1. Introduction

For the approach to the historical study of doping in Spain we have analyzed the role played by the written press such as the sports newspaper *Marca*. The function that the most sold newspaper in Spain has played over the years related to the suspect athletes reveals how social discourse is built upon the way their journalists have told the doping scandal.

First step in research began with a literature review to know how doping had been analyzed under a historical approach. The aim of the study was to understand the evolution of Spanish athletes cases from a sports newspaper perspective, in order to understand the sport and social transformation and the influence of anti-doping policies over the years in three selected sports: cycling, athletics and basketball.

The study is based on a cross-sectional analysis of doping cases of Spanish athletes between 1975 and 1990, i.e., since Franco’s death until the first sports law contained the first policy against doping in Spain, the Sports Law 10/1990. The temporal proximity of a law transformation, as stated by Dimeo (2007) and Møller (2012), would provoke the genesis of a doping policy and will act as a wake-up call for social and media discourse.

The text is divided into the following sections: firstly, findings of historiographical review conducted as a preliminary phase to the study will be presented. In the following two sections will be described, in first place, the Spanish context in the selected historical period, and in second place, the choice of *Marca* as main corpus source and the criteria of analysis. The chapter will continue with the results of the analysis grouped into three main themes: 1) the naive treatment of doping at that period and the defense of the national hero, 2) the ambiguity in the discourse on recovery injuries and the essential role of the medical team in the doping cases, and 3) the position of constant denial of the athlete and their environment against the scandal. The chapter closes with conclusions and the literature referenced throughout the text.

2. Historical approach of doping

As advanced in the introduction, the research began with a literature review of studies on the history of doping. After an exhaustive analysis of these sources, we can affirm that there are rare examples of rigorous studies about the origin of doping (Table 1).

A first type of studies come from scientific or medical area. These researches are not part of the discipline of history and most of the references appear as brief introductory chapters to medical or pharmacological studies, mostly as secondary sources. Generally the origin of substance use for the improvement of physical performance is established before the birth of modern sport, i.e., in ancient Greece, Rome or in primitive tribes.

A second type comes from humanistic research such as Perera and Gleyse’s work (2005), which analyzes doping in France from a journalistic point of view. We also find studies that analyze the most notorious doping cases in recent sports history, whether in the evolution of a
particular sport event, such as the Tour de France (Mignon, 2003), or in a particular historical period, as the State doping in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) (Spitzer, 2005; Ungerleider, 2013). A complete analysis of the evolution of doping in a particular country is also found, as Waddington and Smith (2009) in the British context. The evolution of the use of doping substances has also been considered in historical studies (Houlihan, 1999; Mottram, 2011).

Table 1. Origins of doping according to selected literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Origin of doping</th>
<th>Purpose of doping</th>
<th>Type of source</th>
<th>Research field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verroken (2003)</td>
<td>Greece (Galen)</td>
<td>Performance improvement on:</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Medicine, pharmacology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>- athletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>- soldiers and warriors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle Age</td>
<td>- gladiators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- medieval knights</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moffat (2006)</td>
<td>Greece (Galen)</td>
<td>Performance improvement on:</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Medicine, pharmacology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rome, Egypt</td>
<td>- athletes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- soldiers and warriors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- gladiators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Müller (2004)</td>
<td>Ancient Greece, Rome</td>
<td>Performance improvement for the war and for the manhood (animal testicles)</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Medicine, pharmacology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halchin (2006)</td>
<td>Ancient Olympic Games</td>
<td>Performance improvement on athletes</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Political studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Origin antidoping policies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houlihan (1999)</td>
<td>Ancient Greece</td>
<td>Performance improvement on athletes (fungus)</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Political studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early 20th century, S.XX- modern Olympic Games</td>
<td>Evolution of the use of doping substances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1. Beyond good and evil: an exception called Paul Dimeo

Paul Dimeo’s study, *A history of drug use in sport 1876-1976: beyond good and evil* (2007), can be considered as a new and critical approach in the study of the origins of doping and anti-doping policy. As the title expresses, Dimeo states that unilateral vision of “clean” sport must be overcome in order to better analyze where doping comes from and how policy appears in a precise historical moment to deal with it.

The need for a review of the history of doping is justified, according to the author: the origin of the use of drugs in sport is based on false myths and interpretations, secondary sources are cited unquestionably and in some cases invented stories are used to explain actual facts.
Examples cited by the author in this line of “false” historical truths are the assertion that athletes were doped because they were forced to, by the promise of an improvement in their social status or be loyal to their country. Such assertions, according to Dimeo, are a result of the use of sport as a bastion of identity and nationalism.

Similarly, the author criticizes the way that fighting against doping has emerged from a traditional concept of sportsmanship, fair play and the “good” conception of sport. To Dimeo, it is essential to establish a critical stance toward the sports phenomenon. For this purpose Dimeo bases his analysis on the evidences found throughout the twentieth century that link the promotion of universities and government for the research and development of drugs such as amphetamines and steroids and their application to sport. The author claims:

The ideals of the sport are, like science, a cultural and social product. There is no “true” sense of sporting ideals, just a constantly shifting set of principles bought into and promoted by certain sectors of society (p.viii, prologue).

Dimeo proposes a chronology of the history of doping that starts with the publication in 1876 of one of the first empirical studies in which stimulants substances are used to improve physical performance. From this date, the author carries out an historical itinerary divided in two periods:

- In the first period, the author dates the origin of doping in modern sport, i.e. mid to late nineteenth century. It is the origin of the sport as we know it nowadays, with consensual game rules, times and regulated spaces, and international bodies that manage them: is the sport devoted to record and performance (Elias y Dunning, 1992; Guttman, 1978). Few examples may evidence the relationship between drug use in athletes and physical improvement, but the author stresses some cases at the Olympics in 1904 and 1908. In this period, the idea of incurring against values of fair play and sportsmanship was not so explicit in the general public and the media. Sport was gaining notoriety as well as social and political influence: the first World Cup (1930), the propagandistic use of the 1936 Berlin Olympics by the Nazis or the global relevance of the Tour de France. At the same time, ergogenic aid use on physical performance studies, especially in USA and Germany, were increasing. The results were also spread in other areas such as the army, where the need for improved physical performance began to be of scientific interest. There was not an anti-doping policy and, although scientists were concerned about the abuse of the aids, the truth is that the decision of the proper use of drugs relied on the athlete.

- In a second period, Dimeo delineates the chronology from the postwar period 1945 to 1976, when the Olympic Games in Montreal were celebrated. This event is considered the starting point of the greatest era of sports doping scandals, as well as the appearance of more developed technical improvements to detect doping substances and an ethical system for banning them, hereby the beginning of the criminalizing athlete process. At this time, the use of substances such as amphetamines increases on either sides of the ocean: in the United States, the most dramatic cases occur in both professional and college sports; in Europe, professional cycling was more touched by doping. Anabolic steroids, initially used by weight lifters and bodybuilders, were also broadly used in athletes from other disciplines in order to gain muscle mass. It was not until the 50s and 60s when the author places the birth of the anti-doping policy, based on moral, even religious values. The first procedures were established to test the level of amphetamines and steroids: the Olympics in Mexico (1968), international cycling races and the football World Cup in England (1966).
Thereafter, drug use is considered immoral, perverse and indecent, and it is going to change the face of modern sport to throw the shadow of suspicion on all athletes. In this sense, Dimeo argues the need for a critical perspective to the history of doping, although a difficult solution arises: perhaps greater educational or sociological involvement rather than purely scientific approach would prevent the spread of doping, as well as a less naive view of the consequences of drug use in previous historical periods. Dimeo’s approach on the origins of doping and the policies that prohibit it has been very useful in our study, allowing us to interpret the results obtained from the analysis, as well as to properly address the situation of doping in Spain, as discussed in the following sections.

3. From the “Transición” to the first Spanish antidoping law (1975-1990)

To analyze the evolution of doping in the Spanish context, a chronological limit has been established. The study starts at the democratic period following the end of dictatorship until today. In this chapter a first phase of the study will be tackled, established from 1975 to 1990, key date in Spain as the first anti-doping policy legislation was approved. The reason for defining these two periods before and after 1990 is given by the interest that the impact of antidoping policy would have on the transformation of sports and society. As stated by Dimeo (2007) and Møller (2012), the anti-doping policy will act as a wake-up call for social discourse, but firstly for the media discourse.

It is necessary to consider that the Spanish sport model during the dictatorship was clearly politicized, and Franco’s regime used sport as a means of propaganda for their values and ideals. It was a time marked by international isolation. After Franco’s death and the approval of a democratic Constitution in 1978, called as the period of Transición (Transition, in Spanish), the country will experiment a profound social transformation, and sport will not be unaware of this process. Moreover, in 1987 Barcelona is chosen to host the 1992 Olympic Games, so sporting and legal framework in Spain will change rapidly. In 1990, the second law of sport in democratic era was approved, but it would be the first to explicitly address the problem by creating an anti-doping commission.

4. Sports newspaper Marca as a corpus for doping in Spain

In the study, a corpus of articles selected, based on the content -headline, journalist discourse and use of key concepts related to doping- and on the layout -volume of the article in the newspaper and set of images illustrating the doping cases-.

Spanish daily newspaper Marca was chosen for its obvious media impact. The newspaper was born during the Civil War, on 21st December 1938. Nowadays is the most widely read newspaper in Spain, ahead of general press. In the last General Media Study, Marca had 2,601,000 readers per day, one million more than the second, the daily newspaper El País, and doubles the third position, As, the second most read sports newspaper in Spain (Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación, 2014).

Choosing sports press as main body of analysis is given by the interest in knowing how media turns into the main channel of information and opinion regarding doping. Press plays a key role in the construction of discourse exalting the successes of the sporting hero and dealing the role of “judge”, ruling for or against the suspect doped athlete. Here, the news is not edited neutrally: there is always an intention, a clear choice or omission of what and how to tell a story. For the Spanish context, the omnipresence of specialized newspapers like Marca
reflects the importance of sport as a mass phenomenon along with a significant increase in sport practice in society.

The analysis has prioritized a series of thematic indicators:

- The question of morality, legality and health;
- The athlete nationality, the exaltation of patriotism and national identity;
- The role of the journalist as a “judge” of the doping affair;
- The potential treatment differences in sports, in particular among cycling, basketball and athletics.

A number of criteria have been used for the articles selection. It was considered not only the statistical significance (sport, gender, media impact), but also the relevance to the thematic analysis indicators mentioned above. The following affaires of Spanish athletes have been taken as a reference, either sanctioned or not:

- Sebastián Pozo (1977 Tour de France)
- Bartolomé Caldentey (1980 Amateur Cycling World Championships)
- Angel Arroyo (1982 Vuelta a España)
- Fernando Mariaca and Jorge Quesada (1988 Seoul Olympics)
- Pedro Delgado (1988 Tour de France)

In this chronology of doping cases we highlight two facts: firstly, all cases are from cycling and athletics, so any of them are basketball players. Secondly, the Olympic year of 1988 is particularly virulent, with four cases in different sports: three of them are linked to the Olympics, and the fourth is related to the Tour de France.

5. Between naivety, silence and defense of the national hero

As a first line of interpretation of the results we can affirm that press coverage on doping evolves over the years from a naive or undercovered position to a more objective and informed view.

The first articles are accompanied by an interview to the athlete, the coach or the spokesperson, but the dialogue between the affected and the journalist accomplishes an aim largely shared by all of the analyzed cases: a possibility for explanation and defense to public opinion as well as denial of the act of doping. In this sense, revealed doping cases bring to have different coverage depending on the international impact of the athlete and their range as top-level sports star, that is, depending on the athlete’s performance goals.

Most cases in this period are from cycling; the exception had to wait until the Seoul Games in 1988, where a case appears in athletics, in one minority impact competition such as modern pentathlon. The Spanish athlete Quesada, who obtained a modest 24th position in the final classification, was found guilty for being tested with propranolol in his urine, a beta-blocker of the adrenaline effect used to calm nervousness at the shooting discipline. At first, the pentathlete said the positive was given to take “a mixture of herbs with linden and passionflower”1. Afterwards, he admitted its positive in a letter. He was declared guilty by the

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president of the Spanish Olympic Committee (COE) at those Games, Ferrer Salat, and finally sanctioned by both Spanish and international athletics federations.

Whether cycling or athletics, press coverage on cases is very naive or consciously undercovered. The athlete’s environment discourse, whether the coaching staff, family or followers, is unanimously described by the press as a staunch defense of the athlete, on which an injustice has been committed or is victim of a conspiracy.

An example of this tenacious defense of the innocence from the athlete’s team can be observed in the case of the cyclist Angel Arroyo in the Tour of Spain in 1982. In May of that year, the star of Reynolds team wins the Vuelta a España, but just three days after the news breaks out: Arroyo has tested positive at the mountain stage held in Navacerrada (Madrid), resulting in disqualification and the title loss. Subsequent press articles defending the Spanish rider will not wait, and Marca clearly reflects the position of the Reynolds team against the verdict made by the race organizers, questioning even the procedure of the antidoping control.

Sometimes the doping case, consciously or not, stays in the background and appears as another “problem” else that the team has to face. It is the example of the cyclist Kas team in the 1977 Tour de France, leading the team qualification. One of its racers, Sebastian Pozo, was charged with positive for not passing the control. Pozo explained to Marca that the reasons why he could not give the urine sample were because of the situation of stress and pressure that the organization caused him at the control:

- “I was told that was out by draw and went to the medical control, but I could not urinate because I'd just do it two minutes ago. I had two hours to pass the control, but as time passed, I became more nervous and was unable to do so. When there were 5 minutes left, I was warned that if I did not deposited the sample I would be sanctioned for doping.
- Could not you do anything in those two hours?
- What could I do if since I arrived they stripped me and I could not move. I told them to let me out to get some exercise, but it was useless. I offered to do my blood test, because they can also test that way. My arguments were useless and now I am sanctioned in the most stupid way...this must end soon.”

Right after, the Kas sport director denounced the shameful treatment towards his racer, considered a victim of the conspiracy made by the organizers of the Tour, arguing Pozo was treated “like an animal”. Nevertheless, Pozo was finally disqualified for a second positive a few days later and was suspended four months, which also caused the loss of team leadership classification for Kas.

Pozo admitted the second positive, although at the end of that year he insisted on the theory of a conspiracy with the processing of his samples and the injustice of the anti-doping system, due to the argument that not to all racers were tested in that Tour. Despite these circumstances, Pozo was far from being labeled persona non grata by the press or the Spanish sports world, since he enjoyed remarkable popularity and he continued linked to the world of cycling as physical trainer.

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6. Injuries and fast recoveries: a “miracle” called doping?

The second thematic focus in the treatment of doping by *Marca* is linked to the way quick cures and injuries are narrated, as well as the use of substances to supposedly overcome a physical pain or disease. This is a constant trend in the analyzed cases. There are rare examples where the athlete has prioritized the preservation of their health from the – theoretical – guarantee of success for getting doped. Nor the athletes themselves nor the journalists seem to ignore the widespread use of doping, but in the end, other interests prevail.

Regarding the relationship between body, doping and health, a key figure is the medical staff. The athlete constantly refers to the doctor’s responsibility on the affair, claiming he only took what he was recommended. An example would be the cyclist Bartolomé Caldentey, the winner of a bronze medal at the Amateur Cycling World Championships in 1980. At the anti-doping control he tested positive. His reaction was to exculpate himself and to claim that he only followed doctor's instructions and did not know why some times he tested positive but others don’t:

“«–A few days before, in the Spanish Championship that took place in Algaida – explains Caldentey– I had taken the vitamin supplement that prescribed to me a Majorcan doctor, who told me that the consequences of doping may have already passed when the World Championship...Of course I told this to the doctor of the [Spanish] Federation and he calculated the date that I was injected and found it impossible to test positive. When I mentioned it the national team coach, Vidaurreta, was present and also agreed (...). I do not know what happens, but the truth is that some substances that are negative in our country, in UCI test as positive»” 7.

Also in Perico Delgado’s affair, winner of the Tour de France in 1988 and tested positive for probenecid, both own and team defense were focused on arguing that it was used for purely medical purposes:

“It functions as renal excretion. It means it allows to retain products in the athlete’s body to the maximum. Given this fact, it was decided to prohibit its use by athletes because normally it hides the use of doping. However, the fact that it serves as a regulator of uric acid, reason why Perico Delgado has used in last years” 8.

The conclusions of the Guerreschi and Garnier’s research (2008) on the representations of sports doping show that it is difficult to design unambiguous a limit between what would represent doping and what would not: “Even when athletes attempt to establish a boundary between doping and energy aid, moral aspect always highlights. Doping is intending to cheat [...] Somehow, it’s the intention what matters” (Guerreschi y Garnier, 2008, p. 288).

7. “Doping?...everybody uses it but me”

The third main topic deals with the representation of doping in analyzed sports cultures (athletics, cycling and basketball). Cycling appears as the most punished sport in number of doping cases, anti-doping policy and the presence of the press as judge and jury of the affaires, followed by athletics and ending in basketball with anecdotal cases, none of them Spanish athletes.

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The discourse evolves from naivety in the first phase (70s and 80s) to the latest phase where knowledge of doping substances and methods is much more widespread both by the athletes themselves and the public in general; however, the athlete under suspicion always maintains the same position: the denial of getting doped and the possibility to blame sport authorities and anti-doping policies of the harassment towards athletes.

However, this rebel stance towards anti-doping authorities was not always the same, especially before the creation of WADA. In the affaire of Pedro Delgado (1988), the highest cyclist governing body, the UCI (in French: Union Cycliste Internationale) had as Chief Spanish Luis Puig, who personally intervened to defend against the Tour organization that the substance tested as positive was not included at the UCI list, allowing the cyclist to avoid accusations and to win the Tour. In this case, the newspaper will use this argument, arguing that UCI was the highest authority and that its list of substances was governing all races, including the Tour.

No frequent evidences of statements from athletes accusing each other for doping were found. Instead, athletes claims inadequate treatment in the controls during international races –the Giro or the Tour are the most frequently mentioned– because of being Spanish. A case in which an athlete accuses another of being doped by physical evidences is the cyclist Sebastian Pozo, previously mentioned. Pozo was recidivist, because in a previous test he did not show up in the anti-doping control test and was suspended a month. Months later after being tested positive, Marca described the sanction of Pozo as a “controversial verdict”. When he was being accused of doping and finally sanctioned, Pozo would suspect of other cyclists:

“The truth is that Pozo speaks to us outraged. And with good reason. He then spread on considerations about others cyclists’ faces in the morning, apparently with a swollen face an bleary-eyed, and not precisely because of lack of sleep. He also commented that the “mafia” of the “great ones” had begun to function and this situation will not change while all men governing international cycling still remain at their posts”.

On the contrary, in Cristina Pérez’s affaire we find allegations against her by other professional athletes and the media. Even after being exculpated for doping because of control mistakes, bad reputation will accompany for the rest of her career.

Pérez was a promising young sprinter athlete, specialist in speed races. Record holder since 1987, she was semifinalist in the Seoul ’88 Olympic Games for 400m hurdles. The athlete was tested positive in the “Meeting” Ciutat de Barcelona in July 1988 for using chlorphenamine, a weight-reducing agent banned by the International Athletics Federation (IAAF). However, the positive scandal was not brought to light until the Olympics ended, as the president of the Spanish Athletics Federation, Juan Manuel de la Hoz, hid the case to let Pérez participate.

Media coverage and the affective relationship between Pérez and Eufemiano Fuentes –the sport doctor who was directly involved and found guilty in the biggest doping cases in Spain, such as “Operación Puerto” in 2006 and “Operación Galgo” in 2010– will definitely provoke, according to Pérez and her couple, a deliberate discredit campaign. Fuentes accused the candidate for the presidency of the Spanish Athletics Federation, at that time José María Odriozola (still president nowadays), for having leaked the positive of Pérez to the press:

9 “Luis Puig llevó la enhorabuena al propio Perico”, Marca, 22 de julio de 1988, p. 23.
10 Carrasco, J. “Pozo protestaba”, Marca, 10th July 1977, p. 22.
11 Vitoria, L. “De Hoz reconoce su culpa, pero...«Lo ocultamos para no perjudicar a nadie»”, Marca, 14th October 1988, p. 20.
“The imagined doping of Cristina Pérez was well planned, when I was in the Tour and when they did some tests in unusual bottles and products (...). José María Odriozola is responsible and guilty for all this whole shame (...), since I arrived in Madrid six years ago, he has always had grudge against me, a great envy because of the rise I’ve achieved based on sacrifice and hard work, while he, who is a chemist and not a doctor, as he sometimes shows off, was always at the shadows.  

At that time, Fuentes was already known in sport and media fields for his dubious methods used to improve performance in athletes. Therefore, Cristina Pérez was commonly called at athletics environment as “The Pharmacy”. Two years after the affair, even having finally invalidated by irregularities in the positive control, Pérez will find no support among other athletes. Moreover, the case caused a serious division among athletes with positions for or against the former Federation president De la Hoz, who was finally investigated for this doping case.

8. Cycling, the “black sheep”

As observed in the selected articles, cycling is the most represented (and self-represented) sport in the doping issue, although is not always based on facts, as the proportion of cases and doping tests. Cyclists, coaches, race organizers and federations leader maintain a constant discourse over time in which cycling is pursued in a much more vehement way than other sports, and it is self-considered as the “scapegoat” of sport regarding doping.

From a quantitative point of view, this imbalance can be observed on the volume of doping articles. Most of them cover cycling affairs and other sports in less frequent occasions. To illustrate this situation, we can take as an example the year 1975 in Marca: over 66 articles analyzed dealing directly or indirectly doping issues, cycling represents 31 items, i.e., 47% of the total. Given this data, athletics has 8 cases, football and horse riding have 6, 5 in boxing and judo, and swimming and water polo with 2 each. This predominance of doping news in cycling can be understood by the increased demands of permanent and frequent controls, when compared to other sports. This fact will be used by journalists to defend cyclist as the “persecuted” athlete. However, at this time we also find other cases of doping in sports, with a not contemptible coverage in this newspaper, as for example in Formula 1 or football. It is precisely in the “King of sports” where abundant media coverage start to increase regarding doping, just after the scandal of Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 and Ben Johnson’s positive; even football will be erroneously announced by journalists as a pioneer sport in doping fighting.

This unequal treatment of cycling compared to other sports is given not only by the degree of economic or media influence—as the case of football— but also by sports authorities position. A clear example is found in the article in which Marca published in exclusive an official

13 “Cristina Pérez acudió a Séul pese al positivo de Barcelona”, Marca, 14th October 1988, p.20.
14 Molero, P. “Entrevista a José Luis González sobre el “apoyo” al presidente: «Yo me dedico a correr y De Hoz a hacer política”, Marca, 13th December 1988, p. 17.
15 The report that Marca publishes in October 1988 about anti-doping program in the Spanish Football League (LFP) has no precedents in national sport press: two consecutive days of publication in the weekend, with a exhaustive report, double-page, including a detail explanation of all substances that would be tested as positive, along with step-by-step instructions to follow in a doping control and accompanied by expert opinions articles of doctors and psychologists. Esteban, M. and Montero, A. “Informe MARCA: todo sobre el control antidoping en el fútbol español”, Marca, 9th October 1988, pp. 14-15.
report of the Laboratory of Biochemistry Research and Doping Control of the CSD\textsuperscript{17}. In this report, a total of 301 positive cases were counted between 1969 and 1984 in different sports. Cycling had the largest number (251 of 6,757 samples); however, boxing (7 of 53 positive samples) and weightlifting (17 of 287) overtake cycling on the percentage of cases. Also in athletics, denounces \textit{Marca}, 17 positives were counted but never were brought to light and the athletes’ names remained unknown\textsuperscript{18}.

9. Conclusions

Regarding the sport articles analyzed it can be stressed a) the lack of explicit articles about doping in the early years, b) the apparent naivety when referring doping behaviors and practices, c) the staunch defense of the Spanish sport hero against “foreign threats”.

It is possible to affirm that, regarding the discourse of the Spanish sports media, and in particular the example of \textit{Marca}, there has been an evolution in the approach to the doping problem. If we compare the results with other similar studies, such as Perera and Glyse in France (2005), sports press in Spain offers a less objective and critical treatment of the issue of doping.

There is no press reaction until institutional response for the doping cases in '88 Seoul Olympic Games. What might cause this situation?

- On the one hand, we can interpret that the Spanish elite sport model had neither infrastructure nor economic and current media coverage; there were even doping legal frame compared to other international sport powers. In this sense, there was no doping because there would be no means to do it.

- On the other hand, as verified thorough the text, the journalistic discourse has been clearly based on patriotic rhetoric in defense of the Spanish sport hero.

Spain, in the process of democratic and sport progress – organization of the Olympic Games in Barcelona, the increase of sport access and public investment in improving facilities– has to define its position on the problem of doping. To understand the history of doping in Spain it is necessary to start from a different social and political context compared to other sports powers. We have analyzed examples of how yet, even in early democratic period, doping in Spain was a taboo topic: it was not openly handled and it was inconceivable in a Spanish athlete. The history of doping can only be written when using the logic of current sport. It is necessary, therefore, to abandon the unilateral vision of a “clean” and “good” sport to analyze the phenomenon as a whole and take into account all of its paradoxical nature.

10. References


\textsuperscript{17} In Spanish, \textit{Consejo Superior de Deportes}, the highest sport political authority in Spain.

\textsuperscript{18} “El doping asola el deporte español”, \textit{Marca}, 8\textsuperscript{th} October 1985, back page.


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