

Doping and cycling¹

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1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationships between cycle sport and the use of performance-enhancement techniques and substances (PETS), better known with the semantically problematic word ‘doping’ (see Schneider’s paper in this volume)². It does not intend to provide a purely historical-descriptive account (a ‘history’) of PETS usage in cycling, although the text includes a clear historical perspective. Neither does it discuss PETS in cycling from a pharmacological or medico-biological perspective. Nor does it adopt a normative-moralistic approach. The perspective is mainly socio-cultural and social constructionist, focussing on ‘the discourses’ on doping in cycling and their historical evolution, rather than in tracing the actual use and effects of PETS in cycling. In short, what is studied here is how ‘the social problem of doping’ (in cycle sport, in this instance) has been constructed (Spector and Kitsuse, 2000).

¹ This text was included as a chapter in the *Routledge Handbook of Drugs and Sport* (Routledge, 2015), edited by Verner Møller, Ivan Waddington and John Hoberman.

² Several authors have pointed out the difficulties entailed by the task of ascertaining what ‘doping’ actually is. The most conspicuous example of this semantic problem is the fact that the World Anti-Doping Agency remarkably avoids a clear, short and explicit definition of this term, resorting instead to the well known indirect and complex formula of the “two out of three criteria”. In the 2009 edition of the WADA Code, doping is simply defined as any of the practices prohibited in the Code itself (World Anti-Doping Agency, 2009). It is highly revealing that the ‘Anti-doping glossary’ provided by the WADA’s website does not include the word ‘doping’ itself (www.wada-ama.org, consulted January 2014). However, the negative connotations attached to the word are clear in much popular and academic usage, which unavoidably tinges and biases the discussions using this term. Instead, performance-enhancing techniques and substances (PETS) seems a more descriptive and neutral term, more apt for an unprejudiced academic discussion.

The chapter consists of two parts. The first part deals with the intensity of the relationship between doping and cycling. It is demonstrated, using several indicators, that cycling is the sport most often and most closely linked to PETS, both in the dominant popular and academic discourses, and that this strong link can be traced back to the origins of cycle sport in the late nineteenth century. The text explores the socio-historic causes of this phenomenon.

The second part examines the discourses on doping and cycling and their evolution, and consists of a literature review of both scholarly and non-academic texts dealing with this relationship. This is intended to be a reader's guide to the most relevant contributions to the issue. The discourse analysis also includes an historical perspective, and stresses the epochal change the Festina Scandal (1998) caused in the popular and scholarly accounts on PETS in cycling, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

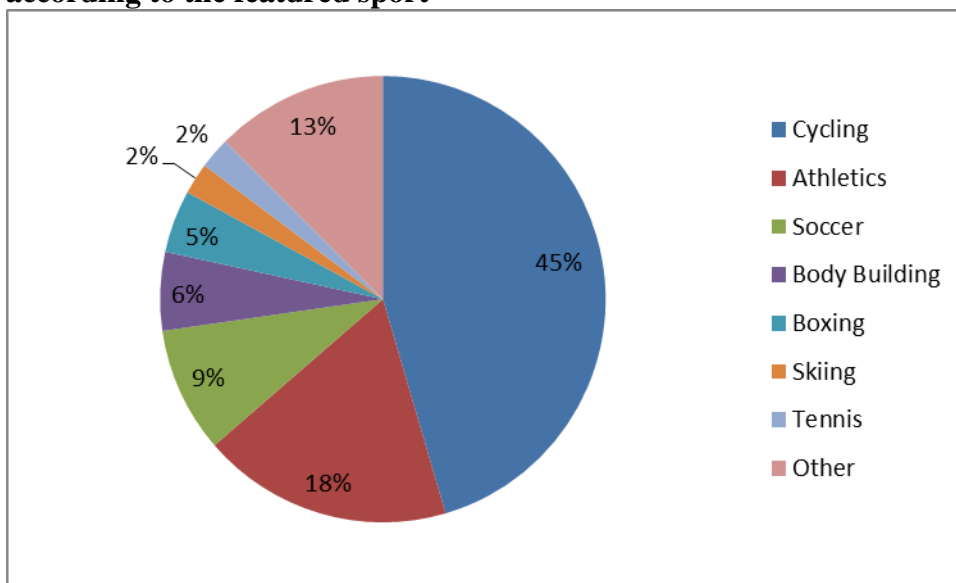
Doping and cycling: so long so close

It could hardly be denied that cycling is nowadays the sport most closely and intimately linked to PETS in the media, popular talk and scholarly writing alike. Most cycling aficionados and/or keen practitioners will have experienced this: when discussing the sport with lay people, doping very often springs out as a major issue or concern, and quite often at the very beginning of the conversation. One would not expect such a close and immediate link when discussing any other sport.

This is not of course a very scientific statement, but there is good supporting evidence for this contention. Consider the following three examples. Firstly, we reviewed the first

150 images yielded by a search on Google Images performed on 23 October 2012 with the single keyword ‘doping’.³ Of the 87 images which explicitly depicted a particular sporting discipline, 45.5 per cent featured cycling, while only 18.2 per cent referred to athletics, the second most represented sport in the sample. At the other extreme, tennis featured in only 2.3 per cent of the sample (figure 1).

Figure 1. Distribution of images retrieved in Google with the search ‘doping’, according to the featured sport



Sample: 87 images depicting a particular sport out of the 150 first images retrieved with the search ‘doping’ in Google Images performed on the 23 October 2012.

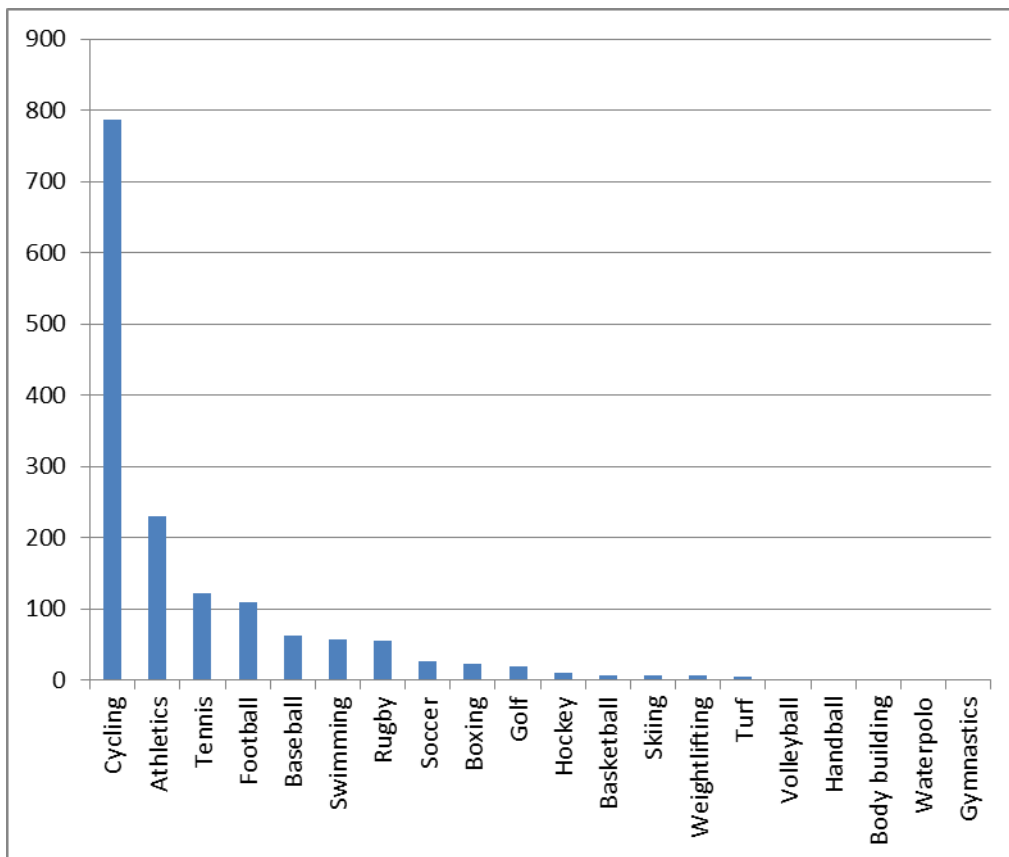
Source: own research.

Secondly, a search in the Lexis-Nexis database, ‘major world publications’ category, for newspaper articles containing in their headline the Boolean search ‘doping AND [a given sporting discipline]’ and published between the first of January 2000 and the 30 October 2012, shows that the most frequent coupling is ‘doping AND cycling’, with a total of 787 articles retrieved, while the immediately following couple is ‘doping AND

³ Settings of the search: any moment, all results, any size, any colour, any type. Moderated safe search.

athletics’, with only 230 articles. The search ‘doping AND weightlifting’ yields only 6 articles, while ‘doping AND bodybuilding’⁴ generates no results (see figure 2).

Figure 2. Number of articles retrieved in Lexis Nexis for the period 1-1-2000 to 30-10-2013, ‘major world publications’ category, search terms ‘doping AND [a given sporting discipline]’ in headlines



Source: own research.

The third example also demonstrates the pervasiveness of the link between doping and cycling in recent public discourse: of the 50 first books retrieved in Amazon.com with a search performed in October 2013 with the single keyword ‘doping’ in the category ‘Books’ (selecting only those books with covers where a sporting activity is graphically

⁴ Or body building in two separate words.

depicted), 40% featured cycling in their covers, while the following most represented sport was athletics, which featured in 22% of the books' covers.

This close link between cycling and the term 'doping' in the public discourse can be traced back almost to the origins of the sport. The famous black sprinter, Marshall 'Major' Taylor, the biggest cycling star in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (his sporting career spanned the years from 1893 to 1910), was quoted in the 9 February 1900 edition of the *Worcester Telegram* as saying that 'the man who looks out for himself, who does not dissipate, and whose system is not full of liquor, tobacco, or dope, can come to his speed in a very short time' (quoted in Ritchie 2010: 97). And he closes his autobiography, first published in 1928, with 'A dozen don'ts' for those aspiring to athletic glory, among which one can read: 'Don't use intoxicants' (Taylor 1972: 214). The fact that he mentions 'dope' or 'intoxicants' in public and that his allusions are quoted in the press indicates that, in addition to PETS usage being a common practice in cycle sport as early as the late nineteenth century,⁵ it was already a matter of public discussion.

The legendary editor of the French sports daily *L'Auto* and founder of the Tour de France, Henri Desgrange, published in 1898 a book with advice for aspiring young cyclists in which he rejected the use of 'such venoms called kola, coca', although he did not seem to be utterly opposed to PETS in all circumstances, as he wrote: 'We will see later whether in long distance races it could be considered, in a case of absolute necessity, to give you an artificial vigour for a while' (Desgrange 1898, quoted in

⁵ According to Møller, "it was cyclists who pioneered the use of doping" (2008: 30).

Bastide 1970, 19). Desgrange seemingly discusses performance-enhancing substances in the context of a health, rather than a moral frame: he considers them ‘venoms’ but does not reject them outright in the manner typical of moralistic approaches.

The oldest ‘doping death’ quoted by many sports scholars and popular writers was that of a cyclist: Arthur Linton, a professional rider, passed away in his home village in Wales on the 23 July 1896 (Moore 2011: 49; Dimeo 2007: 8). The predominant account in the academic literature of the causes of this death is that it was a consequence of drug abuse – trimethyl or strychnine, depending on the source – during the particularly gruelling, 600 kilometres long Bordeaux to Paris road race. But none of the authors mentioning this causal link provide the least evidence to substantiate it and it should therefore be considered speculation rather than fact (for a critical review of the lack of academic rigour of most accounts of this episode see Dimeo 2007: 7-8, and López, 2013).

Some authors have identified Linton’s coach and manager, ‘Choppy’ Warburton, as being the recipient of the first recorded ‘doping ban’. For instance, the *Historical Dictionary of Cycling* claims that ‘Choppy Warburton was banned from the sport for suspicions of drugging his riders’ (Heijmans and Mallon 2011: 67). Tim Harris writes in his *Sport: Almost Everything You Ever Wanted to Know*, that ‘Choppy had been banned from English tracks, probably because of the doping of [...] Jimmy Michael’ (Harris 2008: 394-395). Warburton, a legendary character of the early years of cycle racing in Europe, was actually banned from British tracks by the National Cyclists’ Union in a resolution passed on the 31 October 1896, which stipulated that ‘no permit in future will

be granted to any club, nor will any races under NCU rules be permitted to take place on any track where J. S. Warburton is allowed to enter the enclosure or dressing rooms' (quoted in Moore, 2011: 48). However, on closer examination one can hardly contend that he was banned because of his alleged practices with PETS, as it is clear that the episode which possibly led to him being banned cannot be considered 'doping' but rather its opposite. Warburton allegedly poisoned his own rider Jimmy Michaels in a race in London to prevent him performing well, in the aftermath of a quarrel between the men on account of Michaels' plans to leave Warburton and sign with another manager (Moore 2011: 44-45). If 'doping' arguably designates in popular parlance the act of taking – or having someone take – a substance in order to improve their physical performance, poisoning is its exact opposite, which shows the absurdity of such an expression as 'doping to lose', sometimes used to refer to the latter (see for instance Prokop, 1970: 45).

One of the most often quoted episodes in historic accounts, both academic and popular, of the use of PETS, is the one narrated by the famous French journalist and writer Albert Londres, where he describes the withdrawal from the 1924 Tour de France of the legendary Pélissier brothers in protest against the draconian regulations of the race imposed by its boss, Henri Desgrange. In their rant against the Tour organizers the Pélissiers disclosed some of the pharmacological habits they adopted in order to endure the race hardships:

'You have no idea of what the Tour de France is', Henri says, 'it's a Calvary (...)
We suffer on the roads (...) You want to know how we keep going? *Voilà...*'. He

pulls a phial from his bag. ‘That’s cocaine for the eyes, and that’s chloroform for the gums ... and pills, you want to see pills? *Voilà* the pills.’ Each pull out three boxes. ‘In short’, says Francis, ‘we keep going on dynamite’ (*Le Petit Parisien*, 27-6-1924, pp. 1-2, retrieved in <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k605794c>).

Interestingly, this episode gave rise to the legend of the ‘forçats de la route’ (the convicts of the road),⁶ which frames the use of PETS in health, not moral, terms, as it presents them as a sad and unavoidable consequence of the ordeals imposed by professional road cycling on its practitioners, rather than as the result of the riders’ moral corruption.

Quite different is the dominant interpretation of another milestone often quoted in scholarly and popular accounts of PETS history: the death of the Danish cyclist Knud Enemark Jensen during the 100 kilometres team time trial in the 1960 Rome Olympics, which has been framed in a mixture of health and moral considerations. Jensen’s death has been insistently linked to amphetamine intake by several scholars, in the wake of the account of the Austrian doctor and anti-doping activist, Ludwig Prokop, although Prokop’s claim in this regard lacked any evidential basis (Møller, 2005). Nonetheless, Jensen’s death, together with some alarming episodes in the Tour de France – most notably the almost fatal collapse of the Breton cyclist Jean Malléjac on the slopes of the Mont Ventoux during the 1955 Tour de France – led to the first experts’ meeting aimed at curbing PETS usage, a seminar held in February 1963 at Uriage-les-Bains (France),

⁶ Which corresponds to the title of a book by Albert Londres containing his chronicles of the 1924 Tour published in *Le Petit Parisien* (Londres 2008).

which is considered as the first step towards the setting up of the first anti-doping measures, both in national legislations and sporting regulations (Bastide 1970; Houlihan 1999; Dimeo 2007).

The death of the British cyclist Tom Simpson on the same slopes of the Mont Ventoux on 13 July 1967 during the 13th stage of Tour de France arguably gave the first huge boost to the newly established anti-doping policies, as it was widely linked by the media and expert commentators with amphetamine intake and thus became ‘proof’ of the health dangers of PETS usage that anti-doping policy was allegedly designed to avoid. According to De Mondenard, Simpson’s death worked as an ‘electro shock’ (2006: 18) and triggered ‘the war against doping’ (2006: 171). Many other episodes involving the use of PETS in cycling could be mentioned as relevant in terms of boosting the public prominence of the coupling cycle sport-doping. The Festina scandal during the 1998 Tour de France, which was highly influential in the political decision to set up the World Anti-Doping Agency, is the example par excellence (Møller, 2010).

Not only has cycle sport provided the main scandals which have fuelled the anti-doping campaign and the ensuing policies since the early sixties but it has also been one of the favourite targets of anti-doping campaigners. In fact, the biggest doping scandals in cycling have been triggered by top-level anti-doping inquests launched by the civil authorities (the Festina affair, Operación Puerto and Operación Grial in Spain, the Oil for Drugs investigation in Italy) or the sporting ones (the USADA investigation into Lance Armstrong). According to the anti-doping activist Jean-Pierre de Mondenard, after the French parliament passed in 1965 the first anti-doping legislation ever

enacted⁷, ‘for six years cyclists are the only ones to be the target of repression, since, out of 7,535 samples taken, 6,683, that is, 87.4 per cent, belong to them. Clearly stated, this means that only the giants of the road could have a positive test’ (De Mondenard 2011: 11). It is worth pointing out as well that the new French anti-doping legislation (act n. 65412 of the 1st June 1965) triggered what can arguably be considered the first public protest of athletes against anti-doping, the strike organized by the Tour de France riders at the beginning of the stage Bordeaux-Bayonne (29 June 1966): ‘five kilometres from the start the riders suddenly stop and start walking and pulling their bikes (...) Dr. Dumas becomes the target of some kidding: “give a flask to Dumas!” (...) “Du-mas, pi-pi! Du-mas, pi-pi!”’ (Bastide, 1970: 156).

Another case which indicates special targeting of cycling by the anti-doping apparatus is the fact that the Spanish authorities involved in Operación Puerto only revealed the identity of 58 clients of Dr. Eufemiano Fuentes, who ran a business giving advice and technical support for performance-enhancing purposes to elite athletes. All of these were cyclists, despite the fact that Fuentes himself revealed that his clientele included athletes from other disciplines (namely football, tennis, boxing, and athletics) (Anonymous, 2006). The Spanish police had evidence that implicated athletes from disciplines other than cycling (Garai and Jordán, 2006). Similarly, a report made public in July 2013 by the French Senate investigative commission on doping in sport only identified cyclists, despite the fact that the commission’s president, Jean-François Humbert, stated that ‘there is doping in all sports’ (Arribas, 2013).

⁷ Together with a similar act passed in Belgium some weeks before.

Doping and cycling: the origins of a popular couple

Several authors have suggested plausible explanations for this prominence of cycle sport in the doping debate. To begin with, cycling could be labelled, together with boxing, as the first fully professional modern sport in the late nineteenth century, with a complex political economy in which riders were a prominent part, but which also involved the manufacturers and retailers of bikes and bike parts, event organizers, managers, newspapers and the betting industry. According to Møller (2008), the buoyancy of the new bicycle industry, coupled with the keen interest of the masses for the new spectacle provided by men moving faster than ever before, pushed forward the early commercialization of cycle sport. On the other hand, the fact that bicycles were made widely available by this industrial development fostered an early change in the social status of the elite riders, alienating cycle sport from the amateur ideal:

This period [the late nineteenth and early twentieth century] also saw a change in who actually rode in these races. Once a status symbol for the well-to-do, who were now being attracted to motor-driven vehicles, cycling now became an affordable investment for people from the lower social classes. This affected recruitment to the sport, and although amateurs still rode in these races, this transformation gradually eliminated the last remnants of amateur idealism from cycling (Møller, 2008: 62-63).

In this context of early professionalization and commercialization, PETS would be seen as but another resource for the riders to be able to 'faire le métier' (do their job), to use the French expression long popular with professional cyclists. Rejection by amateur

idealists of cycling's flagrant professionalism would therefore include rejection of 'unsportsmanlike' practices involving PETS. This rejection was expressed by Dr. Pierre Dumas, the physician in charge of health care in the Tour de France from 1955 to 1969 and a pioneer of anti-doping in the sixties (Dimeo, 2007), when recalling his reticence to accept the position offered to him by the Tour de France management in June 1955. Dumas expressed his shock at discovering the pervasiveness and recklessness of the riders' practices involving PETS:

Le Tour de France had become, to my adult judgement, one of the temples of professionalism. But (...) I am a convinced partisan of amateurism and of educational sport. The Tour de France contradicted all my ideas, and I must confess that I got engaged in my first Tour only reluctantly (quoted in Bastide 1970: 102).

Linked with the early professionalization of cycle sport, the fact that it has been one of the most popular and mediatized sports since its birth in the late nineteenth century may also have contributed to an enhanced visibility of its practices concerning PETS. Dumas himself explained this visibility as a consequence of the fact that in cycling 'accidents happen in general on the road, where everybody can see them, whereas those happening in the locker room after a soccer match go unnoticed' (quoted in Bastide 1970: 188). Of all the sporting disciplines involving endurance and therefore prone to a more systematic usage of performance-enhancing substances, cycling could be considered the most mediatized. The Tour de France, for instance, is the third biggest sporting event in the world in terms of popularity and viewership, after the Olympics and the soccer

World Cup, with the difference that the Tour de France is staged every year, whereas the Olympics and the World Cup happen only every four years. In this context, ‘doping affairs’ involving cyclists get much more public exposure than those involving long distance swimmers, for instance.

Doping and cycling: a reader’s guide

The solid couple ‘doping-cycling’ so prominent in the media and the public discourse translates into a lavish literature about it, both popular and academic. Again, it could be safely stated that cycling is the sport most often mentioned in books which have focused centrally on ‘the problem of doping’. Of 39 titles originally published in English or French, or translated into these languages, only 3 were published prior to 1998. That is, the vast majority of the books dealing with the use of PETS in cycling were published after the Festina scandal in the 1998 Tour de France. In fact, the ground-breaking book by Verner Møller, *Dopingdjævlen* (published in English as *The Doping Devil*; Møller, 2008), which appeared just after the 1998 Tour, only cited one such title: *Rough Ride*, by Paul Kimmage, first released in 1990. The other two books in the list published prior to 1998 are *Sport et dopage. La grande hypocrisie* (Bellocq and Bressan, 1991), and *Doping. Les surhommes du vélo* (Bastide, 1970).

This is not to say that references to PETS in cycling were scarce in the literature prior to 1998. In his book, which is the first one to have been fully devoted to discussing PETS in cycling, Roger Bastide comments ironically on the fact that:

When a cycling champion is invited to give an account of his life (...), he inevitably devotes a chapter to (...) doping [where] he acknowledges having doped, or rather having been doped, but only once, casually and without him knowing (Bastide 1970: 198-199).

But the fact is that, prior to this excellent book by the French journalist, no monograph had been devoted to discussing PETS in cycling (or in any other sport), and it was to be a long time before another one appeared. Bastide's book offers a rich and well documented portrayal of the doping debate in the cycling *milieu* of the late sixties, which was very hot and lively due to the enacting of the first ever anti-doping legislation in France and Belgium. Again, Bastide's take on the issue is predominantly framed in a health, rather than a moral, perspective, as he clearly embraces a 'harm reduction' stance. Thus, one can read in the book's concluding remarks, where the author addresses an imaginary rider:

You take dope to ride your bike, suppress sensations and try to win. Our coldly competitive society possesses you to the marrow but it reproaches you afterwards for playing the game too enthusiastically (...) It is quite an arrogant attitude to judge you in the name of morals, although it is our duty to tell you: 'watch out, danger, stop moving forward in this mined terrain'. We doped you with our mikes and our pens when we pushed you towards the challenge of always surpassing yourself. Today we beg you: 'stop playing with fire' (...) We are all convinced of your need to use stimulants; let's therefore devote ourselves,

in good faith, to finding a middle point between Vittel [mineral water] and 'dynamite' (Bastide, 1970: 241-243).

It was not until 20 years later that a new book dealing broadly with PETS in cycling was released. In 1990 the Irish retired cyclist and journalist Paul Kimmage published *Rough Ride*, arguably the first ever autobiographical account of a rider where PETS usage is openly discussed (Kimmage, 2007). The central thesis of this remarkable book is that Kimmage's cycling career was thwarted because of widespread doping in cycling in the late eighties, and his own refusal to fully embrace the use of PETS. Instead of avoiding the issue or dealing with it in a casual manner, like most cyclists' memoirs until then, Kimmage makes it the centre of his book and devotes himself to a thorough and blunt denunciation of this *evil* and the socio-economic arrangements sustaining it.

The dominant frame within which Kimmage discusses PETS is a moral one, with only secondary references to health issues. He states on several occasions his utter commitment with 'purity' (see for instance 2007: 67 and 70) and avoiding any wrongdoing: 'I had never smoked behind my father's back. Had always been dependable and good. I had an acute sense of good and wrong. Taking drugs was wrong' (2007: 91). And, in talking about a fellow journalist, he provides an example of what he considers goodness and honesty in a man: 'He is one of the finest human beings I have ever met. You should have heard him ranting and raving about the dopers' (2007: 311).

It is noteworthy that the first ever open denunciation of PETS usage by a (former) cyclist came from an English speaker. Although an Irish Catholic himself by upbringing, Kimmage's book is soaked in the Protestant puritan values so typical of English Victorian morality. While most previous references to PETS by cyclists had dealt with them in a pragmatic, utilitarian and rather casual manner, or even fully accepted their use as a part of the game, Kimmage is uncompromising in his rejection of PETS. The book, has been quite successful in the English-speaking market and boosted Kimmage's career as a sports journalist in Britain, but has never been translated into any other language and therefore its impact in cycling's core countries (France, Spain, Italy, Belgium) has been rather low, contrary to what happened in the emerging cycling powers of Britain and Australia, for instance, where it is often quoted as a sort of anti-doping bible.

The third book included in this category of precursors is the one written by the French sports physician François Bellocq, released in 1991 and entitled *Sport et dopage. La grande hypocrisie* (Bellocq and Bressan, 1991). In contrast to Kimmage's book, Bellocq's can be considered as pioneering the *anti-anti-doping* literature. Bellocq, who was the doctor of the Peugeot pro cycling team from 1974 to 1979, when Bernard Thévenet twice won the Tour de France, defends himself from the doping allegations made about his medical practice. He strives to make a distinction between giving stimulants (amphetamines), which he rejects as unhealthy, and 'hormonal balancing', consisting in a restoration of the hormonal equilibrium in the rider's organisms subjected to extreme exertion. Bellocq's approach to pharmacological performance-

enhancement, therefore, fully embraces a ‘harm reduction’ perspective in a health frame.

This amounts to virtually all the ‘doping and cycling’ literature prior to 1998. In view of this scarcity, what happened after the 1998 Tour de France could be safely labelled as a flood of books dealing with the issue. No fewer than 36 titles in French and English have been released since, not to mention the works where the use of PETS in cycling is also discussed but is not the main focus (see, for instance, Fignon and Ducoin, 2009; Guimard and Ducoin, 2012; Fotheringham, 2007, 2010). Two genres dominate this long list: biographies, memoirs and testimonials on the one hand, and investigative journalism on the other. A vast majority of them embrace a more or less militant anti-doping perspective. And the undisputable champion in this category is Willy Voet, the Festina *soigneur* who was arrested by the customs police in the summer of 1998 when carrying in his car a full load of prohibited products to be used by the team’s riders during the Tour de France. Between 1999 and 2002, Voet published three books in which he revealed the use of PETS in cycling which he had witnessed during his long professional career as *soigneur* in several teams (Voet 1999, 2000 and 2002a). In 1994 his wife, Sylvie, published her own account of these facts (Voet, 1994). The first and most often cited book of this series, *Massacre à la chaîne*, which came out in an English edition (Voet, 2002b), clearly seems to have been written out of revenge, since Voet himself insists on stressing how the cycling milieu utterly abandoned him after his fall into disgrace.

Another remarkable book of the autobiographical-confession type in this early series, triggered by the Festina scandal, is that by Christophe Bassons, nicknamed by his fellow professional riders ‘Mr. Proper’ for his staunch commitment to ‘clean racing’ and for being bullied by Lance Armstrong during the 1999 Tour de France (Bassons, 2000). Bassons’s story mirrors Kimmage’s: his cycling career failed because he refused to take dope in a world where PETS were more than widespread. Interestingly, he also presents his rejection of PETS in strong moral and puritan terms, leaving health considerations as secondary. The way Bassons presents himself perfectly fits with the prototype of pharmacological Calvinist, a term coined by Klerman (1972) to describe those who refuse to take medicines for anything other than purely therapeutic purposes. Throughout his book one can find a strong sense of moral superiority and contempt for those *weak souls* who could not resist the temptation of the ‘heresy’ (2000: 27) of doping. He writes, for instance: ‘I should have undoubtedly started my story this way: “I, Christophe Bassons, healthy in body and spirit...”’ (2000: 25); he shows his pride at being able to ‘succeed without any illicit support’ (2000: 35); and when the pharmacological pressure mounts in his environment he is able to refuse, thanks to his sense of moral superiority: ‘My safest brake was my pride: I was sure I could succeed without doping, the weapon of the weak’ (2000: 69).

In the wake of Voet’s and Bassons’ confessions, other French ex-pro cyclists published resounding and unevenly successful confession-denounce books: these include Erwann Menthéour (1999); the Festina team manager during the 1998 Tour de France, Bruno Roussel (2001); Jérôme Chiotti (2002); and Philippe Gaumont (2005). More recently the British cyclist David Millar released his memoirs (Millar 2012), mainly devoted to a

confession-redemption exercise which underpinned his role of repentant sinner welcomed back in professional cycling as the herald of a new doping-free era. In the context of Lance Armstrong's fall from grace, his former team-mate Tyler Hamilton published in 2013 a book in which he described in detail the practices involving PETS in Armstrong's team (Hamilton and Coyle, 2013); and the latest addition to this list of testimonials-confessions is the book by the Danish ex-pro cyclist Michael Rasmussen, released in Danish (and Dutch) in November 2013 (Rasmussen and Wivel, 2013).

The book by the French physician Bruno de Lignières and the journalist Emmanuel Saint-Martin (1999), which stands midway between the testimonial and essay genres, is noteworthy for its early release date and for being the only one in this category which openly challenges the official anti-doping discourse, making a case for a more rational and liberal approach to the issue of performance-enhancement in elite cycling and other sports.

Equally lavish is the list of titles broadly belonging to the investigative journalism category, and again denunciation and condemnation underpin most of them. The French journalist Pierre Ballester and the Irish journalist David Walsh stand out as the most prolific in this field, with no fewer than eight books published together or separately (Ballester and Walsh, 2006a, 2006b and 2009; Ballester, 2008 and 2013; Walsh, 2007 and 2013; Walsh, Kimmage and Follain, 2012). Ballester and Walsh have centred their investigative activities on uncovering and denouncing the illicit methods of Lance Armstrong and the *modus operandi* of his team to circumvent the anti-doping regulations.

Another outstanding writer in this category is the French physician and anti-doping activist Jean-Pierre De Mondenard, a former Tour de France doctor, who has released at least three titles dealing mostly or mainly with PETS in cycling, very much in the line of Bassons' and Kimmage's fundamentalist tradition (De Mondenard 2006 and 2011; De Mondenard and Garcia, 2009). Other titles in this category, dealing either with the Festina scandal and its aftermath or with the doping suspicions/confessions of Lance Armstrong and his entourage, include the books by Albergotti and O'Connell (2013), Ducoin (2009), Lhomme (2000), Quénet (2001), Quénet and Guillon (1990 and 2000), Whittle (2009) and Woodland (2003).

The book by Verner Møller, *The Scapegoat* (2011), stands out in this category⁸ as the only one criticizing not doping, but anti-doping. Møller thoroughly researches the Rasmussen scandal during the 2007 Tour de France and, while devoting an entire chapter to argue that it was highly probable that Rasmussen had indeed used prohibited PETS (chapter 2), he also denounces the manoeuvres and the authoritarian arbitrariness of the Union Cycliste Internationale, the Danish Cycling Federation and the Tour de France organizers. Møller notes that the combined pressure from these organizations led to the expulsion of Rasmussen from the race when he was about to win it, not on the basis of solid proof such as a positive test or a confession, but on the basis of anecdotal evidence and rumours, thereby bending and breaking their own rules.

⁸ Although to be more precise the book is rather halfway between investigative journalism and academic research.

A third category of publications dealing with PETS in cycling includes all the relevant academic contributions on this issue. Another book by Verner Møller, the already mentioned *The Doping Devil* (2008), can be considered as pioneering this category. First published in Danish in 1999, shortly after the Festina scandal, this remarkable book sets out to thoroughly deconstruct and criticize the dominant anti-doping discourse, departing from the usual case study provided by professional cycling. Its central thesis is that PETS usage is not contrary to the spirit of sport but rather the opposite; elite sport is about excess, ecstasy, and, to a certain extent, sacrifice and self-destruction. Victory is an absolute value, while fair play, comradeship and respect for rivals are seen as chivalrous values attached to sport but which have their origins outside of sport. In this framework pharmacological performance-enhancement fits perfectly as but another technological device put at the service of the ‘faster, higher, stronger’ commandment of elite sport. *The Doping Devil* limits itself to a philosophical analysis and criticism of anti-doping and lacks a section with proposals to change the current state of affairs. However, Møller includes this in his 2010 book, *The ethics of doping and anti-doping*, which also largely draws on the analysis of PETS in cycling. Møller proposes here to turn the punitive action from athletes towards their entourage: doctors, *soigneurs*, officials, managers, etc. (Møller, 2010).

The high public prominence of the doping debate in the last 15 years has paved the way for the emergence of a number of academic publications which have sought to improve our understanding and knowledge on PETS usage in the cycling milieu, following the path broken by *The Doping Devil*. In accordance with what one could expect of an academic approach, most of these studies strive to adopt a non-judgemental and non-

moralistic perspective on the issue, focusing instead on a descriptive and analytic approach. The works by Brewer (2002), Le-Germain and Leca (2005), Brissonneau, Aubel and Ohl (2008), and Hardie et al. (2012) are devoted to uncovering the social, cultural, economic and psychological processes which explain why the use of PETS is so deeply embedded in professional cycling. The work by the French scholar Christophe Brissonneau and colleagues is particularly noteworthy, with several journal articles complementing his remarkable book noted above (Brissonneau 2005 and 2007; Lentillon-Kaestner and Brissonneau 2009).

Another fruitful strand of research on the relationship between PETS and cycling is the one inaugurated by Møller in his article ‘Knud Enemark Jensen’s death during the 1960 Rome Olympics: A search for truth?’ (2005), in which Møller sets out to deconstruct one of the ‘official truths’ of anti-doping, namely that the Danish cyclist Knud Enemark Jensen died during the Rome Olympics due to amphetamine abuse, thus becoming the first ‘doping death’ of the post-World-War II era. The present author has also followed this deconstructionist path, with articles on the ‘EPO deaths’ and the alleged dangers of human growth hormone where the mythical status of the dominant discourse on the health dangers of these modern performance-enhancing substances is uncovered (López, 2011, 2012 and 2013). Other remarkable scholarly contributions to a better understanding of PETS usage in cycling are the ones by Christiansen (2005, 2010, 2013), Waddington and Smith (2009), Savulescu and Foddy (2011), Møller and Dimeo (2013) and Marijon et al. (2013).

Conclusions

This chapter has explored the close and longstanding relationship between PETS and cycling. It showed that cycling is the sport most often linked with ‘doping’ in popular and scholarly discourses alike, and that this can be traced back to the origins of cycle sport in the late nineteenth century. Some causes of this strong historical link could be the early professionalization of cycling and its strong visibility in the media.

The literature review section provided a reader’s guide to the most prominent and influential literature, both popular and academic, dealing with PETS in cycling. It is argued that the Festina scandal in 1998 strongly influenced the evolution of the printed discourses on this issue. Prior to that date only a handful of texts (books or academic articles) had been published, and they predominantly approached ‘the social problem of doping’ from a health perspective. The Festina Scandal triggered a true flood of printed matter, in which the use of PETS in cycling has been dealt with in a predominantly moralistic frame, leaving health considerations as a secondary issue.

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