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MEDIA FRAMING OF THE RUSSIAN DOPING PROBLEMS IN 2019 IN
BRITISH, AMERICAN, RUSSIAN AND GERMAN MEDIA: A
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Media plays an important role in our perception of important events that influence the world. Unfortunately, in 2015, Russia faced the biggest doping scandal in history and the country is still suffering for the offense of anti-doping rules. In 2019 Russia had a chance make a comeback to international sports, however, the country faced another four-year ban and has to recover its reputation as a clean-of-doping country again. The world community demonstrated different reactions on the issue – some felt pity about clean Russian athletes, some say that the punishment was not sufficient, some were trying to find new features of political involvement. At the same time, motivated by public diplomacy agendas, big broadcasting companies tend to show this situation from particular angles and influence with their interpretation audiences abroad. This work is dedicated to understanding how influential broadcasters from four different nations framed this scandal for foreign audiences following their public diplomacy agendas – RT (Russia), BBCWN (UK), CNN (US) and DW (Germany). This thesis applies a mixed methods approach, which includes qualitative content analysis for manually detecting media frames of the broadcasters and LDA Topic modelling for automated text analysis of the most frequent words and topics within the media texts. As a result, I could detect 8 frames in four samples: four RT frames, two BBCWN frames, one each CNN and DW frames. Comparing the frames, I found a number of differences and similarities between the frames of different sources.

Keywords: RUSADA, Russia, WADA, media framing, public diplomacy

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANA	Authorized Neutral Athlete
ADAMS	Anti-Doping Administration and Management System
ADRV	Anti-Doping Rule Violation
ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Rundfunkanstalten Deutschlands (Ger)
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BBCWN	British Broadcasting Corporation World News
CNN	Cable News Network
DW	Deutsche Welle
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
IAAF	International Amateur Athletics Federation
IB	International Broadcaster
IBU	International Biathlon Union
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPC	International Paralympic Committee
LDA	Latent Dirichlet Allocation
NHL	National Hockey League
PED	Performance-Enhancing Drugs
RT	Russia Today
RTP	Registered Testing Pool
RUSADA	Russian Anti-Doping Agency
RUSAF	Russia's Athletics Federation
TUE	Therapeutic Use Exemptions
USADA	United States Anti-Doping Agency
UKADA	United Kingdom Anti-Doping Agency
WADA	World Anti-Doping Agency

Chapter 1. Introduction

The Russian doping scandals in the XXI century became high-profile when after numerous investigations it was proven that it was not just a row of separate doping incidents but a state-covered doping scheme. The case started with investigations in 2015 after Sochi Winter Olympic Games of 2014 and it has not been solved yet. This issue is still being considered from different angles (e.g. sports, political, health points of view) and became interesting for different kinds of audiences. As usual, mass media sources have played a special role in the way people interpret and understand this situation.

This work studies the way, media sources from different countries covered the situation with doping in Russia in 2019. The sample includes the biggest broadcasters of Russia, America, Great Britain and Germany – RT, CNN, BBCWN and Deutsche Welle accordingly. All collected articles are in English language and were created, first of all, for foreign audiences and each broadcaster is supported by the state and promoted public diplomacy of its state to foreign public.

The timeline for the collected data was limited to the year 2019 because this year was decisive for Russian sports. International sports and antidoping organizations made decisions, which appeared to be of crucial importance for the situation with Russian doping and with the problem of illegal substances in sports as a whole. RUSADA was reinstated in 2018, so Russia had to prove that this decision of WADA was not a mistake. Therefore, a number of important events and decisions regarding the case of Russian doping, happened in 2019 and in this study I investigate the ways in which influential media sources covered them for their audiences. For example, question investigated were:

- Will Russian broadcaster support views of Russian officials or they will suggest different solutions?
- Will broadcasters from other countries support the decisions made by WADA in 2019 or they will treat the decisions with criticism?
- What kind of ideas about the issue in 2019 the broadcasters are trying to bring to their audiences?

These questions and the lack of answers to them underpin the relevance of the present thesis, which seeks to fulfill this research gap.

Decisions, made by WADA in 2019 (particularly, giving Russia a four-year ban) influenced Russian sports a lot. Russia will have to try to prove again that it deserves to participate in major sports events under its own flag. However, the ways in which the public may treat the decisions of WADA depend a lot on media coverage. Following particular frames in their texts, broadcasters tend to make up their audiences' mindset regarding the issue. This work is aimed at researching such frames, which were used by Russian, American, British and German broadcasters when covering doping problems of Russia in 2019. The main goal of this work is to *show the diversity in coverage of the doping problems of Russia in 2019 by different countries' broadcasters.*

The main research questions, that guide this study, are the following:

- What are the media frames that can be found in Russian, British, American and German media in regards to the Russian doping scandal in 2019?
- What are the differences and similarities that can be found between the analyzed media frames?

In order to give more detailed and research-relevant answer to the main questions, this study is also guided by the following sub-questions:

- Do categories in the frame classification of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) match the detected frames?
- How topic modelling analysis reflects the manually obtained results of the qualitative content analysis?

Two theories – one from the communication discipline, and another from international relations, were used to build a theoretical framework of this study. The first is framing theory, which allowed consideration of media framing definition and its classifications. The second was public diplomacy as a phenomenon in state-sponsored media and how the general features and characteristics of each broadcaster were used as instruments of public diplomacy. Apart from using these theories, the thesis also addresses the timelines of the Russian doping scandal in general and in 2019 particular.

The material for analysis, which helped to answer the research questions, was collected on the websites of considered broadcasters. The total amount of the collected articles is 120. They were found according to following parameters for each of four components of the sample: year of publication 2019, key words used for search: RUSADA; Russia and WADA. For the analysis of the sample a mixed method approach was used, as it gave an opportunity to match the strengths of

two methods: using automated text analysis theoretically diminishes the risk of researcher's bias, when analyzing a sensitive research topic (which the doping scandal in Russia is), and using qualitative content analysis simultaneously allows the researcher to use his personal, cultural and political insight into the situation, and offer a feasible interpretation of the frames used by the media and how it relates to the public diplomacy agendas.

When answering the main research questions, eight frames in total from four sets of articles of different broadcasters were detected: four frames from RT's sample, two from BBCWN's, and one each for DW's and CNN's sample. The results of qualitative content analysis, aimed at detecting media frames in each sample allowed further comparative analysis of frames: semantically and with help of media frames classification of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000).

The last part of the analysis – topic modelling acted as an additional component of the work, and was conducted using computer analysis. The goal of this analysis was to check the results, as it may have pointed at some elements that could have been missed during the qualitative content analysis, and thus prove or confute some of the conclusions and demonstrate bias of the analysis, as the researcher is from the Russian Federation, and examines a very sensitive subject for which he might be considered to have preconceived views. The results obtained with the help of the LDA Model were in no sense conclusive, and in this work they played only a supplementary role.

This work analyses the collected material using different approaches, demonstrating that each kind of analysis (both qualitative and quantitative) illustrating the difference between the coverage of Russian doping problems by Russian, American, British and German media sources. The difference of the broadcasters' view on coverage of the issue is shown from comparison of their frames and accents, and the particular topics to which they are trying to draw the public attention.

Chapter 2. Background

2.1 History of the issue

The Russian doping case became a tipping point for the world of sports that triggered anti-doping managers to search for a better approach in detecting doping cases and to reconsider ineffective anti-doping processes that did not help the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) discover Russian doping schemes. Affairs that took place in 2019 and which were described in analyzed articles for this paper are only the tip of the iceberg. The first reference to the case of Russian doping appeared in December 2014, when ARD, a German broadcaster presented a documentary prepared by a German journalist Hajo Seppelt, who already had had extensive experience in covering and investigating doping cases in sports. His investigation inspired Dick Pound's inquiry funded by WADA, which resulted in two crucial reports on the Russian anti-doping system and the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF). Following these investigations, G. Rodchenkov, the former head of Moscow's anti-doping laboratory, provided details of the doping scheme, which was state-approved, to the *New York Times*. This scheme was aimed at averting any elite Russian athletes' doping tests that appeared to positive (Ruiz & Schwirtz, 2016).

In 2015 the Russian Anti-Doping Agency (RUSADA) was suspended and this action was justified by a further investigation conducted by WADA's officers which resulted in the "first McLaren report" published in July 2016 right before the Rio Olympic and Paralympic Games. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) refused to fully ban Russian team from the event, however many Russian athletes were not allowed to participate as a result of the doping scandal. The second McLaren report was announced in December 2016 and alleged that the cheating was a fail-proof system organized by the Russian government (Duval, 2017, p. 177-178).

This report resulted in several bans for Russian athletes, for example, banning the Russian team from the Winter Olympic Games in 2018 (although Russian athletes were allowed to compete under the Olympic flag and the team was called "Olympic athletes from Russia") and moving some international sports events from Russia to other countries. Moreover, some Russian officials received a lifetime ban from events organized by the IOC. In 2017 President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, established an oversight panel to organize Russian anti-doping controls within Moscow State University (Altukhov and Nauright, 2018, p. 1-2). During the Winter Olympic Games 2018

in South Korea some Russian athletes, including a few medalists, failed to pass doping tests. In September 2018 RUSADA was re-instated by WADA, which led to negative reaction by some athletes, officials (including Beckie Scott, who left the position of the chair of athlete's commission in WADA) and institutions. However, to be reinstated the Russian officials had to agree to two conditions: admit that the McLaren reports were correct and provide WADA with access to the Moscow anti-doping laboratory until the end of 2018. Russia could not accomplish both conditions (in particular, they did not give access to Moscow laboratory), which led the announcement of the head of RUSADA, Yuri Ganus, who at the end of 2018, requested that the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, facilitate granting WADA access to the Moscow anti-doping laboratory (Wada Suggested Compromise to End Russia Ban, 2018).

2.1 Timeline of Russian doping problems in 2019

There are not many academic articles that examine the Russian doping problems published up to 2019, which makes this topic both unique and difficult to research. Instead, to describe background of Russian doping issues in 2019, official sources (such as websites of certain sports institutions) and media sources were examined.

In 2019 Russia mostly faced consequences of the problems from 2018 regarding the doping situation. The deadline (31st of December 2018) to provide access for WADA to Moscow anti-doping laboratories was not met. According to Russian officials, this was due to technical problems. However, in January 2019 access was finally provided. WADA extracted more than 2000 samples from the Moscow laboratory, three weeks after the deadline (Staff, 2020). There were no sanctions applied for this delay and, as a result, RUSADA preserved its status.

In February 2019, 12 Russian athletes including 2012 Olympic medalists and world champions, lost their medals, as a result of the failed doping tests. Most of them were disqualified for four years and those, who had previously violated rules received eight-year bans (Olympic Champion among 12 Russian Athletes Guilty of Doping, 2019). Another event happened in February regarding Russian doping issue when the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) decided to reinstate the Russian Paralympic Committee under strict conditions and with rigorous surveillance of compliance of these conditions until the end of 2020 (IPC to Lift Russia Suspension, 2019). At the end of the month another Russian athlete, Margarita Vasilyeva, was sanctioned because she did not comply with WADA requirements, specifically, that information about her location in Anti-Doping Administration and Management System (ADAMS) that she gave previously did not reflect her actual location. Athletes, who are included in Registered Testing Pool (RTP), are obliged to inform authorities of their location six months in advance. They are required to be available for one hour each day for the doping test. If the filed location does not

match the actual one, it is considered that an athlete failed the test. If an athlete misses a test at least three times per year, the issue is considered as an anti-doping rule violation (ADRV) under the World Anti-Doping Code. Thus, another Russian athlete was banned for not fulfilling WADA's rules (Brown, 2019a).

During Spring 2019 RUSADA was required to check and disqualify cheating Russian athletes. WADA experts finally completed the collection of data from the Moscow anti-doping laboratory for further verification. The Council of the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) decided to maintain the suspension of the Russia's Athletics Federation (RUSAF) because of two unfulfilled criteria: delayed payment of RUSAF (working group expenses and legal costs for doping cases) and no access to the Federation's anti-doping database (Staff, 2019a). On the 1st of May 2019 the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, signed a rule, according to which, athletes, caught doping have to pay fee of 30 000 – 50 000 rubles (which is 350-550 €). The law also provides punishment for doping distribution of 40 000 – 80 000 rubles (450-900 €). This law was criticized because for top Russian athletes such a fee is not a deterrent (Russian Federation: Legislation Adopted Penalizing Use and Distribution of Prohibited Substances in Sports | Global Legal Monitor, 2019).

In the beginning of June, it was reported that Russian jumper Danil Lysenko, who was allowed to compete internationally, after proving that he trained in doping-free environment, faced problems with passing doping tests which were covered up by the officials from RUSAF (Staff, 2019b). Along with other Russian athletes, the head of RUSADA, Yuri Ganus, criticized RUSAF and suggested that the top officials and coaches of the Federation be replaced. Another impact occurred as a result of discovered violations of restrictions when media source, Reuters, discovered that former coach of track and field athlete J.Stepanova, V, Mokhnev, who was banned by WADA, kept working with other elite Russian athletes (Tétrault-Farber, 2019). Another coach, who was disqualified for lifetime, V.Kazarin, was also found to be training Russian athletes at a training camp in Kyrgyzstan. WADA and IAAF were not satisfied with such circumstances with Russian sports and, consequently, refused to reinstate RUSAF. This action meant that all Russian athletes who wanted to compete at the international athletic events, had to get the status of Authorized Neutral Athlete (ANA) (McCormack, 2019) approved. Following this, a famous Russian athlete, Maria Lasickene, gave an interview where she urged all coaches and all officials from RUSAF, connected with doping, to quit their positions (Brown, 2019b).

In total, by the middle of the 2019 Northern Hemisphere summer there were 43 Russian doping cases open among WADA's 298 probes. In August there was another scandalous case when a famous Russian hockey star, E. Kuznetsov, was suspended for four years from international

competitions for drug use. However, the National Hockey League (NHL) management decided not to ban the hockey player and he continued to perform with the Washington Capitals (International Suspension over Cocaine a Wake-up Call for Caps' Kuznetsov, 2019).

Autumn 2019 was a dramatic period for Russian sports. The head of RUSADA gave an interview to French media source *L'Equipe*, where he called for all RUSAF directors to resign, saying that some athletes from the Chuvash (a western republic of the Russian Federation) national teams Center for Sports Training used to take illegal blood transfusions. Accused athletes started a suit against RUSADA's chief (Albert, 2019). Another issue that happened in September was connected to biathlon. Despite removing doping accusations from a number of Russian athletes, who participated in 2017 International Biathlon Union (IBU) World Championship, the Russian Biathlon Union was not reinstated by IBU. However, the main thing that happened to Russian sports that month was connected with German media and ARD journalist Hajo Seppelt (whose documentary led to a huge WADA investigation and the discovery of the Russian doping scheme). Seppelt supposed that Russian authorities has never admitted the accusations in doping manipulations and, moreover, that the data of Moscow anti-doping lab, collected by WADA in 2019, had been changed (Jørgensen, 2019). The Russian officials had to give answers to WADA for 31 questions about that case. Against such a background, the RUSAF failed to be reinstated one more time in 2019. In November WADA set up a meeting with Russian officials to discuss the nation's non-compliance of anti-doping conditions and the nature of the following consequences (WADA Compliance Review Committee Recommends Series of Strong Consequences for RUSADA Non-Compliance (25 November 2019), 2019).

In December 2019 the final decision was made by WADA – Russia was banned from international events, including world championships and Olympic Games for the next four years. During that period, athletes, who want to participate in international sanctioned events have to meet the requirements of ANA. RUSADA disagreed with the final decision and made a notice of appeal that was considered in 2020 (WADA Executive Committee Unanimously Endorses Four-Year Period of Non-Compliance for the Russian Anti-Doping Agency (9 December 2019), 2019). As a result, the ban was halved, and Russian sports faced another ban till the end of 2022 (Tétrault-Farber, 2020).

To sum up, 2019 was full of dramatic changes in regard to Russian doping violations and sanctions. For the media sources the issue of Russian doping gave a lot of published material to analyze. Nevertheless, according to the collected articles from four media sources, there were two main events to which the broadcasters paid special attention:

- Russia misses the deadline to provide WADA access to Moscow antidoping laboratory;
- In December 2019, WADA bans Russia for four years from major sports events (Russian clean athletes are allowed to compete under neutral flag).

This thesis considers how certain broadcasters, which represent their countries in the world media, presented the news about the Russian doping problems in 2019.

Chapter 3. Review of Literature.

This chapter examines literature dealing with the concept of public diplomacy. The special focus in this chapter is made on definition of public diplomacy, history of the concept and peculiarities of four broadcasters – RT, CNN, BBC and DW – as instruments of their countries' public diplomacy.

3.1. Concept of public diplomacy and its history

The term “public diplomacy” was coined by an American diplomat Edmund Gullion in the 1960s, when he established an Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy. One of the first brochures of the Center gives description for the concept: “Public diplomacy... deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications” (Cull, 2006). Over time, the understanding of this concept has altered. The modern concept of public diplomacy first appeared in the 1990s. According to Livingston, two key factors for public diplomacy development were the end of the “Cold War” with globalization and fashioning of foreign policy and, the rapid development of communication technologies (Livingston, 1997, p. 1-2). Among the definitions, there are two, which are the most commonly used, one by Signitzer and Coombs (1992), and one by Manheim (1994).

Signitzer and Coombs (1992, p. 139) claim that public diplomacy is “... a way, with which the government and the private individuals and groups can directly or indirectly influence those public opinions and positions, which directly influence the foreign politics decisions of another government”. According to Signitzer and Coombs (1992), the concept public diplomacy makes activities of the traditional diplomacy wider than governments. It is not only about “high politics” and “closed spheres of government”, public policy includes issues and aspects of everyday life includes groups and actors, such as institutions, groups of people or individuals, who are acting as a part of intercultural and international communities and able to influence on international political relations (Signitzer and Coombs, 1992).

Manheim (1994) identifies strategic public diplomacy as a diplomatic activity, where the government communicates with public (“government to people”) and tries to influence opinions of the elite and public in another country. This action is designed to influence this foreign country’s policy activities. He describes the purpose of public diplomacy as speaking and explaining the worth of the governmental policy and featuring it to the foreign audience.

American diplomat Christopher Ross described public diplomacy as “a public face of a traditional diplomacy” (Leonard, 2002, p. 12). Whereas traditional diplomacy involves characterizing and externalizing foreign politics, its techniques, professional activities and negotiations which are held by diplomats, public diplomacy differs from the traditional one as it involves much broader audience on both sides, builds relationships, and also touches a bigger set of interests, which go beyond those of government (Leonard, 2002). Thus, with quick development of mass media, public diplomacy became a very strong instrument of soft power in the international arena.

3.2 Five elements of public diplomacy

Cull (2008) divides practices of public diplomacy into five parts: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting. This approach can help to consider such a complex concept in more detail.

Listening, in terms of public diplomacy, is described by Cull as an endeavor to manipulate the international environment by collecting and sorting information about foreign publics and their points of view to take advantage of this data in order to redirect publics’ policy or its wider public diplomacy approach.

Advocacy is an actor’s attempt to manipulate the international environment by participating in international communication activities in order to promote certain interests, ideas or policy for the foreign audience. In the modern world *advocacy* includes informational work and embassy press relations. The third element of public diplomacy, according to Cull (2008), is *cultural diplomacy*.

Cultural diplomacy an endeavor to manage the international environment by spreading knowledge to foreign publics about the achievements and resources of the actor’s culture, exporting its examples.

The fourth part of public diplomacy is *exchange diplomacy*, which is described as an actor’s attempt to manipulate the international environment through sending its citizens abroad and accepting foreign citizens for acculturation and/or studying. In this case mutuality can be seen.

All parties can receive benefits through exchange diplomacy because this element is mostly about two-way communication.

International broadcasting (or IB) is when an actor tries to manipulate the international environment through communication technologies (e.g. television, radio, the Internet) to communicate with audience overseas. This element of public diplomacy accumulates other parts of the concept: listening as monitoring publics, advocacy as policy broadcasts, cultural diplomacy can be found in IB's content and exchange diplomacy, for example, in exchanging programs (like internships or exchanging with other broadcasters). Despite the fact that IB includes other elements of public diplomacy, it is still should be considered as a separate and parallel part of the public diplomacy concept. The ethical and structural foundation of the key component of IB is news. Together with this, IB has to match the culture of domestic journalism and through this it diffuses culture (Cull, 2008, p. 31-34). In this paper we mostly focused on international broadcasting, as it is beyond the scope of this thesis to all investigate all five elements in detail.

3.3 Definition of the public diplomacy concept

A later description of the concept of public diplomacy was offered by Nils S. Borchers in 2011. This definition was used for this thesis, and, in this essay, public diplomacy is understood in the following way:

(mediated) public diplomacy addresses foreign publics. Mediated public diplomacy consequently aims at becoming an influential actor in the arena to influence public opinion and, by this, decisions of foreign governments. In a globalized world, mediated public diplomacy has to take into account not only single national but also transnational public spheres. Global news networks such as CNN, BBC World, Al-Jazeera and RT can be precious instruments for mediated public diplomacy because they guarantee access to these public spheres (Borchers, 2011, p. 91).

This understanding of the concept builds on earlier definitions, being more orientated to the modern world and modern media. Together with this, three of the examples of public diplomacy instruments, given by Borchers, match the broadcasters, picked for the analysis for this paper: CNN, BBC World and RT. DW, despite not being mentioned by Borchers, is also a very important instrument of its country public diplomacy. All four sources are the key instruments of public diplomacy for their countries and each of them has special features and peculiarities meaning that it is important to pay attention to every single one of them.

3.4 International broadcasters as public diplomacy instruments

3.4.1 RT

Nowadays, RT is the biggest Russian media source aimed at the foreign audience. It was launched in 2005 and, according to its website, it has 100 million viewers weekly in 47 countries of more than 100, where they broadcast. The RT website is available in Russian, English, Spanish, German, French and Arabic languages. This media source is funded by the Russian government, which keeps increasing the investments (Rawnsley, 2015). According to Popkova, RT is created as a key element in Russia's nation branding and public diplomacy campaign, which is trying to spread an official, supported by government model of national identity of Russia that can be presented to diverse foreign audiences (Popkova, 2016, p. 3074-3075). Popkova also suggests that RT emphasizes "...transparency, openness and the development of civil society..." (Popkova, 2016, p. 3069). Rawnsley (2015) argues that RT focuses more on criticism of others (e.g. American media) with little attention on "creating a positive perception of Russia" (Rawnsley, 2015, p. 279). R. Gillespie, M. Crilley and A. Williams also observe that RT's content frequently focuses on making images of the "West" hypocritical and corrupt to their audience (Gillespie, Crilley & Willis, 2019, p. 15). Summarizing, RT tailors its public diplomacy broadly, drawing attention and criticism of third parties by trying to find negative things in their activities. Moreover, among the articles, collected from RT's English website for analysis, there is a number of texts with content, criticizing athletes from "the West" as well as National and International sports and antidoping institutions. RT had the biggest selection of articles with the used keywords to be analyzed for this thesis, as the doping scandal made a great impact on the image of Russia and RT, as a public diplomacy instrument, tried to improve it in the foreign audience's perception.

3.4.2 CNN

Another media source whose articles are part of the data set considered for this work is CNN, which was founded in 1980 in The United States of America (US) and became the first mass-media to broadcast for 24 hours. CNN is a landmark for media sources involved in public diplomacy and one of the most popular broadcasters in the world. After the "Cold War" and with the development of communication technologies, the "CNN-effect" appeared, a phenomenon, where CNN could actually affect the conduct of foreign policy and American diplomacy. The so-called "CNN-effect" can be seen as "a policy agenda-setting agent", "an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals" and as "an accelerant to policy decision-making". However, since the end of the 1990s this effect was reduced and CNN is not as powerful (Livingston, 1997, p. 1-2). It is hard to find any scholarly works analyzing CNN content about Russia. However, several articles describe the frames used by CNN when broadcasting news about other countries'

business. For example, in cases of Middle East conflicts, CNN is described as a network that reflects “a pro-war frame in-line with U.S. policy” (Guzman, 2015, p. 4). CNN is considered to be a liberal media outlet (Gil de Zúñiga, Correa, & Valenzuela, 2012). The CNN sample used in this study is sourced from articles published on the website CNN.com, which is also known as CNN Digital.

3.4.3 BBC

The third media source picked for the analysis is BBC World. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) itself has long history. It was established in 1922. BBC World appeared in 1994 as a part of BBC World Service Television, which made its first broadcast in 1991. Nowadays BBC World broadcasts in 40 languages. According to the BBC website, the broadcasting company is “principally funded through the license fee paid by UK household” (Learn more about what we do, 2020). However, after launching a series of reforms by the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, William Hague, at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in 2011, in order to reinstate the diplomatic influence of Britain, BBC World Service was funded with grant in aid by FCO (Pamment, 2016, p. 1-7). This demonstrates the interest of the British government in BBC World News as an instrument of public diplomacy. By funding such services, FCO aimed for active foreign policy that would secure the rules-based international system and support British values to:

confirm British national security by fighting terrorism and countering spreading weapons together with attempts to cease conflict;

improve the prosperity of the UK by taking on investors and increase exports, with promotion of sustainable growth; and

support British citizens around the world with help of efficient consular services (Pamment, 2016, p. 187-190).

Considering these purposes, the public diplomacy of the UK through BBC World Service is mostly aimed at promoting the country’s advantages and values through international broadcasting. Regarding the Russian doping problems in 2019, BBC World News had the largest amount of articles among the four considered sources after RT, which may indicate that the broadcasting company did not want just to pass by this topic and, on the contrary, expanded the topic to its audience.

3.4.4 DW (Deutsche Welle)

The fourth and the last media source, whose articles were picked for the analysis is DW (Deutsche Welle). Originally, DW was established in 1953 as a radio service in order to inform people abroad about post-Nazi Germany. Nowadays it provides not only radio service, but also television and online services (Zollner, 2006, p. 170). According to its website, DW broadcasts in 30 languages and they have around 249 million viewers weekly in 2020. In 2019 they had about 197 million per week. Deutsche Welle's mission is to give people "the freedom to make up their own minds and the information required to form their own opinions" (Deutsche Welle (www.dw.com), 2020). DW is actually a part of Germany's public diplomacy strategy. The media source is fully funded by the government with public budget (Zollner, 2006). The German government-funded national broadcasting company, Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Rundfunkanstalten Deutschlands (ARD), is DW's corporate parent. The objective of broadcaster's public diplomacy is defined by the DW Act, viz. to "convey a comprehensive image of Germany's political, cultural and economic affairs and to outline and explain German views on important issues" (Deutsche Welle, 2000, p. 10), DW's position also includes "German and other views on essential topics" and promotion of "understanding and exchange of cultures and nations", thereby 'firmly establishing Deutsche Welle's position as a significant instrument of public diplomacy" (Niepalla, 2005, p. 3). Despite the fact that Deutsche Welle doesn't have such a huge international media influence as CNN or BBC and it did not highlight the doping problems of Russia in 2019, it was included for this study as DW's content is a part of public diplomacy of Germany and a journalist from Germany played a key role in raising the Russian doping problem in the very beginning of the case. Hajo Seppelt made a film, "Geheimsache Doping: Wie Russland seine Sieger macht" ("The Doping Secret: How Russia Makes its Winners"), broadcast on ARD in December 2014.

3.5 Public diplomacy and sports

As this thesis is generally dedicated to a sports topic it is important to mention the role of sports and international broadcasting (IB) of sports events and news in public diplomacy. A key purpose of IB, apart from the bringing the news, is to increase the influence and an image of amiability of the sponsoring nations among foreign publics and audiences. At the same time, other international cultural relations organizations (e.g. the Russkii Mir centres, the British Council), along with state-funded IB companies, are acting as cultural and public diplomacy tools, which may result (as sponsoring nations hope) in benefits for the country's image and its public diplomacy. Sports events (such as Olympic Games) give a chance to the host nation to mobilize its IB for positive effects in representing the country. For example, with help of RT, Russia succeeded in building an image of a triumphant returning of the country to the leading international

arena, however, such image was destroyed because of aggressive international policy (e.g. annexation of Crimea) (Hutchings, 2015). Another impact on the constructed image by Russian international broadcasters was made because of the investigation of Hajo Seppelt on Russian doping during the Winter Olympics and with consecutive investigation of WADA and the doping scandal, which has not ended even after five years. Moreover, the 2014 Olympic Games in Sochi had more associations with doping scandals, which decreased Russian efforts to represent it as a fully positive event.

To sum up, this work uses concept of public diplomacy of Nils S. Borchers, who claims that “(mediated) public diplomacy addresses foreign publics. Mediated public diplomacy consequently aims at becoming an influential actor in the arena to influence public opinion and, by this, decisions of foreign governments. In a globalised world, mediated public diplomacy has to take into account not only single national but also transnational public spheres. Global news networks such as CNN, BBC World, Al-Jazeera and RT can be precious instruments for mediated public diplomacy because they guarantee access to these public spheres” (Borchers, 2011, p. 91). The analysis takes into consideration N.J. Cull’s division (Cull, 2008) of public diplomacy concept, however, to liaise it is hard to make analysis in accordance with all elements, this paper focuses on the international broadcasting element. Moreover, during the analysis of the collected data, we take into account, what was described in this chapter about peculiarities and characteristic features of the media sources, where data was collected. During the analysis it was studied, how the theory of public diplomacy that was described above works on practice.

Chapter 4. Theoretical framework. Media framing

4.1 Media framing definitions and classifications

Originally, media framing theory takes its roots from psychology. The first time the concept of *framing* appeared was in 1970s in the work of Gregory Bateson, where he defined it as: “spatial and temporary bounding of [a] set of interactive messages” (Bateson, 1972, p. 197). Although, Bateson spoke of psychological framing, it boosted interest in researching usage of *frames* in different disciplines. Later, Erving Goffman called the frame a “schemata of interpretation” which gives a context to understand received data that makes recipients “locate, perceive, identify and label” (Goffman, 1974, p. 21).

There is a concept of *strategic framing*, which addresses the frames which seek to transfer meaning and draw the attention of audience to essential aspects and certain portions of messages to shape the expected response. Commonly, it is exercised in the field of public relations (Hallahan, 2008). Framing is often aimed to reduce the complexity of provided data as well (McCombs, 2004). According to Hallahan, framing of a transferred message gives certain contextual clues that “bias cognitive processing and decision-making” (Hallahan, 2008, 1). Frames are supposed to influence personality on conscious or subconscious levels. Framing makes people to think in a certain way, using just a portion of people’s knowledge. As a result, framing shapes conclusions about features, causes and remedy of a described situation (Entman, 1993). When media sources use framing for certain purposes, this is referred to as *media framing*. The concept of media framing became a subject matter and received attention at the end of 1970s (Hallahan, 2008), is still a case of interest, and was developed along with the media studies over the last five decades.

By framing social and political problems in certain ways, media companies state the key reasons and sometimes consequences of a problem and declare criteria for evaluation of possible measures to solve the problem. According to Iyengar, media stories usually exemplify either an episodic frame (which is targeted on individual cases) or thematic frame (aimed at social cases), with consequences for how the audience sees the causes, and solutions for broad social problems (e.g. crime, poverty etc.) (Iyengar, 1991). Gamson offers a broader way to consider frames, where he suggests they simply act like plots or story lines, providing connection to separate pieces of information (Gamson, 1992). Therefore, frames manage the introduction of facts and viewpoints through an article or broadcasting. As an example, poverty can be framed as either the poor are

responsible for their status and disadvantages themselves, or as the poor are victims of economic, political or social power (Iyengar, 1991).

Entman (1993) offered a definition of frames, where he points at two key factors: selection and salience. According to Entman, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). With this definition Entman shows how media provides frames for interpreting events in specific ways for their audience. In his work, Entman also addresses *individual frames*, which he defines as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). There are two different kinds of individual frames: long-term global views and issue-related short-term views. A person usually picks the sources of information on which he or she relies, by aligning with such individual frames. Regarding media frames, Entman claims that articles at least include two out of four basic types of frames: *defining a specific problem*, *diagnosing a cause of problem*, *making a moral judgement about the problem* and *suggesting remedies to the problem* (Entman, 1993). The four types are also presented in the table below:

Table 1. Entman’s Four Main Types of Frames

define a specific problem	diagnose a cause of the problem
make a moral judgement about the problem	suggest remedies to the problem

(The Arthur W. Page Center, 2021)

Another view on frames, described by Gitlin (1980), proposes that frames act as “principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Gitlin defines *media frames* as: “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Thus, a speaker can, for example, make an emphasis by manipulating with the words he or she uses, such as “special rights” or “equal rights”, “accuser” or “victim” etc.

Apart from Entman's classification, there is another one by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). They identify five kinds of frames: conflict frame; human interest frame; economic impact frame; responsibility frame; morality frame.

The first one – *conflict frame* – is used to illustrate relations between the sides: individuals, institutions, groups, countries. *Human interest frame* displays emotional stories from human life. *Economic impact frame* describes economic issues and its influence on individuals. The *Responsibility frame* aims to find solutions and estimate responsibilities for some cases or events. And the last type, *morality frame*, is typically used when something or someone goes against moral values (e.g. when scandals or fraud take place) (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

This paper is based on Entman's vision (Entman, 1993) on the frames using his definition, which emphasizes two factors for framing – selection and salience. The division of five media frames by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) will be used for summarizing the results of the qualitative content analysis of articles in the chosen media sources. The definition by T. Gitlin (1980) is also taken into account in the analysis, as it draws attention on patterns which are used to organize discourse.

4.2 Media framing in sports and doping cases

In regard to framing, sports media is not an exception. Editors of sports stories, producers, sportswriters influence and at times define how athletes are represented in mass media, what features of athletes will be displayed and in which manner (Lewis and Weaver, 2015). As an elite athlete starts to show successful in-game performances, the media starts to give more publicity to him or her. As the athlete gains more popularity, there are more stories and news appear in the media about him or her, which results into more detailed information about this phenomenon's background and personal information, for example, their family, interests and beliefs (Lewis and Weaver, 2015). This is applicable not only for athletes but also for managers, coaches and sports officials. Moreover, images of sports institutions, such as national and international federations and doping agencies, are also impacted by way the way mass media represents them. Of course, the media cannot always influence the situation itself but it shapes the reality in people's minds (Fenton, 1999, p. 298).

Speaking of the phenomenon of Russian doping, the case was first made public by a journalist who raised the issue in media sources. Broadcasters from different countries reacted in different ways, some saying, the documentary of Hajo Seppelt was more truth than not, when other

(for example, Russian) journalists tried to challenge the conclusions of the documentary. All in all, after numerous investigations of WADA and CAS, it was proven that Russia had its own doping system. With this background, Russian athletes and coaches were subsequently observed through a different prism – the prism of doping. It has to be taken into the account that doping use may not be an individual decision – it can be supported by a network of athletes, coaches and medics. Doping relations give the media a lot of material for narratives (for example, about a doping mafia) (Pfister and Gems, 2015, p. 137).

For different causes, doping has had a special interest within the mass media. Doping plots may give an alternative dimension or expansion to ‘standard’ sports events that may be quite monotonous. Interest to ordinary reports of athletes’ results is significantly increased and sensationalized when it comes to suspicion that an athlete got his or her results with the help of illegal methods. Moreover, such doping stories as of Carl Lewis or of Lance Armstrong, display cases where the issue deals between the morality and sin, with victims, criminals and heroes, intrigues and discussions, which bring much more interest to reporting than just counting points (Sefiha, 2010).

Doping cases may include such general issues as good and evil, justice and fraud, and address the basic values of society and sports. The media usually covers doping through using frames that address moral values and common health issues, which interest a broad audience (Pfister and Gems, 2013). According to Sefiha, “Drug-related deviance is presented as commodified entertainment, a depoliticized slice of modern consumer culture where inequalities and contradictions are submerged beneath titillating story lines” (Sefiha, 2010, p. 215). Thus, through doping stories, broadcasters may attract the attention of members of the public who are not interested in sports.

Doping plots are usually dramatic issues, connected to the fall of the role models and heroes, transforming them into charlatans. Broadcasters may represent the use of illegal performance-enhancing drugs (PED) as a personal decision of an athlete (Pfister and Gems, 2013). However, the Russian case appeared to be a much more complicated issue. It was not only about a personal decision of a performer, instead it appeared to be a larger network in which the Russian state was involved and covered athletes’ illegal PED usage as long as they could. Thus, it became even more intriguing for the public as politicians were directly involved in the fraud during the world’s largest and most prestigious sports events, which makes the problem not only sports-oriented but political as well.

There is another side of sports media framing regarding doping. According to Pfister and Gems (2013):

“doping narratives woven around the story of the Beauty and the Beast also have a focus on gender and race relations, which in sport are staged in special ways. Athletes present themselves on the sports field as men and women, as coming from a particular ethnic, cultural and national background, and the media cover their ‘doing gender’ and their ‘doing race’, often drawing on racist and sexist stereotypes” (Pfister and Gems, 2013, p. 140).

In the case of Russian doping, a large number of Russian athletes, sports institutions, officials and politicians were sanctioned. With such scenario, the mass media may easily use it to establish an objectionable stereotype of Russian sports or the media may target its frames to stop any attempt to bring such a stereotype to the broad public.

Chapter 5. Methodology

This chapter describes the research methods used to answer the research questions:

- What are the media frames that can be found in Russian, British, American and German media in regards to the Russian doping scandal in 2019?
- What are the differences and similarities that can be found between the analyzed media frames?

The described approaches also help to answer the sub-questions:

- Do categories in the frame classification of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) match the detected frames?
- How topic modelling analysis reflects the manually obtained results of the qualitative content analysis?

5.1 Ontology & Epistemology

Using qualitative content analysis as the main research method in this thesis, it was natural to apply an interpretivist approach to the current study. In relation to the ontology and epistemology, an interpretivist approach demonstrates reality as multiple and relative (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). According to its main principle, that is the representation of reality experience, it is frequently used in social sciences, where researched results are examined by interpretations of the researchers (or actors) (Smith, 2010). It is very important for interpretivist approach to recognize meanings, reasons and motives, in other words, subjective experiences, that are connected by time and context. Thus, the interpretivist research is subjective (Neuman, 2000).

5.2 Methodological design of the study

The methodological innovation of this current thesis is in its interdisciplinary approach, which combines automated text analysis (LDA Topic Modelling) and qualitative content analysis. This combined approach allows a combination of the strengths of two methods: using automated text analysis theoretically diminishes the risk of researcher's bias when analyzing a sensitive research topic (which the Doping Scandal in Russia is), and using qualitative content analysis simultaneously allows for the researcher to use his personal, cultural and political insights into the situation (known as insider research) to offer a feasible interpretation of the frames used by the media and how they relates to the public diplomacy agendas.

The sample consisted of 120 articles in total, collected from the websites of the four selected sources: RT (Russia) (64 articles), CNN (United States) (9 articles), BBCWN (Great Britain) (32 articles) and DW (Germany) (15 articles). The sample was collected from the English versions of their websites (rt.com, bbc.com, cnn.com, dw.com) manually, using the following keywords: RUSADA, WADA, Russia. The sample was limited to articles published in 2019. The list of the articles of the sample is attached as Attachment (fill in the appropriate letter).

The analysis was built on the theories of public diplomacy and media framing. In the course of analysis, attention was paid both to the frames, used in media texts, and to the public diplomacy context of the country and of the source under consideration. This means that the researcher compared the trends and patterns specific for the outlet and the country, described in the literature, and whether they followed these patterns when describing problems of Russian doping in 2019. As all of the chosen media sources represent their countries for foreign publics, so the concept of public diplomacy is integral to the analysis.

For identifying media frames in the sample from the articles from RT, BBCWN, DW and CNN about Russian doping problems in 2019, qualitative content analysis was used as the main research method. Content analysis is a research method of analyzing documents, when it is possible to distil words into fewer content-related categories, therefore allowing valid inferences from data to its context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights and representation of facts (El and Kungas, 2008). In qualitative content analysis, the data is categorized in the categories, that are generated, at least partly, inductively (developed from the data itself), and in most cases applied to the data through close reading (Forman and Darschroeder, 2008).

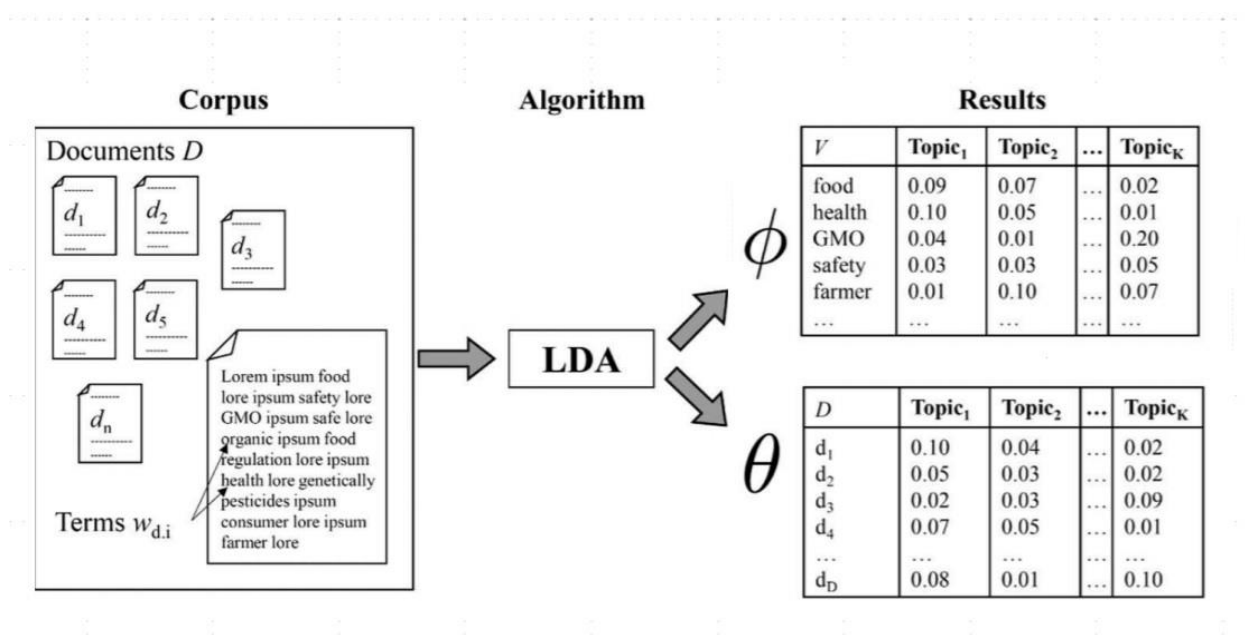
The stages that qualitative analysis are: collection of data; preparation; analysis with further interpretation – (Sandelowski, 1995, p. 371). For this thesis, the researcher initially approached the data inductively, and through close and repeated reading of the articles in the sample developed categories, which were later summarized into media frames. Then, each collected article was manually examined in order to find frame types. Examples of some of the most interesting cases are discussed in detail later in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Each example was read three times with the selection of elements to which authors of texts paid special consideration and which seemed attention-seeking and unique when covering the issue. The author also paid special attention on intertextuality of datasets.

The ways that the above-mentioned sources framed Russian problems in 2019 were also compared to each other. It is important to mention that in the course of analysis the researcher was aware of the intertextual context of these frames, and thus focused on the major frames that were

detected, meaning they were repeatedly used in a number of examined texts and are relatable to the websites' country's public diplomacy.

Even though qualitative content analysis was the dominating method analyzing of this study, LDA Topic modelling was used as additional method, to achieve a methodological innovation by text manually and automatically and comparing the results. Topic Modelling is a technique for computer content-analysis used to discover the “hidden” thematic structure of a certain sample of texts (Maier et al, 2018, p. 1). In another definition by Jakobi, Atteveldt and Walkers (2016), topic modelling are computer algorithms that allow a researcher to identify latent patterns of word occurrence, using the distribution of words in the collection of the documents. The output of topic models is a set of topics, which consist of the clusters of words that occur in these documents accordingly (Jacobi, Atteveldt, Walkers, 2016, p. 90).

Scheme 1. Principle of work of LDA Topic Model (Maier et al. 2018, p. 2)

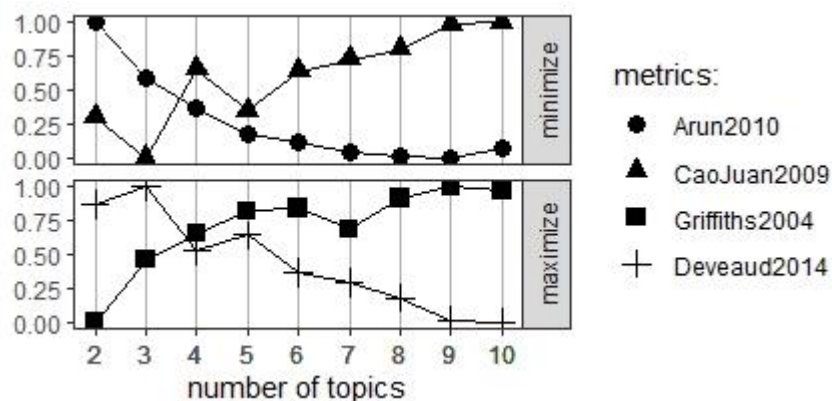


The model chosen for the analysis, LDA (Latent Dirichlet allocation), is aimed to “project the original data matrix onto a lower dimensional space” (Tharwat, 2017, 8). In LDA Model, every document may contain multiple topics (Jakobi, Atteveldt and Walkers 2016). LDA is a statistical probability model, which allows researchers to bring the words inside the texts in the so-called groups or topics (Blei, Ng, Jordan 2003). Scheme 2 below, demonstrates how the LDA Model processes the text sample (Maier et al. 2018, p. 2)

As a part of the LDA algorithm, a researcher manually assigns the number of topics found in the text. With the help of the special package for LDA topic modelling, a researcher can

calculate the optimal number of topics for each set of texts with the help of the algorithm. The algorithm specifies the number of topics according to summary made on the basis of four metrics: *Arun2010*, *CaoJuan2009*, *Griffith2004* and *Deveaud2014*. The measurement is presented on the Scheme 2, which shows the identification of amount of topics for the RT sample. The researcher ran this algorithm for each of the four parts of the datasets, therefore calculating an exact number of topics for each set of texts. In the algorithm of Arun the measurement is made through Kullback–Leibler divergence (which measures how one probable sample differs from another probable sample) of salience distribution emergent from the matrix factor; the variance of data in the measurement is higher for an imperfect number of topics. The second method, that is the measurement of CaoJuan involves selecting the perfect LDA model drawing on denseness. Both chains use the difference of the groups (the distance of the graph). When the distance is bigger, the groups are more diverse, when it is shorter, the groups are more similar (Holliger, 2018, p. 25). The third measurement, included to find the optimal amount of topics, is Griffith’s algorithm. Here a probability to a word for building a topic is applied to find optimal number of topics. If addressing the Scheme 2, the higher the square log (Griffith2004) is, the more optimal the number of topics is provided for the dataset, according to the measurement. And the last chain used for this measurement, Deveaud’s, is fully unsupervised and for the best result the algorithm has to be completed a few times, as it “learns” from its own results (Holiger, 2018, p. 25). Plotting results of four algorithms on the graph shows the optimal number of groups (topics), which is the point where are four results have the closest positions to each other.

Scheme 2. Identification of RT topics



The results of the metrics have to be considered altogether to get the perfect amount of topics. The best number of topics on the graph, according to Arun2010 and CaoJuan metrics, is shown when each indicator stays at the lowest position; and opposite for Griffith2004 and Deveaud2014 metrics where the optimal result is shown when the indicator is on the highest position. The optimal number of topics for the sample according to summary of all four metric

systems, is the point on the graph when all four indicators are on the closest positions to each other. Summing up, the optimal amount of topics for each sample is:

- RT sample includes five topics;
- BBCWN sample includes five topics;
- CNN sample includes three topics;
- DW sample includes four topics.

Knowing the perfect number of topics for each sample, the next step was to set the amount of words within each topic. It is optimal to include five or six words in each topic. It was decided to include six words in the topic, as it may help a better illustration of the diversity of samples' topics.

Before application of the LDA technique every text was “cleaned” from the unnecessary elements (such as punctuation marks, neutral and form words etc.). Next, all remaining elements were stemmited – which means that all words ignored endings and suffixes for the analysis. The following words (and stems) were cleaned in order to form topics: "russian", "wada", "sport", "athlete", "russia", "dope", "antidop", "olymp", "will", "world", "agenc", "intern", "said", "data", "nation", "moscow", "rusada", "country", "year", "event", "take", "call", "part", "also", "include", "even", "one", "report", "team", "allow", "can", "say", "next", "hand", "time", "told", "without", "now", "four", "told", "office", "monday", "howev", "decemb", "work", "two". Then the algorithm formed the rest most frequent words into topics with each topic containing standard six words.

Knowing optimal amounts of topics and having cleaned the sets of texts, the next stage was to use the algorithm to find the optimal topic. The algorithm was run several times and estimated provided topics. For this case, it was run 10 times for each sample. Although the algorithm offers the most frequent set of words, there is still a random element in combining words into topics.

In total, the automated text analysis method applied was executed as following. The LDA algorithm was applied to the set of the articles of each outlet individually, allowing the researcher to see what are the most used words in the text as well as the main topics, which the algorithm determines as the key ones for the text. As a result, with the help of the LDA algorithm the researcher identified a few main topics in the coverage of Russian doping problems in 2019 for each media outlet, which then enabled the researcher to theoretise the sports and foreign policy of each outlet in accordance with their public diplomacy agendas.

Chapter 6. Results and Discussion

6 Results of Qualitative Content Analysis

In this section, the results of the qualitative content analysis of the sample and frames found within it are presented.

6.1. RT's media frames about doping problems of Russia in 2019 (64 articles)

The sample from the RT website is expectedly the largest and contained a number of frames for the analysis. After making a qualitative content analysis of the sample, it was concluded that the broadcaster placed emphasis on the four main frames, discussed below. The general theme, that connected all the frames, and used by RT, was the injustice of the WADA's decision and injustice towards Russia in general.

6.1.1 Media frame 1: Grigory Rodchenkov as a Russophobe and the main responsible person for Russian doping problems

The first frame for the analysis involved the anti-hero figure – a person, who, according to RT, was responsible for the largest part of the problems and because of whom the sports environment of Russia still suffers. In case of RT that person was the former head of the Moscow laboratory, Grigory Rodchenkov. In different samples Rodchenkov is presented to readers in a negative way (the number of the article is indicated in brackets):

- “WADA's main witness in the case against Russia” (article 2);
- “fugitive doctor” (article 11);
- “whistleblower” (here RT mistakenly called Grigory Rodchenkov “Sergey Rodchenkov”) (article 19);
- “WADA's main informant in the case against the country”;
- “who fled to the US” (articles 2, 18, 21, 64);
- “escaped Russia” (article 21);
- “stolen by Rodchenkov” (article 21);
- “illegal data” (about information that Rodchenkov provided to WADA) (article 11);
- “defected to the US” (article 63);
- “wanted at home for several charges” (article 64);
- “lied in the procedure as witness” (article 64);

- “casting doubt on the legitimacy of WADA witness” (article 54).

When describing Rodchenkov, the frame emphasized the image of an untrustworthy person, who tampered with the data of Russian athletes and who was assisting U.S. and Russophobic communities, by witnessing against Russia in this doping scandal. Another notice regarding this frame is that Rodchenkov appeared in RT articles mostly at the time when Russian sport faced really critical situation. These were at the beginning of 2019, when Russia could not provide access to the Moscow antidoping laboratory, risking new penalties for Russian sports, and at the end of 2019, when Russia was banned from international competitions for four years.

This frame combined the *responsibility* and *moralilty* frames according to Semetko and Valkenburg’s (2000) classification and may give impetus to readers to make conclusions about the responsibility of Rodchenkov in this scandal and his moral values, depicting a man who was a part of the doping scheme and, instead of taking responsibility, was running away from, it, when others were facing consequences of the scandal.

6.1.2 Media frame 2: Doping situation as a “Western” political instrument against Russia

The second frame found from the sample, was the making of WADA’s penalty to Russia a political decision and the result of struggle between Russia and the “West” (USA and Europe).

Basically, RT was expanding the people involved in the conflict. Apart from the groups who were directly connected to the doping scandal such as actors, involved in the doping scheme and anti-doping authorities related to the process, RT tended to include side actors, who were according to the published articles are also part of the conflict. These actors included: NATO (article 2); the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin (articles 6, 8, 9, 18, 27, 38, 39, 46, 53); the former Russian Prime Minister, Dmitry Medvedev (article 10); the President of Belarus, Alexander Lukashenko (article 55), and the Russian Foreign Minister, Sergey Lavrov (articles 2, 19, 24, 45) USADA (articles 9, 22, 23, 41, 52).

By involving actors, most of whom were closely related to political environment, RT was using the *conflict* frame Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), demonstrating the scandal, not as a part of the sports environment, but as a political issue. Moreover, within the sample, RT included comments which were more politically-related than sports-related. From this point, the scandal was partly transformed by RT from an anti-doping to an anti-Russian scandal, with sports as a bargaining political tool used against Russian political interests by other countries (particularly, by the U.S.). RT pushed this vision actively, referring to interviews with Russian officials after WADA’s decision in the end of 2019 to ban Russia from international sports events.

RT also emphasized this frame through articles' titles: "*Geopolitics before sport: Russian athletes were punished for being Russian*" (article 63), "*WADA Russia ban is likely political in nature, violates intl law – Putin*" (article 6), "*WADA's Russia doping ban is a 'war of politics' that robs clean athletes of glory*" (article 9), "*'Anti-Russia hysteria got chronic': PM Medvedev slams WADA ban on Russian athletes*" (article 10).

6.1.3 Media frame 3: International sports and antidoping institutions' decisions are wrong because they also affect clean athletes

RT did not claim directly that international organizations related to sports and antidoping, that participated in investigation of Russian doping case (such as the IOC or WADA) acted incorrectly. However, RT tended to put a strong emphasis on the stories when the decisions of such institutions led to clean athletes suffering because of the decisions of international sports organizations. In 2019 RT published a number of stories using the *human interest frame*. These stories were supposed to demonstrate the emotional conditions of clean athletes influenced by the decisions of International organizations. They mostly concentrated on individual stories of athletes or comments of performing athletes on the situation:

- in article 57, RT says that Russian junior medalist Aksana Gataullina "unfolded a spotted purple blanket instead of the national flag to get around a ban";
- in article 40, RT posts extracts from the interview of a Russian fencer Alexey Yakimenko, who criticized WADA decision of four-year Russian ban, saying it harms clean athletes and goes against the Olympic Charter;
- in article 51, the broadcaster presented the story of Roy Jones Jr, who lost the gold medal in Seoul 1988 because of strange decisions made by referees. In parts of interview with Jones, illustrated in RT article, he compared WADA's potential decision (the article was published before announcing the four-year penalty) to ban Russia and blames IOC for losing the medals of Seoul 1988;
- in article 49, called "No flag, no anthem: What the WADA ban means for Russia", RT emphasized that WADA rejected allowing clean Russian athletes to compete under the Russian flag;
- article 56 illustrated a few stories of clean successful Russian athletes (Lasitskene, Shubenkov, Sidorova and Klishina) who suffered from WADA's decision.

RT also presented a number of articles where clean successful Russian athletes criticized WADA or other institutions (including national sports institutions) for its actions: Lasitskene (articles 45, 48), Efimova (article 44), Nurmugamedov (article 38), Stefanidi (article 52). It is

important to mention that the vast majority of people, whose opinions are included in RT's articles, supported Russian side of the conflict.

With this frame, RT showed individual cases of Russian athletes affected by the 'wrong' decisions made by WADA.

6.1.4 Media frame 4: Russian doping case is not the most critical doping case

The fourth major frame, used by RT, regarding Russian doping problems in 2019 highlighted doping cases in other countries, showing that the Russian case was not the only big doping case and that the Russian situation about doping was not the worst in the world. Such a frame might be classified as a combined *responsibility* and *morality* frame according to Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) classification.

The best example of this frame can be found in article 4 from the RT sample. Here RT claimed that WADA announced the worst doping-affected countries. The broadcaster emphasized that Russia is not in the top four and that the top three countries in this list were Italy, France and USA. While the attention was paid to these nations, the article admitted that Russia was the fifth country on the list.

Another example of this frame is included in article 44, where extracts from the interview with a successful Russian swimmer – Efimova – were presented. Part of her interview was about rules to be applied to all athletes. Efimova compares her own doping violation (which resulted in two-year disqualification) and “*a great number of US and European athletes who have a similar situation regarding doping and they are competing without any restrictions*”.

There are two articles (22 and 28) from the RT sample, dedicated to the Russian athlete, Lasitskene, who resented the antidoping rules violation by an American athlete, Coleman, who was allowed to compete despite missing doping tests. In article 22 RT describes how Lasitskene addressed USADA's head, Travis Tygart, by raising the topic of the therapeutic use exemptions (TUE) for American famous athletes after he called for a ban all Russian athletes for the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games.

RT also added some information of non-Russian doping cases, making parallels, for example, in article 41, where RT described US athletes protesting against the participation of clean Russian athletes in 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games. The publisher added a passage about an Australian swimmer who refused to share the podium with a Chinese athlete who was alleged to have broken the antidoping rules.

In such a way, RT presented data about Russian doping problems in 2019, placing it in the same category as individual doping violations in other countries.

6.2 BBCWN's media frames about doping problems of Russia in 2019 (32 articles)

The BBC World News sample of articles about Russian doping in 2019 was the second biggest collected for the analysis. Qualitative content analysis helped to indicate two major frames highlighting the issue by the broadcasters: *the actions of WADA are mostly correct even though it has to work under big pressure* and *Russian sports environment keeps acting wrong despite willingness of WADA to cooperate*.

Unlike the RT, both frames found in BBCWN articles, named above, tended to be neutral: according to the British source, the main conflict lies between WADA and Russia. The conflict is not depicted as a political issue but as a doping problem related to the violation of sports rules by Russia. Together with this, BBCWN criticizes both sides of the conflict, considering WADA's actions in detail and following actions of Russia, aimed at improving the situation. At the same time, the BBCWN puts reasonable pressure on Russia, as the nation had kept breaking the antidoping rules.

The theory of doping framing, described in the Chapter II of this thesis, is exemplified by the BBCWN sample. The broadcaster, when describing Russian doping problems in 2019, referred more to the issue of justice and fraud, minimizing the political effect of the conflict and limiting it to sports and antidoping issues. All the Russian violations were acknowledged to be the responsibility of Russian sports and antidoping institutions and athletes, not as a result of political influence. BBCWN's articles mostly contained different points of view (however with an emphasis on some of them). The BBCWN did not disclaim responsibility from Russian athletes for using illegal substances (unlike RT, which mostly emphasized the failures of institutions, not athletes).

It is important to mention that BBC and BBCWN have the same link for the set of articles when searching with use of the keywords: "RUSADA"; "Russia" and "WADA". In such a way, the collected articles in English from this source are provided for both: domestic and international audiences.

6.2.1 Media frame 1: The actions of WADA are mostly correct even though it has to work under big pressure

Thirty-one of Thirty-two articles from the BBCWN sample were dedicated solely to the doping conflict between WADA and Russia (article 29 refers to the issue, but also contained a description of another conflict between the Russian athlete Lasitskene and officials from Russian

athletics). The articles mostly focused on WADA's work and some of them emphasized the pressure that the organization faced when it tried to find a solution to the Russian doping problem. Moreover, in some of the articles WADA's decisions were criticized not only by Russian officials but also by athletes and officials who claimed that WADA acted too softly and should implement stricter sanctions against Russian athletes:

- articles 24 and 28 were dedicated to the case of B.Scott (the chair of the athlete's committee) and Edwin Moses (the chair of WADA's education committee), when they claimed WADA made "bullying allegations" against them. Moses backed up B.Scott's claims on "bullying and belittling" by WADA officials after she opposed Russian reinstatement. In article 24 BBCWN announced that "WADA is cleared from bullying allegations" after the investigation (however, BBCWN noticed that the investigation committee defined the comments towards Scott as "aggressive and disrespectful");
- in article 21, BBCWN suggested that the chief of the key WADA panel "defended" the decision not to act rapidly after Russian officials missed the deadline to provide access to the database of the Moscow antidoping laboratory. In this example BBC emphasizes that WADA is under pressure from athletes and national antidoping organizations;
- an example of an athlete putting pressure on WADA's decision is described in article 10. The BBCWN includes extracts from V. Aggar speech, where she criticized WADA for not imposing a blanket ban. The article also contained a part of the response to this speech from WADA Director General O. Niggli, who claimed that WADA works "consistently and transparently";
- in article 3, the broadcaster noted that Russia was going to appeal the decision of WADA to ban the country from all international major sports events for four years. In the article, the BBCWN told about the notice of appeal from Russian side but also reminded the audience that there is a number of influential organizations and athletes that say the penalty is insufficient;
- in article 9, the BBCWN displayed UKADA's (the United Kingdom Antidoping Agency) opinion on WADA's work and presented "10 imperative matters" for WADA to consider. The message of UKADA did not criticise.

All examples above contain a *conflict frame* Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) where all parts of conflict are represented in a neutral way, but in all the articles the decisive word favoured WADA. Moreover, by describing criticism to WADA in that way, when the sides had not very

successful allegations towards WADA's decisions, the BBCWN displayed the institution as judicious, and trying to offer compromise. The BBCWN did not totally refute the criticism of WADA, including the USADA's head opinion that "*WADA is being played by Russia*".

6.2.2 Media frame 2: Russian sports environment keeps acting wrong despite willingness of WADA to cooperate

When highlighting the doping problems of Russia in 2019, the BBCWN articles illustrated a number of violations of the antidoping rules by Russian athletes, Russian sports institutions and by RUSADA, committed despite WADA's flexible towards Russian athletes.

This frame can be found in a number of articles from the BBCWN sample (article numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 26, 27) and it can be characterized as another *conflict frame*. BBCWN used this frame in relation to three major topics:

- Russia missing the deadline to provide WADA the access to the database of Moscow antidoping laboratory (articles 2, 15, 16, 23);
- Russian athletes facing individual bans again (articles 6, 8, 14, 26);
- another four-year penalty for Russia, banning it from international major sports events (articles 4, 12, 18, 27).

In the articles listed above, Russian officials are presented by the BBCWN as always acting in the wrong way (e.g. "*missing deadlines*", "*manipulating data*", "*providing inconsistent data*" etc.). Together with this description the BBCWN does not describe any positive actions made by Russian sports and antidoping institutions, limiting descriptions to the conditions they were obliged to fulfill (e.g. providing WADA access to Moscow antidoping laboratory). With this background, WADA is depicted as a authority that was ready to provide opportunities despite all the mistakes and unfulfilled arrangements from the Russians.

Regarding articles which describe Russian athlete, who violated the antidoping rules, the BBCWN emphasized that despite the bans and inability of some Russian sports federations to be reinstated, Russian athletes were allowed by WADA to compete under the neutral flag. This demonstrated again that Russian athletes failed even when WADA provided them with such advantages.

6.3 CNN's media frames about doping problems of Russia in 2019 (9 articles)

The CNN sample was the smallest among analyzed. It consisted of only 9 articles, which clearly shows that, at least in 2019, Russia's doping problems were not central for the CNN coverage. Consequently, it was hard to implement a lot of major frames from such a small amount

of articles. During the analysis only one major frame was detected. However, there were a number of sub-frames and rhetorical tools used by the broadcaster.

For example, CNN did not accentuate that this is a conflict within the world of sports. Oppositely, it accented that the conflict was politicized, however there are not enough examples in the sample to make it as a major frame. Specifically, in articles 3 and 4, when introducing the opinion of Svetlana Zhurova, a Russian athlete and an Olympic gold medalist of Winter Olympics 2006, who was the Deputy of the State Duma lower parliament house of Russia, CNN emphasized only her importance as a Russian political figure without mentioning her sports background. But the clearest example of CNN's approach to the relationship between the issue of doping and politics was demonstrated in article 2, where the whole text was dedicated to politization of the issue. Moreover, the article described that not only world community assumes that Russian political figures were involved in the doping problems and, were "*using sport as soft power*" but also that the Russians conceived the whole doping situation as "*anti-Russian hysteria*" (extract from the interview of ex-Premier and Minister of Russia, Dmitri Medvedev in article 2). In such a way, CNN emphasizes that all sides perceived the case as politicized one. Nevertheless, it is not be presented as a frame because all the small features can be better characterized as broadcaster rhetoric to emphasize the major frame, which is demonstrated below.

CNN also tried to implement the topic of doping in Russia when describing general doping-related news. Article 7 illustrated the assumption of researchers that a spinach chemical – ecdysterone – has a similar kind of effect to steroids and they recommended to add it to the list of banned substances in sports. The end of this CNN article suddenly turned to mentioning the Russian doping scandal. Thus, the broadcaster associated illegal substances in sports directly with the sports environment of Russia. However, as this case in the CNN sample is limited and unique, this statement requires further investigation.

6.3.1 Media frame 1: WADA is unable to solve the doping scandal with Russia

The major frame built by CNN that WADA simply could not solve the Russian doping problem can be followed in a few articles from the sample (articles 3, 4, 8). This frame's illustration varies from interview extracts criticizing WADA for its actions that did not help to cure Russian the doping problem so that opinions were that WADA is "*played by the Russians*". This media frame can be characterized as a *responsibility* frame (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000), where WADA was responsible for stagnation in the case and the proposed solution was to make drastic changes in the organization.

In article 3 CNN shows opinions of WADA and its critics about the decision of banning Russia from major sports events for four years. According to the article, Craig Reddie, the President of WADA at that time, insisted that WADA gave Russia all opportunities possible to be reinstated, and it is Russia, who could not deliver them. Thus, WADA had to punish Russia with the ban, while protecting clean Russian athletes at the same time. However, the article concludes that there were officials, who were strongly disappointed by the decision. For example, Travis Tygart, the head of USADA, claimed that the ban was not enough, as WADA continued to implement sanctions that simply do not work. He suggested that the “*broken system*” had to be reformed. CNN also illustrated the Russian viewpoint through Dmitry Medvedev’s opinion. Medvedev supposed that the ban was caused by violations by the same athletes, while the whole country suffered from the sanctions. According to Medvedev, this might be a feature of “*anti-Russian hysteria*” and Russian organizations, who were sanctioned should appeal (Medvedev’s the solution).

Article 4 was dedicated to the opinion of T.Tygart, extracts from which were displayed in article 3. Tygart criticized WADA for the “*weak punishment*” for Russia and Russian athletes, and, according to him, such actions of WADA cannot stop Russia from covering their cheating athletes. In the end of the article CNN quoted Tygart, who said that Russia still could easily send its full delegation to Tokyo in 2020, as they did in Rio in 2016 and in PyeongChang in 2018. This prompted the solution that Russia should have been fully banned from the major events.

Another CNN article, containing text which criticized WADA’s actions towards Russia (number 8). The article is dedicated to a missed deadline of RUSADA to provide WADA access to the Moscow antidoping laboratory. Here, USADA blamed WADA for the early reinstatement of RUSADA, saying that the missed deadline had to be expected, also mentioning that WADA had to stop being “*played by Russia*”.

Summing up, CNN quotes the UK antidoping commission statement that Russia had to admit its mistakes “*unequivocally*”, otherwise, WADA had to be tough. Thus, in the text, CNN again implemented the criticism of WADA and provided a solution for the situation, displaying the *responsibility frame* as per Semetko and Valkenburg’s (2000) classification.

6.4 DW’s media frames about doping problems of Russia in 2019 (15 articles)

The sample of DW included 15 articles. Almost all analyzed articles included features of political influence, regarding sports and Russia. The doping problems of Russia were mentioned in non-related articles (articles 10, 11, 14). In examples 10 and 11, there is mention of sports in political issues. Article 14 was dedicated to doping and Russian military intelligence. At the same

time, while this is a feature of the DW's editorial and audience policy, drawing overall conclusions about the coverage of SW would require a much bigger sample. Unlike other analyzed sources, DW also paid attention to the forthcoming (at that time) change of WADA's head and probable changes of WADA's approach towards Russian doping problems.

6.4.1 Media frame 1: Current WADA's management helps Russian side, despite world sports community disenchantment in WADA's decisions on the Russian doping issue

The only major frame found in the DW sample was that the WADA management helped the Russians, despite world sports community disenchantment with WADA's decisions on the Russian doping issue. This frame can be followed in a number of articles, dedicated to WADA's decisions towards Russia, accompanied by the author's remarks and critical visions of some officials, athletes or journalists. It can be characterized as *responsibility frame* according to Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) classification. Generally, DW focused on the opinion that WADA made unpopular decisions, which were not supported by the global sports community and which affected WADA's reputation. Among all analyzed sources, DW is the only one, which saw (or tries to see) possible changes in the attitude of WADA towards Russia with entry of the new WADA's President, Witold Banka.

WADA's decisions were questioned by DW with disenchantment of the institution's solutions to Russian doping problems in 2019. The criticism was mostly about two decisions – early reinstatement of RUSADA (without fulfilling the necessary conditions) and allowing clean Russian athletes to participate, despite the four-year ban of Russia from major sports events. In such a way, DW published articles dedicated to Russia missing deadlines to fulfill the conditions for RUSADA reinstatement (8, 9), where the broadcaster emphasized criticism of WADA. In both articles criticizing WADA, DW refers to the statement of USADA's head T. Tygart, who claimed that WADA was “*being played by Russians*” because WADA made a concession with its early reinstatement of RUSADA, when Russia could not fulfill the obligations in time. Article 8 also displayed criticism of WADA from the head of the German Olympic Sports Confederation, A. Hörmann, and the Guardian's sports journalist, M. Hyde, who said that WADA's third President Craig Reedie was left “*looking the fool*” by Russians. DW agreed the criticism and joined it, calling WADA's behavior “*naïve*”. In articles 8 and 15 DW said that WADA “*pardons*” (9) and “*forgives*” (15) Russia for the doping scandal and missing deadline.

This frame can also be found in articles about WADA's decision to ban Russia from major sports events, while allowing clean Russian athletes to participate under the neutral flag. DW's articles from the sample (2, 3, 12) were targeted on the criticism that WADA's decision was soft and that Russia needed to get the full ban, as WADA proposed the same solutions that had already

failed to work in the Russian case. DW displayed criticism and disenchantment in WADA's decision by WADA's outgoing vice president L. Helleland by an American athlete E. Moyes (article 2) and a German fencer M. Hartung (article 3). In article 12 DW analysed the Russian ban, calling it insufficient and saying that Russian political leaders knew, how to use their athletes' success to their advantages.

Thus, DW showed that WADA's decision was more "*pro-Russian*" and could have been much stricter. In two articles dedicated to the new head of WADA, Witold Banka, DW raised the question, how he would solve this problem. All in all, DW was concentrated more on criticism and accusation in half-measures of the current management of WADA, specifically Craig Reedie, who appeared to be among those *responsible* for the problem. In such a way, the probable solution that DW saw for the situation was simply to change WADA's management. Generally, DW was pressing just one position, almost ignoring the other views in their articles.

6.4.2 DW's rhetoric about politicizing Russian doping problem in 2019

Within the topic of Russian doping problems in 2019, DW focused a lot on politicizing the conflict and showing the impact of the conflict on the image of Russia and its politics. During the analysis this could not be shaped as a frame. However, it was so frequently noticed when analyzing the articles that it was decided to give this rhetoric a special place in the work.

DW made a strong emphasis on the politization of the doping problem, specially from Russian side. The broadcaster was not only focusing on the negative involvement of Russian politics in the doping scandal but also underlined the impact made by the doping scandal to Russia's political image.

There were a number of articles, where sports and antidoping authorities of Russia were put in line with the country's political issues:

- Thus, in article 1 from the sample, DW provided information that Russia was going to appeal WADA's four-year ban, including comments of anti-doping official A. Ivlev, who said that RUSADA most likely was going to appeal the decision and of the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, who criticized the decision of WADA. This case showed that while covering the ban, DW shows that the issue made an impact on both sports and political life in Russia at the highest levels, when individual Russian athletes were still allowed to compete;
- Article 2 was also dedicated to the four-year ban. In the end of the text, DW illustrated the position of Y. Ganus (the head of RUSADA), saying he was "pointing the finger" at Russian political authorities who were in charge of Moscow

antidoping laboratory and mentioning that “cynics” may see his comments as an effort to put exonerate Russian sports authorities from responsibility for the decision of WADA. Such remarks of DW also pointed out that the Russian doping issue was interpreted as overtly political and deeply involved Russian politics;

- The Russian doping scandal was also mentioned in a fully political article called “Poland versus Putin: Dispute over history” (article 10). Obviously, this article was not about sports or doping, however, it mentioned that President Putin wanted to divert attention from a number of things, including the doping scandal. DW put an accent on the involvement of high officials of Russia in the scandal and made a special mention of Russian doping problems, when speaking of Putin’s image;
- Another article (11) about politics and specifically, about political leaders’ meeting and the Ukrainian conflict was supplemented by mentioning of the doping problem. After quoting high officials about European sanctions towards Russia for political reasons, DW mentions the four-year ban of Russia by WADA. Again, this is an example of Russian doping problems affecting the country’s political image;
- Article 14 is dedicated to the case where 234 people were arrested as a result of a seizure of tons of steroids. WADA is described among the main actors to provide evidences regarding the case. Despite the fact that this steroid case had nothing common with the Russian doping scandal or political issues, DW, along with description of the actions and comments of officials, in the same sentence mentions charges against Russian military intelligence and accusations against the “International Biathlon Federation” in covering up Russian doping (although probably it was meant to be the International Biathlon Union (IBU)) This article showed the willingness of DW to associate Russian politics and Russian doping cases.

There were also a few articles where DW interviewed representatives of antidoping authorities (5, 6), paying attention to the Russian doping and the political influences on it. In article 6, DW presents extracts from an interview with the deputy head of RUSADA, Margarita Pakhnotskaya. The interviewer tried to underline political involvement in the doping problems of Russia, specifically noticing that the Russian Minister of Sports “*bears political responsibility*” for the doping issues in the country. The article also emphasized that the President could not guarantee changes in the Russian doping case, again emphasizing the direct influence of Russian politics on the situation. Such remarks were probably aimed at provoking the interviewee to make some politically related comments, however it was not successful, according to Pakhnotskaya’s

answers. Another example of such attempt was found in article 6, when DW was interviewing future (at that moment) President of WADA, Witold Banka, asking him about the Russian doping problem and how he was going to act towards Russia as he was a Pole (referring political and historical rivalry of Russia and Poland). Banka considered the issue as a doping and sports problem, not political one.

Thus, DW made a strong emphasis on the politization of the Russian doping problem. Together with this, there was more focus on the impact of the doping problem on the political image, rather than vice-versa.

6.5 Comparative analysis of qualitative frames

After considering and analyzing all the four parts of the sample, the results were compared. The comparative analysis consisted of two parts: qualitative content analysis of the detected frames from the four samples and differences in rhetoric and public diplomacy of the chosen media sources when covering the Russian doping problems in 2019; and discussing the results and the interpretation of the automated text analysis (LDA topic modeling). According to the analysis, described above from four samples eight frames could be distinguished. These frames are summarized in the table below:

Table 2. Media frames, used in covering Russian doping problems in 2019

RT	BBCWN	CNN	DW
Grigory Rodchenkov as a Russophobe and the main responsible person for Russian doping problems	The actions of WADA are mostly correct even though it has to work under big pressure	WADA is unable to solve the doping scandal with Russia	Current WADA's management helps Russian side, despite world sports community disenchantment in WADA's decisions on the Russian doping issue
Doping situation as a "Western" political instrument against Russia	Russian sports environment keeps acting wrong despite willingness of WADA to cooperate		

International sports and antidoping institutions' decisions are wrong because they also affect clean athletes			
Russian doping case is not the most critical doping case			

Obviously, the biggest sample was RT, which consisted of 64 articles. RT has the biggest number of frames – four major frames. The BBCWN sample, despite having twice less articles on the topic, provided two frames. As for the CNN and DW samples there was only one frame from each source detected. Thus, during the analysis, samples of BBCWN, CNN and DW are mostly compared with RT sample, as the biggest and most diverse differences between these three samples are not ignored.

RT in its frames tries to draw attention from the responsible and punished officials. The main victims in RT's frames are Russian clean athletes and the Russian sports community. RT does not search the root of the problem on the Russian side, they keep looking abroad, describing the whole situation as bullying of Russian athletes and seeing political reasons for the scandal. The actors in RT's frames are G. Rodchenkov, "the West", WADA and IOC – the first two, according to RT, are aimed at attacking Russia and its athletes and WADA, along with the IOC, are judges that are acting strictly and are influenced by the "West". The main individual anti-hero is the former head of the Moscow antidoping laboratory, G. Rodchenkov. RT tries to convince the audience that his comments are Russophobic sentiments and in hindering Russia on its way to reinstatement. Together with this, RT emphasizes that Russia is not alone with its problems – pointing at others doping problems and comparing them to the Russian one. Thus, RT is not concentrated on just one actor: it is trying to show that the scandal is not just between Russia and WADA and that doping is not the core of the problem in this case, leading its audience to conclusions that third parties are active, acting against Russian interests.

While RT discusses several actors, BBCWN frames concentrated on the two main actors: WADA and Russia. Obviously, there are third parties as well, not as actors but as observers or critics. When covering the problem, BBCWN tended to describe the work of WADA on the problem, paying attention to critical views and accompanying smaller scandals that may have

affected WADA’s work on the issue. Describing Russian efforts, BBCWN concentrated mostly on their negative actions, as “*manipulating data*”, “*missing deadlines*” or “*providing inconsistent data*”. Compared to BBCWN, RT either softened negative actions of Russia (e.g. calling Russian data manipulation “*alleged manipulations*”) or ignoring it.

The frames of CNN and DW were similar. Both frames concentrated on WADA’s actions towards Russia, which were treated by both broadcasters as unsuccessful. Moreover, , both sources emphasized the politization of the doping scandal (as did RT, which focused a lot on political influence). DW makes a strong accent on the involvement Russian politicians in the case, while CNN shows that the Russians saw the conflict as politicized and “*anti-Russian hysteria*”. RT, while emphasizing political influences, exaggerated “Western” interference rather than the influence of Russian politics. Both CNN and DW criticized WADA but, unlike CNN, which appealed to criticism of the whole organization’s system, DW focused on reprimands towards Craig Reddie’s leadership, seeing hope with the entry of new WADA officials led by Witold Banka.

6.6 Comparison of RT’s, BBCWN’s, CNN’s and DW’s frame types

During the analysis, the types of media frames were determined by using the classification, developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The types of their frames and the samples in which they occurred are presented in the table below:

Table 3. Types of media frames, used in covering Russian doping problems in 2019

RT	BBCWN	CNN	DW
Responsibility/morality frame	Conflict frame	Responsibility frame	Responsibility frame
Conflict frame	Conflict frame		
Human interest frame			
Responsibility/morality frame			

Using the table above, we can compare which types of frames were used by the broadcasters. According to the table, BBCWN concentrated on the conflict type of frame, which aimed at illustrating relations between the sides. Indeed, the broadcaster demonstrated opinions of a range of the actors involved in the problem that it interviewed, viz., officials of antidoping and sports related institutions, athletes, politicians etc. including Russian, international sports and antidoping institutions’ officials and critics. Together with this, as it was mentioned during the

analysis of BBCWN second frame, the broadcaster focused more on the negative events that happened with Russian side. However, both frames were not aimed at searching solutions or blaming those responsible for the situation (as frames of CNN or DW). Most criticism found in BBCWN's articles referred to other opinions.

Unlike BBCWN, whose frames were concentrated on covering the conflict, RT approached interpretation of Russian doping problems in 2019 from a different perspective. RT's frames were not only concentrated on describing the topic or opinions, but at the same time they were making an effort to bring the audience's attention to things related to the scandal without emphasizing the most reprehensible part of the problem – that Russian doping was state-covered. They tried to find other guilty parties by evaluating doping in other countries, addressing stories and opinions of Russian clean athletes, refuting any critical comments towards Russia. RT mixed responsibility and morality frames by trying to place blame on the problem and finding solutions for it outside Russia.

The types of frames of CNN and DW were quite similar. Each sample included only one frame and both frames were responsibility type of frames. The examples from the CNN and DW samples, which formed frames were full of criticism of WADA. Within the frames, DW and CNN were less concerned with the conflict itself rather than criticism of its actors.

6.7 Frames of RT, BBCWN, CNN and DW in relation to the countries' public diplomacy

In this part of the analysis public diplomacy features of the broadcasters are described. Here, the known characteristics of the media sources' public diplomacy are matched with its features found during the qualitative content analysis of the sample.

RT matched its known features of public diplomacy most accurately. In Chapter II, it was noted that RT focused on criticizing the third parties and specially the "West". For example, RT implementing a conflict frame "Doping situation as a "Western" political instrument against Russia", highlighting that the scandal was a part of "*anti-Russian hysteria*" and aimed at damaging the general reputation of Russia. RT also criticized the "West" for political interference (according to RT's conflict vision) in sports' problems. Apart from already described features, within the covering of the issue, RT positioned Russia and Russian athletes as victims, who are punished several times for the same violation. RT did not focus on creating a good image of Russia in this story – they estimated and criticized openness and transparency of other sides, along with trying to point at their negative features. RT's sample matches the described features of their public diplomacy, and it also included issue-specific rhetoric to develop their position on the problem.

According to BBCWN's public diplomacy features, the broadcaster aimed at promoting the country's values and advantages (in this case the UK). However, within the covered topic, it was difficult to promote the values of UK. Together with this, BBCWN's sample is three times bigger than the one of CNN and two times bigger than DW's. In such a way, the British broadcaster was more interested in covering its topic for the foreign public it reaches. Trying to understand BBCWN's coverage in terms of public diplomacy by taking into account the broadcaster's frames about work of WADA on the problem, they aimed at evaluating the criticism towards Craig Reedie, the third President of WADA and a member of IOC, who is British and, as a high official in the International sports community, represented the UK as well. The BBCWN did not refuse to criticize Reedie and WADA, however, in comparison to the other samples (especially CNN's and DW's), BBCWN did not emphasize harsh criticism of the organization and its management in 2019. Public diplomacy regarding this issue was aimed at protecting the reputation of important British official in international sports affairs. Nevertheless, such a conclusion requires much more information to be analyzed. Therefore, the conclusion for BBCWN public diplomacy within the issue is that it does not match the features described in Chapter II.

As for CNN and DW, the samples were too small to make conclusions about the public diplomacy agendas of the broadcasters and their retrospective countries. However, some key moments of the issue's coverage should be mentioned on the basis of the public diplomacy features, described in Chapter II. Regarding its description of covering other countries' issues, CNN reflected a pro-war frame in-line with U.S. policy" (Guzman, 2015, p. 4). It is difficult to make parallels here with sports coverage, however CNN articles reflected the mood of USADA head T.Tygart and frequently quoted his statements. In such a way, criticism of WADA in some CNN articles was connected with Tygart's statements. By covering the topic in this way CNN acted in-line with USADA's position and, therefore, partly matched the public diplomacy pattern with the caveat there are still not enough examples to make an informed conclusion about CNN's public diplomacy with this topic.

The DW case is similar to CNN's because of the number of items in the sample. However, according to the DW Act, the broadcaster's object is to "convey a comprehensive image of Germany's political, cultural and economic affairs and to outline and explain German views on important issues" (Deutsche Welle, 2000, p. 10). In such a way, the DW sample might be interpreted as providing the German view on Russian doping problems in 2019. However, it is still a small sample to make image of DW's public diplomacy features on this basis.

6.8 Results and discussion of the automated text analysis (LDA Topic Modeling)

As the current study is of interdisciplinary nature, which combines quantitative and qualitative methods, in this section the results of the automated text analysis to the same sample of the articles are presented. This kind of analysis was made to seek some possible features that could be missed during the qualitative content analysis, to reduce researcher's bias, and to compare the results of the automated text analysis and qualitative manual analysis.

Topic modeling adds formality when examining an issue, as it is usually conducted via algorithms. It has been used for understanding scientific ideas (Hall et al, 2008) and for discovering political perspectives (Paul and Girju, 2010). Topic modeling, conducted with use of Latent Dirichlet Allocation algorithm, can be useful for sorting word groups that are frequently used together in texts. The words that are the highest frequency in a topic may display what a topic is about (Hu et al. 2013). In this study an interesting innovation was to run an LDA model on the sample, united by one topic, and then try to interpret the results, therefore focusing not on the content of the topic, as it is predetermined (Russian doping scandal 2019), but on how it was framed.

6.9 Words' frequency and Word clouds

Topics were formed from the most frequent words put together by the algorithm which relied on the most frequently used words. To show the most frequently used words word clouds were prepared for each sample and are presented below.

The word frequency was executed without any manipulations (e.g. cleaning the “inapplicable” words or stemmitization) for each sample. Generally, cores of all presented word clouds were quite similar and no reasonable diversity between the most frequently used words was discerned. In all samples WADA was an actor as important as Russia.

As a next step of the analysis, the texts were prepared for LDA to “clean” the data. This included removing certain punctuation marks, numbers, white spaces, English stopwords, customized words and stemmitizing, which further allows analysis of a more sophisticated layer of the samples. The customized words that removed from each sample were pretty similar to each other: "russian", "wada", "sport", "athlete", "russia", "dope", "antidop", "olymp", "will", "world", "agenc", "intern", "said", "data", "nation", "moscow", "rusada", "country", "year", "event", "take", "call", "part", "also", "include", "even", "one", "report", "team", "allow", "can", "say", "next", "hand", "time", "told", "without", "now", "four", "told", "office", "monday", "howev", "decemb", "work", "two" .

6.10 Results of applying the LDA topic modelling to the sample

Below four tables with results of LDA topic modelling for each sample are presented, after they were “cleaned” of frequent neutral words, frequent actors and auxiliary words that might be selected to each topic. In other words, cleaned of the most frequent elements that appear on the word clouds presented above. The words were stemmitized, so examples with similar semantics are not repeated (for example Russian, Russia, Russians, Russia’s). In such a way, any diversity of topics can be observed. The algorithm was launched several times to find topics with words that could be connected semantically within the issue, as it included elements of random.

This section of work is more targeted on researching how the topics match the major frames that were found during the qualitative content analysis and if there were similarities between the topics and rhetoric of the broadcasters recognized during the analysis of frames. It is important to mention that each article contains all topics detected by the algorithm, however, each of them has a main topic, that is one topic in each article that was more frequent than others.

Table 4. RT topics

Topic 1	Topic 2	Topic 3	Topic 4	Topic 5
noncompli	scandal	ban	ban	rule
data	alleg	champion	decis	execut
rusada	accus	medal	event	decis
committee	violat	clear	sanction	mani
execut	court	lasitsken	major	test
reinstat	rodchenkov	status	neutral	power

The biggest sample, RT, included five topics. These are presented in Table 4. The connection of some of the topics with frames, found during the qualitative content analysis, is obvious. For example, the first and the third RT frames are definitely reflected in the topics two and three accordingly – both topics contained key actors of the frames: the anti-hero Rodchenkov in the second topic and the Russian athlete Lasitskene, who was dissatisfied with the way clean Russian athletes were treated, in the third. It is very hard to find the matching topic of the first and the fourth frames as topics number 1, 4 and 5 showed only general information. Nevertheless, there were no dissimilarities between frames and topics. The other two frames did not contradict the topics; however, these frames did not necessarily clearly reflect the topics.

According to the results, provided by the algorithm, RT topics did not reflect much of the political influence on the problem. Apart from Rodchenkov and Lasitskene it showed only one actor, RUSADA, directly connected with the doping problems of Russia (WADA and Russia were excluded from the code). As it was mentioned above, RT tended to include a third party when describing the conflict of responsibilities – and this is the qualitative content analysis did not match the topic modelling.

Table 5. BBCWN topics

Topic 1	Topic 2	Topic 3	Topic 4	Topic 5
ban	countri	compli	follow	statesponsor
compet	face	noncompli	execut	access
flag	presid	decis	organi	compet
rule	include	case	investig	deadlin
game	iaaf	miss	reinstat	bodi
clean	agenc	found	scott	mclaren

BBCWN, the sample of which is twice smaller than one of RT, also has five topics. These are presented in Table 5. Both frames from the BBCWN sample, are dedicated to work of WADA and Russia’s wrong actions, echoing with the topics: e.g. WADA’s actions in the topic 4 and the actions of Russia in the topic 3. Overall the BBCWN topics seem quite neutral with the exception of topic 5. During the qualitative content analysis the researcher noticed that BBCWN tended to wander from politics when covering the topic. However, when speaking about the scandal in general, BBCWN very frequently described it as “*state-sponsored*”. This fact does not make coverage of the problem by the broadcaster politicized but shows that the BBCWN does not ignore any political interference from Russian actors. CNN and DW also used this description and RT was the only broadcaster that avoided it.

Table 6. CNN topics

Topic 1	Topic 2	Topic 3
decis	punish	major
noncompli	neutral	putin
presid	sanction	nation
scandal	appeal	way
inconsist	clean	statesponsor
research	mclaren	power

For the smallest sample of CNN algorithm defined three topics, which are presented in Table 6. The topics here also do not contradict the frame. The first topic matches best for the defined CNN frame. Referring to the politization of the conflict that CNN tends to illustrate in its articles there is a reminder of it from the third topic – the words “putin” (Vladimir Putin) and “statesponsor” definitely point to a political-oriented tendency. The word “nation” may also be added to this group. The topic modelling for this smallest sample did not show any mismatches with the qualitative content analysis.

Table 7. DW topics

Topic 1	Topic 2	Topic 3	Topic 4
ban	manipul	putin	investig
major	rule	poland	cooper
statesponsor	ban	follow	head
reedi	organ	polish	use
lab	ioc	sanction	oper
case	recommend	germani	clean

The algorithm detected four topics for DW sample. These are presented in Table 7. According to the qualitative content analysis there is just one frame, which cannot be fully matched with these four topics. Nothing here anything detects any disenchantment by the world sports community, however actions as “investing”, “cooper”, “oper” in the fourth topic, may describe WADA’s efforts to help Russia. An important actor – “reedi” (Craig Reddie) is evidenced. Reddie, was criticized by the German broadcaster for making decisions, which did not satisfy anyone. Topic 3 also has two words, pointing at other countries – “poland”, “polish”, “germani”. In such a way, only three other words definitely referred to the issue of Russian doping: “putin”, “follow” and “sanction”. The first one “putin” was more connected to the political theme. During the qualitative content analysis, it was noticed that DW included the topic of Russian doping in non-related articles: for example, in political articles and articles about the new head of WADA, Witold Banka. This topic stands out among other DW topics and this may show that a part of DW articles in 2019, where Russian doping problems were mentioned, indeed belongs to other issues.

During the qualitative content analysis, it was found that the doping problems of Russia were mentioned in political articles. In the topic modelling analysis this was found in the third topic, where the majority of the words do not refer to WADA’s decisions or to the doping scandal. Instead the political pattern in this topic looks more convincing than a sports or antidoping pattern.

Comparing all four sets of topics the following conclusions can be made:

- all sets of topics correspond to their samples’ frames;
- RT is the only broadcaster that has a mismatch between topics and the results of qualitative content analysis;
- BBCWN’s, CNN’s and DW’s topics have more in common with each other than RT’s:

- There is more politization of the issue in DW's and CNN's topics;
- BBCWN and CNN mention R. McLaren as an actor as the core person into the investigation of the Russian doping scandal;
- BBCWN, CNN and DW describe the doping problem as "state-sponsored";
- DW is the only broadcaster to have a fully political topic (3);
- CNN's topic set is the only one without the word "ban", which may mean that the broadcaster did not focus much on the most important event within the issue in 2019, that is, the four-year ban of Russia from major sports events.

Summarizing this part of the analysis, topic modelling mostly reflected the findings of qualitative content analysis. However, two frames of RT did not get significant reassurance from the topic modelling results and there was a slight mismatch between the topic modelling analysis and the qualitative content analysis. Unlike RT's sample, the other broadcasters' frames concurred with topics more closely.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

The analysis of the material, which consisted of four samples, collected from broadcasters' websites, allowed an examination frames, used by the media sources, and accents that were made by them when covering doping problems of Russia in 2019. The frames' types accorded with the frames classification of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). This chapter discusses the research questions and the results of qualitative content analysis and automated text analysis, to provides answers to the questions of this thesis. The main research questions were the following:

- What are the media frames that can be found in Russian, British, American and German media in regards to the Russian doping scandal in 2019?
- What are the differences and similarities that can be found between the analyzed media frames?

Sub-questions:

- Which categories in the frame classification of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) match the detected frames?

- How topic modelling analysis reflects the manually obtained results of the qualitative content analysis?

In total, after performing qualitative content analysis 8 frames were found from four samples: four RT frames, two BBCWN frames, one CNN frame and one DW frame. Their types were defined according to the classification of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and are presented in Table 8 below.

Table 8. Examined frames and their classification

Broadcaster	Name of frame	Type of frame
RT	Grigory Rodchenkov as a Russophobe and the main responsible person for Russian doping problems	Responsibility/morality frame
	Doping situation as a “Western” political instrument against Russia	Conflict frame
	International sports and antidoping institutions’ decisions are wrong because they also affect clean athletes	Human interest frame
	Russian doping case is not the most critical doping case	Responsibility/morality frame
BBCWN	The actions of WADA are mostly correct even though it has to work under big pressure	Conflict frame
	Russian sports environment keeps acting wrong despite willingness of WADA to cooperate	Conflict frame
CNN	WADA is unable to solve the doping scandal with Russia	Responsibility frame

DW	Current WADA's management helps Russian side, despite world sports community disenchantment in WADA's decisions on the Russian doping issue	Responsibility frame
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In comparing the detected frames, DW and CNN had some similarities, unlike RT and BBCWN. Russian media sources tended to protect Russia and positioned the country as a victim, by trying to find other responsible actors for the doping problems that Russia experienced, simultaneously putting an accent on morality when it came to clean Russian athletes, who were suffering from the decisions applied against Russia. RT's frames also showed that it is not only Russia that had problems with doping by trying to draw attention to athletes and officials from other countries. RT did not stick to only one frame type. It used diverse types of frames and even mixed them. The rest of the broadcasters' approached the actions of Russia regarding the doping problems in 2019 in a much more critical way than RT and used different words to define the situation. The topic modelling analysis detected that RT is the only source, which did not call the general doping scandal "state-sponsored", in the sense of doping was a state-supported action. RT did not focus on criticism of WADA and its actions but was still not like BBCWN, which tended to show WADA's actions and decisions in a more positive way than the rest of analyzed media sources. The British source covered all sides of the conflict and showed its audience different points of view. Both BBCWN frames were conflict frames, aimed at simple coverage of the conflict. As for CNN and DW, their samples had one frame each and both of the sources criticized WADA's decisions, through illustrating opinions of athletes, officials or journalists. Russian actors were criticized a lot, especially by German broadcaster. Both, CNN and DW mentioned the conflict in non-related articles and tend to show the political influence on the conflict (like RT).

None of the samples contradicted the public diplomacy features that were described in the Chapter II in the academic works reviewed. The RT sample matched the characteristic of Russian public diplomacy the most. The broadcaster concentrated much less on improving the image of Russia, Russian sports or athletes and focused more on a description of other actors that affected or criticized Russia in this issue. RT tried to show that all the criticism and accusations are wrong or partly wrong. The media source also accented that other countries have doping problems as well and the Russian case was not the worst. A lot of RT articles emphasized the role of the "West" in the scandal, putting Russia in the position of a victim. As for the rest of the broadcasters, they

generally matched the public diplomacy characteristics found in the literature, but due to the small sizes of the sample and the limited issue under investigations, broad generalizations cannot be made.

The last part of the analysis, topic modelling, overall reinforced the results of the qualitative content analysis. The analysis showed combinations of words, generated by the LDA algorithm and gathered within topics for each sample. The topics reflected part of the qualitative content analysis results. However, in RT's case it did not show an important feature, viz. third parties that RT actively included in their articles. Nevertheless, there were no conflicts between automated and manual analysis.

Summing up, the analysis uncovered a number of differences between the broadcasters' frames and coverage of the Russian doping problems of 2019. The timeline and the samples in this work were not big, however, this study may help further research. For example, the frames of 2019 found from the four media sources from different countries might be compared with other sources' frames on this issue or there might be comparison of frames in different timelines. The conflict to which this work is dedicated already has lasted for more than five years and it is still an issue for Russia and the international sports community, as to when the country will be able to participate with its flag and anthem. Obviously, Russian sports has to mend its way and do its best to return its reputation and the right to compete under the same conditions with athletes from other countries.

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