FRAMING THE RUSSIAN ATHLETE

M.S.L. BOPPERT (S2546779)
MASTER THESIS JOURNALISM STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN
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SUPERVISOR: DR. A. HEINRICH
SECOND READER: DR. F. HARBERS
for Shayera
Abstract

Responding to accusations of a Cold War bias in the New York Times (NYT) coverage of the 2014 Sochi Olympics, this thesis carries out a comparative quantitative content analysis investigating who and what the NYT considered newsworthy and how much coverage it was willing to give to Soviet/Russian and US athletes during the 1984 Sarajevo Olympics as compared to today i.e. 2014. On the basis of these findings, four selected articles are extracted from the sample for critical discourse analysis (CDA). Building on the theories of social constructivism, framing, ideology and discourse, as well as on Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition of the media event, this thesis analyzes the figure of the Russian Olympian as a condensed and constructed image of the nation he or she is representing in the eyes of a global audience.

This thesis finds, that in 1984 the NYT overemphasizes the achievements of US athletes while ignoring the successes and individual names of Soviet athletes. In 2014, figures are more balanced. However, Russian quotes remain remarkably absent and US nationalism continues to be at a high level. Findings provided by CDA demonstrate that the times of ideologically motivated suspicions and hasty condemnations along political lines are over. At the same time, this thesis finds that in 2014, a NYT reporter revived a classical Cold War myth to frame her article covering an ice hockey match between Russia and the US. This thesis argues that myths' capability for building up tension in the sports pages is counterproductive for the overcoming of prejudice. By questioning the established images and representations of Russians in US media, this thesis enables sports journalists to critically reflect on their work and their role in the construction of a stereotyped image of Russia in the realm of sports and beyond.

Key terms

Framing, Olympic Games, Cold War, Sochi, Sarajevo, Russian athlete, content analysis, discourse, ideology.
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"Sport and politics don't just mix, they're married with children."
David Rowe (August 26, 2013)

"Should we turn the expression around then, and say that politics is war pursued by other means?"
Michel Foucault (1976, p. 93)

INTRODUCTION

2014 was "a momentous year" for the bilateral relationship between the United States and Russia (Kurilla and Koshkin, December 23, 2014). Differences over arms control, the civil war in Syria, Russia's domestic crackdown on dissent and the asylum for former NSA contractor Edward Snowden weighed heavily upon the relations between Moscow and Washington (Baker, February 21, 2014). Russia's and the US' contrasting views on the revolution in Ukraine, the Russian acquisition of Crimea and Russia's backing of a separatist rebellion in Eastern Ukraine "plunged relations between the United States and Russia to the their lowest point since the end of the Cold War" (Oliphant, July 15, 2015).

Set against this backdrop Russia prepared for the Sochi Olympic Winter Games, its first hosting of the Olympics since the end of the Cold War. In the lead-up of the Games several negative issues made it into the headlines of the international press. Apart from the usual fears that construction would not finish in time, there were the issues of corruption, the exorbitant costs of the event, and the resettlement of residents to make place for the Olympic Park. The harshest international criticism, however, raised Russia's law banning "gay propaganda", passed in 2013 (Müller, 2014, pp. 154-155). In response numerous heads of state decided not to attend the Olympics, among them the presidents of France, Germany and the United States, François Hollande, Joachim Gauck and Barack Obama. For the same reason British Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel also chose to stay away (Bondy, February 7, 2014). Russian president Vladimir Putin responded by accusing the West of unfair criticism that he saw as a product of a Western "Cold War" mentality (Mackinnon, February 11, 2014).
At this time, the Western media faced the reproach of bias from many sides. Stephen F. Cohen (February 11, 2014), media critic and professor emeritus of Russian studies and politics spoke of a "degradation of mainstream American press coverage of Russia." Particularly "about the Sochi Olympics, Ukraine and, unfailingly, President Vladimir Putin", Cohen noticed a "tsunami of shamefully unprofessional and politically inflammatory articles in leading newspapers and magazines" including the "venerable New York Times and the Washington Post" (ibid). According to him, American media on Russia today were "less objective, less balanced, more conformist and scarcely less ideological than when they covered Soviet Russia during the Cold War" (ibid.). In an opinion piece titled *The real political takeaway from the Olympics: The west needs to get over the cold war* published in the Guardian, Anton Fedyashin (February 14, 2014) takes a similar stance. The way the West depicted Russia and its hosting of the Olympic Games, he argues, "showed how the mainstream western media and many western leaders are stuck in the past" (ibid.). In addition to that, the online news site rt.com, formerly Russia Today, published an article titled *In US, headlines write themselves: Cold War imagery resurrected in Sochi bashing* (Anonymous, February 13, 2014). "The campaign to boycott the Sochi Olympic Games in the Western media", the article says, "appears to be thriving on almost the same imagery that was used three decades ago, at the peak of the Cold War, to project fear of the USSR ahead of the 1980 Moscow Olympics" (ibid.). Others who also see a historical parallel in how the US media covered and continues to cover Russia include *Elite Daily* reporter Aaron Kaufman (February 6, 2014) and Stephen Lendman (February 9, 2014) from the Canadian *Centre for Research and Globalization*.

This thesis uses the above mentioned criticism as a starting point to investigate whether or not the claim of a continuing Cold War narrative in the US media's Russia coverage is justified and whether the images used during the Sochi Olympics do indeed match with the ones from the height of the Cold War. The Olympic Games foster competition between countries. The modern Olympic Games, inspired by ideas of international pacifism, serve as a symbolic playing field, designed as a surrogate for political and
military battles between the nations (Brown, 2005, p. 23). This highly competitive and symbolic setting is particularly suitable for monitoring the way the US media's reporting on Russia has changed with the end of the Cold War. The Olympics are essentially a competition of nations represented by individual athletes. The figure of the Olympic athlete provides therefore a condensed image of the nation he or she is representing to the global audience.

With regard to content analysis (CA), this thesis' first research hypothesis (RH 1) is that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent geopolitical changes affected the NYT's framing of Russian athletes. However, with regard to critical discourse analysis (CDA), this thesis' second research hypothesis (RH 2) is that when it comes to representing the Soviet/Russian athlete in language, the researcher expects the NYT to fall back into old patterns and to continue to use the same imagery to represent "the Russians" as during the Cold War. This second hypothesis is based on findings concerning the persistence of stereotyped images in the domain of culture (Allan, 1999; Farrington et al., 2012). In order to investigate how the US media constructs the image of "the Russian", this thesis uses different theories on the working of the media, including; framing, ideology and discourse.

The way the media work and the fact that the news are the product of people making decisions about who is covered and in what way, shows that the media is subjective. Instead of seeing the whole picture, readers, viewers and listeners are only shown a fraction of it. Hence, this fraction that media consumers get to see is the product of journalists' and editor's choices of what to: include, exclude, emphasize or downplay and what connections to make. Newspapers use simple narratives (frames) to help their reader to process the information. This process by which the media place reality into a frame is known as 'framing' (Watson and Hill, 2006, p. 105). Whether we learn about a person, an issue or event from the media is therefore dependent on whether it fits into the frame. What is on the page of a newspaper is accordingly 'in the frame', while everything that is not, is 'out of the frame' and thereby off the public agenda (ibid.). Framing can therefore be seen as the media's practice to frame and package the news in
a particular way so that their audience can relate to it. The result are stereotyped images.

Stereotyped images are no isolated phenomenon but must be conceived as "product of institutional racism inherent in Western society that at times erupts in open, overt hostile racism" (Farrington, 2012, p. 29). With respect to sports, in particular the Olympics, sportive stereotypic images are often used by journalists seeking to explain why a particular athlete has succeeded or failed by usually retreating to old patterns of explanation that stem from outdated hegemonic and racial ideologies (Farrington et al., 2012, pp. 24-25). Racially biased images of athletic aptitude must be seen as part of a larger category of stereotypes that constitute myths of national character and efficiency (Hoberman, 1997, p. 115). Questioning the established images and representations of Russians in US media and making the implicit explicit, is an important first step to enable journalists to critically reflect on their work and their role in the construction of a stereotyped image of Russia in the realm of sports and beyond.

Established newspapers or media organizations with a high distribution have a major influence on their audiences as well as on other media outlets. This power to set the outline for the public and other media organizations is known as 'agenda-setting'. It refers to the media's influence upon the criteria, which in the public domain, determines what is:- important; not important; normal; deviant; consensus and; significant and therefore newsworthy (Watson and Hill, 2006, p. 89). The NYT is selected for analysis in this study because it meets all the specified criteria that allow for the best possible level of representativeness within the US media landscape. The design of this thesis' CA allows the researcher to establish which Olympic athletes, sports and news items made it 'into the frame' of the NYT on the height of the Cold War as compared to today i.e. the 2014 Sochi Olympics.

The 2014 Sochi Olympics and the 1984 Sarajevo Olympics serve this thesis as case studies for a comparative CA. Against this background, the following research questions are raised:
• **RQ 1:** How often did the *NYT* (1) mention, (2) feature or (3) quote Soviet/Russian athletes as compared to American athletes in the Olympics, and was there a difference in the frequency during and after the Cold War?

• **RQ 2:** Were the Soviet/Russian and American athletes mentioned by name or did the *NYT* identify them by nationality or ideology?

• **RQ 3:** Did the number of mentions reflect the Soviet/Russian and American athletes' actual successes during the Olympics?

Knowing the amount of mentions and coverage Soviet/Russian athletes received and continue to receive as compared to the US counterparts is important because it shows who and what the *NYT* considered newsworthy and how much coverage it was willing to give to Soviet/Russian and American athletes in 1984 and 2014, respectively. This allows insights on where the United States ranks Russia in the global world order of today as compared to the Cold War era. The way Russian athletes are framed in the media, whether they are depicted as people with individual character, interests and emotions or whether they are portrayed as a faceless mass is highly significant, because the news media plays "a key role in the construction of our pictures of reality" (McCombs and Shaw cited in McCombs and Reynolds, 2009, p. 2). When identifying which objects made it 'into the frame' of the *NYT*, the method of CA is applied. In order to study the attributes describing these objects – the collection of images forming the basis the object of the Russian athlete is constructed on – the method of CDA is used in this study.

CDA allows for an in-depth analysis of the ways in which the *NYT* conveyed information on the Russian athlete represented in linguistic patterns, lexical choices, grammatical constructions and story coherence (Watson and Hill, 2006, p. 83). Since news texts work to "construct a codified definition of what should count as the reality of an event" (Allan, 1999, p. 87), these processes of codification i.e. the specific ways in which the *NYT* adopts a preferred language to represent 'the Russians' and their athletic performances, need to be opened up and examined by means of CDA. This is achieved by using four selected news accounts on figure skating and ice hockey, the two most
mentioned sports disciplines that the Russian athletes competed in. Two of the selected news accounts are extracted from the *NYT* coverage of the 1984 Olympic Games, whilst the other two news accounts are taken from the 2014 Sochi Olympics.

The framing of the Soviet/Russian athlete in the US media has previously received scholarly attention from Moretti (2004) and Calvert (2011), respectively. However, their research was restricted to the Cold War era only. Hence, this study focuses on the Olympic Winter Games in the Cold War as well as the post-Cold War era and in so doing, attempts to fill a research gap making use of historical as well as contemporary media content. It is also more comprehensive because it takes the findings provided by CA further by shedding light on the way the construct of the 'Soviet/Russian athlete' is discursively negotiated. The two Olympic events offer two snapshots of how the *NYT* framed the 'Soviet/Russian Olympian' during the height of the Cold War and thirty years later – a subject of high social, political and economic relevance and topicality, taking into consideration the historical and current differences in ideological beliefs between the two nations.

The first part of this thesis addresses the construction of Soviet/Russian stereotypes in the US media being represented by the leading well-established *NYT*. The second part is dedicated to deconstructing the stereotypical image of the 'Soviet/Russian athlete' which this thesis conceives as a product of ideological-based processes of selection and codification.

1. **THE MODERN OLYMPICS: POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN THE GLOBAL SPORTS ARENA**

This chapter provides some background information on the factors that contributed towards the formation of the modern Olympics in 1896. Describing the historical context of the formation of the Games is important, because "the phenomenon we call the Olympic Games has a long and complicated history, enmeshed in broader epochal events in global politics and global change" (Wamsley and Young, 2005, p. xxii). However, the modern Olympics were much more than merely influenced by their
context of origin. They were a product of their time, with their symbols and rituals tying on all of the dominant ideologies of the modern era (Kidd, 1989, p. 1.4 [original page number]). Looking at the Olympics' historical origins is essential because the expectations and justifications for the modern Olympics made at the end of the nineteenth century continue to provide the dominant ideological underpinnings of the Games today (Brown, 2005, p. 19). Studying the modern Olympics without taking the historical context of their formation into account would mean to disregard the multidimensional nature of the Olympic Games as an object of research.

1.1 The modern Olympics as a child of its time

Pierre de Coubertin is the name of the man commonly associated with reviving the Olympic idea of a sports competition on an international level. In the 1870s France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War resulted in demands for radical social reforms in military training and the education system. Intellectuals, politicians, and liberal members of the upper class envisioned France's Third Republic to be made up of individuals living "independent, self-sufficient, economically productive, and morally upstanding lives" (Brown, 2005, p. 22). This social ideal was sought to be achieved by means of the individual's dedication to discipline his body and mind. This ideal formed the core basis of Baron de Coubertin's arguments for reviving the Olympic Games (ibid.). Coubertin's believed that "a strong and co-operative international sporting community would contribute to a more peaceful and prosperous world order" and envisioned sports to lead to mutual understanding and thereby decrease the risk of war. (Brown, 2005, p. 23). The values of self-discipline, duty, courage and purity correspond with Coubertin's claim for social reforms and his neo-Hellenic ideals of the body (Brown, 2005, pp. 22-23). Thus, Coubertin was able to realize his vision of an international sports competition inspired by the Ancient Olympics because he successfully linked the dominant ideologies and ideas of his era (Kidd, 1989, p. 1.4 [original page number]). He founded the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894, with the first modern
Olympics being held in 1896 and the first Olympic Winter Games in 1924. While the world has changed rapidly, Coubertin's ideas continued to provide the rationale justifying staging this international Olympic sports event in the twenty-first century (IOC, September 2013, p. 10).

Although the IOC opposes, as stated in the Olympic Charter, "any political or commercial abuse of sport and athletes" and insists that "politics – domestic or international – has no place in the planning or the executing of the Olympic Games" (Olympic Charter, p. 17); the modern Olympic Games are essentially a symbolic battle field for playing out political rivalries. As Moretti (2013) assesses, "over time the IOC has been unsuccessful in preventing politics from interfering in the Olympics" (p. 6). A wide range of political and ideological issues have overshadowed and/or influenced the Olympic Games and often displayed the state of diplomatic relations between countries. The following specific Olympic events provide such cases. The Olympics of 1936 in Germany served as a tool for the Nazis to propagate their ideology of an Aryan supremacy. The 1956 Olympics in Melbourne were overshadowed by the Soviet oppression in Hungary and the Suarez Crisis, leading some nations to refrain from participating. At the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City two American athletes who publicly showed their support for the "Black Power Movement" in the United States were disqualified. The People's Republic of China ended its boycott of the Olympics and competed as Chinese Taipei for the first time in 1984 at the Sarajevo Games. Most recently in 2014, in response to Russia's law banning "gay propaganda", passed just before the Olympic Games, key Western nations' heads of state including US president Barack Obama, French president François Hollande, Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel decided not to attend the Sochi Games (Bondy, February 7, 2014). In response, Russian president Vladimir Putin accused the West of unfair criticism and "Cold War mentality" (Mackinnon, February 11, 2014).
1.2 The modern Olympics as an object of research

The writing and analysis of sports history benefitted from the changes and developments in academic scholarship brought about by the 'cultural turn', the paradigm change towards social constructivism. The Olympic Games became a research object for scholars coming from a variety of disciplines. Cultural, political and social historians, researchers from gender, postcolonial and media studies analyzed the use of language and cultural symbols around the Olympic Games in order to reveal changes with regard to the values upheld by society (Miller et al. 2001, p. 1; Suny 2002, pp. 1484-1485). John MacAloon's (1981) identification and recognition of the interlocked cultural, political and commercial interests as the basis of the formation of the Olympic Games was an important step in that direction (Tomlinson and Young, 2005, p. 3). Today, sport is widely recognized as a "major cultural influence, with an explicitly political dimension" (Tomlinson and Young, 2005, p. 2) and the ties between sports and politics in general and more specifically with regard to the Olympic Games are well-researched.

The most recent monograph on the political history of sports was written by Abrams and published in 2013. Another comprehensive work is Hoberman's *Sport and Political Ideology* (1984). Guttman published his first monograph on the nature of modern sports in 1978, followed by *Games and Empires* (1994), in which he described the links between modern sports and politics set against the backdrop of cultural imperialism. Following the same line, Miller et al. (2001) reasoned that global sport can only be studied adequately if the character of the main political and economic dimensions is recognized (Tomlinson and Young, 2005, p. 2). They discern "five simultaneous, uneven, and interconnected processes" characterizing the "present moment of sport" (Miller et al., 2001, p. 41). These processes are "globalization, governmentalization, Americanization, televisualization and commodification" and are seen as serving the interests of what Miller et al. (2001, p. 41) termed the "New International Division of Cultural Labor (NIDCL)". Thus, today the United States' leading role in the cultural imperialistic logic of sport's political economy is widely recognized (Tomlinson and Young, 2005, p. 3; Miller et al., 2001, p. 41).
The 'cultural turn' also caused a paradigm change in the research on nationalism (Gräfe, July 9, 2013). Breaking with the old essentialist conception of the nation, Anderson (1983) defined nations as "imagined communities" constructed by discourse and social practices. Building on Anderson's constructivist and performative conception of the nation, the Olympics became a popular field for analyzing nationalistic discourse. Billings and Angelini (2007, 2011) drew attention to the nationalistic bias inherent in sports telecasts of the Olympic Games. Nationalistic, racial and gender-based bias in the sports media coverage continues to be a popular field of research today as recent publications such as Fink (2015), Schmidt and Coe (2015), Angelini et al. (2014), Mishra (2014), Billings et al. (2013), Kobach and Potter (2013), among many others suggest.

The publication of Dayan and Katz's *Media Events: The Broadcasting of History* (1992) provided the field of media studies with a new impetus and approach for studying the Olympic Games. Together with Roche's (2000) category of the 'mega event', Dayan and Katz's 'media event'-category has become an inherent part in the research of the Olympic Games. Both categories will be introduced in order to show how the present study conceives and defines its research object.

Media events including the Olympic Games are defined as the "high holidays of mass communication" (Dayan and Katz, 1992, p. 1). According to Dayan and Katz (1992), a media event has the following features it:

- intervenes in the normal flow of broadcasting and peoples' lives (p. 4);
- is preplanned, announced and advertised in advance (p. 7);
- has an active period of anticipation and preparation for both media organizations and audiences (p. 7);
- has a festive element (p. 9);
- is presented with reverence (p. 7). A media event, Dayan and Katz argue, is usually organized by public bodies such as governments and the Olympic Committee which cooperate with the media (p. 6). In order to be profitable, the media organizations aim to satisfy the perceived audience needs and subsequently, turn the event into a live spectacle (Whannel, 2005, p. 162). By the time the Olympics are selected for coverage, the media has already made the decision of framing the Games as a media event. In that regard, the staging of the Games is accepted as a given and questions as to whether and why the Games should take place
are not raised. This does not mean that the media cannot be critical in some aspects such as doping, security and human rights issues. What it means is that if the Olympic Games are held, the media will cover and broadcast them.

Furthermore, the Olympics are categorized as a mega event based on Roche's (2000) study on the social history and politics of mega events. Here, mega-events are defined as "large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance" (p. 1). A key feature of a mega event is its importance on a national historical level, because it represents and continues to represent "key occasions in which national 'tradition' and 'community', including a national past, present and future (national 'progress', potential and 'destiny') could be invented" (p. 6). Mega events, in other words, have enabled and continue to enable nations (leaders and citizens) to "construct and present images of themselves for recognition in relation to other nations and 'in the eyes of the world'" (ibid.). Roche (2000) further argues that mega events reveal and "contain much about the construction of, and connections between, the cultural, the political and the economic in modern societies and in the contemporary world order" (p. xi).

2. THE MODERN OLYMPICS: A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT

Having given an outline of the historical context in which the Olympic Games were formed and on how the Games have been studied by different scholars from various disciplines, this chapter introduces the different theories this thesis makes use of. The three main theory threads that are combined in this study are; ideology, framing and discourse. As a mega event and media event, Espy (1981) and Guttman (1984) defined the Olympics as a spectacle that celebrates and reproduces dominant values and ideologies. Since, most people, as Kidd (2013) notes, "form their knowledge of sports from the mass media and not from direct experience", the institution of the mass media has to be regarded as playing an important role in the dissemination of ideologies (p. 439). The first section of this chapter (2.1) provides a definition of ideology. In this
context, the concept of ‘truth’ and journalism's claim to objectivity are addressed and challenged. Furthermore, the media's role in the maintenance of the status quo by reproducing dominant values and mediating society to itself receives attention. Additionally, sports' capacity in the making and unmaking of groups is emphasized to show how sports tie in with the ideology present in a culture at a particular time in history. Finally, and in preparation for the following section, the relative lack of newsroom diversity is pointed out and its impact on the news as a socially constructed product is discussed.

The following section (2.2) is dedicated to the second theory thread, which is framing. As established above, most people today gain their knowledge of sports from the mass media, rather than from direct experience. This means that these people experience the Olympics through the frame of the media. After outlining the concept of framing as defined by the most important researchers of the field, it is shown how framing ties in with the theory of social constructivism. Social constructivism is based on the conviction that ideologies are expressed and reproduced in language i.e. discourse. On the grounds of the theoretical framework of ideology and framing, the last section (2.3) of this chapter outlines the theory of discourse as defined by Foucault. Against this backdrop, it is explained how the theory of discourse ties in with the role of the media and the concept of power. All of this chapter's sections are equally structured i.e. each section starts off by introducing the theory in general terms, links it where applicable to the theoretical implications of the previous sections and ends by showing how it applies to the Olympic Games as the research object of this thesis.

2.1 Ideology

The Dictionary of Media Studies and Communication (2006) defines ideology as "an unconscious set of values and beliefs that provide frames for our thinking and these help us make sense of the world" (Watson and Hill, 2006, p. 129). Ideology commonly hides under such terms as 'common sense' or 'common sense view' (ibid.). It is
therefore precisely where content offers itself as commonsensical that ideology is concealed (Allan, 1999, p. 93). In line with cultural theory and historical evidence, this thesis conceives sports and more specifically the Olympic Games, as a carrier for the ideologies present in a certain society at a given time in history (Brown, 2005, p. 19).

When trying to define ideology, there is no way around the debate on the concept of truth and objectivity. The notion that journalists are dedicated to reporting the 'truth' constitutes one of the mainstays on which the definition and legitimization of traditional journalism is based on. BBC foreign correspondent Fergal Keane explained journalists' relation to the truth as follows:

_The art of the reporter should more than anything else be a celebration of the truth ... The reason millions of people watch and listen is because we place the interests of truth above anything else. That is the unalterable principle._ (Keane, cited in: Allan, 1999, p. 48)

Keane's statement represents the widely respected view that journalists are able to 'reflect' social reality and tell an issue 'as it is' (Allen, 1999, p. 48). Such a view is based on the belief in the existence of an objective truth, an assertion that this thesis rejects. Instead, this thesis holds the view that despite their claims to objectivity, news texts must be conceived as highly coded and conventional cultural artefacts (Stokes, 2008, p. 69). In fact, news texts display the assumptions journalists and editors hold about their audiences. Since the media are part of the market economy, media organizations have to be profitable. As such, news organizations are forced to create an attractive product that appeals to their desired readership. To appeal to their readers and to increase subscriber loyalty, news organizations need to 'speak the language of their readers'. In other words, journalists have to write with their audiences in mind. When targeting a specific audience, journalists make choices based on the image they have of their average readers' understanding of the world. Societies, as Van Dijk (2006) notes, possess a collective memory, a stock of cultural knowledge (images, metaphors, symbols, myths etc.) shared by all its members (p. 131). Every member of that society can accordingly relate to and understand a text that uses elements derived from that stock of common cultural knowledge. Not every single news article fully matches the
majority's view. Individual news texts may deviate or even challenge what can also be termed the 'hegemonic ideology' of a society. However, the vast majority of news texts are in line with their national audience's understanding of the world and therefore reflect the hegemonic ideology inherent in a society at a particular point of time. Specifically, NYT articles targeting well-educated US citizens are in line with the US elites' perspective and understanding of the world. Given that the NYT, as a well-established quality newspaper, functions as a role-model for other US media organizations, NYT articles can be seen as reflecting the ideologies inherent in US society at a particular time. The information a NYT article contains – what it says and what it does not, what it explains and what it takes for granted – gives insights about the US citizens' general knowledge and perception of the world. In the framework of this thesis, hegemonic ideology is hence defined as the dominant ideas, values and beliefs that US citizens hold about the world. Based on this definition, the research objective of this thesis is to zoom into the US citizens' general knowledge and perception of Russia as reflected by the NYT.

Sports, as Rowe (2009) argues, is a "contemporary medium for performing many tasks and carrying multiple messages" (p. 2). To reveal the dominant ideologies inherent in US society in 1984 as compared to 2014, these messages need to be decoded i.e. examined with regard to the underlying commonsensical and taken-for-granted assumptions on which they are based. Allan (1999) described this approach as an attempt to "unpack the naturalness of ideological codes implicated in their representations of reality" (original italics, p. 87). Sports, as this thesis argues, are carriers of ideologies and ideologies are to be conceived as 'systems of ideas' i.e. "shared representations of social groups" that organize a groups' identity, actions, aims, norms and values, and resources as well as relations to other social groups (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 115). The following paragraphs outline what is meant by this and how it applies to the current study's focus on the Olympic Games.

Physical activity has always been an important component of cultures and societies. However, the approaches to sports have been both, numerous and radically diverse.
Sports, as Rowe (2004, p. 14) and Scambler (2005, p. 76) point out, link concepts such as heroism and national greatness, militarism, as well as concerns about national health and fitness. Furthermore, sports are commonly associated with ideas about the ideal man/female (in terms of his/her body, skills and attitude) and the ideal version of society he or she is sought to represent (Guttmann, 1978, pp. 62-63). As a carrier of the ideologies present within a certain culture, sports have been practiced, paraded and made to serve the interests of the ruling classes in different forms and on various occasions, with the Olympics serving as the most prominent example (Guttmann, 1978, p. 63; Kidd, 2005, p. 144).

It is important to note that ideologies envisage different roles for different parts of society and that the very same ideology can consequently mean one thing to one group of society and something else to another. Particularly under capitalism, sports fulfill different purposes for each group of society (Guttmann, 1978, p. 59). In the nineteenth century, workers were for instance encouraged to engage in sports in order to remain physically fit for the labor market, while for the middle classes, sport was considered as a pleasurable way for spending their leisure time (ibid.). As carriers of ideologies sports can reinforce as well as flatten the social divisions within a society. Sports endow identities to social classes, regions and nations. Under nineteenth century-capitalism for instance, amateur sports constituted an important component in the construction of a working class identity, while the upper-class defined and distinguished itself through practicing particularly aristocratic sports such as polo or hunting (Guttmann, 1978, p. 59). In this sense, sports contributed to reinforcing the social divisions between the upper class and the working class. As powerful as sports are in the construction and display of existing social divisions, so is their potential as a unifying force. The example of the Olympic Games illustrates how, on a national level, sports are able to unify the vast amount of different groups of society to cheer for 'their team'. The term ‘football nation’ – a term used to describe nations e.g. Brazil – provides a good example of the close ties between sports and the constructions of national images and national identities. In the framework of this thesis, the construction of an identity is therefore
conceived as a key factor in the making of one group and the unmaking of another. The media contribute to the making and unmaking of groups. In fact, as Allan (1999) pointed out, "news texts and conventions of newwork contribute to reaffirm and naturalize the inequalities and various social divisions of modern society by making them seem appropriate, legitimate or inevitable in ideological terms" (italics in original, p. 49). Placing itself in the tradition of (post-)structuralism, this thesis insists that "not only is there no 'natural' meaning [or truth] inherent in an event or object, but also that the meanings into which events and objects are constructed are always socially oriented – aligned with class, gender, race or other interests" (Hartley, 2002, p. 106). The meanings into which the Olympic Games are constructed are based on concepts such as nationalism, capitalism, internationalism and humanism. The Games are ideological in the sense that they represent a utopian vision of an imagined global community bound together by what is presented as shared interests and common values. Therefore, the Olympic Games are to be seen as an event where supposedly common values (such as human rights, solidarity and fair play) are expressed and celebrated. The media is conceived as playing a crucial role not only in the dissemination of these values, but also in the maintenance and reproduction of the status quo with all its existing power relations (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 29). By uncritically adopting the definition of the Olympic Games as expressed by the IOC, journalists and editors contribute to naturalizing the event with all its underlying ideas, concepts and classifications.

The Olympic Games are staged as a competition between nation states. Thus, when covering the Games newsworkers adopt the socially constructed classification of the nation state, which contributes to naturalizing the construct of 'the nation' as a legitimate classification of what could just as well be conceived as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). In order to maintain a nation, it is necessary that its members identify with it. This form of identification is achieved by constantly reminding people i.e. the audience of their nationality and of what it means to be part of it (Billig, 1995, p. 6). In the way that they target their audience in an explicitly nationalist way, for instance, by making reference to particular symbols and national myths, newspapers
(among many other forms of communication) play an important role in mediating society to itself (Matheson, p. 1). National identity is then also always about distinguishing the national 'self' from the 'other'. By pitting nations against each other, the Olympics serve nations (particularly the host nation) as a platform to construct and reinvent their own national identity (Roche, 2000, p. 6). National identity is commonly characterized by a dissociation from other nations (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 115) and competition is rather known to reinforce the distinctions between the competitors than to abolish them. The consequence is that the idea of a national difference is maintained, which is traditionally constructed on the basis of 'race' and/or ethnicity. The media tend to contribute to reinforcing these divisions and stereotyped images by means of reiteration. This is particularly true for sports journalism as Farrington et al.'s study of race and racism in sports journalism (2012) suggests.

Stereotyped media images provide and reiterate myths about individual athletes' athletic strength, skill and expertise based on these athletes' affiliation to a certain 'race', ethnic group or nation. These stereotyped ideas provide sport reporters with simplified patterns they can use to explain why a particular athlete or team succeeds or fails a particular competition. Since athletes do not compete as individuals but as representatives of their nation, the significance of one nation's win over another depends in part on the state of the two nations' bilateral relations, but most importantly, on the way this win is assigned with meaning. This process of signification finds place in the realm of language and culture (Fowler, 1991, p. 4). Herewith, ideas about a nation's past, traditions, progress and destiny are constructed, linked, and assigned with meaning (Roche, 2000, p. 6). Thus, by covering the Olympics as an international event in which nations symbolically compete for recognition and a rank in the global order, newsworkers engage in the performative act of maintaining and reproducing the existing inequalities of our current political and economic world order (Roche, 2000, p. xi).

Seeing itself in the academic tradition of post-structuralism, this thesis insists that any form of knowledge or reality has to be understood and analyzed in its specific context.
In other words, no object or phenomenon is taken for granted but is assumed to have been shaped by a collection of interests, actions and power mechanisms (Schneider, 2005, p. 724). The modern Olympic Games (and sports in general) and their links to concepts such as nationalism, capitalism, internationalism etc. are accordingly seen as socially, culturally and historically constructed and alterable instead of biologically given and definite. Social constructivist approaches are always about questions of power and ideology because once the social construct (the Olympics in this study) is analyzed, the researcher goes further by asking who that construct benefits and in whose interest it is being maintained (nation states, corporations, capitalism). In the framework of this thesis, news texts are conceived as containing only one way of classifying reality. In so doing the claim that journalists are able to reflect the world 'as it is' or objectively report on it is rejected. News, as this study argues, is a social construct; a practice and product of the social and political world on which it reports (Fowler, 1991, p. 4). It is not a reflection of the reality it aims to describe, but a construction that is influenced by news values, professional norms and organizational routines that reflect and maintain dominant ideologies. Seeing news as a construction is therefore not to accuse journalists of inventing information but rather, as Harcup (2014a) points out, "to highlight the human intervention that is required for events to become news in the first place, including observation, selection, framing, and interpretation". In fact, since journalists and the institutions they work for are "socially, economically and politically situated, all news is always reported from some particular angle" (original italics, Fowler, 1991, p. 10).

The decision of who has access to the media, who is interviewed, covered and quoted is also an ideological one that corresponds with the relative homogeneity in newsrooms in terms of class, gender and race (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 188). Current figures demonstrate that journalism is still a 'white'-dominated profession (Farrington et al. p. 33). This lack of diversity is highly problematic. As Boyle (2006) notes: "There is no doubt that the perpetuation of particular stereotypes around race that can find articulation in the discourses produced by sports journalism is, in part, enhanced by a relative lack of
diversity among the collective body of sports journalists" (p. 156). White heterosexual middleclass men are not only the dominant group of US society, they also dominate the sports desk (Farrington et al., 2012, p. 33). The coverage of the Olympics in US media suffers from this general lack of diversity. The relative monopoly of one dominant group of society is highly problematic as it tends to result in the hegemony of the perspectives of the powerful while marginalizing the perspectives held by the less powerful groups of society (gays, women, Afro-Americans, immigrant groups, etc.). White men's over-representation, as Van Dijk (1995) notes, has consequences with regard to the topics they consider relevant for coverage, the sources they approach and the ideological viewpoint they adopt (p. 29). As a result, the media maintains and reproduces the status quo with all its existing power relations (ibid.). The fact that journalists tend to "favour the access and the opinions of 'similar' news actors" is indeed confirmed by most research (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 188.). This imbalance of access, as Fowler (1991) assesses, "results in partiality, not only in what assertions and attitudes are reported – a matter of content – but also in how they are reported – a matter of form and style, and therefore [...] of ideological perspective" (original italics, pp. 22-23).

2.2 Framing

*The Oxford Dictionary of Journalism* describes the construction of news as the "creation and shaping of news as a mediated product" (Harcup, 2014a). To say that news is constructed, or even manufactured is, as indicated above, "not to accuse journalists of inventing information; rather, it is to highlight the human intervention that is required for events to become news in the first place, including observation, selection, framing, and interpretation" (ibid.). It is important to note that the practice of selecting "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) is not merely confined to journalists. Any person witnessing an event will stress certain aspects and leave out others when communicating an experience or event to someone else. Indeed,
"[e]very narrative account of reality necessarily presents some things and not others; consciously or unconsciously, every narrative makes assumptions about how the world works, what is important, what makes sense and what should be" (Schudson, 2003, pp. 35-36). In other words, when a person tells an experience to someone else his or her individual perceptions about the world will naturally affect the way he or she tells the story. Two things consequently affect a journalist's account of an event: firstly his or her perception of the event on a cognitive level and secondly, his or her linguistic and stylistic choices in turning the event into a textual product. Hence, the use of language is one factor that makes news writing a highly constructive practice (Fowler, 1991, p. 1). Other factors relate to the organizational and institutional structures of news writing.

When analyzing the news as a social construct, another important issue that needs to be taken into account are the conscious as well as unconscious choices and selections journalists make when writing a 'story'. Journalists and the news organizations they work for commonly have clear opinions about which events classify as 'newsworthy'. The factors that journalists and news organizations consider when determining whether an event is worth to be reported have been defined by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and are known as news values. Galtung and Ruge's news values are frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to persons, and reference to negativity and can be regarded as journalist's guideline of how to frame reality (Harcup, 2014a). The concept of framing is in line with the theory of social constructivism; the idea that we construct our social world and knowledge through our experiences and in interaction and communication with others.

The social constructivist approach of this thesis is adopted from Berger and Luckmann and their sociological treatise The Construction of Reality (1966). In response, the post-structuralists, most notably Michel Foucault, further developed constructivism by moving discourse "to the centre of analysis drawing attention to the way in which the 'expert' discourses of professionals and power-holders of all kinds privilege certain ways of seeing and doing while repressing others" (O'Dowd, 2003, p. 42). Those privileged
views are the ones of powerful individuals, groups, institutions or states who possess the necessary resources (economic, political, cultural) to enter the 'expert discourse' which equals with having their voices heard and their views respected because the media tends to cover the utterances and actions of the power elite (Foucault, 1976; Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 2012). As a well-established US media organization, the NYT possesses the above mentioned resources that are necessary to shape and control the 'expert discourse'. Hence, by making decisions about who is quoted and whose utterances are worth mentioning, the NYT functions as a gatekeeper that excludes certain views from becoming 'common sense' which equals preventing them from entering the 'expert' discourse. The decision of who is allowed access to the media is therefore also an ideological one that reflects, forms and sustains power structures (Fowler, 1991). Since discourses are expressed and reproduced in both, the spoken and the written word, the mass media holds a prominent role in the reproduction of dominant knowledge and ideologies within contemporary society (Van Dijk, 2012, p. 17). Thus, the media play a pivotal role in turning the Olympic Games into a political and ideological media spectacle and this happens through the practice of framing. When covering the Olympics the media actively set the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss the event (Scheufele, 1999, p. 105). The fact that journalists are able to choose between different frames to cover an event demonstrates that 'reality' can be portrayed in multiple ways. Framing is therefore defined and operationalized on the basis of social constructivism (ibid.). The media can choose to accentuate the political and frame the Olympics as an ideological battle between the East and the West i.e. an ideological battle between Russia and the US in this study. It can frame the Soviet/Russian athlete as a machine-like cyborg or as a person with individual character and emotions. This thesis conceives the US media coverage of the Olympics as a manufactured product, shaped by American journalists' choices of what to include, what to leave out, what context to give, what connections to make and who to quote. Or in Reese's and Shoemaker's (2014) words, journalists "mediate reality through the mere process of doing their work, but also because of their relationships
with culture, power and ideology" (p. 39). The US media coverage of the Soviet/Russian athletes competing in Sarajevo and Sochi is accordingly seen as one way of framing these athletes that represents the ideology (the interests, values and behaviors) of US society at that particular point in time (Schneider, 2005, p. 724).

The mass media's framing of an issue has, as Scheufele et al. (2010) note, a powerful effect on how people make sense of an issue (p. 112). The predominant framing of an issue in the mass media alters (transforms or establishes) audience schemas (ibid., p. 115). In other words, when employed long enough, "[f]rames can change opinions by influencing the importance citizens attach to issue-relevant beliefs" (Callaghan and Schnell, 2005, p. 14). Indeed, Scheufele et al. (2010) argue that "[i]n the case of cumulative and consonant media framing – that is, many reports framing the issue in a consistent fashion – an audience member's mental model will be modified in a step-by-step fashion consistent with the predominant framing of the issue in the mass media" (p. 115). This power media frames have, especially when being predominant over time, make the NYT-discourses on the two Winter Olympics two very valuable cases to study.

The hypothesis is that a Cold War narrative is revealed through the use of frames. The second hypothesis is that there is a crucial connection between the US media's representation of Russia and the pictures and stereotypes in the heads of US citizens. In the words of Pippa Norris (1995): "The frame for the mainstream American media can be expected to reflect and reinforce the dominant frames in American culture" (p. 359). Norris (1995) found that during the Cold War, Western media had a particular way of: highlighting certain events as international problems, identifying sources, offering normative judgments, and recommending particular policy solutions (p. 358). This "Cold War frame", she argues, presented international events such as the Olympics, in terms of rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, classifying other countries into 'friends' and 'enemies' of these superpowers (ibid). By analyzing the way the NYT

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1 Callaghan et. al. refer to the process by which frames bring certain values and other beliefs to mind as "priming." Priming, as she notes, refers to "the activation and enhanced accessibility of concepts and considerations in memory."
framed Russian athletes during the Sochi Olympics and comparing it with the coverage of the Soviet athletes during the 1984 Sarajevo Olympics, this study seeks to find out whether the official end of the Cold War has meant a clear-cut break from the frames traditionally employed for representing Soviet/Russian athletes or whether there are continuities that hint at a "Cold War mentality".

2.3 Discourse

This study uses Foucault's definition of discourse as he defined it in relation to power in *The Order of Discourse* (1971) and the definition of power as he defined it in relation to discourse in *The Will to Knowledge* (1976). Discourse is accordingly conceived as the location where knowledge and power intersect (Foucault, 1976, p. 100). The questions that are being addressed in the framework of this study are much in line with the kind of questions Foucault raised in *The Will to Knowledge* (1976). These questions are: In a specific type of discourse on Russia/the Soviet Union, in a specific form of extortion of truth (Cold War), appearing historically and in specific places (around the Soviet/Russian Olympians), what were the most immediate, the most local power relations at work?; How did they make possible these kinds of discourses, and conversely, how were these discourses used to support power relations?; How was the action of these power relations modified by their very exercise, entailing a strengthening of some terms and a weakening of others (p. 97)? In other words, discourses display and represent the power relations being at play within a certain society at a specific point in history.

For decades the Cold War provided people with a frame to conceptualize global power relations in terms of West vs. East, capitalist vs. communist, United States vs. the Soviet Union. The fall of the Berlin wall and the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union arguably ended this dualistic world view. If and to what extent, the US society's image of Russia has been affected by the end of the Cold War becomes apparent when

\[ \text{Foucault raised these questions with regard to sex and the discourses of truth.} \]
comparing the NYT's framing of the Soviet athletes with the framing of athletes from modern Russia. The NYT coverage of the two selected Olympic events is seen, in line with Fowler (1991) and other media analysts, as a "representation of the world in language", because language is a semiotic code that imposes a structure of social and economic values on whatever it represents (p. 4). News, in other words, constructively pattern that of what they speak (ibid.). The image of Russia and its status within the global order is accordingly being negotiated by a wide array of social actors, groups, institutions, and governments. The temporary product of these ongoing negotiations manifested in text is the object of the CDA conducted within this study. Since discourses are seen as the product of negotiations between a vast number of actors and as the outcome of a set of social and economic force relations structuring the discourse on a macro level (Foucault, 1976, p. 92), the NYT coverage of Soviet/Russian Olympians is expected to consist of various different, at times even contradictory, frames that may vary over time. The discourse on both, the Sarajevo Games and the Sochi Olympics is accordingly conceived as a struggle between various frames for conceptualizing the event. This notion of discourse as "a constant struggle over meaning" is widespread and shared by various approaches to discourse analysis (Macgilchrist, 2007, p. 75).

Media discourse is a professional field with clear rules of what can be said (professional norms, news values) and in what way (use of journalistic language, impartial way of reporting, source attributions, etc.). The institution of journalism, as Foucault would argue, justifies and legitimizes itself by claiming that its 'professional' form of knowledge is superior to other forms of knowledge (Foucault, 1971, p. 8). As such, labeling journalism's knowledge as 'professional' fulfils the function of privileging one (preferred) form of knowledge over others. Foucault was preoccupied with investigating both how people constitute themselves as subjects and how they treat each other as objects (Hoy, 1986, p. 4). He defined a legitimate subject as a 'subject of knowledge' (O'Farrell, 2005, p. 80). A person's legitimacy accordingly depends on whether his or her perspective corresponds with the dominant (i.e. most widely accepted) form of knowledge of the society, culture or group he or she is part of (ibid). Thus, there are clear rules on what
people may speak of, in which contexts they may say it, how they may say it and to whom. Foucault supposes that "in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised [sic.] and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, [and] to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality" (Foucault, 1971, p. 8). Applied to the field of the media this means that journalists' professional status is based upon their capability to produce media content that their national audiences are able to process. Certain voices or opinions that are not compatible with the values and perspectives held by society are accordingly unlikely to enter the dominant national discourse. Journalists' role as gatekeepers who favor certain voices and opinions over others can therefore not be underestimated (Shoemaker et al., 2009, p. 73). Whether a voice or opinion is acknowledged and recognized is closely tied to the person's social status. Moreover, neither the person's status as a legitimate subject nor the form of knowledge on which the legitimacy of his or her utterance rests, is timeless. Indeed, all forms of knowledge and all the discursive practices legitimizing them are to be regarded as being in a state of constant change because discursive practices are operating according to rules that are specific to a particular time, space and cultural setting (Foucault, 2002, pp. 44-45). The media discourses on the 1984 and 2014 Olympics are, in that line, understood as two snapshots of the dominant forms of knowledge existing in US society at these two particular points in history.

Furthermore, Foucault (1976) defined discourses as representations of multiple and mobile power relations (p. 98). If the Olympic Winter Games constitute a media event, this is only because relations of power have established it as a possible object (ibid.). However, what is written about the Olympics must not in Foucault's words, "be analyzed simply as the surface of projection of these power mechanisms" (p. 100). Indeed, as he points out, "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (ibid.). It is for this very reason that Foucault suggests conceiving discourses as "a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable" and Foucault cautions against imagining "a world of discourse divided between
accepted discourse and excluded discourse or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one" (Foucault, 1976, p. 100). Discourses in the Foucauldian sense consist of "a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies" (ibid.). Power is accordingly "a multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization" (Foucault, 1976, p. 92).

Discourse and power have to be seen as linked because discourse "transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (ibid., p. 101). In other words, there is not just one or two sides to the discourse of power, there are always several and it would be abridged to reduce it to the binary opposition of a 'discourse of power' and its 'counter discourse' (ibid.). According to Foucault, discourses are better defined as "tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations" (ibid., 101-102), or as O'Farrell (2005) put it, as "a complex and unstable network of strategic exercises of power and resistance operating across a large range of discourses" (p. 81). Power is thus intrinsic and seen as "operating through the technologies of institutional apparatus" (Morgan, 2010, p. 3) such as the mass media.

Foucault distinguished between the negative (i.e. repressive) and positive (i.e. productive) function of power (Foucault and Rabinow, 1984, pp. 60-61). He conceives 'power' as a "general system exerted by one group over the other" (e.g. the media over the audience) or as "a system whose effects, through successive derivations, pervade the entire social body" (Foucault, 1976, p. 92). So while stressing that power can never be an institution or structure, Foucault does recognize the role institutions play as a crystallization of strategies (ibid., pp. 92-93). In that line of argument, institutions are a way of freezing particular relations of power that privilege a certain number of people over others (O'Farrell, 2005, p. 141) e.g. journalists possessing the privilege to decide (following social norms) what issues are worth reporting and what sources to use. The discourse in the NYT is therefore understood as being shaped by a certain set of force relations (e.g. economic) and strategies (e.g. maintaining the social order and the status
quo) whose general design or institutional crystallization, in Foucault's words, is embodied "in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies" of US society at this particular point in history (Foucault, 1976, pp. 92-93).

The media discourse around the Soviet and Russian athletes competing in the Olympics has accordingly two functions. On the one hand, the discourse is analyzed as a representation, a display of the various social hegemonies present in US society in 1984 and 2014. On the other hand, the discourse is analyzed because of its role and potential in shaping and reinforcing those power structures by means of altering people's mental schemas through the constant domination of certain frames over others (Scheufele et al., 2010). In 1984 the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union had reached a low point with the Sarajevo Olympics becoming a battlefield of ideological confrontation. These hostilities can be expected to have inscribed themselves into the US media discourse of that time. Since ideology can be revealed by the identification of frames, the way to detect a paradigm change is to compare the media frames used in different periods of time. In that way, the coverage of the Sochi Olympics is examined for remnants of the old Cold War frame. The comparison to the framing of the Sarajevo Olympics serves as a point of reference to identify if and how the NYT's representation of Soviet/Russian athletes has changed after three decades.

In line with the theories discussed in the three sections of this chapter, this study uses and combines two methods of research, specifically CA and CDA. Each has its own case-specific set of advantages and limitations. Both research methods are introduced and dealt with in chapter 4 and chapter 5, respectively. Subsequently, chapter 6 presents, discusses and synthesizes the findings derived from both methods' analyses.

3. SPORTS, FOREIGN REPORTING AND AMERICAN JOURNALISM

At this stage of the thesis, it is valuable to consider the current state of American journalism with regard to foreign reporting and sports coverage. Recent years have witnessed fundamental changes in the way international news is produced (Macdonald,
During the last decade, technological and digital developments have put newspapers worldwide under rising financial pressures (Pew Research Center, 2015, p. 27) and led to the further increase of global concentration of corporate ownership of the media (Macdonald, 2008, p. 214). The predominant response to cope with the financial difficulties was to cut back spending on foreign coverage: *The Philadelphia Inquirer, The Baltimore Sun,* and *The Boston Globe* closed down their last foreign bureaus and between 2002 and 2006 alone, the number of American newspaper correspondents abroad decreased by 30 percent (Starr, March 4, 2009). Furthermore, findings of the Pew Project on Excellence in Journalism (PEJ) show that newspaper editors' level of appreciation of foreign news is shrinking: In its 2004 study of the amount of front-page stories dedicated to foreign affairs, the PEJ discovered "the lowest total in any year we have ever studied" (cited in Starr, March 4, 2009). By reducing foreign news to a minimum, newspapers seem to respond to their readers' demands as interest in international news is low and declining: only about four-in-ten of US news consumers (39%) follow overseas news most of the time compared with 56 percent who follow it only in the event of something important happening (Pew Research Center, 2012, p. 31). While readers appear to be less and less interested in foreign news, sports news experience a big boom. Broadcast, print as well as online media increased the amount and prominence of their sports coverage (Farrington et al., 2012, p. 1). As Colin Gibson, former sports editor at the *Sunday Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* noted:

*Sports and papers have both changed. Gone are the days when sports just meant filling up a couple of pages at the back. Sport is now high profile. It's a serious business involving corporate finance, so papers have to treat it with more seriousness, while appreciating that it's part of the entertainment industry as well (cited in Farrington et al., 2012, p. 1).*

Hence, the changes within the field of sports reporting have been significant. For the longest time, sports news were considered to be 'soft' journalism and have traditionally been discredited as the 'toy department of the news media' (Rowe, 2003, p. 37). The times where sports were confined to the back pages are long gone. In fact, sports journalism has become increasingly professionalized in recent years (Farrington et al., 2012, p. 1).
Recent years witnessed an increase in the number of pages and proportion of editorial space quality newspapers dedicate to sports (ibid., p. 1). While missing the exact numbers for the NYT, the general increase of sports news in the quality press can be illustrated by the example of the British Times where, over the last forty years, sports reporting almost doubled (Farrington et al., 2012, p. 1). Thus, fundamental changes in foreign reporting coincide with a trend towards sports and entertainment, a trend that is particularly visible in the quality press. Considering that most Americans get their information on foreign countries from the news (Dennis et al., 1991, p. vii), the shrinking number of American sources for foreign news is a serious matter, particularly when what is left of the foreign news is, as inaccurate and incomplete as many critics claim (Besova and Cooley, 2009, p. 222). The decreasing quality of foreign news has indeed been pointed out by a variety of scholars including Goodman (1999) and Weaver et al. (1981, 1983) who criticize the media's disproportionate focus on violence, crisis and disaster when covering foreign countries (Besova and Cooley, 2009, p. 222). The relationship between the (lack of) visibility of countries in foreign news and the public opinion about these countries has been widely recognized (ibid., p. 220). Reilly (1979) pointed out that exposure to foreign news commonly results in relatively favorable feelings toward other countries while McNelly and Izcaray (1986) concluded that exposure to foreign news also shapes perceptions on foreign countries' level of success and thus of their perceived rank in the global order (McNelly and Izcaray, 1986).

In our globalized age, knowledge about the world is important and necessary (Besova and Cooley, 2012, p. 219). Despite all that, coverage of foreign countries in the US media is shrinking while sports are becoming more prominent. American sports journalists' influence on US society's perception of Russia is accordingly substantial and real.
3.1 Research questions and hypotheses

To get a full picture of the complexities of the modern globalized world American news consumers would benefit greatly from a broad and diverse coverage of foreign issues and events, but as discussed in the previous chapter, recent figures suggest a trend in the opposite direction. On the basis of these changes, the researcher assumes that coverage of international sports plays an increasingly important role in shaping people's opinions, images and judgments about foreign countries. The present study conceives the US media depiction of foreign athletes as a powerful tool for the distribution of stereotyped images of foreign nations that influence these nations' standing in the global order. National stereotypes demand close attention because they shape people's perceptions and classify the countries of the world into 'friends' and 'enemies' (Norris, 1995, p. 358). The supposedly apolitical genre of sports news and the competitive setting of the Olympic Games are seen as a particularly valuable place to study the US media's depiction of Russia today as compared to the Soviet era.

To reiterate, this thesis' starting point and core concern is whether media critic Stephen F. Cohen's claim that the US media coverage of Russia was "less objective, less balanced, more conformist and scarcely less ideological than when they covered Soviet Russia during the Cold War" is justified (Cohen, February 11, 2014). In order to be able to confirm or reject that claim the following research questions are raised:

- **RQ 1**: How often did the *NYT* (1) mention, (2) feature or (3) quote Soviet/Russian athletes as compared to American athletes in the Olympics, and was there a difference in the frequency during and after the Cold War?

- **RQ 2**: Were the Soviet/Russian and American athletes mentioned by name or did the *NYT* identify them by nationality or ideology?

- **RQ 3**: Did the number of mentions reflect the Soviet/Russian and American athletes' actual successes during the Olympics?
Knowing the amount of mentions and coverage Soviet/Russian athletes received and continue to receive as compared to the US counterparts is important because it shows who and what the NYT considered newsworthy and how much coverage it was willing to give to Soviet/Russian and American athletes in 1984 and 2014, respectively. This allows insights on where the United States ranks Russia in the global world order of today as compared to the Cold War era. The way Russian athletes are framed in the media, whether they are depicted as people with individual character, interests and emotions or whether they are portrayed as a faceless mass is highly significant, because the news media plays "a key role in the construction of our pictures of reality" (McCombs and Shaw, cited in McCombs and Reynolds, 2009, p. 2). When identifying which objects made it 'into the frame' of the NYT, the method of CA is applied. In order to study the attributes describing these objects – the collection of images forming the basis the object of the Russian athlete is constructed on – the method of CDA is used in this study. CDA allows for an in-depth analysis of the ways in which the NYT conveyed information on the Russian athlete represented in linguistic patterns, lexical choices, grammatical constructions and story coherence (Watson and Hill, 2006, p. 83). Since news texts work to "construct a codified definition of what should count as the reality of an event" (Allan, 1999, p. 87), these processes of codification i.e. the specific ways in which the NYT adopts a preferred language to represent 'the Russians' and their athletic performances, need to be opened up and examined by means of CDA. This is achieved by using four selected news accounts on figure skating and ice hockey, the two most mentioned sports disciplines that the Russian athletes competed in. Two of the selected news accounts are extracted from the NYT coverage of the 1984 Olympic Games, whilst the other two news accounts are taken from the 2014 Sochi Olympics.

Looking back at the theoretical framework, it is appropriate to craft some hypotheses. It has been argued that US national newspapers shape the frame through which US news consumers learn of themselves and Russia, of their own institutions, leaders and life styles, and of those of Russia and its people (Tuchman, 1978, p. 1). This has not changed. Most US citizens continue to get their information about Russia from the
news. The Cold War was based on the distribution of particularly negative images of the Soviet Union and its people. Exposure to foreign news generally has a positive effect on news consumers' opinion of a country (Reilly, 1979; McNelly and Izcaray, 1986) while the lack of a broad and diverse coverage of foreign events must be seen as having a negative effect because it facilitates stereotypes to emerge. With regard to CA, this thesis' first research hypothesis is:

**RH 1: The collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent geopolitical changes affected the NYT's framing of Russian athletes.**

The author expects that the 1984 discourse reflects the values of US society at that time. These values are likely to be defined in dissociation from the Soviet 'other'. In particular because it is sports, the competition between Soviet and US athletes is expected to be framed as a battle between the Soviet 'bad guys' and the US 'good guys'. A Cold War framework works with binary oppositions (Norris, 1995) and the author expects to find this kind of framing (along with a number of Cold War narratives) in the NYT coverage of the 1984 Sarajevo Olympics. With regard to the 2014 Sochi Olympics, the author expects a different kind of framing. Subsequent to the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia has become part of the international community of capitalist nation states. This new geopolitical situation would suggest that the dichotomy between the former Cold War enemies has disappeared from the media. This does not necessarily mean that the framing of the Russian athlete has fundamentally changed. Certain narratives from Cold War times may have persisted beyond that period and they may have changed shape in the shifting of discourses around the Soviet/Russian athletes. The image of Russia and its status within the global order is discursively negotiated by a wide array of social actors, groups, institutions, and governments. The temporary product of these ongoing negotiations manifested in NYT media texts is the object of this study's CDA. Based on findings concerning the persistence of stereotyped images in the domain of culture (Allan, 1999; Farrington et al., 2012) this thesis' second research hypothesis is:
RH 2: When representing the image of the Soviet/Russian athlete in language, the NYT falls back into old patterns and continues to use the same imagery to represent "the Russians" as during the Cold War.

These research hypotheses are taken up again in chapter 6 where they are discussed and reconsidered in light of the findings derived from CA and CDA. This is also where they are placed in perspective and where the researcher assesses their significance in relation to other relevant studies in the field such as Billings, Angelini and Wu (2011) and Billings and Angelini (2007). Furthermore, this thesis uses Soares' (2007) study on international ice hockey during the Cold War and Jacobsen's (2013) analysis of a myth evolving around a 1980 ice hockey match between the US and the Soviet team to further contextualize this thesis' findings.

3.2 The outlet

Most of the factors that make the NYT a suitable outlet to research have been discussed throughout chapter 2. For the sake of better comprehensibility, they are briefly summarized. The NYT is selected for analysis in this study because it is the leading institution of American journalism and its power to set the "international news agenda" (Golan, 2006, p. 323) allows for the best possible level of representativeness within the US media landscape and beyond. With the highest number of foreign correspondents amongst US media (Enda, 2011) and a broad coverage of the Olympic Games, the NYT is best suited for this study. Established newspapers and media organization with a high distribution have a major influence on people's perception of the world because they have the power to determine what is:- important; not important; normal; deviant; consensus and; significant and therefore newsworthy (Watson and Hill, 2006, p. 89).

3.3 The case

To be able to reject or confirm the claim of a "Cold War mentality" within the NYT coverage of the Sochi Olympics, the researcher required an Olympic event from the Cold
War era for the purpose of comparison. The 1984 Sarajevo Olympics are selected because they fall into a time where US-Soviet relations were at a low-point with the Reagan administration determined to revive America’s superiority and regain US military dominance over the "evil Empire" (Morley, 1988, p. 3). Studying the Winter Olympics suggested itself because compared to the Summer Olympics, they have received considerably less scholarly attention. The fact that both events were held at non-Western territory enhanced comparability. This study's CA looks at all NYT articles published during the 12-day period of the Sarajevo Olympics and the 17-day period of the Sochi Games, while for this study's CDA, a small number of articles is extracted from the sample, that allows for in-depth textual analysis.

4. CONTENT ANALYSIS

A quantitative CA is described as "the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods" (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2005, p. 3) enabling the researcher to "describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption" (ibid., p. 25). In order to be able to confirm or reject the claim of a continuing Cold War bias in the NYT's Olympic coverage, the researcher requires generalizable empirical evidence. The large amount of media content to be analyzed (a total of 339 NYT articles from two different periods of time) suggests the method of quantitative CA as it allows the researcher to reduce her sets of data to a manageable form (ibid., 2005, p. 32). Furthermore, the design of this thesis' comparative and quantitative CA allows the researcher to establish which Olympic athletes, sports and news items made it 'into the frame' of the NYT on the height of the Cold War as compared to today i.e. the 2014 Sochi Olympics.
4.1 The sample

The Sarajevo Olympics began on 8 February 1984 and ended on 19 February 1984. The Sochi Olympics took place between 7 February 2014 and 23 February 2014. The data of analysis consists of NYT articles from both Olympic events. They are retrieved from the electronic database LexisNexis using the search terms "Olympic OR Olympics" for the defined period. To enhance the comparability between the two samples, blog posts are excluded. The search is restricted to the sports section only. With regard to Sarajevo, the search results in a total of 148 articles. With regard to Sochi the outcome is 242. All items are sorted through and only articles relating to the Olympic event in question are selected for analysis. The researcher considered to take out articles that were not primarily on sports but decided otherwise. The rationale for this is that any article covering the Olympic event contributes in some way or the other to the reader's overall impression of the Games. Duplicates and news summaries are treated following the same logic, i.e. if the same article is published twice (e.g. first in the form of a single item, then as part of a news summary) it is counted twice. The entire collection of articles mentioning Soviet/Russian athletes is analyzed in its entirety because disposing of any (even repetitive) information would distort the results. For the same reason image captions and television schedules are not removed from the sample but are treated as editorial text.

The only results that are removed from the sample are letters to the editor because they are opinionated and fail to accurately depict the majority of the United States' print stories (Calvert, 2011, p. 90). Op-Eds are considered a different case because even though they are opinionated, they reflect the opinion of a NYT reporter who is a member of the leading institution of American journalism. After sorting through the samples and removing items that do not fit the above mentioned criteria, the Sochi sample is reduced to 224, the Sarajevo sample to 115 items. An excel file is used to record and categorize the mentions and quotes of Soviet/Russian and US athletes. The researcher assigns every article with a number and records the date of publication and the number of words. There is one column to record the mentions of Soviet/Russian
athletes and another one for US athletes. Whenever an article features one particular athlete, the athlete's name and nationality is recorded in a column that has been created for that purpose. The fact that an athlete is the focus of an article indicates that he or she is framed as an individual. It also indicates that the athlete in question is considered worthy of attention. Another way to find out how much attention Soviet/Russian athletes receive (compared to their American opponents) is to record the number of articles that exclusively mentioned Soviet/Russian or American athletes.\(^3\)

During the Olympics, journalists have the option to either recognize an athlete as an individual by mentioning his or her name or to reduce the athlete to his or her nationality or even ideology (i.e. Sergei Khlebnikov won the gold medal versus 'a Soviet speed skater', 'the Soviet Union' or 'the communists' won a gold medal). Thus, whenever a group label such as 'the Soviet Union', 'Russia', 'the Soviet competitor', 'the duo from the Soviet Union' and so forth is used instead of mentioning the Soviet/Russian athlete's actual name, this is noted. In a column named 'label' all labels the NYT uses for the depiction of Soviet/Russian and US athletes are recorded. Since reporters commonly use different wording in order to avoid repetition, the group label used in an article is only noted when the text does not contain any individual name that the label could refer to. With regard to individual sports, this method does not require further explanation. It does however with regard to team sports. Especially in ice hockey, one cannot expect a reporter to name every single player on the team. But there is a difference between treating the team as a faceless group or even one single entity and using the group label next to the names of one or two players. Therefore, it is only taken note of the group label if none of the players' names appears in the article. If an article on the Soviet ice hockey team mentions the name of one player of the team, the individual label replaces the group label. In addition to that, every direct and indirect

\(^3\) Since this study explores the relationship between the US and the Soviet Union/Russia, the amount of coverage athletes from other nationalities received is rendered insignificant. The term 'exclusively' accordingly refers to the absence of the respective Cold War antagonist and does not include athletes from other countries.
quote of a Soviet/Russian or US athlete is copied from the article and pasted into the excel file's column named 'quotations'. This way the researcher can keep track of the amount of room given to athletes to speak for themselves. The last column is used to indicate the discipline the athlete is competing in. This information is needed in order to be able to see possible changes with regard to the popularity of certain disciplines.

4.2 Coding

In the first instance all articles mentioning Soviet/Russian athletes are recorded. The mentions of American athletes are included for better comparability. Since the US and the Soviet Union were antagonists it seemed reasonable to assume that the best way to detect changes or continuities in the US media's framing of the Soviet/Russian athletes is to look at how the NYT framed the Soviet/Russian 'other' in contrast to the self (Anderson, 2006; Said, 1978).

RQ 1 [How often did the NYT (1) mention, (2) feature or (3) quote Soviet/Russian athletes as compared to American athletes in the Olympics, and was there a difference in the frequency during and after the Cold War?] is based on the rationale that the fewer Americans heard and learnt about the individuals whose faces were hidden behind the enemy image of the "evil Empire", the easier and more likely it was for stereotypes to prevail. The researcher therefore looks out for three different categories: (1) number of mentions of Soviet/Russian athletes compared to US athletes; (2) number of Soviet/Russian athletes featured compared to US athletes; and (3) number of Soviet/Russian athletes quoted compared to US athletes. The first category (1) aims to find out about the total amount of Soviet/Russian athletes mentioned in the NYT compared to their US counterparts. Doing so allows putting the media attention both parties received in perspective. The second category (2) focuses on the amount of detailed information the NYT provided with regard to Soviet/Russian and US athletes. The third category (3) focuses on whether or not an athlete was given the chance to speak. Journalists choose who is interviewed and who is quoted. Their decision
commonly complies with Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news values and accordingly indicates the person's status. The number of times an athlete is quoted generally shows his or her popularity. If the US media for instance only quoted American athletes this would indicate a nationalistic bias. Having a voice and the right to speak for oneself ties in with the aspect of being given a human face. Thus, RQ 1 combines three different aspects that are all part of the same hypothesis, namely that the lack of information on Soviet athletes and the US media's general failure to frame Soviet citizens as individuals provided the basis on which Cold War stereotypes and generalizations could prevail. RQ 2 [Were the Soviet/Russian and American athletes mentioned by name or did the NYT identify them by nationality or ideology?] examines the framing of the Soviet/Russian athlete with regard to the use of labels. If an athlete is only referred to as a team or a country this is noted. The reasoning for this is based on this study's working definition of Cold War bias. Since hegemonic claims and nationalistic ideologies work with generalizations, the labels the NYT uses for framing Soviet/Russian athletes provide meaningful insights with regard to nationalistic and ideological bias. Part of the researcher's working definition of the Cold War relates to the question whether the NYT accurately reflected the Soviet/Russian Olympians' athletic successes i.e. RQ 3. Cold War bias is defined as downplaying the achievements of Soviet/Russian athletes and one way to do so is to ignore Soviet wins (Moretti, 2004, p. 332). Another way is to overemphasize American athletes' success. Both practices are measured by comparing the NYT coverage with the official medal count from the respective year. In order to do this kind of 'reality check' any mention of a Soviet/Russian and American Olympian is counted and compared with the athlete's ranking in the Olympic medal table.

4.3 Limitations

This study's limitation is the CA's focus on the representation of Soviet/Russian and US athletes alone. The results show how the coverage of Soviet/Russian athletes changed in proportion to the coverage US athletes received from 1984 to today. The study would benefit from a non-Soviet/Russian/US-category as a frame of reference for a better
contextualization of the findings. Due to restrictions in scope, this could only be achieved partially. The study keeps track of the number of non-Soviet/Russian/US athletes that the NYT featured in longer stories, but the scope of this research project did not allow to additionally analyze the coverage of a third party, which would have helped to further contextualize the findings from a global perspective.

The design of this CA allows investigating which Olympic athletes, sports and news items made it into the NYT. The results show who and what the NYT considered newsworthy and how much coverage it was willing to give to Soviet/Russian and American athletes. However, the framing of Soviet/Russian athletes cannot be reduced to the amount of mentions and coverage they received (although it is an important part of it). The framing of a Soviet/Russian athlete also depends on the way he or she and the Soviet/Russian team is depicted. Here the analysis of context, language, symbols and myths come in. When it comes to the framing of an athlete, all these aspects play an important role, which cannot be assessed by means of CA alone. In order to overcome these shortcomings, this thesis’ CA is supplemented by a CDA.

5. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This study's CDA uses the findings provided by CA (which are outlined and discussed in detail in the following chapter) as a starting point. These findings demonstrate that the NYT provides very few details on Soviet/Russian athletes. This is why the author decided to take a look at the wider discussion of the sports the most often mentioned athletes competed in. Looking at a small selection of articles allows for a detailed analysis with regard to the language (including images, myths and symbols) the NYT used and continues to use for its framing of the Soviet/Russian athlete. This way the findings provided by CA are supplemented and a more complete picture is gained. By zooming into the coverage of the two main grounds of athletic competition between the US and the Soviet Union/Russia at two different times in history, the researcher gains insights on the framing of the Soviet/Russian athlete, and about the way narratives, symbols and
images are linked and made use of by the NYT. During the analysis the researcher also looks for counter-frames and discourses that contest the dominant framing of the event ‘from within’. Looking for counter-frames and discourse internal contradictions is important because (in line with the Foucauldian notion of the link between power and discourse) a media discourse does not just represent the accepted and dominant views. A media discourse, just as any other discourse, also contains discursive elements that run counter the dominant ideology, that oppose its officially upheld values and that may bear the potential for resistance and change (Foucault, 1976, pp. 100-102).

5.1 The sample
To analyze the specific ways in which the NYT adopts a preferred language to represent ‘the Russians’ and their athletic performances, four selected news accounts on figure skating and ice hockey, the two most mentioned sports disciplines that the Russian athletes competed in, are selected for CDA. Two of the selected news accounts are extracted from the NYT coverage of the 1984 Olympic Games, whilst the other two news accounts are taken from the 2014 Sochi Olympics.

The article taken from the Sarajevo sample is titled Figure-skating judges have routine all their own. It was published on 16 February 1984 and consists of 1317 words. The article from the Sochi sample is titled Gold with a Twist. It appeared on 21 February 2014 and consists of 793 words. The second pair of articles is on ice hockey, the two superpowers' biggest sports rivalry. For the comparative CDA on Olympic ice hockey, the two selected articles are Soviet Defeats Canada, 4-0, published on 17 February 1984 and an article titled Drama, if not Miracle, as U.S. Beats Russia published 16 February 2014. The first article has 746 words, the second one 1156.

In contrast to 2014, in 1984 there was no ice hockey game between the Soviet team and the US. The researcher therefore chose a news account covering a game between Canada and the Soviet team because the cultural and geographical proximity between Canada and the US suggests the United States' identification with the Canadian team.
The polarization of the Cold War setting is likely to have further contributed to the US' identification with Canada, which reinforces the researcher's decision.

5.2 The cases

Figure skating with its opaque judging system has always been vulnerable to conspiracy theories and accusations of national or political bias have always been part of the sport (Longman, February 21, 2014). This provides an ideal ground for looking at how the discourse surrounding figure skating (including all kinds of accusations) may have changed with the end of the Cold War. In order to do so, two newspaper articles on that topic, one from 1984 and one from 2014, are analyzed and compared.

Next to figure skating ice hockey was the other platform for playing out Cold War hostilities. No other sport embodies the metaphor for battling the Cold War as ice hockey does. Jokisipilä (2006) notes that with its overtly physical body checks and its explicitly violent presentation of manliness, the sport became a platform for playing out Cold War rivalries spurred by the image of Western capitalism fighting Soviet communism (p. 38). The sport's confrontational essence, which is expressed in such terms as 'fighting', 'shooting', 'feinting', 'charging', 'firing', 'hitting', 'checking', 'neutral zone', 'offense', 'defense', 'sudden death' and so forth, provided the imagery of a military battlefield and the fact that many Soviet players were soldiers by profession, as Jokisipilä (2006) notes, reinforced that symbolism (pp. 38-39). Thus, during the Cold War the ideological struggle was taken to the ice hockey arena. Here, as Jokisipilä (2006) notes, the imagery was blunt and simple: "Western capitalism against Soviet communism, wealthy NHL professionals versus Red Army officers" (p. 39). Against this backdrop, two articles covering this particular ice hockey rivalry were selected for analysis.
5.3. Limitations

This CDA’s limitation is that it focuses exclusively on NYT media texts and that the researcher has to rely on secondary literature in order to connect and contextualize the symbols, myths and imagery used with regard to Russia. Media texts only reflect a small fraction of a discourse. An extensive discourse analysis on that subject would include the study of all sorts of other texts over a long period of time. Additionally, a complimentary comparison of the discourse on Soviet/Russian athletes with a discourse on athletes from other nations would contribute to seeing the peculiarities of the studied discourses more clearly. However and despite of this study’s small sample, this CDA contributes to the deconstruction of the established images and representations of Russian athletes in the US media by making implicit assumptions towards Russia explicit and visible.

5.4 Analysis: The Discourse on figure skating in 1984 and 2014

When reading and comparing the articles on Olympic figure skating from 1984 and 2014, on the first glance nothing has changed. Both articles focus on the sport’s judging system. In fact, both articles discuss whether or not the figure skating judges’ decisions were justified at length while the actual performances of the athletes are only covered marginally. Another striking similarity is that both articles identify the athletes as the main victims. As NYT reporter Juliet Macur concludes in 2014:

*The governing body, with its judging ranks tarnished by questionable officials and its scoring system favoring math whizzes over artists, is killing its own sport. But the athletes suffer the most.*

NYT reporter Frank Lisky argued similarly in 1984. He describes the athletes as the pawns in the hands of the judges. But while the articles from both years portray the athletes as the main victims of their sport’s opaque and subjective judging system, it is worth noting that in 1984 the mentioned victims are exclusively American. Indeed, in the article *Figure-skating judges have routine all their own* from 1984, the US ice dancers Judy Blumberg and Michael Seibert are portrayed as being victimized by a
politically biased jury. In the competition in question, Soviet ice dancer Marina Klimova and her partner Sergei Ponomarenko won bronze and pushed Blumberg and Seibert to place four. The article does not acknowledge the Soviet couple’s win as legitimate and interestingly enough, the names of this Soviet couple are never mentioned. The couple is merely referred to as the "Soviet competitors" and the same is true for the Soviet ice dancers who won the silver medal i.e. Natalya Bestemyanova and Andrey Bukin. The 1984 article does not mention their names either. Instead, much room is given to the US ice dancers Blumberg and Seibert and their allegations of bias.

Blumberg and Seibert finished fourth in Sarajevo and blamed the Italian judge Cia Bordogna for judging their artistic impression with a 5,5 instead of the 5,7 they would have needed for winning a medal. The judge in question justifies her decision with the remark that she "did not think their music was suitable for ice dancing" but her motivation of scoring the US ice skating pair low is doubted by US ice dancer Seibert who is quoted saying that "the Italian judge had scored them low before" and that "[s]he's always swung Russian." The article makes a general statement, saying that "[s]coring often follows political lines." This statement is followed by a list that reduces the judges and the basis of their judgments to their nationalities: "Blumberg-Seibert received better scores from the American, Canadian, British and Japanese judges" while Soviet, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, West German and Italian judges "preferred" the Soviet competitors, it says. So here we have a classic case of turning a sports competition into a rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Cold War frame with its binary East-West oppositions shines through, which has the effect that whenever an American is suffering from any kind of injustice, the Soviet Union is suspected to be behind it. Interestingly, the list of pro-Soviet judges does not wholly comply with the Cold War alliances as the example of the West German and Italian judges shows. So here the contours of the two superpowers' spheres of influence appear slightly blurred.

Thus, in 1984, the aspect of sports actually fades into the background as the reporter does not discuss the artistic performance of the athletes but chooses to make the judges and their alleged nationalistic bias the focus of the article. Furthermore, the
reader does not learn anything about the Soviet couples who won the competition. In fact, the article does not mention the winning couples' names. Neither does it provide any information on the quality or character of Soviet couples' winning performances. The US ice skating couple, on the other hand, is depicted as the 'unrecognized genius' whose "innovative, modernistic interpretation of 'Scheherazade'" is too avant-garde for the conservative Italian judge and the judge's preference for traditional performances and music is quickly equaled with her being pro-Russian and consequently anti-American.

The article portrays the Soviet couple's win over the US couple rather as a poor job of the judges than as the result of the athletes' actual performances. The article describes the judges as coming from "different nations" having "different skating philosophies, different political leanings, and who knows what else" and who "can do almost anything they want." Following the same line of reasoning, the article depicts the judges as "the barrier" that may stand "between the skaters and history", sometimes depriving the skaters of their rightful claim to "ultimate glory". The description of the judges' power over the athletes is held in general terms, so it could be applied to any ice skater of any nationality. However, the case of the US ice skating couple Seibert-Blumberg takes up so much room that the reader is left with the impression that Seibert and Blumberg are the only ones suffering. The 1984 article depicts the US ice dancing couple as the underdog that faces discrimination of narrow-minded judges who do not recognize the artistic value of the couple's performance. Here, the article constructs a sharp contrast between the innovative-modernistic and the traditional. Generally, the term 'traditional' is often associated with a country's long and rich cultural heritage. However, the context of the statement, the way that it is used as an explanation for why the Soviet couple toppled the US skaters from the third place, is derogative. Here, 'traditional' is associated with such concepts as 'backwardness', 'narrow-mindedness' and an unwillingness or inability to keep up with the times. Seibert and Blumberg are, in contrast, portrayed as the innovative, modernist and artistically daring who not only keep up with times, but who are actually ahead of it. Furthermore, the case is not
described as an isolated incident but as part of something bigger. "Imperfect, biased, nationalistic judging goes with the territory", the article says, listing the events where Blumberg and Seibert won neither gold, nor silver. This list includes the 1982 world championships in Copenhagen, the 1983 world championships in Helsinki and the most recent competition. The paragraph ends with an indirect quote of Blumberg where she says that "she was convinced they were victimized by the judges every time."

Another line of the article's reasoning is that judging is always relative because "by the time competition begins" the judges "may have already ranked the skaters" on the basis of what they have seen during practice hours or from earlier performances. Thus, good skaters such as Torvill-Dean, the British couple who won the ice dancing competition, "might have a subpar performance and still be ranked at the top", the 1984 article argues. In one competition a couple may win gold, despite falling on a throw triple salchow and at the next competition it may only get the silver medal despite what was "perhaps the best performance of their lives", the article points out. This is not just an abstract example. The article speaks of the two US ice skaters Kitty and Peter Carruthers who, after winning the United States championships in Salt Lake City four weeks prior to the Olympics, were only rated second in Sarajevo. "That's O.K.", their coach is quoted. He confirms that national bias does play a role in figure skating but he also relativizes its effect. According to him "nationalism isn't so terrible because everyone does it. The judges feel that if they don't score the skaters from their countries high, who will? Generally, it balances out", the article quotes him saying. For the article, the coach's statement has two functions. On the one hand, it confirms the view that the American skaters undergo unfair and nationally biased treatment at the Sarajevo Olympics. But at the same time the portrayal of the American athletes as the only victims is contradicted. However, the way the article is structured, Blumberg and Seibert go back to being the victims right in the next paragraph. The British ice skaters Torvill and Dean, the couple that won the gold medal, are "inundated with titles and praise and 6.0's", the article reports. This is portrayed as unfair. "Why?", the article asks are Blumberg and Seibert "victimized by the judges every time", even though "[p]hilosophically, Blumberg-
Seibert are close to Torvill-Dean"? And 'why is the British ice dancing couple "inundated with titles and praise and 6.0's" while the American couple is not?', the argumentation goes. A coach is quoted to offer an explanation:

*Perhaps the judges have to accept Torvill and Dean because they are so darn good. But they don’t want ice dancing to change radically, so they are ready to punish anyone else who tries to be different. The only ones who are doing that are Blumberg and Seibert.*

This is an interesting line of argument. At the beginning, Seibert and Blumberg are depicted as the avant-gardes of ice dancing who, as individuals, cannot tackle the all-powerful judges' too traditional understanding of art. On the one hand, this argument loses its force because if a couple with a similar philosophy as Seibert and Blumberg is able to convince the judges it sounds unreasonable Seibert and Blumberg's failure in winning a medal was due to their philosophy. However, how the issue is presented it seems as if this is even more reason to believe that Seibert and Blumberg are victimized. The article constructs a contradiction here. The argument goes that even though Seibert and Blumberg share the philosophy of the winning team, they did not win. But at the same time Seibert and Blumberg's philosophy is presented as too innovative and modernistic for the judges, who seem to fight for protecting the sport's traditional values. So the argument goes that Torvill and Dean are simply so good that the judges have no choice but to rank them at the top, but "anyone else who tries to be different" is punished and that, in this article, are Seibert and Blumberg.

In a paragraph further up in the article, *NYT* reporter Frank Litsky refers to a judging scandal that had happened in the past. The "bad part", he writes, are the "sub rosa deals between judges", which according to him are "more subtle and perhaps less prevalent" today. His statement that it "used to be much worse" is followed by the description of a judging scandal that had happened in the past:

*One official recalled the time a foreign judge was upset at the low scores the skaters from his nation were receiving from an American judge. The foreign judge approached an American coach whose skater was in first place and offered a deal: if the American coach would persuade the American judge in another event to give
good marks to a skater from the foreign nation, that judge would give good marks to the skater in first place in this event, assuring victory. The coach reported the incident, and the judge was suspended for 10 years.

The article gives the impression that the history of figure skating was full of poor decision-making, national bias and scandals. But it is worth noting that out of all these incidents, the NYT reporter selects that one incident, where the American coach comes across as the incorruptible hero who demonstrated his moral integrity by reporting the incident. The long history of victimization of the American ice skaters Seibert and Blumberg appears to suggest that there is a system behind it. The Cold War frame that runs through the entire article uses the Cold War dichotomy to divide the world into two camps and reduce the complexity of the sport to an ideological struggle between the US and the Soviet Union. The article implicates that whenever an US athlete appears to be victimized or suffering from discrimination, the Soviet Union is benefitting. This is exemplified by Marina Klimova's and Sergei Ponomarenko's victory over Blumberg and Seibert. The Soviet ice dancing couple wins and takes the place at the podium that the American couple was supposed to take. Following the same line of argument, the Italian judge is depicted as having "always swung Russian". The simplistic 'whoever is not with me is against me'-way of thinking that the Cold War frame pushes, leaves but one explanation: The Soviets are not playing by the rules and may have been involved in some kind of shady business like the one that the American figure skating couch once put an end to by reporting the incident. The article constructs the image of the talented fair-playing American that is contrasted with the faceless Soviet, who would do anything (including making an illegal deal with a judge) to prevent the American athletes from claiming the medals they deserve. The judge who was suspended for ten years after offering a deal, is described as "foreign", which, in Cold War terms, can be equaled with being from 'the Eastern bloc', where unfair and deceptive practices, from a Western perspective, are common place.

NYT reporter Juliet Macur's article on the 2014 figure skating competition in Sochi is also focusing on the sport's judging system. Her article jumps right into the confusion, which followed the women's contest where Yu-na Kim and Adelina Sotnikova had competed
for the gold medal. Russia's Adelina Sotnikova had outscored Yu-na Kim from South Korea and everybody is described as confused by the outcome, including experts and the reporter herself. "I ran to the first skating insider I could find: Kurt Browning, a four-time world champion who had been commentating for Canadian television. Could he explain what just happened?", NYT reporter Juliet Macur writes. "I don't know guys", the insider in question is quoted saying. Macur frames her article as a quest for an answer as to why one figure skater had won over the other. She thereby places herself into the article, a move that would have been considered inappropriate in 1984.

When comparing this article with the one from 1984, the differences between how the two articles approach the subject is striking; at least with regard to victimization. Macur does not take sides. "It's easy to feel sorry for both Kim and Sotnikova", she writes. In contrast to 1984, where the Soviet ice dancers Marina Klimova and her partner Sergei Ponomarenko were only referred to as the "Soviet contenders", in 2014 Russian ice skater Adelina Sotnikova is mentioned by name and her performance is described as "excellent and electric." In her winning performance she skated with "flair and charisma", the article reports. Kim is described as "one of the best skaters in history" and as having appeared "graceful and effortless on the ice". The confusion that many spectators shared about the competition's outcome is reported, but in 2014, accusations of nationalistic bias are out of the question.

Just like in 1984 the judging system remains the subject to strong criticism in 2014. NYT reporter Julie Macur takes the "2002 Salt Lake City Olympics judging scandal" as a proof that the sport's scoring system is not only "too convoluted and opaque", but "that it can be corrupted." The following paragraph lists two questionable cases in relation to the jury:

One of the judges for Thursday's women's competition is married to the general director of the Russian figure skating federation. Another, from Ukraine, was at the center of a voting scandal in ice dancing at the 1998 Nagano Olympics.

If these two cases are supposed to suggest nationalistic bias, it is not verbalized and Macur puts a bigger emphasis on how the secrecy of the judges' individual votes gave
rise to immediate and fierce conspiracy theories. "Some people were just plain confused, and they can't be blamed", Marcu argues and she quotes the figure skating insider Kurt Browning to shed light into the incident: "Yu-na Kim outskated her but it's not just a skating competition anymore -- it's math," he is quoted saying, explaining that "Sotnikova racked up little points here and there to move ahead of Kim." In the next paragraph US figure skater Ashley Wagner accuses the jury's "poor judging" that, according to her, had "tainted the final outcome" of the event. Wagner also sees herself as a victim of the judges' "irregular, inexplicable scoring" because in Thursday's long program she had been ranked behind Russian ice skater Yulia Lipnitskaya, even though Lipnitskaya had fallen on one of her triple jumps while Wagner herself had stayed on her feet. Paul Wylie, a figure skater who won Olympic silver in 1992, opens up another line of argument, which is that the audience also has an effect. Wylie describes Adelina Sotnikova's glide across the rink and the raising of her hands to egg on the fans as a "brilliant move", that made her win over the audience and which is likely to have influenced the judges. Wylie describes the judges as "human beings pushing the buttons" who "can't help but be swayed -- whether consciously or unconsciously – by a biased audience".

Compared to the article from 1984, in 2014, the reader receives considerably more attention and appears to be addressed in a much more direct way. This becomes noticeable by sentences such as "how could fans and television viewers be expected to understand what happened?" or with questions such as 'will spectators live with the sport's bias the way that figure skaters "learned to live with" it or "will they stop watching?"'. The 2014 article frames figure skating as a spectacle; a competition that works in its own arcane ways but that is, if one chooses to follow it, loveable in its own right. The article's quota and ending paragraph demonstrates this very well:

*Sotnikova scored 149.95 points in the free skate. It was a massive leap from her previous best, recorded last month, of 131.63. I asked Wylie how he would explain Sotnikova’s sudden improvement to the casual fan. He paused, and couldn't come up with an answer. "It's figure skating at its finest, right?" he said. Everyone around him laughed.*
The 1984 article had also tried to ridicule the sport but particularly when compared to the 2014 article, in 1984 there was an underlying gravity to it. "Yet Blumberg-Seibert, frustrated as they are, endure", the 1984 article concludes. It ends with a quote of Judy Blumberg's roommate that, according to Blumberg's partner Seibert, put the issue in perspective. The roommate said, "[do] what you want and to hell with the judges." This is the note on which the 1984 article ends.

Thus, the two articles are strikingly similar in what they discuss. Yet, they differ considerably in terms of seriousness, moral evaluation and the apportioning of blame. In both articles the judging system is presented as the sport's main problem but in 2014 the sport is presented as a spectacle that has its long known shortcomings but that is loveable nonetheless. Indeed, Wylie's last quote even suggests, that figure skating is so loveable not despite but because of this. A different impression is gained from the 1984 article. Here the quota is used to give a voice to the victimized US ice dancing couple. However, the biggest difference between the two articles is that Yu-na Kim is never victimized. Instead, Sotnikova's "brilliant move" to win the crowd and her ability to rack up "little points here and there" are emphasized. In the end Sotnikova appears as the one who used the shortcomings of the system cleverly and righteously to her advantage, a picture, strikingly different to the one painted in 1984.

5.5 Analysis: The Discourse on ice hockey in 1984 and 2014

In the 1984 article written by Neil Amdur, the Cold War imagery begins already in the headline. "Soviet defeats Canada, 4-0" it says here. It does not say the 'Soviet Union', the 'Soviet team' or the 'Soviet squad', but uses the term 'Soviet' in the singular, just as if there was one big individual playing against Canada. The effect is that all the Soviet players disappear behind the image of 'the Soviet'. The article begins with the following sentence:

Canada built a wall to contain the Soviet Union's hockey scoring machine tonight, but the unbeaten Soviet squad still managed a 4-0 victory that assured a gold-medal showdown with Czechoslovakia Sunday at the XIV Olympic Winter Games.
The label "scoring machine" falls into the same category as 'the Soviet'. Both images reduce the Soviet players to one single entity. The image of the 'scoring machine' suggests strength and precision. It creates the image of a system that mechanically produces goals as if they were goods. The Soviet team is recognized as a significant force and serious opponent. In fact, depicting the Soviet players as a machine also points at these players' supremacy and a game on unequal terms. The setting is described as a team of Canadian players building a wall to protect themselves against the machine that is moving towards them. The 1984 article presents the game between Canada and the Soviet Union as an action movie where human beings are fighting a machinelike opponent and when humans are fighting against a machine, it is predictable which side the audience takes.

In the article's next section, attention shifts to the outcome of the game between Sweden and Czechoslovakia. Jaromir Schindel, the Czechoslovak goalie is reported to having "allowed only four goals in six games", just like "his celebrated Soviet counterpart, Vladislav Tretiak", who he is going to face in the final. The paragraph ends with a personal assessment of the Canadian coach and a sentence on the ranking of the US team, which "claimed seventh place in the 12-team competition by outscoring Poland, 7-4" and which "evened their record for the tournament at 2-2-2." According to Dave King, the Canadian coach, "the gold-medal game will be close." According to him, "The Soviets should be favored, but the Czechs are capable of giving them a very good game."

The article's next paragraph gives some background information with regard to the Soviet team's most recent performances. Here the Soviet Union is described as having "scored 42 goals in its first 5 games" and as having beaten the Canadians 8:1 in a tournament in Moscow two months ago. Then the article features the Canadian coach explaining his plan of action against the Soviets:

*When you're fighting against a guy who is tougher than you are, you better find a change of pace. [...] If I box against Muhammad Ali, I'm not going to go toe to toe. I'm going to change my techniques as much as I can.*
The Canadian coach's strategy is to utilize his center "as a third defenseman to close off the middle lane against the fast-skating Soviet forwards." The online dictionary YourDictionary (Anonymous, 2015) describes the phrase 'going toe to toe' as a "race where the two leaders have equal chances to win the race", a setting that the Canadian coach tries to avoid. His comparison of the Soviet ice hockey team to boxer Muhammad Ali suggests the Canadian coach's respect and awe for the Soviet team. Then the Soviet coach Viktor Tikhonov is quoted: "We expected any tactics and we were ready", followed by a detailed report of the match, clearly written from the Canadian perspective. The Canadian perspective is expressed by the fact that the Canadian players appear as the only active actors. It was the Canadian player Mario Gosselin who "turned aside Sergei Makarov's point blank shot in the opening 20 seconds." It was "the Canadians' positional defense", that "seemed to be working", it was Canada who "got off 4 shots within 43 seconds near the 16-minute mark" and so it continues. Canadian player Carey Wilson is reported to make a shot from 12 feet (that went wide), Canadian player Gosselin is reported to having preserved the scoreless tie with his "14 first-period saves" and the Canadian Doug Lidster is presented as the leading player in 'killing' three Soviet power plays. When a Soviet player is eventually reported to actually do something, it appears only as a semi-active move: Soviet goalie Tretiak "deflected" a shot by a Canadian player "and, as so often happens, the missed shot was turned to a Soviet advantage with a goal at 11:31 by Vladimir Kovin." The passive construction of the sentence is interesting because even when scoring, the Soviet players continue to be the passive ones. Soviet player Vladimir Kovin did not turn the shot into a Soviet advantage with a goal at 11:31 but the missed shot was turned into a goal by him. Additionally, it was Canadian player Gosselin who "made a solid save on Igor Stelnov's shot" instead of 'Igor Stelnov making a shot at the goal', which – objectively and chronologically – would make more sense because when a field player is attempting to score, the goalie is the one reacting and not the other way around.

For the sake of completeness; further to the end of the report, there are more instances where Soviet players appear in an active way. This one marks the change from depicting
the Soviet team as merely passively responding to the Canadian play: "[Canadian player] Gosselin made a solid save on [Soviet player] Igor Stelnov's shot, but could not extend himself to smother the puck" and "[Soviet player] Kovin to the left of the net, pushed the puck through", the article reports. Here Kovin is presented in an active way as he is 'pushing the puck through'. But again, the preceding sentence does take away some of the Soviet player's agency, with the effect that even though the Soviet team has clearly won the match, in the first half of the article, it is the Canadian moves that receive most of the coverage. In the paragraph in which the Soviet team does appear as the active player, the article emphasizes just how close the Canadians were from winning:

*The Soviet Union got its second goal at 14:19. They caught the Canadians with only two players back, and Nikolai Drozdetsky slid the puck to Alexander Kozevnikov, who scored. But even then, the Canadians were close enough until Aleksandr Skvortsov turned Pat Flatley around and slipped a short-handed goal past Gosselin at 14:41 of the final period. The Soviet Union went more than 54 minutes before taking a penalty, then were a man short in the last 33 seconds when slashing and roughing tactics by Vyacheslav Fetisov precipitated brawling.*

Then, the Canadian coach is quoted to assess the outcome and the overall game. In quoting only him and his perspective on the game, the article is – once again – supporting the Canadian cause and the narrative remains Canadian. The following paragraph titled "Reason to feel proud", which contains a list of reasons why the Canadians did well nonetheless, confirms the impression of a nationalistic bias and reinforces it even further. The article's last lines are interesting because here the focus turns back to the US team:

*The Soviet team did not appear disappointed by the absence of the United States from the medal round after the Americans had won the gold medal in Lake Placid four years ago with victories over the Soviet Union and Finland.*

The reference to the 1980 Lake Placid game is worth noting. At the game in question the United States team achieved a surprise victory over the Soviet team, which was hitherto believed to be invincible. Here and elsewhere, the Lake Placid game is used as a myth and metaphor for American superiority. The US ice hockey team’s victory at the 1980 Lake Placid Games became known as the "Miracle on Ice" (Jacobson, 2013, p. 62).
According to the "Miracle on Ice"-myth, the Lake Placid victory was the success of a group of self-made US college "boys" who were depicted as amateurs. The myth of the amateurs defeating the all-powerful 'red machine' gives force to the biblical construct of the 'miracle' of an US David winning against a Soviet Goliath (Jacobson, 2013, p. 65). It is therefore probably not accidental that the article's last sentence contains a reference to what the Americans refer to as the "Miracle on Ice". "If we had played against the U.S. team of 1980", the Soviet coach who had also been coaching the Soviet team in Lake Placid is quoted, "I don't think they would have been able to win again." So here, the Soviet coach is allowed to have the last say, which is remarkable given the relative absence of Soviet quotations in the overall coverage (as discussed in more detail in chapter 6). However, the article also uses the quote to remind on the 1980 game, which continues to provide the frame of reference in the sports coverage of Olympic ice hockey, as the article from 2014 demonstrates.

Indeed, the NYT reporter Karen Crouse revives that point of reference for framing the 2014 article. The headline "Drama, if not Miracle, as U.S. beats Russia" clearly refers to the 1980 'miracle'. In fact, she seems to use it as the starting point of a shared ice hockey tradition between the two countries. The following sentences show that Crouse uses the 1980 Lake Placid game as the 'point zero' of the Russia-US ice hockey rivalry:

"Four times since that Miracle on Ice, the teams had met in Olympic competition, with the Americans compiling a 1-2-1 record, but none of the games were on Russian soil. After a 34-year wait, the Russians finally got the chance on Saturday to host a United States squad, one infinitely more experienced and skilled than the one that pulled off that stunning 4-3 victory on the way to winning the gold medal. The United States players view these Olympics as a chance to write their own feel-good success story, one that people back home will talk about for another 34 years.

One could righteously argue that the Soviet ice hockey team had offset the 1980 defeat by 1984 when winning Olympic gold in Sarajevo. Instead, Crouse's article constructs a 34-years long tradition to artificially keep the rivalry alive. In fact, the article insinuates that the Soviet/Russian team has suffered from a complex about the defeat ever since and has been craving to beat the United States on Russian soil for 34 years. And while the article presents the Russians as still having to fight their ghosts from the past, the
United States team is described as the new generation waiting to break with the past and "write their own feel-good story".

The analysis of the discourse on figure skating and ice hockey that surrounded the 1984 Olympics and the 2014 Games showed which aspects and stories the NYT selected, how the NYT framed them and what images, symbols and myths it used to emphasize a preferred sense of a US national identity as distinct from the Soviet Union or Russia respectively. In order to study the images and hidden assumptions the US holds towards Russia, the sports pages of the NYT proved a very valuable source. The following chapter outlines this study’s findings and analyzes their implications. To increase the informative value of the findings, data from CA and CDA is combined, compared and analyzed in relation to each other.

6. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The number of articles the NYT dedicated to covering the Olympic Games in 1984 (115) and 2014 (224) demonstrate the seemingly ever-increasing medialization of the Games, which ties in with the growth of the Olympics as an international industry. The high number of articles covering the Games demonstrates that the trend towards medializing the Olympics is not restricted to television (Dayan and Katz, 1992) but also affects the NYT as a print medium.

For the sake of clarity, the findings of CA are organized into three different parts, each of which are assigned to one of the three research questions. Where appropriate they are supplemented by the observations derived from CDA. The findings that refer to RQ 1 are listed below. RQ 1 is the following: How often did the NYT (1) mention, (2) feature or (3) quote Soviet/Russian athletes as compared to American athletes in the Olympics, and was there a difference in the frequency during and after the Cold War?

(1) Proportionally, the amount of articles mentioning Soviet/Russian Olympians by name has not changed. Both, in 1984 and 2014 they were about a third. At the same time the NYT coverage became slightly less nationalistic: The amount of articles mentioning
American athletes decreased by about six percent. In other words, while in 1984 about three quarters of the articles (75.65%) had mentioned American athletes, this number had slightly decreased by 2014, where the number of articles mentioning American athletes was about 70 percent (69.2%). These findings suggest that the NYT became slightly more open to also provide coverage to non-US athletes. This development can be interpreted as tying in with the growth of the international sports industry. Today the US national ice hockey league employs players from many different countries, many of them Russians. The fact that many non-US athletes work in the US increases the chances that they are covered by the NYT because to the US audience these athletes have become "one of us".

Even though findings suggest that the NYT's coverage of the Olympic Games has become slightly less nationalistic compared to 1984, this should not distract from the fact that the amount of nationalism is still at a very high level. Overall this study's findings are in line with what other studies on US sports coverage have found. Billings and Angelini (2007), who examined the US media coverage of the 2004 Athens Summer Olympics with regard to nationalistic tendencies, described the coverage of the Games as being "unabashedly American" (p. 109). In light of the high amount of US nationalism in the NYT's Olympic coverage, the author specifically looked for articles that gave exclusive coverage to Soviet/Russian athletes and found that the NYT covered events in which no American athlete competed in only 6 percent of the cases in 1984. By 2014 this number had risen to about 11 percent.

In 1984 about half of all articles (49.57%) exclusively mentioned American athletes while ignoring their Soviet counterparts. By 2014 this remained only true for less than a quarter (23.21%). The figures for 1984 illustrate that the Cold War rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union transcended the field of politics. The conclusion that the NYT's sports coverage of the 1984 was influenced by the Cold War is therefore justified. Compared to 1984, the numbers of athletes competing in the Olympic Games more than doubled. It is therefore essential to consider the mentions of Soviet/Russian athletes in relation to attendance. The Olympic Games are a mass event that has grown
considerably, both in terms of audience numbers and with regard to athletes' attendance. In 1984, 107 Americans and 99 Soviet athletes competed in the Olympics. In Sochi attendance of American athletes was 230; attendance of Russian athletes was 233. If the number of Soviet/Russian participants in Sochi has doubled compared to 1984, it could be expected that the number of mentions also doubled. This has not been the case. In 1984 the names of 45 of the 99 Soviet athletes competing appeared in the coverage of the NYT. In 2014, only 48 of the 233 Russian athletes that competed in the Sochi Games were mentioned by name.

When comparing these figures with the amount of mentions US athletes received, the picture looks very different. In the Sarajevo coverage, 92 of the 107 American athletes
competing were mentioned by name. In Sochi the names of 156 American athletes appeared in print. This means that in comparison to the Cold War times, the names of an additional 64 US athletes are mentioned in the NYT. The findings with regard to the amount of mentions Soviet/Russian athletes received in 1984 as compared to 2014 demonstrate that readers will find about the same amount of Russian names in the pages of the NYT as they did when the Soviet Union still existed (see Figure 1). Only that the attendance of athletes has doubled by now and the number of American names has more or less kept pace while the number of Russian athletes has not (see Figure 1 as compared to Figure 2). Given the amount of Russian or non-US athletes employed by the US ice hockey league alone would have suggested that Americans would identify to a larger extent with foreign athletes and that the NYT would have reflected that. However, this study's findings suggest the contrary.

Besides looking at how many different Soviet/Russian athletes were mentioned, these mentions are also added up. Taking all mentions of Soviet athletes together – that is every Soviet name that appeared in the NYT coverage – the result is 72 for 1984 and 131 for 2014. The Soviet athletes mentioned most often are the captain of the Soviet ice hockey team Vladislav Tretiak followed by the figure skating pair Elena Valova and Oleg Vasiliev. The most mentioned Russian athletes in Sochi are the figure skaters Yulia Lipnitskaya, Evgeni Plushenko and Adelina Sotnikova and the Russian ice hockey player Alex Ovechkin. On the American side, the ice skating pair Kitty and Peter Carruthers, ice hockey player Pat LaFontaine and alpine skiers Debbie Armstrong and Bill Johnson dominate the coverage of the 1984 Sarajevo Olympics. In 2014, the American athletes who receive most media attention are the alpine skiers Bode Miller, Ted Ligety and Mikaela Shiffrin and the ice dancing pair Charlie White and Meryl Davis. These are the athletes whose names were mentioned most. However, it takes more than a name to give an athlete a human face. This can for instance be achieved with a feature story. This part relates to the second aspect of RQ 1.

(2) In 1984, there was one single article featuring a Soviet athlete. In 2014, nine feature stories on Russian Olympians appeared in print. This is a drastic change in comparison to
the Cold War times. In 1984 there have been 22 feature stories on US athletes, one on a Soviet athlete and the remaining 18 had featured athletes from other nations, most of them from Finland (five); two each from Canada, Great Britain, Austria, Switzerland and East Germany; and only one each from Sweden and Norway.

In 2014, there were 42 feature stories on US athletes, nine on a Russian athlete, and the remaining 40 featured athletes from other nations, most of them from Canada (six), Germany (four), Sweden (four) and Austria (three). This means that the proportion of feature stories focusing on American athletes only changed marginally. In both years a little more than a third of all articles were feature stories; around half of them featuring American athletes. The number of featured Russians has clearly increased in comparison to the Cold War era, particularly when compared to athletes from other nations (see Figure 3). This finding would suggest that the NYT was able to break free from the Cold War and did a good job with regard to giving Russians athletes a human face in the Sochi Olympics of 2014. However, in order to make a conclusive judgment, more aspects need to be taken into account. The next part will subsume the findings with regard to how often the NYT quoted Soviet/Russian athletes.

The comparison of the numbers of Soviet/Russian quotations in the NYT coverage of the Sarajevo Olympics and the Sochi Games show very clear results. In 1984, the main feature of a Soviet athlete was his/her muteness. Only three Soviet athletes were briefly
quoted during the Sarajevo Games, including one indirect quote. American athletes in contrast were quoted a total of 140 times and at length. In fact, the quotations of American athletes fill twelve and a half pages; font size 12, single spaced. As a point of reference, the three Soviet athletes' quotes only account for four lines. In 2014, there were 20 Russian and 195 American quotes. Russian quotes made up for three quarters of a page; American quotations filled a total of 15 pages. So even though the ratio has become slightly less extreme, one can hardly speak of a balanced ratio. Surely it has to be taken into account that Soviet/Russian athletes were not keen on or supposed to talk to Western journalists – particularly not at the height of the Cold War. But whatever the reasons, it is probable that the absence of Soviet voices contributed to the perception of Soviet/Russian athletes as emotionless cyborgs lacking individual human characteristics. Given the American athletes' chatter, the contrast could not be bigger. In light of the extreme dearth of Soviet quotes in the NYT, it is worth noting that the Soviet ice hockey coach Tikhonov was quoted in the discourse analyzed article from 1984. His quote and particularly the fact that he appeared to having been granted the last word at the very end of the article must, in light of the findings provided by CA, be understood as a rare exception.

The following part of this chapter is dedicated to RQ 2, which is: Were the Soviet/Russian and American athletes mentioned by name or did the NYT identify them by nationality or ideology? The findings show that in 1984, Soviet athletes were subsumed under a group label in 23 cases. These numbers include five instances where an individual sport is covered, which makes the use of a group label even more suspicious. These findings are in line with the findings provided by CDA. In the 1984 article on figure skating, the names of the Soviet ice dancers Marina Klimova and her partner Sergei Ponomarenko who were able to push the US couple to place four, were never mentioned. The same was true for the Soviet ice dancers who won the silver medal, Natalya Bestemyanova and Andrey Bukin. In 1984, the NYT did not consider their names worthy enough to mention. The fact that neither of the two Soviet ice dancing couples who got onto the podium were mentioned by name demonstrates that the
NYT’s coverage of the Sarajevo Olympics reflects a Cold War bias. Findings from CA and CDA suggest that in 1984, the achievements of Soviet athletes were not considered news and Soviet athletes were not individual people with names, faces and emotions but a grey mass that was often subsumed under the label "the Soviet". The headline of the 1984 article on ice hockey – Soviet Defeats Canada, 4-0 – reveals a Cold War framing that is similar to what CA has been looking for when counting the times Soviet athletes were mentioned by name or simply referred to by ideology. Depicting an individual athlete as a mere representative of an ideology by assigning him or her with a group label is the same as using the singular when speaking of a group. Both use the kind of abstraction and generalization that characterized the Cold War. Speaking of 'the Soviet' suggests that Soviets are all the same; no individuals but a faceless mass represented by the image of just one person. The NYT’s use of the label "the Soviet" and "the Machine", as found in the 1984 discourse on ice hockey illustrate how the use of such a label contributed to the dehumanized media depiction of the Soviets.

![Figure 4: Total mentions of Soviet/Russian athletes sorted by way of mentioning](image)

The findings made with regard to the Sochi coverage show a different picture. Here, the group label is used in a total of 17 cases, five of them with regard to individual sports. These results have to be seen in proportion to the overall coverage of the Games. In
view of the knowledge that the amount of articles dedicated to the coverage of the Olympic Games was 115 in 1984 and 224 in 2014, it can be concluded that the share of ideology as expressed through the use of group labels has decreased (see Figure 4).

The following part is dedicated to **RQ 3**, which is: Did the number of mentions reflect the Soviet/Russian and American athletes' actual successes during the Olympics? Soviet and Russian athletes dominated both Olympics. Soviet athletes won a total of 25 medals in 1984 and in 2014 the number of Russian medals was 33. If US media used to downplay what Soviet athletes accomplished in Sarajevo and during the Cold War, this has not changed. In Cold War times, a Soviet gold medalist would receive an average of two articles (2,03) covering him or her. For Sochi the number was 2,04 articles. Since there were more articles on the Sochi Olympics than there were in 1984, proportionally the media attention a Russian gold medalist received during the Sochi Olympics was even worse than during Cold War times. A Soviet medalist – regardless whether he or she won gold, silver or bronze – was on average covered in 1,42 articles. In Sochi, a Russian medal was equivalent to the value of just one article. American medalists, in contrast, were mentioned in an average of eleven articles in 1984 and in four in 2014. This suggests that during the Cold War the NYT's patriotism took the shape of burying its readers with detailed information on the achievements of American athletes. The remarkable disparity between articles featuring Soviet and American athletes along with the vast difference in terms of quotations probably reinforced the impression of Soviet athletes being "emotionless cyborgs" (Billings, Angelini and Wu, 2011, p. 263).

Another way to downplay the achievements of Soviet athletes is linking their successes to accusations of playing foul or depicting them as being the result of biased and corrupt judges. This aspect was analyzed by CDA. Findings demonstrate that both 1984 articles, the one on figure skating as well as the one on ice hockey, show features of a Cold War framing. The article on figure skating for instance quickly turns into a discussion of the sport's judging system. The complexity of the sport is reduced to an oversimplified ideological battle between the East and the West. American losses and Soviet wins raise suspicions and the search for culprits follows political lines. The 1984 article on figure
skating reflects the *NYT* reporter's general suspicion towards the Eastern bloc, which is emblematic for the Cold War. To justify and explain American losses, Soviet achievements were downplayed (for instance by ignoring the names of the successful Soviet ice dancers) and linked to the accusation of playing foul.

The aspect of playing foul also resonates with other discourses that portray the Soviet Union as an unfair player. One example is the "shamateur"-discourse that is connected with the accusation that Soviet athletes did not fulfill the requirements of 'real amateurs', a condition that used to be a necessary requirement for athletes' participation in the Olympic Games. "Shamateurs" and "state amateurs" were the names Americans used for Soviet athletes who, in their opinion, did not qualify as amateurs because of the state-subsidies they received (Soares, 2007, p. 216). This has been a recurrent theme in the Olympic discourse of the Cold War era. In fact, it actually predates the Soviet's application to join the Olympic movement in 1951 (ibid.). The "shamateur"-discourse is a discourse that depicts the Soviet Union as not playing by the rules and enjoying unfair benefits. In the article *Figure-skating judges have routine all their own* from 1984, this image of the cheating and corrupt Soviet is contrasted with the image of the law-abiding Western athletes who would under no conditions sacrifice their moral integrity. This US self-image is exemplified by an American figure skating coach who is presented as having proven his moral integrity by reporting a foreign judge who had offered him an illegal deal (see: p. 45). The accusation of "shamateurism" was one component that helped shaping the "Miracle on Ice"-myth (Jacobson, 2013, p. 65), the one *NYT* reporter Karen Crouse had picked up for framing the ice hockey match in Sochi. It was the framing of the 1980 game as a game between "state-funded Soviet professionals" and "a bunch of US amateur college boys" that turned the event into the powerful myth of a biblical-like struggle between the American David against the Soviet Goliath (ibid.). The 1984 discourse on ice hockey illustrates the image of "the Soviet" and "the Machine" as one single entity lacking human characteristics. This provided a basis on which Cold War stereotypes could easily be maintained. The CDA of the article on figure skating and its judging system from 2014 has shown that the times of
ideologically motivated suspicions and hasty condemnations along political lines are over. The same can be said over the alleged victimization of US athletes. Thus, this thesis' first research hypothesis (RH 1) that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent geopolitical changes affected the NYT's framing of Russian athletes is largely confirmed. However, continuities as formulated in RH 2 were clearly found, too.

CONCLUSION

The findings of CA and CDA have shown that no matter how big the changes in the geopolitical landscape, certain Cold-War narratives and images have persisted and can – to a certain extent – be found in the NYT sports coverage of the Sochi Olympics. For most of the twentieth century, the relations between the two superpowers have been defined in Cold War terms. This study has shown that the Cold War's profound impact on the two countries' history and relationship to each other is still noticeable today.

This study found evidence of a typical Cold War myth in the NYT's framing of an ice hockey match between Russia and the US in Sochi. The origin of that particular myth dates back to the early 1980s, a time dominated by the ideological battle between the two superpowers. That an article revives a myth from those times to give meaning to an event that happens decades after the end of the Cold War shows that the geopolitical changes subsequent to the collapse of the Soviet Union have not been able to initiate a clear-cut break with the past – at least not with regard to sports. The fact that an article from 2014 is taking up a Cold War myth also demonstrates the persistence of myths in the realm of sports and culture. Sports rely on myths to construct long traditions of rivalry to increase tension and enhance excitement. From that point of view, it appears unlikely that Cold War myths are going to disappear from the sports pages anytime soon. This thesis advocates an understanding of myth as a bundle of images, symbols, timeless tales and metaphors that – as mental schemas – can easily be re-activated and are powerful in the way that they appeal to our memory on an emotional level. Hence,
the re-appropriation and reassembling of myths and mythical elements to depict Russia is a wide and interesting field of research.

The overall findings of this study suggest that the competition between the two countries – as expressed in the coverage of the Olympics – continues to be at a high level and that changes with regard to the *NYT*'s nationalistic bias are minimal. This study has found that compared to the Cold War era, the coverage of the Sochi Olympics entails less ideology. However, continuities could be found in terms of US nationalism and with regard to the *NYT*'s practice of ignoring and/or downplaying Russian athletes' achievements. Thus, the harsh competition on the political realm as well as in the sports arena between the former Cold War rivals continues; only the setting has changed: The Cold War rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union has been replaced by an economic competition on the global market.

This thesis touched upon the significant influence sports journalism can have on national audiences' perception of foreign countries from a theoretically informed point of view. Myths, as this thesis concludes, are very powerful tools to construct a 'traditional' rivalry between two nations. Building up tension is necessary to excite sports fans and ensure readership. Myths invoke timeless tales of archetypical figures that are rich in symbols and meanings and that are readily accessible in people's minds. Myths convey a sense of human drama and their capability for building up tension in the sports pages, this thesis argues, complicates the overcoming of prejudice. In that way, sports journalism research would benefit greatly from reception studies as well as from further, more in-depth investigations on the role of myths in the field of sports reporting. Collaborative research can help foster our understanding of the complicated relationship between the conscious and unconscious construction of national stereotypes and the way how news consumers make judgments about foreign countries on the basis of personified information about foreign athletes. These findings may also be helpful and applicable to the research on stereotyped media images of ethnicity, 'race' and gender. The rise of sports journalism and the widening gap between the rise
of globalization and the amount of foreign correspondents on the ground increases the need for further research into this field.
REFERENCES

Primary sources of CA
List of articles to be found in the appendix.

Primary sources of CDA


Secondary sources


Stamper, L. (February 14, 2014). Sochi sold more than 1 million Olympic tickets so far. Time. Retrieved on September 3, 2015 from:

### APPENDICES

**Appendix A: List of articles (Sochi 2014)**

The titles of articles included in the sample can be found in the list below. Articles that were not deemed fit for analysis are crossed out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Russian Biathlon Coach Had Suspicions, Too</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Caribbean Newcomers Dip Their Toes in the Snow</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Competing to Make Boldest Statement at Fashion Games</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Daunting Descent</td>
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<td>There's a Dark Cloud Over Our Sport</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Islanders Fall to Flames</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Goalie’s Mask Runs Afoul of I.O.C. Rules</td>
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<td>Skating at Home, Plushenko Has Already Won</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Luger's Name Matches the One on His Waistband</td>
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<td>Streak Over, Focus Turns to Penguins, Then Sochi</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Jamaican Bobsledders Are Back, With Fans' Help</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Even in His Absence, White Looms Over Qualifying in Slopestyle</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Time Is Right for Russia to Host</td>
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<td>Russia Declares a Rebirth</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>From Stravinsky to Sharapova, Fanfare for a Reinvented Russia</td>
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<td>Injured Leg Sidelines U.S. Freestyle Skier Moments Before Her Event</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>What to Watch: Saturday</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Together on a Halfpipe Quest</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>A Little Taste of 'Fantasia' and Alice in Putinland</td>
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<td>A U.S. Team Chef Shows His Own Competitive Spirit in Sochi</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>After a Treacherous Day, Miller Is Confident</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>U.S. Strength Shows a Sport's Weakness</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>An Islander Plays on Saturday, but Won't in Sochi</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>With Team Skating, it's Now Kiss, Cry, Squeeze in</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>The Winning Formula of Luge's 'Old Man'</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Canadian Sisters Ski and Soar to 1-2 Finish Over American</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Islanders and Devils Stumble Into Olympic Break</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Menu for U.S. Women's Hockey Team is About Eating to Win</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Wagner and Ice Dancers Rally U.S. to Finals</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Roundup</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Bjorogen Retains Title</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>An Inaugural Gold in Throwback Style</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>A Crazy Quilt of Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Report of Scandal Carries on a Tradition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
35. Shaun White's Halfpipe Bravado
36. What's on Sunday
37. Rejecting the U.S. to Skate for Russia
38. A Daring Miller Strikes a Gate Instead of Gold
39. At 41, Still Soaring, Still Rising
40. German Concludes Second Luge Coronation
41. It's Time for the N.F.L. to Welcome a Gay Player
42. Ski Jumping at 60 Miles an Hour
43. Anderson Caps U.S. Sweep of Golds in New Event
44. Sochi Got the Gold. Bypassed Village Got Dust.
45. What to Watch
46. Glasnost at Glacial Pace: Russians Break Silence
47. As Others Defy Gravity, Austrians Stick to Gravitas
48. The Soul of Russia on the Ice
49. Wust Reclaims Gold in 3,000
50. Roundup
51. During Olympics, Minor League Teams Gladly Borrow Vacated N.H.L. Ice
52. Fourth
53. Fourth
54. Fourth
55. Fourth
56. To Go Further, Speedskaters Had to Let Go of Their Wheels
57. The 'Grandpas' of Hockey
58. Canadians Continue Domination of Moguls
59. Frozen Slopes Serve as Incubator for a Rivalry
60. Fourth
61. Plenty of Spills and Less Thrills on Bumpy Ride
62. What to Watch: Tuesday
63. In Skating, It's All About Mind Games
64. Dark Side of Sport Hides Behind Thrill
65. Randall of U.S. Falters and Is Eliminated
66. Chasing Gold (and Jeans That Fit)
67. Ted Ligety on Giant Slalom
68. N.H.L. vs. Olympic Hockey
69. I.O.C. Reinstates India
70. Video Upsets U.S. Lugers
71. Women Get a Chance to Soar
72. Hamlin of U.S. Takes Slippery Slide to a Medal
73. A Victory for a German, and the Entire Field
74. Restoring a Dynasty
75. Eye Infection Forces Costas to Step Aside From Olympics Coverage
76. Deposed as King
77. Sochi: February 12
78. For Skater Jason Brown, a Disciplined Approach Yields Joy on Ice
79. Another Dutch Win; Record Bid Denied
80. First Tie for Alpine Gold, Though Not Precisely
81. Upstart Ends Gold Medal Run by the Big 3
82. Experience Is an Edge as Canada Tops U.S.
83. The 'Skiing Thing' Works Out
84. Lundqvist Helps Sweden Take Opener
85. Russia Prevails in Pairs, Renewing a Tradition
86. Technology Gives Ski Jumping Hills a Boost
87. Video: The Art of Tuning Skis
88. What to Watch: Thursday
89. Redrawing a Line That Is Sometimes Crossed
90. 19th Is as Good as Gold for Oft-Injured Downhill Skier
91. Worker Struck by Sled at Sliding Track
92. What's Next, Synchronized Slopestyle?
93. Father Creates Slalom Course His Son, Ivica Kostelic, Will Try to Conquer
94. Because Curlers Can Pull Muscles, Too
95. From Flat on Their Backs, Sliders Rise to Play Tag for the Team
96. For Daredevils on Snow, the Edge Has Always Been Near
97. Slush and Short Sleeves
98. Young Star Rises as a Storied Veteran Exits
99. Bobsled Breaks Track Worker's Legs
100. Heightened Security, Visible and Invisible
101. Rare Medal Sweep for the United States
102. Slovakian Player's Absence Affects Teammates and Foes
103. What to Watch: Friday
104. Filipino Figure Skater Is Happy Just Being in Sochi
105. [no headline]
106. Plushenko's Withdrawal Stirs a Backlash
107. Fulfilling Goal, and Purpose
108. Going Bump in Night, but Still Winning a Silver
109. A Surprise Swiss Victory as U.S. Stars Are Shut Out
110. What to Watch: Saturday
111. King Will Attend Closing Ceremony
112. U.S. and Canada Feel Putin Charm, Hockey Excluded
113. The Calm After the Fall
114. Russians Have More Than U.S. in Sights
115. As Bubka Watches From Stands, His Record Finally Falls
116. Elite Couple's Valentine: Be Mine but Be Rested
117. Remarkable One-Man Show Named Oshie for the U.S.
118. At 18, a Poised Champion Has Envisioned the Best and the Worst
119. Where Skill Struggles to Overcome Dumb Luck
120. Skeleton Error
121. Second Ski Jumping Gold
122. Suit Change Does Not Matter As U.S. Misses Podium Again
123. [no headline]
124. What to Watch: Sunday
125. In Olympic Park, Blend of Familiar and Exotic
126. Navigating the Games
127. Russian Racer Breaks Spine on Ski Cross Course
128. Drama, if Not Miracle, as U.S. Beats Russia
129. From Sochi, Perhaps to Trading Block
130. A Long, Strange Trip to the Hall
131. A Rivalry Moves Beyond the Ice
132. As Austrians Prevail, American Skiers Falter
133. What's On Sunday
134. U.S. Avoids Letdown Against Olympic First-Timers
135. An Odd Purgatory
136. NBC Pushes Too Far in Bringing Bode Miller to Tears
137. U.S. in Nordic Combined: It's About Now
138. Roundup
139. Honing Their Chances With Photos and Wit
140. A Mad Dash for Salt Rescues Olympic Slopes
141. Russian Skier Who Broke Her Spine Is Moved to a German Hospital
142. Jacobellis, Hard-Luck Star, Falls Short Again
143. Another Dutch Sweep Leaves Americans Baffled
144. The Games' Unfamiliar Honor (Even Among Its Recipients)
145. Gliding Across Rink, Americans Close In on Gold
146. What to Watch: Monday
147. Always Room at the Inn for Another Medal
148. Italian Detained
149. Difficult Day for South Koreans as Native Son Wins Gold, for Russia
150. Electrifying Rivalry and Overheated Scoreboard
151. Skiing With the Greatest of Ease, and Fear
152. Independents' Olympic Dreams Are Tied to a Shoestring
153. Holcomb Skilled at Ending 62-Year Slumps
154. Skating With a Smile, No Matter What
155. Fog Postpones Snowboard Cross and Biathlon Events
156. U.S. Bombards One Swedish Goaltender, Then Another
157. Growing Into a Gold
158. Medals, and Time, Slip Away
159. Skiing and Laughing to a Third Gold
160. In Moscow, Russians Protest Disallowed Hockey Goal
161. A Battle for Gold and Posterity
162. Watching Sliding Sports Live? The Athletes Wish You Luck
163. An Interview Up Close, and Far Too Personal
164. What to Watch: Tuesday
165. Coaching Americans and Canadians, but Russian Through and Through
166. For Gold, Perfection Is Overrated
167. In a World of Free Spirits, the Undude Is Best
168. For Fleet-Footed Karlsson, Safety Comes in a Sock
169. The Harder They Fall: Shared Slopes Take Bigger Toll on Women
170. For Norway, a Cross-Country Crisis
171. A Coaching Wilderness
172. Russians Stay Alive by Crushing Norway
173. Redemption for South Korean Relay Team
174. Video: Things You Don't Know About Short-Track Speedskating
175. Savvy Victory for Maze; Solid Finish for Shiffrin
176. Rhapsody in Blue' or Rap? Skating Will Add Vocals
177. What to Watch: Wednesday
178. Snowboarders and Skiers Fly in Face of Logo Rules
179. In Figure Skating, the Second Team Shines
180. The Fleeting Appearances of a Lasting Presence
181. A Star From Norway Stands Alone
182. Silver Is the Winter Color for a Summer Gold Medalist
183. Cheer Everyone? Russian Spectators Are Still Learning
185. The Battle for Steady Nerves and Legs
186. Canada Closes In on Third Straight Curling Gold
187. Russians' Hockey Elimination Prompts Anger and Dismay
188. Kim Seizes Lead; Then the Surprises Start
189. Second Gold is U.S. First
190. Appreciating Skating's Spins, the Art Behind the Sport
191. Luck's on Their Side, but Americans Don't Need It in Rout
192. Sochi
193. Silver Is the Winter Color for a Summer Gold Medalist
194. In Hockey Loss, Russian Pride Yields to Gloom
195. Gracie Gold Places Fourth and Finds She's in Good Company
196. Chance for Redemption Comes a Round Early
197. Canadian Women Stun U.S. With Rally in Final Minutes
198. Isles' Tavares Out for Season
199. Judging Draws Renewed Scrutiny
200. Gold, With a Twist
201. American Wins Freestyle Halfpipe
202. Do Curlers Make Good Housekeepers? Don't Ask!
203. Hands Speak Louder Than Words
204. Formula for Upset: Arithmetic Trumps Art
205. By Finishing Right-Side Up, French Skiers Sweep Podium
206. What to Watch: Friday
207. In a Protest, 2 Ukrainians Withdraw
208. NBC Expects Online Record for Semifinal
209. In Focus on Speed, U.S. Neglects Slalom
210. In the Back of the Bobsled, the Not-So-Scenic Route
211. Protest All You Want, but It'll Cost You
212. In Sochi, Connecticut Is a Winner
213. Canada Dominant in Curling
214. Behind These Olympic Doors Is Anyone's Guess
215. Two Ousted After Failing Doping Tests
216. Lundqvist Helps Sweden Return to Another Final
217. Ahn's Medals Tie Record
218. Stained Gold Can Help Clean Up System
219. From Johnny Weir's Team, a Fresh Voice for NBC
220. Surgery for Zetterberg
221. What to Watch: Saturday
222. Aching Canada Delivers Stinging Loss
223. Collins Would Be an Asset on the Court, the Nets Say, Not a Distraction Off It
224. Shiffrin Zips to Bottom, Reaching Pinnacle
225. Streaming of Hockey Continues to Expand
226. Lodge All the Protests You Want, but Be Prepared to Pay the Bill
227. Holdout's Faith Rewarded Amid Olympic Makeover
228. [no headline]
229. Misguided Machismo Fosters Bullying
230. Medal Record for Cross-Country Skier
231. Johnson Does Triathlons, but Is He an Athlete?
232. Shiffrin Sets Sights on Alpine Sweep at Next Olympics
233. N.H.L. and Its Players Differ Over 2018 Games
234. After Boeheim Leaves in a Rage, Syracuse Exits With a Loss
235. Translating Thrills on the Skiing Trails
236. Strutting With Style in Sochi
237. Slalom Champion Sets an Age Record
238. Their Minds Have Seen the Glory
239. What to Watch
240. Selanne, 43, Leads Finland in Shutout of U.S.
241. What's On Sunday
242. [no headline]

Appendix B: List of articles (Sarajevo 1984)

The titles of articles included in the sample can be found in the list below. Articles that were not deemed fit for analysis are crossed out.

1. Sports of the Times; Four years later
2. Olympic Notebook: No Credentials for Radio Free Europe
3. Wednesday Sports, Basketball
4. Klammer on Rise after lean years
5. TV SPORTS Peter Alfano; Inauspicious Start on Games
6. Pageantry to mark Opening Ceremony
7. Canada stuns U.S. by 4-2 in Olympic Hockey
8. Czechs Win in Hockey Debut
9. A 2d Good Run for Miss Figini
10. SPORTS PEOPLE; Back to Springfield
11. Group Format For Hockey; The hockey teams at the XIV PLAYERS; Cindy Nelson battles injury
12. OLYMPIC NOTEBOOK; Mixing business and civic pride
13. Austria drops Weirather
14. Bobsled rivalry intensifies
15. Flags fly and the bands play
16. THURSDAY SPORTS Basketball
17. Vairo fays team was afraid to fail
18. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; Peaceful Invaders this time
19. Snow and high winds put off downhill
20. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; Lumpp grappling with track trust
21. OLYMPIC NOTEBOOK; Future is uncertain in speed skating
22. FRIDAY SPORTS Basketball
23. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; Citizen Endestad
24. SCOUTING
25. Phil Mahre Says He'll Retire
26. U.S. Skaters feel in medalist form
27. Diverse champions meeting halfway
28. Canada and Soviet raise marks to 2-0
29. Gamble pays off for Finn
31. Karin Enke wins gold, sets speed-skate mark
32. I.O.C. Is Assailed In Reporters' Ban
33. Canadiens Seek Tretiak
34. U.S. team has no regrets
35. SATURDAY SPORTS Basketball
36. East Germans lead bobsled
37. SCOUTING
38. Soviet takes gold in speed skating
39. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; The Olympics hit by Sneg
40. U.S. ski jumper gets a lift; PLAYERS John Tagliabue
41. Soviet Skier Wins Cross-Country Race
42. Torvill-Dean awarded 3 perfect 6's in dance
43. Downhills Rescheduled
44. SUNDAY SPORTS Basketball
45. Mike Woods Back in Shape, And Back in Olympic Games
46. Carruthers duo off to fine start
47. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; 'Sarajevo' as a TV Sitcom
48. Official Hairdresser
49. Bulgaria Presents Bid For 1992 Winter Games
50. U.S. Alpine Team Feeling the Tension
51. More pressure to liberalize amateur code likely
52. Restarts hurt Ahern of U.S.
53. Medal hopes are ended as U.S. ties Norway, 3-3
54. West German wins biathlon
55. East Germans 1, 2 in bobsled
56. Lake Factor May Thwart Bid
57. Soviet winner at 18-8 1/4
58. Canada (3-0) hands Finland first loss
59. Miss Hamalainen of Finland wins 2d gold medal
60. U.S. skiers fail in Nordic events
61. OLYMPIC NOTEBOOK; New alpine schedule issued
62. Soviet pole vaulter emerging as no. 1
63. Outlook is shiny and goals are set for tiffany chin
64. Photo of pairs skating medalists; Carruthers duo wins silver medal in pairs skating
65. [no headline]
66. All jokes aside, Berra is back on top
67. Hockey failure brings questions
68. Sports world specials
69. MONDAY SPORTS
70. U.S. captures giant slalom and takes first gold medal
71. U.S. captures giant slalom and takes first gold medal
72. SCOUTING
73. SCOUTING
74. TUESDAY SPORTS Basketball
75. Guidry reluctant to relieve
76. Swede wins in cross-country
77. It was long night for the Carrutherses
78. Hamilton is ahead in figure skating
79. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; Challenge to U.S. Male Skiers
80. A positive outlook helps high jumper
81. Canada wins for 4-0 mark
82. TV SPORTS; Uneven week of coverage at Sarajevo
83. PLAYERS; Debbie Armstrong just skiing for fun
84. Karin Enke skates to 2d gold medal
85. SCOUTING
86. SPORTS PEOPLE; A Presidential Call
87. WEDNESDAY SPORTS
88. Torvill-Dean win gold with record score; Seibert duo of U.S. is fourth
89. Norwegian Skier Wins Biathlon Gold
90. Torvill-Dean win gold with record score; Hamilton leads men's competition
91. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; Please come home, Lou
92. Swiss Skier Wins Giant Slalom Event
93. Olympic Notebook; Czechs, Canadians key game
94. Canadian Winner In Speed Skating
95. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; For Yugoslavia, a hero
96. Coach Denies Making Charge
97. THURSDAY SPORTS Basketball
98. Torvill-Dean gold gets royal praise
99. PLAYERS; A skier all Finland reveres
100. Johnson Is Fastest Again in Practice; Confident For Downhill
101. Miss Summers leads skating
102. Fins tie U.S. on late goal
103. Los Angeles mayor irks Greek town
104. East Germans sweep in speed skating
105. Women's downhill is stopped by fog
106. Olympic Notebook; Chinese Compete to Learn
107. Stalemate On Seaver
108. Dave Anderson Sports of The Times
109. $440 for a $44 Meal
110. U.S. captures its first gold for downhill
111. OLYMPIC NOTEBOOK; U.S. hockey goal is 7th place
112. Figure-skating judges have routine all their own
113. SPORTS OF THE TIMES
114. FRIDAYSPORTS Basketball
115. SCOUTING
116. Rosalynn Sumners drops to 2d place
117. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; Flip side of a gold medal
118. Hamilton wins gold medal in figure skating
119. Miss figini wins downhill
120. SPORTS PEOPLE; Surgery for Beardsley
121. Glory tops value in Olympic medals
122. Boucher wins 2d gold in speed skating
123. Drug Testing Is Negative
124. U.S. Play Angers Czechs
125. SATURDAY SPORTS Basketball
126. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; The $10,000 bobsled
127. Soviet takes biathlon relay
128. OLYMPIC NOTEBOOK; Miss Sumners vows her best
129. PLAYERS; Happy to be Elaine Zayak
130. Slalom won by an Italian; U.S. women are shut out
131. SPORTS PEOPLE; U.S. vs. Cuba in Ring
132. Oliver Haupt
133. Geoffrey Miller
134. Soviet Defeats Canada, 4-0
135. Change Needed
136. SUNDAY SPORTS Basketball
137. SPORTS OF THE TIMES; The new Olympic ski trail
138. Pressure is on Soviet in hockey final
139. Cross-Country Skier Banned for Drugs Use
140. Stevenson Leads Cuba To Victory Over U.S.
141. Miss Hamalainen wins 3d gold medal
142. Olympic Notebook; For the durable, marathon on skis
143. Arledge weathers the storm
144. East Germans Sweep in Sleds
145. Nykaenen wins 90-meter jump
146. Seaver accepts white sox terms
147. Miss Sumners edged out for gold
148. Skier's Problem Reported
Appendix C: Codebook

Project: Cold War Narratives, Ideology and the Framing of Soviet and Russian Athletes. Changes and Continuities in the NYT Sports Coverage

Introduction: This thesis investigates the NYT sports coverage during the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo and the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi with regard to Cold War narratives and ideology. The research objective is to determine whether and to what extent the framing of Russian/Soviet athletes has changed with the end of the Cold War. The analysis serves as the basis to draw conclusions on whether it is justified to speak (as critics claim) of a continuation of Cold-War framing in the NYT.

Period of examination: Only articles published during the period of the event are selected. The 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo began on the February 8 and ended on February 19, 1984. The 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi started on February 7 and ended on February 23.

Newspaper selection: The NYT is selected for this study.

Article selection: The first task is to identify all articles published throughout the two periods of examination. The articles are retrieved from LexisNexis using the search terms "Olympic" OR "Olympics". The search is restricted to the sports section only.

Unit of analysis (first level): The unit of analysis is the LexisNexis retrieved article. Illustrations are not to be coded. Captions are treated as editorial text.

Working Definition with regard to Cold War framing: Cold War framing is defined as downplaying the achievements of Soviet/Russian athletes. There were different ways to do so. One was to give wider coverage to Soviet losses compared to Soviet wins (Moretti, 2004, pp. 330-333). This is measured by comparing the NYT coverage with the official medal count from the respective year.

Also, during the Cold War, athletic successes were more likely to be relativized and mentioned in a negative context. Accusations of doping or unfair competition are typical
examples. Accusations of playing unfair were for instance often accompanied by references to the so-called "Soviet medal machine" (Nendel, 2002, p. 201).

Hegemonistic claims work with generalizations and so did the Cold War. The fewer Americans learn about the individuals whose faces were hidden behind the enemy image of the "evil Empire" (Reagan, 1983), the easier and more likely it is for prejudices to prevail. In other words, there is a minimum amount of detailed information needed in order to give an athlete a human face. A rise in details on the Russian athlete competing in Sochi in 2014 would accordingly be regarded as a shift to a more balanced coverage. This would be understood as evidence for a decrease in American Cold War mentality.

Depicting Soviet athletes as an anonymous mass lacking individual human behavioral patterns was common practice during the Cold War. Another indicator for Cold War framing is accordingly the amount of times a Soviet/Russian athlete is mentioned by his individual name and not just by nationality/ideology (e.g. "Nikolay Zimyatov" won the gold medal versus "a Soviet cross-country skier" or the "Soviet Union" won the gold medal.)

The Olympics are essentially whatever the media portrays them to be. There are individual athletes competing, but the Games are commonly covered as a competition between nation states. Athletes are reduced to representing their nations or – particularly during the Cold War – their political systems. National competition between the two superpowers is expected to be at its highest during the Cold War.

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS (RQ):**

- **RQ 1:** How often did the *NYT* (1) mention, (2) feature or (3) quote Soviet/Russian athletes as compared to American athletes in the Olympics, and was there a difference in the frequency during and after the Cold War?
**RQ 2:** Were the Soviet/Russian and American athletes mentioned by name or did the NYT identify them by nationality or ideology?

**RQ 3:** Did the number of mentions reflect the Soviet/Russian and American athletes’ actual successes during the Olympics?

**RESEARCH HYPOTHESES (RH):**

- **RH 1:** The collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent geopolitical changes affected the NYT's framing of Russian athletes.
- **RH 2:** When representing the image of the Soviet/Russian athlete in language, the NYT falls back into old patterns and continues to use the same imagery to represent "the Russians" as during the Cold War.

**METHODICAL APPROACH:**

Excel files are used to record all the data. There is one separate excel file for each Olympic event. The coverage of the Sochi Olympics is so extensive, that two files are used. The files are given the names "SarajevoSample", "SochiSample1" and "SochiSample2". Each excel file contains the following categories: nr, headline, date, reason for takeout, words, type, main actor, American actor, Russian actor, label, quotations, sports discipline.

**VARIABLES AND CODES: FIRST SET OF ANALYSIS**

The first set of variables is descriptive. It enables the researcher to identify the article.

**Coder.** Only one person will do the coding. Assigning a coder_ID is therefore unnecessary.

**Nr.** Every article is assigned with a number. The numbering is done in chronological order and separately for each sample. (Thus, both, the Sarajevo sample's first article as well as the Sochi sample's first article are given the number "1".)
Headline. Copy and paste the headline of the article into the excel file.

Date. Note the date in which the article was published using the following format: DD-MM-YYYY.

CODING SCHEME: SECOND SET OF ANALYSIS:

The second set of variables is used to adjust the sample, record which articles are takeouts, and categorize all data in a way that is suitable for answering the research questions mentioned above. All information that refers to one particular athlete (i.e. label, quotation, sports discipline) is filled into the respective columns using the same line.

Reason for takeout. The article has to comply to the following condition in order to be considered for analysis. If the article fails to meet that condition, no further coding is required. The article is required to focus either on the Olympics in question, or on an event-related issue. If the article makes only a passing reference to the Olympics, it is not being considered. (It is a passing reference, if the Olympic Games in question are neither mentioned in the headline, lead or first three paragraphs of the article.) Letters to the editor are not coded either.

Number of words. The number of words is to be noted.

Type. Which category does the article suit best?

a. news (including news summaries and analyses)

b. feature

c. tv program

d. letter to the editor (= takeout)

e. other

Main actor. Who is the focus of the article? Indicate whether an athlete is the focus of the article. Write down his/her name and nationality (e.g. Yulia Lipnitskaya (RUS)). If two
athletes appear to be featured in equal parts, note both of their names and nationalities.

**Soviet/Russian and American athletes.** Write down the name of any Soviet/Russian or American athlete that is mentioned in the article and assign in to one of the two categories:

a. American actor

b. Soviet/Russian actor

**Label.** Note which label the NYT used when referring to Soviet/Russian/American athletes. Use the same line, so that the label can be assigned to the athlete it refers to.

**Quotation.** If a Soviet/Russian or American athlete is quoted (either directly or indirectly), the quote is copied and pasted into the column "Quotations" using the same line.

**Sports discipline.** A sports category has to be assigned to every Soviet/Russian/American athlete mentioned in the article.

**List of sports of the Winter Olympics:**

Alpine skiing

Biathlon

Bobsleigh

Cross-Country Skiing

Curling

Figure-Skating

Freestyle Skiing

Ice Hockey

Luge
Nordic Combined
Speedskating
Skeleton
Ski Jumping
Snowboarding

GENERAL CODING INSTRUCTIONS

Search every article for mentions of Soviet/Russian and American actors and their athletic performances. The term actor was chosen for Soviet/Russian and American individual athletes, group labels such as "the Soviet team" and highly generalized group labels such as "the Russians" or "the Eastern bloc". In the context of this study, an actor has to be mentioned with reference to athletic achievements during the period of the Olympic Games in order to fit the definition. Elements that do not fit into the system of categories do not require any further attention. The amount of mentions of Soviet/Russian and American athletes is counted and compared with the official medal table of the Olympic Winter Games in question. The medal tables are to be found at the official website of the Olympic Movement at: www.olympic.org.

SYSTEM OF CATEGORIES

Russian/Soviet athletes: Framed as individuals or as representatives of their nation/political system?

Every time a Russian/Soviet or American actor is mentioned in an article, he has to be assigned to one of the following categories. Since journalists commonly use different labels for the same actor (e.g. Yulia Lipnitskaya, the Russian figure skater, the champion, the Russian) only the most precise label is to be categorized. Subsequent labels continue to be of interest with regard to the framing of the athlete/the team/nation and still
need to be coded in this respect. However, in every article, each actor can only be assigned to one of the following categories:

**a. individual name** = name of athlete (e.g. Yulia Lipnitskaya). This category is to be chosen regardless of whether the athlete's name comes with additional labels (such as the "Russian figure skater Yulia Lipnitskaya").

**b. no individual name** = mentioning of an athlete as an individual without mentioning his/ her name (e.g. the Soviet figure skater).

**c. group label although individual sport** = use of a group label while the dealing with an individual sport type would make it more appropriate to mention the individual athletes (e.g. the Soviet figure skaters).

**d. group label: nation** = group label, that takes the nation as the only reference point (e.g. the Russians).

**e. group label: ideology** = group label that in accordance to Cold War ideology divides the world into East and West (e.g. the Eastern bloc).

**REFERENCES**

The design of this codebook is based on and inspired by:


