well documented, with media coverage affording race and team sponsors opportunities for exposure to an audience of millions, while commercial media outlets thrived on the sale of lucrative advertising space amid *Tour* coverage (Frandsen, 2017; Van Reeth, 2013). The modern *Tour de France* is a multi-million-dollar industry, both supported by and serving a slew of commercial sponsors and media producers,

predicated on the sale of spectacular feats of athletic endurance. Athletes amid the spectacle are also lucrative vehicles for corporate promotion, gaining remunerative fame through success and exposure amid the spectacle, adding drive to the competition beyond the simple satisfaction of winning (Gruneau, 2017; Kellner, 2003).

The considerable commercialization of the *Tour de France* and its spectacular mediatized constitution have been viewed by scholars as further compounding the pressure on athletes to dope, as teams seek greater media exposure amid the race for their sponsors, informing individual and team race tactics (Christiansen, 2005; Mignon, 2003; Schneider, 2006). These claims exemplify the effects of commercial media logics on the *Tour* (mediatization) and its doping problem, whereby *Tour* media coverage, driven by advertising revenue made more valuable through corporate demand, transcends into the race itself adding to pressures on riders to meet performance objectives - abetted by doping.

This ongoing doping in the *Tour de France* poses a significant challenge for journalists and news writers covering the race, specifically *how* to approach doping narratives in *Tour* coverage. Doping itself is a sporting and social transgression which threatens social values of 'sportsmanship' including notions such as fair play, honor, and unity (Bahkre & Yesalis, 2002; Johnson, 2016). While Carstairs (2003), Kellner (2003) and Rowe (1997) attest that doping scandals can captivate the attention of media audiences, particularly those involving celebrity athletes, doping coverage has also been shown to damage sporting events and sport organizations. Chester and Mottram (2018) attest doping attention has not benefitted the *Tour de France*, testifying that doping scandals reflect negatively on the event, and suggest that doping narratives in the media are to be avoided where possible. Therefore, given the above stated involvement of media in the commercial spectacle of the *Tour de France*, the fortitude of news media publications to confront doping during *Tour* coverage (as would be consistent with social values of sporting purity and values of the media genre) appears to be in significant tension.

1.1.6 News Media Approaches to Doping in Sports Coverage

Horky and Stelzner (2016) acknowledge that doping in sport poses significant challenges to journalists and media publications covering sports events, whereby the values of journalism to provide an honest, unbiased account of news events are juggled with the entertainment value of sports, and the enticing narratives of sporting heroics that are a staple trend in coverage (Zion, et al.,

2011). Despite the prominence of doping scandals as ‘news events’ it is unclear whether media interests in doping scandals extends to coverage of doping speculation, suspicion, or minor doping transgressions - a question of news media content relative to doping addressed by this research (Nicholson, et al., 2015).

Horky and Stelzner (2016) further state that media coverage can be a strong influence on sporting organizations’ acknowledgments and responses to doping issues, yet the degree to which journalists’ coverage of sport maintains this accountability is unclear (Zion, et al., 2011). Furthermore, Horky and Stelzner (2016) claim that further research is required to understand journalists’ decisions to report on doping or not, and the relative effect of these decisions on news content. This research contributes to this understanding, by revealing through the analysis of news content how notable champions of the *Tour de France* are framed in the news relative to doping suspicion, and indications in the findings as to the contributing influences on news construction including: journalists access to sources, riders responses to doping allegations, source capture, rider celebrity, national bias, and the *Tour de France* public relations strategy.

The need for media analysis to better understand news-media narratives around doping, has been acknowledged by communications and social science scholars (Horky & Stelzner, 2016; Palmer, 2000). Palmer (2000) advocates for research methods to be applied to media content to shed light on constructed narratives of the *Tour de France*, as embedded by the small group of wealthy elites governing the race. Palmer (2000) describes the difficulties encountered in ethnographic research of the *Tour de France* organization’s attitude and influence on social issues such as doping; due to rigidly contrived access and etiquette protocols, devised to control the event narrative. Instead Palmer (2000) recommends study of the “cultural broker” (the narrative produced by journalists brokering the event), understanding of which can reveal narratives bestowed through the influence of *La Société du Tour de France* and other powerful influencers.

1.1.7 Doping Narratives in News Coverage of the *Tour de France*

Both Horky and Stelzner (2016) and Palmer (2000) acknowledge the significance of influences on the media construction of news narratives surrounding the *Tour de France*, and specifically coverage of doping. These scholars thus advocate for media analysis in the interests of revealing and understanding the media narrative around doping in the *Tour de France*, revealing the degree to which doping is addressed, and the manner in which it is addressed.

This research approaches these gaps in the literature within the context of the *Tour de France* as a mediatized spectacle, acknowledging the links between doping and the commercial media logics informing mediatization of the event and subsequently its mediation by news publications. By implementing a framing analysis to compare news media coverage of two champions of the *Tour de France* - during *Tours* in which each were competing against a backdrop of documented doping suspicion - the research targeted suspicion of doping as a specific news issue relative each rider, at times where it could be suspected to feature in news coverage. Through a highly systematized approach to framing, this research identified, interpreted and quantified the framing in each of the publications coverage of the respective riders, revealing both the *extent to which* the riders were framed, and *how* they were framed in the news coverage.

1.2 Research Methodology and Parameters

Considering the above historical and media and communication studies literature, and the lack of literature regarding news media publications approaches to doping narratives outside of doping scandals, this research set out to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How did the newspaper coverage of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome during the *Tour de France* race period(s) of 26th June – 26th July 2004, and 24th June – 24th July 2017 respectively, frame these riders in relation to suspicion of doping?
- 2) What do the framing comparisons indicate about the news media's approach to doping suspicion in the news coverage of champion riders during the *Tour de France*?

By applying a comparative framing analysis approach to analyzing coverage of the riders; the research revealed and compared *how* the news media publications raised rider/doping suspicion of the respective *Tour de France* champions, and correspondingly the *extent to which* they sought to hold athletes and the event to account - consistent with journalism ethics and the role of news media in society (Richardson, 2007; Zelizer, 2004). This was achieved by identifying, interpreting, and comparing: *the extent to which the riders are framed relative to doping* (through article categorization, frame count, frame density - per corpus and per article); *how they are framed* (through systematic frame analysis and identification of framing motifs); and *the degree to which they are framed as suspicious* (through coding for doping suspicion orientation).

1.2.1 Methodology: Framing Analysis

In order to focus the research enquiry on the investigation of rider/doping suspicion in the news texts relevant to Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome respectively, framing analysis methodology was selected as a means of qualitatively assessing the news texts, specifically isolating cases in the texts in which the riders were framed relative to doping suspicion.

Framing analysis refers to the identification and interpretation of language structures in text used to give specific issues an intentional relevance, influencing how they are perceived by the reader (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). As such, frames are considered intentional structures in language construction, drawing on both the writers and the relevant audiences' knowledge and experiences, to cast issues in a certain way (Yoo, Smith & Kim, 2016). Furthermore, frames can appear episodically in text, referring to specific incidences or episodes, or be used thematically, broadly referring to the specific issue in the text (Gamson & Modigliani, 1994). By applying these tenets of framing analysis to this research, the research sought both the thematic and episodic use of language structures connecting the respective riders, either explicitly or implicitly; to doping or the possibility that they could be doping. Thus, the choice of framing analysis allows this research to focus on the specific references to doping suspicion and the respective riders in the news texts, thereby investigating the news media publication's specific approaches to the issue of rider/doping suspicion.

1.2.1.1 Criticism of Framing Analysis

The importance of selecting specific issues (such as rider/doping suspicion) as the subject of enquiry for framing analyses is referred to by several framing scholars as necessary to avoid selective highlighting of issues in text, and the subsequent inflation of salience of certain issues over others (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Gamson, 1975). Cacciatore et al. (2016) and Gamson (1975) have further criticized framing analysis for lack of systematic method, including variations in what is deemed to constitute a frame, and a process for systematically identifying and interpreting frames in a manner that can be repeated with consistency of results. At the time of this research there is no academic consensus for a solution to systematic framing analysis (D'Angelo, Lule, Neuman, Rodriguez, Dimitrova & Carragee, 2019). However, framing scholars and critics appear to agree that researchers conduct framing analyses in a careful, systematic manner, allowing scope for the inclusion of unexpected occurrences in the data, while also providing a distinct methodology for the

identification and selection of relevant frames, supported by textual examples of frames in use (Cacciatore et al., 2016; D'Angelo et.al, 2019; Gamson, 1975). Furthermore, Gamson (1975) advocates framing researchers take a creative approach to systematizing framing analysis, towards a solution to resolving these concerns.

To counter these criticisms of framing analysis, and taking license from Gamson's (1975) call for creative approaches to framing by researchers, this research employs a carefully designed systematic approach, utilizing clear definitions and contextual guidance for the identification, organization and coding of rider/doping suspicion frames summarized in the following research design outline (frame definition and umbrella frame categories). In doing so, the study design afforded quantitative insights regarding the frequency, quantity and density of frames, determining *the extent* of rider/doping suspicion in the coverage. Furthermore, the framing analysis also afforded qualitative insights into *how* the riders were framed, through individual frame interpretation (frame sub-categorization) and the interpretation of common themes (referred to as framing motifs) in the coverage, and doping suspicion orientation coding designating whether or not the frames *validated* doping suspicion, made *impartial reference* to grounds for doping suspicion or sought to *dismiss* doping suspicion. The approach to framing analysis taken in this research is detailed below, proceeded by an outline of the data sample, including the data parameters and the means of obtaining and determining news articles for analysis.

1.2.2 News Sample

In order to facilitate a relevant comparison of framing of rider/doping suspicion of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome in the news coverage, the following considerations were given to the selection of the data periods, news outlets, databases and search terms determining the parameters of the research enquiry.

1.2.3 Data Periods

As the historical literature review indicates, the 2004 and 2017 *Tour de France* races for Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome respectively, offer the opportunity to analyze and compare the riders at similar stages of their careers (Armstrong's sixth *Tour* title, and Froome's fourth), with similarly relevant cause for suspicion of doping- in Armstrong's case the book *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong* offering witness testimony of alleges doping, and for Froome and ongoing doping

investigation of his team by UK anti-doping authorities (Cycling News, 2018). These historical contexts provided the basis for comparative context, and informed the selection of the following research data periods:

Lance Armstrong: 2004 *Tour de France*, 26th June - 26th July 2004.

Chris Froome: 2017 *Tour de France*, 24th June - 24th July 2017.

The respective data periods began one week prior to the start of the *Tour de France*, and concluded the day after the final stage, thereby allowing for the inclusion of pre-race discussion, and post-race media commentary.

1.2.4 News Outlets

The research analyzed articles from the online content of two legacy newspaper publications: *The Times/The Sunday Times of London (The Times)* and *The New York Times*. Both of these papers are recognized by media scholars as having established, credible reputation for reliable news content, and for playing an agenda-setting role in the news media ecology (Billard, 2019; Peterson, 1981; Singer, 2013). These factors informed the selection of the newspapers as publishing content of relevance to the wider news media ecology. Furthermore, it was also significant to news outlet selection that each of the respective newspaper publications were affiliated to the same nationalities as riders- *The Times/The Sunday Times of London* relevant to Froome as a British rider, and *The New York Times* relevant to Armstrong as an American rider. Given Peng (2008) and Schudson (2011) attest that news publications are significantly influenced by nationalism, selecting the newspapers that shared the nationalism for each rider both controlled for national bias, and ensured that coverage of the riders would be prominent in the news coverage.

1.2.5 Databases

Though it would have been preferable to conduct this research within a single independent database, such as *Factiva* or *Lexus Nexus*, difficulties with data sufficiency and paywalls (respectively) prevented that approach. Therefore, the online archives of the newspaper publications were selected as the respective databases used to source news content. Although these archives are liable to post-release editorial discretion, such risks were acceptable given the complete record of content offered by both the respective archives, and justified given the news content

would remain representative of the newspapers approaches to doping suspicion. Furthermore, this selection helped control for fluctuations between the publications due to technological evolution over the 13 years between data periods, as both newspapers had established online news sites during the respective data periods (Keeble & Reeves, 2014; Meyer, 2009).

1.2.6 Search Terms and Sample Cleaning

Relevant articles were retrieved for analysis by virtue of mentioning the rider by name during the relevant data period, with secondary keyword 'Tour de France' cross-referencing articles for relevance to the *Tour*, and identifying any relevant articles not included in the initial search.

Key Search Terms: 'Lance Armstrong' (2004 data period), 'Chris Froome' (2017 data period).

Secondary Contextual Search Term: 'Tour de France'

Doping or doping related search terms were deliberately refused as search terms, for risk that articles which inferred or referred to doping in discrete terms may be omitted from the search.

Articles cleaned from those returned by the search criteria included duplicates, and those which only referenced the riders' in a results summary attached to the article. At the conclusion of sample cleaning, 234 articles remained for analysis, distributed across four distinct corpora (by rider and by publication).

1.3 Study Design

The systematic process taken in this research and the relevant framing data extracted from the news texts during analysis, are detailed as follows:

1.3.1 Definition of a Rider/Doping Suspicion Frame

As stated in the methodology section of this chapter, this research deemed a rider/doping suspicion frame be:

The use of language that **explicitly** or **implicitly** connects the respective riders to doping or the possibility that they could be doping.

This definition was applied consistently throughout the framing analysis to determine and identify relevant frames in the news texts for collection and analysis. Accordingly, text fragments deemed to compose rider/doping suspicion frames were copied and recorded verbatim from the new texts for further analysis and organization (detailed below).

1.3.2 Pilot Study

Prior to the main research enquiry, a pilot study of 20 articles (five from each corpora) were analyzed for framing of rider/doping suspicion, informing the design of the following five umbrella frame categories identified as mutually exclusive rider/doping suspicion framing conditions:

- Tour/Race Related
- Outright Suspicion
- Disregarding Suspicion
- Neutral Mention
- Denial

The development of these categories systemized the framing approach by facilitating informed contextual lenses for the identification of frames (by the above definition), and providing an initial organizing category for the collection of relevant frames for further interpretative analysis (frame sub-categorization, coding and framing motif analysis). As such, articles were read through the following contextual lenses, guiding the identification of text fragments deemed to compose frames for recording under the corresponding umbrella category.

1.3.3 Article Analysis and Categorization

All articles returned from sample cleaning were read through the above contextual lenses provided by the five umbrella frame categories, with text fragments identified as composing frames recorded under the relevant category. Within this process, articles deemed to include rider/doping suspicion frames ('Doping' articles) were distinguished from those which did not ('NM' Doping articles), providing data for the proportion of articles that included rider/doping suspicion frames in each corpus, to those that did not (article categorization). This helped control for salience of the

rider/doping suspicion relative to the wider respective corpora, and enabled the comparison of the extent of rider/doping suspicion framing between the corpora.

Furthermore, text fragments identified as composing frames were recorded relevant to each article, noting the word counts of both the text fragments and the article to enable frame density calculations (section 4.6.8).

1.3.4 Frame Collection and Recontextualization as Sub- Categories

Having identified, collected and organized the relevant text fragments composing rider/doping suspicion frames in each corpus by umbrella frame category, the text fragments were recontextualized as doping frame sub-categories, focusing on the framing of the rider relative to doping suspicion. An example of a text fragment recontextualized as a frame sub-category is provided below.

Text Fragment:

“After the trials and tribulations of 2003 and distractions away from the race, such as his divorce settlement, and pending legal battle over doping allegations, Armstrong has come back to the *Tour* hunting a record sixth win in succession, looking as strong as he was in his heyday.” (Whittle, 2004, July 13th)

Frame Sub-Category: Armstrong succeeding despite stress of doping allegations

Frame sub-categories were not limited in number, responding to the framing in the specific text fragments, and totaled 92 across the corpora, with multiple frames allocated to the same sub-category where framing was consistent between them. This process allowed for the identification of similarities and differences in the framing of rider/doping suspicion between the riders (including the identification of framing motifs) and a comprehensive counting of frames enabling a quantitative assessment of the relevant framing in each corpus noting the quantity of frames in each sub-category, including total frames per corpus, and by contextual orientation and doping suspicion orientation codes.

1.3.5 Coding for Contextual Orientation and Doping Suspicion Orientation

As a part of the frame sub-categorization process, relevant text fragments and their corresponding frame sub-categories were coded twice, once for contextual orientation- whether the frames were used episodically or thematically, and once for doping suspicion orientation- whether the frames *validated* rider/doping suspicion (V), made an *impartial reference* to rider/doping suspicion (I), or *dismissed* rider doping suspicion (D). The use of these codes offered greater insight into the use of framing in the texts for comparison, with the doping suspicion orientation coding offering insight into the intention of the specific text fragments composing frames, and their relationship to the news publications approaches to doping suspicion of the riders.

1.3.6 Frame Density Calculations

In addition to counting the number of frames per sub-category, per contextual and doping orientation codes, and per corpus; the word counts of ‘Doping’ articles and the respective text fragments composing rider/doping suspicion frames were recorded to enable a quantitative assessment of the proportion of text consumed by rider/doping suspicion frames per article and per corpus- referred to as frame density. Given the variations in frame length and distribution across the corpora, frame density provided a relevant assessment of the respective presence of framing in each corpus, and the distribution of framing and frame density across articles in the corpora.

1.3.7 Framing Motifs

With all relevant frames sub-categorized and coded in each corpus, frame sub-categories (and the frames within them) were observed in each corpus for the identification of common themes, referred to as *framing motifs*. To constitute a framing motif, a collection of sub-categories (or a single sub-category) needed to constitute at least 5% of the framing in a corpus, with the remaining frames also recorded and analyzed as ‘novel frames’.

Framing motif analysis enabled the research to analyze not just the quantity and distribution of frames comparatively between the corpora, but to also respond to the content of the framing between the corpora, to reveal how the riders were framed relative to rider/doping suspicion.

1.4 Findings

At the conclusion of the above outlined research process, the framing results showed considerable similarities and differences in the framing between the two riders in the news publications, including the key findings summarized below.

Across both publications there were a significantly higher absolute number and proportion of articles featuring rider/doping suspicion frames of Lance Armstrong than there were of Chris Froome, and significantly more rider/doping suspicion frames, as summarized in Table 1.

Table 1.

Total Number of Doping Articles and Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames per Corpus

Corpus	Number of 'Doping' Articles	Number of Frames
Lance Armstrong, <i>The Times</i>	21	114
Lance Armstrong, <i>The New York Times</i>	17	77
Chris Froome, <i>The Times</i>	8	26
Chris Froome, <i>The New York Times</i>	1	2

Further to the disparity in frame quantity indicated in Table 1, both news publications exhibited articles with a high density of rider/doping suspicion frames of Armstrong, indicative of a dedicated discussion of doping suspicion- a finding not evident in either Froome corpus.

Differences in framing between the riders was also evident by publication, with Armstrong framed relative to doping suspicion in more articles and more often in *The Times* than *The New York Times*, although *The New York Times* produced a greater number of articles overall. While Froome featured in the most articles and framed relative to doping suspicion most often in *The Times*, *The New York Times* exhibited a significant lack of coverage of Froome generally compared to the remaining three corpora (15 articles, with only one 'Doping' article and two rider/doping suspicion frames). Furthermore, the framing motifs data revealed that the only two frames of Froome in *The New York Times* coverage indicated fans suspected Froome of doping, and that the *Tour de France* race broadcast media avoided the inclusion of such doping suspicion in the 2017 race coverage- observations unique to the Froome *The New York Times* corpus.

Results from the contextual orientation code data, relating to how the riders were framed, showed differences between the riders, with largely episodic rider/doping suspicion frames of Armstrong in both corpora, which the framing motif insights show was largely related to Armstrong's responses to doping allegations. Froome, however, had a higher proportion of thematic framing in *The Times*, which the framing motif insights indicate was largely related to doping suspicion due to the *Tour de France* event's historic doping reputation.

Furthermore, the doping suspicion orientation coding showed that Armstrong was framed more often in frames that *validated* suspicion in *The Times*, compared to *The New York Times* which exhibited a higher number of *dismissing suspicion* frames. However, in both publications, Armstrong is most commonly linked to doping through *impartial reference* frames, observing his connections to doping, while Froome in *The Times* corpus has the highest proportion of *validating suspicion* frames across the corpora (which the framing motifs data shows is mainly due to his affiliation with *Team Sky*) though among a much smaller quantity of articles and total rider/doping frames.

The framing motifs data further revealed that both riders were framed for their success in the *Tour de France* as an event with a history of doping problems ('Rider suspicious due to the *Tour de France*'s reputation for doping' motif), however, only Armstrong is framed in terms of present doping problems. Furthermore, both riders are also framed in terms of their responses to doping allegations. The small portion of these frames of Froome in *The Times* describe an evasive approach to media doping suspicion, while Armstrong is prominent in frames from both corpora, consistently describing his defensive, aggressive responses to doping allegations and suspicion.

Finally, as previously stated, the framing motifs data also revealed that Froome was framed most often as suspicious for his connections to *Team Sky* (his team under investigation for possible doping), which contributed all *validating suspicion* codes in the Froome corpora. Yet, despite cause for team suspicion, frames linking Armstrong to his team are relatively few, and did not persuade towards doping suspicion of Armstrong- all of which were coded either *impartial reference* or *dismissing suspicion*.

Overall, the findings observed a disparity in framing between Armstrong and Froome, with further variation evident in the frame sub-categories and framing motif findings, which are combined with existing historical and media and communication studies literature in the subsequent discussion to

suggest possible influences on the news coverage accounting for the variation in both the extent and manner of framing between the riders.

1.5 Discussion

The findings of the research revealed both similarities and inconsistencies in the news media framing of doping suspicion between the two riders. Significantly, by every quantitative measure- overall number of frames, frames per article and frame density (per corpus and per article)- framing of Lance Armstrong in the 2004 *Tour de France* exceeded that of Froome in 2017- revealing that Armstrong was framed more often, and in a greater proportion of the news coverage than Froome. Furthermore, frame density insights showing articles with a high density of frames (75% and 90% respectively) reveal Armstrong was the focus of discussion dedicated to doping suspicion in both publications, indicative of a higher salience of doping suspicion in the Armstrong coverage, than in coverage of Froome.

Qualitative analysis of the frame sub-categories and framing motifs across the corpora further revealed key differences between the riders, indicative of varying approaches to doping suspicion by the news media publications and differing responses by the riders themselves. In aligning these findings with media and communication studies literature on the mediatization of sport, media logics and processes, commercialization and media spectacle; possible influences on framing in the news content are suggested to account for the disparity in framing between the riders:

1.5.1 Contrasting Media Strategies Between Riders

The framing motifs data reveals Froome's response to doping queries in the media are framed as 'evasive', a theme further supported by coverage of Froome in the news texts as shielded from media doping enquiries by team management- including the banning of a reporter for writing unfavorable, doping-related content (Dickinson, 2017). These insights align with Sherwood and Nicholson's (2017) observations that sports teams employ public relations strategies to manage media interactions with athletes, aiding their ability to control the media narrative through managing journalists access to athletes as news sources.

This observation of Froome is a stark contrast to Armstrong, who features prominently in frames detailing his response to doping allegations, in which he is framed as aggressive and defensive.

Unlike Froome, the frame sub-categories reveal Armstrong is available to the media for response to doping allegations, suggesting access to riders as sources- and Armstrong's willingness to front media- played a part in the disparity in framing between them.

1.5.2 Rider Celebrity and Newsworthiness

The disparity in rider/doping suspicion framing between Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome can also be attributed to Armstrong's considerable celebrity. Tiger (2013) claims Armstrong transcended the sport of cycling; a claim consistent with Armstrong's significant appeal across both news publications revealed in the research findings. This was in contrast with the Froome findings, which found negligible coverage of Froome in *The New York Times*. These findings, when aligned with Christiansen (2005) and Tiger's (2013) testimonies to Armstrong's considerable celebrity; suggest that Armstrong enjoyed a significant celebrity profile amid the mediatized spectacle of the *Tour de France*, which contributed to a greater extent of news media coverage of Armstrong compared to Froome. Kellner (2003) and Nicholson, et al. (2015) further claim celebrity status amid media spectacle can make celebrity athletes particularly vulnerable to scandal, which may also account for the greater extent of rider/doping suspicion framing of Armstrong in the findings compared to Froome.

1.5.3 National Bias by News Outlets

As explained in 4.5.3, each of the publications selected for framing analysis aligned with the respective riders nationalities- *The Times/Sunday Times of London* aligning with Chris Froome as a rider from Great Britain, and *The New York Times* aligning with Lance Armstrong as a rider from the U.S. Several of the research findings indicated that these national allegiances of the newspaper publications influenced the coverage and framing of the respective riders. Possible evidence of this in the framing data included the respective rates of *validating suspicion* and *dismissing suspicion* codes in the doping suspicion orientation coding- particularly in Armstrong's case whereby *The Times* recorded the higher proportion of *validating suspicion* codes for Armstrong, while national publication *The New York Times*, presented a higher number of frames *dismissing suspicion*. Furthermore, article count and categorization data also revealed indications of national bias, in particular the Froome *The New York Times* corpus; which revealed negligible coverage of Froome, possibly indicating a loss of interest in the *Tour de France* event compared to the publication's previous coverage of Armstrong, the American champion. These indications of national bias by the

news media publications are further corroborated by claims from Schudson (2011) and Smith (2016), testifying to the nationalist tendencies of news outlets in the U.S and U.K respectively, despite publications' claims to report international news.

1.5.4 Evidence of a desire by *Tour* organizers and news media to project a 'clean' *Tour de France*

Unlike Armstrong, Froome is not framed in relation to current doping problems in the *Tour de France*. This contradicts the evidence of suspicion of Froome and *Team Sky*, indicating a willingness in the news media to downplay doping concerns in the present. This suggestion in the framing is reinforced by the only frames extant in *The New York Times* Froome corpus, which describe race media avoidance of imagery communicating fan suspicion of Froome. These observations suggest a willingness by news media (and by *Tour de France* organizers) to project a 'clean' (drugfree) image of the race, present in the findings of the Froome corpora. Given the mediatization of the event, and thus the damage posed by doping coverage to both the event and the media covering the event, this may suggest a willingness by the news media to suppress coverage of doping suspicion in the 2017 coverage of Froome, in the interests of maintaining the sporting spectacle.

1.6 Conclusion

The results of the research showed that Lance Armstrong was framed in terms of doping suspicion more often, and in a higher proportion of news coverage than Chris Froome, despite the similarities identified between the riders. Furthermore, through comparison of frame sub-categories between the riders, framing motifs emerged across the corpora, which combined with existing academic and historical literature suggest several factors influenced the disparity between the riders, including: journalists access to sources; riders responses to doping allegations; source capture; rider celebrity; national bias; and *Tour de France* public relations efforts. The research therefore concludes that news media coverage of doping suspicion of riders during the *Tour de France* is variable, and can both expose rider doping, and suppress doping narratives. These inconsistencies in approaches to doping coverage by news media publications can be seen to relate to tensions underlying news media coverage of doping in the *Tour de France*; between pressure driven by commercial logics to maintain the sporting spectacle, and the values of the news media genre and defense of sporting purity.

1.7 Chapter Outlines

This thesis comprises seven chapters, followed by referencing and the inclusion of additional framing data in Appendices 1 -8. This first chapter has introduced the study and provided an overview of the research as a whole, while the remaining six chapters cover the relevant existing literature, methodology, research design, findings, discussion and conclusion, and are outlined as follows.

1.7.1 Chapter Two: Literature Review- A History of Doping and the *Tour de France*

The first literature review chapter of this thesis explores the existing literature covering the history of the *Tour de France* as it relates to the event's relationship with the doping, and the attitudes of athletes and society towards doping over time. Arranged in chronological order, this chapter examines the history of doping scandals in the *Tour*, building a contextual understanding of a mediatized sporting event that has both enabled and imposed sanctions upon athletes who dope. This overview covers the rise and fall of Lance Armstrong and the early career of Chris Froome (who is still competing in professional cycling), examining the record of doping suspicion against both riders, and existing scholarship of media coverage of doping in the *Tour de France*- of which there is very little.

1.7.2 Chapter Three: Literature Review: Mediatization of Sports, Media Theory and Doping in the *Tour de France*

The second literature review chapter examines media and communication studies theories of mediatization, mediation and media spectacle, their applications to the *Tour de France* as a mediatized sporting spectacle, and subsequent links to ongoing athlete doping in the *Tour* as a coping mechanism (Altheide & Snow, 1991; Frandsen, 2017; Schneider, 2006). As such, doping in the *Tour* is revealed to enable the mediatized spectacle of the event, aiding media creation of a spectacularized reality for audience consumption (Frandsen, 2017; Kellner, 2003).

Furthermore, this chapter also examines the role of news media in society as a form of media with a responsibility to inform the public of social issues (Richardson, 2007). This section pays particular attention the influence of media logics on news content from Western commercial news publications (as is applicable to this research), particularly those driven by political economy and commercialization, influencing the construction of news media content as a reflection and reconstruction of society with the power to influence social norms (McChesney, 2008; McPhail,

2014; Schudson, 2011). Combining with the discussion of mediatization and spectacle, this chapter reveals tensions between the logics of commercial news media and objective journalism, questioning whether news media confront doping suspicion in coverage of the *Tour de France* as a matter of sporting purity, or suppress doping narratives in favor of media spectacle - a question central to this research.

1.7.3 Chapter Four: Research Methodology and Design

Chapter Four of this thesis explores framing analysis as a popular research methodology for media content analysis, and the chosen research method for this study. This chapter examines the benefits of framing analysis, principally that it offers the ability to focus on specific issues in media content, interpreting and simplifying the meaning of content structures depicting complex issues (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Yoo, et al., 2016). Criticisms of framing analysis as a research method prone to inconsistency and unrepeatability are addressed as important considerations to ensuring a robust research design.

The chapter goes on to detail the systematic process designed for consistency of analysis and robustness of framing findings, including; the sourcing of the news sample for analysis, the definition of a rider/doping suspicion frame and systematic process for the identification and organization of frames, the use of umbrella frame categories, and the recontextualization of frames as meaningful rider/doping sub-categories and subsequent coding. The quantitative metrics obtained during using this systematic process are also detailed, specifically; article categorization, frame count (overall and by code) and frame density. Finally, the process of interpreting frames and frame sub-categories by framing motif is explained as enabling the comparison of the content of frames revealing *how* the riders were framed, and includes an example of the table layout designed to compare the motifs across the corpora.

1.7.4 Chapter Five: Research Findings

Chapter Five of this thesis presents the research findings in order of the research process outlined in Chapter Four.

The findings revealed that Lance Armstrong appeared in a higher proportion of total articles than Chris Froome in both publications. While there was considerable data for both Armstrong corpora

and the Froome *The Times* corpus, there was a remarkable lack of coverage (articles and frames) of Froome in *The New York Times*.

Analysis of the quantitative frame data between the two riders, indicated that Froome was framed for rider/doping suspicion considerably less than Armstrong- who featured prominently in both publications, including articles dedicated to discussions of possible doping. Furthermore, frame coding data revealed Armstrong was largely framed episodically in *impartial reference* frames, while Froome was more often framed thematically, and with a greater proportion of *validating suspicion* frames, albeit among a lower overall frame count.

Analysis of framing motifs between the corpora revealed considerable similarities and differences between the framing of the riders. Key findings in this section include: that both riders were framed for their responses to doping allegations, with Armstrong offering persistent, aggressive rebuttals, while Froome is evasive; that Froome is framed as suspicious due to an investigation of his team, though Armstrong is not considered suspicious due to an investigation of his teammate; and that both riders are framed as suspicious due to their successes in the *Tour de France* as an event with a history of doping problems, though only Armstrong is framed in terms of contemporary doping problems in the *Tour*.

1.7.5 Chapter Six: Discussion

Following the presentation of findings, Chapter Six of this thesis discusses the comparative findings of the framing analysis between the two riders, drawing on evidence in the framing data, news content, and references to existing literature to contemplate possible influences contributing to the disparity in rider/doping suspicion framing between the riders. The discussion the following possible explanations for the framing results: an evasive media relations strategy by *Team Sky* that limited journalists' access to riders, relative newsworthiness of the respective riders, national bias among the publications analyzed, and a complicity in *The Times* to suppress doping in the 2017 news coverage in favor of a 'clean' *Tour de France* event.

1.7.6 Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The final chapter of this thesis summarizes the research questions and findings into a coherent case exposing the inconsistencies in the news media publications' approaches to doping suspicion of the

two riders, and the possible contributing influences on these inconsistencies as evidenced by the findings. The research thus concludes that news media coverage of doping in the *Tour de France* is variable and vulnerable to the influence of news media logics and processes, connected to contending motivations behind the news media coverage- news values and sport purity, versus media investment in the *Tour de France* as a mediatized sporting spectacle built on, and threatened by doping.

This chapter also includes acknowledgments of the limitations of this research, including: the findings as a representation of news coverage, technological variation between data periods, and the findings application to other forms of doping dialogue and counter-narratives to mainstream news. Furthermore, this chapter also calls for future research into the media political economy of the *Tour de France* as a means of identifying influences on media coverage of doping suspicion, and recommends future analysis of the effects of athlete celebrity on media coverage of doping suspicion and scandals.

2. Literature Review One: A History of Doping, Media and the *Tour de France*

This chapter will review the academic literature testifying to the history of doping in the *Tour de France* and the relationship between doping in the event and media; stretching back to the conception of the event. This chapter thereby establishes the grounds for discussion of the *Tour de France* as a mediatized spectacle in Chapter Three. Furthermore, this chapter introduces the riders that are the focus of this framing analysis, Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome, providing a contextual background of their successes in the *Tour de France* chronology, their careers to date, and documented links to doping. Existing analysis of the riders in media coverage are also canvassed- revealing very few that examine the riders relative to doping.

In doing so, this chapter outlines the history of the *Tour de France* as a prestigious cycling event founded by a newspaper for the purpose of entertaining and captivating audiences, while openly tolerating the use of PED's by the cyclists who fulfilled the roles of endurance entertainers (Bahkre & Yesalis, 2002; Johnson, 2016). The chapter goes on to chart a collision course between the professional *Tour de France* and the burgeoning amateur Olympic movement, edging society towards anti-doping, which would ultimately culminate in the banning of PED's at the 1967 *Tour de France*- to the very public dismay of competing cyclists. From this point onwards, successive doping scandals at the *Tour* are chronicled, spanning the 1970s to the present day, revealing the contextual grounds for the *Tour de France's* reputation for doping problems, and the careers of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome respectively as chapters of *Tour de France* (doping) history.

2.1 The Humble Beginnings of Professional Cycling and Doping 1860 - 1900

The sport of professional cycling has a long history rooted in doping, providing a cultural context to the relationship between the sport, the *Tour de France*, and the news media; referenced in the academic literature of historians, sociologists and economists, as well as in experiential accounts of sports journalists and athletes (Brewer, 2002; Johnson, 2016; Mignot, 2016).

Professional cycling was born during the Industrial Revolution of the 1860s and 70s. During this time the first bicycles to feature even-sized wheels gained popularity as a safe and effective mode of transport for the working classes (Mignot, 2016). Johnson (2016) describes how laborers began establishing cycling clubs which quickly identified talented athletes, creating interest for promoters looking to earn money by organizing races. Races were held in velodromes and on roads, and such

was their popularity with cyclists and spectators alike that by 1869 endurance 'six day' races had begun, featuring a solid 144 hours of competition (Bahrke & Yesalis, 2002). The promoters, the athletes, and the news media covering the races all profited from the spectacle of the six-day races. Johnson (2016) describes the earning power of cyclists in these events as "astronomical", referring to one cyclist's earnings of \$11,500 in winnings and appearance fees from a single race; considerable earnings for the time, and particularly for the many cyclists who were otherwise working-class citizens (p.14). The earning power of these athletes is a testament to the popularity of the races; as a form of entertainment for the masses, and a new profession for talented workers.

There are several contextual elements that appear in the literature regarding the environment in which professional cycling was founded, which scholars agree play a role in the doping culture of the sport to this day. The first is that cycling, unlike many other established sports at the time, was accessible to, and most popular among, the working classes. Johnson (2016) explains how other sports of the day such as running, rowing and rugby, were entrenched in the aristocratic British boarding school system, valued as character building ventures and not intended to yield financial gain. Free of the constraints of aristocratic etiquette, cycle racing amongst the working classes was open for business, embedding professionalism in the sport which brought with it the expectation among athletes and spectators that the role of an athlete was a job like any other. Cyclists were there to be a part of the show, and in succeeding in their role bore financial benefits. It is clear in the literature of both Johnson (2016) and Bahrke and Yesalis (2002) that this outlook was extended to an acceptance of doping as a reasonable part of the job, in the same way that taking substances like caffeine to improve working efficiency among factory workers was accepted. The cyclists themselves very much saw their role as a profession, and had no qualms about using doping strategies to help them through the relentless racing as described by Bahrke and Yesalis (2002) with reference to nitroglycerine; an ingredient used in explosives, taken by athletes to increase blood flow:

French racers preferred mixtures on a caffeine bases, the Belgians preferred sugar cubes dipped in ether, and others used alcohol-containing cordials, while the sprinters specialized in the use of nitroglycerine (p.46, as cited in Prokop, 1970: 45)

The testimony of Bahrke and Yesalis (2002), Johnson (2016) and Mignot (2016) all draw connections between cycling's professional status as a 'job' and an attitude towards doping that accepted the use of performance enhancing substances as a reasonable measure for athletes to take.

Furthermore, to the notion that athletes in professional cycling were fulfilling a role like any other job, it is also important to note that helping to drive cycling towards professionalism, was a thriving relationship between the sport, the public and the press. Due to its roots in the working classes, cycling appealed to a much larger audience than the aristocratic sports, generating both demand and the economy for profit. Dauncey (2012) describes this environment in France in the 1890's, and the active role the media began to play in developing the sport:

As cycling became increasingly democratized, the audience for cycle racing became much more significant, and the media, in the form of both specialized and non-specialized press, began to stage increasingly high profile and spectacular competitions. (p.45)

Dauncey (2012) goes on to describe the ever more spectacular races staged by the press in Europe, many still considered iconic on the modern pro circuit (such as *Paris-Roubaix* and *Liege-Bastogne-Liege*). Press involvement in the orchestration of such extreme races is widely attributed to an attempt to continually raise the stakes, enthralling the public with the endurance feats of the riders, and prolonging audience attention through longer and longer races (Johnson, 2016; Mignot, 2016). In the eyes of the press and public (and indeed the athletes themselves) cycle races were very much a professional format for the purpose of entertainment. This environment spurred athletes to take ever more comprehensive measures to ensure their performance on the cycling stage met fans and media expectations. These measures included doping, which continued to be undertaken openly and without question through to the 1960's (Dimeo, 2014).

Furthermore, the active part the press played in the growth and format of professional cycling (including the *Tour de France*- owned by the Amaury Sport Organization, part of major French sports-media company *Editions Philippe Amaury*), gives special relevance to the role of the media both in the orchestration of cycling events such as the *Tour de France*, and to the news media's attitude towards doping (Mignot, 2016). Ultimately the literature suggests the news media's involvement in the early stages of professional cycling's development included a complicity with athlete doping practices, (which were not illegal) for the benefit of the endurance spectacle of the race. Thus the relationship between cycling and the news media began as a mutually beneficial one, each invested in the success of early doping-enhanced professional cycling races – effectively embedding doping as part of the event's mediatized construction (see further discussion of doping and the mediatization of cycling in Chapter Three).

2.1.1 Amateurism vs. Professionalism; The Denouncement of Doping 1890 - 1940

The links between doping and professionalism in cycling would only begin to become problematic in the 20th century with the rise of Olympic amateur values that contested the professional acceptance of PEDs.

While professional cycling (and several other professional sports at that) was thriving in the late 19th century, its rise to popularity had not escaped the attention of the aristocracy who frowned upon professionalism (Johnson, 2016). Among those despairing at the rise of professional sports was Baron Pierre de Coubertin, a French aristocrat who had long idolized the British boarding school curriculum- particularly with regards to the inclusion of sports as a virtuous endeavor, shaping the moral fiber of future leaders, honor and nobility with the benefit of physical uplift (Goldblatt, 2016).

Coubertin's solution for the moral impurity of professional sport was to advocate for an international celebration of amateur competition, for the common good of peace and unity, that he touted as a modern version of the virtuous (and religious) Ancient Greek Olympic Games.

Coubertin's Olympic revival began with the first games held in Paris in 1896, and would go on to become the biggest sporting event in the world, and have a significant influence on professional sports (Goldblatt, 2016). Gleaves and Llewellyn (2014) describe the ideology of amateurism that Olympic competition was grounded in, and that would shape attitudes towards competition for decades to come: "It (amateurism) stressed fair play, decency, honesty, self-control, respect for opponents and officials as well as graciousness in both victory and defeat" (p.99). This Olympic ideology embedded a moral code into competition that emphasized respect for others and for the rules of sport. However, like professional sport, doping in the early Olympic Games continued to be undertaken out in the open, and bore no resentment from the athletes or spectators (Gleaves & Llewellyn, 2014; Johnson, 2016).

As the Olympic stage grew through the early 20th century, so too did the event's capacity as a political stage, and an opportunity for nations to express their power, vitality, and superiority through the feats of their national athletes. This political growth would come to a head at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, an event riddled with expressions of Nazi superiority, and German athletic dominance that drew suspicion from other nations at a time of growing tension in Europe (Johnson, 2016). Public complaints of German 'shamateurism' (sham-amateurism) precipitated the very first

IOC statement against doping, made by then president Henri Baillet-Latour which very clearly marks the issue as a corruption of amateurism:

Amateur sport is meant to improve the soul and the body...No stone must be left unturned as long as the use of doping has not been stamped out. Doping ruins the health and very likely implies an early death (Gleaves & Llewellyn, 2013, p. 847)

By 1938, the IOC had officially condemned doping in the Olympic charter as a subset of amateur protection rules (Johnson, 2016). From this point onwards, accepted doping in professional cycling was on a collision course with the growing Olympic machine that was quickly becoming the largest vehicle for sports entertainment, and the most influential global entity for sports law and conduct (Gleaves & Llewellyn, 2013). Over the course of the 20th century, anti-doping sentiment only become more entrenched in the Olympic ideology, which maintained its grip on the values of fair play so effectively juxtaposed with the 'doping scourge'. These values are alive and well in sport today, embedded in the World Anti-Doping Agency's (WADA) Code, the heart of anti-doping legislation governing sport (including professional cycling):

Anti-doping programs seek to preserve what is intrinsically valuable about sport. This intrinsic value is often referred to as "the spirit of sport." It is the essence of Olympianism, the pursuit of human excellence through the dedicated perfection of each person's natural talents. It is how we play true. The spirit of sport is the celebration of the human spirit, body and mind, and is reflected in values we find in and through sport (World Anti-Doping Agency, 2015, p.14).

This ideology, and the growing power and popularity of the Olympic Games through the 20th century, is credited in the literature as having significant ramifications for professional cyclists, for whom doping was an accepted part of their job as athletes (Gleaves & Llewellyn, 2013; Johnson, 2016). Here the literature testifies to the inception of social support for anti-doping, which would go on to be reflected in the news media coverage of doping scandals.

2.1.2 The Adoption of Anti-Doping 1960 - 1970

Bahkre and Yesalis (2002) and Johnson (2016) describe the impending collision of doping in cycling with societal anti-doping values; marking the point at which the news media first became an

assertive promoter of anti-doping, as a key feature of an institutional shift in professional cycling away from doping. Amid growing antipathy towards doping broadly across sport, the Olympic men's team time trial event in 1960 placed cycling at the center of the doping controversy. Battling heat and dehydration, Danish cyclist Knud Jensen collapsed and died part-way through the event. History scholars attest that media interest in the case focused on doping as the cause of death, fueling the view that doping was not only a corruption of the ideologies of competition, but also a dangerous threat to athlete health (Gleaves & Llewellyn 2014; Goldblatt 2016).

Furthermore, the reaction from both sport and national authorities was direct and focused on doping. Johnson (2016) describes a "media eruption" (p.39) in response to the Jensen case, with a vast number of media outlets reporting a link between Jensen's death and use of amphetamines, and casting the use of PEDs in sport as both immoral and dangerous. Johnson (2016) claims the intense media attention prompted the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to establish a medical commission to examine doping in Olympic sports, which ultimately resolved to institute doping control tests in competition for the first time at the 1968 Winter Games in Grenoble.

The shift towards anti-doping in the Olympic Games would also directly impact professional cycling. This was not the first time a cyclist had died competing with a connection to doping (nor would it be the last) but such was the influence of the Olympic movement on the wider sports world that in 1965 the French government criminalized doping, with the first in-competition anti-doping tests introduced at the *Tour de France* during the 1967 *Tour* (Vandeweghe, 2016). However, this development was received poorly by professional cyclists of the day, who used the media to voice their displeasure in the loss of their rights to dope. Among those outspoken against anti-doping, Bahkre and Yesalis (2002) quote five-time *Tour de France* winner Jacques Anquetil's reaction in 1967 stating:

For 50 years bike racers have been taking stimulants. Obviously we can do without them in a race, but then we will pedal 15 miles an hour (instead of 25). Since we are constantly asked to go faster and to make even greater efforts, we are obliged to take stimulants. (p.52)

This statement explicitly references the demands of the race spectacle on the riders, and reveals that cyclists continued to see doping as a coping mechanism to provide the media spectacle that constitutes the *Tour de France*. Yet, these pleas for doping as a necessity for the *Tour* clashed with 1965 media coverage of the criminalization of doping in French law, with influential French sports

newspaper *L'Equipe's* response an example of media and public sentiment favoring the new law, stating: "Let us hope that, now the impetus has been given, the struggle against this scourge will be pursued in an increasingly concrete fashion." (Mignon, 2003, p.240)

However, Anquetil's statement is consistent with the historical literature in highlighting the pressures of the cycling 'show' on the athletes- the constant need to ride further and faster in order to maintain the sporting spectacle, clearly implicating doping as a part of the *Tour de France* mediatized spectacle (discussed further in Chapter Three) (Johnson, 2016). Yet the following quote reported by Mignon (2003), clearly depicts French society as embracing anti-doping legislation, turning away from the realities of the athletes' role amid the *Tour de France* spectacle. Thus Gleaves and Llewellyn (2016) and Johnson (2016) attest that Olympic amateurism and media interest in global sport, played a significant role in influencing political and public opinion towards anti-doping, to the perceived detriment of *Tour de France* cyclists such as Anquetil.

Despite athlete protests, anti-doping legislation would not be overturned, and the UCI and French government policy would force the *Tour de France* to implement anti-doping regulations. The absorption of anti-doping values into the *Tour de France* amid contention from athletes such as Anquetil, can be seen to mark the beginning of the ongoing struggle in professional cycling between athletes determined to dope, and attempts made by officials- the UCI, the *Tour de France*, and eventually WADA- to rid sport of doping altogether. The Jensen drama on the Olympic stage, and the motivation to crack down on doping that followed, is therefore evident of the ability of the media covering sports events to influence sports legislation. This power of media to galvanize the public towards anti-doping, described by Goldblatt (2016) and Johnson (2016) is especially relevant to issues central in this research. Given this evidence of the power of media influence for the adoption of anti-doping, does the media continue to act to hold athletes to account for anti-doping values?

2.1.3 Doping Goes Dark 1967 - 1980

The historical literature suggests that despite anti-doping efforts, athletes have been caught (or suspected of) continuing to take various PED's (Andreff, 2016; Dimeo, 2014; Mignot, 2016; Vandeweghe, 2016). The 1967 *Tour*, the first to institute anti-doping controls, is now infamous for the in-competition death of British rider Tom Simpson, whose autopsy revealed high levels of the drug methamphetamine (Bahrke & Yesalis, 2002). Not only was Simpson's death another tragedy attributed to doping, it was also the first death in the *Tour* to be televised for the world to see

(Donohoe & Johnson, 1986). Simpson's death was evidence of the athletes' continued will to dope despite the new anti-doping legislation and testing measures, while the publicity garnered through televised coverage added motivation for sports authorities to pursue the anti-doping cause (Chester & Mottram, 2018).

However, the professional cycling peloton continued to dope through the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s, with athletes also continuing to speak out publicly in the media in favor of doping, with some even striking in protest (Connolly, 2015). Public statements of athletes who tested positive and sought to justify their drug use, is further evidence of both the lack of ethical qualms with doping amongst cyclists, and the continued belief that doping was justified, an example of which is the following statement from French cyclist Patric Clerc in 1983: "I plead guilty but I had to look after myself after riding the Dauphiné Libéré and Bordeaux-Paris, which left me exhausted. If I hadn't done so I would not have ridden the *Tour*" (cited in Moore, 2007, p.132).

Furthermore, in his comparative study of relevant professional cycling athletes' autobiographies, Connolly (2015) explains that over the 1970s and 1980s cyclists' were less willing to discuss doping publicly (such as the quote from Clerc), which seemed to acknowledge the social taboos of doping outside of the athlete community. Connolly (2015) states that social developments against doping did not force a change of behavior amongst cyclists in their reliance on doping, but instead helped to push doping behind the scenes, obscuring the practice from the prying eyes of authorities and media. Connolly (2015) also points out that cyclists beginning their careers in the 1980s were becoming increasingly aware of the ethical taboos of doping, an important development that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Waddington and Smith (2009) discuss the period of the 1970s and 1980s as a time of increased public anti-doping sentiment, which did not translate into adoption of anti-doping within the cycling peloton. Scholars attribute this in part to the haphazard nature of early anti-doping controls, which Dimeo (2014) describes as "a fragmented affair" (p. 952) in which athletes were seldom tested, and even then only in competition. These scholars agree that the limitations of anti-doping effectiveness and consistency promoted a lack of respect for anti-doping controls among athletes, contributing to the continuation of doping practices, albeit in a more discreet manner as doping's 'taboo' social status solidified.

Although not the focus of the literature, given that these scholars all rely on various media sources to refer to the incidences and opinions that shape the literary discussion, it is reasonable to question what role (if any) the media continued to play in the public denouncement of doping over this period. That athletes no longer felt comfortable defending doping in the press, may be interpreted as a testament to the perceived negative reaction any support for doping in the media would have received. Ultimately, the 1970s -1980s saw a reduction in the willingness of cyclists to advocate openly for the right to dope, resisting discussion of the issue in media coverage for the first time.

2.1.4 Omerta 1980 - 1998

Scholarly discussion of the role of the media in the persistence of doping in the *Tour de France* in the 1980s and 1990s largely credits commercialization of the event and media coverage as increasing the significance of winning for cycling teams, and therefore a continued reliance on doping (linked to mediatization, commercialism and spectacle in Chapter Three) (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Mignon, 2003; Schneider, 2006). These circumstances are credited as prompting the professionalization of doping behind team doors (typified by teams' adoption of a significant contingent of medical personnel) amid a widespread complicity among *Tour* teams that undetectable doping could continue as a silent presence in the event (Bahrke & Yesalis, 2002; Dimeo 2014; Vandeweghe, 2016).

Waddington (2000) attests that winning in the *Tour* in the 1990s afforded teams media exposure for sponsors (increasing the investment value of the team), and media celebration of individual cyclists (increasing their commercial marketing value)- benefits thus enabled through the commercial media spectacle of the race, celebrating the event winners. Waddington's (2000) claims that these circumstances precipitated professionalized doping by teams as a means of securing success, is echoed by Dimeo (2014) attesting that professional doping enabled teams to dope while avoiding detection: "With the support of professional team managers and unscrupulous doctors, cyclists could use new substances and techniques and stay ahead of testers" (p.953).

The increasing focus of cycling teams on athlete doping, combined with ongoing difficulties with the effectiveness of anti-doping controls, led to a well-documented state of widespread doping in the sport at the time (Bahrke & Yesalis, 2002; Dimeo 2014; Vandeweghe, 2016). Furthermore, teams in this era were incredibly adept at avoiding detection, with doping so widespread in the peloton that a code of silence, referred to as *Omerta* (a term associated with the Italian mafia) took hold, whereby doping was rarely spoken of even between teams, let alone to the press (Andreff, 2016). At the

same time anti-doping was struggling to keep up with doping innovations pushed by teams, making it easier to avoid detection (Nemes, 2014).

There is very little discussion of contemporary media coverage of doping in cycling during the *Omerta* era, possibly due to a lack of doping evidence left behind by sophisticated teams. Dimeo (2014) goes as far as to state that investigative journalists did very little to expose doping, and that the sport “lacked any systematic effort to tackle doping which was tacitly tolerated by the spectators” (p.952). This reaction can be understood within a wider context of the challenges facing the anti-doping movement at the time, including fear of the damage a public doping scandal could inflict, as explained by Ljungqvist (2017):

Other reasons for unwillingness to take decisive action at the national and IF (international federation) levels were the high costs involved in developing and conducting anti-doping programs, the lack of expertise, and the negative publicity that affected those sports and countries that exposed doping in their top athletes. (p.6).

Dimeo (2014) and Ljungqvist (2017) thus infer that journalists and media at the time were more concerned with upholding media spectacle of the race, than in reporting potentially damaging doping narratives- a professional tension acknowledged by journalism scholars discussed further in Chapter Three. Further to this apparent lack of media interest in doping, contemporary evidence of doping in the sport appears to rely on testimony from cyclists themselves, rather than media accounts. In his 1990 autobiography, former cyclist Paul Kimmage alludes to the absence of media coverage of doping in cycling in the 1980s, despite the continued presence of PED's in the *Tour de France* peloton:

Thank God we don't see any of this on television. Thank God we don't hear about the nastiness, the dealing, the dirt. The champions deserve our applause. They merit our encouragement. They are not to blame ... Should I remain silent? No, I can't because it's what they want, the people who profit from the rule of silence. (Kimmage, 1990, p.238).

Kimmage (1990) thus reiterates the incentives for teams to dope, while also testifying to media preoccupation with the competition, the winners and the spectacle, benefitting from doping under *Omerta* alongside cyclists and teams. Furthermore, Andreff (2016) and Dimeo (2014) claim the significant number of cyclists in the 1980's and 90's that were able to dope without getting caught, is

a testament to the lack of effectiveness of anti-doping measures, and the inability of the press to expose the truth. Sefiha (2010) references difficulties faced by the cycling media to get access to competing athletes during this period, possibly contributing to the lack of media coverage of doping. These accounts suggest that a combination of the difficulties of exposing doping due to anti-doping and *Omerta*, and media preoccupation with the event spectacle, resulted in a lack of media coverage of doping in the 80's and 90's, however dedicated research into media coverage of cycling during this time is yet required to corroborate such claims.

2.1.5 The Festina Affair 1998

The underground doping culture in the *Tour de France* continued in 1990s, counter to anti-doping measures and public sentiment. However, a significant doping scandal in the 1998 *Tour de France* would mark a new chapter in the event's doping chronology.

During the 1998 *Tour*, Willy Voet, a soigneur (assistant) on the Festina team was stopped and his vehicle searched by French border control officers, revealing a copious supply of banned substances and prompting the arrest of all nine Festina team riders (Bell, Have & Lauchs, 2016). Amid the outcry that followed, the team director admitted to overseeing a sophisticated doping program for riders within the team.

The Festina doping scandal quickly became known as the 'Festina Affair' in the press, and soon prompted further French federal investigations into other *Tour de France* teams (Brewer, 2002). Perhaps most spectacularly amid the Festina Affair was the response by *Tour* athletes, reiterating riders' acceptance of doping, with 93 of 189 competing *Tour* riders abandoning the race in protest (Bell et al., 2016). Ultimately, the investigations exposed doping on an unprecedented scale, as an accepted and carefully orchestrated part of life within pro-teams (Roussel, 2001). Brewer (2002) and Rasmussen (2005) both attest that coverage of the Festina Affair in the media, had a negative impact on public confidence in clean cycling, however, Dimeo (2014) explains how the Festina Affair did little to change doping culture within the peloton stating: "The few riders in the peloton who spoke out against doping found themselves ostracized by the peloton" (p.953).

While the Festina Affair was not the only major doping scandal exposed in the late 1990s, scholars acknowledge the scandal as both a significant turning point in public knowledge of the extent of doping in cycling, as well as the last straw for anti-doping authorities who were now forced to take

decisive action. The result was the founding of WADA, the international authority on anti-doping legislation responsible for legislating on banned and tolerated substances, and advancing, overseeing and standardizing doping controls (Chester & Mottram, 2018). The establishment of WADA, and the new standards of anti-doping controls were supported by the UCI and *Tour* organizers, quick to take up the opportunity to usher their sport into a new 'clean' era.

These new anti-doping measures, coupled with cycling's determination to present a 'renewed' sport, appear to have served to largely placate media interest in doping through the early 2000s. It is in this period that Lance Armstrong emerged as the *Tour de France's* greatest champion, winning his first *Tour* in the 1999 *Tour of Renewal* at the time signaling a new era in 'clean' cycling. Lance Armstrong's career and the impact of his spectacular rise and fall from unprecedented heights of celebrity in cycling, follow in this chapter as the next stage of *Tour de France* history.

In summary of *Tour de France* history at the point of Armstrong's ascendancy; it is clear that from the late 19th-century to 1999, the *Tour de France* had evolved a professional culture within the sport that had consistently failed to divorce itself from a reliance on doping. Thus, given this sustained prevalence of doping in cycling over more than 100 years; it is reasonable for media and spectators to appreciate champions of the event, tempered with a suspicion of doping. Yet, at the time of this research, there is a lack of media analysis of cycling's mediatized doping history to indicate whether such suspicions are communicated in media coverage- an aspect this research will address.

2.2 The Rise and Fall of Lance Armstrong

Central to this research enquiry is understanding Lance Armstrong's career trajectory from rookie professional in 1993 to seven- time *Tour de France* champion by 2005, to appreciate the scale of his influence on cycling and the wider public, and his status as a key figure in *Tour de France* history. This section details Armstrong's emergence in the historical and media studies literature and contemporary journalism, as a unique antagonist in the event's struggle with doping, with unprecedented public appeal transcending the sport.

This section reveals there is very little formal analysis of the media's treatment of Armstrong with respect to suspicion of doping whilst competing in the *Tour de France*, despite a career littered with numerous testimonies, and evidence linking him to doping. Furthermore, through the lens of Armstrong's career trajectory, details of cycling's doping/anti-doping history through the early

2000's are made clear, describing a sport still struggling to control doping, and a peloton of cyclists consuming PED's with the same determination as generations of riders before them.

2.2.1 Early Career and Cancer Diagnosis

Lance Armstrong began competing on the professional European cycling circuit in 1993, having enjoyed initial success in lesser-ranked North American races. In 1993, Armstrong was a little-known rider, from a nation that did not have a reputation for cycling excellence in Europe and did not warrant interest in the cycling media (Christiansen, 2005). Armstrong would experience success in his first season, winning the *World Championship Road Race* to distinguish himself as a rider with potential among the cycling press (Spalletta & Ugolini, 2014; Walsh, 2012). Armstrong's first *Tour de France* that year was less spectacular, although managing to win one stage of the *Tour*, Armstrong failed to complete the race. Armstrong's 1994 and 1995 seasons produced similar results, with some success in the prestigious *Liege-Bastogne-Liege* (2nd place), and his second *Tour de France* stage win in 1995, the first *Tour de France* he would finish- placing 36th (Fotheringham, 2015). Armstrong started the 1996 *Tour de France*, but only endured five days before dropping out of the race.

In October of the same year, Armstrong was given a diagnosis of stage four testicular cancer, with the cancer having already spread to his lungs, lymph nodes, abdomen and brain (Armstrong, 2001). Subsequent media reports have placed Armstrong's chance of survival at the time of his diagnosis at only 60% (Fotheringham, 2015). Armstrong would spend the next two years being treated for the disease, away from the interests of the cycling media, returning to racing at the end of 1998- after the Festina Scandal of that year's *Tour de France*.

The literature indicates that Lance Armstrong's career achievements up to his cancer diagnosis in 1996 did not warrant any significant praise in the media, beyond acknowledging his status as a young up-and-coming rider with potential (Walsh, 2012). Spalletta and Ugolini (2014) provide one of the only focused studies of media coverage of Lance Armstrong including his pre-cancer career. This research appears to be unique as an enquiry into Armstrong's image in the media over the course of his career and makes a significant contribution to understanding Armstrong's appeal in the public eye.

Spalletta and Ugolini's (2014) research reveals that Armstrong was perceived as a likeable character in the press during the pre-cancer years, particularly for his tribute to a fallen teammate after

winning a stage of the *Tour de France* in 1995. Spalletta and Ugolini (2014) describe the coverage of Armstrong that year as “very neutral at this stage, with Armstrong apparently similar to any other promising athlete” (p.227). Upon announcing his cancer diagnosis, Spalletta and Ugolini (2014) describe a sympathetic media reaction towards the young cyclist, which included coverage of messages of support from cycling legends such as Eddie Merckx. Spalletta and Ugolini’s (2014) and Walsh’s (2012) accounts both establish that up until his cancer diagnosis in 1996, Lance Armstrong was only a minor figure in the cycling media landscape.

Unknown at the time, Armstrong revealed in 2013 that he had already been using PED’s to elevate his cycling results prior to his cancer diagnosis (Tiger, 2013). As previously discussed in this paper, the 1990s represented a period in cycling where doping was rife, and well hidden from the public (Robeck, 2015). However, testimonies from former teammates and team staff compiled as affidavits in the United States Anti-Doping Agency’s (USADA) reasoned decision against Armstrong in 2012, reveal he began experimenting with doping early in his career (United States Anti-Doping Agency, 2012). That Armstrong has since admitted to doping from the mid-1990s through to his first retirement in 2005, further strengthens the validity of these testimonies (Tiger, 2013). However it appears that in 1996, an era where doping was prevalent and largely undetected, there was little impetus to suspect the lesser-ranked Armstrong.

2.2.2 Return to Cycling, Victory at 1999 *Tour de France*

Lance Armstrong returned to the *Tour de France* in 1999 competing for the ‘U.S Postal Service Team’ (*U.S Postal*), a year after the Festina Affair; which had left the public and *Tour* organizers dismayed at the state of doping in the *Tour* peloton (Christiansen, 2005). In an attempt to move on from the scandal, organizers had branded the 1999 *Tour* the ‘*Tour of Renewal*’ attempting to promote a clean event that would not condone doping (De Bruijn, Groenleer & Van Ruijven, 2016; Dimeo, 2014).

In reality, the most potent drug of choice, Erythropoietin (EPO), a hormone promoting the production of red blood cells, taken to enhance the transmission of oxygen in the body; was still undetectable by anti-doping tests, leaving cyclists little reason to abstain from taking it (Dimeo, 2014). Given the event’s history, and the knowledge that EPO was undetectable, it is reasonable to conclude that media covering the *Tour* had good reason to be skeptical about doping in the 1999. Sources claim concerns over doping were topical in the early stages of the *Tour*, but were put aside as attention shifted to Armstrong’s victory in the opening stage time-trial (Dimeo, 2014; Walsh,

2012). In his book *Seven Deadly Sins; My Pursuit of Lance Armstrong*, Walsh (2012) recalls his first notion of suspicion during the 1999 *Tour de France*, after Armstrong's opening stage win. Walsh (2012) recalls in 1993, that Armstrong had finished 81st on the same course, some 47 seconds slower than the winner. In 1999, Armstrong won in dominant fashion, displaying a significant improvement in form to take the win on the 6.8km course by 7 seconds (Bike Race Info, n.d), an improvement Walsh (a journalist) found concerning: "Six years later, same course, same conditions, another massacre but this time Armstrong had inflicted it, not endured it" (Walsh, 2012, p.32)

Walsh's (2012) statement is clear that the improvement in Armstrong's race performances from 1993-1999 drew suspicion that he might be taking drugs. Drastic improvements in athlete performance over a short space of time being suggestive of doping is discussed in broader accounts of doping scandals beyond Lance Armstrong alone (Billings & Bie, 2015; Walsh, 2012). Walsh (2012) himself acknowledges this as a key contributor to his suspicion of Irish swimmer Michelle Smith at the Atlanta 1996 Olympic Games (later sanctioned for tampering with a urine sample) (Walsh, 2012). While Billings and Bie (2015) noted this form of suspicion as a talking point among Western media coverage of the performances of swimmer Chinese swimmer Ye Shiwen at the 2012 London Olympics.

David Walsh is a significant contributor to the Lance Armstrong discussion, as an investigative journalist covering the *Tour de France* for the Britain's *The Sunday Times* newspaper. Walsh was an early sceptic of Armstrong's success, and quickly became devoted to investigating the rider under the suspicion that he was taking PED's (Dimeo, 2014). Walsh wrote several pieces for the *Sunday Times* questioning Armstrong's performances from 1999 onwards, and his accounts provide important insights which are relied upon heavily in the literature throughout wider discussions of Armstrong's career with respect to doping (Dimeo, 2014; Hamilton & Coyle, 2012; Price, 2004; Spalletta & Ugolini, 2014).

In 2004, Walsh released the book *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong* (co-authored by French Journalist Pierre Ballester) which is widely credited as a key turning point in strengthening suspicions of Armstrong's doping, and would ultimately lead to official investigations (US federal and USADA investigations) culminating in doping sanctions for Armstrong (Dimeo, 2014; Fotheringham, 2015). Given the credibility Walsh receives in the literature, and the absence of a comprehensive analysis of the news media at the time, the contextual evaluation of this study also relies considerably on his contribution, both in his own words and in their interpretation by scholars.

As the 1999 *Tour* continued, Walsh (2012) describes a notable moment among the race media, reacting to Armstrong's victory in stage nine, a performance that solidified his own conviction that Armstrong was doping:

I had watched the final climb to Sestriere on a big screen in the salle de presse. At the moment of Armstrong's acceleration there was a collective and audible intake of breath and, as he rode clear, there was ironic laughter and shaking of heads. Not every journalist was overcome with skepticism, not even the majority, but there were enough to form a platoon of sceptics. (p.43)

Again, Walsh (2012) notes his reason for suspicion as connected to Armstrong's improved performances- obliterating opponents on a mountain stage that would previously have found him lacking. Although Walsh (2012) notes a general skepticism among race media of Armstrong's performance on stage nine of the *Tour*, he also states that this did not translate into a broad media discussion of the likelihood that Armstrong was doping, or that doping persisted in the peloton at all. According to Dimeo (2014) the *Tour of Renewal* was in full force, with media and fans alike more interested in Armstrong's miraculous comeback: "The fascination around Lance Armstrong's incredible story of returning from cancer to win the *Tour de France* was to bring more media and public attention to the sport" (Dimeo, 2014, p. 956)

Spalletta and Ugolini's (2014) research also depicts the positive rise of Armstrong in the media during his comeback *Tour*, earning him the titles of "Whizz Kid" and the "Miracle Man" (p.223). The testimony of Walsh (2012) and the accounts of Spalletta and Ugolini (2014) and Dimeo (2014), indicate that stories questioning Armstrong's performances were not frequent, nor popular in the media at the time of the 1999 *Tour*. Perhaps the greatest evidence of Armstrong's popularity after winning his first *Tour* in 1999 is in his ability to capitalize on attention gained through victory, publishing the book *It's Not About The Bike* in 2001, detailing his cancer recovery and return to cycling (Dimeo, 2014). The success of the book, combined with Armstrong's increasing popularity with sponsors, and promotion of his cancer charity *Livestrong* further boosted his public profile, earning him wealth and fame beyond the cycling audience alone (Price, 2004).

Meyer and Watson (2014) identify Armstrong's 'illness narrative' as one that earned him a "spiritual attractiveness" within which he is seen as "the fighter against cancer as he rides his bicycle for the

benefit of others” (p.159). Meyer and Watson (2014) indicate this spiritual reverence for Armstrong would be continually reinforced throughout his career, only becoming blurred when he finally confessed to taking performance enhancing substances in 2013. Kellner (2003) discusses the capacity for mediated, commercialized sports events to offer star athletes a platform for celebrity (as evidenced here by Armstrong), whereby capitalist values of winning are conveyed through the media spectacle, offering those who embody them wealth and celebrity. This celebration of celebrity athletes within news media coverage of the *Tour*- including the elevation of celebrity athletes, their vulnerability to scandal, and the risks that reverence for celebrity poses to journalism processes- are analyzed further in their relevance to this research in Chapter Three. However, it is clear from these accounts, that Lance Armstrong’s transformation from cancer survivor to *Tour de France* champion was both the beginning of his public hero narrative, and the source of early skepticism from journalists well acquainted with cycling’s doping past (Meyer & Watson, 2014; Tiger, 2013).

Furthermore, in combining the testimony of journalists such as Walsh (2012) with the research of Dimeo (2014) and Spalletta and Ugolini (2014), along with the historical record of Armstrong’s career; it appears that any doping skepticism in the media in 1999 did not detract from Armstrong’s popularity with the public.

2.2.3 Evidence Emerging 2000-2010

The 1999 *Tour* was but the first of seven *Tour de France* victories for Armstrong, winning consecutively from 1999 through to his first retirement in 2005. Defending his title in 2000, Armstrong was no longer the little-known cancer survivor he had been in 1999, but now the sport’s biggest attraction (Dimeo, 2014; Price, 2004; Walsh, 2012). This period of Armstrong’s career was set within a wider context of doping cases that emerged in cycling in the early 2000s, most notably *Operacion Puerto* in 2006, which exposed many of Armstrong’s career rivals as dopers (Hamilton & Coyle, 2012). However, Armstrong himself remained untarnished, while according to Dimeo (2014) the cases held little interest in the media:

The doping cases of 2004-2005 in cycling did not register much media attention beyond cycling. Even in 2009, the Guardian writer and author Lawrence Donegan claimed that ‘the public doesn’t care about athletes taking drugs. (Dimeo, 2014, p.955)

Furthermore, Christiansen (2005) suggests that the speeds reached by riders in the *Tour de France* over the years of Armstrong's successive victories, pointed to a continued reliance on doping in the peloton, and good reason for skepticism of Armstrong's dominance:

The fact that in 1999, 2003, 2004 and 2005 the riders achieved higher average speeds than ever before, along with the many doping cases outside the *Tour de France*, points toward alternative scenarios. (Christiansen, 2005, p.504).

While not a feature of the limited academic discussion of media coverage of doping at this stage, the exposure of doping by former Armstrong teammates, Tyler Hamilton and Floyd Landis, would ultimately gain significance in the case against Armstrong. Having lost their careers in the sport these athletes would become willing to cooperate with investigators in testifying to Armstrong's doping (Hamilton & Coyle, 2012; Hart, 2018; Walsh, 2012). Given that journalists and academics in related topics suggest doping was an unpopular point of discussion in media coverage, regardless of its relevance; warrants further investigation into media attitudes and approaches towards doping at the time- such as this research will apply to a more recent period of *Tour* history (Christiansen, 2005; Dimeo, 2014; Walsh, 2012).

However, it is clear that the skepticism of Armstrong was fostered among some journalists in 1999, and persisted throughout Armstrong's career from 2001 – 2010 (Dimeo, 2014). Sports historians recognize key incidences covered in the media, connecting Armstrong to doping which would ultimately lead to US federal and USADA investigations. These events are detailed in the following chronological order:

2.2.3.1 Relationship with Michele Ferrari

In 2001, journalist David Walsh published a story in the *Sunday Times* providing evidence of a working relationship between Lance Armstrong and Italian Doctor Michele Ferrari. Walsh (2012) describes the relationship as suspicious, both because of Ferrari's reputation within the sport for prescribing doping programs to riders, and because Armstrong had been reluctant to acknowledge his relationship with Ferrari. Armstrong publicly refuted the skepticism, calling Ferrari "an honest man" (Farrand, 2005). Spalletta and Ugolini (2014) note the Italian media covered the story, describing Ferrari's grey reputation, and Armstrong's assertions that the relationship was professional and proper.

2.2.3.2 L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong Released

Journalists David Walsh and Pierre Ballester released *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong* ahead of the 2004 *Tour de France*. The book presented testimonies of former teammates, staff and insiders to Armstrong's use of PED's. The accounts included the cover up of a positive drug test at the 1999 *Tour*, witness accounts of Armstrong's administering of PED's, recalled conversations with Armstrong discussing his drug use, and details of intimidating phone calls received from Armstrong following publication speculation regarding his drug use (United States Anti-Doping Agency, 2012; Walsh, 2012). This evidence provides important contextual grounds for suspicion of Armstrong in the 2004 *Tour de France*- an important component for data period selection in this research design covered in Chapter Four.

Armstrong attempted to block the book from being published, and sued *The Sunday Times* for libel in Britain for an article featuring evidence included in the book (Fotheringham, 2015; Walsh, 2012). However, the book did not instigate any official investigations into Armstrong's doping, with David Walsh (2012) recalling a sympathetic media in a pre-race press conference of 2004, eliciting a grateful response from Armstrong:

I have received many, many calls from journalists in this room who've read the book, people who've read the book and said to me, "Okay, what's the big deal? There is nothing there". And I appreciate the support. (p.176).

Walsh (2012) concludes that the book had little long-term effect on media coverage of the 2004 *Tour* outside of France, while Price (2004) indicates this was especially true in Armstrong's home nation: "In Europe, unlike in America, Armstrong's post-cancer accomplishments stirred skepticism in the press. Lance, a sporting miracle?" (Price, 2004, p.47).

While Walsh (2012) and Price (2004) indicate that media coverage of suspicion of Armstrong in 2004 was limited despite the release of *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong*, in the absence of media analysis the impact of the book's claims on media coverage of Armstrong in 2004 remains unclear- an area this research will investigate.

2.2.3.3 SCA Promotions Case

Following the 2004 *Tour*, testimony from *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong* caught the attention of SCA Promotions, a company providing insurance for cash bonuses owed to Armstrong for his *Tour de France* victories (Fotheringham, 2015; Walsh, 2012). SCA and Armstrong went to court after SCA refused to pay Armstrong and his team on the basis of doping claims in the book. Armstrong ultimately won the dispute, however the legal recording of witness testimonies from the case would go on to contribute to the basis of inquiry for later investigations revealing Armstrong's doping.

Following the incident, Armstrong went on to race the 2005 *Tour de France*, recording his 7th victory, and announced his retirement from professional cycling. However, Armstrong's retirement did not put a stop to doping speculation.

2.2.3.4 'The Armstrong Lie', *L'Equipe*

In 2006, French Newspaper *L'Equipe* published "Le Mesonge Armstrong" (The Armstrong Lie) featuring the results of an investigation into re-testing of urine samples from the 1999 *Tour de France*, testing Lance Armstrong positive for EPO (Pelkey, 2005). As the re-testing was carried out for research purposes, Armstrong was not sanctioned due to the results (Walsh, 2012). However, the article served to return speculation of Armstrong's doping into media coverage of cycling.

2.2.3.5 Floyd Landis

Armstrong announced his return to the *Tour de France* in 2009, finishing in 3rd place. In assembling a team for the 2010 *Tour*, Armstrong turned down former teammate Floyd Landis, due to his previous suspension for doping (Hart, 2018). Armstrong went on to complete the 2010 *Tour* finishing in 23rd place, announcing his second (and final) retirement from professional cycling. That same year, Landis informed USADA and US Cycling of Armstrong's drug use, demanding an investigation (Hart, 2018). Shortly thereafter a US Federal investigation was launched into Armstrong, while USADA also began an investigation into cycling in the US (Hart, 2018; Walsh, 2012).

2.2.4 Conviction

The US Federal investigation collated existing testimonies from the SCA witnesses, and subpoenaed Armstrong's *U.S Postal* teammates to testify (Hamilton & Coyle, 2012). These testimonies would ultimately form the basis of a separate USADA investigation into Armstrong the same year, culminating in a decision to ban Armstrong from all sport (USADA, 2012). Soon after, the UCI also announced they would ban Armstrong from cycling, and strip him of his seven *Tour de France* titles, leaving the years of his victories without a winner- symbolizing the event's acknowledgement and total rejection of rampant doping in the peloton in that era- an unprecedented action in *Tour de France* history.

2.2.5 Confession and Armstrong Summary

Throughout the investigative process Armstrong had maintained his innocence, calling the charges "wrong and baseless" (Fotheringham, 2015). However, in 2013 Armstrong conceded to doping throughout his 7 *Tour* victories, in a primetime interview with Oprah Winfrey (Fotheringham, 2015).

There is considerable academic interest in Armstrong's confession, revealing a mixed reaction from the public, including disbelief, disappointment and even justification for his doping (Tiger, 2013; Zurloni, Diana, Cavallera, Argenton, Elia & Mantovani, 2015). Psychological studies such as Zurloni, et al.'s (2015) suggest Armstrong's consistent patterns of denial employed to deflect criticisms and allegations throughout were persuasive given his reverence in the media, attesting to Tulle's (2016) claim that: "Media representations of elite athletes evoke qualities that transcend cultural and national boundaries." (p.255). Furthermore, Zurloni et al. (2015) suggests that Armstrong's position in the media at the time of his confession placed him somewhat beyond reproach in the minds of the cycling public, while Tiger (2013) also notes a reluctance in the American media to condemn Armstrong for his actions:

They've (*the New York Times*) been slow to create a morality tale for Armstrong's repeated use of drugs banned by the cycling authorities- even after Armstrong publicly admitted to some of the U.S Anti-Doping Agency's accusations. (p.38)

Tiger (2013) goes on to state that public opinion of Armstrong, which held on to the enduring narrative of his cancer survival and charity work, made it difficult to condemn him:

Many saw Armstrong as a hero, a cancer survivor and a humanitarian. They didn't want his doping scandal to undo all he did 'to make the world a better place. (p.39)

That some media outlets found it difficult to condemn Armstrong for doping, even after his public confession, appears a testament to his popularity with the public, and possibly a factor in the reluctance of the media to pursue accusations of doping throughout his career (discussed further in Chapter Three). Furthermore, Spalletta and Ugolini (2014) reveal that accusations of doping did appear in the Italian media, although balanced with a reverence of Armstrong, which Walsh (2012) claims was the majority approach by journalists in his experience as a part of the cycling media over the course of Armstrong's career.

However, Armstrong's losses have also been noted in terms of corporate fallout as sponsors turned their backs on the former hero (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Dimeo, 2014; Tiger, 2013). These sources, aided by a large number of press articles, documentaries, and eventually a Hollywood motion picture *The Program*; speak to the public scale of Armstrong's fall from grace, and the significance of his celebrity to his public downfall (Fears, 2015).

These testimonies reinforce the scale of Armstrong's appeal and public profile, which Tiger (2013) and Walsh (2012) suggest protected him from doping suspicion in the media, and even from media scrutiny after his doping confession. Yet a definitive media analysis is absent from claims that media coverage did not escalate doping suspicion of Armstrong, to which this research will contribute in analyzing the news media approach to doping suspicion of Armstrong.

Furthermore, that doping suspicion of Armstrong stemmed from the 2004 release of *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong*, escalating into Armstrong's conviction and confession-makes the 2004 *Tour de France* event a pertinent event for the examination of the media's approach to suspicion of Armstrong's doping. That there is no current media analysis of news media coverage of Armstrong in response to the 2004 allegations, indicates such research could offer new insights into the media response, specifically whether such early speculation featured in the news coverage during the *Tour*, and if so, how it framed Armstrong. Armstrong would ultimately be convicted of doping, suggesting such research could also indicate whether news coverage played a role in escalating doping suspicion, helping to trigger doping investigations.

It is clear that the severity of the punishment levelled against Armstrong represents an attempt by cycling authorities to take a stand against the extensive doping persisting in the event. However, subsequent *Tour de France* events have also been marred by doping cases, including those implicating race champions. Among Armstrong's successors following his retirement in 2010, Chris Froome is the only rider to record consecutive *Tour de France* titles, elevating his success in the *Tour* to a level not dissimilar to Armstrong's. That evidence has also emerged linking Froome to doping, further draws comparisons between the riders, establishing a context between them for the investigation of the media's approaches to doping suspicion of champion riders during coverage of the *Tour de France*.

2.3 Beyond Lance Armstrong: The Rise of *Team Sky*

This section enters the era of professional cycling following Armstrong's retirement, and the rise of Chris Froome as Armstrong's most accomplished successor, from the era's most dominant team- *Team Sky*. This section begins with a note on Froome's team, its media sponsors and public stance on doping, before detailing Froome's cycling career to date, his successes in the *Tour de France* and causes for suspicion of doping. In doing so, this section establishes the background context of doping suspicion surrounding Froome during 2017 *Tour de France* as comparable to that which shadowed Armstrong in 2004.

Before discussing Froome himself, It is relevant to note Chris Froome's *Tour de France* team - *Team Sky* - their association with doping, and the media sponsors funding the team. The name *Team Sky* includes that of its major sponsor- satellite television platform 'Sky', a major broadcasting service in Britain, then owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, with a business emphasis on subscription services driven by exclusive rights to major sporting events (Murdock, 2017; Walsh, 2014).

From their beginnings in 2010, *Team Sky* made public their policy not to employ any team riders or staff with past links to doping, in an apparent attempt to reassure the public that their team would never resort to doping (Walsh, 2014). This policy became even more poignant later that same year, with the explosion of the Armstrong confession, and the ensuing scrutiny of cycling's doping troubles. *Team Sky's* stance on doping can be seen as evidence of an awareness of the negativity that could be associated with the team and its stakeholders should a doping scandal befall the team. However, despite this proclamation, *Team Sky* staff appointments have not been inscrutable. Walsh

(2014) describes the fallout from the appointment of Belgian doctor Geert Leinders in 2011, who would later be described by cyclists at his former team (the Dutch team Rabobank) as a key player in the team's systemic doping program. While Leinders was subsequently dismissed by *Team Sky*, his initial appointment rendered the sincerity of *Team Sky's* 'clean' staff policy questionable (Walsh, 2014).

2.3.1 Introducing Chris Froome

Chris Froome emerged as a key rider for *Team Sky* in the 2012 *Tour de France*, in support of winner Bradley Wiggins, before taking over leadership of the team in 2013, a position he would hold through to 2017. In that time Froome would win four *Tour de France* titles- a rare feat in the prestigious event- elevating Froome to comparable status to Armstrong before his condemnation.

Froome's first win in the 2013 *Tour de France* crowned him the second *Team Sky* rider in two years, following Wiggins' win the previous year (Walsh, 2014). Griggs et al. (2014) analyze the reaction from the British Print media to Froome's victory, comparing Froome to the previous study of Bradley Wiggins' victory. Unlike Wiggins, the Griggs and Groves (2016) study indicates that Froome's victory was met with a muted reception, with media sources framing Froome's win within the context of cycling's historical struggle with doping, suggesting his victory was "partially overshadowed by the 'folk devil' that is Lance Armstrong"(p.428). Griggs and Groves (2016) also indicate coverage of Froome focused heavily on his upbringing in Africa, ranking him behind Wiggins in the eyes of the British public, describing the ranking of the two as a "hierarchy of Britishness" (p.428).

Griggs and Groves' (2016) comparison of Wiggins' and Froome's victories suggests that media coverage of Froome) did indeed include mention of doping in 2013, the first *Tour de France* since Armstrong's confession at the end of 2012. Media sources within the Griggs and Groves (2016) study suggest media doping suspicion of Froome featured in coverage of the *Tour*, including seeking assurance from Froome that his performances were clean, and skepticism about Froome's performances given cycling's recent history. Cycling journalist Paul Kimmage expresses this skepticism towards Froome's success, due to the nature of his performances and in light of the sport's history of doping:

I've never ever seen anything like what I saw on Sunday' said Kimmage of the Froome assault on Mont Ventoux that was astonishing in its brutality. "What we saw on Sunday was

shock and awe, and given what we've had in the sport for the last two decades, now is not a good time to be selling shock and awe. (Paul Kimmage as quoted in Griggs and Groves, 2016 p. 435)

This contemporary testimony from Kimmage suggests that there was indeed skepticism in the cycling press towards Froome's impressive performance (Griggs & Groves, 2016). Furthermore, Griggs and Groves (2016) conclude that such was the aftermath of doping scandals in generations gone by; that journalists and commentators covering the *Tour de France* "suspended their belief of great achievements until a later time" (p.436). This view is apparent in Chris Froome's responses in media interviews at the time, in which he attempts to reassure the public that his win would remain unblemished by doping in years to come:

I know my result will stand. It's definitely going to paint a good picture for the sport and I think that's what we need with cycling at the moment" (Chris Froome quoted in Cycling News, 2013)

Here Froome appears to acknowledge the fact that often doping can be undetected for many years after the competition in question- as was the case for Lance Armstrong. Griggs et al.'s (2014) study indicates that journalists covering Froome in 2013 had cycling's recent history with doping (particularly the Lance Armstrong scandal) very much in their consciousness. Griggs and Groves (2016) provide significant insight into the British print media's response to Froome's first *Tour de France* victory, in the first race after Lance Armstrong's confession to doping. However, an area for further investigation would be to conduct a broader analysis of print media (and otherwise) following the race, not limited to the British sources following their national team and contender. Another, as this research looks to explore, would be to revisit Chris Froome later in his career, as an established champion not unlike Lance Armstrong in race dominance, within a media climate further removed from the raw backlash of the Armstrong scandal. Such is the trajectory of Chris Froome's career over the following five years, that these comparisons to Armstrong become even more apparent.

2.3.2 Froome the Reigning Champion

Following his first *Tour* win in 2013, Froome suffered a career blip in 2014, crashing in the early stages of the race forcing his withdrawal (Bloor, 2014). However, from 2015 through to 2017,

Froome extended his dominance of professional cycling, winning three more consecutive *Tour de France* titles. There is little in the scholarly literature discussing Froome's presence in the media, doping related or otherwise. Instead, discussions of Froome are somewhat limited to news pieces and magazine features. Rice's (2017) article *The Greatest and the Least Loved* covers Froome's rise to cycling dominance, suggesting Froome lacked the popularity of other cyclists (namely Bradley Wiggins) and goes on to describe the sometimes violent receptions he has been subjected to by fans at races- "While riding the *Tour*, French spectators have hurled insults and even urine at him" (Rice, 2017, p.18). Rice's (2017) insights suggest that Froome has failed to win the popularity of cycling fans, which Rice (2017) attributes to a lingering suspicion of successful riders, given the truth behind Lance Armstrong's victories..

Yet some fans, disappointed so often by riders such as Lance Armstrong who were later revealed to be cheats, refuse to believe that the top cyclists, especially a late developer such as Froome, can be clean. (Rice, 2017, p.18)

While Rice's (2017) claims are anecdotal, they suggest that suspicion tied to doping cheats of the past continued to somewhat plague Chris Froome throughout his career. As previously stated, there has been little investigation into the framing of champions such as Froome with relation to doping, or suspicion of doping. At this stage of Froome's career, it would appear that the most he had done to draw suspicion of doping, was to win in dominant fashion over a field often revealed to include dopers, in a sport with an extensive doping history.

2.3.3 100% Clean? Trouble with TUE's

In 2015, the abuse of Therapeutic Use Exemptions (TUE's) by athletes was brought to public attention as a new domain on the doping spectrum. TUE's offer athletes afflicted by genuine medical conditions authorized use of substances otherwise banned in sport, with the decision to grant a TUE is subject to the discretion of a doctor and authorized by anti-doping authorities (Drug Free Sport New Zealand, n.d.).

That doctors are complicit in perpetuating doping in cycling has been covered by various scholars, with the previously discussed relationship between Dr Michele Ferrari and Lance Armstrong an example of a doctor's involvement in doping, suggesting that doctors' discretion is no guarantee of ethical use of TUEs (Christiansen, 2005; Walsh, 2012). The public scandal over abuse of TUEs began

in 2015 with testimony from US athletics stars Kara and Adam Goucher, levelling accusations of TUE abuse by U.S athletics coaches, drawing significant media attention to the issue (Daly, 2015; “Goucher Says She” 2015).

Shortly thereafter, following the 2016 Olympic Games, as Russian hacking group under the name ‘The Fancy Bears’ hacked into WADA records to produce a list of athletes awarded TUE’s for otherwise banned substances- including *Team Sky* riders Bradley Wiggins and Chris Froome (Brewster, 2016). Responding to scrutiny of the asthma drugs revealed to have been prescribed to him, Froome seemingly avoided scrutiny by acknowledging his use of inhalers to relieve his asthma throughout his career, and that the revelations provided no secret information (Brewster, 2016).

However, TUE’s issued to Froome’s 2012 teammate Wiggins' drew even greater attention, implicating *Team Sky* in the administration of “three intramuscular injections before big grand *Tours* including the *Tour de France* in 2012.” (Kelner, 2018, p.7). Shortly after the leak, a *Daily Mail* report by journalist Matt Lawton provided witness testimony of a jiffy bag delivered to Wiggins at a race in 2011, containing an unknown substance (Lawton, 2016; Kelner, 2018). These claims led to an investigation into Wiggins and *Team Sky* collectively by the United Kingdom Anti-doping Agency (UKAD), revealing that not only was *Team Sky* unable to confirm what was in the package, but the team’s doctor claimed to have had his laptop stolen on holiday and thus lost all medical record of it (Cycling News, 2018; Kelner, 2018). *Team Sky* General Manager Sir David Brailsford would eventually claim the package had contained Flumicil, a legal over-the-counter decongestant (Cycling News, 2018).

Investigations of *Team Sky* by UKAD, and another investigation by a British parliamentary select committee tasked for digital, culture, media and sport would run throughout 2017 and well into 2018- covering the data period of the 2017 *Tour de France* examined in this research- although both investigations would ultimately be inconclusive (Cycling News, 2018; United Kingdom Anti-Doping Agency, 2017). Media framing of *Team Sky* athletes and staff during the doping crisis of the jiffy bag scandal is not yet explored by scholarly literature, being a very recent incident. However, the considerable availability of media sources speculating over the contents of the so called ‘jiffy bag’, and the role of *Team Sky* staff members in assisting athletes with medications, certainly contradicts the ‘clean image’ the team had actively promoted (Walsh, 2014). Furthermore, that this scandal cast doping suspicion on all of *Team Sky* provides a significant backdrop of doping suspicion to Froome’s

performance in the 2017 *Tour de France*, the period of Froome's career that this research will examine (Kelner, 2018; Rice, 2017).

Beyond the period analyzed in this research, Froome's career would become even more shaded by doping controversy. In September of 2017, while competing in the *Vuelta a España (Tour of Spain)*, a urine sample produced by Froome registered as an adverse analytical finding (AAF) whereby he was found to have several times the permitted dose of asthma drug Salbutamol in his system (Valenzuela, Santos-Lozano, Morales, Drobic & Lucia, 2018). As a result, the UCI opened an investigation into the test, with Froome given the option to explain a legitimate cause of the findings (World Anti-Doping Agency, 2018).

Though Froome would be allowed to compete throughout the investigation, the uncertainty of his clean status almost certainly added to the skepticism already surrounding *Team Sky* amid the UKAD and select committee investigations. Froome went on to win the *Giro d'Italia (Tour of Italy)* in May 2018 while the investigation endured, to become one of an exclusive club of cyclists to hold all three grand tour titles at once (Ingle, 2018). However, it would appear that the controversy surrounding the investigation was such that, shortly before the 2018 *Tour de France* commenced (a race Froome was tipped to contest) media reports suggested the race organizers (The Amaury Sport Organization) considered trying to ban Froome from the race due to the ongoing case (Brown, 2018; Cary, 2018). The following day the UCI would announce it had dropped the case against Froome, with WADA following with a statement that it would not appeal the UCI's conclusion:

The World Anti-Doping Agency announces that it will not be appealing the Union Cycliste Internationale's decision not to assert an Anti-Doping Rule Violation (ADRV) in the case involving British rider Christopher Froome... having carefully reviewed Mr. Froome's explanations and taking into account the unique circumstances of his case...WADA believes this to be the right and fair outcome for what was a very complex case. (World Anti-Doping Agency, 2018)

Ultimately, Froome would go on to compete in the *Tour de France*, finishing third after losing significant time to an early stage crash (Scrivener, 2018). *Team Sky* would, however, maintain their grasp on the *Tour*, with support rider Geraint Thomas crowned the winner in Paris.

Given the series of doping controversies surrounding *Team Sky's* riders between 2016 and 2018 (including Chris Froome), they are good candidates for the analysis of media framing within the context of doping in cycling, which could produce insights into the modern media's role in presenting doping to, or concealing doping from, the public.

By 2017 *Team Sky* had established itself as the dominant team in the *Tour de France*, the likes of which hadn't been seen since Lance Armstrong's *U.S Postal* team in the late 1990's early 2000's. Within that team, Chris Froome is the most dominant rider since Lance Armstrong, with four *Tour de France* titles to his name. While Froome has never failed a doping test (and has never been sanctioned for doping), the investigations of himself and his team have publicly called his doping status into question. This research thus selects the framing of Chris Froome during the 2017 *Tour de France*, as a case comparable to Lance Armstrong in the 2004 *Tour de France*; both *Tours* which featured multi-*Tour* champions competing under suspicion of doping.

2.4 Summary

Given the media has demonstrated a power to influence public opinion on anti-doping legislation throughout professional cycling's history, the media's treatment of dominant champions with reference to doping is significant to the way in which these athletes and the *Tour de France* event is publicly received. Both Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome provide pertinent cases for the examination of media framing of *Tour de France* champions, as both are notable multi-champions of the event, who have competed (and won) the *Tour* under suspicion of doping. By examining and comparing these two riders, this research seeks to reveal the media approach to doping suspicion of champion riders, including the extent to which doping suspicion is confronted, and how the athletes are framed.

Building on this historical context, the following chapter will explore the relationship between media and professional sporting events, revealing the *Tour de France* as a deeply mediatized event, shaped and constituted in its media coverage. As such, the event's doping problem is presented as linked to the mediatized constitution of the event, and its popularity as a global sporting spectacle, ultimately revealing unexplored tensions for news media covering the race- to reveal doping suspicion of riders in defense of sporting purity, or to omit doping coverage in favor of media spectacle (Horky & Stelzner, 2016; Palmer, 2000).

3. Mediatization, Media Theory and Spectacle: Paving the Way for Doping in the *Tour de France*

As revealed in the previous chapter, there is a relative lack of analysis in the literature concerning media coverage of doping in the *Tour de France*, despite media coverage having been significant to the event and its history of doping. That the *Tour* itself was founded by a newspaper and continues to be owned by a media company signifies the media involvement in the constitution of the *Tour de France* from its very beginnings.

In order to appreciate the significance of media influence on the *Tour* and the doping problem, it is necessary to review media communication theory of mediatization and media processes, revealing the *Tour de France* as a deeply mediatized event, subject to the influences of media logics simultaneously affecting the event itself, and media outlets and agents whose work reflects, reproduces and constitutes the event. As such, the *Tour* and its doping problem can be understood as enabling a mediatized spectacle, within which doping serves to create a spectacularized reality for audience consumption. Persisting under the pressure and incentives of the spectacle, doping issues are particularly problematic for news media producers, a form of media bound by the logics of both journalism ethics and commercial spectacle in the selection and framing of news content- including that concerning notable champions with grounds for suspicion of doping such as Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome.

The following chapter will explore mediatization theory within media and communication studies, its application to sport and the *Tour de France* as a mediatized sporting event. Having revealed the significant influence of media logics and processes in the mediatized constitution of the *Tour*, the chapter will explore the role of mainstream commercial news media in western society as a distinct form of media (the focus of this research) tasked with objective coverage of news events and social issues. The chapter explores how this task is complicated by the very processes of mediation, as well as influences on news content pertaining to political economy, and professional and commercial logics- driving spectacle as a feature of news media content. In doing so, this chapter positions the news media coverage of doping in the *Tour de France* as that torn by commercial value of a mediatized spectacle, and the values of journalism and the news media genre.

3.1 Mediatization Theory

The following discussion of mediatization theory relative to the *Tour de France*, establishes the significance of media processes and logics as influencing the event's very constitution- including its relationship with doping. In understanding the effects of mediatization on the *Tour*, it is clear that media coverage of the event is at the heart of the race's construction, whereby media publications benefit from the duration and tensions of the race structured to enhance media coverage, while also embedding the conditions responsible for rider doping

Mediatization as it applies to sociological and media studies, refers to media in modern society as an integrated part of social life, influencing and shaping social institutions (Hjarvard, 2008; Krotz, 2017; Schulz, 2004). Distinct from mediation theory, which describes an active process of constructing and communicating information through media and the effects of that communication; mediatization theory is a much broader concept which describes not only the media's essential role in modern communication, but also how media formats, processes and constraints interact with social institutions, altering and shaping those institutions in the process (Hjarvard, 2008; Schulz, 2004).

There is debate among scholars as to whether mediatization ought to be perceived as occurring through the influence of a series of particular 'media logics' determined by media organizations (Altheide & Snow, 1979; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999) or whether it is better conceptualized as referring to the influence of various media institutions and technologies facilitating communication and their subsequent impact on the construction of sociocultural reality (Couldry and Hepp, 2012; Hepp, 2009).

In the case of the former, referred to by mediatization scholars as the 'institutionalist perspective', 'media logic' refers to the technology, formats, transmission processes and guiding objectives by which media organizations produce and distribute communication (Couldry and Hepp, 2012; Livingstone and Lunt, 2014). Early mediatization theorists Altheide and Snow (1979) describe media logics as inherent in media processes, including the organization and style of media content, grammatical conventions, and information salience and emphasis, resulting in a format that "becomes a framework or a perspective that is used to present as well as interpret phenomena"(p.10)(Altheide & Snow, 1991; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). This concept of 'media logics' has become a core theoretical component of media analysis, both in the context of mediatization theory and in the analysis of media processes, formats and rules, as that which influence media filtering of communication (Altheide & Snow, 1979, 1991).

The alternative to the institutionalist perspective of mediatization is referred to by Couldry and Hepp (2012) as the 'socio-constructivist perspective', and is distinguished by an emphasis on the media as a collective of various facilitators of communication, beyond the particular 'logics' of specific media organizations, types and formats. In doing so, the social constructivist perspective of mediatization broadens the conceptualization of the term to refer to the construction of social reality, whereby sociocultural reality is determined in and through communication, in which complex media institutions and technologies facilitating communication bear specific consequences (Couldry and Hepp, 2012). This perspective recognizes the overlapping of various contextual media influences over time on the constitution of sociocultural reality, whereby the institutionalist perspective of 'media logics' is, in contrast, viewed by some scholars as oversimplifying the scope of mediatization in its focus on specific media types, processes and formats (Couldry and Hepp, 2012; Livingstone and Lunt, 2014).

The debate over the conceptualization of mediatization between the institutionalist and socio-constructivist perspectives is ongoing, including discussion over how and where the two perspectives intersect or exclude one another, as mediatization theory continues to develop as an analytical process in the media research toolkit (Ampuja, Koivisto & Valiverronen, 2014; Couldry and Hepp, 2012). However, at the time of this research, mediatization theory's acknowledgement of the connection and integration of media and social institutions in modern western societies, including studies of the mediatization of sport, is very much relevant to the subject matter of this research. As such, the institutionalist and socio-constructivist perspectives of mediatization are both useful conceptualizations for understanding the effects of mediatization on the *Tour de France* and its doping problem, and subsequent influence on media coverage of doping suspicion examined in this research.

3.1.1 Mediatization of Sport

Though certainly applied to the study of sport/media relations, mediatization theory has largely been developed in the interest of examining the relationship between media and politics, and the influence of media on political communication described by Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999) in the following quote

Mediatized politics is politics that has lost its autonomy, has become dependent in its central functions on mass media, and is continuously shaped by interactions with mass media. (p.107)

Here Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999) identify political dependencies on media in communicating with constituents, relying on the mass media to communicate political messages, and media formats to present those messages. Much like politics, sport functions as a social institution, facilitating a cohesion of rules, roles, and societal norms, offering stable, structured social interactions (Miller, 2019). Sport is a feature at various levels of society from local community interaction and active participation through to sporting 'mega-events' such as the Olympic Games (and the *Tour de France*), uniting and engaging audiences across the globe in passive participation (Roche, 2006). Sport's sociologists attest that sport not only embodies and teaches societal values of fair play, hard work and sportsmanship, but also facilitates a common ground through which diverse cultural groups can share experiences broadening understanding, respect and tolerance, whether sport is participated in actively, or mediated for passive consumption (Bryant, 1993; Roche, 2006, 2019).

Frandsen (2019) describes mediatization applied to sport as an analytical framework within which changes or approaches by media effect subsequent developments in sport (and vice versa), identifying the increasing contributions of media formats and technologies to development of sport and sports culture. As such, mediatization has been applied to sports research in the analysis of media impact on sport and athletes. One such example, Birkner and Nolleke's (2016) study revealed German and English soccer players accommodation of mass media logics, by which athletes submit to personal interviews and feature profiles in media publications, in the interest of gaining public support, furthering their careers on and off the pitch (Schulz, 2004). These athletes are thus seen to adhere to media logics of news and tabloid media interest on both a personal and professional level, accommodating these formats and media priorities for career gain.

Furthermore, as an example of mediatization of a sporting event, mediatization of the Olympic Games has seen the construction of competition venues to facilitate camera angles, and the scheduling of competition to align with prime television viewing hours (relative to purchasers of broadcasting rights) (Carter, 2008; Dyreson, 2015). Further applications of mediatization theory to sports studies have also included analyses of the media formats through which sport is consumed, and the communities of fandom that stem from sport through media, transcending mediated social interactions (Frandsen, 2019; Skey, Stone, Jenzen, & Mangan, 2018).

This research will focus on a particular form of sport, that which has developed and thrived through the effects of mediatization, commercialization and globalization, to embody not simply a social interaction (passive or active), but a sporting mega-event of global significance dependent on media coverage (Roche, 2019). The *Tour de France* attracts millions of media consumers every year from all over the world, extended and substituted through media processes and coverage to reach far beyond the 10-15 million spectators who view the race road-side- a combined scale that has been courted and secured through the event's mediatization, in a manner that is matched by just a small number of world sporting events (Frandsen, 2017, 2019; Schulz, 2004).

3.1.2 Mediatization of the *Tour de France*

In combination with globalization and commercialization, mediatization of the *Tour de France* has helped escalate the event into a global platform for promotion and spectacle (Frandsen, 2017; Mignon, 2003; Schneider, 2006). Frandsen (2017) provides a direct discussion of the theoretical concept of mediatization applied to the *Tour de France*, drawing connections between media and the race. These include: the race's origins as founded by newspaper *L'Auto* for the purpose of increasing circulation, the duration of the race creating a sustained appeal to audiences benefitting the press; to the development of the *Tour* as a promotional vehicle for race and team sponsors, who bask in media exposure to increasingly global audiences (Mignon, 2003; Schneider, 2006). Frandsen's (2017) further explains that much like *L'Auto*, modern media rely on the race- its duration and spectacle- to impress audiences, offering lucrative opportunities to advertisers, while the event itself gains spectator interest and commercial investment through media coverage, catering to suit the 'media logic' of media platforms (Frandsen, 2017; Mignon, 2003; Van Reeth, 2013).

In particular, television media have been acknowledged by scholars as significant contributors to the mediatization of the *Tour de France* (Frandsen, 2017; Schneider, 2006), an influential force that Frandsen (2017) attests has particular weight due to the combination of the nature of the race as a weeks long, nomadic enterprise which does not facilitate spectators (part of the event's dependence on media from the outset), and the significant audience exposure the race has grown to offer those who are positioned in the line of the television cameras. In addition to broadcast advertising during the race, product placement opportunities for sponsors within the race extends from the sponsorship of teams, to the bikes they ride, the clothes they wear, and the drink bottles they sip

from (Schneider, 2006; Lippi, Francini, & Guidi, 2008). Mediatization of the race has thus enabled commercialization of the *Tour*, beginning with product placement by bicycle manufacturers, and now evolved into a multi-million-dollar industry, offering exposure to brands and organizations who can afford to invest in teams and the event itself (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Frandsen, 2017).

Frandsen (2017) attests that television coverage of the *Tour* in particular has enabled the provision of promotional opportunities, citing examples of regional and national French political interests, taking advantage of the race's winding scenery for the promotion of French tourism, an interest which has influenced media coverage of the race, and correspondingly the race itself in the selection of stage locations and course routes, maximizing the appeal of the French countryside. In this example, mediatization, globalization and commercialization combine in the televised coverage of the *Tour de France*, offering opportunities for commercial and political entities who seek to capitalize on the global appeal of the race. Furthermore, the effects of commercialization and globalization of the *Tour de France* as linked to the event's mediatized constitution, has had an indelible effect on media coverage of the race, explored later in this chapter in a discussion of media spectacle.

3.1.3 The Mediatized *Tour de France*: A Precedent for Doping

It is clear from the above examples and Frandsen's (2017) account, that the *Tour de France* has been significantly shaped through a process of mediatization, and thus that media have played a formative role in the development of the event. However, Frandsen (2017) stops short of discussing the connections between the mediatization of the *Tour de France*, and its effect on the event's struggle with doping, a connection that appears to be only hinted at in independent academic discussions of the *Tour de France* event, its mediatization, and its doping problem (Mignon, 2003; Schneider, 2006; Van Reeth, 2013). The following section will connect the observations of media, history and sociology scholars discussions of these aspects, combining in a case for connections between the mediatized construction of the *Tour de France*, and the event's struggle with doping; signifying the relevance of media studies (such as this thesis) in understanding the *Tour de France*'s doping problem.

Frandsen (2017), Mignon (2003), and Schneider (2006) all reference the founding of the *Tour de France* as contributing to the doping problem, apparently inadvertently connecting doping to mediatization. These scholars, along with Dauncey (2012) and Johnson (2016) agree that the *Tour de*

France was founded as a six-day event by newspaper *L'Auto* for the purpose of increasing circulation and drawing audiences over an extended period of time, a key part of the event's mediatized construction. Yet, the duration of the race in the early years has also been connected by Mignot (2016) and Schneider (2006) as contributing to a consensus among cyclists and the cycling audience, that doping was necessary simply to survive the *Tour*, meeting the demands of media organizers (Lippi, et al., 2008). This connection of the *Tour's* duration (as a media determination) as the impetus for the perceived necessity of doping among cyclists thus connects the doping issue to mediatization of the race from its very beginnings. That the modern *Tour de France* continues to thrive as a three-week contest testifies to the continued demand for prolonged competition, despite the outlawing of PEDs which cyclists deemed necessary to compete (an outrageous conflict in the eyes of cyclists contemporary to the anti-doping ruling, as testified by the reaction of Jacques Anquetil in Chapter Two). Schneider (2006) explains that the duration and physical demands of the race continue to distinguish it as one of, if not *the*, toughest sporting events in the world stating:

Many have expressed concern that the doping stigmatization and problems that cycling has is directly related to the fact that this kind of racing may well be the hardest sport competition that exists today...Generally speaking, the daily effort like this would require approximately 48 hours to recover but the maximum time that these riders can get is 16 hours. (p.213)

Furthermore, Moller (1999) explains that the physical challenge to riders has defined the *Tour* for audiences, who come to appreciate the endurance and suffering of the competitors as a point of admiration:

The sporting public knows the riders' sufferings in all of their forms. They follow the ritual year after year and have found meaning in the sheer energy that is expended, and have learned to appreciate great sacrifices. (p.111)

The appeal of the *Tour de France* is therefore linked to the event's duration and difficulty, testing the endurance of competing athletes, and inspiring audiences. The resulting tension between these mediatized aspects of the event and the ability of riders to live up to media and audience expectations- without the use of PEDs- is referenced by Moller (1999) and Schneider (2006) as a contributing factor to cyclists' use of PEDs, positioning mediatization of the event at the core of the *Tour de France's* doping problem.

Furthermore, ongoing mediatization of the modern *Tour de France*, exaggerated through contributing processes of globalization and commercialization (detailed above as described by Frandsen, 2017) has only exacerbated these grounds upon which cyclists' have justified the use of PEDs, which Mignon (2003), Mignot (2016) and Schneider (2006) suggest continues to contribute to persistent doping in the peloton. Mignon (2003) explains that significant audience demand for television coverage of the *Tour de France* (as described above by Frandsen, 2017) and the subsequent increased commercialization of the *Tour*, has had an effect on cyclists' approaches to the race itself, as teams and individuals seek time on camera, gaining exposure for their sponsors, with the consequence of increasing the speed of the race and intensifying already demanding competition (Schneider, 2006; Van Reeth, 2013). Van Reeth's (2013) research found that stage characteristics were the most important indicators of television coverage of the *Tour de France*, recommending their findings for the benefit of media, *Tour* organizers, sponsors, and teams; encapsulating the mediatization of the *Tour* and media influence on the event:

Forecasts based on the model can aid race organizers in scheduling a route that maximizes viewing potential and local or national governments in adequately assessing the promotional impact of televised cycling. It also helps broadcasters to properly value a particular broadcast and it is useful to cycling teams and their sponsors for decisions on team selection and race strategy. (p.57)

Van Reeth (2013) not only connects the construction of the *Tour* to media influence, but also highlights the effect of media coverage on teams and their sponsors, agreeing with Mignon (2003) that team and rider performances are strategized around media coverage for the benefit of sponsors. The subsequent increase in competition for media exposure during the *Tour*, Mignon (2003) claims, has compounded cyclists' dependency on PEDs, adding pressure to dope not just to complete the race, but to do so with favorable media exposure.

Mignon (2003) and Schneider (2006) go on to explain that these demands on cyclists have created a subculture of doping within the *Tour de France* peloton, whereby doping continues to be viewed as a necessary means of contesting the race. Doping practices are passed down through generations of cyclists, tacitly or overtly supported by team doctors and support staff, and even tolerated by race officials, with Schneider stating "the authorities that might have prosecuted those doping had concluded social benefits of doping among cyclists, and their success in the *Tour*, outweighed the

cost to society-at-large”(p.217). Here Schneider (2006) suggests that the effects of mediatization on the *Tour* in shaping the race conditions by which athletes justify use of PEDs, have resulted in a general tolerance for doping by event authorities in order to continue to sell the event to media audiences (Frandsen, 2017; Lippi, et al., 2008; Van Reeth, 2013). Thus, the discussion of mediatization of the *Tour* provided by Frandsen (2017), and the application of mediatization theory to the accounts of Mignon (2003), Schneider (2006) and Van Reeth (2013), indicate how mediatization of the *Tour de France* has had a considerable impact on rider doping.

Furthermore, Chester and Mottram (2018) and Van Reeth (2013) have stated that media coverage of doping itself has a negative effect on the *Tour* event (and all those who seek exposure through media coverage of the event) suggests doping is viewed as an undesirable, yet necessary aspect of the *Tour de France*. Lippi, et al. (2007) acknowledge the contribution of mediatization and commercialization to doping in the *Tour de France*, while also imploring media outlets to denounce doping by turning their back on *Tour* coverage, alleviating the commercial burden from the doping equation:

Since the enormous economic revenues to be gained from the most famous sporting events worldwide (Olympics, Football World Championships, *Tour de France*) are largely linked to sponsors and media coverage, it is time to insist that media coverage be stopped at those events where doping is revealed to be commonplace. (p.162)

This request that media turn their attention away from the *Tour de France* to allow doping to subside, further connects the doping problem to media coverage of the *Tour*, supporting the claims of Schneider (2006) and Mignon (2003).

Yet, Lippi, et al.'s (2007) suggestion that media ought to ignore the *Tour* in the interest of quelling the doping problem appears naïve to the role media have played in the construction of the social reality of the *Tour*, and doping within it. The *Tour de France* is not simply observed by media, rather it is constructed and constituted in its mediation, and defined by its mediatization. To further expand this point, it is important to review the media and communication studies literature considering the role of media in society (in particular western, commercial news media as the type of media analyzed in this research) and the processes by which media produce a version of reality that is both a reflection and reconstruction, wherein media content offers a selective, subjective view of reality (Couldry & Hepp, 2017; Richardson, 2007; Schudson, 2011).

To appreciate the effects of mediatization on mediation of the *Tour de France*, it is important to understand the priorities and logics of the media representing and constituting the event, thus shaping media content. The particular media content analyzed in this research is that of western commercial mainstream news, specifically news content from *The Times* and *The New York Times* newspapers, and therefore shaped by the logics and processes that are specific to the news media genre. The following section of this chapter is dedicated to a discussion of mediation of media content as a representation of reality, with a focus on news media as that which purports to represent reality objectively, factually and accurately. It goes on to explain how these news media values are problematic, (particularly in the coverage of sports news), due to the influences of media political economy and commercialism as formative logics in the construction of news content, by which journalists who construct news content are influenced both consciously and subconsciously. Such influencing logics are subsequently revealed as mechanisms of mediatization of the *Tour de France*, which combine to direct news publications towards a priority of spectacle in their coverage of the *Tour*, revealing significant challenges for news media (and the journalism profession) in the coverage of doping.

3.2 The Mediated Construction of the *Tour de France*

As a deeply mediatized event, the *Tour de France* is not simply observed and conveyed to audiences by media, but rather the event's existence is constituted and orchestrated through selective, subjective media logics. As such, the *Tour de France* can be seen to be influenced by media both as a formative contributor to the event's existence, and in conveying the race as an object of media attention.

Couldry and Hepp (2018) refer to modern society as existing in a state of 'deep mediatization' whereby media are integral to society's means of and sources for understanding the social and material world. Such is the extent of embedding of media and media technologies in and of society, that Couldry and Hepp (2018) claim: "The ways in which we make sense of the world phenomenologically become necessarily entangled with constraints, affordances and power-relations that are features of media as infrastructures for communications"(p.7). Here, Couldry and Hepp (2018) explain that the media has a significant influence over social views and behaviors, whereby the entrenchment of media in society is inextricable from social consumption and

communication of information, so that the social world and its institutions are constantly filtered and shaped by media.

Accordingly, sports events such as the *Tour de France*, are in fact figments of mediatized construction on a broad scale, reliant on media and media platforms to exist in the social consciousness. Media coverage of the *Tour* (and its doping problem as analyzed in this thesis) is thus subject to the influence of media logics that condition what issues and events within the race are covered by media, and how they are presented for social consumption (Altheide & Snow, 1991; Schulz, 2004).

3.2.1 News Media in Society

Media logics driving the construction and presentation of media content are highly variable across different media genres such as movies and television dramas, documentaries, tabloid publications or current affairs; each of which serve a particular media function- e.g. to entertain, to shock, or to examine (Altheide & Snow, 1979; Couldry & Hepp, 2018). As this research focuses on one such type of media- western commercial mainstream news media, in the form of digital newspaper archives of *The Times* and *The New York Times* publications- it is pertinent to explore the media logics and processes which constitute news media in society, and thus influence news media content.

News media logics not only condition what and how news media content is produced and distributed, but also purport to constitute news media values as an objective, informative source of information with a responsibility to report on social issues (Anderson, Downie & Schudson, 2016; Asp, 2007; Richardson, 2007). Asp (2007) states that “News media should provide citizens with such information as enables them to freely and autonomously form their own opinions on issues of consequence to society.”(p.33). In the context of the *Tour de France*, Asp’s (2007) claim thus suggests that news coverage does not simply include the competition, but also issues of social significance embedded in the event- such as doping.

Yet, media scholars agree that even with the best intentions, news media purporting to convey an unbiased truth is profoundly problematic. Richardson (2007) and Schudson (2011) attest that news media is not simply a reproduction of an unfiltered reality, but rather a cognition of human interpretation from the very selection of ‘newsworthy’ content, to the length of a news piece, to the readers’ own understanding and interpretation (Richardson, 2007; Schudson, 2011). As such, news

media performs a dual function in both reflecting societies ideologies and assumptions, and reinforcing those which are selectively reproduced in the news, as described by Schudson (2011):

News is not a mirror of reality. It is a representation of the world, and all representations are selective. That means that some human beings must do the selecting; certain people must make decisions about what to present as news and how to present it. (Schudson, 2011, p.26)

Thus, Schudson's (2011) claim makes it clear that news media cannot be constructed free of subjectivity. Furthermore, Richardson (2007) states that this subjectivity and selectivity that occurs as a part of news media construction, affords those constructing and influencing news media considerable power in society:

The sourcing and construct of the news is intimately linked with the actions and opinions of (usually powerful) social groups; it is impossible to select and compose news without a conception of the target or intended audience; and, while possible, I believe it is flawed to consider issues such as contemporary democratic politics, social values and the continuing existence of prejudice and social inequalities without reference to the formative influence of journalism. (p. 1)

Richardson's (2007) statement thus draws attention to the power of news media as offering a platform for social influence, vulnerable to subversion by power interests wishing to use news media credibility and platform to project certain values and issues to society. Subsequently, Richardson (2007) and Schudson (2011) also reference the power afforded to journalists as news makers, selecting and crafting news stories for publication. It is thus clear that news media content must be viewed as a product of human construction within the media logic's of the news media genre, constituting both a reflection and reconstruction of social reality, vulnerable to subjective and selective interests both consciously and subconsciously (Zelizer, 2004). As such, news media coverage of the *Tour de France* does not simply chronicle the event, but imposes its own, variable lens upon it, wherein issues such as doping are selectively included in news coverage of the event- or not.

The following section will explore various media logics discussed in the media and communication studies literature that are recognized as influencing news media construction and subsequently

news media content. It is these logics that contribute to the *Tour de France's* mediated reality, and which drive the *Tour's* mediatization- and subsequently it's doping problem.

3.2.2 The Political Economy of News Media

A defining contributor to news media logics, the political economy of news media refers to the connections and interactions between commercial and political powers and news media publications (McChesney, 2008; Noam, 2018; Wasko & Meehan, 2013). In this context, political economy theory acknowledges the significant influence of news media in conveying information to society, rendering it a powerful mechanism for the promotion of political and commercial interests, expressed through the selection and framing of news issues (McChesney, 2008; Wasko & Meehan, 2013).

Noam (2018) describes cases where prominent individuals and companies acquire media platforms as “a mouthpiece for personal and business interests” (p.1096). Noam (2018) goes on to explain that private media ownership moves in phases, whereby motivations to own and maintain media platforms change over time including to support economic performance within the conglomerate, to maintaining a diverse financial portfolio, in addition to the ability to influence (or at least speak to) society through owned media. Therefore, Noam's (2018) claim that private companies acquire news media publications in order to promote specific views to society testifies to the significant, deliberate influence news media ownership can have on news content (McChesney, 2008; Uscinski, 2014).

This potential for the influence of media ownership on news content is significant to the *Tour de France* as an event founded by a commercial newspaper, and currently owned by a media company; signaling that media entities have orchestrated and covered the event for their own benefit from the very beginning. Furthermore, the issue of media ownership is also significant to the media coverage analyzed in this thesis, as both *The Times* and *The New York Times* are privately controlled, western for-profit publications.

It is notable that during the respective data periods of this research *The Times* newspaper was owned by Rupert Murdoch's *News Corporation* (with conditions around editorial independence), while *The New York Times* was owned by a combination publicly traded shares, and a controlling interest of the Ochs-Sulzberger family (Clifford, 2018; Douglas, 2010; News Corp, 2020). There is no

established evidence for the explicit influence of these media owners on the coverage of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome in the respective publications analyzed in this research, but that is not to say such influence has not taken place.

There is, however, motive for influence over *The Times* coverage of Chris Froome and doping, as *News Corporation* owns both *The Times* and *Sky Television*- the principal sponsor of Chris Froome's *Team Sky*. Given that exposure of doping has been established as having a negative effect on teams, their riders, and the *Tour de France* event; it certainly appears that coverage of doping pertaining to Chris Froome and *Team Sky* by *The Times* presents a conflict of interest with the publications owners. While *News Corporation's* influence on *The Times* is regulated by editorial protections, it is unclear the extent to which such protections successfully limit *News Corporation's* influence in the minds of news producers, either consciously or subconsciously.

In addition to media owners, Baker (2007) and Perusko (2010) state that national governments also have a significant influence on news content. Such influence can include regulation of news content, and in some cases involves government ownership of media outlets; in the interests of political motives or diversification of news content (Allen, Connolly and Hargreaves Heap, 2017; McChesney, 2008; Perusko, 2010). Furthermore, Albarran (2017) describes western capitalist societies such as the UK and the USA (applicable to this research), as exhibiting a "mixed economy" whereby the "media is predominantly owned by private enterprise and perhaps even foreign investors as opposed to the government (p.37). However, Peng (2008), Schudson (2011) and Smith (2016) all attest that while mainstream news outlets in the USA and UK purport to report international news, the influence of national governments and appeal to national audiences combine to influence news content towards areas of national interest. Thus, both *The Times* and *The New York Times* cater to a national news audiences, which may affect their relative interest in doping suspicion concerning Lance Armstrong (a US rider) and Chris Froome (a UK rider); to align with respective national audience allegiances.

3.2.3 Commercial News Media and Sports News

While the influence of media owners and national governments are significant to note for the analysis of news content across the news media ecology; the commercialized, competitive media landscape within which western for-profit publications contend can be seen as a defining media logic of the media political economy, and a primary driver of the selection and framing of coverage

of the *Tour de France* (McPhail, 2014; Uscinski, 2014). Correspondingly, the commercial imperatives of for-profit news media are significant to the development of the *Tour de France* as a mediatized mega-event, including commercialization of the event and its subsequent value to investors and media providers- and the associated value of doping (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Frandsen, 2017).

Albarran (2017) describes the mechanisms of profit through which commercial news media companies operate, including sale of advertising space in digital and print platforms, sale of print newspapers, and online news subscriptions. These revenues not only subsidize the effort to generate news content, but also make the industry profitable, and thus such news content a commercial product subject to influence by audience interest and demand (Keeble & Reeves, 2014;; Meyer, 2009). Consequently, reputation, credibility, and popularity are all noted as important to news organizations, as factors which make advertising space valuable (Keeble & Reeves, 2014; Meyer, 2009). These commercial realities are identified by media scholars as influential to news selectivity as well as influencing content towards perceived audience appeal, and therefore advertising value (Uscinski, 2014).

In the commercial news media environment, sports events such as the *Tour de France* events are covered by news media both as a feature of society, and for the purpose of entertaining and attracting the news audience (Frandsen, 2017; Nicholson et al., 2015). Sports media scholars describe how news media outlets benefit from sport, whereby publications seek to leverage public interest in sporting events, by featuring extensive or (even better) *exclusive* sports coverage; in order to draw in larger or targeted audiences (Nicholson, et al., 2015; Zion, et al., 2011). The foundation of the *Tour de France* by *L'Auto* is a prime example of this leveraging of sport by news media, sparking the mediatization of the event. Thus, the coverage of sporting events by news publications is very much linked to the commercial media logics of the media genre.

3.3 Competition and Commercialism: Towards Media Spectacle

Competition among commercial news publications to appeal to news audiences (increasing advertising value), has driven an inflation of sporting events in media coverage, selling the audience a sensationalist sporting reality (Hutchins, Li & Rowe, 2019; Kellner, 2003). Theoretical discussions of 'media spectacle' in this context relate to the mediation of sports events, and the contributing influences of globalization and commercialization in the portrayal of a 'sporting spectacle' (Gruneau & Compton, 2017; Kellner, 2003; Moller & Genz, 2014). Media philosopher Guy Debord's 1967

seminal work 'The Society of Spectacle' comments on the links between capitalism, globalization and mass media (Gruneau, 2017; Kellner, 2003; Moller & Genz, 2014). Debord (1967) describes a society driven by powerful edifications of capitalist values through commodification of social institutions, propagated for consumption through the media, in ever more aggrandizing, spectacular means. Debord (1967) attests that "The spectacle is capital accumulated to the point where it becomes image"(p.55) where 'image' includes the portrayal of culture, society and capitalist values through media.

This concept of spectacle as a mechanism of social power has continued to contribute to media research regarding the reflection and construction of social culture through media, including sports events such as the *Tour de France* (Gruneau, 2017; Moller & Genz, 2014; Roche, 2006). Kellner (2003) updates Debord's (1967) notions of social spectacle, referring specifically to 'media spectacle' as a symptom of globalization and commercialization, whereby mediated spectacle is an important vehicle for corporate advancement in a 'ultra-competitive global marketplace'(p.19). Furthermore, Kellner (2003) states that this corporate competition for exposure to media audiences has also resulted in commercial demand for sponsorship of major sports events, athletes and media itself; further driving media spectacle as a means of capturing audience attention:

Corporations place their logo on their products, in ads, in the spaces of everyday life, and in the midst of media spectacles, such as important sporting events...to impress their brand name on potential buyers. Consequently, advertising, marketing, public relations, and promotion are an essential part of commodity spectacle in the global market. (p.19)

Here, Kellner (2003) refers to a vast network of corporate investors in media exposure, and those who provide the foundation for media spectacle. As such, Kellner (2003) describes the increasing expansion of the mediated sporting spectacle as a benefit to those advertising to sports audiences, media platforms producing the spectacle, and the athletes who participate in spectacularized sports events (Gruneau, 2017; Moller & Genz, 2014). Importantly, media provide the vehicle for presentation, narration, and distribution of the spectacle, in the interest of audience capture for the benefit of all those invested, including media platforms themselves (Hutchins et al., 2019; Moller & Genz, 2014). Moller and Genz (2014) claim that appeal to the media spectacle affects the success and relevance of a sports event, stating: "Less spectacular sports become increasingly marginal in the media landscape as a result of viewers opting not to watch them...the plain fact is that sporting events are seductive"(p.262). Thus, Moller and Genz (2014) state that sporting events embody

Debord's 'society of spectacle', in the interests of the commercial viability of both the event, and media covering it, a statement to which the *Tour de France* is no exception.

3.3.1 The Mediatized Spectacle of the *Tour de France*

Given the *Tour de France's* ongoing ownership ties to media organizations, the influence of capitalist media corporate interests must be considered as a contributing factor to media content and coverage of the event. Furthermore, as discussed with relation to mediatization, structural media analyses of the event note that it is designed to capitalize audience attention over three weeks of racing, creating a suspended spectacle of endurance racing that itself sparked the use of PEDs by athletes as a coping mechanism. As such, the contribution of the mediatized race duration to the doping problem can be considered both a result of the event's mediatization, and the pressure of media spectacle, as athletes strive to deliver the sporting spectacle demanded by audiences (Bahkre & Yesalis, 2002; Johnson, 2016).

Such is the scale of the *Tour de France* media spectacle that Frandsen (2017) ascribes the event 'mega-event' status, owing to the combining influences of media, sport, tourism, and local and international political and economic interests in its mediatized construction. As such, Frandsen (2017) identifies mediatization and media spectacle as designating the *Tour de France* as a 'media event' which Gruneau and Compton (2017) describe as those which embody "the hyper-mediated character of international spectacle and its links to broader processes of globalization" (p.33). Thus, the *Tour de France* event offers significant global scale for media spectacle, as do a select group of top tier sporting events in the modern era of commercialization and mediatization of sport (Couldry & Hepp, 2018; Frandsen, 2019; Roche, 2006). As a result, *Tour de France* athletes, teams, officials, media and corporate sponsors are all invested in the event spectacle, thriving off the mediated and mediatized presentation of an immensely popular sporting contest.

As previously mentioned, corporate investors play a central role in the mediatized construction of the modern *Tour de France*, from cycling teams who bear the names of their sponsors, to timing partner *Tissot*, and vehicle partner *Skoda*, the *Tour* is littered with the logo's, insignia and catch-phrases of corporations jostling for media exposure (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Partners, n.d). Commercialization of the *Tour* not only provides a revenue stream for the event in the absence of more traditional forms such as ticket sales; but attests to the popularity of the media spectacle, with demand for sponsorship driving the spectacle to ever-greater heights, as *Tour* organizers seek to

increase the value of investment through audience demand, compounding existing pressures on athletes to perform (Lippi, et al., 2007; Mignon, 2003; Schneider, 2006).

In the case of the *Tour de France*, media outlets orchestrate the spectacle, mediating the event for audience consumption and benefiting from audience engagement, media access sales and advertising revenue. Yet, media organizations are also among the event's corporate investors. In addition to media ownership and sponsorship of the event, media platforms and companies have sponsored cycling teams, seeking exposure amid the spectacle (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Mignon, 2003). Notably, both Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome have ridden for teams sponsored by media entities. Froome's *Team Sky* takes its name from principal sponsor *Sky Television* (2012-2018), while Armstrong's team sponsors have included television channel *Discovery Channel* (2005) and media technology retailer *RadioShack* (2010) respectively (De Menezes, 2018; Wyatt, 2007). These sponsorships place media advertising within the media spectacle, further investing media entities in the success of the event. Thus, commercialization of the *Tour* includes media both as an influence on *Tour* construction but also through investment; demonstrating the value of the *Tour* spectacle in its ability to attract audiences, benefitting all those associated with it- with media no exception.

It is thus clear that the *Tour de France* is very much an embodiment of Kellner's (2003) globalized, commercialized media spectacle, inflating the social and economic benefits for those who succeed in the *Tour* and those who support them. Importantly, this can be seen to increase the pressure on athletes to dope to win, ensuring coveted, favorable media exposure (Blumrodt & Kitchen, 2015; Mignon, 2003). Furthermore, the connection of the *Tour's* doping problem to the mediatized spectacle of the race does not end at the event's duration, but also affects the motivations of teams and individuals to capitalize on the spectacle through spectacular performances, appealing to audience demand.

As discussed earlier, athletes and teams have been noted to target specific stages of the race, to increase the media visibility of them, and their sponsors. That the race is mediatized to prioritize dramatic stages and contests between cyclists, contributes to the media spectacle, while cyclists and teams striving for prominence amid the event spectacle is both a consequence of mediatization, and a testament to the opportunities afforded teams, sponsors and athletes through the commercial media spectacle of the race (Dimeo, 2014; Schneider, 2006; Van Reeth, 2013). Here, cyclists are driven to perform well by pressure from their teams and sponsors, justifying their selection and affording invested parties valuable media exposure (Christiansen, 2005; Mignon, 2003; Schneider,

2006). However, cyclists also contend for their own personal status. Kellner (2003) describes the benefits afforded to celebrity athletes, whose status amid the sports spectacle offers considerable fame, influence, wealth, and marketability. Furthermore, Kellner (2003) claims that athletes can embody spectacle as figures of athletic achievement, wealth and success. Gruneau (2017), Kellner (2003) and Moller and Genz (2014) suggest that the celebration of athletic figures reflect capitalist values, venerating those who work hard, and above all- win. Thus, these celebrations of athletes reinforce social values, and elevate those who exhibit them to hero, or even demigod status (Kellner, 2003).

Kellner (2003) provides an example of such an athlete in a case study of Michael Jordan, described as a monumental global sporting figure, whose status is enhanced by a combination of “his athletic prowess with skill as an endorser of global commodities and as a self-promoter, which has enabled him to become a commodity superstar and celebrity of first rank”(p.77). Kellner (2003) makes the point that individual traits of athletes, beyond their sporting abilities, can influence the scale of celebrity achieved through the mediated spectacle. This observation is thus relevant to the athletes that are the subjects of this research, as both are notable, multi-champions of a mediatized sporting spectacle.

Furthermore, Lance Armstrong has been described by Dimeo (2014), Price (2004) and Tiger (2013) as having reached a considerable level of celebrity, unlike any other cyclist before him. Tiger (2013) attests that Armstrong’s unlikely comeback from cancer contributed to his celebrity status, inspiring the global cancer community, and earning the respect of admiring audiences (Price, 2004). These aspects of Armstrong’s celebrity, combined with his success in the *Tour de France*, helped him to build a cache of high-profile personal sponsors- notably multi-million-dollar contracts with *Nike*, *Trek*, and *Budweiser*- escalating his public profile beyond cycling, and increasing his marketability across the globe (Sharma & Verma, 2017). In the aftermath of Armstrong’s doping confession in 2012, Adams, Carine, and Emmerson (2014) surmise that Armstrong not only achieved his level of celebrity by doping, but that the pressure to maintain his winning record and role model status among fans, further compounded his reliance on PEDs. Thus, Armstrong is both an example of celebrity spectacle in the *Tour de France*, and of the connection between media spectacle and doping, demonstrating that commercial media spectacle incentivizes athletes to dope (Adams, et al., 2014; Mignon, 2003).

Furthermore, Adams, et al. (2014), Mignon (2003) and Schneider (2006) argue that the benefits for athletes (and their supporters) of achieving sporting celebrity- with the opportunity to do so increased significantly through the use of PEDs- outweigh the risks of doping to athlete health, and the likelihood of getting caught. Thus, mediatization and media spectacle contribute to a sensationalized, glorified sporting environment within the *Tour*, that tacitly encourages the use of PEDs by athletes.

For the purpose of this research it is important to note that although Chris Froome has achieved a similar level of *Tour* success to Armstrong during the respective data periods, it is not clear whether this has afforded him comparable celebrity to Armstrong. Griggs and Groves (2016) describe Froome as a lesser hero to his home country than former teammate Sir Bradley Wiggins, claiming he failed to resonate with the British public. While this account does not directly compare Froome to Armstrong (and canvasses Froome early in his career); it is nonetheless a stark contrast to Dimeo (2014) and Meyer and Watson's (2014) reports of a broad media celebration of Armstrong following his first *Tour* win in 1999, suggesting Armstrong enjoyed a greater level of celebrity, despite the riders' comparable levels of *Tour* success. Therefore, Armstrong and Froome's relative celebrity poses an important consideration for this research, as a possible influence on news coverage of the respective riders.

3.3.2 Celebrities and Scandal

Horky and Stelzner (2016) and Rowe (1997) note that doping can feature in media coverage of sports events due to the allure of scandal. Furthermore, Kellner (2003) and Nicholson, et al. (2015) claim that celebrities are particularly vulnerable to media attention on the basis of scandal, with Kellner (2003) claiming sports present media spectacles that swing from the spectacular to the scandalous, stating that:

Sports articulate spectacles of race and nationalism, celebrity and star power, and transgression and scandal, elevating its icons to god-like status, and then sometimes bringing them down into the depths of scandal and disgrace. (p.80)

Here Kellner (2003) suggests that scandal is a part of the sports spectacle, though one that athletes and their supporters seek to avoid. Kellner (2003) states the importance of public relations teams in the celebrity athlete entourage, tasked with maintaining a positive public image and harnessing

power amid the spectacle for commercial gain (Nicholson, et al., 2015; Rowe, 1997). Nicholson et al. (2015) further add that sports scandals (including doping scandals) are problematic for sports governors due to negative exposure in the media, forcing sports organizations to manage media relations and respond to the transgression that elicited the 'media scandal' (p.265). Nicholson et al. (2015) state that media generally thrive off sport scandals, abandoning their position as beneficiaries of sport to pursue scandals for months, or even years. Furthermore, Rowe (1997) offers that sport scandals have become a significant feature of the contemporary media landscape, and thus ought to command attention from media scholars. However, Schudson (2011) also states that while news media are drawn towards stories that are salacious or scandalous, this attraction is also tempered by a need to maintain credibility as a news outlet, and thus not appear to the audience to be preoccupied by scandal. Therefore, while scandals are clearly a significant part of the sport media landscape, they also cannot be allowed to dominate the news at all times- less they compromise news media credibility, and that of the media spectacle itself.

Mediatization and media spectacle of the *Tour de France* does not exclude the coverage of doping when manifested in the form of doping scandals involving celebrity athletes. However, Kellner's (2003) theory posits two extremes of media spectacle- the spectacular and the scandalous- both of which are provided for in the *Tour de France* by doping, though the interests of athletes and their investors are better served by the former. Thus, doping in the *Tour de France* can be seen as very much connected to the event's media spectacle, suggesting analysis of media coverage of doping may yet offer further insights into the dichotomy of media coverage of doping for the benefit of society or spectacle- scandal or otherwise. Furthermore, it remains unclear what part (if any) suspicion of doping may play in the media spectacle outside of celebrity scandals, an area this research will examine.

Significant tensions behind the mediated constitution of the *Tour de France* and the doping reality can be observed as a result of the mediatization and commercialization of the event, and the news media logics of commercialism and competition that drive commercial news publications towards spectacularized content. Here mediatization and commercialization of the *Tour* and media spectacle promote a sensationalized *Tour*, urging athletes to ever more spectacular feats of endurance, the very attributes of the race that first sparked the use of PEDs. These driving forces offer incentives and benefits to those who adhere best to the tenants of mediatized spectacle, incentivizing teams, sponsors and athletes to perform and capture media and audience attention, reinforcing incentives to dope.

Yet, doping remains socially unacceptable, and for athletes to do so transgresses on the values of sportsmanship and fair play that define sport in society; the violation of which make celebrity doping cases scandalous (Mignon, 2003; Rowe, 1997). Furthermore, news media values commit publications of the genre to reporting the truth, including coverage of concerns surrounding doping as a matter of social significance. However, given the potent incentives of media spectacle, it is important to question whether news media publications take this step towards confronting doping suspicion, thus draw attention to the dark underbelly of a beloved spectacle, the celebration of which benefit commercial logics. Thus, much as athletes face a choice to dope, violating values of sport; news writers also face an ideological quandary in choosing to report on doping concerns or not- to sacrifice news media values for the sake of spectacle (Horky & Stelzner, 2016; Nicholson & Sherwood, 2017; Zion, et al., 2011).

3.4 Writing the News

This question of news publications' commitment to reporting on doping suspicion in the *Tour de France* necessitates a discussion of the media logics driving those who produce news content. Spectacular written narratives are the construction of those who produce the news, reflecting and reconstructing a perspective of society and social values (Richardson, 2007; Schudson, 2011; Zelizer, 2004). As such, media spectacle is born out of mediatization and commercialization, and directly connected to the influence of those who construct and contribute news content- journalists and editors, public relations agents, and news sources (Fisher, 2018).

With respect to newspapers, journalists and editors have the ultimate say both in *what* becomes news and *how* the news narrative is constructed- whether to report on doping suspicion, or how to frame athletes who appear suspicious. Yet, journalists are influenced not just by the overarching media logics of media political economy, commercialism and spectacle, but also by the tenants, values and logics of the journalism profession (Hargreaves, 2014; Zelizer, 2004).

The fields of journalism and journalism ethics are significant to media and communication studies scholarship, due to the relative power of journalists to influence the news (Oates, 2007; Zelizer, 2004). Journalists are broadly described as occupying a middle ground between the powerful elite and the significantly larger working class who rely on the news media to lend a voice to issues of oppression and inequality (McQuail, 2013; Richardson, 2007; Schudson, 2011). In this position,

scholars argue journalists are well placed to cover the facts objectively, reflecting the issues of society at both ends of the socio-political spectrum (McQuail, 2013; Schudson, 2011). This objectivity is essential to journalism itself, as Hargreaves (2014) states: “Journalism’s job is to provide the information and argument that enable societies to establish facts, to work through disagreements, to test moral boundaries, and to know their priorities”(p.7). Thus, journalism values and news media values align towards news content that is accurate, rigorous, and unbiased. However, these ideals do not necessarily ensure that the truth is told free of bias, either explicit or implicit (Schudson, 2011; Zelizer, 2004).

3.4.1 Journalism, Public Relations (PR) and Commercial Logics

Zelizer (2004) and Boumans (2018) note that the relationship between journalism and PR amid the competitive, commercial media landscape can threaten the ideological value of news content. Schudson (2011) states that the news is made up of a combination of unpredictable events as well as “planned events, press releases, press conferences and scheduled interviews” (p.xviii), and that these ‘planned’ features of news media content typically involve a wider network of publicists, public relations workers and spokespeople. Furthermore, Boumans (2018) notes that journalism’s reliance on PR for news content has proliferated in the 21st century to the detriment of journalistic tenants, with journalists reproducing PR statements verbatim; meeting demand for news content, while suffering a relative lack of newsroom capacity and time to dedicate to news investigations. Boumans (2018) and Reich (2010) state these conditions pose a threat to the ethics of journalism, whereby commercial logics do not prioritize robust, independent reporting, settling for timely, available soundbites.

Bowmans’s (2018) concerns for journalism ethics are echoed by Horky and Stelzner (2016) and Sherwood and Nicholson (2017), who suggest that constant audience demand for sports news, affords power to sports organizations and clubs who control journalists’ access to players and coaches through contrived press conferences. The result, Sherwood and Nicholson (2017) argue, is a heightened ability for sports organizations, clubs and athletes to control the news media narrative, steering journalists away from controversy and scandal. Thus, Boumans (2018) and Sherwood and Nicholson (2017) note the derision of journalism ethics at the hands of commercial news media logics in a fast-paced, competitive news environment.

3.4.2 Journalists, Source Capture and Power Dynamics

Furthermore, journalists' ability to capture and present the truth, relies on the information provided by those who become journalists' sources (Hargreaves 2014; Reich 2011; Schudson 2011). Sources can range from anonymous informants to government officials and industry representatives, and it is the role of the journalist to distinguish the quality and relevance of source information when crafting a news piece (Hargreaves, 2014).

Integrity in the selection of source material by journalists is a topic of dispute in the literature. Reich (2011) splits the discussion into two camps: the "visceral" who maintain that source selection is highly subjective, and potentially biased, and the "discretionary" who argue source selection is a highly rational, careful process. Reich's (2011) own research revealed the presence of both approaches within the data set indicating that source selection processes are variable and carry the potential for bias. Ultimately, journalists' decisions whether or not to value source information greatly affects both the published news story, and the avenues of enquiry that shape their investigation, testifying again to the influence and power of journalists in news construction.

Furthermore, Bradshaw's (2018) study on 'self-censorship' by journalists in coverage of the *Tour de France* suggests that source relationships can also play a role in journalists omission of doping coverage quite aside from the pressure of upholding media spectacle. Bradshaw (2018) notes that journalists omission of doping information provided by sources can occur in the interest of preserving source relationships, and in maintaining a popular rhetoric among other journalists whose social and professional camaraderie is considered valuable.

This potential for source/journalist relationships to compromise journalism values, is also explored in the media and communication studies literature with reference to cases where journalists' reverence for powerful, influential or charismatic sources affects their ability to scrutinize and report source information objectively; referred to as 'source capture' (Borgeois, 1995; Rowe, 2005). Source capture is particularly relevant to journalists' coverage of sports celebrities, as those who have become social heroes through the mediatized spectacle, beloved by society and journalists' alike, creating conflict in journalists' abilities to comment objectively on their behavior, and drawing disproportionate news attention due to journalists' admiration and preoccupation with celebrity athletes as news stories (Borgeois, 1995; Boyle, 2006).

Given the success of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome in the *Tour de France*, it is reasonable to question whether source capture by enthusiastic journalists has impacted their media profiles, possibly dampening the willingness of journalists to tarnish their heroes with suggestions of doping. Furthermore, journalist David Walsh (2012) recalls being ostracized from the press group following the *Tour de France* for suggesting Armstrong could be doping, losing access to sources and contacts, which Boyle (2006) and Bradshaw (2018) note is a significant risk to journalists' who write unfavorable pieces on athletes and sports organizations (Borgeois, 1995; Bradshaw, 2018; Walsh, 2012). Thus, sports journalists are faced with significant tensions in producing news stories unfavorable to the source or subject, balancing the principles of journalism and news media (to inform society through unbiased, informative news) and maintenance of the sporting spectacle by ensuring source relations and athlete hero personas remain intact (Borgeois, 1995; Boyle, 2006; Rowe, 2005).

3.4.3 Spectacle vs. Values

These questions of sports journalists' objectivity and willingness to confront doping amid the mediatized spectacle of the *Tour de France* have been raised by Horky and Stelzner (2016) and Palmer (2000) are central to this research. Horky and Stelzner (2016) claim analysis of sports news content may yet reveal how sports journalists manage doping narratives, stating that few journalists cover doping outside of doping scandals involving famous athletes. Furthermore, both Horky and Stelzner (2016) and Nicholson, et al. (2015) indicate that coverage of doping scandals in the news media contribute significantly to sports facing up to doping problems, suggesting the significance of news coverage of the issue to its resolution. Horky and Stelzner (2016) also support the case presented in this literature review that questioning doping in sports is uncomfortable for sports journalists, who in doing so risk tainting the sport, and alienating sports audiences- not to mention the commercial repercussions of undermining the media spectacle.

In application to the *Tour de France*, these doubts concerning news media publications' and sports journalists' willingness to confront suspicion of doping in news coverage, are founded both in the difficulties faced by sports journalists due to professional logics, and in the media logics driving news coverage of a heavily commercialized and mediatized event, valuing the sporting spectacle delivered by doping. The incentives of spectacle for media, sponsors and athletes alike make a strong case for the tolerance of doping by news media covering the *Tour de France*, with the exception of celebrity doping scandals which continue to reveal doping as omnipresent in the *Tour*. In light of these

tensions, and in the absence of media analyses addressing the issue, this research will examine the news media coverage of two *Tour de France* champions with cause for suspicion of doping, to determine the news media approach to coverage of doping suspicion and relative framing of suspicious riders, revealing the extent to which news media publications uphold the tenants of the media genre in the face of a seductive, profitable sporting spectacle.

3.5 Summary

Due to the depth of mediatization in the constitution of the *Tour de France*, and subsequently doping culture in the event, it is clear that news media and journalists covering the event are significantly challenged in their coverage of doping suspicion- balancing news media and journalism values of rigor and factual accuracy, with political economy and commercial logics driving the *Tour* spectacle. Furthermore, that there is an absence of media analysis of *Tour de France* riders as the subject of doping narratives during *Tour* coverage, and relatively little academic literature on news coverage of doping notwithstanding doping scandals. The following comparative investigation of news media framing of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome offers insight into both *the extent* to which suspicion of doping is broached in news media content, but also *how* it is broached. In doing so, this research seeks to provide insight into news media publications recent capacity to perpetuate, reference, or invalidate doping suspicion of riders- as presented in the cases of Armstrong and Froome comparatively- indicative of news media construction of the doping reality inside the *Tour de France*.

The following chapter discusses framing analysis as the research methodology selected to fulfil these research priorities, and includes a detailed explanation of the research design set out to achieve a systematic, thorough framing analysis and subsequently, robust research findings.

4. Research Methodology and Design

This research examines the coverage of rider doping suspicion concerning Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome in news content produced by *The Times* and *The New York Times* newspapers during 2004 and 2017 *Tour de France* races respectively. This chapter begins with a review of the academic literature concerning framing analysis as the methodology selected for this research, including steps taken to address criticisms of framing expressed in the literature. Furthermore, this chapter will establish the research questions, the research aim, the selection of the news sample and the categorization of articles, before detailing the framing analysis process in section 4.6, designed to enable quantitative framing metrics through systematic processing of qualitative framing insights.

4.1 Research Questions

The research is focused on the following research questions:

- 1) *How did newspaper coverage of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome during the Tour de France race period(s) of 26th June- 26th July 2004, and 24th June -24th July 2017 respectively, frame these riders in relation to suspected doping?*
- 2) *What do the framing comparisons indicate about the news media's approach to doping suspicion in the news coverage of champion riders during the respective Tour de France races?*

4.2 Research Aim

The selection of cyclists Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome as the focus of this framing analysis, serves as a relevant opportunity to target the analysis of news framing of doping suspicion of two *Tour de France* champions, at times where suspicion of doping is relevant to news coverage- but not as a fully-fledged doping scandal. As such, the research selects the riders at stages in their careers during which they are competing under cause for suspicion of doping (justified further in this chapter).

Furthermore, in applying a comparative framing analysis approach to coverage of the riders; the research will reveal consistencies and differences as to *whether* and *how* news media publications raised rider/doping suspicion of *Tour de France* champions, and the corresponding degree to which

they sought to hold athletes and the event to account- consistent with journalism ethics and the role of news media in society (Richardson, 2007; Zelizer, 2004). In order to address these questions, the research identifies, interprets, and compares *the extent to which the riders are framed relative to doping* (through article count, frame count, frame density- per corpus and per article) , *how they are framed* (through frame analysis and identification of framing motifs), and *the degree to which they are framed as suspicious* (frame coding). The subsequent discussion compares the findings for each rider and their implications for news media coverage of doping suspicion during the race periods, with suggestions made as to influences on news media coverage evident in the frames that contributed to disparities in framing between the riders.

4.3 Supplementary Research Questions:

To achieve the above stated aim of the framing analysis, this research is also guided by the following questions in the identification, organization, and interpretation of frames for each rider.

- *To what extent were the riders framed relative to suspicion of doping (rider/doping frames) in the newspapers?*
- *How were the riders framed relative to suspicion of doping (rider/doping frames)?*
- *What similarities and differences are identified within the respective framing of the riders in the newspapers?*
- *What does the framing indicate has influenced the news media's approach to coverage of rider doping suspicion during the respective time periods?*

4.4 Framing Analysis Methodology Review

Application of framing analysis methodology to the research enabled the isolation of suspicion of doping relevant to the riders in the news media texts, affording quantitative insights relative to the quantity, frequency and density of frames, determining the extent of rider doping coverage. The framing analysis also afforded qualitative insights into *how* the riders were framed through individual frame and framing motif interpretation, and doping suspicion orientation coding assigned to determine whether or not the frames validated rider doping suspicion, made impartial reference

to grounds for suspicion or sought to dismiss suspicion. Collectively these insights are interpreted to determine the news media publications' approach to doping suspicion of the riders across the relative data periods.

The following section reviews the academic literature discussing framing analysis methodology- its origins, scope and uses- including its application to the research of sport in the media. The review also acknowledges academic criticisms of framing, and details how these have been addressed in the research design.

4.4.1 Analyzing News Texts: Framing Analysis Methodology

Framing Analysis has been a popular research method among various scholarly disciplines including psychology, sociology and social sciences, through to journalism studies and media studies (Cacciatore, et al., 2016; Yoo, et al., 2016; Zelizer, 2004). Framing analysis focuses on identifying and interpreting language structures designed to “simplify complex issues by lending greater importance or weight to certain considerations and arguments over others” (D’Angelo & Kuypers, 2010, p.47). Framing theory attests that frames are used frequently in communication, and particularly in the news media as a form of mass communication; casting an issue or policy in a manner that bears an intentional relevance to the audience interpreting the frame, and therefore having a significant influence on how issues are received. While framing analysis may be a relatively new method for communication analysis, as D’Angelo and Kuypers (2010) state, the use of frames in communication is as old as communication itself:

The concept of framing turns on what observers have understood for centuries: in storytelling, communicators can select from a plurality of interpretations. The storytellers preferred meanings are filtered by the predispositions of the audience, which, in turn, shape their judgements and decisions.(p.46)

Here D’Angelo and Kuypers (2010) explain that frames are an intentional construction of language to convey meaning, which is also dependent on the audience’s interpretation based on their own experience and knowledge. In doing so, D’Angelo and Kuypers (2010) contends that frames:

Help communicate why an issue matters; how it can be differently defined; who or what might be responsible for problems associated with the issue; and what should be done about these problems. (p.47)

Framing itself can be constructed in language through framing devices such as a metaphors arguments, symbols, and images; used to describe or relate an issue to a particular reference point of interpretation. Framing can be episodic; where the focus is on an individual or an individual event, or thematic where the focus is on a specific issue (Gamson & Modigliani, 1994). Figure 1 (below) provides an example of frame identification and interpretation, taken from the coding sheet used by Kim and Telleen (2017) in their framing analysis of US news media's attribution of responsibility for causing and fixing the problem of bullying in schools.

Figure.1

Causal responsibility
<p><i>Individual-level causes</i></p> <p>Bullies and their families ($\alpha = .937$)</p> <p>Bully psychological state (aggression/mental health issues/lack of empathy), bully characteristics (physical stature/gender/age/drugs/alcohol), bully social status (social rivalries/social status/popularity), family mental state (awareness/religion/values/racism/cultural intolerance), abusive parents, lack of communication. Example: <i>Ella Starnes has watched trends, fads and fashions come and go in 23 years as an educator. To her dismay, one thing hasn't changed: There are always some students who bully their peers and some parents who don't believe that their children could be guilty of such behavior . . . "Or we have others who aren't aware, and they're like, 'Oh, my gosh, I wasn't aware of this. What can I do?'" . . . Bullies don't always fit the stereotype. Sometimes they are the popular kids who get good grades. Often they're girls . . . "Bullying behaviors can be learned," said Grace Harris, assistant director of counseling and guidance for the Arlington school district. "A child may mirror negative behaviors they've learned at home or school, or they may have a strong personality and if it's unattended, a child may become a bully" (The Dallas Morning News, August 13, 2003).</i></p> <p><i>Framing of Casual Responsibility for Bullying in US Schools: Bullies and Their Families (Kim and Telleen, 2017, p.732)</i></p>

While the table depicts just one frame of the many identified and analyzed in Kim and Telleen's (2017) study, it presents a methodological process whereby a theme is identified in the text (causal responsibility) and interpreted to reveal the protagonists involved in keeping with the relevant research questions (bullies and their families), alongside the references identified to select these elements in the text (bully characteristics, social status etc.). The frame is further clarified through quotes from the analyzed texts, demonstrating how the frame has been presented in the news media. While Kim and Telleen's (2017) study provides a relatively succinct approach to framing, the academic literature makes it clear that framing approaches can vary significantly between research

projects and methodologies, which has led to contention among scholars over consistency in framing research which will be addressed later in this paper (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Gamson, 1975).

Conceptually, frames can be viewed as the tools communicators use to shape individuals and issues in context, helping to engage and relate to the receiver interpreting the frame (Gross, 2008). The literature suggests that the analysis of frames in discourse has been important for researchers looking to understand both the significance of issues and topics provided emphasis in discourse, as well as the manner in which they are portrayed or referred to (Cacciatore et al., 2016; D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Gamson, 1975). For news media scholars seeking to analyze the presentation of individuals and issues in the news media, framing analysis is an important conceptual framework through which to identify and deconstruct the meanings and intentions of news discourse, and the effects that these may have on the news audience. Media scholars show an interest in framing analysis as it relates to the 'mass media', as a means of interpreting the messages embedded in the news, as a means of understanding how the media helps to shape the views of society (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Gamson & Modigliani, 1994). While the media and communication studies literature acknowledges the importance of the news in reflecting and constructing a perspective of the world for the audience, the ability of language to shape and influence society has also been acknowledged in the work of discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis scholars (Richardson, 2007).

4.4.2 The Origins of Framing Analysis

Methodological approaches to news analysis have varied and evolved over time, with scholars seeking qualitative strategies of illuminating both overt and implicit meanings of news texts, and their relationship with the news audience, with the challenge of balancing interpretation and objectivity (Cacciatore et al., 2016). Framing is a relatively new, expanding area of study within communication research, owing its origins to various other fields of scholarship (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). Framing analysis has been shaped by various approaches to research, and as such the history and development of framing analysis as a research method is relevant to understanding its strengths and weaknesses in media and communication studies.

Framing analysis is often referred to as a conceptual framework born out of the efforts of pioneer scholars in psychology and sociology (Cacciatore et al., 2016; D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). On the side of psychology, Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1981, 1984) are viewed as leading scholars, whose work demonstrates an approach to framing analysis referred to as 'equivalency framing' (Cacciatore,

et al., 2016). In their acclaimed 1981 study Kahneman and Tversky (1981) present the results of a study centered on a hypothetical “Asian disease”, details of which was presented to participants, framed both in terms of lives saved and lives lost. Kahneman and Tversky’s (2001) results demonstrated that participants were more risk averse when the information was framed in terms of ‘lives saved’ and more likely to take risk when the information was framed in terms of ‘lives lost’. Cacciato et al.(2016) refer to this type of framing analysis as indicative of a psychological approach to framing analysis whereby “variations in how a piece of information is presented to audiences, rather than the differences in *what* is being communicated”(p.10). Here the psychological interest is in the reception of the audience participants to the frames, and how this was affected by the variations in framing of the information presented. Kahneman and Tversky’s (2001) study highlights the potential power of framing in discourse, but as Cacciato et al. (2016) attest, focuses on the cognitive effects on the audience, rather than analyzing the intent and purpose of the frames themselves.

On the side of sociology, Erving Goffman (1974) is often referred to in the literature as a pioneer of framing analysis, typifying frames as a ‘the organization of experience’ whereby individuals use frames to interpret and understand the world around them on an individual level, as well as in society (Gamson, 1975). Furthermore, frames play an even greater role when it comes to communication both within, and directed at society, acting as “conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information” (Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992, p.60).

Another early contributor to framing analysis research, Gamson (1975) expands the scope of frame, describing it in terms of a zoom lens whereby the rim of the lens encompasses the context surrounding the issue that is the subject of the frame, with the rim changing as the lens ‘zooms’ or focuses on the issue at varying depths, concluding that contextual information be included in the framing of an issue. Cacciato et al. (2016) summarize the sociological concept of framing as: “a means of understanding how people construct meaning and make sense of the everyday world”(p.10). In the sociological understanding of framing, the use of frames in discourse becomes the key focus for enquiry, centered on how framing of information is constructed to influence both individual and societal understanding of the world and the issues and events that occur within it. This approach is designated in the academic literature as *emphasis framing* whereby the issues included in news and social discourse gain salience over others (Entman, 1993). Given that media scholars give reverence to news media as a resource affording citizens the information required to

better understand their lives and the world around them; the sociological goals of framing analysis appear to align with the underlying principles of news media studies. It is perhaps no surprise then, that framing analysis is described as a rapidly expanding methodology in the field of media and communication studies, particularly in the sociological conceptualization of framing.

Iyengar (2005) goes on to suggest that media scholars' adoption of emphasis framing as the focus of framing analysis, has helped to nurture an increasing interest in the analysis of frames within the broader context of accompanying information provided in the relevant discourse (referred to as thematic framing). In doing so, Iyengar (2005) develops the concept that frames can offer a broader scope for analysis when taken in their given context, and are therefore more nuanced than the relatively simple collection of isolated discursive devices described in Gamson's (1975) 'zoom lens' theory.

4.4.3 Framing in Media and Communication Studies

As mentioned earlier, framing as applied to news media analyses shares many of the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) a key research method advocating the assumption that language is both active and powerful (Richardson, 2007). The CDA approach contends that language is directed at someone or something and has the ability to influence how the individual or audience exposed to it thinks and acts (Richardson, 2007). Furthermore, an important consideration of CDA, is that discourse is itself language in use, and that interpretation of language is directly related to the historical context within which the language is used (Richardson, 2007). In his discussion of CDA of newspapers, Richardson (2007) emphasizes the connection between the language of news as it is written and interpreted, and the social effects on the audience that receives it stating: "Every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society and culture, including power relations"(p.26).

This concept that language and language structures are significant to the shaping of views in society is fundamental to framing analysis concerning the importance of understanding how language is presented, which Zelizer (2004) describes as "the product of a socially contingent and negotiated process of meaning construction"(p.111). Thus this use of language in the construction of meaning is a key focus of media scholars employing framing analysis to interpret news discourse, not only acknowledging the significance of framing within the news articles themselves, but that framing is

also at play in how information within the news is shared with journalists and editors who construct the news:

Sources frame topics to make information more interesting and palatable to journalists, whom they need to communicate information to the wider public, and journalists cannot not frame topics because they need sources' frames to make news, inevitably adding or even superimposing their own frames in the process. (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010, p.1)

Given that framing is a feature of discourse in various contexts, extending beyond journalists and news editors constructing the news to the sources contributing the news information, framing can be seen to influence the very content that is ultimately deemed newsworthy, and given emphasis in news reports (Entman, 1993). Ultimately, framing theory acknowledges the language of news as a constructed communication, built with intention and reference to social interpretations that allow an issue or individual to be perceived by the audience in a particular way, with journalists, editors, and sources all contributing to the construction. As a result, framing has a special significance to media scholars as a means of analyzing both the media portrayal of individuals and issues, and the potential effects of this framing on society (Yoo et al., 2016).

4.4.4 Framing Studies of Sport in the Media

Scholars focused on the analysis of sports news have identified framing analysis as a viable research technique to identify and analyze how sport is received by society, and the presentation of social issues, morals and values conveyed through sports coverage (Santos, Tainsky, Schmidt & Shim, 2013). Sport itself relies upon the media for access to audiences, and revenues that can be gained from marketing, advertising, and ticket sales; while the media in turn relies on sport to satisfy the demands of their audience (Kim, Lee & Oh, 2017). As a result, sports coverage in the media has become a vehicle for audience retention for media sources, with scholars claiming this makes the study of sports issues through news-media framing "a fertile ground for research, given fans' continued demand and reliance on media for sports related news"(Santos, et al.,2013, p.67). Framing has already been utilized in media and communication studies to investigate sports, including Santos et al.'s (2013) analysis of news media coverage of mixed martial arts, drawing conclusions of the framing of MMA in the US media as a moral threat, a frame perpetuated by outspoken public officials. Santos et al. (2013) recommend framing analysis as useful tool for sports media scholars:

Given that sport-related agendas are considerably affected, if not formed, by major newspapers and broadcast media....framing analysis has become a promising tool for scholars to use to examine the media frames that create, promote, or distort various dynamics and power relations associated with sport phenomena. (p.70)

While Santos et al.'s (2013) study focuses on the presentation of a specific sport in the media, other sports-related studies employing framing analysis have focused on specific issues not unique to sport, but conveyed through the lens of sports media coverage. Fortunato and Kim (2004) used framing analysis to investigate media coverage of female golfer Anika Sorenstam on the men's professional tour, framing her good performances as shattering the gender gap, while a decline in performance was met with sentiments praising her for playing on the men's level at all. Other framing studies in news media analysis relating to sports have included the Kim et al.'s (2017) investigation into the depiction of athletes with disabilities in Paralympic coverage, and Eagleman's (2011) study of race and nationality stereotypes in magazine coverage of Major League Baseball Players (MLB).

Eagleman's (2011) study revealed that players were often framed in terms of race or nationality-based stereotypes, whereby black athletes were framed as "overcoming obstacles in the game of baseball" while white athletes were framed in admiration of a "strong work ethic"(p.164). These examples of framing from Eagleman's (2011) study demonstrate how the framing method is employed, enabling the researcher to isolate issues of interest (race/nationality stereotypes) as identified and interpreted through analysis of the language used in media coverage.

These studies also demonstrate the versatility of framing analysis when applied to the sports news media, applying both to sports specific issues, and societal issues as they are conveyed through sport. As it relates to this research, given doping can be considered both a moral issue and a sports issue, framing analysis within the specific context of two champion athletes in professional cycling offers an opportunity to evaluate how the media framing of them reconciles the issue of doping amid the celebration of a sporting event that commands significant public attention.

4.4.5 Addressing Criticisms of Framing Analysis

While framing analysis has become a popular research method among media and communication studies scholars, the method itself is not without criticism within the academic community. Early critiques of the method by Gamson (1975) center on the lack of a systematic method for doing framing analysis, that not only make it difficult to compare framing studies to one another, but also limit the ability for research to be repeated. Gamson (1975) also expresses concern for the employment of creativity in research design, both for the feasibility of producing framing research, and in placing restrictive predictions on framing outcomes that may affect results:

A systematic sample forces one to define the universe being examined in a precise way and frequently leads to the inclusion of members of this universe that were unexpected by the investigator. (Gamson, 1975, p.606)

Furthermore, Cacciatore et al. (2016) echo Gamson's (1975) concerns for the lack of systematic process when it comes to framing analysis, citing variations in what scholars consider to constitute a frame (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). Cacciatore et al., (2016) are particularly critical of Entman's (1993) work, which placed a high relevance on selection of information in framing, claiming that frames identified "highlight(ing) some bits of information about an item that is the subject of communication, thereby elevating them in salience"(p.11). Cacciatore et al. (2016) critique centers on the inclusion of 'salience based' framing definitions, claiming:

Salience based definition of framing is too loose to have practical value, as it makes it possible to argue that any number of differences in communication constitute a difference in framing. (p.13)

Cacciatore et al. (2016) continue their critique of 'salience based' definitions of framing, given their relevance to research addressing agenda-setting and priming, citing McCombs and Ghanem (2001) in arguing that "salience is the key feature of framing and that this makes framing research little more than a subset or extension of agenda-setting work"(p.11). This view of framing as a subset of agenda-setting is not shared throughout the scholarly literature, with others advocating in favor of framing as a distinct concept from agenda setting and priming, due to its focus on audience interpretation beyond overt persuasion (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Entman, 1993). In the context of news analysis, the selection of information included in a news report, those that achieve salience over other issues, are significant to the construction of the news, however it is how these issues are presented in the news that provides the context for framing (Santos et al., 2013).

To counter these issues, several scholars have advocated for framing research that identifies and focuses on issue-specific frames in the media that are exclusively in reference to a specific topic (Santos et al., 2013). Given this research focuses on one issue (doping), within news reports featuring two specific athletes (Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome) the issues and figures are well defined, and selected for in the data sample, providing the grounds for thematic framing analysis of the specific issues as they appear in the samples, and for the analysis of episodic frames pertaining to the individual riders themselves or specific events related to doping suspicion in which they are involved. Furthermore, the search terms used to retrieve texts for analysis (included in section 4.5.5) are designed to retrieve all articles in the data period that relate to the riders in the *Tour de France*, with each article recorded in either the 'Doping' or 'No Doping' article categories. In recording all articles in the data periods, both those that are applicable to rider/doping framing and those that are not, the *article count* metric accounts for salience of rider/doping across each corpus, weighting the salience of rider/doping to the corpus as a whole. Thus, the research enquiry is structured to resist inflating the salience of rider/doping in each corpus.

Both Cacciatore et al.'s (2016) and Gamson (1975) critiques indicate the importance of a defined research approach when it comes to framing analysis. It appears there is, as yet, no definitive solution to Gamson's (1975) call for a systematic approach to framing, despite the issue remaining at the forefront of debate among framing scholars (D'Angelo, et al., 2019). However, it appears that there is consensus among scholars that it is imperative to the relevance and longevity of framing studies that research be conducted in a systematic manner with care to provide scope for the inclusion of unexpected occurrences in the data, while clearly demonstrating the methodology used to identify and select frames alongside supporting textual examples of frames in use (D'Angelo et al., 2019).

The framing analysis employed by this research has responded to these calls for a clear, systematic framing method, through the inclusion of umbrella frame category criteria for the identification of frames, and frame coding to assist with frame interpretation. The umbrella frame categories are defined and explained in detail in section 4.6.3; whereby five mutually exclusive criteria are established as contextual lenses for the identification and organization of frames. These categories were developed during the research pilot study, employing contextual expertise to the identification of possible framing opportunities, reflected in the framing categories to enable repeatable analysis, regardless of expert familiarity with the framing topic. Furthermore, the umbrella frame categories

are deliberately defined to provide framing guidance, yet broad enough not to predict framing encounters, providing flexibility for unexpected instances of framing. Thus, the use of umbrella frame categories in this research as a tool for frame identification and organization, serves to mitigate concerns from scholars for clear systematic framing methods.

This research also takes steps to ensure transparency of frame identification and interpretation. Following the example of Kim and Telleen (2017), individual frames per article per corpus are recorded in Appendices 1 - 4, alongside the umbrella frame category used to identify them, and text fragment example of the frame in-use. These examples allow for corroboration of frame identification by text fragments, thus aiding transparency for the application of frame categorization criteria and frame identification.

Further aiding framing transparency, Appendices 5 - 8 record the frames identified per article alongside the frame coding for doping suspicion orientation, representing the interpretation of the frames for the purpose of identifying the degree to which suspicion of rider doping was conveyed. This frame coding criteria identified frames as to whether they validated suspicion (V= *validating suspicion*), made an impartial reference to suspicion (I= *impartial reference*), or dismissed suspicion (D= *dismissing suspicion*). These codes thus enabled a broad analysis of the framing per corpus, while also providing a systematic approach for the interpretation of frames(4.6.7).

4.4.6 Summary

In recent years framing analysis has emerged as a popular research approach to news media analysis, as a means of understanding and interpreting the presentation and portrayal of individuals and issues in the news, and the effects of these constructions on the news audience. Framing analysis has been successfully used by scholars in the analysis of news media relating to sports, covering a range of issues including gender, disabilities and doping, and providing insights into societal understanding and reception of these issues- making it a pertinent research method for this enquiry.

However, framing has been criticized in the academic literature for a lack of systematic methodology, making it incumbent on researchers to ensure robust research design and structure in order to protect the integrity of the research, and ensure its relevance to future studies- concerns this research has taken steps to address through the development of umbrella frame category

criteria and doping suspicion orientation coding in the research design, recorded for transparency in Appendices 1 - 8.

4.5 Research Design

Having established framing analysis as the research methodology, the following section details the research design, including the following processes:

- The selection of the news sample and the criteria for article inclusion, identifying four distinct corpora and determining article categorization data.
- The systematic process used to identify and record rider/doping suspicion frames in the articles as text fragments determined during the pilot study (umbrella frame categories).
- The re-contextualization of text fragments identified as rider/doping suspicion frames into mutually exclusive frame sub-categories, used to interpret the frames and in the collection of frame count data.
- The criteria for coding the contextual orientation and doping suspicion orientation of rider/doping suspicion frames.
- The collection of rider/doping suspicion frame and article word counts to enable frame density calculations.
- Analysis of the corpora for framing motifs.

The remainder of this chapter will now outline each of these steps in detail, before moving to the following chapter presenting the Findings.

4.5.1 News Sample

This section outlines the parameters for collection of a sample of news media content, to be used for framing analysis of doping suspicion surrounding Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome. It explains and justifies the parameters of the sample, outlining: the 2004 and 2017 time periods; *The New York Times* and *The Times* as selected outlets; the online archives of each respective outlet as databases; and the use of the riders' names as search terms. It concludes by noting the process of 'sample cleaning' used to produce the final news sample for framing analysis, and the categorization of articles as 'Doping' articles' and 'No Mention of Doping(NM) articles'.

4.5.2 News Content Data Periods

The specific data periods for framing analysis of riders' Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome are as follows.

Lance Armstrong: 2004 *Tour de France*, 26th June - 26th July 2004.

Chris Froome: 2017 *Tour de France*, 24th June - 24th July 2017.

The respective data periods for each rider were selected to begin one week prior to the start of the *Tour*, and conclude the day after the final stage, so as to include pre-race discussion, and post-race media commentary, as extensions of the news media coverage. Esser and Vliegenthart (2017) state that comparative research analyses must feature representative cases that share a comparative context. It is with this consideration that the respective riders and data periods were selected, with the following justifications. The decision to compare coverage of Lance Armstrong in the 2004 *Tour de France* to coverage of Chris Froome in the 2017 *Tour de France* identified two key consistencies between the riders during these race events; the relative stage of career success of both riders as champions of the *Tour de France*, and surrounding evidence for suspicion of doping for each rider.

To the first point, Chris Froome is the first multiple winner of the *Tour de France* since Lance Armstrong, winning the race in 2013, 2015, and 2016, to become the most dominant *Tour* rider since Armstrong. While Armstrong was contesting his sixth *Tour* title in 2004 (and Froome his fourth in 2017); to win more than two consecutive *Tour de France* titles is considered rare in race history, affording those few riders who achieve this level of success a special place in the sports culture (Fife, 2011). Thus, leading into the 2017 *Tour de France*, Froome is an established *Tour de France* champion, and the first rider to reach a revered level of success in the race since the Armstrong doping scandal. This research therefore considers Chris Froome a valid rider to compare to Lance Armstrong, given the proximity of his success to Armstrong's doping confession as the first multiple champion since 2012; and that he, like Armstrong, is an established champion and favorite to win the 2017 *Tour de France*.

Furthermore, the selection of the 2004 *Tour de France* as the data period for framing analysis of the news coverage of Lance Armstrong, and 2017 *Tour de France* as the data period for Chris Froome; was also done for its significance in the timeline of news media doping suspicion of Armstrong as comparable to Chris Froome. In Armstrong's case, Ballester and Walsh's book *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong* was released ahead of the 2004 *Tour de France*, providing a backdrop of

doping suspicion of Armstrong against which the *Tour* began (Ballester & Walsh, 2004; Walsh, 2012). Similarly, Froome began the 2017 *Tour de France* amid an ongoing UKAD investigation of his team, just one year after his medical records were leaked showing he had taken a banned substance, albeit with the correct permission. Therefore, not only do these data periods present the riders at similar stages of career success, but also during periods where evidence suggests doping suspicion was relevant.

Thus, not only are the riders comparable during the data periods, but in both cases the news media had cause to report on suspicion of doping, allowing for a suitable comparison in the analysis of the degree to which the news coverage upheld doping narratives.

4.5.3 Selection of News Outlets

This research analyses articles from the online content of two legacy newspaper publications: *The Times/The Sunday Times of London (The Times)* and *The New York Times*. Both of these news outlets are noted by media scholars to occupy an influential position in the media ecology, as belonging to the 'Elite' or 'Legacy Press' whereby both have an established, credible reputation for reliable news content (Billard, 2019; Peterson, 1981; Singer, 2013). Furthermore, research has shown these 'Elite' newspapers have a significant influence on the news agenda of television news, a testament to their significance in the wider media ecology (Billard, 2019; Djerf & Shehata, 2017). These factors were important considerations for the selection of both newspapers, given the necessary selectivity of only a small portion of news media content for analysis.

Another important consideration in the selection of *The Times* and *The New York Times* outlets, was that both are representative of the riders' nationalities; Great Britain (UK) and the United States of America (US). Schudson (2011) states the nationalism has a considerable effect on news media content, with specific reference to US news media selection (Peng, 2008). Thus, in selecting national news media publications relative to each rider, the likelihood that each would feature in the news content was increased, while also presenting the opportunity to identify the influence of nationalism on rider/doping frames in comparing the coverage of each publication. The detractor of this approach was the possibility that either newspaper may lack coverage of the rider of foreign nationality.

Finally, the initial intention of this research had been to include a third newspaper, French publication *Le Monde*, offering insights into the French news media perspective, as the founding nation and hosts of the *Tour de France*, and a neutral nationality to that of the two riders. Unfortunately, the inclusion of *Le Monde* was not possible due to lack of access to a complete newspaper archive in English, and concerns for accurate frame identification and interpretation based on third party language translations

4.5.4 Selection of Databases

While it would have been preferable to analyze print content from both newspapers, access to the print archives was not possible within the budget constraints of this research, and therefore access to digital archives of each paper were sought to provide a database of articles for the respective corpora.

The initial intent had been to select a collective news database to source content for analysis, such as *Factiva* or *Lexis Nexis* ; allowing the research to operate within one database covering both publications during the respective data periods. However, upon investigating and comparing these databases to the newspapers' online archives, it became clear that *Factiva* had returned incomplete records for news articles across the data periods, while *Lexis Nexis* required a fee for a complete search that became an obstacle for the research, with no guarantee for comprehensive search results. This experience informed the research approach to use the newspaper publications online archives.

These archives are not inscrutable records of news journalism, affording newspapers the ability to edit and retract content at their editorial discretion. However, these risks were absorbed in the interest of access to a complete record of content from each newspaper from a consistent mode of database, while appreciating that framing indicative in the texts would still illuminate the position of the news media publications relative to rider doping, whether content was edited post publication or not.

Furthermore, the selection of the online archives of *The Times* and *The New York Times* newspaper coverage also took into consideration the challenges of comparing newspaper coverage between two data periods separated by 13 years of development and change in media technology, and consequently the news media ecology (Keeble & Reeves, 2014; Meyer, 2009). Print newspapers

were particularly affected by the change, exhibiting a decline in print circulation and increase in online newspaper sites, including those of *The Times* (1999) and *The New York Times* (1996) (Lewis, 1996; News UK, n.d.). Crucially both newspapers had established online news sites by the time of the first data period in 2004, providing consistency for comparison in this research.

4.5.5 Search Terms

Articles were obtained for analysis by searching each newspaper archive in each data periods using the following applicable keywords. All articles were searched and collected for analysis between 28/03/2019 and 02/04/2019

Key Search Terms: ‘Lance Armstrong’ (2004 data periods only), ‘Chris Froome’(2017 data periods only)

Secondary Contextual Search Terms: ‘Tour de France’

The two criteria of search terms (‘Key Search Terms’ and ‘Contextual Search Terms’) were selected to cast a wide search for articles, to ensure all articles that referred to the riders in the data periods were collected for analysis, with the ‘Tour de France’ contextual search term used in a secondary cross-search for any articles that did not answer the key search terms, but did in fact include references to the riders by name.

Keyword references to doping or drugs were deliberately avoided as search terms, so as not to exclude any articles that made references to rider/doping suspicion, but did not conform to a specific keyword.

4.5.6 Sample Cleaning

All articles returned by the search terms were then subject to an initial read to ensure that they complied with the search criteria- that they mentioned both the respective riders by name, and the *Tour de France* event.

4.5.6.1 Criteria for Exclusion

Articles returned by the search criteria that only referred to the riders by name in a results summary appendix attached to an article were cleaned from the sample as they did not discuss or mention the riders specifically in the article itself. Furthermore, articles that appeared more than once in the search (duplicates) were removed as were articles featuring retractions or amendments- with the amended article only included for analysis UNLESS the amendment or retraction had pertained specifically to rider/doping suspicion, however this was not found to be the case in any of the corpora. These were the only conditions upon which articles were excluded from the data sample.

At the conclusion of sample cleaning, four distinct corpora of articles were obtained for further analysis, one data set for each rider in each publication, presented in Table 2, along with the respective search and sample cleaning results.

Table 2.

Four Corpora for Analysis with Article Search Return Data

Rider/Publication Search	Total Number of Articles Returned	Number of Articles Removed from Sample	Total Remaining Articles For Analysis
Lance Armstrong, <i>The Times</i>	50	0	50
Lance Armstrong, <i>The New York Times</i>	130	31	99
Chris Froome, <i>The Times</i>	70	0	70
Chris Froome, <i>The New York Times</i>	16	1	15
Total Combined Articles:	266	32	234

4.5.7 Article Categorization

As explained in 4.5.5, the search criteria did not include a keyword referring to doping, so as not to exclude rider/doping suspicion framing in the corpora that did not explicitly refer to the keyword. Rather, the search criteria broadly sought articles related to coverage of the respective riders during the *Tour de France* data periods, and did not assume that all articles in the respective corpora would include rider/doping suspicion frames. Therefore, the following framing analysis (detailed in section

4.6) was applied to all articles in the data sample, with articles that did include rider/doping suspicion frames distinguished from those that did not in the following categories:

‘Doping’ Articles: Articles that included at least one rider/doping suspicion frame

‘NM Doping’ Articles (NM= no mention of): Articles that did not include any rider/doping suspicion frames.

As well as distinguishing those articles relevant to the framing enquiry (‘Doping’ articles), the categorization of articles in each corpus as ‘Doping’ articles and ‘NM Doping’ articles, also enabled a quantitative measure of the proportion of articles that featured rider/doping suspicion frames within each corpus as a whole; controlling for the relative salience of rider/doping suspicion in the coverage, and providing a consistent metric for comparison between the corpora.

4.6 Framing Analysis

With the data sample for analysis established, the following section details the approach to framing analysis taken in this research, designed as a systematic method enabling a consistent, repeatable approach to framing. The section begins by establishing the definition for rider/doping suspicion frames followed in the research, and how relevant frames were identified in the data (text fragments). This is followed by an explanation of the findings and contribution of a 20-article pilot study, and the subsequent development and use of five mutually exclusive umbrella frame categories, systematizing frame identification and interpretation in the main research enquiry.

Furthermore, this section explains the frame interpretation and analysis approach taken, including the recontextualization of text fragments as rider/doping suspicion frame sub-categories, coded for contextual orientation (thematic or episodic) and doping suspicion orientation (V,I,D). Also detailed is the process for extracting frame count and frame density data for comparison across the corpora, providing comparable quantitative insights into the qualitative framing assessments describing *the extent to which* the riders were framed as suspicious of doping. Finally, this section details the organization of frames within each corpus by common themes, referred to as framing motifs, and the comparison of these motifs between the corpora, offering comparable insights into *how* the riders were framed as suspicious of doping.

4.6.1 Determining a Rider/Doping Suspicion Frame

Framing scholars attest that frames themselves are communication structures that utilize language to relay an issue to a particular reference point of interpretation (D'Angelo & Kyupers, 2010; Gamson & Modigliani, 1994). As such, frames employed in written texts are visible communication structures, which can be identified through the analysis and interpretation of language used in communication. Therefore, this research sought and identified rider/doping suspicion frames in the texts as:

The use of language that **explicitly** or **implicitly** connects the respective riders to doping or the possibility that they could be doping.

The research thus selects a specific issue for framing analysis in the news text (rider/doping suspicion), as Cacciatore et al. (2016) state is important in order to avoid subjectively inflating frame salience in the findings.

4.6.2 Text Fragments as Frames

Further to the above definition for a rider/doping suspicion frame (in section 4.6.1), this research considered that frames were embedded in the language of the text, and therefore could be extracted as text fragments constituting the language deemed to compose a rider/doping suspicion frame.

Text fragments deemed to compose rider/doping suspicion frames were isolated at the clause(s) or sentence(s) that referred to doping suspicion (explicitly or implicitly), with links to the respective riders determined either within the fragment or within the wider context of the article. As such, text-fragments varied considerably in length, as exemplified by the following cases.

Example 1.

Text fragment reference to rider and doping suspicion- with no name reference, direct link to doping, single sentence:

“There are few that doubt the Texan’s determination and resolve, expressed unflinchingly this week in interview after interview, as doping allegations once again swarm around him.” (Whittle, 2004, July 3rd).

Example 2.

Text fragment reference to rider and doping suspicion - with multiple clauses and sentences, rider named in frame, inferred link to doping suspicion, consistent suspicion orientation and reasoning:

"It is clear that LeMond and Armstrong have had a contentious relationship since Lemond began questioning superior performances on mountains that had not suddenly become less steep. "Lance is ready to do anything to keep his secret," LeMond was quoted as saying in French newspaper *Le Monde* on Thursday. "I don't know how he can continue to convince everybody of his innocence." In an e-mail message, LeMond verified his remarks to the newspaper." (English, 2004, July 25th).

Additional examples of text fragments identified as rider/doping suspicion frames are recorded by corpus in appendices 1 – 4.

Further to these definitions for rider/doping suspicion frames and text fragments as frames, this research design took additional steps to define the basis for identification and interpretation of text fragments composing rider/doping suspicion frames in the text, responding to criticisms of framing analysis in the academic community.

In particular, Cacciatore, et al. (2016) and Gamson (1975) have criticized framing analysis for lack of systematic method, leaving the identification and analysis of frames subject to considerable variability between analyses, with concerns for the repeatability of framing research with consistency of results. Cacciatore, et al. (2016) and Gamson (1975) systemizing framing is difficult due to the nature of its dependence on expert knowledge of relevant framing context by the researcher, and difficulties in achieving a consensus between researchers as to what constitutes a frame.

These criticisms were key concerns addressed in the following approach to frame identification and interpretation implemented by this research. As Gamson (1975) recommends, this research takes a creative approach to counter these concerns, through the development of five mutually-exclusive umbrella frame categories, used as a systematic mechanism for frame identification and initial interpretation, informed by the findings of a pilot study investigation.

4.6.3 Pilot Study: Establishing a Systematic Method Identification and Interpretation of Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames.

Having established the four corpora comprising the data sample, a pilot study was conducted on a random sample of 20 articles (five from each corpus), through which a criteria for the identification and interpretation of different rider/doping suspicion frames in the text (following the frame definition established in 4.6.1) was established.

Among the 20 articles, 12 articles were identified as including rider/doping suspicion frames, with their distribution across the corpora provided in Table 3.

Table 3.

Pilot Study Articles With and Without Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames

Corpus	Articles without Rider/Doping frames (NM Doping' Articles)	Articles with Rider/Doping frames ('Doping' Articles)
Lance Armstrong, <i>The Times</i>	1	4
Lance Armstrong, <i>The New York Times</i>	2	3
Chris Froome, <i>The Times</i>	1	4
Chris Froome, <i>The New York Times</i>	4	1

Each of the articles deemed to include rider/doping suspicion frames ('Doping' articles) were read a second time, isolating each rider/doping frame (text fragment) in the text and interpreting the frames according to the following queries:

- *Why were the riders considered suspicious and/or what were the sources of rider/doping suspicion?*
- *How was doping suspicion connected to the riders? (directly or indirectly)*
- *Was rider/doping suspicion advocated or denied in the context of the frame, and in each case, what were the contextual grounds for advocating or denying suspicion?*

By interpreting the frames according to these queries, the following five mutually-exclusive umbrella frame categories (Table 4) emerged as consistent framing contexts across the pilot study findings, offering an initial sorting criteria for the interpretation of frames. The criteria for each category in Table 4, broadly categorizes the contextual grounds for framing of rider/doping suspicion, providing a systematic mechanism for the initial interpretation of text fragments as frames.

Table 4.
Umbrella Frame Categories

Umbrella Frame Category	Criteria
<i>Tour/Race Related:</i>	Suspicion is linked to the doping history of the <i>Tour de France</i> cycling race, including historical and recent/current doping cases.
Outright Suspicion:	Suspicion is openly referred to or explained. Includes opinions and discussion points.
Neutral Mention:	Passing reference given to doping cases or doping allegations. No opinion or discussion.
Disregarding Suspicion:	Dismissal of doping allegations, discrediting allegations and individuals who make them.
Denial:	Rider and team/support denials and reactions to doping allegations.

Furthermore, by defining the umbrella category criteria by the contextual use of frames in the text (as informed by the pilot study sample), without engaging in specific detail as to the content and style of framing (which were determined on a case-by-case basis through subsequent steps in the analysis referred to as sub-categorization (4.6.5) and coding (4.6.6 and 4.6.7), the umbrella frame categories provide systematic structure to the analysis, without straying into pre-emptive framing analysis, as discouraged D'Angelo et al. (2019).

The relationship between frames and umbrella frame categories can be viewed in appendices 1 - 4 (including the pilot study sample combined into the main research sample) with each frame sub-category (explained in 4.6.5) assigned by umbrella frame category, with a text fragment example of a frame befitting the category.

4.6.4 Umbrella Frame Categories in the Main Study: Frame Identification and Organization

Following the pilot study, the umbrella frame category criteria was implemented to identify and interpreted rider/doping suspicion frames in each article in the data sample of the respective corpora. This was achieved by repeatedly reading the articles through the contextual lens of each umbrella frame category, identifying text fragments that met the criteria, and recording them by category ahead of further interpretation and organization by frame sub-category and code (described in 4.6.5, 4.6.6 and 4.6.7 respectively). This process thus enabled an informed, systematic, and repeatable approach to frame identification and initial interpretation, that was repeated across

each corpus, enabling consistency of framing analysis and results between the corpora for comparison.

4.6.5 Converting Text Fragments into Frame Sub-Categories

Within each umbrella frame category, each text fragment was labelled with a descriptive, mutually-exclusive sub-category that re-contextualized the text fragments to focus on the framing of doping suspicion of the respective riders. The number of frame sub-categories did not have a predetermined limit (amounting to a final total of 92 different sub-categories across the corpora), but rather was determined by the various text fragments as they appeared in the news texts, including their interpretation within the context of the respective articles. However, some sub-categories were allocated multiple text fragments, indicating the repetition of frames sharing a framing context and interpretation relative to rider/doping suspicion. In doing so, these frame sub-categories allowed for quantitative analysis of frame content within each corpus for comparison.

Example: Re-contextualizing text fragments as a frame sub-categories:

Umbrella Frame Category: Tour/Race Related

Frame Sub-Category: Froome is the champion of a sport with a history of doping problems

Example Relevant Text Fragments:

- 1) "He has to overcome not just cynicism based on cycling's doping past." (Dickinson, 2004, July 24th).
- 2) "While doping has diminished considerably, or so we'd like to think, the debate about how to win rages as loud as ever at the 104th Tour." (Dickinson, 2004, July 14th).

Further examples of text fragments and their assigned frame sub-categories can be viewed in appendices 1- 4.

4.6.6 Coding Frames Thematic or Episodic: Frame Contextual Orientations

Frame sub-categories were also distinguished by their contextual orientation in the wider text, that is, whether or not they were considered thematic or episodic. In doing so, the research considers how frames are used within the corpus: whether they present as a part of a broader, thematic discussion, or whether the articles refer to specific, episodic circumstances (Gamson & Modigliani,

1994). In so distinguishing between thematic and episodic frames, the research findings offer greater insight into the function of the frames within the wider discourse.

The coding of frames as thematic or episodic **was established alongside the re-contextualization of text fragments as frame sub-categories**, so as to distinguish between frame text fragments with the same sub-category that differed in contextual orientation. As such, it was possible for two frame sub-categories to share the same label, one coded episodic and one coded thematic.

The definitions for thematic and episodic frames employed as the criteria for determining the contextual orientation of a text fragment/frame sub-category are presented in Table 5, followed by an example of an episodic frame and thematic frame with the same sub-category label, but differing contextual orientations.

Table 5.
Frame Contextual Orientations

Frame Contextual Orientations	Criteria
Thematic:	Frames that refer to the rider and doping in a broad context. The rider may be associated with doping while not directly referenced to specific incidences or cases that involves them personally
Episodic:	Frames which refer to the rider and doping in the context of specific incidences or instances of speculation, including cases or circumstances that involve them, or to which they are directly connected

Example: Episodic and Thematic Frames

Frame Sub-Category: Armstrong is the champion of a sport with doping problems

Thematic Frame: “Right now, while public attention is on the *Tour*, is a good time to address the problem of doping.” (English, 2004, July 25th).

Episodic Frame: “But in a tormented racing season that has already seen the shocking death of Marco Pantani, the scandal of the Jesus Manzano affair in Spain, the police investigation into David Millar’s *Cofidis* team in France and further

drug raids in the *Giro d'Italia*, it is little wonder that Armstrong's denials are being scrutinized." (Whittle, 2004, July 1st).

The contextual orientations of frame sub-categories are presented within their respective umbrella frame categories per corpus in appendices 1 – 4, and per sub-category, per article within each corpus in appendices 5 - 8.

4.6.7 Coding Frames for Doping Suspicion Orientation

Frame sub-categories were also interpreted and coded relative to their orientation towards doping suspicion, that is: whether the frame sought to validate suspicion of doping (V=*validating suspicion*), dismiss suspicion of doping (D=*dismissing suspicion*) or simply made an impartial reference acknowledging suspicion of doping (I=*impartial reference*).

These codes provide a methodical approach to understanding the intention of the frames in terms of doping suspicion. By implementing this coding system, the research was able to provide a broad overview of the media narrative in each corpus, categorizing the framing by the manner in which doping suspicion was conveyed across the frames. Thus, the coding of frames allowed for the comparison of the relative portions of coverage that aligned with each code, quantifying comparisons between the riders across the corpora for the degree to which they were conveyed as suspicious of doping.

The criteria for the three codes used to distinguish doping suspicion orientation are presented in the Table 6, with an example of frame sub-categories in each code presented in Table 7.

Table 6.
Code Criteria For Frame Doping Suspicion Orientation

Doping Suspicion Orientation Code	Criteria
Validating Suspicion (V)	Frames which explicitly tie the rider to suspicion. The frames should state and/or reason that it is appropriate to suspect the rider of doping.
Impartial Reference (I)	Frames which provide links between the rider and doping, or the rider relative to doping scandals. The frames do not comment on whether the rider should be considered suspicious, or if it is reasonable to suspect the rider of doping.
Dismissing Suspicion (D)	Frames which acknowledge doping speculation, but reason that it is irrational or unreasonable to be suspicious of the rider. Includes frames that consider the rider to be a victim of suspicion.

Table 7.

Example Frame Sub-Categories by Doping Orientation Code

Doping Suspicion Orientation Code	Frame Sub-Category
V	Armstrong is suspicious as are all elite athletes
I	Some fans suspect Armstrong is doping
D	Armstrong is unfairly suspected

The doping suspicion orientation codes for each frame sub-category can be viewed in appendices 5 – 8.

4.6.8 Frame Word Count and Article Word Count to Identify Framing Density

While this research quantifies the amount of rider/doping suspicion frames in each corpus by recording the number of frames identified (by sub-category, contextual orientation and doping orientation), frame count alone does not entirely account for the volume of coverage dedicated to doping frames in each corpus.

Word counts for ‘Doping’ Articles were also recorded, as well as the word counts of text fragments identified in each article as composing rider/doping suspicion frames (frame word count). This enabled a quantitative analysis of the proportion of text in the articles that constituted text-fragments deemed rider/doping suspicion frames. This data is referred to in this research as frame density, calculated per article per corpus, and as an average across each corpus.

Frame Density is the percentage of each article or corpus taken up by a certain frame or frame code. It is calculated by dividing the total number of words in the article that are part of the frame by the total number of words in the article.

For example if a corpus has a total word count across all of its articles of 1000, and 100 of those words are part of thematic frames then it has a thematic frame density of 100/1000 or 10%. Thus in this example, 10% of the article word count was consumed by words comprising a thematic frame.

4.6.8.1 Frame Density by Corpus

Frame density by corpus allows for the comparison between corpora of the relative quantity of coverage consumed by rider/doping frames in the corpus coverage as a whole.

4.6.8.2 Frame Density by Article

Further to frame density by corpus, calculating frame density by article in each of the four corpora, enables a comparison of how the different frames were distributed across articles in the corpora relative to the word count. In doing so, it is possible to indicate in the corpus those articles in which rider/doping frames dominated the narrative, and those in which such frames were only a minor contribution to the article. Comparisons of frame density by article across the corpora assists the relative assessment of the degree to which rider/doping suspicion frames were reported in the coverage of the respective publications and riders.

A record of article and frame word counts used for the calculation of frame density can be viewed in appendices 5 – 8.

4.6.9 Common Themes Among Framing Sub-Categories: Framing Motifs

Having identified, sub-categorized and coded all the relevant rider/doping suspicion frames in each corpus, a final analysis assessed the coded frame sub-categories for common themes, grouping coded sub-categories into framing motifs indicative of repetitive approaches to framing in each corpus.

Each group of frame sub-categories comprising a motif was labelled to summarize the framing approach common to the frames, and the number of frames in each motif proportioned to each corpus as a whole, quantifying the presence of the relevant motifs in the wider corpus for comparison between the corpora.

In order to be considered a framing motif, a group of frame sub-categories needed to comprise 5% or more of the total number of frames in the corpus. Those frame subcategories that were unique or in a like-frame grouping that did not constitute the 5% threshold were collected together as 'novel frames'.

By organizing frame sub-categories into framing motifs (and frames within them, distinguished by contextual orientation and doping suspicion orientation coding), it is possible to observe the relative prevalence of frames by their content in each corpus, to observe and compare similarities and differences in how the riders were framed with drawing insights from the frame sub-categories identified in the corpora.

The organization of frame sub-categories into framing motifs are presented per corpus in Tables 12 – 17, as per the example presented in Table 8.

The four corpora are abbreviated in the table by first and last name initials (LA/CF) with TT designating *The Times*, and NYT designating *The New York Times*. Other abbreviations used in the table are T/E= thematic/episodic, Fq.= frequency of frames, V/I/D= doping suspicion orientation code. A full table of abbreviations is provided ahead of the framing motif tables in 5.3.5.1.

Table 8.

Example Table for the Presentation of Framing motifs data

Motif: Rider's response to doping accusations/accusers									
Frame Sub-Category	T/E	LA TT		LA NYT		CF TT		CF NYT	
		Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D
Armstrong is angry at those who accuse him or his advisors of doping.	E	-	-	5	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is determined to fight doping accusers.	E	1	I	3	I	-	-	-	-

As Table 8 shows, frame quantity data and the relevant doping suspicion orientation of the frame sub-categories are recorded for each corpus in columns. Where there was no data for the frame-subcategory in the corpus a ‘-’ symbol is inserted. A table of abbreviated terms used in Tables 12 – 17 and their meanings is provided in Table 11 in the following chapter, preceding the framing motif findings.

4.7 Summary

Framing research has been criticized by scholars for a lack of systematic method, resulting in findings that are difficult to corroborate or repeat with consistency of results (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Gamson, 1975). Furthermore, framing critics also state that framing analysis can elevate the salience of issues in discourse selected for framing analysis, resulting in a distorted representation of significance of the issue in the discourse (Santos et al., 2013). In response to these criticisms, this

research design has focused on a systematizing an approach to framing of a specific issue in the news content- suspicion of doping. Through the establishment of criteria for the identification and interpretation of frames in the text (umbrella framing categories), and processes for sub-categorizing and coding frames; this research uses qualitative assessments to organize and categorize text constituting framing, allowing for the calculation of quantitative insights about the coverage in a manner that is consistent and repeatable, and that weights the salience of framing to each article, and corpus as a whole (article categorization, frame density). This process allows for both interpretive analysis of the framing content, and for statistical analysis to contextualize the data and defend against criticisms of selectivity and salience magnification.

In applying this process to analyzing the news content gathered from the online archives of *The Times* and *The New York Times*, the research design afforded the examination of both *the extent* to which doping suspicion is framed by the relative news publications, and *how* each of the riders were framed; offering insight into news media approaches to doping suspicion narratives during the coverage of the *Tour de France*.

The above research design was subsequently enacted as described, with the findings detailed in the following chapter.

5. Research Findings

This chapter details the research findings, presenting and interpreting the data in the order of the research design process presented in Chapter Four. The beginning of the chapter outlines the findings achieved through identification and organization of relevant rider/doping suspicion frames including: article categorization, frame identification and organization by umbrella frame category, frame sub-categorization, contextual orientation coding and doping suspicion orientation coding. Having achieved the identification, organization and relevant coding of frames and frame sub-categories, quantitative insights achieved through calculations of frame density per corpus and per article are presented, followed by the analysis of frame sub-categories across the corpora by common themes observed, referred to as framing motifs. In each case, framing data was collected consistently in each corpus, and is presented accordingly with relevant comparisons drawn.

5.1 Executive Summary of Key Findings

Prior to presenting the research data and findings, the following summary provides an overview of the key findings revealed in the research through article categorization, frame identification, frame coding, frame density and framing motif analysis.

- Across both publications there are a significantly higher absolute number and proportion of articles featuring rider/doping frames of Lance Armstrong than there are of Chris Froome, and significantly more rider/doping suspicion frames.
- Both publications in the Armstrong corpora exhibited articles with a high density of rider/doping suspicion frames indicative of a dedicated discussion of Armstrong and doping. This was not evident in either Froome corpus.
- Coverage of Froome in *The New York Times* is limited to an absolute total of just 15 articles, and only two rider/doping suspicion frames. This is significantly fewer frames than in *The Times* coverage of Froome (26 frames), and both Armstrong corpora (114 frames in *The Times*, 77 frames in *The New York Times*).

- Armstrong is framed relative to doping suspicion in more articles and more often in *The Times* than *The New York Times*, while *The New York Times* produced a greater number of total articles in the 'Doping' article category.
- Froome featured in the most articles and is framed relative to doping suspicion most often in *The Times*, with *The New York Times* exhibiting a significant lack of coverage of Froome generally compared to the remaining three corpora.
- In the Armstrong corpora there is; a higher number of *validating suspicion* frames in *The Times*, and a higher number of *dismissing suspicion* frames in *The New York Times*.
- In both publications, Armstrong is most commonly linked to doping through *impartial reference* frames, observing his connections to doping, while Froome in *The Times* corpus has a higher proportion of *validating suspicion* frames, though among a much smaller quantity of articles and total rider/doping frames.
- In the respective corpora, rider/doping suspicion frames of Armstrong were largely episodic, which the framing motif insights show was largely related to Armstrong's responses to doping allegations. In contrast, Froome was more often framed thematically in *The Times*, which the framing motif insights indicate was largely related to the *Tour de France's* historical reputation for doping.
- Both riders are framed for their success in the *Tour de France* as a race with a history of doping problems, but only Armstrong is framed in terms of present doping problems.
- The only two frames of Froome in *The New York Times* coverage indicate fans suspected Froome of doping, and that the *Tour de France* race broadcast media avoided the inclusion of such doping suspicion in the 2017 race coverage.
- Both riders are framed in terms of their responses to doping allegations. The small portion of these frames for Froome in *The Times* describe an evasive approach to doping suspicion in the media, while Armstrong is prominent in frames in both corpora describing his defensive, aggressive responses to doping allegations and suspicion.

- Froome is framed most prominently as suspicious for his connections to his team as the subject of a doping investigation, contributing all *validating suspicion* codes in the Froome corpora. Yet, despite similar circumstances, frames linking Armstrong to team suspicion are relatively few, and did not persuade towards doping suspicion of Armstrong- all of which are coded either *impartial reference* or *dismissing suspicion*.
- Armstrong is framed in both publications as the focus of doping suspicion in the French media.

Having stated the key findings revealed through the research, the research data and findings are presented and interpreted in the following sections, in the order of the research process outline in Chapter Four.

5.2 Article Categorization: ‘NM Doping’ Articles and ‘Doping’ Articles per Corpus

Following the process of sample cleaning explained in 4.5.6, all valid articles were analyzed for frames, distinguishing those which included rider/doping suspicion frames as ‘Doping’ articles, and those that did not as ‘NM Doping’ articles. This section presents the findings for article categorization in each corpus according to these article categories.

The article categorization data was recorded to enable the comparison between corpora of the percentage proportion of each article category within the corpus, providing a comparative indication of rider/doping suspicion frame salience in each corpus.

The findings for article categorization are presented accordingly, respective to each rider and publication, beginning with Lance Armstrong and followed by Chris Froome. The data is first presented in a pie graph showing the relative proportions of ‘Doping’ and ‘NM Doping’ articles per corpus, followed by an analysis of the findings per rider per corpus, and comparison of the coverage of the riders in each publication.

5.2.1 Lance Armstrong Corpora

Figure 2.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Doping and NM Doping Articles: Lance Armstrong, The Times Corpus

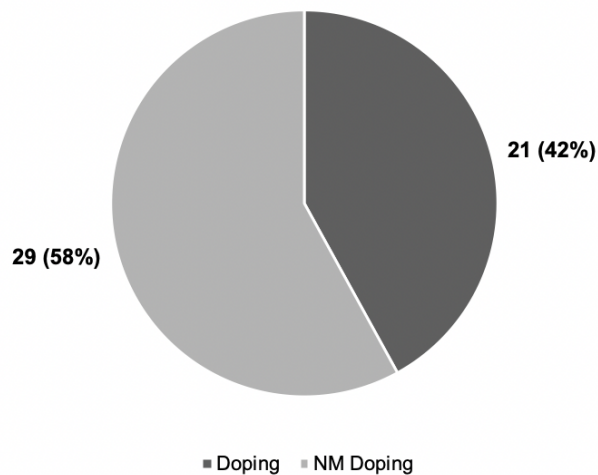
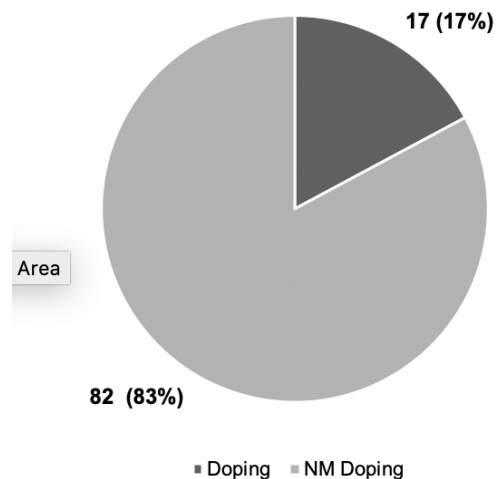


Figure 3.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Doping and NM Doping Articles: Lance Armstrong, The New York Times Corpus



Figures 1 and 2 show that both publications in the Armstrong corpora published a similar number of articles that refer to both Lance Armstrong and doping, with 21 articles and 17 articles respectively. Yet, *The Times* quota of articles that refer to Lance Armstrong and doping make up nearly 50% of the publication's total coverage of 50 articles covering Lance Armstrong at the 2004 *Tour de France*, compared to *The New York Times* corpus where such articles only constitute 34% of the publication's total coverage of 99 articles. This initial analysis indicates that while both publications published articles that discussed Lance Armstrong with reference to doping in the *Tour de France*, the topic is more salient in *The Times* corpus than that of *The New York Times*, as indicated by both the higher absolute number and percentage of articles that met the research criteria for framing analysis.

5.2.2 Chris Froome Corpora

Figure 4.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Doping and NM Doping Articles: Chris Froome, The Times Corpus

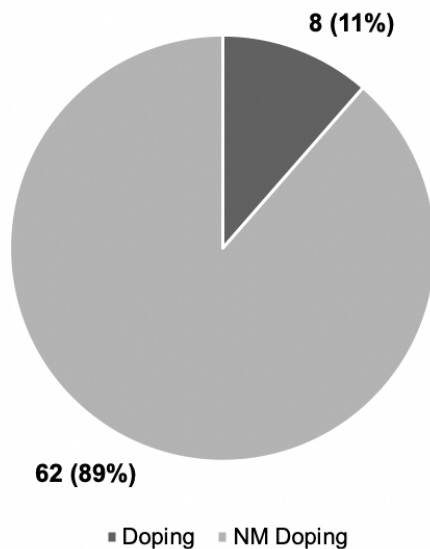
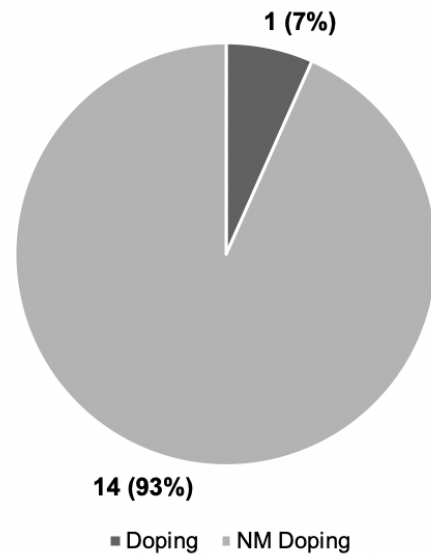


Figure 5.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Doping and NM Doping Articles: Chris Froome, The New York Times Corpus



Figures 4 and 5 show that both publications in the Froome corpora produced limited coverage of Froome with reference to doping, with 8 articles and 1 article respectively. In *The Times* corpus, the 8 articles identified only constituted 11.42% of the total coverage of 70 articles, indicating that doping was not a frequent topic for discussion in the publication's coverage of Chris Froome during the 2017 *Tour de France*. Likewise, *The New York Times* corpus includes just one article that refers to Chris Froome and doping, from a total of 15 articles, notably 55 articles fewer than the total produced by *The Times*. This shows that not only was there little discussion of doping linked to Chris Froome in *The New York Times* during the data period, there was also very little coverage of Chris Froome generally by the publication in the 2017 *Tour de France*.

5.2.3 Lance Armstrong Compared to Chris Froome

The article categorization data clearly shows that both newspapers published a considerably higher number of articles featuring rider/doping suspicion frames for Lance Armstrong in 2004 than for Chris Froome in 2017, particularly in *The New York Times* coverage which also shows considerably higher overall coverage of Armstrong compared to Froome.

5.3 Framing Analysis

The following section begins by establishing the findings of the framing analysis relating to the identification, organization, sub-categorization and coding of rider/doping suspicion frames in each corpus, enabling quantitative assessments of *the extent* of rider/doping suspicion framing in each corpus, including by the outright number of frames, number of frames by code for contextual orientation and doping suspicion orientation, and frame density per corpus and per article. Furthermore, the section concludes with analysis of frame sub-categories organized by common themes in the corpora, enabling comparative qualitative findings as to how the riders were framed relative to rider/doping suspicion, and the identification of similarities and differences in the framing.

5.3.1 Identification and Organization by Umbrella Frame Categories and Sub-Categorization

According to the process for frame identification and organization by umbrella frame category outlined in 4.6.3 and 4.6.4, text fragments comprising rider/doping suspicion frames were identified in each of the ‘Doping’ articles per corpus, with the umbrella frame categories guiding frame identification and facilitating the initial organization of text fragments by framing context.

As Table 10 reveals, there were 219 individual frames identified across the four corpora, distributed across 92 sub-categories of frames. Due to this scale of data, Table 9 provides a sample of text-fragments identified as composing frames within one umbrella frame category (Tour/Race Related) and their subsequent recontextualization as frame sub-categories. Table 9 also denotes the total number of frames identified in the corpus by sub-category, and the overall portion of frames in the corpus identified and organized within the umbrella frame category. Three of the four corpora are represented in the table, as no frames were recorded in this umbrella frame category for the Froome, *The New York Times* corpus. Abbreviations used in table include: T/E= contextual orientation code (thematic/episodic), and V/I/D= doping suspicion orientation code (Validating/Impartial reference/Dismissing).

Further to the data presented in Table 9, **appendices 1 – 4 detail each of the frame sub-categories identified and organized by frame umbrella category and contextual orientation per corpus, alongside a relevant text fragment identified as a frame within the corpus, indicative of the recontextualization of the text fragment as the respective frame sub-category.** Furthermore, frame

sub-categories in each corpus, including those repeated across multiple corpora, are presented and analyzed further in Tables 12 - 17 by framing motif in section 5.3.5.

Table 9.

Sample of Text Fragments Identified as Composing Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames by Umbrella Frame Category per Corpus, with Corresponding Frame Sub-Categorization and Coding, Including Total Number of Frames per Sub-Category and per Umbrella Frame Category per Corpus.

Umbrella Frame Category: Tour/Race Related					
Lance Armstrong, <i>The Times</i> Corpus					
Text Fragments	Reference	Frame Sub-Category	T/E	V/I/D	Number of Frames
<i>"It is Irresponsible for us to encourage kids to race and potentially turn pro without doing all we can to change cycling back to a sport where they will not likely be asked to take drugs"</i>	English (2004, July 25)	Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers	T	I	16
<i>"Right now, while public attention is still on the Tour, is a good time to address the problem of doping."</i>	English (2004, July 25)	Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	T	I	10
<i>"Brailsford also made the point that Millar had never tested positive in his career. Proof, if it was needed, that drug tests do not work."</i>	Walsh (2004, July 4)	Armstrong is suspicious for his success in a race that includes dopers, and it is known not all of them are caught	T	V	4
<i>"There are no miracles in cycling. There is always an explanation. With all the stories over the past few years, I am less excited by the Tour. I am skeptical."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems.	E	I	5
<i>"However, the two other riders named, Pavel Padrnos, a Czech and a key team-mate of Lance Armstrong, the defending champion, and Stefano Zanini, of Italy, claimed to be under investigation in San Remo, remain in the race."</i>	Whittle (2004, June 13)	Armstrong is the champion of a race suspected to include dopers	E	I	4
<i>"The Tour has also acted in its best interests, invoking its own ethical charter that has been developed in recent years after the debacle of the 1998 Tour, renowned for the infamous Festina Affair, a doping scandal that overshadowed that year's race."</i>	Whittle (2004, June 13)	Armstrong is the champion of an event that has historically been affected by doping	T	I	2

"The Tour de France organization maintained its new ethical zeal in Limoges yesterday by expelling two more riders from this year's event, Martin Hivastija, of Slovenia, and Stefano Casagrande, of Italy, after it was confirmed that both riders are under investigation for doping offences in Italy. Although neither rider has tested positive in this year's race, a letter sent to Jean-Marie Leblanc, the Tour director, from magistrates in Padua confirmed that both will face charges over doping offences"	Whittle (2004, June 13)	Armstrong is competing in Tour with high anti-doping standards	T	I	1
"What do we make of it [cycling]? What will we make of the whole summer when, one month from now, we are into the added suspicion of drugs and cheating around an Olympic Games back in Athens, the birthplace of competition at that level?"	Hughes (2004, July 18)	Armstrong is the champion of an event with possible doping problems	T	I	1
"It is also a troubled sport, hagridden by drugs"	Barnes (2004, July 24)	Armstrong is the champion of a race including dopers	E	I	3
"A similar performance is expected from Armstrong today, a result that will only fan the flames of a debate that has already divided a traumatized sport."	Whittle (2004, July 16)	Armstrong is suspicious due to his success in an event with doping problems	E	V	3
Total Number of Frames per Umbrella Frame Category (and as percentage of total corpus):					49 (42.98%)
Lance Armstrong, <i>The New York Times</i> Corpus					
Text Fragments	Reference	Frame Sub-Category	T/E	V/I/D	Number of Frames
"We scarcely need the name Balco to remind us that the doping problem isn't confined to the Tour, but for many years cycling has been in a class of its own. The extent of drug use was concealed by the sport's omerta, with disastrous consequences."	Wheatcroft (2004, July 24)	Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	T	I	27
"I find no reason to stop regarding Lance Armstrong as one of the great athletes of his time. His sport really needs to get clean."	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	E	I	3
"Since then, the wonder drug EPO has arrived to enrich red blood cells, to enhance performance and to kill. The awful evidence is young cyclists dying from nocturnal heart attacks, at least eight of them in the last 15 months. Too often, the Tour de France does resemble epic tragedy, in which heroic ambition leads to self-destruction."	Wheatcroft (2004, July 24)	Armstrong is the champion of a race known to include dopers	T	I	1
Total Number of Frames per Umbrella Frame Category (and as percentage of total corpus):					31 (40.26%)
Chris Froome, <i>The Times</i> Corpus					
Text Fragments	Reference	Frame Sub-Category	T/E	V/I/D	Number of Frames

"Riders in this race once used to take Edgar Allen Poe, the code name they gave to the performance-enhancing drug EPO, before going to bed. Martin actually reads Edgar Allan Poe at races as it gets him to sleep quickly. It would be nice to think that everyone would follow his lead and forsake chemistry for literature."	Walsh (2017, July 9)	Froome is the reigning champion of an event with a history of doping problems	T	I	5
"he has to overcome not just cynicism based on cycling's doping past"	Dickinson (2017, July 24)	Froome is the champion of a sport with a history of doping problems	E	I	2
"I have seen this movie. The ending is shitty-Lance Armstrong"	Dickinson (2017, June 30)	Froome is suspicious because of doping scandals of the past, including Lance Armstrong	T	V	1
Total Number of Frames per Umbrella Frame Category (and as percentage of total corpus):					8 (30.67%)

Table 9 reveals the framing data for three of the four corpora in the 'Tour/Race Related' umbrella frame category, excluding the Froome *The New York Times* corpus due to an absence of frames in this category. To provide further detail on the scale of framing data collected from the news samples, Table 10 presents the numerical findings following the identification and organization of frames per umbrella frame category, the recontextualization of the relevant text fragments as frame sub-categories per corpus, and the contextual orientation (Thematic= T, Episodic= E) of the frames and frame sub-categories. The four corpora are abbreviated in the table by first and last name initials (LA/CF) with TT designating *The Times*, and NYT designating *The New York Times*.

Table 10 also provides a total combined number of frames in each corpus, and the total number of frame sub-categories within which these frames were distributed. At the bottom of the table (following the frame data per corpus), the total number of frame sub-categories identified per corpus are presented as a combined total, followed by a total for the number of frames which appeared in more than one corpora, and subsequently, the total number of frame sub-categories across the corpora following the removal of repeats of sub-categories identified in multiple corpora.

Table 10.

Number of Frames Identified per Umbrella Frame Category per Corpus, Including Number of Sub-Categories, Frame Contextual Orientation and Total Number of Frames

Corpus	Tour/Race Related Frames		Outright Suspicion Frames		Disregarding Suspicion Frames		Neutral Mention Frames		Denial Frames		Total Frames/Sub-Categories
	T	E	T	E	T	E	T	E	T	E	
LA TT:	34	15	3	21	1	11	-	9	-	20	114
No. Sub-Categories:	6	4	3	12	1	8	-	7	-	14	55
LA NYT	28	3	1	5	1	14	1	3	1	21	77

No. Sub-Categories:	2	1	1	5	1	7	1	3	1	12	34
CF TT	6	2	9	4	-	-	-	2	3	-	26
No. Sub-Categories:	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	10
CF NYT	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
No. Sub-Categories:	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Total Number of Combined Frame Sub-Categories:											101
Total Number of Sub-Categories Repeated in Multiple Corpora:											9
Total Number of Sub-Categories Less Repeats:											92

Table 10 shows the use of the five mutually-exclusive umbrella categories to organize frames identified in each corpus, including the number of sub-categories per category indicative of different approaches to framing within each umbrella frame category, further distinguished by contextual orientation.

Overall, 92 different sub-categories of frames were identified across the corpora, with only 9 sub-categories consistent across the corpora (analyzed further in section 5.3.5). The considerable number of sub-categories, and relatively small number of cross-corpora sub-categories show variation in framing both within each umbrella category, and across the corpora as a whole.

As the total frames per corpus data shows, the Froome corpora featured a significantly lower overall number of frames, particularly in *The New York Times* with just two frames compared to 77 for Armstrong. Furthermore, *The Times* total of 26 frames is also considerably lower than either Armstrong corpus, showing that coverage of Armstrong included more rider/doping frames outright than coverage of Froome.

5.3.2 Contextual Orientation of Frames per Corpus

As explained in 4.6.6 and presented in Table 10 by umbrella frame category; all frames (and respective frame sub-categories) were coded by their contextual orientation, either thematic or episodic. The following pie graphs (Figures 6 - 9) show the relative percentage proportions of frame contextual orientation per corpus, allowing for comparison in frame contextual orientation between the corpora.

5.3.2.1 Lance Armstrong Corpora

Figure 6.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Contextual Orientation: Lance Armstrong, The Times Corpus

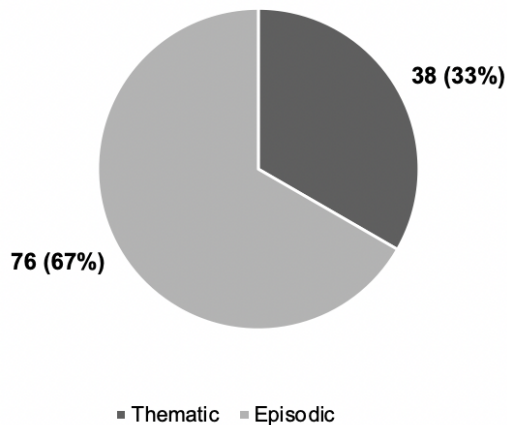
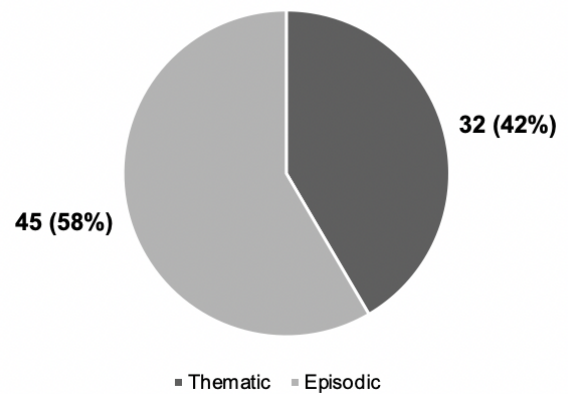


Figure 7.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Contextual Orientation: Lance Armstrong, The New York Times Corpus



Contextual orientation of frames in the Armstrong corpora are similarly proportioned with a higher number of episodic frames, showing Armstrong was often framed in contexts related to specific instances or circumstances associating him to suspicion of doping.

5.3.2.2 Chris Froome Corpora

Figure 8.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Contextual Orientation: Chris Froome, The Times Corpus

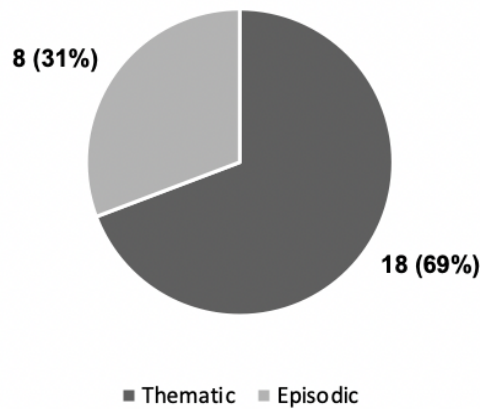


Figure 9.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Contextual Orientation: Chris Froome, The New York Times Corpus



Unlike the Armstrong coverage, a considerable portion of rider/doping frames concerning Froome in *The Times* takes place within a thematic context, in which Froome is linked to doping in a broad context, and not to specific, circumstances and incidences typified by episodic framing.

5.3.3 Doping Suspicion Orientation of Frames per Corpus

As detailed in 4.6.6, subsequent to frame sub-categorization and coding for contextual orientation, all frame sub-categories (and the corresponding frames) were coded by their doping suspicion orientation, whether they sought to *validate* doping suspicion, acknowledged doping suspicion through an *impartial reference*, or sought to *dismiss* doping suspicion. The frame coding data for doping suspicion orientation is presented by rider in each relevant corpus in Figures 10 - 13.

5.3.3.1 Lance Armstrong Corpora

Figure 10.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Doping Suspicion Orientation: Lance Armstrong, The Times Corpus

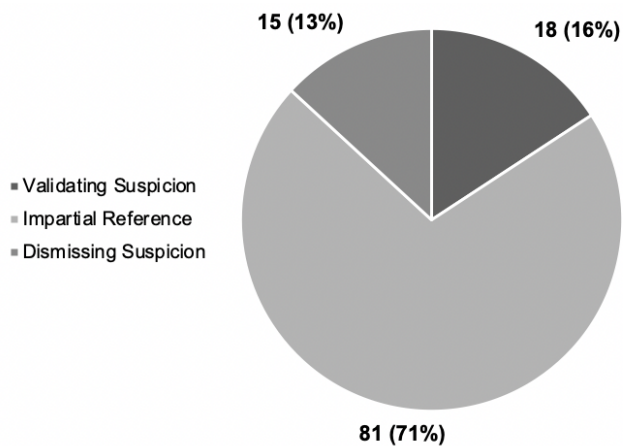
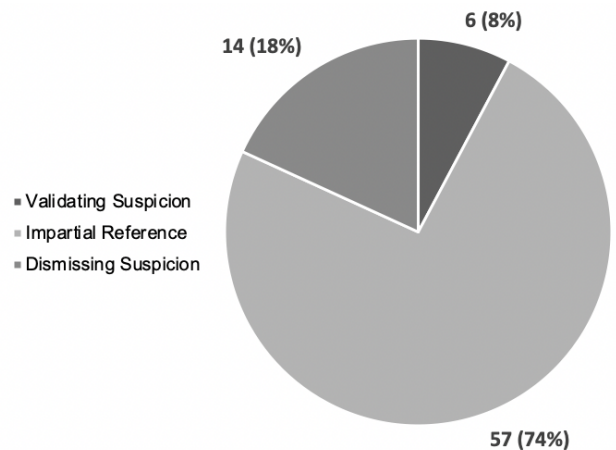


Figure 11.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Doping Suspicion Orientation: Lance Armstrong, The New York Times Corpus



In the Armstrong corpora, this analysis shows that both corpora had a high percentage of *impartial reference* frames (71% *The Times* and 74% *The New York Times*), indicating that a considerable portion of the frames in both corpora observed connections between Armstrong and doping without pursuing or undermining suspicions that he might be doping. There were, however, subtle differences between the Armstrong corpora in the remaining codes, with *The New York Times* recording a higher percentage of *dismissing suspicion* frames, and a lower percentage of *validating suspicion* frames than *The Times*. This indicates that when *The New York Times* pursued a doping narrative which discussed Armstrong as suspicious of doping, the narrative more often sought to undermine that suspicion, rather than persuade the audience that Armstrong could be doping. However, the opposite is true of *The Times* coverage of Armstrong - a notable point of difference between the corpora.

5.3.3.2 Chris Froome Corpora

Figure 12.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Doping Suspicion Orientation: Chris Froome, The Times Corpus

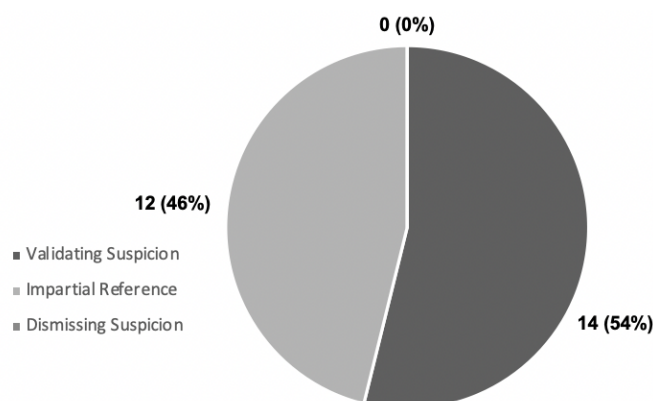
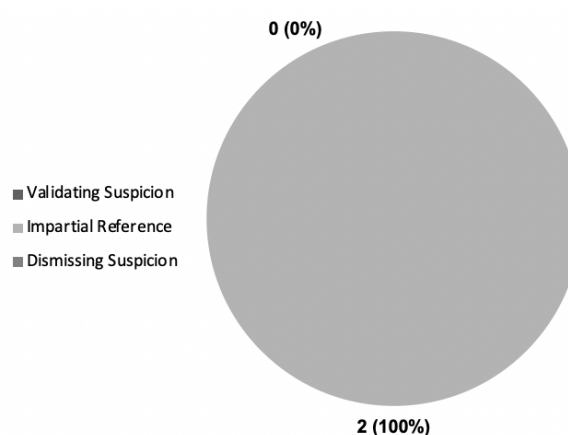


Figure 13.

Pie Chart Showing Total Number (and Percentage) of Frames by Doping Suspicion Orientation: Chris Froome, The New York Times Corpus



The Chris Froome *The Times* corpus differs significantly to the Armstrong corpora in that the *validating suspicion* code (54%) is the most prominent of the three codes in the corpus, followed by *impartial reference* (46%). This shows that while Froome was framed relative to doping in *The Times* considerably less than Armstrong in either corpus, when framing occurred it was often in a manner that pursued the suspicion that he could be doping. It should be noted that these findings are grounded in a relative lack of frame data for Froome compared to Armstrong, particularly stark in *The New York Times* corpus, with just 2 frames (both coded *impartial reference*). Yet the outright number of *validating suspicion* frames in the Chris Froome *The Times* corpus remains considerable, more than double the outright number of such frames in *The New York Times* coverage of Armstrong, and just 4 fewer than those in the Armstrong *The Times* corpus (14 and 18 respectively).

5.3.4 Frame Density

As stated in 4.6.8, frame count alone does not entirely account for the volume of coverage dedicated to doping frames in each corpus, due to the variance in length of frames and articles. To address this, frame density was calculated by corpus and by article, to show the volume of each corpus (or article) consumed by doping frames, a process established set out in Chapter Four.

5.3.4.1 Frame Density by Corpus

Frame density by corpus allows for the comparison of the relative quantity of coverage consumed by rider/doping frames in the corpus coverage as a whole. Figure 14. presents the frame density for each corpus by frame code, whereby the combined frame word count in each corpus (overall and by code on the X axis) is expressed as a percentage of the total word count of 'Doping' articles in the respective corpora (frame density).

Figure 14.
Clustered Column Chart Showing the Density of All Frames across each Corpus, and by Contextual Orientation Codes and Doping Suspicion Orientation Codes.

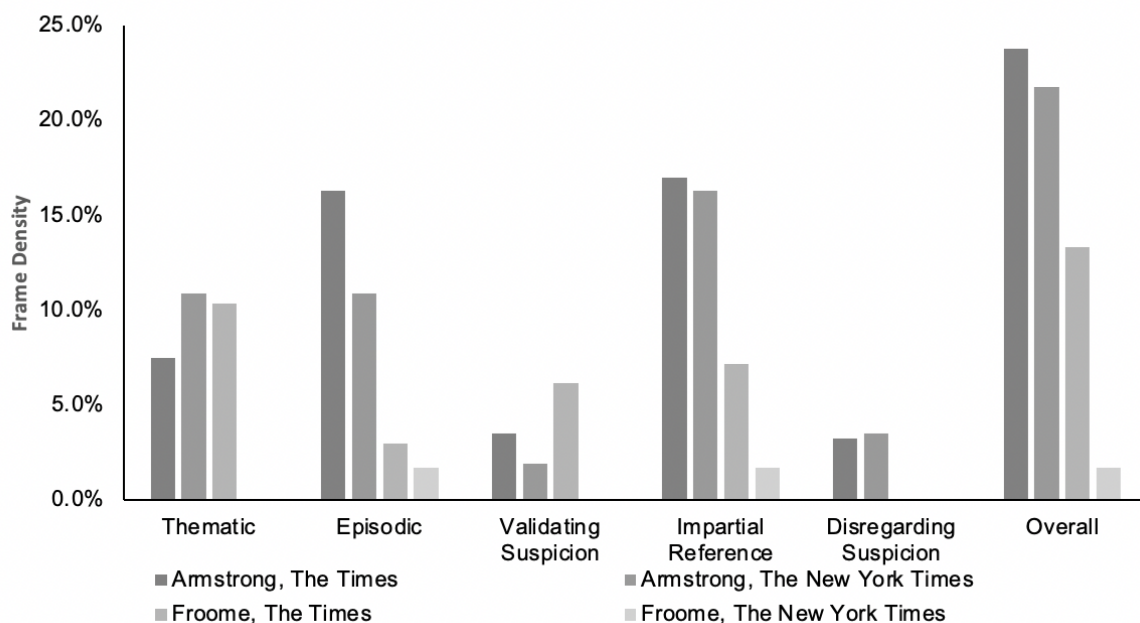


Figure 14. shows that both Lance Armstrong corpora had very similar distributions in frame density across the various frame groupings, indicating a consistent representation of rider/doping frames within the corpus. Among the small differences between the two corpora *The Times* included a slightly higher density of *validating suspicion* frames than *The New York Times* (up by 1.6%) and episodic frames (up by 5.4%), as well as a slightly higher density of frames overall (up by 2.1%), while *The New York Times* recorded a slightly higher density of thematic frames than *The Times* (up by 3.4%). All other fluctuations in frame density between the two publications vary by less than 1.6%.

This consistency in the density of rider/doping frames in the two Lance Armstrong corpora, reaffirms the findings of the frame count data that both publications had a similar volume of discussion

involving Armstrong and doping across their respective 'doping articles' corpora. However, it is important to note that the two publications had significant differences in overall article and frame counts, with *The Times* featuring a higher overall number of frames, a higher number of doping articles and a lower overall number of articles. This suggests that while framing density is consistent between the two publications in the articles in which rider/doping frames are present, *The Times* maintains a higher overall number of rider/doping frames for Armstrong relative to coverage, once 'no-doping' and 'doping' article count and overall frame count are considered.

Compared to the Lance Armstrong corpora, both Chris Froome corpora have significantly lower overall frame densities, consistent with the lower total number of frames recorded in Table 10. However, the Chris Froome *The Times* corpus contained a higher density of thematic frames than any other corpus and relatively low episodic framing, showing that a significant amount of framing of Froome took place in a broad context compared to incidental, episodic framing; the dominant frame contextual orientation in both of the Armstrong corpora. Furthermore, the Chris Froome, *The Times* corpus also shows the highest frame density of *validating suspicion* frames of any of the corpora, corroborating the frame count data that this code is a significant feature of this corpus.

5.3.4.2 Frame Density by Article

Frame density by article compares the individual article's frame density across the respective corpora, indicating articles in which rider/doping frames dominated the narrative, and those in which such frames were only a minor contribution to the article. These comparisons assist with assessing the degree to which rider/doping suspicion frames were reported in the coverage of the respective publications and riders.

Figure 15. presents the frame density by article data in each corpus, whereby the combined frame word count of each article is expressed as a percentage of the total word count of the respective articles (frame density), revealing a range of frame densities across individual articles in the respective corpora.

Figure 15.

Box and Whisker Graph of Frame Density (All Frames) by Article for Each Corpus

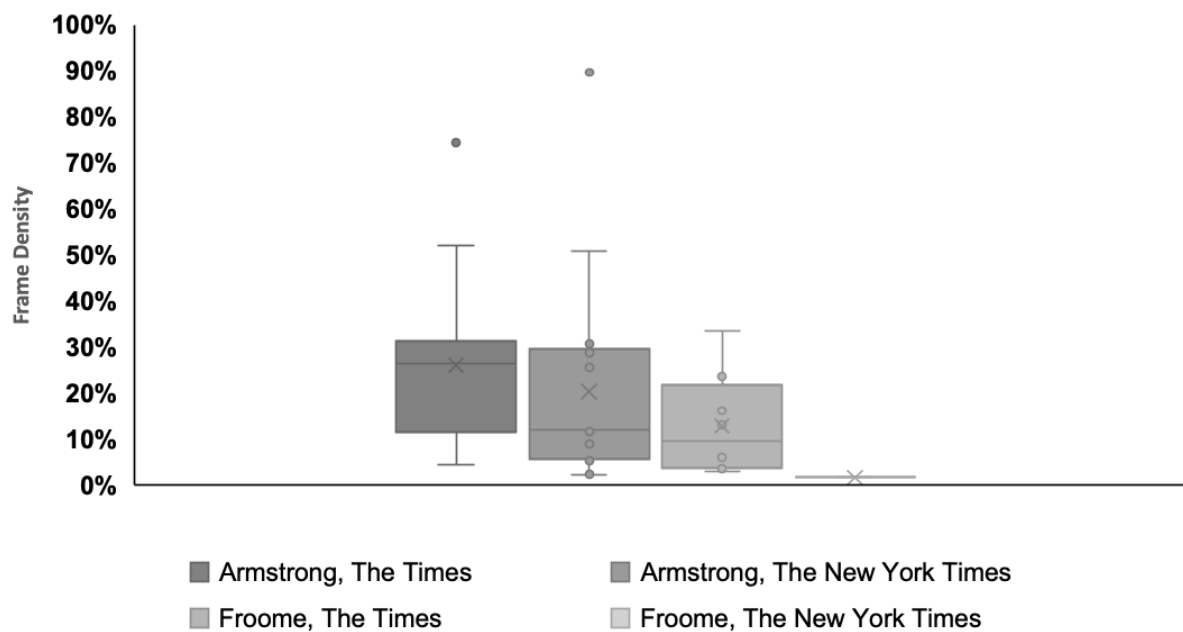


Figure 15. shows that both Armstrong corpora had similar distributions of frame density by article, indicated on the graph by similar inter-quartile ranges, and the presence of individual articles with significantly higher than average frame densities- up to 75% (*The Times*) and 90% (*The New York Times*). This shows that the majority of coverage produced by both corpora framed Armstrong in terms of doping as a part of a wider narrative, yet both publications also featured a single article where three quarters or more count was encompassed by doping frames, indicating a dedicated discussion on Armstrong and doping.

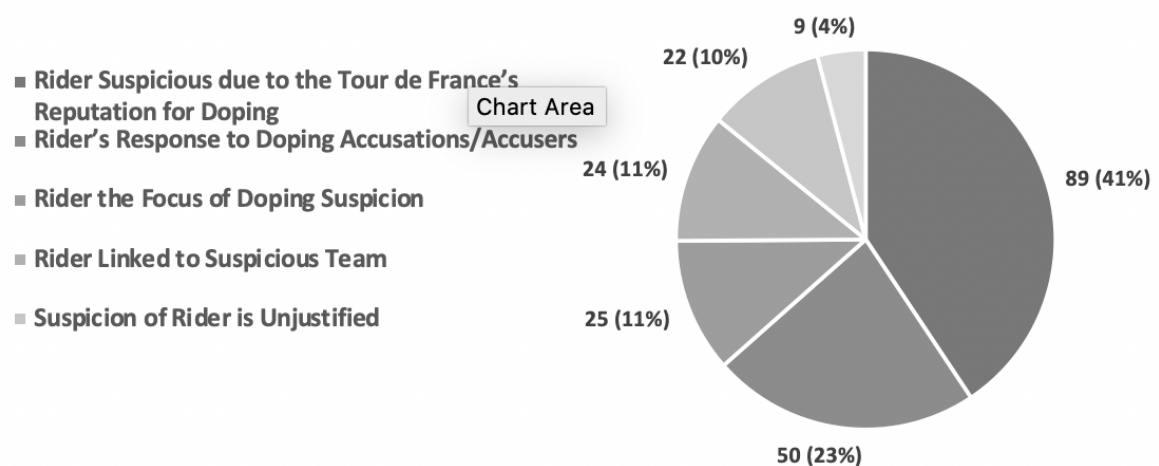
Unlike the coverage of Armstrong, the frame density per article for Chris Froome in *The Times* coverage was relatively consistent across articles, with all articles ranging between 3% - 34% - a lower interquartile range than the Armstrong corpora. This range indicates some fluctuations in frame density between articles, as would be expected, however none stand out as indicative of a dedicated discussion of doping, as featured in the Armstrong corpora. There is very little data for frame density of Froome in *The New York Times* corpus, as could be expected following the frame count and frame density by corpus analysis. This shows that *The Times* coverage of Chris Froome per article featured less discussion of doping than the coverage of Armstrong, and that neither publication dedicated an article to doping discussion of Froome, as was the case in the Armstrong corpora.

5.3.5 Framing Motifs

As revealed by the preceding quantitative analysis of the framing data, the total number of rider/doping suspicion frames of Chris Froome in both *The Times* and *The New York Times* corpora, is significantly less than for Lance Armstrong in either publication. However, in analyzing the frame sub-categories in each corpus, common themes in the framing of the riders emerged, which are presented and referred to as five distinct framing motifs. These motifs are presented in the below pie graph (Figure 16), showing the distribution of the combined frames across the corpora by framing motif, with a sixth category ‘novel frames’ referring to frames that were not included in a motif.

Figure 16.

Pie Chart Showing Total Rider/Doping Suspicion Frames per Framing Motif (and Including Novel Frames) Combined Across Four Corpora



As explained, framing motifs were identified by corpus, then compared between the corpora noting similarities and differences in the framing of rider/doping suspicion. The following tables (Tables 12 – 17) present each motif in each of the relevant corpora, offering comparative insights for *how* the riders were framed in the news coverage. Though motifs were assessed in each corpus in isolation, the significant similarities in framing motifs across the corpora, allowed for the data for all four corpora to be compared in tables motif by motif.

The only exception was the Froome *The New York Times* corpus, which consisted of a total frame count of just two, distinct frames, that could not be considered a motif. However, as one of the frames in this corpus aligned closely with the framing motif ‘rider the focus of doping suspicion’

(Table 14) identified in two of the remaining other corpora, this frame has been recorded in this motif table for ease of comparison with the other corpora. The remaining frame for the Froome *The New York Times* corpus is noted as a 'novel frame' in Table 14.

5.3.5.1 Interpreting Framing Motif Tables 12 - 17

Tables 12 – 17 present each of the five framing motifs identified across the four corpora, many of which feature in more than one corpus. The frame sub-categories that comprise each motif are listed in rows, with their frequency and doping suspicion code in the columns by corpus. Frame sub-categories in each corpus that did not contribute to a framing motif are also recorded in Table 17, under the category 'Novel Frames'.

Some frame sub-categories appeared in more than one corpus - the frame sub-categories within each motif are ordered from those with the largest number of frames combined across the four corpora to those with the smallest number. For ease of comparison the exception to this order was in the case of frame sub-categories that occurred in both contextual orientations (thematic and episodic), in which case the sub-categories appear in order of the highest number of frames, with the frame of the same sub-category and alternate contextual orientation elevated to the next in order. Frame doping suspicion orientation is also included in the table as detailed in Table 11.

The last row of each motif shows the total number of frames for the motif as a percentage of the total number of frames for the corpus.

Tables 12 - 17 use several abbreviations in order to accommodate all the relevant data, the full text for which are referenced in Table 11 below.

Table 11.

Abbreviations Used in Tables 12 – 17 and Their Definitions

Abbreviation	Full Text
T/E	Thematic or Episodic
LA TT	Lance Armstrong, <i>The Times</i> Corpus
LA NYT	Lance Armstrong, <i>The New York Times</i> Corpus
CF TT	Chris Froome, <i>The Times</i> Corpus
CF NYT	Chris Froome, <i>The New York Times</i> , Corpus
Fq.	Frequency of frames
V/I/D	Frame doping suspicion code (Validating Suspicion/Impartial Reference/Dismissing Suspicion)

5.3.5.2 Framing Motif 1

Table 12.

Frame sub-categories for Framing Motif: ‘Rider Suspicious due to the Tour de France’s Reputation for Doping’, including total number of frames and coding (all corpora).

Motif: Rider Suspicious due to the <i>Tour de France</i>’s reputation for doping									
Frame Sub-Category	T/E	LA TT		LA NYT		CF TT		CF NYT	
		Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D
Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	T	10	I	27	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	E	5	I	3	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong the champion of a race that includes dopers	T	16	I	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong the champion of a race that includes dopers.	E	3	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Froome is the reigning champion of an event with a history of doping problems.	T	-	-	-	-	5	I	-	-
Armstrong the champion of a race suspected to include dopers.	E	4	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong suspicious for success in a race that includes dopers, and it is known not all of them are caught.	T	4	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong suspicious due to success in an event with doping problems.	E	3	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong the champion of a race that has historically been affected by doping.	T	2	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Froome the champion of an event with a history of doping problems	E	-	-	-	-	2	I	-	-
Froome suspicious because of doping scandals of the past, including Lance Armstrong.	T	-	-	-	-	2	V	-	-
Armstrong the champion of an event with possible doping problems.	T	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Froome a target for doping speculation as a <i>Tour</i> winner.	E	-	-	-	-	1	I	-	-
Motif as % of Total Frames per Corpus:		42.11%		40.26%		38.46%		0%	

The framing motif ‘Suspicious due to the *Tour de France*’s reputation for doping’ formed a significant portion of the overall framing in both Armstrong corpora (42.11% *The Times*, 40.26% *The New York Times*) and the Chris Froome *The Times* corpus (38.46%). This shows that doping suspicion due to the *Tour de France* as an event that has a history of doping scandals was a consistent framing narrative for both riders, and particularly Armstrong. Similarly, in these three corpora, frames in this motif are predominantly thematic, indicating the riders broadly inherited suspicion of doping in the frames as a consequence of success in the *Tour de France*.

However, there are also significant distinctions in the frame sub-categories between the Lance Armstrong corpora and the Froome *The Times* corpus – that both Armstrong and Froome are framed relative to the *Tour*’s history of doping problems, yet only in the Armstrong corpora (and indeed both Armstrong corpora) do frame sub-categories refer to contemporary doping problems in the *Tour*. This key difference appears subtly in the framing sub-categories, for example- Armstrong is referred to as ‘the champion of an event with doping problems’ while Froome is referred to as ‘the champion of an event with a history of doping problems’.

5.3.5.3 Framing Motif 2

Table 13.

Frame sub-categories for Framing Motif: ‘Rider’s Response to Doping Accusations/Accusers’, including total number of frames and coding (all corpora).

Motif: Rider’s response to doping accusations/accusers									
Frame Sub-Category	T/E	LA TT		LA NYT		CF TT		CF NYT	
		Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D
Armstrong is angry at those who accuse him or his advisors of doping.	E	-	-	5	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is determined to fight doping accusers.	E	1	I	3	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong believes allegations of doping are bad for cycling.	E	2	I	2	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is fighting doping accusers.	E	3	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is defensive in conversations concerning doping.	E	3	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is not concerned by doping allegations.	E	1	I	1	I	-	-	-	-
Froome is unconcerned by doping suspicion.	T	-	-	-	-	2	I	-	-

Armstrong defensive of media doping suspicion.	E	-	-	2	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong defensive of media doping suspicion.	T	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong proclaims himself the victim of unfair targeting in the French Media relating to doping.	E	2	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is defensive over doping accusations levelled at his advisor	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is defensive in the media regarding doping accusations.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is defensive of his relationship with Dr Ferrari as a cause for doping suspicion.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is defensive over doping accusations levelled at Dr Ferrari.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong fights doping allegations.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is fighting suspicion that he is doping.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is aggressive in denying claims of doping accusers.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is aggressive in his denial of doping connections.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is determined to legally refute those who accuse him of doping.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong discredits French Media for investigations based on doping suspicion.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong discredits Simeoni for casting suspicion that he may be doping.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong claims to be the victim of unethical tactics by French Media based on doping suspicion.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Froome is defiant in the face of media suspicion of doping.	T	-	-	-	-	1	I	-	-
Froome is adept at avoiding the focus of media doping speculation regarding his team.	E	-	-	-	-	1	I	-	-
Armstrong offended by suspicion he is doping.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong believes he is suspected of doping because fans don't understand how hard he works.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong considers allegations he is doping to be baseless.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Doping allegations are an insignificant part of Armstrong's life.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-

Armstrong's efforts to defend doping allegations are irrational.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong denies allegations he is doping.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Motif as % of Total Frames per Corpus:		21.05%		28.57%		15.38%		0%	

The 'rider's response to doping suspicion' motif is the second largest (proportion of frames per corpus) motif in both the Armstrong corpora, and the third largest in the Froome *The Times* corpus. Across the three corpora with frames constituting this motif, all frames were coded *impartial reference*, showing that these frames acknowledged doping suspicion of the riders, without attempting to validate or dismiss doping suspicion.

Although there are subtle differences to many of the frame sub-categories between the two Armstrong corpora, the similarities in the frame sub-categories of Armstrong's responses to doping in *The Times* and *The New York Times* are striking. The frame sub-categories are unanimous in conveying Armstrong's denial of doping, with variations describing his denials as defensive and aggressive, while others refer to his objections as a 'fight' against allegations and accusers (13 frames in *The Times*, and 15 in *The New York Times*), with the remaining sub-categories expressing Armstrong's opinion on why he believes might be considered suspicious. Another consistency between *The Times* and *The New York Times* coverage of Armstrong, is that the majority of frames in both corpora are episodic, framing Armstrong in terms of doping suspicion in specific incidences or circumstances, in this case, where he is responding to doping suspicion.

Consistent with the motif, relevant frames identified in the Froome *The Times* corpus refer to Froome's response to doping suspicion. However, unlike Armstrong - who is repeatedly framed as aggressive and fighting allegations in both corpora- Froome is described twice in one frame sub-category as unconcerned by doping suspicion, with the remaining two frames in the Froome *The Times* corpus belonging to sub-categories describing him as defiant and adept at avoiding media doping suspicion. Also unlike the Armstrong frames, all but one of the frames in the Froome *The Times* corpus is thematic, framing Froome within a broader context of his response to doping suspicion, compared to the episodic framing in both Armstrong corpora. Thus, there is a contrast between the riders within this motif, both in the framing context and in the respective frames description of the riders.

5.3.5.4 Framing Motif 3

Table 14.

Frame sub-categories for Framing Motif: 'Rider the Focus of Doping Suspicion', including total number of frames and coding (all corpora).

Motif: Rider the Focus of Doping Suspicion									
Frame Sub-Category	T/E	LA TT		LA NYT		CF TT		CF NYT	
		Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D
Armstrong is suspicious because of his relationship with a doctor with suspected doping connections.	E	5	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is suspicious despite his denials and clean testing record.	E	-	-	3	V	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is a target for doping suspicion by French Media.	E	2	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not all cyclists who do not test positive are clean, including Armstrong.	T	-	-	1	V	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is suspicious as are all cyclists.	E	1	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is suspicious as are all elite athletes.	T	1	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is the target for doping suspicion by French Media and fans.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is the target of media interest in doping.	T	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Some fans suspect Armstrong is doping.	T	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong faces significant suspicion.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is accused of doping.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is suspicious due to his career trajectory.	E	1	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong suspicious because of his sudden rise to success.	E	-	-	1	V	-	-	-	-
Armstrong has been accused of doping due to his success.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is suspicious because he is winning against doped athletes with significant advantages.	E	1	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is suspicious due to stories of alleged doping.	E	1	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is suspicious but there is not enough evidence of doping.	E	-	-	1	V	-	-	-	-
Fans suspect Froome is doping	E	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	I
Motif as % of Total Frames per Corpus:		13.16%		11.69%		0%		50%	

The 'rider the focus of doping suspicion' motif is predominantly observed in the Armstrong corpora, comprising 13.16% and 11.69% of frames in each corpus respectively, and reveals striking similarities in the framing of Armstrong in *The Times* and *The New York Times*.

The motif includes frame sub-categories (and their relevant frames) that directly frame Armstrong as suspicious of doping, either by acknowledging the presence of doping suspicion surrounding Armstrong (indicated by frames in the motif coded *impartial reference*) or by reinforcing causes for suspicion of Armstrong (indicated by frames coded *validating suspicion*). For both Armstrong corpora, this motif records the highest number of *validating suspicion* frames, with slightly more outright frames of this code in the Armstrong *The Times* corpus.

The cause of suspicion of Armstrong indicated by the frame sub-categories coded *validating suspicion* varied between the two publications, with *The Times* recording sub-categories that referred to suspicion of Armstrong's relationship with a doctor with doping connections, cynicism towards athletes and cyclists generally, and anecdotal cases of doping; while frame sub-categories in *The New York Times* claimed Armstrong could not be pardoned from suspicion by his clean anti-doping record. However, both publications included frame sub-categories that claimed Armstrong to be suspicious due to the course of his career (trajectory or sudden rise to success), therefore notable as a consensus in the framing of Armstrong in this motif in both publications.

In the Armstrong coverage, frame sub-categories from both publications in this motif refer to suspicion of Armstrong in the French media, a notable reference to doping suspicion of Armstrong reported by media sources beyond that analyzed in this research. This framing motif is also significant as it includes one of only two frames from the Froome *The New York Times* corpus, framing Froome as suspected of doping among fans. Given the small amount of data from the Froome *The New York Times* corpus as a whole, this frame is also notable as an acknowledgement of doping suspicion surrounding Froome at the time.

Furthermore, while this frame sub-category from the Froome *The New York Times* corpus comprises only one frame, it is notable that *The Times* coverage of Froome does not include references to fan suspicion of Froome- a distinction between the Froome corpora. However, a similar reference to fan suspicion is also made in this motif indicated by a single frame in the Armstrong *The Times* corpus, of the sub-category 'some fans suspect Armstrong is doping'. Much like the Froome *The New York*

Times frame, this sub-category represents a single frame not shared in the other respective publications coverage of the rider.

5.3.5.5 Framing Motif 4

Table 15.

Frame sub-categories for Framing Motif: ‘Rider Linked to Suspicious Team’, including total number of frames and coding (all corpora).

Motif: Rider Linked to Suspicious Team									
Frame Sub-Category	T/E	LA TT		LA NYT		CF TT		CF NYT	
		Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D
Froome is suspicious as a member of <i>Team Sky</i> .	T	-	-	-	-	8	V	-	-
Froome is suspicious as a member of <i>Team Sky</i> .	E	-	-	-	-	4	V	-	-
Armstrong’s team is connected to doping.	E	4	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong’s team is connected to a doping investigation.	E	3	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suspicion of Armstrong’s team is unfair.	E	2	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong’s team is connected to a doping investigation.	T	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong’s team is connected to contentious doping allegations.	E	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong’s teammate is unfairly pursued by <i>Tour</i> organizers relating to doping.	E	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Motif as % of Total Frames per Corpus:		10.53%		0%		46.1%		0%	

The ‘rider linked to suspicious team’ is a significant motif in the Froome *The Times* corpus comprising 46.1% of total frames in the corpus. The motif is also observed in the Armstrong *The Times* corpus comprising 10.53% of frames, and thus notably absent from *The New York Times* coverage of Armstrong.

The frame sub-categories in the Armstrong *The Times* corpus appear to frame suspicion of Armstrong connected to his team either by simply acknowledging that Armstrong’s team is suspicious or that the team is connected to a doping investigation (frames coded impartial reference). The remaining frames in this motif for the Armstrong *The Times* corpus are coded

dismissing suspicion, all of which deem the investigation of Armstrong's team to be unfair or contentious.

Consistent with the genre of this motif, the Froome *The Times* frame sub-categories that comprise this motif consider Froome to be suspicious because of his team- *Team Sky*. This is a subtle, yet distinct difference to the framing of Armstrong, whereby Froome himself is suspicious because of his team, while Armstrong is connected to a suspicious team. Thus, Froome is framed directly as suspicious in these frames because of his team, while suspicion of Armstrong is secondary to suspicion surrounding his team.

Finally, while *The Times* frames in this motif for Armstrong are coded *dismissing suspicion* or *impartial reference*, the respective frames for Froome in *The Times* corpus are all coded *validating suspicion* and constitute all frames in this code for Froome across both corpora. This shows that suspicion of Froome due to his association with *Team Sky* was the only cause for suspicion of Froome (in either corpus) that was framed in the news coverage persuasively towards perpetuating suspicion of Froome.

5.3.5.6 Framing Motif 5

Table 16.

Frame sub-categories for Framing Motif: 'Suspicion of Rider is Unjustified', including total number of frames and coding (all corpora).

Motif: Suspicion of Rider is Unjustified									
Frame Sub-Category	T/E	LA TT		LA NYT		CF TT		CF NYT	
		Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D
Armstrong is a victim of irrational suspicion.	E	-	-	7	D	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is unfairly suspected.	E	3	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong the victim of the French Media's obsession with doping suspicion.	E	-	-	2	D	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is a great champion pursued by doping allegations.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong should not be considered suspicious due to his anti-doping test record.	E	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
It is possible for Armstrong to win clean.	E	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-

Armstrong has a case with his denials as he has never failed a drug test.	E	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong's clean test record negates any allegations of doping.	E	-	-	1	D	-	-	-	-
Armstrong a victim of malicious doping allegations.	E	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong the target of unjustified suspicion.	E	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is unfairly targeted by The French Media over doping suspicion, given the scale of doping in the <i>Tour de France</i> .	E	-	-	1	D	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is not suspicious as Simeoni is an unreliable critic.	T	-	-	1	D	-	-	-	-
Armstrong's aggression towards doping accusers is probably the trait of a champion and not suspiciously irrational.	E	-	-	1	D	-	-	-	-
Motif as % of Total Frames per Corpus:		7.89%		16.88%		0%		0%	

The framing motif 'suspicion of rider is unjustified' is most prominent in the Lance Armstrong *The New York Times* corpus (16.88%), with marginal presence in the Armstrong *The Times* corpus, and absent from both Froome corpora.

The motif is significant in featuring the highest number of frames coded *dismissing suspicion* in both the Armstrong corpora, with all but one frame sub-category (and frame) coded differently (*impartial reference*). Across the motif, the frame sub-categories coded *dismissing suspicion* either frame suspicion of Armstrong as unfair (or Armstrong himself as a victim of suspicion), or by various means by which to excuse him of doping suspicion- including Armstrong's anti-doping test record, which features in frames from both corpora.

As their doping suspicion orientation coding indicates, these frames communicate a motive to excuse or diminish suspicion of Armstrong, though in doing so also acknowledge suspicion by various sources including the French media, other riders (Simeoni).

5.3.5.7 Novel Frames

Table 17.

*Frame sub-categories considered **Novel Frames**, including total number of frames and coding (all corpora)*

Novel Frames									
Frame Sub-Category	T/E	LA TT		LA NYT		CF TT		CF NYT	
		Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D	Fq.	V/I/D
Armstrong is lying about being a clean athlete.	E	1	V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is not reprimandable due to media suspicion.	T	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is unaffected by the stress of doping allegations.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is protected from doping suspicion due to his emotional connection with the public.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is succeeding despite the stress of doping allegations.	E	1	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armstrong is competing in a <i>Tour</i> with high anti-doping standards	T	1	D	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suspicion of doping should not prevent celebration of Armstrong's achievements.	E	-	-	1	D	-	-	-	-
Armstrong and his fellow cyclists need to publicly support anti-doping.	E	-	-	1	I	-	-	-	-
Race media avoid promoting suspicion Froome is doping.	E	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	I
Novel Frames as % of Total Frames per Corpus:		5.26%		2.60%		0%		50%	

Table 17 displays the frame sub-categories in each of the four corpora that did not align with, or constitute a framing motif. These novel frames comprise very small proportions of the total number of frames in both of the Armstrong corpora (5.26% for *The Times*, and 2.60% for *The New York Times*), no frames from the Froome *The Times* corpus, and 50% of frames from the Froome *The New York Times* corpus- one of a total of just two rider/doping suspicion frames.

Notable among the novel frame sub-categories in the Armstrong *The Times* corpus is a single frame that defends Armstrong's innocence in referring to the year's *Tour de France* as having high anti-doping standards. That this frame only appears once in the coverage among a considerable number of suspicion frames involving Armstrong, signals a lack of framing involving anti-doping efforts in the corpus generally, beyond references to Armstrong's clean anti-doping test record.

There are just two novel frame sub-categories in the Armstrong *The New York Times* corpus, calling for Armstrong and other cyclists to support anti-doping, and stating that doping suspicion should not

diminish celebration of Armstrong's achievement. Both of these frames are unique to *The New York Times* coverage of Armstrong, with the latter frame indicating support for Armstrong's achievements.

The remaining frame sub-category (and frame) from *The New York Times* Froome corpus, is included as a 'novel frame', and is unique across the corpora in describing the race media as avoiding promoting suspicion Froome is doping. This frame therefore both acknowledges the existence of suspicion of Froome, and suggests that race media avoided advertising suspicion of Froome to the race audience. This frame is thus significant as the only frame across all four corpora that framed the rider (Froome) in terms of media coverage reluctant to convey doping suspicion.

Beyond the frames themselves, the relative absence of frames in *The New York Times* corpus is an important finding in itself. Cause for this absence is a topic of speculation in the following discussion chapter, referring to frame count, frame coding data, news content observations and existing literature as evidence of the possibility that national bias by the news publications impacted rider/doping framing.

5.4 Summary

The research findings reveal inconsistencies in the framing between Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome in the news media publications, whereby Froome is framed relative to doping suspicion considerably less often and in lesser density in both publications, than Armstrong. Furthermore, the frame coding and framing motif findings revealed both similarities and distinct differences in the frames linking the riders to doping suspicion, both between the riders and the news publications selected for analysis. These findings inform the discussion in the following chapter, combining the findings with media and communication studies literature and relevant historical literature to speculate on possible influences on the framing of the riders relative to doping suspicion, explaining the similarities and disparities in framing between the riders, indicative of the news media's approach to doping suspicion of *Tour de France* champions amid the mediatized spectacle of the *Tour de France*.

6. Discussion of Research Findings

As Chapter Five revealed, the research findings present considerably less framing of rider/doping suspicion of Chris Froome during the 2017 *Tour de France*, compared to Lance Armstrong during the 2004 *Tour de France*. This discrepancy occurs despite considerable similarities between the two riders: both are established champions of the *Tour de France* aiming to defend their titles, the fourth for Froome and the sixth for Armstrong. Both have also been the focus of doping suspicion external to *The Tour*, Froome through recently leaked TUE records and an ongoing UKAD investigation into his team (*Team Sky*), and Armstrong in the release of the book *L.A. Confidential* written by journalists David Walsh and Pierre Ballester, detailing witness testimony to Armstrong's doping. Critically, neither of these causes for suspicion had resulted in a doping sanction for either rider, and so each provide a backdrop of doping suspicion to the *Tour de France* event during the relative data periods.

Why then, despite having omnipresent cause for suspicion in both cases (and the revelations of the Armstrong scandal as a reminder of the *Tours'* struggle with doping) is Froome, by all measures (absolute and proportional to corpus), framed relative to doping suspicion *less* frequently than Armstrong? In interpreting the findings with the support of existing literature, the following factors are presented in this chapter as possible contributors to the relative differences in rider framing:

- Contrasting media relations strategies between the riders
- Relative newsworthiness and celebrity of the respective riders
- National bias of the publications analyzed
- Evidence of a desire by *Tour* organizers and news media to project a 'clean' *Tour de France*

The analysis in this chapter concludes that news media coverage of suspicion of doping in the *Tour de France* is influenced variably by intersecting combinations of media logics and processes relating to the different riders and their interactions with media, contributing both to coverage of suspicion of doping relating to the riders, and suppression of the issue in the news media coverage of the event.

6.1 Armstrong and Froome: Contrasting Media Relations Strategies

An important revelation in the news media framing of both riders that contributes to the disparity in rider/doping suspicion frame quantity and frequency between them, is the presence of the riders themselves in the frames, responding to doping allegations and doping suspicion ('riders' response to doping accusations/accusers' motif). These findings suggest that Froome and *Team Sky* employed an evasive media relations strategy.

Both riders were featured in frames in this motif (except *The New York Times* Chris Froome corpus), yet frames of Lance Armstrong comprise a higher proportion of the coverage in both corpora than for Froome in *The Times* corpus (21% and 29% to 15% respectively).

Closer analysis of the frames further indicates that Armstrong and Froome each took very different approaches to media enquiries regarding doping. Frame sub-categories in this motif from both Armstrong corpora frame Armstrong as reacting aggressively to doping suspicion, detailing angry, defensive and aggressive denials. The following text-fragment attributed to the episodic frame sub-category 'Armstrong is defensive over doping accusations levelled at his advisor' exemplifies Armstrong's defensive reaction to doping accusers, captured in *The Times* media coverage:

Armstrong, who has always maintained that Ferrari is innocent, called Simeoni an 'absolute liar' in an interview with *Le Monde* after the Italian rider testified that Ferrari had treated him with erythropoietin (EPO), the banned performance enhancer. (Whittle, 2004, July 14)

This text fragment thus describes that Armstrong presented to media (French newspaper *Le Monde*) to address allegations associating him doping, defiantly labelling the accuser a 'liar'. Furthermore, the considerable number of frame sub-categories from both publications describing Armstrong as defensive, angry, fighting suspicion or denying suspicion (frame sub-categories comprising 13 frames in *The Times* corpus, and 15 in *The New York Times*) further attest to Armstrong's confrontational approach to doping suspicion captured in the news media coverage.

Conversely, the comparatively fewer frames of Froome frame him as having largely avoided media confrontation over doping suspicion. Within the frames (there are 4 in total, all from *The Times* corpus), one such episodic text-fragment regards Froome as adept at avoiding doping suspicion related to the UKAD investigation of his team, and features a quote from Armstrong himself:

Armstrong noted that Froome had done a great job of distancing himself, admiring how the three-times *Tour* winner had handled himself on and off the bike. “He’s stayed away from the Wiggins controversy. He stayed away from the Brailsford controversy. He’s Teflon. I like it.” (Dickinson, 2017, July 22)

This text fragment is a notable inclusion in the coverage, testifying to both the presence of suspicion in the news media regarding *Team Sky* and Chris Froome (consistent with the UKAD investigation noted in United Kingdom Anti-Doping (2017)) and for Armstrong’s commendation of Froome’s approach (Kelner, 2018; Rice, 2017). Here Armstrong’s approval alludes to the stark contrast between Froome’s maneuvering away from the media and Armstrong’s forceful confrontations captured in the frames.

This contrast is reinforced in the remaining frames relating to the ‘rider’s responses to doping accusations/accusers’ motif, resulting in the considerably higher frequency of these frames in the Armstrong corpora, accounting for a portion of the disparity in total rider/doping suspicion frames in the coverage. Thus, the text-fragment examples and relative frame frequencies suggest that Armstrong invited news coverage through his responses to doping suspicion, while Froome successfully avoided media interactions.

The attention paid to Armstrong in these frames could also be (at least in part) attributed to his level of celebrity in the *Tour* (described by Dimeo (2014) and Tiger (2013)), subsequently earning him greater media attention and therefore a greater platform to mount his aggressive counter-narratives captured in the news media coverage- as Kellner’s (2003) theory of spectacle and celebrity attests, discussed further later in this chapter.

6.2 *Team Sky*: Controlling the News Media Narrative

Further to the discussion regarding the ‘rider’s response to doping accusations/accusers’ motif, text-fragments and additional evidence from the Froome *The Times* corpus suggest that Froome’s behavior is the result of a tactical approach to media interactions, with the frames observing a deliberate resistance to engaging with media enquiries, as the following text fragment describes:

But trying to ignore it does not mean it goes away. Froome, a more interesting guy than the public will have gleaned, has become more guarded in France. Even amid the glow of

victory, international media pushed him on his failure to do the traditional sit down on two rest days. “It’s called a rest day” he said, “Otherwise it would be called a media day.” It was a sharp response from a man who, as a rule, is painstakingly courteous. (Dickinson, 2017, July 24)

Beyond the relative lack of frames describing Froome’s response to doping compared to Armstrong, and evidence of media avoidance on Froome’s part indicated above; it is also notable that the article that featured this particular text fragment (and several others in *The Times* corpus) also discussed Froome within the wider context of *Team Sky* and in particular, the team’s General Manager Sir David Brailsford. While not captured in the framing data, Brailsford is described across several of *The Times* articles as refuting doping suspicion of the team, shielding riders from the press, and even banning a reporter from a press conference for “writing shit” (“Angry Brailsford Bans Reporter”) about the UKAD investigation into team staff and Sir Bradley Wiggins (Dickinson, 2017, July 18th). These observations taken together with the comparable lack of presence of Froome in the media regarding doping, indicates a public relations effort within *Team Sky* to managing interactions with news media journalists, in the interests of protecting the image of the team, and Froome as *Team Sky*’s most prominent rider.

These insights indicate two aspects of the role of news media relative to doping in *The Tour de France*: that news media can be harnessed by teams through public relations strategies to enhance the public image of the team, and that teams have the power to regulate journalists’ access and interactions with riders, affording them control of the news media dialogue. In the first instance, the news media coverage of Froome can be seen to reflect public interest in clean racing through the pursuit of doping suspicion, to be met (in Froome’s case) by a crafted team response that effectively diffused the enquiry. This appears to resonate with Kellner’s (2003) claim that athletes employ an entourage of spokespeople and public relations managers to craft their public image and navigate away from potentially damaging scandals. Furthermore, that *Team Sky* had the power to dismiss journalists who did not publish favorable content, infers a skewed balance of power between journalists and team management, aligning with Sherwood and Nicholson’s (2017) findings that the orchestration of sports news events such as press conferences, afford sports teams the power to influence news narratives by presiding over access to sources.

Furthermore, media and communication studies and journalism scholars refer to such co-dependency between journalists and public relations managers or spokespeople as significant

influences on news media narratives, with public relations controlling information shared with the press, while journalists uphold the power to exercise their own judgement in choosing which news narrative to publicize (Schudson, 2011; Zelizer, 2004). In this case, that *Team Sky* had the power to remove journalists based on news content, effectively trying to censor doping coverage; exemplifies athletes' and teams' considerable potential to influence news content through public relations strategies. Furthermore, the potential ramifications for journalism from such strategies include that journalists must comply with team questioning conditions in order to maintain access to news sources (a risk to journalistic integrity identified by Bradshaw (2018)), while team control of rider availability to the press significantly limits the opportunity for journalists investigating doping to establish personal relationships with riders as news sources, as is essential to effective journalism (Schudson, 2011; Sefiha, 2010; Zelizer, 2004).

History attests to the significance of riders as news sources in the doping dialogue; investigations of Armstrong were precipitated by the testimonies of teammates and staff reported in the news media, which ultimately formed the basis of the case against him (Dimeo, 2014). Furthermore, that these insights show control over media interactions with riders as strictly on team terms; suggests an appreciation of the threat journalists' pose to team public relations should journalists' relationships with riders as sources lead to revelations of doping. *Team Sky* and Chris Froome's strategic approach to media doping enquiries thus indicates the power of team public relations strategies to influence news media coverage towards the suppression of suspicion of rider doping.

6.3 Froome Rides for the Team, Armstrong Stands Alone

The most significant framing motif across the Chris Froome corpora belongs to *The Times* corpus (46.1% of frames), with frames in the 'rider linked to suspicious team' motif forming the bulk of *validating suspicion* frames in the corpus - the highest proportion of this code across the corpora. All of these frames perpetuate suspicion of Froome on the basis that he is connected to *Team Sky*, a team under investigation for doping, suggesting that the investigation of the team casts suspicion on Froome, due to his position in the team as the lead rider and defending champion.

However, frames of the same trend feature very differently in the Armstrong corpora. While *The New York Times* did not frame Armstrong at all in connection to his *U.S. Postal Service* team, *The Times* coverage refers to an Italian doping investigation involving Armstrong's teammate, which threatened to prevent the rider from participating in the *Tour*. While *The Times* records the

connection between Armstrong and the teammate, the frames do not refer to Armstrong himself as suspicious by association. Furthermore, these frames also detract from doping suspicion, claiming the investigation of Armstrong's teammate is unfair, or contentious. Thus, while Froome is framed as suspicious for his connections to a suspicious team, Armstrong is not.

These frames therefore indicate very different treatment of the two riders in the news media coverage. While Froome is (almost) as successful as Armstrong, the favorite to win and the defending champion, these frames draw him into team suspicion as a subordinate to team culture and management, in a manner that casts *Team Sky* as the feature, and not Froome himself. This superseding of *Team Sky* over Froome in the news media is also evident in the rider response frames previously discussed, where Froome is supplanted by team management, aiding his ability to avoid press enquiries relating to doping. The overall effect of this juxtaposition between *Team Sky* and its lead rider, is to diffuse suspicion of Froome across the team, detracting attention from Froome the individual, evidenced in the following quote:

This is a team who once seemed to have such an upbeat message to tell. On a rest day a coach would sit down for an hour to explain strategy, innovations or how they were cleaning up the sport. On the first day (rest day) this year, they did nothing. On the second in Ley Puy we had the perfunctory availability of Froome and Nicolas Portal, the sporting director, but it was far more notable for Brailsford swearing in the background. (Dickinson, 2017, July 22)

Unlike Froome, frames in the Armstrong corpora present Armstrong as a law unto himself, disassociated from the doping problems that beset his teammate:

A good day off the road for Armstrong, too, after International Cycling Union (UCI) derailed an attempt by the *Tour de France* organization to expel one of his teammates, Pavel Padrnos, a Czech, and another rider from the race, Stefan Zanini, because of their involvement in a doping trial later this year in Italy. (Whittle, 2004, July 17)

As this quote evidenced, Armstrong avoids suspicion that could amount from his association with a teammate under doping investigation, as was the case in a similar situation for Froome.

Furthermore, the framing data shows the U.S. Postal team barely features at all in the considerable number of rider/doping frames concerning Armstrong. Rather than suffer criticisms for team connections to doping, Armstrong is framed for suspicion relating to his autonomy over team staff

connections, notably his relationship with Dr. Michele Ferrari, a relationship he defends from doping suspicion in both corpora. Thus, while Froome is incorporated under team management, Armstrong stands alone in the frames, casting him as a significant individual warranting unique attention.

This contrast in the framing of Armstrong and Froome resonates with the work of Tiger (2013), whereby Armstrong's public appeal is described as transcending the sport of cycling, achieving a level of celebrity beyond that of other riders. In contrast Griggs and Groves (2016) note that Froome is underrated in the British press, sidelined by the reverence of knights Sir Bradley Wiggins and *Team Sky* General Manager Sir David Brailsford (Walsh, 2014). Thus, the supporting literature aligns with the findings in these frames that Armstrong commands greater attention as an individual in the news media, compared to Chris Froome.

6.3.1 Celebrity and Source Capture

How these differences in media profile between the riders affected the respective rider/doping suspicion framing is apparent in the 'riders response to doping accusations/accusers' motif previously discussed, whereby Froome evades attention via his team, while Armstrong's resistance takes precedence, inflating the presence of these frames in the news. The news media focus afforded to Armstrong in these frames, and those which juxtapose him as significant and distinguishable beyond his team, both speak to a discrepancy in news media attention between the two riders. However, the scale of Armstrong's media celebrity and public appeal should also be considered in relation to framing motifs across the corpora.

Scholars have commented on Armstrong's hold over the press, occupying the lead role in a hero narrative born out of his inspirational rise from cancer survivor to prodigious *Tour* champion (Dimeo, 2014; Price, 2004; Tiger, 2013). This media fascination with Armstrong has been established as a driver of news interest, whether it involves doping or not, as a key protagonist amid the mediatized spectacle of the race (Rowe, 2005). That so many of the frames of Armstrong analyzed in this research are coded *impartial reference* (unlike the Froome corpora), simply observing the connection between Armstrong and doping without persuading or dismissing suspicion; provides an insight into journalists' construction of the news, in which the question of whether or not Armstrong ought to be considered suspicious of doping appears to be an uncomfortable one. This suggests the possibility that the drive for journalists to pursue suspicion of Armstrong was vulnerable to 'source capture', surrendering to the scale of Armstrong's celebrity and role in the media spectacle, an

outcome supported by Bradshaw's (2018) research which revealed widespread source capture in cycling journalism. Furthermore, individual frames within both Armstrong corpora testify to the effects of Armstrong's profile on doping coverage, whereby *The Times* reported that Armstrong is protected from doping suspicion due to his relationship with the sporting public, while *The New York Times* suggests that suspicion of doping should not prevent celebration of Armstrong's achievements. Both of these frames indicate the dilemma of suspecting Armstrong, due to his preeminence in cycling and public appeal, suggesting a reluctance by journalists to tarnish the Armstrong legacy.

That these observations are unique to Armstrong suggest that his celebrity status combined with cycling success, make him more newsworthy than Froome, thus contributing to the higher overall frame and article counts evident in the findings. The relative quantities of news coverage of champion riders can thus be considered the result of more than just dominance in the *Tour de France*, but also the riders' ability to capture public interest, as described by Kellner (2003) in reference to Michael Jordan's skill as an endorser- escalating his celebrity beyond his athletic ability alone. Furthermore, that Bradshaw's (2018) work and frames in the Armstrong corpora support that rider celebrity can lead to source capture, limiting journalists' inclination to examine riders critically, denotes a barrier to the reporting of doping suspicion in the news. Whether source capture is a factor in Froome's case is unclear in the data, as it appears journalists struggled to engage with Froome, because of his (aforementioned) evasive media strategy. However, as evidenced by Armstrong's case, the factors of rider celebrity and journalist source capture can combine to provide a protection against critical news, reducing the reporting of doping suspicion to observational comments, rather than escalating doping suspicion narratives. These influences on news construction are therefore important considerations for future analyses of news media coverage of cycling champions, and indeed prominent athletes in general.

Furthermore, Kellner (2003) and Nicholson et al.'s (2015) claims that celebrity athletes are more vulnerable to scandal also resonates with the disparity in coverage between Armstrong and Froome, and Armstrong's celebrity as a contributing factor. A key finding of this research found that both *The Times* and *The New York Times* published an article dedicated to a discussion of doping suspicion surrounding Armstrong, with frame densities of 90% and 75% respectively. Taking Kellner (2003) and Nicholson et al.'s (2015) claims into account, that these articles are present for Armstrong and not for Froome, may suggest that Armstrong's celebrity increased news media interest in the potential scandal premised by doping suspicion, as a case of enticing cross-over between scandal and

spectacle. This theory may also explain why despite similar grounds for suspicion, Armstrong became the focus for articles discussing doping suspicion while Froome did not. Future research into athlete celebrity as a predictor of news coverage of doping suspicion could yet provide greater insight into the significance of celebrity profile in doping coverage, and the relative value of such coverage for news media publications.

6.4 Backing the Home Hero: National Discrepancies in the Coverage

Of significance to the above points of difference in coverage and newsworthiness between Armstrong and Froome, are the national allegiances of the two newspapers, evident in the number of articles and frames per rider per publication. *The Times* and *The New York Times* were partially chosen by this research to control for national biases, anticipating that *The Times* as a British paper may have taken a greater interest in Chris Froome, while *The New York Times* as a United States paper may likewise favor coverage of Armstrong. The data supports this assumption, indicated in the article totals per corpus, relative number of rider/doping frames, and balance of *validating suspicion* and *dismissing suspicion* codes between the corpora. *The New York Times* Froome corpus is the exception, with a lower relative percentage of rider/doping frames for Froome than Armstrong. However, this percentage split does not favor coverage of Froome, with the data recording a significant drop in the corpus of coverage of Chris Froome in the 2017 *Tour de France* altogether, whereby only 15 articles mentioned Froome at all, compared to 99 articles in the Armstrong corpus. The fluctuation in coverage between the riders in *The Times* corpora saw a difference of just 70 articles to 50 (in favor of Froome), further highlighting the notable lack of coverage of Froome in *The New York Times*.

National bias and Armstrong's previously discussed celebrity status combine to explain this imbalance, whereby coverage of Armstrong is amplified in *The New York Times* compared to Froome due to his status as an American hero (Tiger, 2013). These observations are supported by Schudson's (2011) description of US news media as 'deeply nationalist', and Tiger's (2016) observation that *The New York Times* was slow to condemn Armstrong following his confession in 2012; both pointing to a fondness for Armstrong in the paper. This is reflected by the respective corpus findings, with Armstrong showing the highest quantity of news articles overall, and lower relative number of articles including rider/doping frames compared to *The Times* corpus (17.17% to 42%). Furthermore, that Armstrong was able to transcend national interests to appear in similar presence in *The Times* and *The New York Times*, a feat not replicated by Froome, may also be a result of Christiansen's

(2005) claim that audiences in Europe and the United Kingdom had a greater historical interest in the *Tour de France* than those in the US.

These factors also contribute to an explanation for the heightened celebrity of Armstrong compared to Froome evident in the findings (along with Kellner's (2003) observations of sports celebrities), as Armstrong's ability to capture the attention of both the European cycling audience and the US audience, resulted in higher overall demand in the news. Doping aside, Froome did not enjoy the same attention in *The New York Times* during the 2017 *Tour de France*, which may indicate the strength of allegiance of the US audience to Armstrong and subsequent interest in the *Tour*. The juxtaposition of these findings with Christiansen's (2005) claim that the US media took little interest in the European cycling circuit before Lance Armstrong, adds plausibility to the suggestion in these findings that US news media interest came and went with Armstrong, evidenced by *The New York Times* relative lack of coverage of Chris Froome the 2017 *Tour de France*.

It is relevant to note that this research only included articles that referenced Chris Froome in the *Tour de France*, and so stops short of drawing conclusions on *The New York Times* coverage of the 2017 *Tour de France* in general. However, given that Froome is the defending champion and favorite to win, it would seem unlikely that a significant portion of race coverage would exist outside the Froome corpus. Therefore, further research into the effects of the Armstrong scandal on *Tour de France* coverage in the news media is required to corroborate the suggestion in these findings that the *Tour de France* suffered significant losses to its US news audience in the aftermath of the Armstrong scandal.

An additional observation in the framing findings that suggests national biases influence news coverage of suspicion of rider doping in the *Tour*, are frames in both Armstrong corpora that specifically reference the French media as purveyors of doping suspicion. In *The Times* corpus, Armstrong is presented as the target of doping suspicion in the French media (coded *impartial reference*) while *The New York Times* steers the narrative away from Armstrong describing him as a victim of French media obsession with doping (coded *dismissing suspicion*). These frames reveal two nationalist aspects in the coverage of Armstrong: that *The New York Times* sought to defend Armstrong where *The Times* did not, and that both observe suspicion on behalf of the French media, a third nationality with a vested interest in the winner of the *Tour de France* (Price, 2004). It was after all, French law and French fans who demanded a stop to doping in the 1960s, with these

frames in the Armstrong corpora testifying to a continued interest in doping in the French news media (Bahkre & Yesalis, 2002; Johnson, 2016).

That these frames are not identified in the Froome corpus may suggest less doping suspicion of Froome in the French media. However, observations of the articles analyzed noted tensions between Froome and French fans, corroborated by Rice (2017) who suggests the French media and fans suspected Froome of doping in 2017 (Dickinson, 2017, July 24). Further research into the framing of Froome in the French media is required to establish whether this is the case.

This research had set out to include French newspaper *Le Monde* as a third publication, but unfortunately had to abandon the enquiry due to database limitations and concerns over authenticity associated with necessary language translations. This therefore remains an important avenue of enquiry for future research into news media coverage of doping in the *Tour de France*, particularly relevant given the national biases influencing the news. The French media perspective would be a valued addition to this research as a view of the society of the race founders and hosts, the national culture embedded in the event, its doping problem, and the involvement of the news media.

6.5 The *Tour* is Reformed, Doping Problems are in the Past

The extensive history of doping in the *Tour de France* and professional cycling is undisputed, (chronicled in detail in the Chapter Two) and notably features in the framing of both Armstrong and Froome (in all but *The New York Times* Froome corpus). Both riders are framed as the champion of a sport or race with a history of doping problems, with frames in three corpora describing an inheritance of doping suspicion by *Tour de France* champions, due to their success in an event known to have a history of doping.

In the case of Chris Froome, references to cycling's doping history include that Lance Armstrong turned out to be doping, drawing a direct comparison between the two riders as recent multiple *Tour* champions; a correlation also observed by Rice (2017). Frames which express these sentiments were grouped into the motif 'suspicious due to the *Tour de France's* reputation for doping', illuminating an important distinction between the two riders: that Armstrong is framed in terms of past and present doping, while Froome is only framed in terms of historical doping— indicating doping is not a present problem.

These frames that consider doping to be an issue of the past are seemingly at odds with other frames in the corpus that suspect Froome of doping, and evidence in the supporting literature of ongoing doping investigations leading into the 2017 *Tour de France* (Cycling News, 2018). Furthermore, Armstrong is repeatedly framed in both corpora as having a clean test record, while anti-doping does not feature in frames of either Froome corpus; suggesting an awareness that a clean anti-doping record does not equate to an innocent rider. Therefore, rather than a reflection of confidence in the *Tour's* control of doping, the omission of rider doping suspicion related to current doping in the *Tour de France* in *The Times* Froome frames, may suggest such sentiments were deliberately suppressed .

The motivation for *The Times* to suppress coverage of doping problems relating to the 2017 *Tour de France* can be attributed to the above discussions of source access and national bias. Indeed, both of these factors have been identified in this research as contributors to reluctance to report on rider doping suspicion in the Froome corpora. However, it is also important to consider the ramifications of these specific frames for the *Tour de France* event, and the news media's interests in maintaining event credibility and spectacle. Afterall, these frames do not just reference suspicion of the riders, but also implicate the *Tour* itself, referencing the event's lack of control over doping in the past and in Armstrong's case, the present.

Dimeo (2014) and Kellner (2003) attest that ongoing media coverage of doping risks undermining the mediatized spectacle of the event. Therefore, in considering the relatively recent controversy of the Armstrong scandal, and the *Tour's* subsequent denouncement of Armstrong and the era of doping he presided, it is logical to inference that both media covering the *Tour* and *Tour de France* organizers, were motivated to project a 'clean' (drug-free) image of the event in 2017 (Kellner, 2003; Nicholson & Sherwood, 2015; Tiger, 2013).

Interestingly, the only two frames in the Froome *The New York Times* corpus acknowledge both suspicion of Froome, and a desire within the race media (broadcast coverage of the race) to avoid projecting doping suspicion:

They planned to wear costumes- Marge Simpson, a pig, a dalmatian, and a cockroach, among others- when they ran alongside the riders on Sunday to improve their chances of getting on television. This was the ultimate goal. When a race official suggested that the

image of a syringe they had painted near their campsite, with Chris Froome's name written next to it, would hurt their chances of getting on camera, they quickly splashed it with a layer of white paint. (Keh, 2017, July 18).

This quote includes both frames from *The New York Times* Froome corpus, one of which displays an irreverence to suspicion that Froome could be doping, casually referencing suspicion of Froome among fans within an article dedicated to fan culture on the *Tour de France* route. This seeming lack of interest in suspicion Froome may be doping is consistent with the lack of coverage of Froome in the corpus. However, the other frame observes that *Tour de France* officials discouraged projections of doping suspicion related to Froome, and that such suspicions would be avoided by the race television broadcast. This frame thus belies the determination of the race organization and media covering the race to project a clean image, censoring fan expressions of suspicion in the race media, and expunging doping from the event media narrative. Unfortunately, this frame is not expanded on in *The New York Times* coverage, but rather it presents as a one-time reference to doping as a part of *Tour de France* culture, and a perception the *Tour de France* representatives are trying to break.

These frames in *The Times* and *The New York Times* reinforce that the *Tour de France* organization and media covering the race sought to project a clean image in 2017, and that *The Times* upheld this image in its coverage of Chris Froome. The preceding discussion of the *Tour de France* as a mediatized, commercial sporting spectacle (Chapter Three) canvassed the various possible motivations for news media publications to promote a clean image of the *Tour de France*, even at the expense of Richardson's (2007) testament to the role of the news media as an aid to public understanding of the world, and journalism ethics valuing factual accuracy and authenticity (Zelizer, 2004). Central to this discussion is the significant involvement of media in both the coverage and constitution of the *Tour*, thriving off the spectacle of the race, with ever-increasing commercialization of both media and the event, building economic incentives to maintain the spectacle- regardless of the consequences for athlete doping (Schneider, 2006; Van Reeth, 2013). Moller and Genz's (2014) claim that less spectacular sports events can suffer in a commercial media landscape that favors seductive spectacles, further suggests that coverage of doping suspicion- as a spectacle detraction- is not in the best interests of commercial news media logics, and subsequently sidelined in the news coverage. Thus, in this instance, the *Tour de France* appears to be a news story second, with priority in the news media coverage given to the opportunity to build media audiences and attract advertisers, through the sale of media spectacle.

Furthermore, Horky and Stelzner (2016) and Nicholson et al. (2015) make it clear that doping scandals are damaging to sports organizations, whereby negative attention in the news media can force organizations to reform and amend the scandalous transgression. For the *Tour de France*, doping has long been a negative news story, with the 2012 Armstrong revelations providing the latest in a long line of damaging doping scandals (Dimeo, 2014; Lentillon-Kaestner, 2011). It is unsurprising that the *Tour de France* organizers would wish to project a clean image, steering audiences away from doping queries towards renewed enthusiasm for the event spectacle. Add to this motive Schudson's (2011) claim that news media publications must balance coverage of scandal, lest too much emphasis on negative and salacious news stories affect their credibility with the news audience; and it is therefore plausible that news media publications were deterred from emphasizing doping suspicion in 2017, in the interest of maintaining the credibility of the *Tour de France* event as a lucrative source of media spectacle, aligning with the *Tour de France* sports organization's public relations strategy (De Bruijn, et al., 2016; Johnson, 2016).

While dedicated media analyses are not available for every year of the *Tour de France*, the historical scholarship is clear that while doping is omnipresent in *Tour de France* history, the chronology is punctuated by periods of scandal and relative calm, since the ban on doping in the 1960s (Christiansen, 2005; Dimeo, 2014; Johnson, 2016). It does not appear that media coverage of the *Tour de France* jumps from one scandal to the next, with scholars grouping periods of doping together over several years, bookended by scandals in the media (Bahkre & Yesalis, 2002; Christiansen, 2005; Dimeo, 2014). This observation of periodicity in doping scandals in *Tour* history requires the support of future media analyses to validate, however this research suggests that by suppressing doping coverage in the aftermath of doping scandals, the news media can act in support of the *Tour's* redemption strategies by upholding societal values of anti-doping. This could yet explain how the *Tour* has endured despite constant, ongoing doping struggles.

It is also pertinent to discuss the findings relative to scholars who have claimed that the success of anti-doping following the Lance Armstrong era (2005 onwards) has resulted in a reduction in news media coverage of doping in the *Tour de France* (Christiansen, 2005; Dimeo, 2014). Dimeo (2014) points out that anti-doping has matured since WADA was founded in 1999, with more sophisticated testing controls discouraging riders from doping. While this research makes no attempt to discredit claims that anti-doping has reduced doping in cycling, it is clear that doping continued in the *Tour de France* during the Froome data period. Furthermore, the research findings show a lack of discussion of anti-doping in the Froome corpora, and no evidence to suggest anti-doping featured in the news

media as a reassurance that doping in the *Tour* was under control. Therefore, while it is not disputed that anti-doping had evolved between 2004 and 2017, the findings of this research show that the improvements in anti-doping alone do not provide a convincing argument for the discrepancies in framing of doping suspicion in the news media coverage of Chris Froome compared to Lance Armstrong.

6.6 Summary

It is clear that the following factors, consistent with existing media and communication studies literature and theory, are implicated in the framing of the respective riders and as possible influences on media coverage and content:

- Contrasting media relations strategies between the riders
- Relative newsworthiness and celebrity of the respective riders
- National bias of the publications analyzed
- Evidence of a desire by *Tour* organizers and news media to project a 'clean' *Tour de France*

As an analysis of media content, this research can only speculate on the influences on framing of rider/doping suspicion, with additional research required to further understand and validate the influences on news media content that resulted in the findings: that Chris Froome was not framed as suspicious of doping to the extent that Lance Armstrong was framed.

The following, final chapter of this thesis summarizes the findings and informed speculation laid out in this chapter, to conclude that the news media content analyzed in this research is inconsistent in its coverage of suspicion of doping relative to the respective riders, and variably influenced by media processes and logics in both the extent and manner of framing. Thus, the research suggests that news media are conflicted in their scope to confront possible doping as a social issue, whereby doping suspicion is both sought and exposed, and deliberately suppressed. Finally, this chapter also reviews limitations and caveats of this research and exposes opportunities for future enquiries.

7. Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the research questions and findings into a coherent case exposing the inconsistencies in the news media publications' approaches to doping suspicion of the two riders, and the possible contributing influences on these inconsistencies as evidenced by the findings and explored in the discussion. The research thus concludes that news media coverage of doping in the *Tour de France* is variable, and can be linked to contending motivations behind the news media coverage- to maintain news values and sport purity, versus media investment in the *Tour de France* as a mediatized sporting spectacle built on, and threatened by doping.

This chapter also discusses the following limitations of this research:

- The findings as a representation of news coverage
- Technological variation between data periods
- The findings application to other forms of doping dialogue and counter-narratives to mainstream news.

This chapter also calls for future research into the media political economy of the *Tour de France* to identify influences on media coverage of doping suspicion, and suggests future analysis of athlete celebrity as a contributing influence on media coverage of doping suspicion and doping scandals.

7.1 Research Summary

Through the application of framing analysis focused on suspicion of doping relating to Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome in the coverage of the *Tour de France* by two mainstream, Western commercial newspapers, this research has revealed both similarities and inconsistencies in the publications' approaches to doping suspicion between the two riders. The findings show that news media framing of rider/doping suspicion in coverage of the *Tour de France* both confronts the possibility that riders may be doping, while also obscuring such suspicion- particularly in the framing of Chris Froome- despite both riders sharing relative causes for suspicion, and sporting status as multi-champions of the *Tour de France*. These findings thus show that news media publications do not always uphold values of objectivity and sporting purity in the coverage of doping suspicion, a concern for the credibility of news media coverage of doping, and for audience awareness of the realities of doping in the *Tour de France*.

In response to the research questions- *how* were the riders framed and how did the news media framing between them *compare*- the quantitative and qualitative findings illustrate clear differences between the riders, both in terms of frame frequency and overall volume, and the manner in which they are framed in the news media coverage. By every quantitative measure- overall frame count, frames per article, and frame density (per corpus and per article)- framing of Armstrong in 2004 exceeded that of Froome in 2017- indicating that he was framed relative to doping suspicion more often, and in a greater proportion of the news coverage than Froome.

However, a consistency in the doping suspicion orientation frame coding- that both riders were framed predominantly in frames coded *impartial reference*, neither purporting or dismissing doping suspicion- appears indicative of a reluctance by the news media publications to extrapolate on doping suspicion, limiting investigation and discussion to simple acknowledgement. While this coding indicates that suspicion of doping was predominantly mentioned without motive to encourage or detract, it is also clear that suspicion of Armstrong was discussed thoroughly, with both *The Times* and *The New York Times* featuring an individual article with a high density of framing (90% and 75% respectively) indicative of a dedicated discussion of doping suspicion. That this is not the case in the Froome corpora, further reveals that doping suspicion of Armstrong was more salient in the news coverage compared to suspicion of Froome.

Qualitative analysis of the frames and framing motifs per corpora further revealed key differences between the riders, indicative of varying approaches to doping suspicion by the news media publications and differing responses by the riders themselves. In aligning these findings with media and communication studies theories of mediatization of sport, media logics and processes, commercialization and media spectacle; possible influences on framing in the news content have been suggested to account for the disparity in framing between the riders, as indicated through the comparison of framing motifs.

Analysis of the framing trend 'riders response' revealed frames describing persistent, aggressive denials by Armstrong, and an evasive approach to media doping enquiries by Froome supported by a team public relations strategy. The frequency of these frames in both Armstrong corpora, coupled with an evasive approach by Froome captured in the frames, go some way to accounting for the overall discrepancies in framing between the riders. Froome and *Team Sky's* actions appear to align with Sherwood and Nicholson's (2017) theory that public relations play a significant role in

mitigating journalists' access to athletes and sources, giving athletes and teams control of the media narrative, aiding them to guard against media scandals such as doping scandals (Kellner, 2003).

Furthermore, the frequency in which Armstrong is framed, and the media platform he appears to have been afforded to mount his doping denials, suggests that Armstrong is a particularly newsworthy presence amid the *Tour de France* coverage, aligning with Dimeo's (2014) and Tiger's (2013) testimony to his significant, broad celebrity within and beyond the sport of cycling.

Armstrong's celebrity and newsworthiness are also indicated in the framing motif analysis whereby Froome is linked to team doping, while Armstrong is unaffected by team doping suspicion and represented as a figure aside from his team.

These differences in the framing appear to reinforce Armstrong's celebrity compared to Froome. Comparatively, Armstrong appears to be a target for news media interest, raising the possibility that journalists may be prone to source capture manifested in a preoccupied interest in Armstrong amid the *Tour de France* coverage (a factor indicated by Bradshaw, 2018), accounting for the increased interest, and reflected in the frames and overall volume of coverage. Furthermore, Kellner (2003) and Nicholson et al.'s (2015) claims that athletes of greater celebrity are more prone to scandal, also offers a possible explanation for the higher volume and frequency of doping frames for Armstrong compared to Froome, suggesting Armstrong may have been a greater target for doping suspicion due to his celebrity status.

Armstrong's considerable celebrity is also evidenced in his apparent cross-over appeal in the UK and USA news media as evidenced by both *The Times* and *The New York Times* coverage. While Armstrong features prominently in both publications, Froome is significantly under-represented by comparison in *The New York Times*, suggesting little USA media interest in Froome, and the *Tour de France* in general. Armstrong's appeal is supported by Christiansen's (2005) testimony to an increased interest in the *Tour de France* in the USA as a result of Armstrong's success, which these findings suggest dwindled after his retirement, and subsequent doping scandal.

However, Froome is a prominent feature in *The Times* coverage, as his previous successes in the *Tour* and position as defending champion would appear to warrant. The implication here, in addition to Armstrong's greater celebrity, is that the relative coverage of the riders in each publication was influenced by national bias. This possibility is further reinforced in the doping suspicion orientation coding results, showing that *The Times* newspaper had a higher incidence of *validating suspicion*

frames of Armstrong, compared to *The New York Times* newspaper which featured a higher incidence of frames *dismissing suspicion* against him. Due to the lack of coverage of Froome in *The New York Times*, this trend cannot be observed, although the lack of coverage in itself testifies to imbalance influenced by nationalism, whereby publications favored the riders from their own nation- a possibility accepted at the outset of this research.

Finally, the comparison of framing motifs between the two riders also revealed that both were considerably framed for their success in the *Tour de France*, as an event that has a history of doping problems. This represents an important consistency between the riders indicative of the news media approach to doping in the *Tour*- that news media acknowledges the history of doping that has haunted the event. However, that Armstrong alone is framed in terms of present doping issues is a key difference. While the media framing of Armstrong suggests doping is an ongoing issue in the *Tour*, an absence of references to doping in the present in the framing of Froome, suggests the issue is in the past and that the *Tour* is reformed. These frames are significant in their suggestion that doping is no longer a problem in the *Tour de France*, apparently ignoring the ongoing investigation into *Team Sky*. Furthermore, the scant coverage of Froome in *The New York Times* revealed a desire by *Tour* organizers and media covering the race to censor expressions of fan suspicion of Froome, indicating a reluctance to address the possibility that Froome is suspicious of doping, and steering the media attention away from a possible doping scandal. Furthermore, that this narrative is upheld in these frames in *The Times* coverage of Froome, presents a complicity in the newspaper to adhere to this 'clean' image of the *Tour*.

This particular discrepancy in the framing of Armstrong and Froome may reflect the overriding influences of commercial mediatization of the event, and the subsequent juggling of the contesting interests of media spectacle, media scandal and values of news objectivity and sporting purity in the news coverage (Frandsen, 2015; Horky & Stelzner, 2016; Schneider, 2006). The *Tour de France* is a thoroughly mediatized commercial spectacle affording economic gain and social influence on those invested in it, including media organizations and outlets (Frandsen, 2017). Since its beginnings, the *Tour de France* has functioned as a mechanism to attract media audiences through the display of spectacular feats of athletic endurance, while tacitly permitting athletes to dope as a means of maintaining the spectacle. Doping scandals clearly have their place amid the media spectacle, particularly where celebrity athletes such as Armstrong are concerned (Kellner, 2003; Nicholson et al., 2015). Yet, doping scandals are also damaging to sports organizations and events, and thus risk tarnishing or undermining the media spectacle, negatively affecting all those invested in it. Thus, the

relative suppression of doping coverage of Froome in *The Times* in 2017, just five years on from the Armstrong scandal, suggests that news media may also steer away from doping suspicion narratives in *Tour* coverage aiding the credibility of the spectacle. Thus, for an event with an extensive history of doping, media coverage of doping suspicion of riders in the *Tour de France* appears to be a constant balance, mitigating scandal and spectacle- including at the expense of news objectivity and social values of sporting purity.

7.2 Future Research

The following section outlines opportunities for future research revealed by the research findings and throughout the research process.

7.2.1 Consolidating influences: The Political Economy of the *Tour de France*

Perhaps the most pertinent pathway for future research resulting from the thesis findings, would be to consolidate the possible influences on news media coverage detailed in the discussion (Chapter Six). Future enquiries focused on the mapping and analysis of the complex network of media organizations, commercial sponsors, riders, nations and sporting bodies involved in the *Tour* spectacle and their connections to doping suspicion and doping scandals. This work may yet reveal the guiding intersections of mediatization and commercialization that contribute to coverage of doping, and those that guard against it (Frandsen, 2015, 2017; Kellner, 2003; Palmer, 2000; Schneider, 2006).

It is clear from the event's conception through to the commercial media mega-event it represents today, that mediatization and commercialization have significantly shaped the event and rider doping along with it. That the research findings in the Froome corpora indicate that news media are prepared to censor coverage of doping suspicion despite evidence to the contrary, suggests news media publications can play a role in maintaining the image of a 'clean' race, valued by all those invested in the media spectacle. Thus, the premise is set for future research into the media political economy of professional cycling and the *Tour de France*, in the interest of revealing further detail of the intersections of influence that motivate news media publications to censor suspicions of rider doping, and those which enable doping coverage.

7.2.2 Celebrity, Scandal and Suspicion

The findings also show that social status and media interactions of riders play a part in tipping the balance of doping suspicion in favor, or away from media coverage. The comparison in this research of Chris Froome to Lance Armstrong enabled important revelations of the inconsistency of framing regarding doping suspicion between champion riders, suggesting that riders who reach greater levels of celebrity are more inclined to be suspected, even if (as in this case) their celebrity is not necessarily distinguished by their sporting success. Both Armstrong and Froome are highly successful *Tour de France* champions, yet Armstrong's cancer comeback and global marketability appear to make him a greater celebrity and a greater draw for news media interest- including speculation that he may be doping (Kellner, 2003; Tiger, 2013). Froome, of course, does not avoid suspicion entirely, but the findings show that he does not face the same degree of scrutiny as Armstrong despite evidence that suspicion is warranted. Furthermore, Froome was found to actively avoid media interactions regarding doping, also contributing to a lower occurrence of rider/doping frames compared to Armstrong, indicating the influence of riders themselves in contributing to the presence (or omittance) of doping suspicion narratives in news media coverage.

In reflection, these observations are both significant in revealing the relative variability of news media coverage when it comes to suspicion of rider doping, while also pointing to the difficulty of comparing news coverage of two riders as a gauge of news media interest in doping suspicion- particularly given the significant variables that determine an individual athlete's public and media attraction, transcending sporting success alone. Furthermore, as this research examines just two athletes in news coverage, the application of similar research to a wider sample of successful athletes (in the *Tour* and in other sports or sporting events) may reveal consistencies in news media framing of doping suspicion, and how it is affected by variables such as sporting success, celebrity and public relations management.

7.3 Research Limitations

The following section acknowledges limitations of this research, including considerations of the validity of the findings as broadly applicable to the news media genre.

7.3.1 Representation of 'News Coverage'

While this study chose prominent ‘elite press’ newspapers *The Times* and *The New York Times* as representative sources for the analysis of news media coverage of each rider, they cannot account for news coverage across the entire media ecology. Furthermore, the lack of coverage of Chris Froome in *The New York Times* lends little support to the research finding of suppression of rider doping suspicion, which relies heavily on findings from *The Times* coverage. This finding thus requires the examination of additional publications to corroborate a reference to the news media coverage generally. However, the strengths of these two newspapers as representative examples lie in their position at the top of the media ecology, whereby they occupy significant news audiences, with media studies scholarship testifying to their ability to set television news agendas, broadly influencing news content across various publications and channels (Keeble & Reeves, 2014; Peterson, 1981). Thus, the findings of this research apply to two newspapers, who are significant contributors to news narratives of each rider in each time period, while further analysis of other media platforms and publications within the news media ecology may yet provide further insights.

7.3.2 Forms of Doping Dialogue

The research findings indicate that *The Times* suppressed doping suspicion of Chris Froome in news coverage during the 2017 *Tour de France*. While the findings certainly present a case for news media suppression of doping suspicion in this instance, it is pertinent to acknowledge that the research only analyses one form of doping coverage, that relating to suspicion of champion riders (and specifically Chris Froome). That doping in the past has featured in the news coverage relating to various riders of various abilities, teams, and even the entire peloton (as was the case in 1998) it is not unequivocal that all of these doping scenarios would present in frames relating to Chris Froome, and thus be included in this research (Rasmussen, 2005). Furthermore, given that the findings suggests the news media plays a dual role in both reporting and suppressing doping suspicion, additional research could further reveal influences on news media coverage of doping in contexts beyond the representative cases of Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome analyzed in this research.

7.3.3 Technological Variation

It is important to acknowledge that the global media landscape is not static, and that the news media ecology underwent significant changes at the beginning of the 21st century, when newspapers began adopting digital platforms (Meyer, 2009; Schudson, 2011). These developments thus affect the Lance Armstrong and Chris Froome corpora differently, with 13 years of change and

development in media technology and ecology between the two. However, in selecting the digital archives of both newspapers in each period as the research sample, the consistency of the news platforms offers some degree of control for these variations. Keeble and Reeves (2014) attest to consistency in news content between print and online platforms of newspapers, suggesting some continuity between the data periods can be expected, as the online archive for each covers print and online news produced by each platform in each data period. Furthermore, that both newspapers are 'elite press' papers with strong influences within the news media ecologies during both data periods, helps to negate these difficulties in comparisons.

7.3.4 Counter Narratives to Mainstream News

Further to this point on media ecology, it is significant to note that not only did print newspaper publications branch out into online content over the early 21st century, but new social media technologies including video streaming, podcasts, social networking sites and blogging emerged in the media ecology, providing counter-narratives to mainstream news (Keeble & Reeves, 2014; Schudson, 2011). The relationship between these news sources and the extent to which they impact mainstream news through intermedia agenda-setting is unclear. One such media platform, Lance Armstrong's *Stages* podcast appears in the Chris Froome *The Times* corpus, providing a soundbite that contributes to the framing, proving that crossover between these media platforms does occur (Dickinson, 2017, July 22). Future research into the relationship between social media and mainstream news publications is required to further establish the extent to which social media news narratives relative to the *Tour de France* permeate mainstream news agendas.

7.4 Conclusion Summary

This research clearly reveals that *The Times* and *The New York Times* framed Lance Armstrong relative to doping suspicion in 2004 to a greater degree than Chris Froome was framed in 2017. Furthermore, this research has made various suggestions as to the possible influences on news content that could account for the discrepancies in the news media framing between the riders revealed in the research findings, providing a basis for future research.

It is clear that the riders themselves contribute significantly to framing and frame frequency, with an evasive media strategy by Froome allowing for fewer framing incidences and limited news coverage, amid a team public relations strategy that presided over journalists' access to riders. In contrast,

Armstrong's celebrity and brazen doping denials proved newsworthy, generating doping frames and news coverage. Yet a reluctance is evident in the news coverage to pursue doping narratives within the higher frame count for Armstrong, indicated by the observational approach to framing suspicion of doping, aligning with existing literature in suggesting that source capture due to Armstrong's significant celebrity may have inhibited journalists' drive to construct news that furthered suspicion of doping. Furthermore, national bias in favor of home nation riders is evident in both *The Times* and *The New York Times* coverage, while also highlighting the scale of Armstrong's celebrity compared to Froome, evident in his prominence in both publications. Furthermore, Froome's relative absence in *The New York Times* aligns with Christiansen's (2005) insights that the US media did not care about the *Tour de France* until Lance Armstrong, suggesting that Armstrong's doping downfall also resulted in a decline in American audience for the event.

In context of the *Tour de France* background literature, the research suggests the subsequent damage to the *Tour de France* following Armstrong's scandal may have precipitated a desire among race organizers to reinvent the *Tour* as a 'clean' event, evidenced by the news media framing of Froome in the 2017, indicating *The Times* coverage supported a 'clean' public image for the race in referring to doping problems as an issue of the past. That the findings present evidence to suggest suspicion of rider doping is censored in the news media in the interest of maintaining the race spectacle, encapsulates the dual role played by the news media in constructing narratives around riders and doping, whereby doping is both exposed, and censored in the news coverage. The deliberate omission of news content regarding present doping issues in 2017, appears to reflect societal anti-doping values in the aftermath of the Armstrong scandal, steering away from scandal towards a misleading reconstruction of a reality that suggests doping is no longer a problem in the *Tour de France*.

News media publications are thus regarded by this research as highly variable moderators of suspicion of rider doping in the *Tour de France* as it applies to race champions, subject to many influences and constraints inherent in the framing of Chris Froome and Lance Armstrong.

The contesting exposure and suppression of rider/doping suspicion revealed in the framing, elicits a need for future research into the media political economy of professional cycling and the *Tour de France*, to deconstruct the intersections of mediatization and commercialization that constitute and fuel the event spectacle. By doing so, the influences that affect news media publications' will to

expose or suppress suspicions of rider doping may be exposed, further revealing the effects of these fluctuations on news media's construction of cycling's ongoing doping problem.

References

- Adams, I., Carine, J. and Emmerson, D. (2014). Doping in sport: Lance Armstrong, a case study. In C. Palmer (Ed.), *The sports monograph: critical perspectives on socio-cultural sport, coaching and physical education*. Preston, UK: SSTO Publications.
- Albarran, A. (2017). *The media economy*. New York, USA: Routledge.
- Allen, H., Connolly, S., & Hargreaves Heap, S. (2017). Media pluralism: what matters for governance and regulation? *Journal of Media Economics*, 30(2) 47-64. <http://doi.org/10.1080/08997764.2017.1364257>
- Altheide, D., & Snow, R. (1979). *Media logic*. California, USA: Sage.
- Altheide, D., & Snow, R. (1991). *Media worlds in the postjournalism era*. New York, USA: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Ampuja, M., Koivisto, J., & Valiverronen, E. (2014). Strong and weak forms of mediatization theory: a critical review. *Nordicom Review*, 35, 111-123. Retrieved from: www.scopus.com
- Anderson, C.W., Downie, L., & Schudson, M. (2016). *The news media: what everyone needs to know*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Andreff, W. (2016). The Tour de France: a success story in spite of competitive imbalance and doping. In D. Van Reeth & D. Larson (Eds.), *Economics of Professional Road Cycling*. New York, USA: Springer International Publishing.
- Armstrong, L., & Jenkins, S. (2001). *It's not about the bike: my journey back to life*. New York, USA: Berkley Publishing Group.
- Asp, K. (2007). Fairness, informativeness and scrutiny: the role of news media in democracy. *Nordicom Review*, 28, 31-49. Retrieved from: <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/communication-mass-media-complete>
- Bahrke, M., & Yesalis, C. (2002). History of doping in sport. *International Sports Studies*, 24(1) 42-76. Retrieved from: <http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/ISS/ISS2401/ISS2401e.pdf>
- Baker, C. (2007). *Media concentration and democracy : why ownership matters*. Netherlands: Cambridge University Press.
- Ballester, P., & Walsh, D. (2004). *L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong*. Paris, France: France Loisirs
- Bell, P., Have, C., & Lauchs, M. (2016). A case study analysis of a sophisticated sports doping network: Lance Armstrong and the USPS Team. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 46, 57-68. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlcj.2016.03.001>
- Bike Race Info. (n.d). *1999 Tour De France results*. Retrieved on March 1, 2019, from: <http://www.bikeraceinfo.com/tdf/tdf1999.html>

Billard, T. (2019). Setting the transgender agenda: intermedia agenda-setting in the digital news environment. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 7(1), 165-176. <http://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2018.1532302>

Billings, B. & Bie, B. (2015). "Too good to be true?": US and Chinese media coverage of Chinese swimmer Ye Shiwen in the 2012 Olympic Games, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50(7), 785-803. <http://www.doi.org/10.1177/1012690213495746>

Birkner, T., & Nolleke, D. (2016). Soccer players and their media-related behavior: a contribution on the mediatization of sports. *Communication & Sport*, 4(4), 367-384. <http://doi.org/10.1177/2167479515588719>

Bloor, S. (June 9th 2014). Tour de France 2014: Chris Froome crashes out- in pictures. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/gallery/2014/jul/09/tour-de-france-2014-chris-froome-crashes-out>

Blumrodt, J., & Kitchen, P. (2015). The Tour de France: corporate sponsorships and doping accusations. *Journal of Business Strategy*, 36(2), 41-48. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JBS-04-2014-0046>

Borgeois, N. (1995). Sports journalists and their sources of information: a conflict of interests and its resolution. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 12, 195-203. <http://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.12.2.195>

Boumans, J. (2018). Subsidizing the News? Organizational press releases' influence on news media's agenda and content. *Journalism Studies*, 19(15), 2264-2282. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1338154>

Boyle, R. (2006). *Sports journalism context and issues*. London, England: Sage Publications.

Bradshaw, T. (2018). Self-censorship and the pursuit of truth in sports journalism: a case study of David Walsh. *Ethical Space: The International Journal of Communication Ethics*, 15(1), 29. Retrieved from: <http://eprints.glos.ac.uk/5636/>

Brewer, B. (2002). Commercialization in professional cycling 1950-2001: institutional transformations and the rationalization of "doping". *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 19(3), 276-301. <https://doi-org/10.1123/ssj.19.3.276>

Brewster, T. (2016, September 15). Bradley Wiggins and Chris Froome medical files leaked by World Doping Agency hackers. *Forbes*. Retrieved from: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/thomasbrewster/2016/09/15/fancy-bear-wada-hackers-leak-sir-bradley-wiggins-chris-froome-medical-data-leaked/#628db37a1fcd>

Brown, G. (2018, July 1st). Tour De France organizer to block Chris Froome from racing. *Cycling Weekly*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cyclingweekly.com/news/racing/tour-de-france/tour-de-france-organiser-block-chris-froome-racing->

Bryant, J. (1993). Sport management and the interdependence with sport sociology: sport as a social product. *Journal of Sport Management*, 7, 194-198. <http://doi.org/10.1123/jsm.7.3.194>

Cacciatore, M., Scheufele, D., & Iyengar, S. (2016). The end of framing as we know it...and the future of media effects. *Mass Communication & Society*, 19(1), 7-23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1068811>

Carstairs, C. (2003). The wide world of doping: drug scandals, natural bodies, and the business of sports entertainment. *Addiction Theory & Research*, 11(4), 263-281.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/1606635031000135659>

Carter, B. (2008, August 24). On TV, timing is everything at the Olympics. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/25/sports/olympics/25nbc.html>

Cary, T. (2018, July 2nd). Chris Froome cleared to defend Tour De France after doping case dropped. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/cycling/2018/07/02/chris-froome-salbutamol-case-dropped-uci-freeing-team-sky-rider/>

Chester, N., & Mottram, D. (2018). *Drugs in sport*. New York, USA: Routledge.

Christiansen, A. (2005). The legacy of Festina: patterns of drug use in European Cycling since 1998, *Sport in History*, 25(3), 497-514. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17460260500396384>

Clifford, C. (2018, November 7). Tech billionaires from Bezos to Benioff are buying media companies, but New York Times is not for sale'. *CNBC*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/11/07/billionaires-are-buying-media-companies-new-york-times-not-for-sale.html>

Connolly, J. (2015). Civilizing processes and doping in professional cycling. *Current Sociology*, 63(7), 1037-1057. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115576765>

Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2018). The continuing lure of the mediated center in times of deep mediatization: media events and its enduring legacy. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(1), 114-117. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717726009>

Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2017). *The mediated construction of reality*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Couldry, N. & Hepp, A. (2012). Conceptualizing Mediatization: Contexts, Traditions, Arguments. *Communication Theory* 23(3): 191-202

Cycling News. (2013, August 7th). *Hamilton: Froome is a true winner of the Tour De France*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cyclingnews.com/news/hamilton-froome-is-a-true-winner-of-the-tour-de-france/>

Cycling News. (2018, March 6th). *Timeline of UKAD investigation into Team Sky and British Cycling*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cyclingnews.com/features/timeline-of-ukad-investigation-into-team-sky-and-british-cycling/>

Daly, M. (2015, June 26th). Alberto Salazar's response: what questions remain?. *BBC News*. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-33287194>

D'Angelo, P., & Kuypers, J. (2010). *Doing news framing analysis: empirical and theoretical perspectives*. New York, USA : Routledge.

D'Angelo, P., Lule, J., Neuman, W., Rodriguez, L., Dimitrova, D., & Carragee, K. (2019). Beyond framing: a forum for framing researchers. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 29(1), 12-30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699018825004>

Dauncey, H. (2012). *French cycling: a social and cultural history*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>

Debord, G. (1967). *The society of spectacle*. (No Location): Bread and Circuses

De Bruijn, H., Groenleer, M., & Van Ruijven, T. (2016). The dynamics of doping: Lance Armstrong, the United States Anti-Doping Agency and the regulatory governance of professional cycling. *Regulation & Governance*, 10(3), 284-297. <http://doi.org/10.1111/rego.12085>

De Menezes, J. (2018, December 12). Team Sky to end after 2019 as broadcaster withdraws from cycling to leave Chris Froome and Geraint Thomas future's in doubt. *Independent*. Retrieved from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/cycling/team-sky-end-2019-next-year-withdraw-stop-chris-froome-geraint-thomas-dave-brailsford-a8678921.html>

Dimeo, P. (2014). Why Lance Armstrong? Historical context and key turning points in the 'cleaning up' of professional cycling. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31(8), 951-968. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2013.879858>

Djerf, P., & Shehata, A. (2017). Still an agenda setter: traditional news media and public opinion during the transition from low to high choice media environments. *Journal of Communication*, 67(5), 733-757. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12327>

Donohoe, T., & Johnson, N. (1986). *Foul play? Drug use in sport*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Douglas, T. (2010, December 22). Analysis: Murdoch and media ownership in the UK. *BBC News*. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-12062176>

Drug Free Sport New Zealand. (n.d). Therapeutic Use Exemptions. Retrieved on November 30th, 2018 from: <https://drugfreesport.org.nz/national-sports-organizations/therapeutic-use-exemptions/>

Dyreson, M. (2015). Global television and the transformation of the Olympics: the Los Angeles Games, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 32(1), 172-184. <http://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2014.983086>

Eagleman, A. (2011). Stereotypes of race and nationality: a qualitative analysis of sport magazine coverage of MLB players. *Journal of Sport Management*, 25(2), 156-168. <http://doi.org/10.1123/JSM.25.2.156>

Entman, R. (1993). Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>

Esser, F. & Vliegenthart, R. (2017). Comparative Research Methods. *The International Encyclopaedia of Communication Research Methods*. <http://doi.org/10.1002/9781118901731.iecrm0035>

Farrand, S. (2005, April 1). Armstrong in police talks. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2005/apr/01/cycling.tourdefrance2005>

Fears, S. (Director/Producer). (2015). *The Program* (Motion Picture). United Kingdom: Studio Canal.

Fife, G. (2011). *Tour de France: the history, the legend, the riders*. London, England: Random House.

Fisher, C. (2018). News Sources and journalist/source interaction. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*. <http://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.849>

Fortunato, J., & Kim, E. (2004). *Framing Annika: an analysis of newspaper columnist writing about Annika Sorenstam playing in the Colonial*. Paper presented at Sports Marketing Association Conference 2nd Annual Conference, Memphis, TN.

Fotheringham, W. (2015, March 9). Timeline: Lance Armstrong's journey from deity to disgrace. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2015/mar/09/lance-armstrong-cycling-doping-scandal>

Frandsen, K. (2015). *Sport and Mediatization*. London, England: Routledge.

Frandsen, K. (2017). Tour de France: mediatization of sport and place. In P. Pedersen (Ed.), *The routledge handbook of sport communication* (pp.156-169). London, England: Routledge.

Gamson, W. (1975). Reviewed works: frame analysis: an essay in organizational experience. *Contemporary Sociology*, 4(6), 603-607. Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org>

Gamson, W., & Modigliani, A. (1994). The changing culture of affirmative action. In P. Burstein (Ed.), *Equal employment opportunity labour market discrimination in public policy* (pp. 373–393). New York, USA: Aldine De Gruyter.

Gleaves, J., & Llewellyn, M. (2013). Sport, Drugs and Amateurism: tracing the real cultural origins of anti-doping rules in international sport. *The international journal of the history of sport*, 31(8), 839-853. <http://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2013.831838>

Gleaves, J., & Llewellyn, M. (2014). A universal dilemma: the British sporting life and the complex, contested, and contradictory state of amateurism. *Journal of Sport History*, 41(1), 95-116. Retrieved from: <https://muse.jhu.edu/>

Gleaves, J., & Llewellyn, M. (2016). *The rise and fall of Olympic amateurism*. Illinois, USA: University Illinois Press.

Goddard, E. (2013, January 15). Armstrong confessed to doping on Oprah Winfrey. *Inside The Games*. Retrieved from: <https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1012444/armstrong-confesses-to-doping-on-oprah-winfrey>

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. Massachusetts, USA: Harvard University Press.

Goldblatt, D. (2016). *The Games*. London, England: Macmillan.

Goucher says she will testify against US coach Salazar over doping (2015, June 28th). *The Irish Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.irishtimes.com/sport/other-sports/goucher-says-she-will-testify-against-us-coach-salazar-over-doping-1.2266013>

Griggs, G., Gibbons, T., Rees, T., & Groves, M. (2014). "Allez Wiggo": a case study on the reactions of the British print media to Bradley Wiggins's victory in the Tour de France. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 7(1), 113–125. Retrieved from: <http://www.sk.sagepub.com>

- Griggs, G., & Groves, M. (2016). Riding in the shadows: the reaction of the British print media to Chris Froome's victory in the 2013 Tour de France. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 51(4), 428- 445. Retrieved from: <http://www.sk.sagepub.com>
- Gross, K. (2008). Framing persuasive appeals: episodic and thematic framing, emotional response, and policy opinion. *Political Psychology*, 29(2), 169–192. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2008.00622.x>
- Gruneau, R. (2017). *Sport and modernity*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press
- Gruneau, R., & Compton, J. (2017). Media events, mega events and social theory: from Durkheim to Marx. In L. Wenner & A. Billings (Eds.), *Sport, media and mega-events* (pp.33-47). London, England: Routledge.
- Hamilton, T., & Coyle, D. (2012). *The secret race: inside the hidden world of the Tour De France: doping, cover-ups, and winning at all costs*. London, England: Bantam.
- Hargreaves, I. (2014). *Journalism: a very short introduction*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Hart, M. (2018). The man who brought down Armstrong isn't done with him yet. *Atlantic*, 321(4), 90-93. Retrieved from: <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/australia-new-zealand-reference-centre>
- Henne, K. (2015). *Testing for Athlete Citizenship: Regulating Doping and Sex in Sport*. New Brunswick, USA: Rutgers University Press.
- Hepp, A. (2009). Differentiation: mediatization and cultural change. In Lundby, K. (ed.). *Mediatization concept, changes, consequences* (pp.139-157). New York, USA: Peter Lang.
- Hjarvard, S. (2008). The mediatization of society: a theory of the media as agents of social and cultural change. *Nordicom Review*, 29(2), 105-134. Retrieved from: <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/communication-mass-media-complete>
- Homewood, B. (2012, October 27). No winner for 1999-2005 Tours, says UCI. *Reuters*. Retrieved from: [https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cycling-armstrong-idUSBRE89POS620121026#:~:text=BERNE%20\(Reuters\)%20%2D%20Seven%20successive,disgraced%20Lance%20Armstrong%20as%20champion](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cycling-armstrong-idUSBRE89POS620121026#:~:text=BERNE%20(Reuters)%20%2D%20Seven%20successive,disgraced%20Lance%20Armstrong%20as%20champion).
- Horky, T., & Stelzner, B. (2016). Sports reporting and journalistic principles. In P. Pedersen (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of sport communication* (pp.118-127). London, England: Routledge.
- Hutchins, B., Li, B., & Rowe, D. (2019). Over-the-top sport: live streaming services, changing coverage rights markets and the growth of media sport portals. *Media, Culture & Society*, 41(7), 975-994. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0163443719857623>
- Ingle, S. (2018, May 27th). Chris Froome wins Giro d'Italia in Rome to join Cycling's exclusive club. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/may/27/chris-froome-wins-giro-ditalia-rome-first-briton-british-winner-cycling>

- Iyengar, S. (2005). Speaking of values: the framing of American politics. *Forum*, 3(3), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.2202/1540-8884.1093>
- Jackson, S. (2015). Assessing the sociology of sport: on media, advertising and the commodification of culture. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50(4-5), 490-495. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1012690214565220>
- Johnson, M. (2016). *Spitting in the Soup: Inside the Dirty Game of Doping in Sports*. Boulder, USA: Velopress.
- Kahneman, K., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect theory: an analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica*, 47(2), 263-291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1914185>
- Kahneman, K., & Tversky, A. (1981). The framing of decisions and the psychology of choice. *Science*, 211, 453- 458. DOI: 10.1126/science.7455683
- Kahneman, K., & Tversky, A. (1984). Choices, values, and frames. *American Psychologist*, 39(4), 341-350. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.39.4.341>
- Keeble, R & Reeves, I. (2014). *The newspapers handbook*. New York, USA: Routledge.
- Kellner, D. (2003). *Media spectacle*. London, England: Routledge.
- Kelner, M. (2018, March 5th). Bradley Wiggins and Team Sky accused in damning drugs report. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/mar/05/bradley-wiggins-and-team-sky-accused-drugs-in-damning-report>
- Kim, K., Lee, S., & Oh, E. (2017). Athletes with disabilities in the Paralympic Games: a framing analysis of television news. *Managing Sport & Leisure*, 22(4), 255–275. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23750472.2018.1445976>
- Kimmage, P. (1990). *Rough ride*. London, England: Stanley Paul & Co Ltd.
- Kim, S., & Telleen, M. (2017). Talking about school bullying: news framing of who is responsible for causing and fixing the problem. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 94(3), 725-746. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016655756>
- Krotz, F. (2017). Explaining the mediatization approach. *Javnost: The Public*, 24(2), 103-118. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2017.1298556>
- Lawton, M. (2016, October 12th). Riddle of the jiffy bag courier...British cycling official 'doesn't have a clue' what he took to Sky. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/sportsnews/article-3835114/Riddle-jiffy-bag-courier-British-Cycling-official-doesn-t-clue-took-Sky.html>
- Lentillon-Kaestner, V. (2011). The development of doping use in high-level cycling: from team-organized doping to advances in the fight against doping. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine & Science in Sports*, 2013(23), 189-197. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1600-0838-2011.01370.x>

Lewis, P. (1996, January 22nd). The New York Times introduces a web site. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/01/22/business/the-new-york-times-introduces-a-web-site.html>

Lippi, G., Franchini, M., & Guidi, G. (2007). Switch off the light on cycling, switch off the light on doping. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 42(3). 162. <http://doi.org/10.1136/BJSM.2007.041830>

Livingstone, S. & Lunt, P. (2014). Mediatization: an emerging research paradigm for media and communication research? In K. Lundby (Eds.) *Mediatization of Communication*, Handbooks of Communication Science Volume 21. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 703-723

Ljungqvist, A. (2017). A brief history of doping. In O. Rabin & Y. Pitsiladis (Eds.), *Acute topics in anti-doping* (pp.10-19). Retrieved from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>

Mazzoleni, G., & Schulz, W. (1999). Mediatization of politics: a challenge for democracy? *Political Communication*, 16(3), 247-261. <http://doi.org/10.1080/105846099198613>

McChesney, R. (2008). *The political economy of media: enduring issues, emerging dilemmas*. New York, USA: Monthly Review Press.

McCombs, M., & Ghanem, S. (2001). The convergence of agenda setting and framing. In S. Reese, O. Gandy Jr. & A. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp.67-82). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

McPhail, T. (2014). *Global communication: theories, stakeholders and trends*. Oxford, England: Wiley Blackwell.

McQuail, D. (2013). *Journalism and society*. Los Angeles, USA: SAGE.

Meyer, A., & Watson, N. (2014). Radical orthodoxy and the emergence of spiritual hero-athletes: examining Lance Armstrong's "illness" narrative. *Journal of Disability & Religion*, 18(2), 157-172. <http://doi.org/10.1080/23312521.2014.898396>

Meyer, P. (2009). *The vanishing newspaper: saving journalism in the information age*. Columbia, USA: University of Missouri Press.

Mignon, P. (2003). The Tour De France and the doping issue. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 20(2), 227-245. Retrieved from: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/>

Mignot, J. (2016). The history of professional road cycling. In D. Van Reeth & D. Larson (Eds.), *Economics of professional road cycling*. New York, USA: Springer International Publishing.

Miller, S. (2019). Social institutions. *The Stanford encyclopaedia of philosophy*. Retrieved from: <https://plato.stanford.edu>

Moller, V. (1999). *Dopingdjævlén- Analyse a fen hed debat*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Glydendal.

Moller, V., & Genz, J. (2014). Commercial sport- Debordian spectacle or Barthesian mythology? *Catalan Journal of Communication & Cultural Studies*, 6(2), 257-271. DOI: 10.1386/CJCS.6.2.257_1

Moore, R. (2007). *In search of Robert Millar*. London, England: Harper Sport.

Murdock, G. (2017). News Corporation. In B. Birkinbine, R. Gómez & J. Wasko (Eds.), *Global media giants* (pp.92- 108). London, England: Routledge.

Nemes, A. (2014). What did the Lance Armstrong case teach to the world's doping controllers? *International Sports Law Review Pandektis*, 10(3), 395-399. Retrieved from: <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/sportdiscus>

Noam, E. (2018). Beyond the mogul: from media conglomerates to portfolio media. *Journalism*, 19(8), 1096–1130. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917725941>

Neuman, W., Just, M., & Crigler, A. (1992). *Common knowledge: news and the construction of political meaning*. Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press.

News Corp. (2020). *Operating companies*. Retrieved on July 20, 2020 from: <https://newscorp.com/business/news-corp-uk/>

News UK. (n.d). *The Times*. Retrieved May 30, 2020, from: <https://www.news.co.uk/what-we-do/the-times/>

Nicholson, M., Kerr, A., Sherwood, M. (2015). *Sport and the media: managing the nexus*. New York, USA: Routledge.

Nisbet, M. (2010). Knowledge into action: framing the debates over climate change and poverty. In D'Angelo & Kuypers (Eds.), *Doing news framing analysis : empirical and theoretical perspectives*. New York, USA: Routledge.

Noam, E. (2018). Beyond the mogul: from media conglomerates to portfolio media. *Journalism*, 19(8), 1096–1130. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917725941>

Oates, T. (2007). Sports journalism as moral and ethical discourse. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 22(4), 332-347. <http://doi.org/10.1080/08900520701583628>

Palmer, C. (2000). Spin doctors and sportsbrokers: researching elites in contemporary sport- a research note on the Tour de France. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 35(3), 364-377. <http://doi.org/10.1177/101269000035003008>

Partners. (n.d). *Le Tour*. Retrieved on 2nd July, 2020 from: <https://www.letour.fr/en/partners>

Pelkey, C. (2005, August 23). L'Equipe alleges Armstrong samples show EPO use in 99 Tour. *VeloNews*. Retrieved from: <https://www.velonews.com/events/tour-de-france/lequipe-alleges-armstrong-samples-show-epo-use-in-99-tour/>

Peng, Z. (2008). Framing the anti-war protests in the global village, a comparative study of newspaper coverage in three countries. *The International Communication Gazette*, 70(5), 361-377. <http://doi.org/10.117/1748048508094293>

Perusko, Z. (2010). The link that matters: media concentration and diversity of content. In B. Kimkiewicz (Ed.), *Media freedom and pluralism, media policy challenges in the enlarged Europe*. (pp.261-273). Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.

- Peterson, S. (1981). International news selection by the Elite Press: a case study. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 42(2), 143-163. <http://DOI.org/10.1086/268647>
- Pickering, I. (2018). *Writing for news media: the storyteller's craft*. London, England: Routledge.
- Price, S. (2004). Lance in France (Part 6). *Sports Illustrated*, 100(26), 46-53.
- Rasmussen, K. (2005). The quest for the imaginary evil: a critique of anti-doping. *Sport in History*, 25(3), 515-535. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17460260500396426>
- Reich, Z. (2010). Measuring the impact of PR on published news in increasingly fragmented news environments: a multifaceted approach. *Journalism Studies*, 11(6), 799-816. <http://doi.org/10.1080/14616701003760550>
- Reich, Z. (2011). Source credibility and journalism, between visceral and discretionary judgement. *Journalism Practice*, 5(1), 51-67. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17512781003760519>
- Rice, X. (2017, September 15). The greatest and the least loved. *New Statesman*, 146(5384), 18. Retrieved from: <https://www.newstatesman.com/international>
- Richardson, J. (2007). *Analysing newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis*. New York, USA: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Robeck, V. (2015). Professional cycling and the fight against doping. *International Journal of Sports Finance*, 10(3), 244-266. Retrieved from: <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/sportdiscus-full-text>
- Roche, M. (2006). Mega-events and modernity revisited: globalization and the case of the Olympics. *Sociological Review Monograph*, 54(2), 25-40. <http://doi.org/10.1111/J.1467-954X.2006.00651.x>
- Roche, M. (2019). *Mega-events and social change: spectacle, legacy and public culture*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.
- Roussel, B. (2001). *Tour de Vices*. Paris, France: Hachette.
- Rowe, D. (1997). Apollo undone: the sports scandal. In J. Lull & S. Hinerman (Eds.), *Media scandals: morality and desire in the popular culture marketplace*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press.
- Rowe, D. (2005). Fourth estate or fan club? Sports journalism engages the popular. In S. Allan (Ed.), *Journalism: critical issues* (pp. 125-136). Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.
- Santos, C., Tainsky, S., Schmidt, K., & Shim, C (2013). Framing the octagon: an analysis of news-media coverage of Mixed Martial Arts. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 6(1), 66–86. <https://doi.org/10.1123/ijsc.6.1.66>
- Schneider, A. (2006). Cultural nuances: doping, cycling and the Tour de France. *Sport in Society*, 9(2), 212-226. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17430430500491272>
- Schudson, M. (2011). *The sociology of news second edition*. New York, USA: Norton & Company, Inc.

- Schulz, W. (2004). Reconstructing mediatization as an analytical concept. *European Journal of Communication*, 19(1), 87-101. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0267323104040696>
- Scrivener, P. (2018). Tour De France: Geraint Thomas wins as Chris Froome finishes third. *BBC Sport*. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/sport/cycling/44998961>
- Sefiha, O. (2010). Now's when we throw him under the bus: institutional and occupational identities and the coverage of doping in sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 27(2), 200-218. <https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.27.2.200>
- Sharma, D., & Verma, V. (2017). *Lance Armstrong: an athlete, a philanthropist, a cheat*. Retrieved from: <https://sk.sagepub.com>
- Sherwood, M., & Nicholson, M. (2017). Who controls the sport news? Media relations and information subsidies in Australian sport media. *Media International Australia*, 165(1), 146-156. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X17713340>
- Singer, J. (2013). The ethical implications of an elite press. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 28(3), 203-216. <http://doi.org/10.1080/08900523.2013.802163>
- Skey, M., Stone, C., Jenzen, O., & Mangan, A. (2018). Mediatization and sport: a bottom-up perspective. *Communication & Sport*, 6(5), 588-604. <http://doi.org/10.1177/2167479517734850>
- Smith, A., & Waddington, I. (2009). *An Introduction to drugs in sport: addicted to winning?*. New York, USA: Routledge.
- Smith, H. (2016). Britishness as racist nativism: a case of the unnamed "other." *Journal of Education for Teaching: International Research and Pedagogy*, 42(3), 298-313. <http://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2016.1184461>
- Spalletta, M. & Ugolini, L. (2014). Sports journalism between doping allegations and doping evidence: The coverage of Lance Armstrong in Italian newspapers. *Catalan Journal of Communication Studies*, 6(2) 221-238. http://doi.org/10.1386/cjcs.6.2.221_1
- Tiger, R. (2013). Celebrity drugs scandals: media double standards. *Contexts*, 12(4), 36-41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1536504213511214>
- Tulle, E. (2016). Living by the numbers: media representations of sports stars' careers. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 51(3), 251-264. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1012690214525157>
- United Kingdom Anti-Doping Agency. (2017, November 15th). *UKAD summary of its cycling investigation into the package delivered to Team Sky in June 2011*. Retrieved December 3rd 2018 from: <https://www.ukad.org.uk/news/article/ukad-summary-of-its-cycling-investigation-into-the-package-delivered-to-tea/>
- United States Anti-Doping Agency. (2012). *Cycling affidavits relating to USADA Lance Armstrong report*. Retrieved on December 2, 2018 from: <https://archive.org/details/460525-hincapie-george-affidavit/page/n3>
- United States Anti-Doping Agency. (2012). *Report on proceedings under the World Anti-doping Code and the USADA protocol, United States Anti-Doping Agency (Claimant), Lance Armstrong*

(Respondent). Retrieved from: <https://s27394.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Reasoned-Decision.pdf>

Uscinski, J. (2014). *The people's news: media, politics, and the demands of capitalism*. New York, USA: New York University Press.

Valenzuela, P., Santos-Lozano, A., Morales, J., Drobnic, F & Lucia, A. (2018). Free to breathe hard in the Tour De France. *Correspondence*, 392(10153), 1114-1115. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(18\)31866-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)31866-X)

Vandeweghe, H. (2016). Doping in cycling: past and present. In D. Van Reeth & D. Larson (Eds.), *Economics of Professional Road Cycling* (pp. 285-311). New York, USA: Springer International Publishing.

Van Reeth, D. (2013). TV demand for the Tour de France: the importance of stage characteristics versus outcome uncertainty, patriotism and doping. *International Journal of Sport Finance*, 8(1), 39-60. Retrieved from: <https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/sportdiscus-full-text>

Vliegenhart, R. & Walgrave, S. (2009). The contingency of intermedia agenda-setting: a longitudinal study in Belgium. *Climatic Change*, 85(4), 860-877. <http://doi.org/10.1177/107769900808500409>

Vonbun, R, Kleinen-von Konigslow, K., & Schoenberg, K. (2016). Intermedia agenda-setting in a multimedia news environment. *Journalism*, 17(8), 1055-1073. DOI: 10.1177/1464884915595475

Waddington, I. (2000). *Sport, health and drugs: a sociological perspective*. London, England : E. & F.N. Spon.

Walker, K., Seifried, C., Soebbing, B., & Agyemang, K. (2018). A comparative framing analysis of major violations in the national collegiate athletic association. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 11(1), 95–122. <https://doi.org/10.1123/ijsc.2017-0106>

Walsh, A. & Giulianotti, R. (2007). *Ethics, Money and Sport: This Sporting Mammon*. Oxford, England: Routledge.

Walsh, D. (2014). *Inside team Sky*. London, England: Simon and Schuster Ltd.

Walsh, D. (2012). *Seven deadly sins: my pursuit of Lance Armstrong*. London, England: Simon & Schuster.

Wasko, J., & Meehan, E. (2013). Critical crossroads or parallel routes? Political economy and new approaches to studying media industries and cultural products. *Cinema Journal*, 52(3), 150-156. <http://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2013.0028>

World Anti-Doping Agency. (2018, July 2nd). WADA will not appeal UCI decision in Christopher Froome case. Retrieved December 1st 2018 from: <https://www.wada-ama.org/en/media/news/2018-07/wada-will-not-appeal-uci-decision-in-christopher-froome-case>

World Anti-Doping Agency. (2015). *World anti-doping code 2015*. Retrieved from: <https://www.wada-ama.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/wada-2015-world-anti-doping-code.pdf>

Wyatt, E. (2007, February 10). Discovery to end sponsorship of team. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/10/sports/othersports/10cycling.html>

Yoo, S., Smith, L., & Kim, D. (2016). Sports reporting and journalistic principles. In P. Pedersen (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of sport communication* (pp.118-127). London, England: Routledge.

Zelizer, B. (2004). *Taking Journalism seriously, news and the academy*. California, USA: Sage Publications.

Zion, L., Spaaji, R., & Nicholson, M. (2011). Sport, media and journalism: an introduction. *Media International Australia*, 140(1), 80-83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X1114000111>

Zurloni, V., Diana, B., Cavallera, C., Argenton, L., Elia, M., & Mantovani, F. (2015). Deceptive behaviour in doping related interviews: the case of Lance Armstrong. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 16, 191-200. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2014.02.008>

Referenced Newspaper Articles from Data Sample:

Abt, S. (2004, June 28). Cycling: Can Texan break out of winners' pack? *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>

Abt, S. (2004, July 2a). Cycling: This Tour de France has its issues even before it gets rolling. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>

Abt, S. (2004, July 2b). Sport of the Times: To suspicious minds, Armstrong is dirty. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/02/sports/sports-of-the-times-to-suspicious-minds-armstrong-is-dirty.html>

Abt, S. (2004, July 3). Cycling: Quietly an ageing Cipollini returns for one last tour. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>

Abt, S. (2004, July 4). Cycling: Armstrong quickly moves ahead of his main rivals. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/04/sports/cycling-armstrong-quickly-moves-ahead-of-his-main-rivals.html>

Abt, S. (2004, July 8). Armstrong says he won't compete at Olympics in Athens. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/08/sports/olympics/armstrong-says-he-wont-compete-at-olympics-in-athens.html>

Abt, S. (2004, July 10). Tour de France: Yellow jersey changes back. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/10/sports/IHT-tour-de-france-yellow-jersey-changes-backs.html>

Abt, S. (2004, July 11). A rookie at the tour keeps others in line. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/11/sports/sportsspecial/a-rookie-at-the-tour-keeps-others-in-line.html>

Abt, S. (2004, July 12a). Cycling: A brooding rebel with many causes. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>

- Abt, S. (2004, July 12b). Cycling: Duo briefly shares joys of the open road. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 12c). Cycling: Simeoni sticks around for a routine stage. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 16a). Cycling: Armstrong finally shows some heat, off the bike. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 16b). Cycling: Virenque provides French fireworks. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 17). Cycling: Armstrong gains as tour moves up. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 19). Cycling: With climb in sight, Armstrong bides time. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 22a). Armstrong wins mountain stage and retains lead. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/22/sports/sportsspecial/armstrong-wins-mountain-stage-and-retains-lead.html>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 22b). Cycling: Armstrong conquers crowds and rivals. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 23a). Cycling: Official says Armstrong will not return to tour. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 23b). Cycling: With Paris days away, Armstrong pours it on. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 24). Cycling: Armstrong staying in command, settles a score. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 25). Cycling: All that's left is a triumphant ride into Paris. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Abt, S. (2004, July 26). Cycling: Armstrong makes it look easy. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Barnes, S. (2004, July 24). Is this the greatest sporting feat of all? *The Times*. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>
- Bremner, C. (2004, July 3). Drug claims pursue Tour De France legend. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/drug-claims-pursue-tour-de-france-legend-cjqf6rz2blj>
- English, A. (2004, July 25). Top rider joins American uncivil war of words. *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/top-rider-joins-americas-uncivil-war-of-words-ntj3q6wprcg>

Dickinson, M. (2017, June 30). "The French public like Froome, They will adore him if he wins," says Prudhomme. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/the-french-public-like-froome-they-will-adore-him-if-he-wins-says-prudhomme-f6w8h0cp8>

Dickinson, M. (2017, July 14). The Tour de France is a great melting pot of vice and virtue. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/the-tour-is-a-great-melting-pot-of-vice-and-virtue-kns0xn9pp>

Dickinson, M. (2017, July 18). Angry Brailsford bans reporter. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tetchy-brailsford-in-four-letter-rant-at-journalist-hkqrk027d>

Dickinson, M. (2017, July 22). Tour de France: Chris Froome's triumph is tarnished by tetchy Dave Brailsford. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tour-de-france-chris-froomes-triumph-is-tarnished-by-tetchy-dave-brailsford-vrds7m62k>

Dickinson, M. (2017, July 24). Tour de France: Chris Froome close to greatness- now all he needs is love. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tour-de-france-chris-froome-close-to-greatness-now-all-he-needs-his-love-hbw5rkgmn>

Hughes, R. (2004, July 18). Cycling: Armstrong makes the final break. *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>

Keh, A. (2017, July 18). On Tour's mountain roads, beer, baguettes, and, briefly, bikes. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/18/sports/cycling/tour-de-france-mountain-stages.html>

Stephens, A. (2004, July 5). Armstrong at any price. *The Times*. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>

Vecsey, G. (2004, July 19). Sport of The Times: Armstrong's toughest rival may be the sport of cycling. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/19/sports/sports-of-the-times-armstrong-s-toughest-rival-may-be-the-sport-of-cycling.html>

Vecsey, G. (2004, July 25). Sport of The Times: One name or two, this champ is for real. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/07/25/sports/sports-of-the-times-one-name-or-two-this-champ-is-for-real.html>

Walsh, D. (2004, July 4). Cycling: The battle and the war. *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/cycling-the-battle-and-the-war-cxcq3z0zwlw>

Walsh, D. (2017, July 9). Team Sky made to work hard to keep Chris Froome in Yellow Jersey. *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/froome-fronts-up-q2zxrxdz>

Wheatcroft, G. (2004, July 24). Wheels of fortune. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 29, 2019, from: <http://www.nytimes.com>

Whittle, J. (2004, June 3). Tour pack closing in as champion bid to ride into history. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tour-pack-closing-in-as-champion-bids-to-ride-into-history-wltsvpd3l0t>

Whittle, J (2004, July 1). Armstrong rounds on critics over drugs storm. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/armstrong-rounds-on-critics-over-drugs-storm-hr78hcmbkx8>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 2). Fresh drugs scandals cast heavy shadow over tour. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/fresh-drug-scandals-cast-heavy-shadow-over-tour-3d3mw3j5gds>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 8). Armstrong in familiar colour as team excel. *The Times*. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>

Whittle, J (2004, July 9). Home hope Voeckler storms to yellow jersey. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/home-hope-voeckler-storms-to-yellow-jersey-2pvhc03hk5b>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 12). McEwan accused as tour mood darkens. *The Times*. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 13). Armstrong in mood to make rivals suffer. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/armstrong-in-mood-to-make-rivals-suffer-27c0lp9qm2x>

Whittle, J. (2017, July 13). Tour de France: Chris Froome loses yellow jersey as rivals sense weakness on tough finish. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/froome-loses-yellow-jersey-as-rivals-sense-weakness-on-tough-finish-flnsxbkm>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 14). Simeoni fails to escape spotlight in breakaway. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/simeoni-fails-to-escape-spotlight-in-breakaway-ptlt6tvkkg6>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 15). Prodigal son Virenque thrills home fans. *The Times*. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 16). Armstrong defies growing criticism. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/armstrong-defies-growing-criticism-db3kcd7sjgr>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 17). Armstrong proves a point as main rivals trail after mountain surge. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/armstrong-proves-a-point-as-main-rivals-trail-after-mountain-surge-l78jj5z29bw>

Walsh, D. (2004, July 18). Cycling: Freewheelers in the pack. *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/cycling-freewheelers-in-the-pack-brtfrjwmdsr>

Whittle, J. (2004, July 23). Armstrong forced to endure spit in show of polish. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/armstrong-forced-to-endure-spit-in-show-of-polish-hv97tqnjrcq>

Whittle, J (2004, July 24). Bossy Armstrong rumoured to be on his last tour of duty. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/bossy-armstrong-rumoured-to-be-on-his-last-tour-of-duty-r0sjz0bjgqs>

Whittle, J. (2017, July 24). Tour de France: Aura of invincibility aiding Chris Froome's continued success. *The Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tour-de-france-aura-of-invincibility-aiding-chris-froomes-continued-success-nmkhnt8n7>

Whittle (2004, July 26). Armstrong rides to victory after tour de force. *The Times*. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>

Appendices 1 - 8

Appendix 1: Lance Armstrong *The Times* Corpus: Identified Frame Sub-Categories with Text-Fragment Examples per Umbrella Frame Category and Contextual Orientation.

Frame Umbrella Category, Contextual Orientation and Sub-Category:	Text-Fragment Example:	Reference:	Number of frames /114 total frames:
Tour/Race Related (Thematic):			34 (29.82%)
Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers	<i>"It is Irresponsible for us to encourage kids to race and potentially turn pro without doing all we can to change cycling back to a sport where they will not likely be asked to take drugs"</i>	English (2004, July 25)	16
Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	<i>"Right now, while public attention is still on the Tour, is a good time to address the problem of doping."</i>	English (2004, July 25)	10
Armstrong is suspicious for his success in a race that includes dopers, and it is known not all of them are caught	<i>"Brailsford also made the point that Millar had never tested positive in his career. Proof, if it was needed, that drug tests do not work."</i>	Walsh (2004, July 4)	4
Armstrong is the champion of an event that has historically been affected by doping	<i>"The Tour has also acted in its best interests, invoking its own ethical charter that has been developed in recent years after the debacle of the 1998 Tour, renowned for the infamous Festina Affair, a doping scandal that overshadowed that year's race."</i>	Whittle (2004, June 13)	2
Armstrong is competing in Tour with high anti-doping standards	<i>"The Tour de France organization maintained its new ethical zeal in Limoges yesterday by expelling two more riders from this year's event, Martin Hivastija, of Slovenia, and Stefano Casagrande, of Italy, after it was confirmed that both riders are under investigation for doping offences in Italy. Although neither rider has tested positive in this year's race, a letter sent to Jean-Marie Leblanc, the Tour director, from magistrates in Padua confirmed that both will face charges over doping offences"</i>	Whittle (2004, June 13)	1
Armstrong is the champion of an event with possible doping problems	<i>"What do we make of it (cycling)? What will we make of the whole summer when, one month from now, we are into the added suspicion of drugs and cheating around an Olympic Games back in Athens, the birthplace of competition at that level?"</i>	Hughes (2004, July 18)	1
Tour/Race Related (Episodic):			15 (13.16%)
Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	<i>"There are no miracles in cycling. There is always an explanation. With all the stories over the past few years, I am less excited by the Tour. I am skeptical."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	5

Armstrong is the champion of a race suspected to include dopers	<i>"However, the two other riders named, Pavel Padrnos, a Czech and a key team-mate of Lance Armstrong, the defending champion, and Stefano Zanini, of Italy, claimed to be under investigation in San Remo, remain in the race."</i>	Whittle (2004, June 13)	4
Armstrong is the champion of a race including dopers.	<i>"It is also a troubled sport, hagridden by drugs"</i>	Barnes (2004, July 24)	3
Armstrong suspicious due to his success in an event with doping problems	<i>"A similar performance is expected from Armstrong today, a result that will only fan the flames of a debate that has already divided a traumatized sport."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	3
Outright Suspicion (Thematic):			3 (2.63%)
Armstrong suspicious as are all elite athletes	<i>"Unless anything is proved to the contrary, Lance Armstrong is a week away from being the ultimate winner in the century-old ultimate test of human endurance on bicycles. We need to suspend our disbelief, and at least to watch history in the making."</i>	Hughes (2004, July 18)	1
Some fans suspect Armstrong is doping	<i>"Armstrong ran the gauntlet of the jealous, the resentful and the suspicious."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 26)	1
Armstrong's team connected to doping investigation	<i>"Padmos and Zanini both raced yesterday but the dispute is ongoing, and the pair could still be prevented from continuing, Clerc said, after the dispute was given to an arbitrator."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 17)	1
Outright Suspicion (Episodic):			21 (18.42%)
Armstrong suspicious because of his relationship with doctor with suspected doping connections	<i>"The shadow of Michele Ferrari, the controversial sports doctor at the center of allegations made against Lance Armstrong, the champion, loomed large over the Tour yesterday."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 4)	5
Armstrong's team connected to doping.	<i>"The Tour's directors were further investigating the growing controversy surrounding four riders and in particular Pavel Padrnos, the US Postal rider. The Czech has been asked to appear in front of the investigators pursuing an Italian doping inquiry."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 9)	4
Armstrong's team connected to doping investigation	<i>"If the team has a worry, it concerns its Czech rider Pavel Padrnos. According to Le Monde, Padrnos and three other riders are being investigated "for procuring and using doping products with a view to improving performance and falsifying race results." US Postal's director Johan Bruyneel, said the rider had done nothing wrong. Tour de France organisers have written to the Italian police, however, seeking details of the case"</i>	Walsh (2004, July 18)	3
Armstrong suspicious due to career trajectory	<i>"He first spoke out three years ago, commenting on Armstrong's triumphant recovery from cancer: "If it is true, it is the greatest comeback in the history of sport; if it is not it is the greatest fraud."</i>	English (2004, July 25)	1
Armstrong suspicious as are all cyclists	<i>"it seems that after six years of angst, the tide is slowly beginning to turn against the culture of doping. The presumption of innocence, adhered to by Leblanc until this year, now appears to have been suspended by the presumption of guilt"</i>	Whittle (2004, July 4)	1

Armstrong's efforts to defend doping allegations irrational	<i>"I don't understand why a great champion like Armstrong is preoccupied with a little rider like me, in a race as important as the Tour De France," the Italian said. Last night, as Armstrong stood on the threshold of achieving sporting history with a record sixth victory in the world's most famous endurance event, that was the question exercising many minds, both within the Tour organization and in the professional peloton itself."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 24)	1
Armstrong's team connected to contentious doping allegations.	<i>"A good day off the road for Armstrong, too, after International Cycling Union (UCI) derailed an attempt by the Tour De France organization to expel one of his team-mates, Pavel Padrnos, a Czech, and another rider from the race, Stefano Zanini, because of their involvement in a doping trial later this year in Italy."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 17)	1
Armstrong's teammate unfairly pursued by Tour organizers relating to doping.	<i>"However, Jogi Muller, Armstrong's press officer, reiterated the team's Padrnos. "The Tour would like him out", Muller said. "But there is absolutely no case to expel him."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 17)	1
Armstrong is lying about being a clean athlete	<i>"Lance is ready to do no matter what to keep his secret. But I don't know how he is able to continue to convince everybody of his innocence."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	1
Armstrong suspicious because he is winning against doped athletes with significant advantages	<i>"There has always been a problem with drugs in our sport, but for the past ten years the products have become so effective that they can totally change an athlete physiologically. They can transform a mule into a stallion."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	1
Armstrong suspicious due to stories of alleged doping	<i>"People are going to say I am jealous because I am the first American winner of the Tour. Lance says that I am the only Tour winner not to support him, but with all these stories it's difficult to remain a fan."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	1
Great champion pursued by doping allegations	<i>"Drug claims pursue Tour De France legend"</i>	Bremner (2004, July 3)	1
Disregarding Suspicion (Thematic):			1 (0.87%)
Armstrong not reprimandable due to media suspicion	<i>"We cannot exclude riders from the race on the basis of newspaper reports," Leblanc said"</i>	Whittle (2004, June 13)	1
Disregarding Suspicion (Episodic):			11 (9.65%)
Armstrong is unfairly suspected	<i>"There is an obscure feeling in France that cancer gave him some kind of disgusting advantage. If it did give him an advantage, it lies in the knowledge that the pain of ramming a bike up Alpe d'Huez is nothing compared with what he has already been through. This is an extraordinary being and if sport is not about the search for extraordinary human beings, then there isn't much point in watching it."</i>	Barnes (2004, July 24)	3

Suspicion of Armstrong's team is unfair	<i>"I talked to Jean-Marie before the race began and showed him the whole case and there's nothing there", Bruyneel said. "I didn't read the Le Monde article but it's ridiculous to doubt somebody because of this. Maybe in Italy there's something going on and they want to make themselves important, but from a sporting standpoint there is no reason to have doubt about Pavel at all."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 9)	2
Armstrong should not be considered suspicious due to his anti-doping test record	<i>"But Armstrong never tested positive."</i>	Barnes (2004, July 24)	1
Armstrong believes he is suspected of doping because fans don't understand how hard he works.	<i>"I know that it's a mix of talent and hard work. Many people ask how it can be possible, but it's easy to derive sensational answers. It's full commitment," Armstrong said of the ethic that has taken him to a unique place in Tour history</i>	Whittle (2004, July 26)	1
It is possible for Armstrong to win clean.	<i>"Ironically, yesterday's stage was won by David Moncoutie, a Frenchman riding for the Cofidis team and a professional whose reputation for 'clean' racing is well-known."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	1
Armstrong has a case with his denials as he has never failed a drugs test	<i>"In more than a decade of professional racing, Armstrong has never failed a doping test and he and his lawyers deny vehemently that he has used performance-enhancing drugs."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 1)	1
Armstrong a victim of malicious doping allegations	<i>"LeMond has been accused of jealousy and malicious timing by supporters of Armstrong."</i>	English (2004, July 25)	1
Armstrong the target of unjustified suspicion	<i>"Armstrong's supporters say that these allegations have been made before and are based on nothing and that Walsh and Ballester have vendettas against him."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 1)	1
Neutral Mention (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Neutral Mention (Episodic):			9 (7.89%)
Armstrong believes doping allegations are bad for the sport of cycling	<i>"But the champion was unapologetic. "Simeoni is not a rider that the peloton wants to see in the front group," Armstrong said. "All he does is to attack cycling and say bad things about the riders and the group in general. When I came back to the peloton, I had a lot of people patting me on the back. All he wants to do is to destroy cycling, to destroy the sport that pays him."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 24)	2
Armstrong a target for doping suspicion by French media sources.	<i>"Yesterday morning a French TV crew attempted to search Armstrong's hotel room, moments after he had spoken to them. Then a newspaper interview with Greg LeMond, winner of the Tour de France in 1986, 1989 and 1990, repeated the accusation of ethical malaise by Armstrong that LeMond first made in the summer of 2001."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	2
Armstrong accused of doping	<i>"There are few who doubt the Texan's determination and resolve, expressed unflinchingly this week in interview after interview, as doping allegations once again swarm around him."</i>	Whittle (2004, June 3)	1

Armstrong unaffected by stress of doping allegations	<i>"Armstrong seems a more contented man, despite long periods of separation from his three children and the constant scandals that batter his sport."</i>	Whittle (2004, June 3)	1
Armstrong is protected from doping suspicion due to emotional connection with the public	<i>"Most of us will probably need to put aside our emotions and resist making the judgement that Greg is trying to gain something personal or is simply jealous of being eclipsed as the dominant American cyclist," Hampsten added."</i>	English (2004, July 25)	1
Armstrong succeeding despite stress of doping allegations	<i>"Contrary to expectations, after the trials and tribulations of 2003 and distractions away from the race, such as his divorce settlement, and pending legal battle over doping allegations, Armstrong has come back to the Tour hunting a record sixth win in succession, looking as strong as he was in his heyday."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 13)	1
Armstrong faces significant suspicion	<i>"avalanche of doping accusations"</i>	Whittle (2004, July 1)	1
Denial (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Denial (Episodic):			20 (17.54%)
Armstrong fighting doping accusers	<i>"Armstrong rounds on critics over drugs storm"</i>	Whittle (2004, July 1)	3
Armstrong defensive in conversations concerning doping	<i>"The problem with Lance is that you cannot talk to him," LeMond has said. "For him you are either a liar or you are trying to destroy cycling."</i>	English (2004, July 25)	3
Armstrong defensive in the face of doping allegations	<i>"Last night, the mood in the Armstrong camp was black as the Texan and his closest advisers debated the best response to the latest flurry of allegations."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	2
Armstrong proclaims himself the victim of unfair targeting relating to doping in the French media	<i>"The Texan called such behaviours "scandalous". "They show up and they ask sporting questions to our face, but as soon as we leave they're digging in the rooms and looking for dirt," he said. "</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	2
Armstrong defensive over doping accusations levelled at his advisor	<i>"Armstrong, who has always maintained that Ferrari is innocent, called Simeoni an "absolute liar" in an interview with Le Monde after the Italian rider testified that Ferrari had treated him with erythropoietin (EPO), the banned performance enhancer."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 4)	1
Armstrong fights doping allegations	<i>"Armstrong is traditionally at his best when he is in a corner and few would doubt that he is feeling the heat at the moment."</i>	Whittle (2004, June 3)	1
Armstrong offended by	<i>"Armstrong declaring himself "surprised and upset""</i>	English (2004, July 25)	1

suspicion of doping			
Armstrong denies allegations he is doping	<i>"He vehemently insists, despite the doping allegations that have dogged him since his first Tour win, that dedication is the secret of his success."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 26)	1
Armstrong claims to be the victim of unethical tactics by French Media under doping suspicion	<i>"If you left a Vitamin B sitting there, that would get on TV and that would be a scandal. That's what we have to live with every day."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	1
Armstrong discredits French media for investigations based on doping suspicion	<i>"The scary thing is, if they don't find anything and get frustrated after a couple of months- who's to say they won't put something there and say, 'look what we've found?'"</i>	Whittle (2004, July 16)	1
Armstrong aggressive in denying claims of doping accusers	<i>"Armstrong has raged against a wide section of the sports community, from former riders such as Christophe Bassons, whose racing career ended prematurely after the American publicly crucified him for expressing fears over doping during the 1999 Tour, to Dick Pound, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) president."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 1)	1
Armstrong determined to fight doping accusers	<i>"Armstrong said that he would pursue libel suits in Britain and France, but otherwise rebuffed the latest in years of claims that his near-miraculous stamina came from something more than pasta and mineral water."</i>	Bremner (2004, July 3)	1
Armstrong defensive in the media regarding doping accusations	<i>"Against a backdrop of scandal, Lance Armstrong, the Tour champion, yesterday defended himself against allegations recently published in France, in L.A Confidential: Les Secrets de Lance Armstrong, the book authored by David Walsh and Pierre Ballester."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 2)	1
Armstrong is not concerned by doping allegations	<i>"Armstrong said the recent spate of allegations had not affected his Tour build-up. "I feel good, I feel strong," he said as he began his campaign to win a record sixth Tour."</i>	Whittle (2004, July 2)	1

Appendix 2: Lance Armstrong *The New York Times* Corpus: Identified Frame Sub-Categories with Text-Fragment Examples per Umbrella Frame Category and Contextual Orientation.

Frame Umbrella Category, Contextual Orientation and Sub-Category:	Text-Fragment Example:	Reference:	Number of frames /77 total frames:
Tour/Race Related (Thematic):			28 (36.36%)
Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	<i>"We scarcely need the name Balco to remind us that the doping problem isn't confined to the Tour, but for many years cycling has been in a class of its own. The extent of drug use was concealed by the sport's omerta, with disastrous consequences."</i>	Wheatcroft (2004, July 24)	27

Armstrong is the champion of a race known to include dopers	"Since then, the wonder drug EPO has arrived to enrich red blood cells, to enhance performance- and to kill. The awful evidence is young cyclists dying from nocturnal heart attacks, at least eight of them in the last 15 months. Too often, the Tour de France does resemble epic tragedy, in which heroic ambition leads to self-destruction."	Wheatcroft (2004, July 24)	1
Tour/Race Related (Episodic):			3 (3.90%)
Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	<i>"The apparent rise in blood doping has angered Lemond, who says a cyclist friend died from it."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	3
Outright Suspicion (Thematic):			1 (1.30%)
Not all cyclists who do not test positive are clean, including Armstrong	<i>"EPO is hard to detect, said Dr. Gary Wadler, an international drug expert and a professor of medicine at New York University, because the "effect of the drug outlasts its detectability."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	1
Outright Suspicion (Episodic):			5 (6.50%)
Armstrong is suspicious despite his denials and clean testing record	<i>"The authors interviewed Armstrong's former personal masseuse, Emma O'Reilly; a former teammate, Stephen Swart; a former team doctor, Prentice Steffen; and Lemond, who won the Tour in 1986, 1989 and 1990. All raised questions about whether Armstrong uses PEDs, which he categorically denies, often saying he is the most tested athlete in any sport and has never tested positive."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	3
Armstrong suspicious because of his sudden rise to success	<i>"It is clear that Lemond and Armstrong have had a contentious relationship since Lemond began questioning superior performances on mountains that had not suddenly become less steep. "Lance is ready to do anything to keep his secret," LeMond was quoted as saying in French newspaper Le Monde on Thursday. "I don't know how he can continue to convince everybody of his innocence."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	1
Armstrong is suspicious but there is not enough evidence of doping	<i>"Walsh has been voted Britain's sportswriter of the year three times, has described the evidence regarding Armstrong as circumstantial, and he is right about that."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	1
Disregarding Suspicion (Thematic):			1 (1.30%)

Armstrong is not suspicious as Simeoni is an unreliable critic.	<i>"This year, Simoeni challenged Armstrong in the Giro, a month before the Tour, but Armstrong declined. Simeoni was defeated by a teammate, Damiano Cunego, 10 years his junior, who cruised to victory while Simeoni finished third. Add that rebuff to the bitter memories Simeoni has of the 2002 Giro, when he was expelled after a drug test revealed cocaine in his system, and his failure to sign in at the Tour becomes an act of rebellion, not mutiny. "</i>	Abt (2004, July 12c)	1
Disregarding Suspicion (Episodic):			14 (18.18%)
Victim of irrational suspicion	<i>"French officials publicly and fervently haunted him for a couple of years before admitting they had nothing."</i>	Abt (2004, July 2b)	7
Armstrong the victim of French media obsession with doping suspicion	<i>"It was Armstrong who made news off his bike, charging that a French television crew had tried to obtain access to his hotel room in St-Flour on Thursday in the hope of finding evidence that he has been using performance-enhancing drugs. "Just this morning after we left, a TV crew from France 3 was going to the hotel, the reception, to the owner, asking for our room, trying to get in our room," Armstrong told the Associated Press. "They show up and they ask sporting questions to our face, but as soon as they leave, they're digging in the rooms looking for dirt," he added. "</i>	Abt (2004, July 16a)	2
Armstrong the unfair target of doping suspicion by French Media given the scale of doping in the Tour	<i>"This is repulsive not because of the objective weight of the accusations, but because of the hypocrisy: the French have been notably uncensorious about their flawed idols. The same fans who jeer Armstrong cheered the stage victory of Richard Virenque, the villain of the 1998 doping scandal, which nearly ruined the tour."</i>	Wheatcroft (2004, July 24)	1
Armstrong's aggression is probably the trait of a champion, not suspiciously irrational.	<i>"But his most primitive act against his critic might have been ill-advised since it called attention to his anger about the charges of doping in the cycling culture. Most likely, Armstrong could not help himself. It was that way in the 1992 Summer Games when Michael Jordan and his Bulls sidekick, Scottie Pippen, could not help themselves from double-teaming Toni Kukoc of Croatia, who had been signed to a lucrative contract by Chicago."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 25)	1
Armstrong's clean test record negates any allegations of doping.	<i>"Americans have also heard the rumours coming from that gallant three-time American champion, Greg Lemond, that the sport is chemically abetted, yet Armstrong has had no problem with increased drug testing in recent years."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 25)	1
Suspicion of doping should not prevent celebration of Armstrong's achievements	<i>"When Lance Armstrong arrives at the head of the pack next Sunday-as he almost surely will- he will deserve all the cheers as a strong and charismatic six-time champion of the Tour de France."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	1

Doping allegations an insignificant part of Armstrong's life.	<i>"Turning to other matters, he said that, compared with last year, when he won the Tour despite various stresses, including the breakup of his marriage, he was feeling less anxious now."</i>	Abt (2004, July 8)	1
Neutral Mention (Thematic):			1 (1.30%)
Armstrong the target of media interest in doping	<i>"Aside from Armstrong's charges against the French TV crew, the most interesting development on Thursday was probably the appearance of six cows on the route, which briefly delayed the pack."</i>	Abt (2004, July 16b)	1
Neutral Mention (Episodic):			3 (3.90%)
Armstrong a target for doping suspicion by French media and fans	<i>"An uglier manifestation of anti-American feeling: the hounding of Armstrong in the French press over accusations that he is involved in doping, and the repulsive sight of fans not only holding up signs of syringes as he passes, but also spitting at him"</i>	Wheatcroft (2004, July 24)	1
Armstrong and his fellow cyclists need to publicly support anti-doping.	<i>"But it would be even better to see some of these epic heroes, French and otherwise, show a different kind of courage, by renouncing drugs."</i>	Wheatcroft (2004, July 24)	1
Armstrong has been accused of doping due to his success	<i>"Armstrong, who has won five straight Tours and is seeking a record sixth title, has been shadowed by drug-use accusations during his winning streak."</i>	Abt (2004, July 16a)	1
Denial (Thematic):			1 (1.30%)
Armstrong defensive of media doping suspicion	<i>"Cycling: Armstrong Finally Shows Some Heat, Off the Bike...it was Armstrong who made news off his bike, charging that a French television crew had tried to obtain access to his hotel room in St-Flour on Thursday in the hope of finding evidence that he has been using performance-enhancing drugs."</i>	Abt (2004, July 16a)	1
Denial (Episodic):			20 (25.97%)
Armstrong is angry at those who accuse him or his advisers of doping	<i>"The man who wears the leader's yellow jersey would never trifle to go after a rider in 144th place, 2 hours 42 minutes 55 seconds behind him, unless there was an ulterior motive. In this case, there was: Simeoni is suing Armstrong for defamation of character over doping charges. The Italian has testified that one of Armstrong's advisors, Dr. Michele Ferrari, furnished him with illegal performance-enhancing drugs."</i>	Abt (2004, July 24)	5
Armstrong determined to fight doping accusers	<i>"he was driven to take legal action"</i>	Abt (2004, July 2b)	3

Armstrong believes allegations of doping are bad for cycling	<i>"Without mentioning the suit, Armstrong amplified on the later, saying "I followed Simeoni. I was protecting the interest of the peloton," or pack of riders "He is not a rider that the peloton wants to be up front because all he does is attack the peloton and say bad things about the other riders. When I finally came back, I had a lot of riders patting me on the back and saying 'Thank you'."</i>	Abt (2004, July 24)	2
Armstrong defensive of media doping suspicion	<i>"Last week, Armstrong angrily charged a French television crew with trying to infiltrate his team's quarters."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	2
Armstrong defensive of relationship with Ferrari as a source of suspicion	<i>"In a recent public statement Armstrong said: "It is true that Dr Ferrari has been on trial in Italy for a number of years for allegedly providing drugs to athletes. I have been clear about this issue. First, I have never seen anything that would lead me to believe that Dr. Ferrari would do such a thing, and second, I continue to believe that he deserves the benefit of a simple presumption: innocent until proven guilty."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 19)	1
Armstrong defensive over doping accusations levelled at Dr Ferrari	<i>"He showed is wrath Friday when he bolted ahead to stall an escape by Filippo Simeoni, who has testified that one of Armstrong's advisers, Michele Ferrari of Italy, furnished Simeoni with illegal drugs. Armstrong has called Simeoni a liar."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 25)	1
Armstrong is not concerned by allegations that he is doping	<i>"Is the controversy over the book, including the libel suit he is pursuing against its authors, a distraction? "No", he answered, without elaborating."</i>	Abt (2004, July 2a)	1
Armstrong considers allegations he is doping to be baseless.	<i>"But as questions about drugs and the book, "L.A. Confidential", rained in, he said, "Extraordinary accusations need extraordinary proof." He noted that the authors had worked for three years to research the book and said, "They haven't come up with any extraordinary proof."</i>	Abt (2004, July 2a)	1
Armstrong aggressive in his denial of doping connections.	<i>"He showed Jordanesque vengeance on Friday when he chased down a cyclist who had crossed him."</i>	Vecsey (2004, July 25)	1
Armstrong fighting suspicion that he taking PEDs	<i>"Armstrong, the Texan who leads the U.S. Postal Service team and is trying to win his sixth Tour, which nobody has been able to accomplish in the 101-year history of the race, and his sixth in succession. If that weren't pressure enough, he also fielded many questions about a new book in French that implicates him in the use of illegal performance-enhancing drugs."</i>	Abt (2004, July 2a)	1
Armstrong is determined to legally refute those who accuse him of doping	<i>"As for his libel suit in British courts, he said, "I will spend whatever it takes to win justice."</i>	Abt (2004, July 2a)	1

Armstrong discredits those who cast suspicion that he may be doping	<i>"The American called Simeoni a liar in a French newspaper interview, and the Italian then sued him in a case that is pending."</i>	Abt (2004, July 24)	1
---	---	---------------------	---

Appendix 3: Chris Froome, *The Times* Corpus: Identified Frame Sub-Categories with Text-Fragment Examples per Umbrella Frame Category and Contextual Orientation.

Frame Umbrella Category, Contextual Orientation and Sub-Category:	Text-Fragment Example:	Reference:	Number of frames /26 total frames:
Tour/Race Related (Thematic):			6 (23.10%)
<i>Froome is the reigning champion of an event with a history of doping problems</i>	<i>"Riders in this race once used to take Edgar Allen Poe, the code name they gave to the performance-enhancing drug EPO, before going to bed. Martin actually reads Edgar Allan Poe at races as it gets him to sleep quickly. It would be nice to think that everyone would follow his lead and forsake chemistry for literature."</i>	Walsh (2017, July 9)	5
<i>Froome is suspicious because of doping scandals of the past, including Lance Armstrong</i>	<i>"I have seen this movie. The ending is shitty- Lance Armstrong"</i>	Dickinson (2017, June 30)	1
Tour/Race Related (Episodic):			2 (7.70%)
<i>Froome is the champion of a sport with a history of doping problems</i>	<i>"he has to overcome not just cynicism based on cycling's doping past"</i>	Dickinson (2017, July 24)	2
Outright Suspicion (Thematic):			9 (34.62%)
<i>Froome suspicious as a member of Team Sky</i>	<i>"Chris Froome believes he is peaking just in time for his fourth victory at the Tour De France in five years. But, as he seeks to hold off three challengers, PR problems continue to pursue his team."</i>	Dickinson (2017, July 18)	8
<i>Froome is suspicious because of doping scandals of the past, including Lance Armstrong</i>	<i>"Perhaps they truly are unconcerned about the issues that Armstrong listed forensically- laughing at compromised attempts at zero-tolerance, talking of how the trumpeting of an impeccable medical policy 'completely bit them in the ass', scoffing at how embedding David Walsh, his own nemesis, had blown up in Sky's faces."</i>	Dickinson (2017, June 30)	1
Outright Suspicion (Episodic):			4 (15.38%)
<i>Froome suspicious as a member of Team Sky</i>	<i>"Jeremy Darroch, the chief executive of Sky plc and a key figure behind the cycling team, was one of the first to congratulate Froome after he crossed the line at the end of Saturday's time trial in the Stade Velodrome in Marseilles. Despite all the recent turbulence, the board's faith seems</i>	Dickinson (2017, July 24)	4

	<i>unwavering. They appear to believe that winning will eventually drown out the complaints and controversy."</i>		
Disregarding Suspicion (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Disregarding Suspicion (Episodic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Neutral Mention (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Neutral Mention (Episodic):			2 (7.69%)
Froome is adept at avoiding the focus of media doping speculation regarding his team	<i>"Froome had done a great job of distancing himself, admiring how the three-times Tour winner had handled himself on and off the bike. "He stayed away from the Wiggins controversy. He stayed away from the Brailsford controversy. He's Teflon"</i>	Dickinson (2017, July 22)	1
Froome is a target for doping speculation as a tour winner	<i>"Froome has negotiated every hurdle with an economy of fuss to prove himself, by more than his 23-second advantage, the exceptional grand tour champion of recent years."</i>	Dickinson (2017, July 22)	1
Denial (Thematic):			3 (11.54%)
Froome is unconcerned by doping suspicion	<i>"When you have a three-week bike race, especially one that's been this close for the yellow jersey, it's not something that's on you radar," he explained. "It's just noise in the background. It's the same as a Frenchman going 'boo!' at the roadside- you hear it, but it doesn't stop you pedaling or going in the direction you need to go."</i>	Dickinson (2017, July 24)	2
Froome is defiant in face of media suspicion of doping	<i>"But trying to ignore it does not mean that it goes away. Froome, a more interesting guy than the public will have gleaned, has become more guarded in France. Even amid the glow of victory, international media pushed him on his failure to do the traditional sit down on two rest days. "It's called a rest day" he said. "Otherwise it would be called a media day. It was an unusually sharp response from a man who, as a rule, is painstakingly courteous."</i>	Dickinson (2017, July 24)	1
Denial (Episodic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-

Appendix 4: Chris Froome, *The New York Times* Corpus: Identified Frame Sub-Categories with Text-Fragment Examples per Umbrella Frame Category and Contextual Orientation.

Frame Umbrella Category, Contextual Orientation and Sub-Category:	Text-Fragment Example:	Reference:	Number of frames /2 total frames:
Tour/Race Related (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Tour/Race Related (Episodic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Outright Suspicion (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Outright Suspicion (Episodic):			1 (50%)
Fans suspect Froome is doping.	<i>"the image of a syringe they had painted...with Chris Froome's name written next to it."</i>	Keh (2017, July 18)	1
Disregarding Suspicion (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Disregarding Suspicion (Episodic):			1 (50%)
Race media do not support accusations Froome is doping.	<i>"The race official suggested that the image of a syringe they had painted near their campsite, with Chris Froome's name written next to it would hurt their chances of getting on camera."</i>	Keh (2017, July 18)	1
Neutral Mention (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Neutral Mention (Episodic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Denial (Thematic):			0 (0%)
-	-	-	-
Denial (Episodic):			0 (0%)

-	-	-	-
---	---	---	---

Appendix 5: Lance Armstrong, *The Times* Corpus: Frame Sub-Categories Per Article Including Frame and Article Word Counts and Doping Suspicion Orientation Coding (V/I/D)

Article Date	Article	Article Word Count	Frame Sub-Category	Frame Word Count	Frame Contextual Orientation	V/I/D
13/07/04	Two expelled from tour as organisers get tough	400	Armstrong is competing in a <i>Tour</i> with high anti-doping standards	20	Thematic	D
			Armstrong is not reprimandable due to media suspicion	15	Thematic	D
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that has historically been affected by doping	21	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race suspected to include dopers	37	Episodic	I
3/07/04	Tour pack closing in as champion bids to ride into history	853	Armstrong fights doping allegations	25	Episodic	I
			Armstrong accused of doping	26	Episodic	I
			Armstrong unaffected by stress of doping allegations	6	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race suspected to include dopers.	17	Episodic	I
4/07/04	Tour organisers planning 200 drug tests	339	Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	15	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	43	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race suspected to include dopers.	34	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race suspected to include dopers.	14	Episodic	I
25/07/04	Top rider joins American uncivil war of words	520	Armstrong suspicious because of his relationship with doctor with suspected doping connections	31	Episodic	V
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	6	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	11	Thematic	I

			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	20	Thematic	I
			Armstrong a victim of malicious doping allegations	13	Episodic	D
			Armstrong suspicious due to career trajectory	37	Episodic	V
			Armstrong defensive in conversations concerning doping	28	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is protected from doping suspicion due to emotional connection with the public	38	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	17	Thematic	I
			Armstrong offended by suspicion of doping	6	Episodic	I
			Armstrong defensive in conversations concerning doping	14	Episodic	I
14/07/04	Simeoni fails to escape spotlight in breakaway	699	Armstrong suspicious because of his relationship with doctor with suspected doping connections	26	Episodic	V
			Armstrong suspicious because of his relationship with doctor with suspected doping connections	29	Episodic	V
			Armstrong's team connected to doping.	84	Episodic	I
			Armstrong's team connected to doping.	58	Episodic	I
			Armstrong defensive over doping accusations levelled at his advisor	37	Episodic	I
			Armstrong suspicious as are all cyclists	42	Episodic	V
			Armstrong defensive in conversations concerning doping	52	Episodic	I
15/07/04	Prodigal son Virenque thrills home fans	573	Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	31	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	42	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	21	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	67	Thematic	I

12/07/04	McEwen accused as Tour mood darkens	637	Armstrong is the champion of a race including dopers.	20	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race including dopers.	65	Thematic	I
24/07/04	Is this the greatest individual sporting feat of all?	739	Armstrong is the champion of a race known to include dopers	9	Thematic	I
			Armstrong should not be considered suspicious due to his anti-doping test record	5	Episodic	D
			Armstrong is unfairly suspected	17	Episodic	D
			Armstrong is unfairly suspected	72	Episodic	D
			Armstrong is unfairly suspected	27	Episodic	D
9/07/04	Home hope Voeckler storms to yellow jersey	654	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	19	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	23	Thematic	I
			Armstrong's team connected to doping.	38	Episodic	I
			Suspicion of Armstrong's team is unfair	48	Episodic	D
			Suspicion of Armstrong's team is unfair	66	Episodic	D
11/07/04	Cycling: Freewheelers in the pack	1258	Armstrong's team connected to doping.	69	Episodic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	17	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	36	Thematic	I
18/07/04	Cycling: Armstrong makes the vital break	875	Armstrong is the champion of an event with possible doping problems	43	Thematic	I
			Armstrong suspicious as are all cyclists	43	Thematic	V

24/07/04	Bossy Armstrong rumoured to be on his last tour of duty	808	Armstrong defensive over doping allegations	64	Episodic	I
			Armstrong believes doping allegations are bad for the sport of cycling	9	Episodic	I
			Armstrong believes doping allegations are bad for the sport of cycling	75	Episodic	I
			Armstrong's efforts to defend doping allegations irrational	72	Episodic	I
26/07/04	Armstrong rides to victory after tour de force	923	Some fans suspect Armstrong is doping	12	Thematic	I
			Armstrong denies allegations he is doping	25	Episodic	I
			Armstrong believes he is suspected of doping because fans don't understand how hard he works.	45	Episodic	I
17/07/04	Armstrong proves a point as main rivals trail after mountain surge	679	Armstrong's team connected to contentious doping allegations.	54	Episodic	D
			Armstrong's team connected to doping investigation	30	Thematic	I
			Armstrong's teammate unfairly pursued by Tour organizers relating to doping.	27	Episodic	D
13/07/04	Armstrong in mood to make rivals suffer	1120	Armstrong succeeding despite stress of doping allegations	51	Episodic	I
8/07/04	Armstrong in familiar colour as team excel	752	Armstrong's team connected to doping investigation	54	Episodic	I
			Armstrong's team connected to doping investigation	29	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is the champion an event with doping problems	43	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion an event with doping problems	73	Episodic	I

			Armstrong is the champion an event with doping problems	39	Episodic	I
16/07/04	Armstrong defies growing criticism	695	Armstrong a target for doping suspicion by French media sources.	54	Episodic	D
			Armstrong suspicious due to his success in an event with doping problems	26	Episodic	V
			Armstrong's team connected to doping investigation	46	Episodic	I
			Armstrong defensive in the face of doping allegations	27	Episodic	I
			Armstrong a target for doping suspicion by French media sources.	46	Episodic	D
			Armstrong proclaims himself the victim of unfair targeting relating to doping in the French media	35	Episodic	I
			Armstrong claims to be the victim of unethical tactics by French Media under doping suspicion	28	Episodic	I
			Armstrong proclaims himself the victim of unfair targeting relating to doping in the French media	13	Episodic	I
			Armstrong discredits French media for investigations based on doping suspicion	31	Episodic	I
			Armstrong suspicious because of his relationship with doctor with suspected doping connections	26	Episodic	V
			Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	21	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is lying about being a clean athlete	28	Episodic	V
			Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	31	Episodic	I
			Armstrong suspicious because he is winning against doped athletes with significant advantages	39	Episodic	V
			Armstrong suspicious due to stories of alleged doping	42	Episodic	V
			It is possible for Armstrong to win clean.	25	Episodic	D

1/07/04	Armstrong Rounds On Critics Over Drugs Storm	874	Armstrong fighting doping accusers	7	Episodic	I
			Armstrong fighting doping accusers	29	Episodic	I
			Armstrong fighting doping accusers	11	Episodic	I
			Armstrong aggressive in denying claims of doping accusers	47	Episodic	I
			Armstrong has a case with his denials as he has never failed a drugs test	28	Episodic	D
			Armstrong the target of unjustified suspicion	24	Episodic	D
			Armstrong faces significant suspicion	4	Episodic	I
			Armstrong suspicious because of his relationship with doctor under investigation for doping	32	Episodic	V
			Armstrong is the champion of a sport with doping problems	53	Episodic	I
3/07/04	Drug claims pursue Tour De France legend	836	Great champion pursued by doping allegations	7	Episodic	I
			Armstrong determined to fight doping accusers	85	Episodic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with a history of doping problems	67	Thematic	I
04/07/2004	Cycling: The battle and the war	1871	Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	21	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	31	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	48	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	48	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	46	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is suspicious for his success in a race that includes dopers, and it is known not all of them are caught.	24	Thematic	V

			Armstrong is suspicious for his success in a race that includes dopers, and it is known not all of them are caught.	11	Thematic	V
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	52	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	20	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is suspicious for his success in a race that includes dopers, and it is known not all of them are caught.	18	Thematic	V
			Armstrong is suspicious for his success in a race that includes dopers, and it is known not all of them are caught.	36	Thematic	V
			Armstrong is suspicious for his success in a race with doping problems	74	Episodic	V
			Armstrong is suspicious for his success in a race with doping problems	17	Episodic	V
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems	49	Thematic	I
2/07/04	Fresh drugs scandals cast heavy shadow over Tour	425	Armstrong defensive in the media regarding doping accusations	36	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is not concerned by doping allegations	32	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of an event with doping problems	8	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	61	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race that includes dopers.	85	Thematic	I

Appendix 6: Lance Armstrong, *The New York Times* Corpus: Frame Sub-Categories Per Article Including Frame and Article Word Counts and Doping Suspicion Orientation Coding (V/I/D)

Article Date	Article	Article Word Count	Frame Sub-Category	Frame Word Count	Frame Contextual Orientation	V/I/D
2/07/04	Sports of The Times; To Suspicious Minds, Armstrong is Dirty	867	Victim of irrational suspicion	6	Episodic	D

			Victim of irrational suspicion	34	Episodic	D
			Victim of irrational suspicion	10	Episodic	D
			Victim of irrational suspicion	17	Episodic	D
			Victim of irrational suspicion	9	Episodic	D
			Victim of irrational suspicion	23	Episodic	D
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	27	Episodic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	28	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	44	Thematic	I
			Victim of irrational suspicion	22	Episodic	D
			Armstrong determined to fight doping accusers	7	Episodic	I
			Armstrong determined to fight doping accusers	9	Episodic	I
			Armstrong determined to fight doping accusers	13	Episodic	I
2/07/04	Cycling: This Tour de France has its issues even before it gets rolling	716	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	12	Thematic	I
			Armstrong fighting suspicion that he taking PEDs	65	Episodic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	13	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	48	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	44	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	97	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is not concerned by allegations that he is doping	23	Episodic	I
			Armstrong considers allegations he is doping to be baseless.	43	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is determined to legally refute those who accuse him of doping	19	Episodic	I

3/07/04	Cycling; Quietly, an Aging Cipollini Returns for One Last Tour	737	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	67	Thematic	I
4/07/04	Cycling; Armstrong Quickly Moves Ahead of His Main Rivals	855	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	32	Thematic	I
8/07/04	Armstrong Says He Won't Compete at Olympics in Athens	441	Doping allegations an insignificant part of Armstrong's life.	27	Episodic	I
10/07/04	Tour De France: Yellow jersey changes back	1159	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	28	Thematic	I
11/07/04	A Rookie at the Tour Keeps Others in Line	846	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	20	Thematic	I
12/07/04	Cycling: Duo briefly shares joys of the open road	780	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	91	Thematic	I
12/07/04	Cycling; Simeoni Sticks Around For a Routine Stage	637	Armstrong is not suspicious as Simeoni is an unreliable critic.	79	Thematic	D
16/07/04	Cycling: Virenque provides French Fireworks	1151	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	32	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	107	Thematic	I
16/07/04	Cycling: Armstrong Finally Shows Some Heat, Off the Bike	858	Armstrong defensive of media doping suspicion	49	Thematic	I
			Armstrong has been accused of doping due to his success	24	Episodic	I
			Armstrong the victim of French media obsession with doping suspicion	106	Episodic	D

			Armstrong the victim of French media obsession with doping suspicion	33	Episodic	D
			Armstrong defensive of media doping suspicion	22	Episodic	I
			Armstrong the target of media interest in doping	30	Thematic	I
17/07/04	Cycling; Armstrong Gain as Tour Moves Up	779	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	79	Thematic	I
19/07/04	Cycling; With Climb In Sight, Armstrong Bides Time	740	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	40	Thematic	I
19/07/04	Sport of the Times: Armstrong's Toughest Rival May Be the Sport of Cycling	1141	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	47	Thematic	I
			Armstrong suspicious because of his sudden rise to success	74	Episodic	V
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	57	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	27	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	66	Thematic	I
			Not all cyclists who do not test positive are clean, including Armstrong	31	Thematic	V
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	81	Thematic	I
			Armstrong defensive of relationship with Ferrari as a source of suspicion	77	Episodic	I
			Armstrong defensive of media doping suspicion	17	Episodic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	72	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is suspicious despite his denials and clean testing record	61	Episodic	V

			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	44	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is suspicious despite his denials and clean testing record	53	Episodic	V
			Armstrong is suspicious despite his denials and clean testing record	48	Episodic	V
			Suspicion should not prevent celebration of Armstrong's achievements	34	Episodic	D
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	95	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	45	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	45	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is suspicious but there is not enough evidence of doping	25	Episodic	V
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	25	Episodic	I
24/07/04	Cycling: Armstrong staying in command, settles a score	1106	Armstrong is angry at those who accuse him or his advisers of doping	67	Episodic	I
			Armstrong discredits those who cast suspicion that he may be doping	23	Episodic	I
			Armstrong believes allegations of doping are bad for cycling	74	Episodic	I
			Armstrong believes allegations of doping are bad for cycling	58	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is angry at those who accuse him or his advisers of doping	65	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is angry at those who accuse him or his advisers of doping	26	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is angry at those who accuse him or his advisers of doping	23	Episodic	I
			Armstrong is angry at those who accuse him or his advisers of doping	22	Episodic	I

24/07/04	Wheels of Fortune	987	Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	45	Thematic	I
			Armstrong the champion of an event with doping problems.	30	Thematic	I
			Armstrong is the champion of a race known to include dopers	57	Thematic	I
			Armstrong a target for doping suspicion by French media and fans.	43	Episodic	I
			Armstrong the unfair target of doping suspicion by French Media given the scale of doping in the Tour	52	Episodic	D
			Armstrong and his fellow cyclists need to publicly support anti-doping.	25	Episodic	I
25/07/04	Sport of the Times; One Name or Two, This Champs is for Real	1258	Armstrong defensive over doping accusations levelled at his advisor.	39	Episodic	I
			Armstrong aggressive in his denial of doping connections.	16	Episodic	I
			Armstrong's aggression is probably the trait of a champion, not suspiciously irrational.	73	Episodic	D
			Armstrong's clean test record negates any allegations of doping.	34	Episodic	D

Appendix 7: Chris Froome, *The Times* Corpus: Frame Sub-Categories Per Article Including Frame and Article Word Counts and Doping Suspicion Orientation Coding (V/I/D)

Article Date	Article	Article Word Count	Frame Sub-Category	Frame Word Count	Frame Contextual Orientation	V/I/D
9/07/17	<i>Team Sky</i> made to work hard to keep Chris Froome in Yellow Jersey	1471	Froome the reigning champion of an event with a history of doping problems	57	Thematic	I
13/07/17	Tour de France: Chris Froome loses yellow jersey as rivals sense weakness on tough finish	787	Froome is suspicious as a member of <i>Team Sky</i>	29	Thematic	V

14/07/17	The Tour de France is a great melting pot of vice and virtue	1039	Froome is the reigning champion of an event with a history of doping problems	38	Thematic	I
			Froome suspicious due to suspicion surrounding his team, <i>Team Sky</i>	5	Thematic	V
			Froome is the reigning champion of an event with a history of doping problems	44	Thematic	I
			Froome is the reigning champion of an event with a history of doping problems	68	Thematic	I
			Froome is the champion of an event with a history of doping problems	26	Episodic	I
			Froome is the reigning champion of an event with a history of doping problems	64	Thematic	I
18/07/18	Angry Brailsford bans reporter	296	Implicated in suspicion of team	37	Thematic	V
			Implicated in suspicion of team	11	Episodic	V
22/07/17	Tour de France: Chris Froome's triumph is tarnished by tetchy Dave Brailsford	1120	Froome is adept at avoiding the focus of media doping speculation regarding his team	65	Episodic	I
			A target for doping speculation as a tour winner	12	Episodic	I
			Implicated in suspicion of team	9	Thematic	V
			Implicated in suspicion of team	80	Thematic	V
			Implicated in suspicion of team	18	Thematic	V
			Implicated in suspicion of team	35	Thematic	V
			Implicated in suspicion of team	49	Thematic	V
			Suspicious because of doping scandals of the past, including Lance Armstrong	60	Thematic	V
			Suspicious because of doping scandals of the past, including Lance Armstrong	49	Thematic	V
24/07/17	Tour de France: Chris Froome close to greatness-now all he needs is love	1877	Froome suspicious as a member of <i>Team Sky</i>	67	Episodic	V

			Froome is the champion of an event with a history of doping problems	13	Episodic	I
			Froome suspicious as a member of <i>Team Sky</i>	24	Episodic	V
			Froome defiant in face of media suspicion of doping	83	Thematic	I
			Froome is unconcerned by doping suspicion	61	Thematic	I
24/07/17	Tour de France: Aura of invincibility aiding Chris Froome's continued success	779	Froome is unconcerned by doping suspicion	47	Thematic	I
30/06/17	"The French public like Froome, They will adore him if he wins," says Prudhomme	675	Froome is the leader of a team under suspicion for doping infringements	21	Episodic	V

Appendix 8: Chris Froome, *The New York Times* Corpus: Frame Sub-Categories Per Article Including Frame and Article Word Counts and Doping Suspicion Orientation Coding (V/I/D)

Article Date	Article	Article Word Count	Frame Sub-Category	Frame Word Count	Frame Contextual Orientation	V/I/D
18/07/17	On Tour's Mountain Roads, Beer, Baguettes and, Briefly, Bikes	2493	Fans suspect Froome is doping.	25	Episodic	I
			Race media do not support accusations Froome is doping.	18	Episodic	I