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THE SILVER LINING OF SIN: HOW BEN JOHNSON AND THE DUBIN INQUIRY
RESONATES WITH CANADIAN OLYMPIANS SINCE 1988

Alex Cyr

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Human Kinetics
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2019

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BEN JOHNSON, THE DUBIN INQUIRY, AND OTHER REASONS CANADIAN
TRACK AND FIELD ATHLETES REFRAIN FROM DOPING

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August 29, 2019

Declaration of Originality

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Abstract

Since Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson tested positive for doping at the 1988 Olympic games, only two Canadian track and field Olympians have failed a drug test.^{1;2} This study examined how the sanctions imposed on Johnson following his transgression over thirty years ago, as well as the anti-doping policies created in response to Johnson's positive test, resonated with Canadian track and field athletes and influenced their perspective about doping. Nine ($n = 9$) Canadian Olympians between the ages of 24 and 55 years ($M = 36.67$, $SD = 9.63$) having competed in at least one Olympic games since 1988 were interviewed. Thematic analysis revealed that participants across three eras (1990-2000, 2000-2010 and 2010-2019) believed Canada does not deal with a doping problem because a greater expectation of morality exists in their nation, the sanctions for doping are greater than in other countries, and drug testing and education is more frequent and extensive than in other countries. Olympians who competed in era one believe Johnson's transgression had more influence on these reasons for competing cleanly in Canada than do participants of eras two and three. Indeed, as time goes by, Johnson's sanctions have decreasing resonance with Canadian track and field Olympians, but the anti-doping policies established following Johnson's doping scandal continue to promote clean competition in Canadian track and field in meaningful ways.

¹Athletes currently suspended from all competitions in athletics following an Anti-Doping Rule Violation as at: 09.07.15," IAAF, October 16, 2015, retrieved on February 6, 2019, www.iaaf.org.

²"Sports People: Track and Field; Sprinter is Banned." *New York Times*. July 12, 1992.

Acknowledgement and Dedication

I wish to thank several people for helping me concretize this once-cloudy thesis idea. First and foremost, I thank my thesis advisor Dr. Craig Greenham. Without your openness to take me under your wing midway through my time in Windsor, my path towards my true interests would have been longer and more arduous. Thank you for being a source of guidance everywhere from your office to your home to the GOAT. I also wish to thank Dr. Krista Chandler for molding me into a better researcher and opening doors for me at the University of Windsor. As well, I thank my thesis committee of Drs. Scott Martyn and Miriam Wright for providing external guidance and fortifying this paper with their own wealth of knowledge in research. Finally, I thank my parents for supporting me through this process. If you both got through *Runners of the Nish*, this will be a breeze to read (if you do choose to read it once you've exhausted the James Paterson collection at home).

Finally, I wish to dedicate this thesis to my cross-country and track and field coach at the University of Windsor, Gary Malloy (1961-2019). Gary, when nothing was going well, you urged me to stay in Windsor and keep going. You are responsible for much more success in my life than this thesis, but this work is, unequivocally, a product of your support and encouragement.

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List of Abbreviations

CAS – Court of Arbitration for Sport

CADO – Canadian Anti-Doping Organization

CCDS – Canadian Centre for Drug-Free Sport

CCES – Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport

IAAF – International Associations of Athletics Federations

IOC – International Olympic Committee

RUSADA – Russian Anti-Doping Agency

WADA – World Anti-Doping Agency

Research Article

Purpose

Ian Ritchie, an expert in the field of doping in high-level sport, has argued that Ben Johnson's positive steroid test in 1988 and the resulting Dubin Inquiry were pivotal events for strengthening the anti-doping movement in Canadian track and field.³ This study aims to provide a more comprehensive exploration of that assertion – particularly from the perspective of Canadian Olympic track and field athletes. Using a tri-generational sample, this research aims to assess the roles of Johnson and the Dubin Inquiry in shaping anti-doping culture in Canadian track and field since Johnson's positive test in the Seoul Olympics and the heavily publicized scrutiny provided by the Dubin Inquiry a year later. Specifically, the researcher investigates how Johnson's sanctions serve to discourage doping in Canadian track and field. Canadian Olympians across three eras (1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2010, and 2010 to the study's data collection date (spring 2019)) were interviewed with the aim of identifying not only whether events around Johnson's transgression resonate with Canadian track and field athletes, but how it does so across time. This paper's findings about the effectiveness of various anti-doping strategies in Canadian track and field may give direction to efforts and decisions of future movements against doping.

Introduction/Context

On September 24, 1988, Jamaican-born Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson won the 100m final in the Olympics. His clocking of 9.79 seconds constituted a world record and made him a stunning 14 hundredths of a second faster than history's second-best time. Prior to his Olympic

³ Ian Ritchie, "Keep a Lid on the Crisis: Anti-Doping in Canada Since 1983," *Performance Enhancement & Health* 3 (2015): 114.

win, Johnson was the twice-defending Lou Marsh Trophy winner (given to Canada's top athlete) in 1986 and 1987. His triumph further built his legacy as a top Canadian athlete and solidified his status as a "national sensation" – and the most internationally celebrated male victor of the Seoul Olympics⁴ – at a time when Canada experienced a national identity crisis, brought forth by the looming Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States.⁵ Perhaps for that reason, Canadians celebrated the win as their greatest Olympic moment.⁶

Johnson spoke on the telephone with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney after the race. Mulroney expressed his pride on behalf of the entire nation and called the event a "marvelous evening for Canada."⁷ His glorification, however, was short-lived. Barely three days after winning the gold medal, the IOC stripped Johnson of his accomplishment when a drug test by the Olympic Doping Control Centre revealed the presence of an anabolic steroid, Stanozolol, in his urine. In Canada, the initial shock and disbelief quickly turned into anger and resentment. Federal sports minister Jean Charest declared Johnson should never represent Canada again.⁸

Johnson's steroid use quickly permeated world media. Political authorities, journalists and fans alike communicated distaste for Johnson's actions, and the Canadian federal government launched The Commission of Inquiry Into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance (commonly referred to as the Dubin Inquiry). The inquiry, led by Ontario Chief Justice Charles Dubin, commenced on January 11 and concluded on October 3, 1989. It involved 119 witnesses, produced 14,817 pages of testimony and cost Canadian

⁴ John MacAloon, "Steroids and the State. Melodrama and the Accomplishment of Innocence," *Public Culture* 2, no. 2 (1990): 41-42, <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-2-2-41>.

⁵ Stephen Jackson, "Life in the (Mediated) Faust Lane," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 33, no. 3 (1998): 228, doi: 10.1177/101269098033003001.

⁶ MacAloon, "Steroids," 42.

⁷ Stephen Jackson and Pam Ponio, "Pride and Prejudice: Reflecting on Sport Heroes, National Identity, and Crisis in Canada," *Sport in Society* 4, no. 2 (2001): 43-62, <https://doi.org/10.1080/713999819>.

⁸ MacAloon, "Steroids," 56.

taxpayers \$3.6 million.⁹ The inquiry extensively examined Johnson's drug use, as well as that of his teammates on the Scarborough Optimists Track and Field Club, coached by Charlie Francis.¹⁰ At its conclusion, the inquiry was described as "an extraordinary pageant of irony, tragedy, and farce."¹¹ This investigation led to months of astonishing testimony that included public confessions of cheating by Johnson, Francis and several of Johnson's track and field club teammates¹² and the creation of the CCDS, a strengthened drug-testing program in Canada.¹³ At its conclusion, Justice Dubin recommended that government funding in sport should be based on ethical principles.¹⁴ Johnson was stripped of his government funding and was eventually banned from track and field for life after a second transgression.¹⁵

For the duration of the inquiry, Canadian media coverage depicted Johnson as a pariah. Broadcasters and newspapers across the country vilified the sprinter and made him the focus of alienating headlines that clearly communicated disapproval of his behaviour.¹⁶ Canadian media captured widespread public reactions of shock and disbelief, humiliation, despair, mourning and tragedy. Citizen-in-the-street interviews drew comments such as "People feel miserable," "The national psyche is scarred," and "When (Johnson) won everyone was proud to be a Canadian. There is no gold now."¹⁷ Johnson's cheating was so poorly received that it elicited a crisis in Canadian national identity and remained a national embarrassment to Canada's sporting

⁹ "Ben Johnson Becomes Canada's Golden Hero at Seoul Olympics," CBC, September 24, 1988, <https://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/congratulating-canadas-golden-hero>.

¹⁰ MacAloon, "Steroids," 43.

¹¹ Varda Burstyn, "The Sporting Life," *Saturday Night* 105, no. 2 (1990): 45.

¹² MacAloon, "Steroids," 56.

¹³ Ian Ritchie and Greg Jackson, "Politics and 'Shock': Reactionary Anti-Doping Policy Objectives in Canadian and International Sport," *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 6, no. 1 (2014): 206, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2013.773358>.

¹⁴ Lucie Thibault and Jean Harvey, *Sport Policy in Canada* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2013), 276.

¹⁵ Johnson was given the opportunity to return to competition in 1991, but following another positive test in 1993 (he was found using testosterone), he was banned for life. In April 1999, a Canadian adjudicator ruled that there had been procedural errors in the decision of 1993, and allowed Ben Johnson to appeal the ban. Johnson was granted permission to compete provided he raced alone. In late 1999, he tested positive for the third time (Rowbottom 2013).

¹⁶ Jackson and Ponic, "Pride and Prejudice," 51.

¹⁷ MacAloon, "Steroids," 42.

community for many years.¹⁸ Johnson, who was transformed from Jamaican immigrant to Canadian in the media as he became more successful, was quickly redefined as Jamaican-Canadian upon his disqualification. According to the *Sports Illustrated* writer Michael Farber, “There was a disqualification at Seoul, a qualification at home. Johnson was now a ‘Jamaican-Canadian.’”¹⁹

Whether Johnson’s initial transgression would have elicited such a negative response in a nation other than Canada is an interesting question. Disparity seems to exist between the Canadian government, media and people’s sanctioning of Johnson and the Russian government’s seemingly idle treatment of doping Russian athletes in the face of its recent doping scandal. In May 2016, the long-time director of Russia’s anti-doping laboratory, Grigory Rodchenkov, revealed the existence of Russia’s long-standing state-sponsored doping program to *The New York Times* and to Bryan Fogel, the director of the 2016 award-winning documentary *Icarus*.²⁰ Rodchenkov had helped the program flourish for a decade and helped Russian athletes cheat rampantly at the 2014 Sochi Olympic Games, where Russian officials expunged an estimated 100 dirty urine samples.²¹ Indeed, anti-doping experts and members of the intelligence service surreptitiously replaced urine samples tainted by performance-enhancing drugs with clean urine collected months earlier, somehow breaking into the supposedly tamper-proof bottles that are the standard at international competitions.²²

Following Rodchenkov’s allegations, WADA launched an investigation into Russian doping, led by Canadian law professor Richard McLaren, and released a report later in 2016. The

¹⁸ Jackson and Ponic, “Pride and Prejudice,” 52.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁰ Rebecca Ruiz and Michael Schwartz, “Russian Insider Says State-Run Doping Fuels Olympic Gold,” *New York Times*, May 12, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/13/sports/russia-doping-sochi-olympics-2014.html>.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

report uncovered evidence of a state-sponsored doping program that benefited more than 1,000 athletes across 30 disciplines.²³ The IOC then banned Russia from the 2016 Rio Olympic Games.²⁴ Despite the ban, Russian political authorities and athletic bodies – though they admitted to an extant doping problem at the time of the IOC Disciplinary Commission’s report just prior to the 2018 Olympic Games²⁵ – continuously deny the existence of a state-sponsored doping program. Russian President Vladimir Putin and Russian Olympic officials even publicly berated and ridiculed Rodchenkov for exposing the program.²⁶ Evidently, the Putin government has requested no public inquiry or investigation into their athletic transgressions, as did the Canadian government years earlier (though the researcher acknowledges the possibility that justice was meted out by the Russian government beyond the gaze of global media). Russia was still suspended by the time of the Pyeongchang Olympic Games in 2018 but 169 Russian athletes were given permission to compete under a neutral flag by a three-person IOC panel.²⁷ Those athletes went on to account for half the positive tests and doping violations in Pyeongchang.²⁸ Presently, anti-doping executives around the world suspect that Russian athletes continue to dope.^{29;30}

The Canadian government, media and public rejection of Johnson in 1988 evidently contrasts Russian authorities’ ongoing denial of its doping program. The Russian athletes that

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ “Rio Olympics 2016: Russia fails to overturn athlete ban for next month’s Games,” *BBC*, July 21, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/sport/olympics/36855244>.

²⁵ Samuel Schmid, “IOC Disciplinary Commission’s Report to the IOC Executive Board,” Report for the International Olympic Committee, December 2, 2017, Lausanne, 2.

²⁶ Richard Perez-Pena and Tariq Panja, “28 Russian Athletes Win Appeals of Doping Bans,” *New York Times*, February 1, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/01/sports/olympics/russia-doping-ban.html>.

²⁷ James Ellingworth, “Second Russian Athlete Tests Positive for Doping at Olympics,” *The Associated Press*, February 23, 2018, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4043080/winter-olympics-2018-russian-athlete-doping-bobsleigh/>.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Sean Ingle, “Russian Anti-Doping Agency Suspended by WADA for Non-Compliance,” *The Guardian*, November 18, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2015/nov/18/russian-anti-doping-agency-suspended-wada>.

³⁰USADA, Statement on The WADA Executive Committee’s Decision to Reinstate Russia from Travis T. Tygart, CEO, U.S. Anti-Doping Agency, 2018, Colorado Springs.

doped, outwardly, seem somewhat free of domestic persecution. Different standards of punishment for doping could contribute to the seemingly striking difference in athlete doping behaviour between the two countries. Now 30 years have passed since Johnson and several of his teammates admitted to cheating. While the researcher acknowledges the doping issues that are evident the various levels of athletics, only two Canadian track and field Olympians were given two-year bans by the IAAF for doping since 1988: Cheryl Thibedeau, an alternate runner in the 4x100m relay in 1992, and Alicia Brown, a 400m runner that represented Canada in 2016, after testing positive in 2013.^{31;32}

It is possible that Johnson's transgression and the publicized inquiry that followed it³³ discouraged future Canadian Olympians from doping out of fear of facing similar social consequences to Johnson. As well, researchers believe that Johnson's transgression led Canadian anti-doping to set some of the most stringent drug-testing and extensive drug education policies in the world.^{34;35} Notably, Johnson's positive test helped develop a strong education protocol³⁶ and frequency of drug testing.³⁷ It is inferable that Johnson's transgression impacted anti-doping in Canada. That being said, we still know little about how Johnson's scandal resonates with Canadian Olympians, and how it influences their decisions about doping. Exploring Canadian track and field athletes' clean approach to sport represents a valuable opportunity for understanding motivations to refrain from doping, but an investigation of the reasons these

³¹World Anti-Doping Agency, "Anti-Doping Rule Violations (ADVRs) Report," 2015-2019, <https://www.wada-ama.org/en/resources/general-anti-doping-information/anti-doping-rule-violations-adrvs-report>.

³²*New York Times*. "Sprinter is Banned."

³³MacAloon, "Steroids," 42-53.

³⁴Bruce Kidd, Robert Edelman and Susan Brownell, "Comparative Analysis of Doping Scandals: Canada, Russia, and China," in *Doping in Elite Sport: the Politics of Drugs in the Olympic Movement* ed. Wayne Wilson (Champaign, Human Kinetics Publishers, 2001): 154.

³⁵Ritchie, "Lid on the Crisis," 114.

³⁶Susan Backhouse, Laurie Patterson and Jim McKenna, "Achieving the Olympic Ideal: Preventing Doping in Sport," *Performance Enhancement and Health* 1, no. 2 (2012): 83, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2012.08.001>.

³⁷Matthew Dunn et al., "Drug Testing in Sport: The Attitudes and Experiences of Elite Athletes," *The International Journal of Drug Policy* 21, no. 4 (2009): 330, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2009.12.005>.

athletes compete cleanly has yet to be conducted. An investigation into a seemingly clean nation's reasons for competing without the use of drugs is clearly needed, in a time when anti-doping research explores a shift from detection and towards prevention.^{38;39}

Thesis

The researcher contends that Johnson's transgression influenced future Canadian track and field Olympians to compete cleanly by creating an expectation of severe treatment in response to a positive test, and by influencing the development of anti-doping policy in Canadian track and field. Johnson's penalties resonated with Olympians that competed close in time to his positive test, and had an important influence on their decisions to compete cleanly. As time passed, Johnson's incident and the Dubin Inquiry's scandalous drama had less influence on Canadian Olympians' decisions to dope. The anti-doping policies and strategies that resulted from the scandal became the key instrument in the promotion clean sport in Canadian track and field – even if the origins of these policies and strategies are unknown to the newer generation of athletes. Indeed, events surrounding Ben Johnson's sanctions pushed Canadian sport authorities to adopt some of the most stringent anti-doping policies in the world.⁴⁰ Those policies include frequent drug testing and a rigorous and extensive drug education protocol. The spirit of sport language (Appendix D) created in response to the Inquiry, which promotes a “values-based image of sport,”^{41;42} also contributes to an expectation of moral conduct in Canadian track and field and discourages doping. This study argues that while Canadian Olympians are becoming

³⁸Giuseppe Lippi, Massimo Franchidi and Gian Gidi Cesare, “Tour de Chaos,” *British Journal of Sports Medicine* 41, no. 10 (2007): 625-626, <https://doi.10.1136/bjism.2007.035519>.

³⁹Fabio Lucidi et al., “The Social-Cognitive Mechanisms Regulating Adolescents' use of Doping Substances,” *Journal of Sports Sciences* 26, no. 5 (2008): 447, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02640410701579370>.

⁴⁰ Ritchie, “Lid on Crisis,” 114.

⁴¹ Ian Ritchie, “The Construction of a Policy: The World Anti-Doping Code's ‘Spirit of Sport’ Clause,” *Performance Enhancement and Health* 2 (2014): 194, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2014.10.002>.

⁴² Ritchie, “Lid on Crisis,” 114.

decreasingly conscious of the “Johnson effect” over time, the policies developed from Johnson’s transgression generated lasting changes on the national doping landscape and continue to influence Canadian athletes’ seemingly clean approach to sport.

Methods

Participants

Participants included five male and four female ($N = 9$) Canadian Olympic track and field athletes between the ages of 24 and 55 years ($M = 36.67$, $SD = 9.63$) who had competed over the last three decades. Three participants represented Canada for the first time between 1990 and 2000, two between 2000 and 2010, and four between 2010 and the time of data collection (Spring 2019). The division of participants in these three eras was done in this thesis to help illustrate differences in how (and whether) participants perceive the impact of Johnson’s sanctions on their personal decisions about doping. The researcher deemed it important to gauge how Johnson’s sanctions resonated with participants across generations, given that people tend to gradually lose interest in a scandal over time and decreasingly reflect on its consequences.⁴³

Recruiting participants from various generations was also important. Participants had to be Canadian Olympic track and field athletes. All participants, according to public record, had never tested positive for the use of performance-enhancing substances, but a clean doping record was not a requirement for participation. Participant demographic information (including age, sex and length of career) was acquired moments before each recorded interview and cross-referenced

⁴³ Rasmus Storm and Ulrik Wagner, “The Anatomy of Sport Scandal: Outset, Development and Effect,” Paper presented at Play the Game Conference, 2011, Cologne.

with public record information, so as to help draw eventual conclusions about demographic-related differences.

Design and Methodology

Semi-structured interviews

Individual, open-ended, semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant. In semi-structured interviewing, a question guide is used (Appendix A), with questions and topics that must be covered. The interviewer has some discretion about the order in which questions are asked, but the questions are standardized, and probes may be provided to ensure that the researcher covers the appropriate topics.⁴⁴ Semi-structured interviews, compared to structured interviews, provide the interviewees with a greater opportunity to express their thoughts and feelings, and allow the participant to elaborate on the different meanings they attach to their experiences.⁴⁵

The semi-structured interview guide was composed of two sections and ten questions in total, and aimed to investigate whether Johnson's sanctions and scandal affected participants' decisions regarding doping. The first section was designed to help the researcher inquire about the participants' sentiments and understanding about the existence of doping in athletics. Lead questions included: "Are you fully aware of the consequences that accompany a positive drug test? What are those consequences?" and "were you aware of opportunities for doping and if so, what factors influenced athletes' decision to engage in doping?" The second section was composed of questions that inquire about the participants' knowledge and sentiment about

⁴⁴ Margaret Harrell and Melissa Bradley, *Data Collection Methods; Semi Structured Interviews and Focus Groups* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2009), 27.

⁴⁵ Andrew Sparkes and Brett Smith, *Qualitative Research Methods in Sport, Exercise and Health: From Process to Product* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 37.

Canada's treating of Johnson. Lead questions included: "Does Ben Johnson and the Dubin Inquiry have an impact on your perception of doping sanctions?" and later: "do you think the consequences for doping are different in Canada than they are in other countries? If so, why, if not, why not?" The researcher did not ask about participants' own experiences with doping, as obliged by the University of Windsor's Research Ethics Board. Instead, the researcher used probing questions to explore the situations in which doping seems facilitated or discouraged.⁴⁶

The interviews were completed via Skype on the researcher's cell phone. This method was selected over in-person interviews based on geographical practicality. The researcher deemed the Skype method adequate in preserving anonymity for a few reasons. First, the researcher's cell phone and Skype account were both locked with two distinct passcodes and, second, recorded interviews could be easily saved and deleted. The researcher deleted the interview files six weeks following the interviews. This timeframe gave the researcher sufficient time to transcribe interviews and open member checking to participants before the deletion of the interview. Member checking involved notifying participants that the preliminary transcription of their interview would be available to them for one full week (seven days), should they decide to remove, add, or change parts of or full responses. The final transcriptions of all interviews comprised 57 single-spaced pages, which were then stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the researcher following transcription.

Oral History

The researcher followed methods of oral history during the process of data collection and transcription, because important parts of the participants' testimonies relied on their recall of historical records. Oral history collects memories and personal commentaries of historical

⁴⁶ Berbecaru et al., "Theoretical and Methodological Aspects on Doping Phenomenon in Elite Athletes," *Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences* 149 (2014): 103, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.08.168>.

significance through recorded interviews.⁴⁷ Methods of oral history are based on multiple academic disciplines (including history, sociology, anthropology, law, journalism and psychology) and help the researcher to address the historical record directly, to clarify what they see as misconceptions in third-person accounts, and permits the participant to provide their own personal assessment of the significance of the events in which they took part.⁴⁸ Oral history is a vital tool for understanding the intersections between the private and the public.⁴⁹ Given the covert nature of the topic of doping, gaining participants' private accounts of their perspectives and insights with doping in sport – content not expected to be publicly accessible - was deemed valuable for this research. For these reasons, oral history methodology was considered appropriate.

During data collection, oral history methodology requires the researcher to remain impartial, listen and stay in the background, yet be a catalyst and direct line of inquiry by asking probing questions.⁵⁰ The oral history researcher is also expected to follow steps, which include conducting a preliminary search of record (literature review), designing a treatment (conducting interviews) and writing a slate of draft questions to help prepare the researcher prior to each interview.⁵¹ During transcription, again adhering to oral history methodology, the researcher prepared the data for analysis. The researcher filled in missing names and dates in the participant interviews using brackets. When editing, the researcher made no attempt to alter the patterns and tones of the data to produce perfectly constructed sentences, in the goal of preserving the

⁴⁷ Donald Ritchie. *Doing Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

⁴⁸ David Russell, *Oral History Methodology, The Art of Interviewing* (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1998), 4.

⁴⁹ Andrea Hajek, "Breaking gendered silences of the past. Narrating women's lives in the Italian years of protest: the case of Bologna," *British Academy*, 2014, <https://warwick.ac.uk/alumni/services/eportfolios/itrgac/baproject/>.

⁵⁰ Russell, *Oral History*, 1.

⁵¹ Russell, *Oral History*, 10.

authenticity and spontaneity of the interviews.⁵² The researcher recognizes that these techniques are dated more than twenty years, and that new and potentially more effective guidelines for oral history now exist. For instance, Kaufman suggests that in the video age, a best method of oral history presentation would be one combining digital video and audio for people's engagement.⁵³ The researcher had no intention to present data with the help of video as that runs counter to the objective of participant anonymity, which was necessary for this study based on feedback from the University of Windsor's Research Ethics Board. Also for that reason, the researcher opted for data transcription instead of using Stories Matter, an oral history software that uses video as an alternative to transcription.⁵⁴ Transcription associated no permanent video to participants, and enhanced the privacy of the data.

Framework

The researcher used Paternoster's criminal deterrence theory as a starting point when constructing interview questions.⁵⁵ Criminal deterrence theory is a highly influential approach to understanding criminal decision-making⁵⁶ and posits that individuals will have strong intentions to perform a behaviour if they have a positive attitude towards it, they perceive it as easy to perform, and they believe that important others would support their performance of the behaviour.⁵⁷ Specifically, criminal deterrence theory suggests that when individuals contemplate

⁵² Russell, *Oral History*, 15.

⁵³ Peter Kaufman, "Oral History in the Video Age," *The Oral History Review* 40, no. 1 (2013): 3, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ohr/oht033>.

⁵⁴ Stephen High, "Announcing Stories Matter," *Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling*, Accessed April 28, 2019, <http://storytelling.concordia.ca/storiesmatter/>.

⁵⁵ Raymond Paternoster, "The Deterrent Effect of the Perceived Certainty and Severity of Punishment: a Review of the Evidence and Issues," *Justice Q* 4 (1987): 173, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418828700089271>.

⁵⁶ Derek Cornish and Ronald Clarke, "Understanding Crime Displacement: An Application of Rational Choice Theory," *Criminology Banner* 25, no. 4 (1987): 933-948, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1987.tb00826.x>.

⁵⁷ Peter Strelan and Robert Boeckmann, "A New Model for Understanding Performance-Enhancing Drug Use by Elite Athletes," *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology* 15 (2003): 177, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10413200390213795>.

committing a crime they weigh up the costs and benefits of doing so.⁵⁸ Analogously in sport, athletes weigh deterrents (costs) and benefits against each other in deciding whether to dope.⁵⁹ The theory's prominence in doping research suggested that participants might engage in a cost-benefit analysis when making decisions about doping. The researcher then aimed for the interviews to explore whether such an analysis was made and, specifically, whether the perceived fear of suffering sanctions like Johnson acted as a cost of doping. Leading questions inquired about what participants perceived as costs and benefits of doping. Probing questions aimed to uncover which perceived costs led participants to compete cleanly.

The researcher was aware that criminal deterrence theory is sometimes criticized by researchers for having limited empirical support⁶⁰ and for being too simplistic to explain decisions related to doping; it is widely accepted in doping research that complete knowledge for specific causes of doping is complex and involves a combination of individual, social-collective, cultural and situational factors,⁶¹ and is influenced by personality structure.⁶² Because criminal deterrence theory does not take into account personality differences and for its general lack of

⁵⁸ Paternoster, "Deterrent Effect," 175.

⁵⁹ Strelan and Boeckmann, "New Model," 179.

⁶⁰ Dag Vidar Hanstad, Andy Smith and Ivan Waddington, "The Establishment of the World Anti-Doping Agency: A Study of the Management of Organizational Change and Unplanned Outcomes." *International Review for Sociology of Sport* 43 (2009): 249-271, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690208100552>.

⁶¹ M. Epuran, "Factori de Rise [Risk Factors]," *Sport Curat [Clean Sport Magazine]* 2007.

⁶² Berbecaru et al., "Doping Phenomenon," 106.

⁶³ Stephen Moston, Terry Engelberg, and James Skinner, "Athletes' and Coaches' Perceptions of Deterrents to Performance-Enhancing Drug Use," *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 7, no. 4 (2014): 625, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2014.936960>.

⁶⁴ Daniel Westmattmann et al., "Perception of the Current Anti-Doping Regime – A Quantitative Study Among German Top-Level Cyclists and Track and Field Athletes," *Front. Psychol* 9 (2018): 1890, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01890>.

nuance, it may be best thought of as a ‘mid-range’ theory, that is, one that is useful in specific circumstances, as opposed to a general theory that seeks to explain all types of offending.⁶³

Criminal deterrence theory does not completely account for doping behaviour, but it should not be disregarded when conducting research about doping decisions. Cost-benefit analysis is still central to athletes’ decisions regarding doping today⁶⁴ and WADA’s anti-doping policy has relied heavily on the deterrence value of doping controls.^{65:66} Despite its shortcomings, criminal deterrence theory is the premise underpinning the criminal justice systems in most countries,⁶⁷ so the researcher deemed the theory an appropriate starting point for the formulation of interview questions for this research. The researcher also elected the use of criminal deterrence theory as a basis for inquiry because this study investigates perceptions of elite athletes. Elite athletes are more likely to engage in a cost-benefit analysis when making decisions about doping, given what they stand to gain from a competitive advantage and how much they have to lose from apprehension.⁶⁸ It was also found that elite athletes are more likely to comply with the law if they perceive the costs of breaking it as outweighing the benefits.⁶⁹

It is important to expect that the applicability of criminal deterrence theory vary across individuals due to expected differences in personal feelings of shame and guilt.⁷⁰ Johnson’s actions following the scandal might serve as a good example of personal differences in

⁶⁵ Terry Engelberg, Stephen Moston, and James Skinner, “The Final Frontier of Anti-Doping: A Study of Athletes who have Committed Doping Violations,” *Sport Management Review* 18 (2015): 269, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2014.06.005>.

⁶⁶ Moston, Engelberg, and Skinner, “Athletes’ and Coaches’ Perceptions,” 624.

⁶⁷ Shelley Keith Matthews and Robert Agnew, “Extending Deterrence Theory: Do Delinquent Peers Condition the Relationship Between Perceptions of Getting Caught and Offending?” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 45, no. 2 (2008): 91-118, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022427807313702>.

⁶⁸ Strelan and Boeckmann, “New Model,” 179.

⁶⁹ Overbye et al., “Athletes’ Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions,” 366.

⁷⁰ Brandy Fedewa, Lawrence Burns and Alex Gomez, “Positive and Negative Perfectionism and the Shame/Guilt Distinction: Adaptive and Maladaptive Characteristics,” *Personality and Individual Differences* 38, no.7 (2005), 1609, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2004.09.026>

predisposition to guilt and shame. While Johnson's incident may have helped deter future athletes to dope, it did not make him refrain from doping following the scandal, despite knowing of the consequences firsthand. As mentioned earlier, Johnson tested positive for performance-enhancing substances again in 1993, and again in 1999.

Procedure and Data Collection

Formal recruiting began once the researcher received clearance from the University of Windsor's Research Ethics Board. Participants were recruited for a study described as "Canadian Track and Field Olympians' Perspective of Doping Deterrents in Canada." The researcher omitted the name "Ben Johnson" in the presented title, so as to avoid potential refusal of participation by those unfamiliar with Johnson, as the responses of such participants were deemed equally valuable to the research process. Participants were granted anonymity and offered member checking – data were available to participants for one full week (seven days) following the researcher's transcription of the interview. Participants were given the opportunity to change, add or remove parts or all of their data in this timeframe. Criterion-based sampling, which involves identifying a set of criteria for selecting cases, sites, or places⁷¹ was used to identify Olympic track and field athletes that could provide rich data. The researcher defined rich data as the collection of perspective of athletes across sexes and eras. Participants were identified first by using the researcher's network of contacts, and then by snowball sampling, the process whereby the researcher asks participants to identify other individuals that satisfy the study's inclusion criteria.⁷² Informed consent from the participants was requested. The researcher aimed

⁷¹ Sparkes and Smith, *Qualitative Research Methods in Sport*, 39.

⁷² Ibid.

to achieve rich and saturated data by achieving and surpassing the number of interviews deemed sufficient in qualitative research for understanding the essence of an experience.⁷³

Data Analysis

The researcher first managed the data documents through interview transcripts and field notes of observations. Data from interviews were categorized using thematic analysis, a method compatible and close in style with oral history.⁷⁴ This technique is widely used in the social sciences for its clear and usable framework.⁷⁵ Thematic analysis, developed by Braun and Clark requires the researcher to transcribe the interview data verbatim.⁷⁶ The researcher then follows six phases with the goal of finding resemblances and repeated ideas within the data set, to eventually identify themes in data, so as to draw conclusions about those themes.⁷⁷ The phases followed in this analysis were (in order):

- 1) Familiarization with data (immersion): the researcher reads data actively and repeatedly so as to search for meanings and patterns, while taking preliminary notes about these patterns.⁷⁸
- 2) Coding the data: the researcher codes the data into categories to facilitate the identification of themes.⁷⁹ The researcher coded with the help of colours and families of words to facilitate the identification of themes.
- 3) identifying themes: this phase involves separating data into broad potential themes once the researcher is familiar with the data and collating all the relevant coded

⁷³ Timothy Guetterman, "Descriptions of Sampling Practices Within Five Approaches to Qualitative Research in Education and the Health Sciences," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 16, no. 2 (2015), Article 25, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs1502256>.

⁷⁴ Catherine Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. (California: Sage Publications Inc., 2007), 74.

⁷⁵ Moira Maguire and Brid Delahunt, "Doing a Thematic Analysis: A Practical, Step-by-Step Guide for Learning and Teaching Scholars," *Dundalk Institute of Technology* 8, no. 3 (2017): 3353, <http://ojs.aishe.org/index.php/aishe-j/article/view/335>.

⁷⁶ Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 (2006): 94.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

data extracts within the identified themes.⁸⁰ The themes that emerged from this research were: Thoughts about Johnson and the Dubin Inquiry, personal reasons for competing cleanly, and how anti-doping differs between Canada and other countries. 4) Review and refining themes; this phase permits the researcher to further break down or merge themes, so as to form a good idea of the major themes, and the story they help tell.⁸¹ 5) defining and naming themes: the researcher identifies the essence of each theme, and writes a detailed analysis for each theme and comments on the data found.⁸² 6) finalizing the thematic structure: the researcher writes a final analysis, which contains nuanced narrative of the data and sufficient evidence of themes into a final report.⁸³ Phases two through five of the thematic analysis were facilitated by the use of NVivo qualitative data analysis software. The NVivo software helps in linking, shaping, searching for, and modeling the data. In the qualitative method, according to many researchers, the NVivo software is useful for the data management because there is a number of ways the researcher manages the NVivo data.⁸⁴ Specifically, in oral history research, the NVivo software is a popular option among oral historians in organization, coding and analysis capacities and is often used to disseminate interview data.⁸⁵

Results

The researcher investigated how Johnson's sanctions have influenced Canada's anti-doping environment and participants' personal reasons for competing cleanly. Results reveal era

⁸⁰ Ibid, 95.

⁸¹ Ibid, 98

⁸² Ibid 99

⁸³ Ibid 100

⁸⁴ Noriah Ishak and Abu Bakar, "Qualitative Data Management and Analysis using NVivo: An Approach Used to Examine Leadership Qualities Among Student Leaders," *Education Research Journal* 2, no. 3 (2012): 102.

⁸⁵ "NVivo 9," Concordia University Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, Accessed April 19, 2019, <http://storytelling.concordia.ca/resources/nvivo9>.

differences in how participants think Johnson's sanctions have affected anti-doping in Canada. Participants that competed closer in time to Johnson's transgression believed it had more influence on the development of clean sport in Canadian track and field, and on their personal decisions to compete cleanly. In the presentation of these results, participants are divided into categories – those who represented Canada between 1990 and 2000 are referred to as participants of era one. Era two spans from 2000 to 2010, and era three comprises 2011 to the date of data collection (spring 2019). Participants whose Olympic participation transcends eras were categorized based on the date of their first Olympic games. While generational differences between participants are uncovered, sex differences are not talked about for two reasons. First, differences in testimonies between sexes were negligible, which is a finding consistent with contemporary research on perceived sanctions of doping.⁸⁶ Second, participants' genders are kept hidden in an effort to preserve participant anonymity.

Perception of the Johnson Scandal and the Dubin Inquiry

Familiarity

A first important point to visit was the participants' knowledge and understanding of Johnson's incident. Interviews revealed generational differences in the participants' familiarity with his transgression, opinions of the Canadian media, government and people's treatment of him, and perceptions of the event's ramifications in Canadian track and field.

All nine participants (n = 9) knew of Johnson's identity as a Canadian sprinter, and knew of his involvement with performance enhancing substances. The participants' degree of familiarity with the Dubin Inquiry, however, varied considerably. Participants that represented Canada in era one all displayed an appreciation for the importance and ubiquity of the Inquiry.

⁸⁶ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 376.

One participant said: “the Ben Johnson scandal and (the) Dubin (Inquiry) was ‘the’ doping event in Canada. And more so than Johnson, it was Dubin.” Another participant has visceral memories of the televised coverage of the Inquiry. They said: “the Dubin Inquiry was huge. I remember watching it on TV every day for a whole spring break (...) it was on (TV) all the time, there were a million different stories.”

All participants of eras two and three (n = 6) were aware of the existence of the Dubin Inquiry, but did not follow it as closely and did not remember it as vividly as participants of era one. Two participants of era two remembered the event vaguely, and the others claimed to be too young to remember it themselves. Three participants were not born. One participant (era three) said: “I think we are too many generations removed now to really know much about it.” Out of the six participants from eras two and three, however, four (n = 4) claimed to be knowledgeable about Johnson’s transgression and the ensuing Inquiry because of its ongoing perpetuation in Canadian media. One participant (era two) said: “(I am familiar with Johnson’s transgression and the Dubin Inquiry) as much as anybody that is infatuated with track and field could be. Obviously I’ve read *Speed Trap* (a book by Johnson’s coach, Charlie Francis), (ESPN feature film) *30 for 30*, (2012 film) *9.79*, you name it. I’ve been to charliefrancis.com.” Another participant (era three) claimed he or she “knows as much as regular people know, which is probably a good amount,” before acknowledging that Johnson’s story is “really available in the media, still.” Importantly, every participant knew of Johnson, that he represented Canada, and that he was caught in a substantial doping scandal.

Perceived consequences of the Inquiry

The participants’ perceptions of the severity and appropriateness of Johnson’s sanctions were assessed. In general, participants were unaware of the severity of his legal ban, marginally

aware of the financial repercussions of his transgression, and very much aware of ensuing social repercussions. Six participants ($n = 6$) inaccurately thought Johnson was banned for life after the Dubin Inquiry, and none recalled that he had returned to competition in 1993, and again in 1999. Only two participants ($n = 2$), both of era one, were aware that Johnson had lost all government funding, while three participants of eras two and three ($n = 3$) said they believed he suffered some sort of financial sanction. Seven participants across eras ($n = 7$) believed that Johnson was rejected socially, to the point of being a “pariah” with a “forever tarnished name.” One participant (era one) recalls ubiquitous social disapproval for Johnson soon after his positive test. “I had never seen someone fall so hard,” they said. “All the headlines were after him... people hated him.” Another participant said: “(Johnson) went from being on top of the world to people wanting nothing to do with him.” A third participant (era two) said: “it probably cost him a lot of relationships... a lot of friends and family in the sport.” Six ($n = 6$) of those seven participants who believed Johnson was socially rejected following his transgression thought the sanctions were appropriate. One participant (era one) says: “you know, you get caught, and you’re done. That’s how it has to be.” Another participant (era three) says: “it was probably a difficult experience for (Johnson) but he cheated, and you have to face consequences.” One participant of era two did not think Johnson’s sanctions were appropriate. According to this participant, doping was rampant in track and field in 1988, and Johnson was sanctioned more severely than many other athletes who doped but never got caught doing so. “I don’t want to see (Johnson) take the blame for something that’s bigger than himself,” they said.

Five participants ($n = 5$), three of era one, one of era two and one of era three believed that Canadian track and field currently does not struggle with a drug problem in part because of how severely Johnson was punished after testing positive. Only two participants, both of era one,

mentioned Johnson's positive impact on Canada's doping landscape unsolicited. The other three participants came to similar conclusions only once the researcher asked them what they believed that Johnson's sanctions had impacted Canadian anti-doping in any way. One participant (era three) says: "it's funny, (Johnson) may have helped the doping problem in Canada. Nobody after Ben Johnson wanted to be Ben Johnson."

Five participants (n = 5) across eras believed Johnson's sanctioning and his testimony at the Dubin Inquiry discouraged Canadian athletes to dope, for fear of suffering similar sanctions. One participant (era two) says: "I think the fact that (the scandal) was a big deal and that (Johnson) fell hard makes us scared to suffer the same fate (...) it was an example of 'you don't do it.'" Another participant (era three) said: "if a Canadian athlete was gonna think about doping, and they see how much Ben Johnson – like how much his career got jeopardized because he doped, I don't think they'd want to do it. Especially if you're from Canada because Ben Johnson showed us what would happen here." A third participant (era one) said: "I think a lot of people looked at (the scandal and sanctioning) as 'that's what can happen if you get caught, that's what will happen if you dope.'" Again, only participants of era one mentioned that Johnson's sanction contributed to a fear of social sanctions before the researcher brought up the topic of Johnson.

Four participants (n = 4; two of era one, one of era two and one of era three) expressed that Johnson's transgression influenced the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (CCES) to tighten their testing protocol and that an elevated chance of getting tested discourages Canadians from doping in the present day. One participant (era one) said: "(Johnson) highlighted how deep the problem was, and maybe forced drug testers to catch up." The three other participants thought drug testing had become more frequent and sophisticated in Canada since the Inquiry. "I think the whole Ben Johnson fiasco made it like this," said one participant (era three)." Another

participant (era two), speaking to the stringency of testing, said: “Maybe as a residue, maybe as an after-effect of the Dubin Inquiry – we set the standard ‘this is how it is going to be done, this is how we are going to do it.’ ”

One participant (era two) thought Johnson’s positive test and the ensuing inquiry created negligible positive ramifications for anti-doping in Canada. This participant negated the aforementioned perception that Johnson’s transgression helped to turn future athletes away from doping. “I think it did nothing for anti-doping,” says the participant, before suggesting that less athletes tested positive after 1988 because performance-enhancing drugs became more sophisticated and harder to detect on drug tests. “(1990s sprinting stars) Linford Christie, Donovan Bailey and Maurice Greene would pack stadiums,” says the participant. “None of them failed tests, and I find that very suspicious.” This participant was the only one of the sample to deny any direct benefit to anti-doping coming from the Inquiry.

Three participants ($n = 3$) acknowledged that the scandal and Inquiry had both positive and negative outcomes. Two participants (era one and era three) spoke of the financial burden the Inquiry caused Athletics Canada, the national governing body of Canadian track and field. “I am from the generation that suffered most from the financial crumbling of Athletics Canada,” says a participant from era one. This participant said the doping incident made Canadian athletes lose financial support and increased fans’ cynicism while decreasing their interest in track and field. “Ben Johnson was kind of the point of no return for fans,” says this participant. “After that, the expert and non-expert perceptions in Canada was that everyone was doping. His impact on the public was bad and it was absolutely huge.” A participant from era three says: “Athletics Canada had to completely rebuild their image and their structure because one athlete had hindered it.” A

third participant (era two) says Johnson's cheating transcended track and field and "sunk the legacy of sport in Canada."

Influence on own doping decisions

While most participants thought that Johnson's transgression and the Dubin Inquiry had major consequences (positive or negative) in Canadian track and field, and that Johnson's combined sanctions (social, financial and legal) were severe, only three participants ($n = 3$), all of era one, claimed that the reaction to Johnson's transgression directly influenced their personal decision to compete cleanly. The six participants of eras two and three acknowledged that Johnson's incident had a negligible impact on their personal decision to compete cleanly.

Three ($n = 3$) of these six participants cited a difference in fame between Johnson and themselves that made his story less relatable. One participant (era two) said: "(Johnson) would just have so many more people interested in him. I don't have that many people, maybe it wouldn't be as huge if I was caught." Two participants acknowledged that the monetary loss for Johnson and themselves would not be comparable due to Johnson's higher market value. "The social stuff, yeah," says one participant (era three) about what would be similar between Johnson's sanctions and their own hypothetical one, "but the money part, it just wouldn't be as big of a deal if it were me." One of the three participants (era two) said: the size of the scandal depends on your hierarchy amongst most Canadian athletes. If (2016 triple Olympic medalist) Andre De Grasse fails a drug test now it becomes global. For most others, that's not the case."

A source of detachment to Johnson's incident for three ($n = 3$) of those six participants was chronology. One participant, born after 1988, said: "I'm a few generations removed from (Johnson and the Dubin Inquiry) so I would say – you know I think of a few more people like

Lance Armstrong, I think his doping controversy had more an impact on my life because he was closer.” Another participant (era two), when asked whether the incident influenced his or her choices about doping, said: “not really – not directly because, obviously my rise to prominence was in 2008, that’s 20 years separate. And my real – what made the biggest impression on me - was the 95-96-97 world championships. And, again, there was no doping, so I was never under the assumption and pretenses that any of these heroes of mine were involved in shady business.”

Personal reasons for Competing Cleanly

Participants cited moral judgment, expected social disapproval and an overall landscape unfavourable for doping as the most prominent reasons for competing cleanly. Each reason is described below, and elements of this overall landscape are divided in further categories.

Participants of era one believed Johnson’s social sanctions contributed to their expectation of social disapproval in response to a positive drug test more than the participants of eras two and three. Participants across the sample, however, tended to perceive their personal moral judgment as an innate quality uninfluenced by Johnson’s sanctions or other external factors.

Moral judgment

The most cited reasons for competing cleanly was moral judgment. Eight of the nine participants (n = 8) claimed that a major deterrent to doping was a belief that it was inherently wrong, and that doping defeated the purpose of sport. This belief was so engrained in participants that several of them did not even consider the possibility that their personal decisions could be based on something else. One of the participants (era three) said: “the main reason, or purpose I have for not doping, is that I would never dope because it just wouldn’t be me who is competing. At the end of the day, I started the sport to see how good I could be, how far I could push my body naturally.” Similarly, another participant (era three), when asked what guides him

or her in making decisions about doping, said: “actually it’s about moral judgment – it’s wrong. It’s just like cheating on a test, you know? I don’t think it comes from anywhere in particular other than that. If you’re running a race, you’re not actually running the race – you are taking a shortcut and so my greatest deterrent is that doping is wrong.” A third participant (era two) said: “we have a lot of morals in Canada that are healthy, so I don’t think doping is a problem.” The only participant not to cite the inherent immorality of doping trained in the United States, whereas the eight other participants did most of their training in Canada. The theme of morality as a deterrent to doping never emerged in the interview with this participant.

Fear of social disapproval

Seven participants ($n = 7$) cited a fear of social disapproval as a deterrent to doping. Out of those seven participants, five ($n = 5$) believed Canadian Olympians that doped faced more social consequences than Olympians who doped in other countries. “Social consequences” or “social sanctions” were identified in interviews as sanctions fitting Overbye’s definition: condemnations by the surrounding world falling outside of sanctions of health, legal, financial or self-imposed nature, such as being ignored by fellow athletes or negative reports in the media.⁸⁷ Main types of expected social consequences for doping identified across the sample were a strain on personal relationships, damage to one’s reputation, and a denial of advancement opportunities in sport during and after one’s career.

Participants of era one believed a heightened expectation for social consequences of doping existed in Canada because of the precedent that was set by Johnson’s social sanctions. One participant (era one) said: “Ben Johnson’s impact on the public and contemporaries in the sport was absolutely huge,” said the participant. “ (If someone else was to dope) he would be a

⁸⁷ Overbye et al., “Athletes’ Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions,” 366.

total pariah. It's just not part of our system, so completely unimaginable, how the person would be rejected by their close social community, their partners in sport." A second participant (era one) said: "when you dope, it reveals something about you. It's a personal, character flaw. You're a cheater. I would not want to be known as a cheater to that many people." This participant later admitted that Johnson's sanctions struck fear of social ostracism in Canadian athletes and, through this fear, facilitated decisions to compete cleanly.

While participants of era one attributed the belief that social sanctions for doping are more severe in Canada due to Johnson's incident, participants of eras two and three held similar beliefs about social sanctions, but attributed this belief to other factors. The most prominent factor was a heightened expectation in morality in Canada. One participant (era three) said: "In Canada, the thing is cheating is majorly frowned upon, and that's just the way it is. That's how we are taught." Another participant (era three) said: "I think we as Canadians value ourselves on clean sport, and I know that anybody I work with is also held to those same values." A third participant (era two) said: "I think there is a lot of morals in sport in Canada that are healthy, and we are doing it for the right reasons and they click in." Participants of eras two and three believed this moral consciousness to be inherent and intertwined with Canadian customs and values, (which, according to participants comprise politeness, honesty, and sportsmanship) instead of emergent of any particular incident.

Elsewhere, three participants (n = 3) across eras believed social consequences for doping were severe in Canada because doping was not seen as a necessity to achieve comfortable socioeconomic status, as could be the case in other nations. One participant (era one) said: "If you fail a drug test in places (like Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom), you know, you're vilified, you're a bad person, and everyone knows about it. But I think in some

countries it's just shrugged and it's just part of doing business (...) in some nations it's seen as your way out of poverty, so your reputation takes less of a hit." Another participant (era three) said, "In Canada, you dope, and your lifestyle doesn't change. You'll look greedy and stuff like that because your basic lifestyle is pretty good, whereas in other countries, your lifestyle will change." That same participant points out that the payoff for high performance is not as large in Canada as it is in the United States, making doping less understandable to the Canadian public.

Health reasons

Only two athletes (n = 2) cited health reasons as a deterrent to doping. One participant (era two) said: "I just don't trust even the best performance-enhancing drugs – I don't know enough about them. I wouldn't trust them even if I'm getting them from a trusted source. You just never know what's in them for sure and how it might affect your body in the long-term." Another participant (era three) believed that any type of doping created a health risk and that, coupled with moral judgment, turned the participant away from doping. "I would just feel terrible doing it and then I don't know how it affects my body. Maybe there are side effects."

Landscape in Canada not conducive to doping

Many participants alluded to a landscape unfavourable to doping in Canada when citing factors that encourage them to compete cleanly or discourage them to dope. Various factors contributing to this landscape were separated into further categories. Participants cited lack of access to drugs (n = 6), extensive education about clean sport in Canada (n = 5), stringent anti-doping testing (n = 4), and a lack of monetary incentive for doping (n = 3).

Lack of Access. Six participants claimed access to performance-enhancing drugs is limited, if existent at all, in Canada. This was especially true for participants living and training in less

densely populated areas within Canada. One participant (era one) said: “I never had the opportunity to dope. It was never an option. I was in quite a situation: self-coached out of a small province. I was never in a training group, (doping) was never pushed by my government. I was never in that possible set-up so I really would have had to go out of my way to dope.” Another participant (era two) said: “I guess being from a small community, I never really, it wasn’t something that was there.” Similarly, four other participants who trained out of larger Canadian centres thought doping might be available if they really sought it out, but did not exactly knowing how to access performance-enhancing substances. One participant (era one) speculated that they would have had to go to the United States or Mexico had they wanted to gain access to drugs. The only participant of the sample who trained in the United States believed performance-enhancing substances would have been accessible, had this participant sought them out. They said: “there was a doctor at our camp who was rumored to sell snake oil. I distanced myself from him (...) but some people in our camp failed drug tests.”

That being said, no athlete in the sample had been approached by a coach, doctor or external source and explicitly offered performance-enhancing substances. One participant (era three) believed that this lack of corrupt external influence contributed to clean competition. “If you have a coach, doctor or even loved one who actively engages in (doping),” they say, “those could all be ways which you would be encouraged to do something like that. But I’ve never heard of anyone like that engaging in doping, so I guess I have never been aware that it was even an option.” Another participant (era two) says: “I think it’s pretty rare that you see when athletes take it upon themselves to dope without the consent of the coach. I truly believe that.”

Education. Five (n = 5) participants of eras two and three, said that extensive education about doping in sport is a possible reason for their personal abstinence. Two participants of era one

acknowledged the implementation of an education program in Canada following Johnson's transgression and the Dubin Inquiry, but believed it to be less extensive and effective during the time they competed. While they both acknowledged that the education program became more rigorous after their active years, it did not have an impact on their personal decisions about doping. One participant (era three) says: "on a monthly basis we (Olympic athletes) are doing these education modules. I don't think people understand the degree to which there are all these education things that come up." Another participant (era two) said: "I think the sports organizations in Canada do a good job at emphasizing drug-free sport. I knew from a very early age that it was taken seriously in Canada." This participant later stated that athletes were educated not only about the perils of doping, but also of what exactly constitutes doping, so as to avoid testing positive by accident. A third participant (era two), who had been privy to both Canadian and American doping education, believes Canadian athletes spend more time in drug-prevention workshops than did American athletes. A fourth participant says that continued education made them familiar with the consequences. "I have seen what can happen after a positive test time and time again outlined by CCES or WADA," they said. None of these five participants that credited Canada's anti-doping education system traced its current-day effectiveness back to Johnson's scandal.

Stringent Anti-Doping Testing. Four participants (n = 4), all of eras two and three, believed that Canadian track and field's anti-doping testing (governed by CCES) was stringent compared to that of other countries when they competed, and discourages the proliferation of doping in Canada. While three of these four participants held a belief that Johnson's sanctions helped anti-doping protocol proliferate in Canada, they more readily attributed the current testing protocol to an expectation of moral conduct inherent to Canada. Those participants all believed

strongly that drug testing is not equal across countries, and that Canadians are held to a higher standard than some of their competitors. One participant (era two) said:

As a Canadian training in America, you saw it. I act on behalf of CCES, on my end, and I was tested on multiple occasions on back-to-back days, in one instance twice in one day, but the likelihood of me being tested at least every 25 to 30 days was really high, regardless of my world ranking. In my camp, I was tested – and this includes (American Olympic medalists), there was nobody who was tested as often as me, and that was on the behalf of CCES. But that was just the way Canada wanted to do things, and I totally applaud that.

This participant explained the drug testing process they encountered when competing in Jamaica:

The doping officials came to me, handed me a cup and a clipboard, told me to go away, pee and sign the sheet. (...) I wondered to myself: Is that the standard they set? This is what the Jamaican athletes have to endure compared to what we endure? (...) For us it's no messing around when we are selected for drug testing. Then there is a flaw in the system.

Another participant (era three) said: "I feel like (the frequent testing) is the difference between us and USA, Kenya, and some of these other countries that are medalling. Canadian athletes are tested more often than other athletes of other federations, athletes of other countries, which I don't think is fair. If you're top five in the world in Ethiopia or Kenya, you test three to four times per year. In Canada, you're tested 25 times." A participant of era two, when asked about drug testing in Canada, said: "the rest of the world sort of is playing catch up." One participant (era three) said the drug testing protocol in Canada were so stringent that it instills fear in clean athletes. This participant said: "we have a bunch of Canadian and world class athletes sitting around and they are all paranoid that something accidental will appear in their sample, because if it's there, it will get caught. It could be something accidental from a fast-food restaurant, or something in my meat or my spinach (...) it's one of my biggest fears."

Lack of Monetary Incentive. Not only did the lack of monetary incentive made doping less appealing to participants, three participants (n = 3), one of each era, suggested that they competed cleanly partly because track and field represented less of a means to an end for them than for athletes of some other countries. While some participants acknowledged that doping may have presented a possible avenue to make more money in Canada (provided that it were available and that dopers would not test positive), participants believed doping could present a necessary route to a better life in developing and developing countries. One participant (era two) said: “It’s easy to say that we as Canadians have more morals, but I wonder if we really just have more of a chance, financially. Having the option to work in other fields permits us to make the right decision and run clean. In other countries, I imagine people dope because their families are depending on them to make money running.” Another participant (era three) said: “in Canada, if an athlete cheats, the lifestyle doesn’t change, but in Kenya you can go from not making it out of the country to making big prize money. It’s way higher stakes.” The three participants acknowledged that the potential monetary gain related to better performances paled in comparison to the drawbacks of doping, “In the end,” said the participant from era three, “I’d be bringing home a bit more money every year, but I’d still be living in the same house. I wouldn’t trade that for knowing I’ve cheated and the backlash that would come if people found out.”

Discussion

The Impact of Johnson

On anti-doping in Canada

This study assessed how Johnson’s positive test and the sanctions that ensued resonated with Canadian Olympians across time and shaped anti-doping culture in Canada. A key finding was that participants of era one fervently believed that Johnson’s scandal contributed to the

paucity of doping cases in Canada since 1988. Those participants believed that Johnson being shamed and disliked markedly by the Canadian people and media following his positive test resonated with athletes. Specifically, they believed Johnson's social sanctions created an expectation of negative social treatment of dopers. Johnson's social sanctions seem to resonate most with the Olympians interviewed. Conversely, participants were mostly unaware of the nature of his legal and financial sanctions – few participants knew that Johnson returned to competition after having served his first ban and then tested positive again in 1993 and again in 1999. It is possible that participants were more aware of Johnson's social sanctions because they are considered by elite athletes to be the most deterring type of penalty for a positive test.⁸⁸ Participants of era one also believed that the Dubin Inquiry inspired more frequent and effective drug testing. Indeed, the Dubin Inquiry resulted in the Canadian Government adopting a much more proactive attitude about anti-doping policy, and made Canada join the ranks of the governments actively involved in policy-making.⁸⁹

Most participants of eras two and three believed Canadian athletes that doped were treated more severely than athletes of other countries and that drug testing was more frequent in Canada. None of those participants, however, spoke of a link between Canada's anti-doping policies and Johnson's transgression until the researcher asked if they thought that such a relationship existed during the interviews. The finding that participants of eras two and three identified effective doping policies in Canada without initially linking them to Johnson's scandal suggests that scandal, by itself, does not lead to lasting change in anti-doping. It is possible that the policies that are driven by crisis and scandal are more important drivers of anti-doping

⁸⁸ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 366.

⁸⁹ Barrie Houlihan, "Anti-Doping Policy in Sport: The Politics of International Policy Co-ordination," *Public Administration* 77, no. 2 (1999): 324, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9299.00156>.

behaviour than the actual scandal over time. The fact that participants of eras two and three did not give much thought to Johnson's scandal when making decisions about doping substantiates Storm and Wagner's finding that the aftermath of a scandal is characterized by a gradual lowering of interest about the transgression.⁹⁰

Despite feeling knowledgeable about Johnson's transgression, participants of eras two and three said it failed to resonate with them in a particularly positive or negative way and, thus, probably with other Canadian athletes. Their perceptions might be linked to a lack of connection with Johnson. Some of those participants distinguished major differences between Johnson's reality – one of not only an Olympian, but of a world-class sports superstar – and their own, and believed they would not be sanctioned like Johnson because they lack his worldwide fame. Participants did not think they were famous enough to evoke attention like Johnson. It is also possible that some participants fail to appreciate how ramifications of the Inquiry affected anti-doping in Canada. Anti-doping policy processes are not fixed and change over time,⁹¹ so repercussions of more recent doping scandals may better resonate with younger athletes. Two participants of era three, for example, claimed that Lance Armstrong's doping scandal resonated with them more than Johnson's scandal and was more likely to affect their decisions about doping.

Further, participants of era two and three might not have perceived Johnson's scandal as necessary for creating a higher standard of clean sport in Canada, as they believed that such a standard has always existed to fit morals that are "inherently" Canadian. The only participant of those two eras not to cite morality as an important deterrent to doping trained in the United

⁹⁰ Storm and Wagner, "Anatomy of Sport Scandal," 1.

⁹¹Houlihan, "Policy Coordination," 313.

States, which provides support for the idea that Canadian track and field follows an especially demanding moral code. It could be argued, however, that a moral code may seem inherent to individuals unaware of the evolution of anti-doping attempts in Canada since 1983 and especially after 1988. Indeed, the positive tests of Canadian athletes in Caracas in 1983 and then of Johnson in 1988 led to Canadian sport adopting a zero-tolerance policy for doping.⁹² An understanding of this history could provide those participants with a reason, other than an inherent and expected code of conduct, why a high standard of morality in Canadian track and field exists.

Three participants, one of each era, thought Johnson's incident caused negative ramifications in Canadian track and field. A participant of era one, whose competitive career coincided with Johnson's, recalls how the incident made fans cynical about the existence of clean sport. According to this participant, the level of fan interest in track and field in Canada plummeted following Johnson's positive test. Experts in the field of doping still believe that doping breeds cynicism in fans, which, in turn, hurts a sport's fan base.⁹³ Participants of eras two and three did not share the belief that Johnson's transgression hurt Canadian track and field's fan base. It is possible that those participants fail to appreciate the immediate fan response to Johnson's positive test, which was negative across the country.⁹⁴ It is also possible that participants of era one hold an aggrandized belief that fans felt betrayed because they recall the media coverage of the scandal and the inquiry. One participant of era one said that television coverage of Johnson's positive test "made it seem like people hated him." Canadian media attempted to capture the reaction from the "everyday Canadian" following the scandal, which

⁹² Ritchie, "Construction of a Policy," 195.

⁹³ "Tackling Doping in 2016, Nicole Sapstead Speech," Clean Sport Blog, Nicole Sapstead, last modified March 9, 2016. <https://cleansportblog.wordpress.com/2016/03/09/tackling-doping-in-sport-2016-nicole-sapstead-speech/>.

⁹⁴ Jackson, "Faust Lane," 228.

popularized a national voice that disapproved of Johnson's decisions.⁹⁵ Elsewhere, participants of eras two and three might not perceive Johnson's transgression as momentous because they have been privy to several other steroid controversies since Johnson's positive test in 1988.

On personal decisions about doping

When it came to personal reasons for competing cleanly, participants said that moral judgment and the fear of social sanctions were the main reasons they refrained from doping, and that Johnson's transgression partly factored (era one) and factored negligibly (eras two and three) in their decisions about doping. In general, participants across eras believed that events surrounding Johnson had less an impact on their personal decisions to dope than did their moral judgment. That may not mean Johnson's sanctions are an unimportant factor in personal decisions about doping among Canadian athletes, but that the extent of their importance may go somewhat unnoticed by those participants. According to Ritchie, the Johnson incident and the ensuing Inquiry led to the very creation of the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (CCES) and the CCES's spirit of sport campaign.⁹⁶ The spirit of sport language (Appendix D) promotes a "values-based" image of sport around the world.⁹⁷ These sporting bodies that work to develop positive morals in athletes may be somewhat responsible for the participants' moral approach to sport.

Further, a discrepancy exists between the importance participants placed on Johnson's scandal in relation to the doping landscape in Canada, and its limited impact on their own personal decision about doping. This is especially true for participants of eras two and three. Those participants might prefer to credit strong morals instead of doping deterrents as reasons to

⁹⁵ Jackson and Ponic, "Pride and Prejudice," 52.

⁹⁶ Ritchie, "Construction of a Policy," 194.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

compete cleanly in an attempt to answer in a pro-social manner. The belief held across the sample that dopers are negatively perceived in Canada may lead participants to believe (or at least state, fearing consequences of stating the opposite) that they would refrain from doping regardless of the perceived consequences. Bloodworth and McNamee's claim that athletes may be unwilling to honestly discuss the topic of doping with researchers even if anonymity and confidentiality are guaranteed by the investigators⁹⁸ makes it plausible to be sceptical about responses related to personal doping attitudes and behaviours.

The other important personal reason for competing cleanly, found across the sample, was the fear of social sanctions. Participants of era one stated that Johnson's incident helped discourage them from doping by simultaneously setting a precedent of severe social shaming of dopers and providing an example of the severe consequences that might follow a doping test. Participants of eras two and three acknowledged that the scandal provided an example of how dopers will be treated in Canada, but it appeared that they did not believe as much that events surrounding Johnson created a precedent. Instead, they perceived those events as somewhat incidental, and simply demonstrating the consequences of doping in Canada, where a high standard of morality was thought to exist. As mentioned earlier, those participants of eras two and three maybe answered in such a manner because of a lack of knowledge of the past happenings in Canadian sport (including Johnson's sanction and events surrounding Canada's doping scandal at the 1983 Pan-American Games) that led to the creation of Canada's anti-doping policies.^{99;100} Understanding that events surrounding Johnson's positive test contributed

⁹⁸ Andrew Bloodworth and Michael John McNamee, "Clean Olympians? Doping and Anti-Doping: The Views of Talented Young British Athletes," *International Journal of Drug Policy* 21, no. 4 (2010): 278, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2009.11.009>.

⁹⁹ Ritchie, "Construction of a Policy," 196.

¹⁰⁰ Kidd, Edelman and Brownell, "Analysis of Doping Scandals," 154.

to a zero-tolerance mentality towards doping in Canadian sport might have led participants of eras two and three to further credit the Inquiry for contributing to this expected morality.

Anti-doping landscape in Canada

The two main reasons Olympians compete cleanly in Canada were found to be a fear of social sanctions as well as a moral consciousness perceived by the participants to be a national expectation and an inherent trait. The interviews revealed that reasons outside of morals and fear of social sanctioning also contribute to Canadian Olympians' decisions to compete cleanly. Across the sample, participants credited a landscape unfavourable to doping as another reason for their decisions to compete cleanly, and for the cultivation of a clean approach to track and field in Canada. Elements of this landscape, according to participants mentioned were: effective doping education, stringent drug testing and a clean approach to sport by coaches and supporting staff, which led to a lack of access to drugs. Participants of era one more often linked those outcomes to events surrounding Johnson's transgression than did participants of era two and three. Participants of era three perceived these outcomes as more effective in mitigating doping than did participants of other eras. This finding could reflect an increasingly effective application of drug testing and education by CCES since Johnson's scandal, which would give credence to Hanstad's claim that organizational improvement in anti-doping movements like CCES is motivated by drug scandals.¹⁰¹

Education

Participants of all eras were aware of the existence of CCES, the organization (formerly known as CADO and then CCDS) founded based on Dubin's recommendation that Canadian

¹⁰¹ Ritchie, "Construction of a Policy," 194.

track and field bolster their anti-doping movements in 1990.¹⁰² Two of the three participants of era one acknowledged that CCES was founded following Dubin's recommendation, but were only somewhat familiar with CCES' attempts at anti-doping education during their careers. Participants of eras two and three acknowledged the effectiveness of CCES' education protocol in anti-doping practice, but only two of the six participants of eras two and three traced the creation of CCES back to the Dubin Inquiry. This finding suggests that the memory of Johnson becomes increasingly distant in Canadian track and field as time goes by. According to Storm and Wagner, the aftermath of a scandal is characterized by a gradual lowering of interest about the transgression and more subtle reflections on its consequences.¹⁰³ Indeed, participants removed in time from Johnson's scandal may reflect less on its ramifications, which could make them less aware of the origin of CCES, despite being very familiar with its proceedings.

Participants of eras two and three, however, quickly spoke of CCES' extensive and ongoing education protocol which, according to them, was effective in teaching them and fellow athletes about what constituted doping and about the consequences (legal, social, and health-related) that may ensue from a positive drug test. Indeed, informing athletes about the social consequences of a positive drug test was found to be an effective strategy against doping.¹⁰⁴ As well, participants of era three praised CCES' education modules most prominently and claimed to be diligent and knowledgeable about which substances they could and could not ingest. Perhaps this reflects positive adjustment in curriculum over the previous decade in response to previous research identifying a need for more education when athletes were accidentally

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Storm and Wagner, "Anatomy of Sport Scandal," 1.

¹⁰⁴ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 379.

breaching WADA's code.¹⁰⁵ Over a decade ago, it was found that the majority of elite athletes would welcome further education initiatives to better inform them of doping issues, as they were deficient in doping knowledge.¹⁰⁶ WADA soon identified education and research as strategic priorities for prevention.¹⁰⁷ Backhouse and colleagues later found that prevention-based programs might be more appropriate in mitigating doping behaviour than common detection-based deterrence activities.¹⁰⁸ The finding that the latest generation of Canadian Olympians felt most knowledgeable about what constitutes doping could be a consequence of WADA encouraging anti-doping agencies to provide athletes with adequate education.

Stringent Testing

Participants (especially of eras two and three) perceived drug testing to be far more stringent in Canada than in other countries. Participants of eras two and three credited the drug-testing work of CCES as meaningful and effective in doping prevention. The small number of doping cases in the Canadian Olympic track and field athletes since Johnson's scandal likely speak to Canada's drug testing protocol - past studies show that athletes were less likely to consider doping if there was a high chance of being prosecuted, banned, or humiliated publicly¹⁰⁹ and that the simple prospect of being subject to a drug test in the future acts as a doping deterrent for the majority of athletes.¹¹⁰ That deterrence effect, in contrast, according to Overbye and

¹⁰⁵ Simon Somerville, Maureen Lewis and Halpe Kuipers, "Accidental Breaches of the Doping Regulations in Sport: Is There a Need to Improve the Education of Sportspeople?" *British Journal of Sports Medicine* 39, no. 8 (2005): 512, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bjism.2004.013839>.

¹⁰⁶ Susan Backhouse et al., "International Literature Review: Attitudes, Behaviours, Knowledge and Education – Drugs in Sport: Past, Present and Future," Prepared for the World Anti-Doping Agency, 2007, Leeds, 53.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 83.

¹⁰⁹ Twan Huybers and Jason Mazanov, "What Would Kim Do: A Choice Study of Projected Athlete Doping Considerations," *Journal of Sport Management* 26, no. 4 (2012): 28, <http://doi/abs/10.1123/jsm.26.4.322>.

¹¹⁰ Dunn et al., "Attitudes and Experiences of Elite Athletes," 330.

colleagues can be invalidated if athletes do not perceive doping tests as likely or frequent.¹¹¹

Most participants in this sample saw drug testing as a frequent certainty in Canada, and several participants of eras two and three held perceptions that drug testing was more frequent, and the sanctions accompanying a positive test were more severe in Canada than in other countries.

In accordance with Ritchie's claim that events surrounding Johnson's positive test have led to stringent anti-doping policies in Canada,¹¹² participants across the sample thought that drug testing was extensive and frequent in Canada, and that Johnson's sanctions inspired stringency in drug testing. One participant (era one) said: "since (the Inquiry) the likelihood of getting caught for doping in Canada is greater than in other countries." Participants of eras two and three were aware of the connection between the development of stringent testing and Johnson's sanctions. Participants may be more aware of that connection than of the one between Johnson's sanctions and bolstered drug education in Canada because drug testing in Canada represents a current topic of contention for its level of stringency. Participants who think athletes in Canada are particularly burdened by drug testing might be motivated to learn the origin of Canada's anti-doping protocol. Indeed, one participant (era three) felt targeted by CCES to the point where they felt at the mercy of an erroneous positive test, or of a mistake in dietary intake. As well, the participant (era two) who trained in the United States, was in favour of CCES' stringent protocol, but found there to be a marked discrepancy between his or her drug-testing duties and those of his or her American training partners, even those who were world medalists.

¹¹¹ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 367.

¹¹² Ritchie, "Lid on the Crisis," 114.

Lack of corrupt influences

While athletes are ultimately responsible for the decision to use banned performance-enhancing drugs,¹¹³ there are a number of potentially significant reference groups that may play an important role in shaping such a decision.¹¹⁴ No participants in the sample admitted to being asked or given the opportunity to dope by a coach or member of supporting athletic staff. In fact, several participants stated that their own tendency to compete cleanly was, in part, driven by a lack of access to performance-enhancing substances - this lack of access being related to their coaches' contempt for doping and complete lack of motivation to seek out illegal options. This observation is consistent with Engelberg, Moston and Skinner's findings that crime is more likely to exist in sport when facilitated by some coaches of elite athletes.¹¹⁵

Participant interviews revealed that the influence that coaches who encourage doping could have in an athlete's decision to use banned substances should not be understated. Several participants acknowledged that corrupt coaches were a key part of the drug problem Canadian track and field faced in 1988 - two participants from era one blamed Charlie Francis more than Johnson for the latter's decisions to cheat. When asked why coaches tended to refrain from encouraging athletes to dope in recent years in Canada, one participant (era two) said that Canada's corrupt coaches had been "weeded out" by the Dubin Inquiry, and subsequent coaches "used that as an example of what could happen if they promote dirty competition." Indeed, during the Dubin Inquiry, Justice Dubin challenged Sport Canada to reprimand coaches as much

¹¹³ Moston, Engelberg, and Skinner, "Athletes' and Coaches' Perceptions," 630.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 625.

¹¹⁵ Engelberg, Moston and Skinner, "Final Frontier of Anti-Doping," 268.

¹¹⁶ Charles Dubin, *Commission of Inquiry Into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance* (Ottawa, Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1990), 92.

as athletes for promoting drug use.¹¹⁶ It is possible that enforcing rules around coaches and doping in Canada, as well as banning Francis (a coach of multiple Olympic athletes), helped free the nation of corrupt coaching influence by the time participants of eras two and three became active.

Given that coaches of elite adult athletes constitute a central source of influence on the conduct of an athlete¹¹⁷ interviewing Canadian coaches for this study was considered. The researcher ultimately decided against it for two reasons. First, elite level coaches are fewer than elite level athletes in Canada, as each elite training group typically has only one or two coaches. The researcher feared not having access to a large-enough sample. Second, Moston and colleagues found the role of coaches in influencing the decision-making of athletes to be less important than anticipated based on findings from a quantitative WADA-funded report.^{118;119} Indeed, in terms of assigning responsibility for doping, it was found that both elite athletes (97.9%) and coaches (100.0%) share the view that the athlete was responsible.¹²⁰ While, as mentioned, the interviews revealed that corrupt coaches had an important influence on athletes, the researcher chose not to interview these coaches. The researcher anticipated a difficulty of finding corrupt coaches in Canadian track and field, due to the few doping cases on public record. As well, the researcher doubted that interviews with corrupt coaches would yield truthful response about corrupt coaching practices.

¹¹⁷ Backhouse, Patterson and Mckenna, "Achieving the Olympic Ideal," 83.

¹¹⁸ Moston, Engleberg and Skinner, "Athletes' and Coaches' Perceptions," 625.

¹¹⁹ Aidan Moran et al., "The Development and Validation of a Doping Attitudes and Behaviour Scale, Report To World Anti-Doping Agency and The Irish Council," Report Prepared for World Anti-Doping Agency, 2008, Dublin.

¹²⁰ Moston, Engelberg and Skinner, "Athletes' and Coaches' Perceptions," 630.

National Positions Against Doping

Participants across eras believed that consequences for doping were, and are, more severe in Canada than in other countries. Participants held a strong belief that drug testing was not as frequent and drug education modules were not as extensive in certain other nations, namely Russia, Jamaica, Kenya, the United States, and Ethiopia. According to Houlihan, countries and cultures demonstrate different levels of sincerity when attempting to ensure the probity of their domestic sports systems and representative athletes.¹²¹ The participants' belief that anti-doping is taken more seriously in Canada than in other countries suggests that clean sport is particularly valued in Canada's sporting culture over the last thirty years. Sport culture, which comprises the values, beliefs and practices of colleagues in sport is a particularly important factor in decisions about doping.¹²²

A cultural position against doping in Canada could be a result of Dubin's suggestion to the Government of Canada to adopt a far more proactive attitude towards anti-doping policy.¹²³ One participant said (era three): "we don't (dope) in Canada, it's not our thing. If you do it you're just, kind of, disowned." The idea that Canada harbours a stronger cultural position against doping than other countries may come from the bias of a fully Canadian sample. That being said, the only participant who did not mention morality as a reason to compete cleanly had trained permanently in the United States. This participant's statement corroborated

¹²¹ Houlihan, "Policy Coordination," 312.

¹²² Smith et al., "Contextual Influences and Athlete Attitudes to Drugs in Sport," *Sport Management Review* 13, no.3 (2010): 181, <https://10.1016/j.smr.2010.01.008>.

¹²³ Houlihan, "Policy Coordination," 324.

¹²⁴ Catherine Carstairs, "The Wide World of Doping: Drug Scandals, Natural Bodies, and the Business of Sports Entertainment," *Addiction Research & Theory* 11, no. 4 (2003): 263, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1606635031000135659>.

the findings that consequences for, and feeling about, doping vary between countries¹²⁴ and that doping behaviour should be investigated across nationalities.^{125:126}

Conclusions and Future Directions

Findings from this study, as well as research in the field of doping in Canadian track and field^{127; 128} both suggest that Johnson's scandal still contributes to a sporting culture that shapes anti-doping practices in Canada,¹²⁹ even though Johnson's contributions seem to resonate decreasingly with Olympians over time. Indeed, events around Johnson's transgression were necessary for the creation of CCES and, consequently, the development of effective education protocols and drug-testing methods. As well, Johnson's transgression played an important role in developing the spirit of sport language and a morals-based "image of sport" in Canada.¹³⁰ Numerous Canadian sport groups (like True Sport, SIRCuit, and Sport Law & Strategy Group) have since adopted this image of sport, which teaches Canadian athletes the values of "honesty," "fair play" and "responsibility."¹³¹ These ramifications of Johnson's sanctions act as doping deterrents for Canadian athletes across eras and irrespective of their knowledge about Johnson's positive test.

¹²⁵ Daniel Gucciardi, Geoffrey Jalleh, and Robert Donovan, "An Examination of the Sport Drug Control Model with Elite Australian Athletes," *Journal of Science & Medicine in Sport* 14 (2011): 469, <https://doi.10.1016/j.jsams.2011.03.009>.

¹²⁶ Barrie Houlihan, "Managing Compliance in International Anti-Doping Policy: The World Anti-Doping Code," *European Sport Management Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (2002): 190, <https://doi.org/10.1080/16184740208721922>.

¹²⁷ Ritchie, "Lid on the Crisis," 114-116.

¹²⁸ Kidd, Edelman and Brownell, "Analysis of Doping Scandals," 154.

¹²⁹ Smith et al., "Contextual Influences," 181.

¹³⁰ Ritchie, "Construction of a Policy," 194.

¹³¹ Alison Jones and Michael McLenaghan, "Creating a Values-Based Sport Image in Canada," SIRCuit, Accessed July 13 2019, <http://sircuit.ca/creating-a-values-based-sport-system-in-canada/>.

This study uncovered factors that shape the anti-doping culture of Canadian track and field in a time when the doping prevention research paradigm needs to be developed.^{132;133} Indeed, doping continues to challenge the legitimacy of sport. Most recently, European law enforcement seized 24 tons of raw steroid powder delivered to athletes of 33 countries.¹³⁴ In 2018, police in Austria raided the International Biathlon Federation's offices after the agency's president was accused of covering up Russian doping cases.¹³⁵ Doping might continue to be a problem in specific areas of the world because differences still exist in how nations approach doping scandals and dopers.^{136; 137} Indeed, there is a need to regulate treatment of dopers across nationalities.^{138; 139} Other nations cannot recreate an event similar to Johnson's scandal to bolster anti-doping. But, the clean approach to sport of participants of eras two and three, despite being less knowledgeable about Johnson's sanctions, suggests that policy might be equally as important as scandal in driving change in anti-doping. Thus, the researcher suggests that nations that aim to create an anti-doping culture focus on reproducing anti-doping strategies deemed effective by the participants of this study. Strategies include: fostering moral conduct in sport, applying severe social sanctions in consequence to positive drug test (like negative exposure in the media), frequently drug testing athletes and implementing a rigorous drug education curriculum.

¹³² Lippi, Franchini, and Cesare, "Tour de Chaos," 625-626.

¹³³ Lucidi et al., "Adolescents' Use of Doping Substances," 449.

¹³⁴ Eddie Pells, "Massive Police Effort Leads to Steroid Busts Across Europe," *The Associated Press*, July 8, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/3b5710e921e64c6eb1678da83e488926>.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Houlihan, "Managing Compliance," 190.

¹³⁷ Carstairs, "Wide World of Doping," 269.

¹³⁸ Gucciardi et al., "Elite Australian Athletes," 469.

¹³⁹ Houlihan, "Managing Compliance," 190.

Limitations and Delimitations

The researcher was limited to public record information about the participants' use of performance-enhancing substances, or lack thereof. Any undocumented use of drugs by participants, or other Canadian athletes, was not considered when conceiving this thesis. Thus, this research operated under the perhaps inaccurate presumption that doping is less a problem in Canadian track and field than in most other countries, given the data made public by WADA and several media outlets. In other words, the researcher cannot be fully certain that only two Canadian track and field Olympians have doped since Johnson's transgression – but only that two Canadians have tested positive in that time.

Elsewhere, an inherent limitation to data collection exists when inquiring about drug use in athletes. Although participants were granted anonymity, individuals might have been inclined to display certain beliefs, and perhaps shield other ones, that are congruent with social acceptance. Participants might have resisted sharing a positive, or perhaps neutral, belief about doping to avoid potential social backlash. Moreover, participants might have accentuated or exaggerated their negative feelings and attitudes towards banned substances in the goal of downplaying their willingness to dope, or experiences with doping. To attenuate feelings of uneasiness around doping experience disclosure, participants were reminded at the beginning of the interview that they had the right to answer or pass on all questions, and that the researchers would follow all measures outlined in the distributed consent form to preserve anonymity. Participants were also made aware, again, that member checking would be employed, and that they would have one week to review their answers and make changes to the data.

The researcher anticipated this study to be limited by a difficulty to recruit Olympians, as they represent a very small demographic in Canada's population. A sufficient number of

participants, however, were recruited. Prior research suggests that it takes as little as six participants to understand the essence of an experience.¹⁴⁰ An alternate method to assure saturation could have been to recruit participants from only one era (i.e. the 1990s) and seek richer data about perceptions of doping unique to that era. The researcher wished, however, to examine how perceptions around Johnson's sanctions changed over time. This stipulation limited the researcher to two to four participants representing each decade following the Dubin Inquiry. Although those numbers may appear low, prior case study research has achieved thick, rich data by comprising as little as two participants.¹⁴¹

Thus, the participants recruited represented Canada in different eras and, perhaps consequentially, their perception of doping sanctions in Canada, as well as their knowledge of Johnson's scandal and the Dubin Inquiry, widely varied. A concern of the research was that many participants of eras two and three would not be familiar with Johnson and the sanctions applied to him. But, given the wide reach of the Inquiry, its prominence on television and, later, its extant presence in media productions, participants were substantially aware of Johnson's transgression and of many ensuing consequences. Thus, the sample was generally well informed on the topic.

Finally, a limitation common in qualitative doping research is that samples typically consist of non-doping athletes.¹⁴² Indeed, all participants, according to public record information appear to compete – or have competed – cleanly. Due to the scarcity of documented doping cases in Canadian track and field, the researcher would not have achieved a meaningful sample by interviewing athletes who have doped. It is to note that participants were not deliberately asked

¹⁴⁰ Guetterman, "Descriptions of Sampling Practice," Article 25.

¹⁴¹ Irene Agyepong and Sam Adjei, "Public Social Policy Development and Implementation," *Health Policy Plan* 23, no. 2 (2008): 150-160, <https://doi:10.1093/heapol/czn002>.

¹⁴² Bloodworth and McNamee, "Clean Olympians?" 278.

whether they used performance-enhancing substances during their careers, so the researcher cannot know for sure if participants were in fact clean competitors. Participants are further expected to have been clean competitors because, as Engelberg and colleagues point out in their research with doped athletes: athletes that have committed deliberate violations (and have not yet detected) are unlikely to participate in research studies which might result in insights into their behaviour that would facilitate their detection.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Engelberg, Moston and Skinner, "Final Frontier of Anti-Doping," 269.

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Literature Review

This review examines negative perceptions of doping in sport, and presents five prominent doping choice models to better explain factors influencing doping behaviour in athletes. Similarities and common origins of these models – notably, their use of cost-benefit analysis, a concept grounded in criminal deterrence theory, are discussed. The researcher then presents frequently researched categories of doping sanctions, and comments on their reported effectiveness as doping deterrents. The researcher follows this discussion by revisiting two important events in Canada’s history of doping in sport: Canadian Pan-American Games scandal of 1983, and Ben Johnson’s highly documented transgression and ensuing sanctions of 1988. This review concludes with a comparison between the national response to Johnson’s transgression and those of three other countries following doping scandals of their own. Such responses foreshadow contrasts in doping behaviour between athletes of those countries.

Doping in Sport

Researchers traditionally have discouraged illicit substance usage in sport due to ethical concerns,^{144; 145} health concerns^{146; 147} as well as due to the negative public image of sport it conveys.¹⁴⁸ Despite these discouragements from research, and despite WADA’s several efforts to eradicate doping since its founding, doping is still one of the biggest issues the competitive sports world faces.¹⁴⁹ The IOC states that the use of banned performance-enhancing substances

¹⁴⁴ Dubin, “Commission of Inquiry,” xxii.

¹⁴⁵ Christer Ehrnborg and Thord Rosen, “The Psychology Behind Doping in Sport,” *Growth Hormone & IGF Research* 19, no. 4 (2009): 285, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ghir.2009.04.003>.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Folke Sjoquist, Mats Garle and Anders Rane, “Use of Doping Agents, Particularly Anabolic Steroids in Sport and Society,” *The Lancet* 371, no. 9628 (2008): 1872, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(08\)60801-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(08)60801-6).

¹⁴⁸ Terry Engelberg, Stephen Moston and James Skinner, “Public Perception of Sport Anti-Doping Policy in Australia,” *Drugs: education, prevention and policy* 19, no. 1 (2012): 84, <https://doi.10.3109/09687637.2011.590556>.

¹⁴⁹ Westmattmann et al., “Current Anti-Doping Regime,” 1890.

in sport is both unhealthy and contrary to the ethics of sport.¹⁵⁰ Working to eliminate the use of illicit performance-enhancing substances in sport is necessary to protect the physical and spiritual health of athletes, the values of fair play and of competition, the integrity and unity of sport, and the rights of those who take part in it at whatever level.¹⁵¹ For a substance to be considered illicit in sport, it must be included in WADA's Prohibited List. To be included on the Prohibited List, a substance must meet two of the three following criteria: it enhances or has the potential to enhance sport performance, it presents an actual or potential health risk to athletes, and it violates the spirit of sport.¹⁵²

The Spirit of Sport

The spirit of sport (Appendix D) is a standard of justice as it aims to ensure that athletes can compete on a fair and equal footing.¹⁵³ Since the creation of WADA in 1999 and the first iteration of the World Anti-Doping Code in 2003, the spirit of sport clause in the Code has been the cornerstone justification for anti-doping world-wide, as it serves as the central ethical justification for anti-doping.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, the central justification for the prohibition of drugs in the Olympic Games is that drugs are contrary to the spirit of sport.¹⁵⁵ This justification is part of

¹⁵⁰ IOC "The International Olympic Committee Anti-Doping Rules applicable to the Games of the XXX Olympiad," Report by the International Olympic Charter, 2012, London.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² World Anti-Doping Agency, "Prohibited List," In effect January 1, 2019.

¹⁵³ Vincent Geeraets, "Ideology, Doping and the Spirit of Sport," *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy* 12, no. 3 (2018): 256, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17511321.2017.1351483>.

¹⁵⁴ Ritchie, "Construction of a Policy," 194.

¹⁵⁵ Ian Ritchie, "Pierre de Coubertin, Doped 'Amateurs' and the 'Spirit of Sport': The Role of Mythology in Olympic Anti-Doping Policies," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 8 (2014): 820, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2014.883500>.

a historical project to proffer an image of the Olympics as a “pure” form of sport.¹⁵⁶ While some researchers criticize the spirit of sport clause for its ambiguity in language and have suggested to replace it with a more robust account of health-risk in sport,¹⁵⁷ others defend the clause as an ideal that defends a characterization of sport without making claims to an absolute definition.¹⁵⁸ The spirit of sport clause was partly created in response to the IOC’s various crises of legitimacy in anti-doping lawmaking, and to the enduring problem of not being able to formulate a clear definition of “doping.”¹⁵⁹ The spirit of sport language (Appendix D) provided a way of dealing with those problems and inconsistencies with anti-doping issues while promoting a values-based image of sport.¹⁶⁰

Efforts Towards Doping Prevention

While the spirit of sport clause may help in shaping a meaning for clean sport, the lack of philosophical definition for doping, according to former WADA president Dick Pound, has always been a problem.¹⁶¹ Perhaps consequentially, doping has persisted over the years, soliciting research on reasons for doping. Leading questions in research on doping include: why do some athletes develop favourable attitudes towards using prohibited substances, why do certain athletes accept its use in their competitors, and why do athletes appeal to such practices.¹⁶² In a review of 33 studies, published between 2000 and 2011, Morente-Sánchez and Zabala reported that the initial reasons given by elite athletes for using banned substances

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Kathryn Henne, Benjamin Koh, and Vanessa McDermott, “Coherence of Drug Policy in Sports: Illicit Inclusions and Illegal Inconsistencies,” *Performance Enhancement and Health* 2, no. 2: (2013): 48-55, <https://doi.10.1016/j.peh.2013.05.003>.

¹⁵⁸ Michael John McNamee, “The Spirit of Sport and the Medicalization of Anti-Doping: Empirical and Normative Ethics,” *Asian Bioethics Review* 4, no. 4 (2013): 388.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Hunt, *Drug Games: The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960-2008*. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2011), 1960.

¹⁶⁰ Ritchie, “Construction of a Policy,” 194.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. 198.

¹⁶² Berbecaru et al., “Doping Phenomenon,” 103.

included: achievement of athletic success by improved performance, financial gain, improving recovery, prevention of nutritional deficiencies, and the idea that others use them.¹⁶³ These five following techniques, frameworks and models aid in identifying and conceptualizing factors that influence an athlete's decision to dope, or to refrain from doping.

Techniques, Models, and Frameworks

Choice Modelling

Choice modelling is an established research technique based in random utility theory¹⁶⁴ that helps reveal the relative importance of various factors influencing decisions, such as athletes' decision to dope.¹⁶⁵ Athletes are presented with "choice sets:" three choice factors (e.g. level of peer pressure, financial loss) with three probabilities (e.g. low, medium, high) corresponding to these factors. By systematically varying the levels of the factors across the series of choice sets – as determined by the statistical experimental design – the relative importance of each of the factors is estimated in the choice model and weighed against each other in coming to a decision about doping.¹⁶⁶ A criticism of this modelling is the lack of empirical evidence supporting either the content or processes of athlete decisions to use performance-enhancing substances.

Life Cycle Model of Performance Enhancement

Developed by Petroczi and Aidman, this model cites sport psychology and the development of goal-directed behaviour as an explanation for the use of performance-enhancing

¹⁶³ Jaime Morente-Sanchez and Mikel Zabala, "Doping in Sport: A Review of Elite Athletes' Attitudes, Beliefs, and Knowledge," *Sports medicine* 43, no. 6 (2013): 395, <https://doi:10.1007/s40279-013-0037-x>.

¹⁶⁴ Jordan Louviere, David Hensher, and Joffre Swait, *State Choice Methods: Analysis and Application*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13.

¹⁶⁵ Jason Mazanov and Twan Huybers, "An Empirical Model of Athlete Decisions to Use Performance-Enhancing Drugs: Qualitative Evidence," *Qualitative Research in Sport and Exercise* 2, no. 3 (2010) 385, <https://doi:10.1080/19398441.2010.517046>.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 387.

substances over an athlete's career.¹⁶⁷ Still in its early stages of development, this structure suggests that mechanisms predicting the use of banned drugs in sport relates to the nature of one's behaviour towards goal-achievement (prestige, achievement or performance) moderated by a trade-off between vulnerability (e.g. risk-taking or self-esteem) and factors inhibiting drug use (social norms or health concerns).¹⁶⁸ This model makes an assumption that rationality is the process that governs how external variables come together to influence athletes' decisions to use banned substances,¹⁶⁹ despite dispute as to whether rationality is the best explanation of the process that governs performance-enhancing substances use in athletes,¹⁷⁰ and drug use more broadly.¹⁷¹

Drug Use in Sport Model

This model developed by Stewart and Smith, unlike others already presented, makes no assumptions about the processes governing how variables come together in influencing one's decision to dope. Instead, it cites a list of antecedents to use of (or abstinence from) drugs, based on an existing empirical relationship with other forms of drug use or athlete behaviour.¹⁷² The model combines the micro orientation of individual athlete and interpersonal behaviour with the macro orientation of sporting context, structure, and culture. As the authors draw from sociological (commercial pressure and government funding), interpersonal (social sanction and masculine sports culture), intrapersonal (personality and personal morality) and sport

¹⁶⁷ Andrea Petroczi and Eugene Aidman, "Psychological Drivers of Doping: The Life-Cycle-Model of Performance Enhancement," *Substance Abuse Treatment, Prevention and Policy* 3, no. 7 (2008), 7, [https://doi: 10.1186/1747-597X-3-7](https://doi.org/10.1186/1747-597X-3-7).

¹⁶⁸ Huybers and Mazanov, "What Would Kim Do?" 4.

¹⁶⁹ Jason Mazanov and D.G. Byrne, "Modelling Change in Adolescent Smoking Behaviour: Stability of Predictors Across Analytic Models," *British Journal of Health Psychology* 13, no. 3 (2008): 361-379, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1348/135910707X202490>.

¹⁷⁰ Bob Stewart and Aaron Smith. "Drug Use in Sport: Implications for Public Policy," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 32, no. 3 (2008): 278, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723508319716>.

¹⁷¹ Huybers and Mazanov, "What Would Kim Do?" 23.

¹⁷² Mazanov and Huybers, "Qualitative Evidence," 387.

management perspectives to provide a listing of variables presumed to influence banned performance-enhancing substance use.¹⁷³ The problem with specifying content without a governing process is that while the model identifies target variables to guide intervention, the effect of intervention is left unspecified. For example, it is unclear how modifying the structural constraint of the prevailing view of sports medicine to drugs in sport would affect athlete PESM use.¹⁷⁴

Drugs in Sport Deterrence Model

The DSDM by Strelan and Boeckmann (2003) comprises three elements: (1) the costs of a decision to use, (2) the benefits associated with using, and (3) the specific situational factors which may impact in some way the cost-benefit analysis of using.¹⁷⁵ The model posits that individuals' behaviour is determined by a conscious and careful cost-benefit analysis of the likely consequences of a particular course of action. Athletes weigh deterrents (costs) and benefits against each other in deciding whether to dope. These deterrents and benefits exist in a theoretical framework, which is used to guide researchers in identifying what mechanisms deter elite athletes from doping and which of these mechanisms, either independently or jointly, are the most effective deterrents.¹⁷⁶

The DSDM model is the first to weigh relative effects of commonly considered benefits and deterrence mechanisms against each other. Benefits are divided into social, material and internalized categories. Deterrents are classified in four categories: legal sanctions, social sanctions, self-imposed sanctions, and health concerns. The relationship between benefits and deterrents and one's decision to consume banned substances is moderated by situational factors,

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Strelan and Boeckmann, "New Model," 178.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 177.

such as drug use prevalence perceptions, experience with punishment and punishment avoidance, and type of drug.¹⁷⁷ This model, however, comes from a hypothetical based study and was designed as a starting point, so its findings are reviewed with caution.

The Sport Drug Control Model

This model resembles the DSDM for its account of appraisal of benefits and deterrents (or threat) in coming to doping decisions, but is more inclusive of other social-cognitive constructs that are determined to predict doping attitudes and intention.¹⁷⁸ Preliminary findings suggest that appraisals of threat, benefit and morality all may help predict doping attitudes. In addition, morality helped predict doping susceptibility.¹⁷⁹

Similarly, the SDCM suggests athletes' compliance or non-compliance to the World Anti-Doping Code (WADC) are driven by three general areas: appraisals (threat and benefit), individual differences in the athlete (e.g. personality) and the influence of reference groups (e.g. sport governing bodies.)¹⁸⁰ Compliance in this case refers to avoiding anti-doping rule violations such as abstaining from drug use or submitting to drug testing.¹⁸¹ Non-compliance may be continuing to use undetectable drugs or subverting the testing process (e.g. tampering with test protocols).¹⁸² A possible limitation to this model is its assumption that compliance with the WADC corresponds with the abstinence of drug use. Therefore, using this model for

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 181.

¹⁷⁸ Levy et al., "Exploring the Process through which Personality Traits Affect Doping Responses," Report to the World Anti-Doping Agency, 2013, Lancashire, 2.

¹⁷⁹ Gucciardi, Jalleh, and Donovan, "Elite Australian Athletes," 475.

¹⁸⁰ Donovan et al., "A Conceptual Framework for Achieving Performance Enhancing Drug Compliance in Sport," *Sports Medicine* 32, no. 4 (2002): 269-284, <https://doi.org/10.2165/00007256-200232040-00005>.

¹⁸¹ Mazanov and Huybers, "Qualitative Evidence," 385.

¹⁸² Ibid, 386-387.

interventions may result in compliance with the code without full abstinence from doping.¹⁸³

Mentioned models reference and allude to the cost-benefit analysis inherent to Paternoster's criminal deterrence theory. The theory is a highly influential approach to understanding criminal decision-making.¹⁸⁴ It posits that individuals will have strong intentions to perform a behaviour if they have a positive attitude towards it, they perceive it as easy to perform, and they believe that important others would support their performance of the behaviour.¹⁸⁵ Specifically, criminal deterrence theory suggests that when individuals contemplate committing a crime they weigh up the costs and benefits of doing so.¹⁸⁶ In deterrence theory it is assumed that if the perceived likelihood of detection is increased (e.g., through the introduction of more or better tests), or the severity of consequences is increased (e.g., larger fines, longer bans), then the deterrent effect is similarly increased.

Some researchers, however, have deemed criminal deterrence theory too simplistic to predict doping behaviour and, in consequence, ineffective for doping research.¹⁸⁷ A possible explanation for the theory's shortcoming in doping deterrence is that the perceived likelihood of drug detection is probably very low amongst athletes, and this low likelihood of testing positive, respective to Pratt and colleagues' supposition of a relationship between likelihood of detection and deterrent effect, makes a cost-benefit analysis seem unneeded.^{188; 189} Indeed, WADA's former president Pound, near the end of his career acknowledged the small number of athletes who are caught was an underestimation of the problem, and suspected that many athletes, up to

¹⁸³ Ibid, 386.

¹⁸⁴ Cornish and Clarke, "Understanding Crime Displacement," 933-948.

¹⁸⁵ Strelan and Boeckmann, "New Model," 177.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Pratt et al., *Taking Stock: The Status of Criminological Theory*, (Piscataway, N.J. Transaction Publishers, 2006), 368.

¹⁸⁸ Moston, Engelberg, and Skinner, "Athletes' and Coaches' Perspectives," 624.

¹⁸⁹ Pratt et al., "Taking Stock," 369.

90%, doped despite passing drug tests.¹⁹⁰ Criminal deterrence theory is also criticized in helping to predict and prevent doping behaviour because it fails to take into account that doping behaviour is influenced by not only situational factors, but also personality structure.¹⁹¹

But, despite its shortcomings, criminal deterrence theory should not be overlooked, as its cost-benefit analysis is still central to athletes' decisions regarding doping today.¹⁹² Overbye and colleagues' more recent finding that, athletes are more likely to comply with the law if they perceive the costs of breaking it as outweighing the benefits¹⁹³ corroborates criminal deterrence theory's cost versus benefit approach. As well, deterrence is still the main form of enforcement used by WADA in anti-doping operations.¹⁹⁴ In the specific case of this research, using criminal deterrence theory did not only seem appropriate because of its ubiquitous role – though not always central – in competing doping decision models, but also because the research question examines whether participants factor Johnson's sanctions in a form of cost-benefit analysis when coming to decisions about doping. As well, this study investigates perceptions of elite athletes. Deterrence strategies are more likely to resonate with elite athletes when coming to such decisions, given what they stand to gain from a competitive advantage and how much they have to lose from apprehension.¹⁹⁵

Categories of Doping Sanctions

Despite the role of deterrence in several of these anti-doping models, much of WADA's anti-doping funds is dedicated to promote research about doping detection rather than

¹⁹⁰ S.L. Price, "A Doping Free Olympics? Not in London – and Maybe Never," *Sports Illustrated*, August 10, 2012, http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2012/olympics/2012/writers/sl_price/08/10/2012-olympics-doping/index.html#ixzz2M3Jd4lc7.

¹⁹¹ Berbecaru et al, "Doping Phenomenon," 102.

¹⁹² Westmattelmann et al., "Current Anti-Doping Regime", 1890.

¹⁹³ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 365.

¹⁹⁴ Moston, Engelberg, and Skinner, "Athletes' and Coaches' Perceptions," 634.

¹⁹⁵ Strelan and Boeckmann, "New Model", 178.

prevention.¹⁹⁶ It is suggested that anti-doping organizations should shift and direct efforts towards doping prevention.^{197;198} The main current doping deterrence prevention strategy is to ban athletes from sport if caught, but research suggests that several types of sanctions can act as important doping deterrents.¹⁹⁹ This section explores four categories of sanctions that can act as a perceived cost of doping,^{200; 201} and that Johnson endured following his positive test.

Bans from Sport

A ban or expulsion from sport, referred to in some literature as a “legal ban” is one of the three main types of sanction threats to which individuals respond, along with social and self-imposed sanctions.²⁰² A ban of this nature, often administered to dopers by WADA, may get athletes to refrain from using illegal performance-enhancing substances, and it is so severe that in itself, it is a deterrent to doping.²⁰³ WADA’s attempts to deter doping through the use of bans from sport, however, appears to have met only limited success,²⁰⁴ with some researchers declaring such efforts to be an outright failure.²⁰⁵ More recent research shows that the condemnation by the surrounding world that athletes can experience when testing positive, as well as the financial costs and feelings of guilt and shame, are greater deterrents as punishments than a ban from sport for three quarters of elite athletes.²⁰⁶

Social Sanctions

¹⁹⁶ Overbye et al., “Athletes’ Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions,” 364.

¹⁹⁷ Lippi, Franchini, and Cesare, “Tour de Chaos,” 625-626.

¹⁹⁸ Lucidi et al., “Adolescents’ Use of Doping Substances,” 449.

¹⁹⁹ Overbye et al., “Athletes’ Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions,” 364.

²⁰⁰ Wanda Foglia, “Perceptual Deterrence and the Mediating Effect of Internalised Norms Among Innerscity Teenagers” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 34 (1997): 414-443, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427897034004002>.

²⁰¹ Overbye et al., “Athletes’ Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions,” 365.

²⁰² Strelan and Boeckmann, “New Model”, 177.

²⁰³ Overbye et al., “Athletes’ Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions,” 369.

²⁰⁴ Hanstad, Smith and Waddington, “Organizational Change,” 249.

²⁰⁵ Moston, Engelberg, and Skinner, “Athletes’ and Coaches’ Perceptions,” 623.

²⁰⁶ Overbye et al., “Athletes’ Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions,” 377-78.

Social sanctions often accompany the fear of legal sanctions for cheating in sport.^{207; 208} Examples of social sanctions are condemnations by the surrounding world that athletes can experience if tested positive, such as being ignored by fellow athletes or being the subject of negative reports in the media.²⁰⁹ Recent research shows that 77 per cent of elite athletes, regardless of gender, age, sport type and previous experience of doping testing, viewed social sanctions as a greater deterrent than that of a legal ban.²¹⁰ Specifically, the risk of being exposed in the media is a greater deterrent than the fear of letting down family and friends and being shunned by peers,²¹¹ while disapproval from the athletes' social environment (coach, family or peers within their sport) is still regarded as being a great deterrent by the majority of athletes, regardless of gender, age and sport type.²¹²

The power of social sanctions seems consistent across countries. A qualitative study comprising 40 talented British athletes indicated that social and self-imposed sanctions (like feelings of shame) were significant reasons for refraining from doping.²¹³ Scottish athletes reported that social isolation, along with the ban from sport was the most significant deterrents to doping, as they feared the social marginalization that may ensue.²¹⁴

Financial Sanctions

Much like the fear of ban from sport can be eclipsed by the fear of social sanctions, it can

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 364.

²⁰⁸ Raymond Tricker and Declan Connolly, "Drugs and the College Athlete: An Analysis of the Attitudes of Student Athletes at Risk," *Journal of Drug Education* 27, no. 2 (1997): 105-119.

²⁰⁹ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 366.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Huybers and Mazanov, "What Would Kim Do?" 16.

²¹² Marie Overbye, Mette Lykke Knudsen, and Gerund Pfister, "To Dope or not to Dope: Elite Athletes' Perceptions of Doping Deterrents and Incentives," *Performance Enhancement and Health* 2, no. 3 (2013): 119, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2013.07.001>.

²¹³ Bloodworth and McNamee, "Clean Olympians?" 276.

²¹⁴ Dimeo et al., "Team Dynamics and Doping in Sport: A Risk or a Protective Factor?" Report Compiled for the World Anti-Doping Agency, December 5, 2011, Stirling University, Scotland.

be overshadowed, or at least accompanied, by the fear of financial consequences.²¹⁵ Financial penalties can include doping violation fines, but must also be considered to be subsequently occurring sanctions, for example, the financial costs athletes can experience if tested positive, such as terminated sponsoring contracts.²¹⁶ Financial sanctions were perceived as greater deterrents to dope than a ban from sport itself in 47 percent of high performance athletes across 40 different sports.²¹⁷ Concurring with this statistic, an Australian study found that financial loss following from the detection of doping is more of a deterrent than the career (legal) sanctions.²¹⁸

Moreover, financial reasons influence athletes' considerations of whether to dope or not when confronted with hypothetical questions²¹⁹ whereas financial loss is the most frequent external deterrent to dope in high performance athletes.²²⁰ Athletes are also less likely to consider using performance-enhancing substances if they feel subject to large fines and see no financial gain emerge from doping. Conversely, financial gain was cited as a main reason for doping.²²¹

Self-Imposed Sanctions

Self-imposed sanctions relate to individual moral values, which may deter athletes from doping, such as feelings of guilt that athletes can experience if tested positive.²²² 54% of elite athletes perceive self-imposed shame as a greater doping deterrent than a ban from sport,²²³ and external pressures of social and moral expectation and anticipated re-integrative shame was

²¹⁵ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 364.

²¹⁶ Huybers and Mazanov, "What Would Kim Do?" 16.

²¹⁷ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 365.

²¹⁸ Moston, Engelberg, and Skinner, "Athletes' and Coaches' Perceptions," 631.

²¹⁹ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 365.

²²⁰ Overbye, Knudsen and Pfister, "To Dope or Not To Dope," 119.

²²¹ Heiko Striegel, Rolf Ulrich, and Simon Perikles, "Randomized Response Estimates for Doping and Illicit Drug Use in Elite Athletes," *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 106, no. 2-3 (2010): 230-232, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2009.07.026>.

²²² Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 366.

²²³ *Ibid*, 369.

reported as significant motivations not to dope.²²⁴ Moreover, internal factors (feeling guilty and letting yourself down) was found to be the greatest deterrent to dope in elite athletes having admitted to doping.²²⁵ Such pressures like expected feelings of guilt or shame and condemnation of other athletes' practices might be contingent on the particular doping culture and climate, suggesting that dope shaming may differ between countries,²²⁶ and that the sporting culture in which athletes operate is a strong determinant of their attitudes towards doping.²²⁷

Ben Johnson and Doper-Shaming in Canada

After his positive test, Johnson suffered aforementioned sanctions, like social rejection, negative media spotlight, financial burden, and a ban from sport. Indeed, Johnson's sanctions could have set an example of how dopers are treated in Canada. By publicly shaming star athlete via the Dubin Inquiry, the Canadian government and media arguably set a resonating precedent for how dopers would be treated and sanctioned in Canada. This section attempts to explain Canadian sport's vociferous disapproval of Johnson's actions by exploring the evolution of doping policies in Canada before Johnson. The researcher explores how disowning the nation's best and most prominent Olympic athlete could have discouraged doping in the nation for years following the scandal.

History of Doping in Canadian Track and Field

According to Ritchie, most Canadians are familiar, at least in general terms, with

²²⁴Bloodworth and McNamee, "Clean Olympians?" 278.

²²⁵ Kate Kirby, Aidan Moran, and Suzanne Guerin, "A Qualitative Analysis of the Experiences of Elite Athletes Who Have Admitted to Doping for Performance Enhancement," *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 3, no. 2 (2011): 219, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2011.577081>.

²²⁶ Bloodworth and McNamee, "Clean Olympians?" 278.

²²⁷ Smith et al., "Contextual Influences," 181.

Johnson's fall from grace and the Dubin Inquiry.²²⁸ The original creation of Canada's anti-doping policies, however, come from an event less known to Canadians²²⁹ and dates back to an earlier scandal that took place during the Pan American Games in Caracas, Venezuela in 1983.²³⁰ Surprise testing at those games led to 16 athletes testing positive, including Canadian weightlifters Guy Greavette and Michel Viau.²³¹ Greavette, an Olympic hopeful, relinquished the gold and silver medals he won at the games, while Viau was stripped of two bronze medals. Both athletes were given a two-year ban and missed the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics.²³²

While part of the Canadian response to the weightlifters' doping was instructive – the then-Chef de Mission for Team Canada's Olympic team Barry Nye was categorical in his condemnation of the athletes – certain Canadian sport authorities reflected an appreciation for the realities of high-performance sports in the 1980s.²³³ Canadian Olympic Association technical director Jack Lynch defended the cheating athletes by stating “let's face it, this is competition. You play to win. This isn't recreation.”²³⁴ Despite eliciting varying responses from Canadian authorities, the event and year were pivotal for anti-doping in Canada²³⁵ as Sport Canada quickly commissioned the country's first policy – Drug Use and Doping Control in Sport.²³⁶ Arguably, this policy ultimately influenced the direction of anti-doping in Canada in the long run.²³⁷ Increasingly a ‘hard line’ was taken after 1983 by managers of the Canadian sport system, and had both intended and unintended consequences in terms of other policies' influence on the lives

²²⁸ Ritchie, “Lid on the Crisis,” 106.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ritchie, “Construction of a Policy,” 195.

²³¹ David Tucker, “Two Canadian Weightlifters who Failed Doping Tests Sunday,” *UPI Archives*, July 29, 1984, <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1984/07/29/Two-Canadian-weightlifters-who-failed-doping-control-tests-Sunday/8352459921600/>.

²³² *CBC*, “Golden Hero.”

²³³ Rob Beamish. *Steroids: A New Look at Performance-Enhancing Drugs*. (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011), 77.

²³⁴ G. Fraser, “Steroid use Strips Canadians of Five Pan-Am Games medals,” *The Kingston Whig Standard*, August 23, 1983, 1-2.

²³⁵ Ritchie, “Lid on the Crisis,” 114.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ritchie, “Construction of Policy, 196

of athletes, public thinking about doping, and the specific direction policy makers would take after 1983.²³⁸

Indeed, while anti-doping progressed somewhat in the years between the “Caracas Scandal” and 1988, it was events in the latter year that pushed Canadian sport authorities to truly reinforce anti-doping²³⁹ and lead Canada to develop and adopt some of the most stringent anti-doping policies in the world.²⁴⁰ By 1988, Sport Canada had issued a revised and stronger policy statement, stating that they could “be regarded as a nation not only doing its duty to ensure that standards of fair play (...) are upheld, but as a country endeavoring to provide significant international leadership in this important area.”²⁴¹ Before the 1988 Olympic Games, Johnson held the potential to represent the image that Canada had of itself and wanted the world to see.²⁴² First, Johnson had the opportunity to perpetuate Sport Canada’s expectation of the successful clean athlete, and his seemingly imminent success as an Olympic athlete compelled the media to identify him as a heroic substitute for Wayne Gretzky.²⁴³ Second, Johnson’s Jamaican heritage and Canadian citizenship made him an ideal representative of Canada, the world’s first nation to officially legislate a Multicultural Act (coincidentally in 1988.)²⁴⁴ Johnson’s success in a Canadian singlet would communicate the country’s acceptance of representation through its immigrants, and its celebration of multiculturalism and difference.²⁴⁵ Effectively, Johnson’s

²³⁸ Ibid, 197.

²³⁹ Ritchie, “Lid on the Crisis,” 114.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Dubin, “Commission of Inquiry,” 609.

²⁴² Jackson and Ponic, “Pride and Prejudice,” 50.

²⁴³ Ibid, 52.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 52.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Al Sokol, “Ben’s Pure Gold,” *Toronto Star*, September 24, 1988.

²⁴⁷ Ritchie, “Construction of a Policy,” 196.

²⁴⁸ P. Axthelm, “The Doped-up Games,” *Newsweek*, October 10, 1988.

momentary triumph was dubbed the most important event in Canada's sport history.²⁴⁶ The day following the race, Canada's best selling newspaper the Toronto Star stated that Johnson's run "buoyed up a whole nation of sports fans" and the newspaper's central headline read "Ben's Pure Gold: Johnson Blasts to World Record in 9.79 Seconds."²⁴⁷

When Johnson's tested positive and was disqualified, the shame sent shock waves across Canada where he became a national idol.²⁴⁸ Johnson's transgression sent an emotional wave that swept the country.²⁴⁹ The media's disapproval of Johnson was nationwide. Members of Canadian government openly claimed to national broadcasting companies that Johnson would never run for Canada again,²⁵⁰ and popular Canadian newspapers communicated their disapproval for Johnson by publishing headlines like "The Fastest Junkie on Earth" and "Disgrace."²⁵¹ A broadcast anchored by Peter Mansbridge at the *CBC* aired on national television was entitled "Ben Johnson, Canada's shame."²⁵² Indeed, the media's representation of the event framed and reproduced the averse reactions of politicians, sport administrators, high-profile media pundits and "everyday" Canadians, which contributed to the social construction of a crisis in national identity.²⁵³ Children wept and sportswriters anguished in print over the disgrace of the man who had become the nation's "No. 1" hero in the wake of the departure of Wayne Gretzky to Los Angeles.²⁵⁴ Johnson's positive test elicited shame, anger and frustration in Canadians.²⁵⁵ The

²⁴⁹ MacAloon, "Steroids," 42.

²⁵⁰ Jackson and Ponic, "Pride and Prejudice, 52.

²⁵¹ Ken Plummer, "Historicist: Ben Johnson, Fastest Man Alive*," *The Torontoist*, August 11, 2012, <https://torontoist.com/2012/08/historicist-fastest-man-alive/>.

²⁵² Peter Mansbridge, "Ben Johnson Becomes Canada's Shame," *The National, CBC*, September 26, 1988, Audio, 4:05.

²⁵³ Jackson and Ponic, "Pride and Prejudice," 52.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

scandal's relevance in Canadian culture reached a high point when Canadian athletes suspected of having doped alongside Johnson, and Johnson himself, were compelled to testify at the government-sponsored and ordered Commission of Inquiry Into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance (commonly known as the Dubin Inquiry). The inquiry involved 119 witnesses, produced 14,817 pages of testimony and cost Canadian taxpayers \$3.6 million.²⁵⁶ Although the inquiry was not legally binding, and the main perpetrators were not forced to testify, the inquiry reserved itself the right to conduct lengthy investigations on these perpetrators. Refusal of testimony would risk adversely affecting the reputation and futures of individuals.²⁵⁷ The momentous inquiry resulted in charges to Johnson's teammate Angella Issajenko, his Physician Jamie Astaphan, his coach Charlie Francis, his therapist Waldemar Matuszewski and Johnson himself, when they all admitted to rampant drug use.²⁵⁸

The inquiry's reach, ubiquity in the media and entertainment factor engaged many viewers. Each week, television broadcasts and morning newspapers created the script for and bill of particulars against the next week's witness, and made of the scandal the "watershed of the modern steroid controversy."²⁵⁹ The inquiry was so far-reaching and created such stigma around drug use that no politician could even call for medically supervised steroid use.²⁶⁰ The investigation culminated in Johnson exposing himself to the nation and the world in 1989 by

²⁵⁶ Stephen Jackson, "Exorcizing the Ghost: Donovan Bailey, Ben Johnson, and the Politics of Canadian Identity," *Media, Culture and Society* 26, no. 1 (2004): 128, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443704039496>.

²⁵⁷ Dubin, "Commission of Inquiry," xxvii.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, xxvi.

²⁵⁹ Jackson, "Faust Lane," 227.

²⁶⁰ John Hoberman, *Testosterone Dreams: Rejuvenation, Aphrodisia, Doping* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 196.

taking the stand and confessing his wrongdoing. “I lied,” said Johnson between tears. “I lied and I was ashamed for my family, my friends and other Canadian athletes. I was just in a mess.”²⁶¹

After the Scandal

It is suggested by Houlihan that for most countries, as was the case in Canada following Johnson’s positive test, policy-making and agenda setting is driven by crisis and scandal with the stimulus for many governments being the desire to maintain the utility of international sport as a tool of foreign policy and general positive public relations.²⁶² In Canada, the Dubin Inquiry led to the creation of the Canadian Centre for Drug-Free Sport (CCDS) in the early 1990s administered increasingly stringent anti-doping policies, tested athletes, trained certification officers, and produced information regarding testing procedures, policies, and the ‘dangers’ of drugs. CCDS amalgamated with Fair Play Canada in 1995 to become the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (CCES), which still exists today, and the CCES’s spirit of sport campaign.²⁶³ While the campaign was short-lived, the language from it was transferred and used in WADA’s code, which still harmonizes anti-doping policies, rules and regulations around the world.²⁶⁴ CCES as an organization still exists today and oversees both anti-doping policies in the country while simultaneously promoting various positive values and practices in sport.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ David Giddens, “Ben Johnson vs. Carl Lewis: The Race and the Disgrace,” *CBC Sports*, September 23, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/sportslongform/entry/ben-johnson-vs-carl-lewis-the-race-and-the-disgrace>.

²⁶² Houlihan, “Policy Coordination,” 313.

²⁶³ Ritchie, “Construction of a Policy, 194

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

The Aftermath of Doping Scandals

Canadian anti-doping proliferated in response to Johnson's scandal.^{266; 267} Doping scandals often direct policy making²⁶⁸ and lead to organizational change in anti-doping.²⁶⁹ Storm and Wagner's anatomy of the sports scandal, suggests that change following a scandal is achieved by going through phases. Specifically, the third phase of a scandal (following transgression and public disclosure) is moral discussion, where the transgression that led to the scandal is acknowledged and discussed, and solutions are sought.²⁷⁰ This stage leads to change in the sporting environment.²⁷¹ Three doping scandals and their aftermath are presented below and, along with data presented below in Table 1, they suggest that emphasis placed on moral discussion and articulation of pejorative discourse about the transgression is crucial in driving positive change. Analogously, an apparent absence of this phase seems to delay positive change.

Russia's Transgression

When Johnson tested positive, the Canadian media held him accountable for his transgression and painted him a pariah.²⁷² Russian authorities, in contrast, in their current response to their ongoing doping scandal, are calling the claims against their athletes "groundless" and dismissing the claims as attempts to discredit Russian sport.²⁷³ Further, when certain athletes previously found to be dirty were reinstated by the IOC after serving their ban,

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 196.

²⁶⁷ Kidd, Edelman and Brownell, "Analysis of Doping Scandals," 154.

²⁶⁸ Houlihan, "Policy Coordination," 313.

²⁶⁹ Hanstad, "Organizational Change," 379.

²⁷⁰ Storm and Wagner, "Anatomy of Sport Scandal," 12.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Jackson and Ponc, "Pride and Prejudice," 51.

²⁷³ Pena and Panja, "Russian Athletes Win Appeals."

they were celebrated instead of shamed. A state-backed sports broadcaster aired the nearly two-hour cross-country ski race won in 2014 by Alexander Legkov, one of the athletes whose appeal was upheld. Twice before, Legkov had been suspended for doping.²⁷⁴

Russian sporting officials denied the existence of a state-sponsored doping program. Sport and government authorities including President Putin, however, tend to publicly shame former anti-doping chief Grigory Rodchenkov for this problem more prominently than they publicly shame athletes who doped. Notably, President Putin has publicly dismissed Rodchenkov as an “idiot”²⁷⁵ and the former head of Russia’s Olympic Committee between 2001 and 2010, Leonid Tyagachev told the media that Rodchenkov should be “shot for lying (about the existence of the doping program), like Stalin would have done.”²⁷⁶ Perhaps for this lack of opprobrious discourse and moral discussion about the athletes’ transgressions, the doping problem in Russia is ongoing. Russian athletes accounted for half the on-site doping bans at the first Olympic games following Russia’s reinstatement into the IAAF in Pyeongchang.²⁷⁷

Finland’s Scandal

A second example concerns Finnish Nordic skiers and, though likely less prominent and known in Western culture, seems to bring forth a similar relationship between discourse and discussion about the sanction and the amount of subsequent positive tests. In 2001, Finland Nordic skiers were condemned for doping for the world championship when their star athlete Jari Isometsa, along with six others, tested positive for hydroxyethyl starch, an intravenous volume

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ “Olympics: Putin Admits Some Athletes Doped but Dismisses Whistle-Blower Rodchenkov as ‘Idiot,’” *Straits Times*, January 30, 2018, <https://www.straitstimes.com/sport/olympics-putin-admits-some-athletes-doped-but-dismisses-whistle-blower-rodchenkov-as-idiot>.

²⁷⁶ Shaun Walker, “Russian Olympic Official Says Doping Whistleblower Should Be Executed,” *The Guardian*, November 17, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/nov/17/russian-olympic-official-says-doping-whistleblower-should-be-executed>.

²⁷⁷ Merritt Kennedy, “Russia’s Olympic Committee Reinstated After Doping Scandal,” *NPR*, February 28, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/02/28/589578318/russias-olympic-committee-reinstated-after-doping-scandal>.

expander.²⁷⁸ The doping infraction made headlines in European – and specifically Scandinavian – media after the Finnish government commanded the World-Anti-Doping Agency (specifically, a three-member commission) to step in and conduct drug tests on the entire Finnish team.²⁷⁹

When the athletes were proven guilty, the bust elicited so much shame that the managing director of the Finnish Ski association resigned saying that he had failed to stop the skiers from breaking the rules, and people in Finland regarded the scandal as national catastrophe.²⁸⁰ Finland President Tarja Halonen said she felt “sorrow, disappointment and concern.”²⁸¹ Finland, like other northern nations, tends to have a sense of itself as pure and clean and, according to Carstairs, this doping scandal affected how Finns regarded their nation.²⁸² According to public record and to the researcher’s best knowledge, only two Finnish cross-country skiers have tested positive for doping in the 18 years following the shameful scandal.^{283; 284}

America’s scandal

A third example exists in recent track and field and resides somewhere of the middle of the other cases mentioned in terms of response to scandal and ensuing doping behaviour. This example pertains to prolific American athlete Marion Jones’ admittance to doping. Before her demise, the sprinter was one of the most recognizable athletes of her era and a global superstar. Comparably to Johnson, Jones had been an Olympic hero in her nation.²⁸⁵ At the 2000 Games in Sydney, Australia, Jones won five medals (three gold and two bronze) and was celebrated by

²⁷⁸ Carstairs, “Wide World of Doping,” 273.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ “Scandal Shocks Finland,” *The Associated Press*, March 2, 2001.

²⁸² Carstairs, “Wide World of Doping,” 274.

²⁸³ “Ski Association Confirms Tero Simila Doping Findings,” *Uutiset*, May 20, 2014, https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/ski_association_confirms_tero_simila_doping_findings/7252310.

²⁸⁴ “WADA Says HGH Test Validated by Skier’s Ban,” *The Associated Press*, November 28, 2014, <https://sports.yahoo.com/news/wada-says-hgh-test-validated-skiers-ban-175216114--spt.html>.

²⁸⁵ Delia Douglas, “Forget me... Not. Marion Jones and the Politics of Punishment,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 38, no. 1 (2013): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723513515892>.

American media and featured on the covers of the U.S. magazines such as Sports Illustrated, Time, and Vogue where she was hailed as “greater than gold” and the “new American hero.”²⁸⁶ Seven years after her win, however, Jones publicly admitted to lying to federal prosecutors about steroid use (she acknowledged using a steroid from 2000 to 2001). She was sentenced to six months in jail, a two-year ban from competition and 800 hours of community service.²⁸⁷

The media’s response was merciless and reminiscent to that of Johnson’s transgression. The incident received attention commensurate with Jones’ status and fame.²⁸⁸ The majority of the commentary regarded Jones alone as blameworthy, and the prevailing attitude was that of scorn and moral outrage.²⁸⁹ Jones was variously described as a “tarnished girl [who] can’t outrun the truth”, a “disgrace,” a “disgraced” former Olympian, a “drug cheat,” a “pathological liar,” and, perhaps most fittingly, the “new Ben.”²⁹⁰ Tim Dahlberg of *LA Times* wrote, “I’d be lying if I didn’t think she was getting what she deserves”²⁹¹ while columnist Philip Hersh proclaimed, “Marion Jones fall from grace is complete.”²⁹² Interestingly, since Jones’ conviction of early 2008, the rate of doping among American track and field athletes has lowered, but has not completely plummeted. Three sprinters from the United States have been sentenced for doping since the incident.²⁹³ Though the number pales in comparison to 41 – the number of American track and field athletes who have faced doping sanctions in the last 30 years - it represents more positive tests than Canada since Johnson’s scandal in roughly one third the time. Jones’ case

²⁸⁶ J. Reed, “Hail Marion,” *Vogue*, Jan 1, 2001, <https://www.vogue.com/article/marion-jones-hail-marion>.

²⁸⁷ Douglas, “Forget me... Not,” 5.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ Tim Dahlberg, “Commentary: Lies Finally Catch Up with Jones,” *LA Times*, October 7, 2007, <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/oct/07/sports/sp-dahlbergdog7>.

²⁹² Philip Hersh, “Marion Jones’ Fall From Grace is Complete,” *LA Times*, January 12, 2008, <http://articles.latimes.com/2008/jan/12/sports/sp-hersh12>.

²⁹³ “*IAAF Newsletter*,” IAAF. Retrieved on February 27 2019, <https://www.iaaf.org/about-iaaf/documents/iaaf-newsletter>.

varies from Johnson's, however, with respect to the time elapsed between victory and busting, as public interest about a scandal gradually decreases with time.²⁹⁴ While Johnson tested positive three days following the scandal, seven years passed between Jones' rise and fall.²⁹⁵

These scandals vary in the amount of opprobrious discussion and athlete social sanctions that follow them, which gives credence to Carstairs' claim that there are differences in how nations handle doping scandals socially.²⁹⁶ It is unsurprising that such a variance exists. Considering that WADA's code has been implemented in different ways across national sport organizations.^{297;298} Further, this variance in expected social sanctions could have important ramifications for doping behaviour. Research has established that perceived social sanctions impact an athlete's cost-benefit analysis of doping.²⁹⁹ Perhaps for that reason, the number of doping bans on public record varies heavily between nations since 1988 (table 1).

²⁹⁴ Storm and Wagner, "Anatomy of Sport Scandal," 1.

²⁹⁵ Douglas, "Forget me... Not," 5.

²⁹⁶ Carstairs, "Wide World of Doping," 263.

²⁹⁷ Nenad Dikic, Samardzic Markovic and Michael McNamee, "On the Efficacy of WADA's Whereabouts Policy: Between Filing Failures and Missed Tests," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Sportmedizin* 62, no. 1 (2011): 324, <https://doi.10.1111/j.1472-8206.2010.00881.x>.

²⁹⁸ Robert Siekmann and Jan Willem Soek, "The Implementation of the WADA Code in the European Union," *The Haag: T.M.C. Asser Instituut, 2010*, http://www.dopinglijn.be/fileadmin/media/Asserstudie/rapportAsserstudie_EN.pdf.

²⁹⁹ Overbye et al., "Athletes' Perceptions of Anti-Doping Sanctions," 366.

Table 1

*Doping bans in Olympic Track and Field Athletes per country since 1988, based on public record data.*³⁰⁰

Country	Doping Bans	Population (rounded to nearest 10,000)
Russia*	101	144,500,000
United States	41	327,200,000
Morocco	17	35,740,000
Jamaica	16	2,890,000
Turkey	16	79,810,000
Belarus	13	9,510,000
Spain	12	46,720,000
Brazil	10	209,300,000
Britain	8	66,040,000
Australia	4	24,600,000
Canada	2	37,060,000

* *The number of actual doping infractions in Russia is estimated to be higher (McLaren, 2016).*

Note: Warnings are not included

Indeed, the variance between nations in the number of Olympic track and field athletes who tested positive since 1988 supports researchers' claims that there is a need to investigate doping behaviour across nationalities.^{301; 302} Little research exists about how doping behaviour is affected by scandal. One reason for this gap in literature is that individual athletes strive to

³⁰⁰ IAAF Newsletter, IAAF.

³⁰¹ Gucciardi, Jalleh, and Donovan, "Elite Australian Athletes," 469.

³⁰² Houlihan, "Managing Compliance," 190.

protect images from athletes in scandals by establishing scandal response strategies via media.³⁰³

Another reason is that athletes are often unwilling to discuss the topic of doping with researchers.³⁰⁴ The researcher expects much positive change to have happened in Canada since

Johnson's sanctions, given the extensive amount of opprobrious discussion around those sanctions. Thus, an investigation into this potential positive change may be worthwhile.

Specifically, it is worthwhile to explore reasons for clean behaviour in Canadian athletics, in the goal of learning about effective deterrence strategies to help prevent doping in other demographics.

³⁰³ Geumchan Hwang, "An Examination of Crisis Response in Professional Athlete Scandals: A Sport Fan's Perspective," *International Journal of Crisis Communication*, 1 (2017): 64.

³⁰⁴ Bloodworth and McNamee, "Clean Olympians?" 278.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Question Guide

Q1: What were your views on doping and dopers when you competed?

Q2: Have those perceptions changed with time? If so, how?

Q3: Are you fully aware of the consequences that accompany a positive drug test? What are those consequences? (assess their rank of what the worst consequences are).

Q4: Were you aware of opportunities for doping and if so, what factors influenced athletes' decision to engage in doping?

Q5: During your career, what did you perceive as being the cost(s) of doping?

Q6: During your career, what did you perceive as being the benefit(s) of doping?

Q7: What do you know about the story of former Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson?

Q8: Are you familiar with the Commission of inquiry into the use of drugs and banned practices intended to increase athletic performance (commonly known as the Dubin inquiry)? If so, what are your opinions of that inquiry and of its findings?

Q9: If so, did Ben Johnson and the Dubin inquiry have an impact on your perception of doping sanctions?

Q10: Do you think the consequences for doping are different in Canada than they are in other countries? If so, why, if not, why not?

Appendix B: Consent to Participate in Research Form



CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: Canadian Track and Field Olympians' Perspective of Doping Deterrents in Canada

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Alex Cyr and Craig Greenham, Ph.D from the Department of Human Kinetics at the University of Windsor. Results will be contributed to Alex Cyr's Master's thesis project. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact Alex Cyr.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The specific goal of this study is to understand how a nation's precedent treatment of dopers impacts athletes' doping behaviour and their feelings towards doping. Based on the three elements of Strelan and Buckland's Drugs in Sport Deterrence model (DSDM), (the costs of a decision to use, the benefits associated with using, and specific situational factors that may impact in some way on the costbenefit analysis of using), which are derived from Paternoster's criminal deterrence theory, (1987).

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked take part in one (1) semi-structured interview between only him or her and the researcher. Interviews are anticipated to last 30 to 60 minutes and will be conducted through Skype. The researcher will request participants' permission to contact them via email following the interview if one or more of the participants' responses require clarification. Participants will only be contacted once following the interview, in the event of publication, to notify them of the study's publication, and to assure them once again of anonymity. Throughout the analysis of the data, the writing of the final paper, and following possible publication, the researcher will be available for any follow-up questions participants might have, but otherwise will not solicit participants.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There is low psychological and emotional risk associated with the study, outside of participant being asked questions they are uncomfortable answering. Participants, however, will not be obliged to answer any one or number of questions.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

By investigating Olympians' perception of doping sanctions in Canada, we may uncover whether or not social shaming of dopers deters future doping behaviour. Participants' contribution to this study could serve a benefit to society (more specifically, Canadian sport) by helping to develop doping deterring techniques.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not be compensated for their participation in this research.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Data collected from this study (i.e. interview tapes and transcripts) will be stored in a locked cabinet in my supervisor's (Dr. Craig Greenham) office in the Human Kinetics building at the University of Windsor and will be destroyed two years after possible publication. Data may be released and used for written reports or academic conferences, but participants' names shall never be revealed. The recordings of the interview will be accessible to you for review for one week following the interview. Otherwise, only my supervisor (Dr. Craig Greenham) and I will have access to the tapes. After two years, the recordings will be deleted and destroyed. It is to note that the information collected, and the linkage of interview and public record data, presents limitations to confidentiality and may identify an individual through a combination of indirect identifiers and responses.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation is completely voluntary. You can stop taking part in this research at any time, for any reason, without penalty. If you choose to stop taking part, you can tell me in person, by phone, by email, or in a letter. You will receive continuing opportunities to decide whether or not you wish to participate. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. In such event, the participant will have the option of removing their data from the study.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

A summary of this data will be available upon possible publication. Additional summaries will not be developed.

SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ethics@uwindsor.ca

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study Canadian Track and Field Olympians' Perspective of Doping Deterrents in Canada as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix C: Letter of Information



LETTER OF INFORMATION FOR CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: Canadian Track and Field Olympians' Perspective of Doping Deterrents in Canada

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Alex Cyr and Craig Greenham, Ph.D from the Department of Human Kinetics at the University of Windsor. Results will be contributed to Alex Cyr's Master's thesis project. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Alex Cyr.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The specific goal of this study is to understand how a nation's precedent treatment of dopers may impact Canadian athletes' feelings towards doping.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to: you will be asked take part in one (1) semi-structured interview between only him or her and the researcher. Interviews are anticipated to last 30 to 60 minutes and will be conducted through Skype. The researcher will request participants' permission to contact them via email following the interview if one or more of the participants' responses require clarification. Participants will only be contacted once following the interview, in the event of publication, to notify them of the study's publication. Throughout the analysis of the data, the writing of the final paper, and following possible publication, the researcher will be available for any follow-up questions participants might have, but otherwise will not solicit participants.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There is low psychological and emotional risk associated with the study, outside of participant being asked questions they are uncomfortable answering. Participants, however, will not be obliged to answer any one or number of questions.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

By investigating Olympians' perception of doping sanctions in Canada, we may uncover whether or not social shaming of dopers deters future doping behaviour. Participants' contribution to this study could serve a benefit to society (more specifically, Canadian sport) by helping to develop doping deterring techniques.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not be compensated for their participation in this research.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Data collected from this study (i.e. audio files and transcripts) will be stored in the researcher's research computer – locked with a passcode only known to the

researcher - and will be destroyed two years after possible publication. Data may be released and used for written reports or academic conferences, but participants' names shall never be revealed.

The recordings of the interview will be accessible to you for review for one week following the interview. Otherwise, only my supervisor (Dr. Craig Greenham) and I will have access to the recordings.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation is completely voluntary. You can stop taking part in this research at any time, for any reason, without penalty. If you choose to stop taking part, you can tell me in person, by phone, by email, or in a letter. You will receive continuing opportunities to decide whether or not you wish to participate. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. In such event, the participant will have the option of removing their data from the study.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

A summary of this data will be available upon possible publication. Additional summaries will not be developed.

SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ethics@uwindsor.ca

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix D: Spirit of Sport Language

What, exactly, is the ‘spirit of sport’?

By: Ian Ritchie¹

“At the most obvious level, in terms of anti-doping policy the World Anti-Doping Agency’s World Anti-Doping Code justifies the ban on certain substances and methods based on the premise that they contradict sport’s spirit: ‘Anti-doping programs seek to preserve what is intrinsically valuable about sport’ the Code states as its ‘Fundamental Rationale’. ‘This intrinsic value is often referred to as “the spirit of sport”, it is the essence of Olympism.’ The Code also goes on to list a host of sub-values that characterise sport’s spirit, including ‘fair play’, ‘health’, ‘excellence’, ‘character and education’ and ‘joy’.² The ‘spirit of sport’ language has become prominent since the creation of the World Anti-Doping Agency’s first Code in 2003.

¹ Ian Ritchie, “Pierre de Coubertin, Doped ‘Amateurs’ and the ‘Spirit of Sport’: The Role of Mythology in Olympic Anti-Doping Policies,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 31, no. 8 (2014): 820, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2014.883500>.

² World Anti-Doping Agency, “World Anti-Doping Code,” 14.

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