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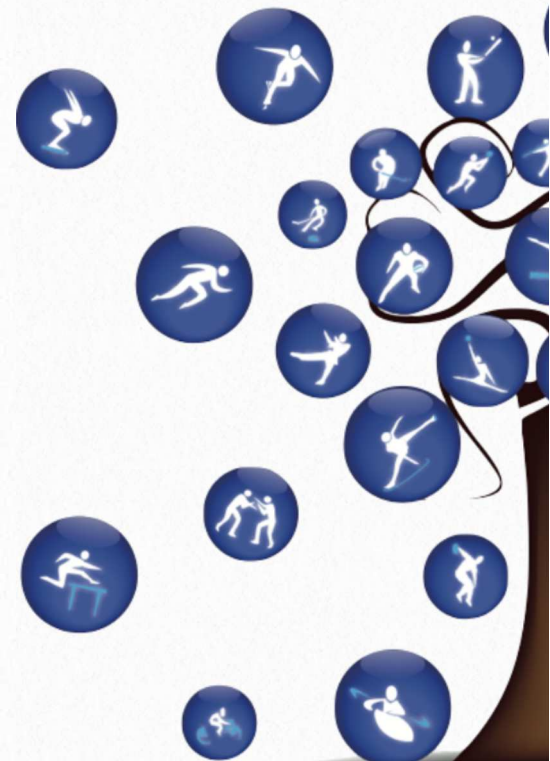
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Doping and anti-doping. Towards the construction of research program

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Introduction¹

What can we say about anti-doping? One journalist told us this formula: “doping throws everyone into panic, and anti-doping annoys everyone.” But beyond the media sphere, what is about research? While medicine, biochemistry and other experimental disciplines rest on the study of doping practices by the performance research, and on the fight against doping by their pessimistic predictions and their ability to detect suspicious things, and human sciences are recognized by the actors involved in the fight against doping. The reasons of such situation are laying in the social properties of the “anti-doping community”. They are the result of the history of the fight against doping and its structuring: in the 1950s, doctors expressed their concerns due to such medication practices and carried out the appropriate policy work to mobilize political powers. In Belgium, and in France a few months later, lawyers succeeded in abolishing the first legislations. Thus, doctors and lawyers have established themselves as specialists in this field, and while other actors related to their activity infiltrated in the field (such as ethicists, experimental psychologists, etc.), they have never given up their dominant position of the experts. There was a notable shift towards the social sciences when WADA and the Council of Europe organized in 2006 a conference “on ethics and social science research of anti-doping policies” (Larnaca, 2006), realizing, according to the expression of an organizer, that “social science research can help and does not really cost much, compared to research in bio-chemistry”. The Social Science Research Fellowship Program, launched a few months earlier, should “strengthen doping prevention strategies”. Thus, the perimeter is set and therefore it is out of the question to query the doping control realities that are not directly connected to prevention. No analysis of the arguments for the fight against doping, no analysis of anti-doping policies, no economic studies on doping practices, no research on the work of the actors involved in the fight against doping. This restriction can be seen in the missions listed in the dedicated pages on the WADA website:

“WADA aims to strengthen doping prevention strategies based on scientific evidence of social science research.” This claim for evidence echoes “the evidence-based medicine”, which, as analyzed by Marks (1997), leads “therapeutic reformers” to impose a particular type of medicine, while pushing aside more comprehensive approaches of the social sciences, and even a large part of non-experimental work. Therefore, it is not surprising to note that some of the outputs financed by the social science research program re-

main far removed from the work of these disciplines. By using software and semantic and lexical categories tested by the sociology of science research (Collinet et al. 2013), it appears that all the reports published on the WADA site under the heading “social sciences” are more a matter of psychology and physiology, than the social sciences (Trabal, 2014).

To examine the reasons of this observation and to consider placing the social sciences at the heart of the debate, we will explore three paths. One will lead us to reflect on a possible misunderstanding about the functioning of the social sciences, which may be the origin of the problem. A second path will lead us to a theoretical model that can structure a research program. Finally, we will present a mechanism for its implementation and discussion.

1. The contribution of the social sciences

Without a doubt, it is necessary to start by questioning the reasons why the social sciences find it difficult to present themselves as a genuine resource for those involved in the fight against doping. Certain reasons belong to the way how the social sciences function. Thus, they are initially characterized by a strong heterogeneity. It may be argued that there is also a great difference between the activities of chemists, physiologists or epidemiologists. But all these scientists agree on forms of “evidence administration”, which are linked to the use of experimental method. They share the same object: the principles of metabolism of an athlete are the same in Japan, Kenya or Spain. That is why the final scientific result is the product of accumulation process. To tell this with the words of sociologist who questioned cumulativity in the social sciences - I'm talking about Andrew Abbott – “in an accumulative model, the object of knowledge is an “outside world” where true knowledge can be approached gradually due to science. The act of knowledge is a process of successive inductions, aimed at interpreting the complexity of the observed reality. It helps to “asymptotically” increase the knowledge and to approach the truth” (Abbott, 2011).

In case of the social sciences, jurists, sociologists, historians, anthropologists, psycho-sociologists and political scientists do not share the same ways of “evidence administration”. It is hard to replicate the same protocol because, for example, the state in Brazil has little to do with what is called the state in Algeria or in Japan. Finally, to take the example of my discipline, sociology, “if there is a great accumulation of knowledge, the knowledge immeasurability is pro-

duced *inside* the research programs (or a particular methodology) within different paradigms, and that prevents any accumulation *between* these programs”, according to Andrew Abbott. Another problem, according to this American sociologist, is that “social facts are fundamentally different in nature from natural facts”. He gives several arguments for this, including that of “absolute endogeneity”: “social science is endogenous because any category it constructs, or any law of human behavior it discovers, once unveiled, can be used by other social actors and help to transform the social world it explores.” (*Ibid.*)

Let’s take an example: the notion of culture has been studied very actively by the social sciences through all approaches. Culture is often seen as a set of tacit rules that structures a social group and allows its members to have particular values and practices. However, this term has been appropriated by the actors involved in the fight against doping, and it is not uncommon to hear or read this term, for example, that in cycling doping is cultural. We can also talk about the culture of corruption in some countries. We can see that this scientific concept – culture - has been used by actors neither in its ordinary sense, nor in its scientific one, but to indicate something else: a form of legitimization of doping by a collective practice.

Finally, another essential difference concerns the splitting of the objects. It is not in sociological practice, to conduct the analysis on one type of population, being restricted to one local issue (for example, the study about girls who are doing sport, in one or two sports disciplines, in relation to the consumption of a product). The research generally tends to capture broader populations, to identify the specific characteristics of certain groups, or to understand more generally different processes with reflexivity. This distancing, which consists of examining the artifacts by the manner the question is posed, of widening the search, while the experimental sciences tend to tighten it, and of the nature of the “evidence administration”, that rarely passes through a measurement, often leads to misunderstandings on the part of the actors involved in the fight against doping.

The presentation of the role that WADA gives to the social sciences is a good example. Unwilling to hear criticism, which is often at the heart of social science research, both the Agency's representatives and all anti-doping decision-makers struggle to understand why the social sciences are not cumulative, why they examine the question

rather than answering it, why they do not produce indisputable proofs.

These actors usually have a background in medicine or law. In both cases, the practice will be individualized either to consider it, as a behavior, where we can at best grasp psychosocial determinants by studying variables, or as a form of responsibility which, in the legal tradition, may only be individual. The only proposed inflection involves some psychological approaches that work with experimental methods: behavioral psychology, cognitive psychology, and part of social psychology. This case is interesting because our colleagues manage to work within the methods recognized by the scientific members of the anti-doping community while giving them the valence of “the social sciences”, which absence becomes hardly justifiable for the public. This may help to explain this inclination to support psychological studies and to dismiss sociology, anthropology, history, economics and political science from doping and anti-doping research programs.

This interpretation may appear as a denunciation which rejects full responsibility of third parties for this exclusion of the social sciences from the research community. We believe, on the contrary, that social scientists are also largely responsible for this sidelining, particularly because they have not been able to organize an epistemic community of researchers. How to solve this problem?

2. The necessary problematization of complexity

Bringing together researchers to compare approaches, exchange methods and discuss results is certainly a prerequisite. This necessary “totalization” of knowledge has been undertaken in two ways. These initiatives should be considered by recognizing that they remain tentative and too marginal. On the one hand, literature reviews on the proliferation of approaches and the progress should be carried out more systematically. The work of Suzanne Backhouse (2016) includes such review, but it has its disciplinary limit, since there aren’t works on sociology, history, anthropology and political science. A French study by Patrick Mignon gathered most of the literature in French and English, but it dates 2002.

A doctoral student, Ekain Zubizarreta is conducting an analysis of the literature on anti-doping policies in political sociology. But if individual social scientists make a literature review to discuss one

or two questions in an article, they have not found ways to propose a literature review of larger scale.

The other way of understanding the scope and the variety of works is to bring researchers together to organize the discussion. These academics can meet at gatherings organized by the anti-doping community, but these meetings do not allow having real scientific exchanges because any expression of criticism can weaken the discipline that is little known and poorly recognized. Although some meetings do exist: lawyers are regularly gathered at the initiative of Burgundy; Aarhus University strives to regularly bring the community together as part of an “International Network of Doping Research”. The Polytechnic University of Madrid regularly gathers researchers and the University Paris Nanterre is proud to have been able to associate itself with the last edition, during which this conference was presented.

But it is not enough. While these meetings make it possible to see the dynamism of the researchers, they do not allow comparing in a reasoned way the proliferation of the works. To do so, we propose to unify them within one model. Let us make clear the specifications of this project. On the one hand, it should make it possible to put a set of researches together by proposing a way of putting them in perspective. It seems very difficult to link a study of the criticisms of the Olympic institutions and an analysis on the consumption of food supplements. A universal model allows considering one way (among others) of articulating the knowledge. On the other hand, to ensure this capacity to question articulations, it must be taken into account the variety of work and the proliferation of research objects not as an obstacle but a chance to grasp the complexity of doping and the fight against doping. Finally, its heuristic value must be appreciated as to its ability to discuss objects other than those directly related to doping, as well as to not taking a model from another domain.

To achieve these goals, I propose to move away from the sports sciences to the sociology of risk.

During the last edition of this conference (Trabal & Zubizarreta, 2015), we had presented a first model which aimed to overcome the tension between values and practices. A very strong argument there is to put into perspective the axiologies carried by the institutions guaranteeing a clean sport (the IOC, IFs, WADA, UNESCO ...) and the reality of practices, especially when doping occurs. This tension

usually leads to the arguments, that police is always late to catch the cheaters in the act, or to raise suspicions about those institutions, that would not be that seriously engaged in the fight against doping, perhaps because of vested interest.

This argumentation remains unsatisfactory: if doping has always been existing and cheaters have always been ahead of the system, what is the point of fighting against doping? The analyses aimed to uncover hidden interests may imply dissolution of sports institutions, but never questions the process of over-pressing and replacing them. To overcome these rather simplistic approaches, I would like to insert another plan: the one concerned the policy instruments. In other words, on the one hand, I suggest conducting the study on the ways the actors articulate their values and instruments; here we can talk about the process of operationalization when a particular principle needs to be interpreted within a public policy. On the other hand, these policy instruments aim to anchor themselves in social environments, in fields, in the realities of practices. These realities are undermining the policies and this relationship must always be questioned in order to ensure the effectiveness of a policy. One of the difficulties is the capacity of the field to change and to escape from the policy instruments. This model is therefore dynamic insofar as it makes it possible to look at the evolutions of the policies. And it is needed just to see whether these instruments are still connected to the axiological principles that bear them.

Let's take an example. In order to ensure the ethics of sport, the control of policy instruments is created out, in order to identify and sanction doping practices. We all have in mind the fact that the athletes and their staff have the intention to get away from these controls. Surveys reveal the existence of masking practices at the arrival of the people who take the samplers. Here we are talking about a powder that distorted analyses. As well we have this perception of them: in France, the person responsible for control at the French Anti-Doping Agency is named in front of a parliamentary committee: after arrival at 6 in the morning in a hotel of the participants of Tour de France, it is expected that all waterfowls are activated a few minutes after this arrival. These practices, testimony and others evidence that led WADA to change the Code, have therefore led to changes in the location arrangements and control schedule. However, it should be noticed that these new policy instruments create problems with values, namely with privacy protection.

Thus, I would like to introduce another model (in fact, it is an extension of the previous one) that has just been proposed by two colleagues (Chateauraynaud and Debaz, 2017), specialists in risk sociology - the ones who introduced the notion of “whistleblower” (Chateauraynaud and Torny, 1999), another sociological notion widely used by the actors themselves even since the first time WADA started to use this expression in its presentations².

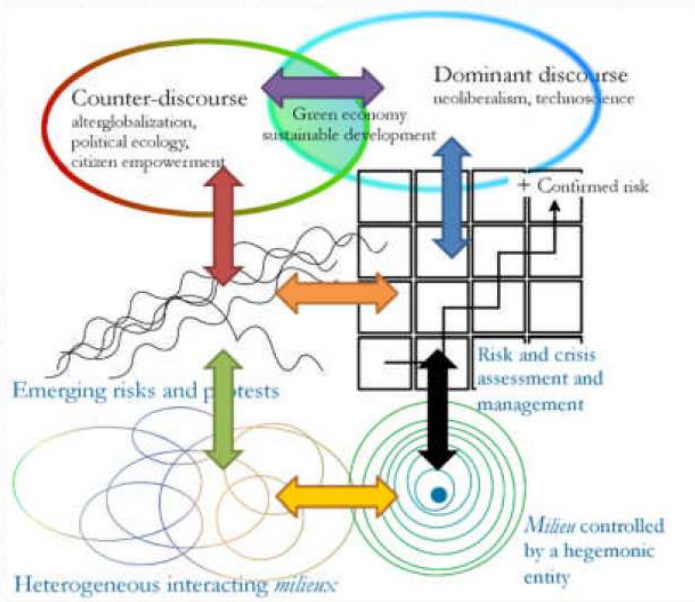


Figure 1. From a presentation of the Chateauraynaud and Debaz model (2017, p. 501).

The proposed model aims to analyze the transformation connections that concern the actors, individuals, groups, coalitions, institutions. It seems that it is necessary to specify some different social logics – there are 6 such logics.

It should be mentioned that these 6 logics generate different types of sociological approaches, which makes it possible to hold a point of our specifications.

I propose to present the authors' model and its impact on health risks and then examine its heuristic value in terms of doping.

- The first logic is that of the dominant discourse. It makes it possible to bring concepts, norms, representations, institutions and values in consistency - by defining, for example, what collective goods or universal values are, and how they can be achieved. The form of sociology, which follows aims to bring to light the type of rationality, which is at the foundation of social norms, whose effects should

be present in all areas of social life. In the field of science and technology, where the questions of risk sociology are present, it is, for example, the values effecting the technological progress that, according to its promoters, have made it possible to build a world in which we can live better.

- The second social logic is that of criticism, that is counter-discourse with the dominant discourse. In the field of scientific and technological development, counter-discourse was able to take various forms: neo-luddites who, in the nineteenth century, were breaking machines because they were helping employers more than workers; the criticism of science or postmodernism after the atomic bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; health controversies based either on possible risks (for GMOs) or on proven dangers (for example, of the consequences of Fukushima).

It is perceived that the critical arguments are integrated, digested or reformulated in the dominant discourse, so that its normativity can become more powerful. But there are exchange zones, for example a discourse aimed at articulating these two discourses which, in health matters, evoke concepts of "sustainable development" or "green economy".

- A third logic is that of organizing the dominant norms around dispositions and instruments, mechanisms and procedures. Max Weber, Michel Foucault, ethnomethodologists have all seek to study rational action, bureaucracy, control mechanisms, processes of interpretation and explanation of operations in order to produce the reports, hearings, deliberations, working papers, evaluations, consultations, scientific literature reviews, committee work, parliamentary reports, group working notes. It is a question of exploring this world, and without it, an analysis in terms of discourse and counter-discourse seems far removed from realities, from the implementation of politics, from the questions of operationalization.

This activity provokes mobilizations of actors, which, like in the exchanges between discourses and counter-discourses, rely on and criticize social organizations. The study of these trajectories has been conducting after Charles Jones (1970) in several stages: identification of the problem, formulation and political decision, evaluation and termination. But as the authors (Chateauraynaud, 2011) of sociological ballistics through the argumentation study show, the causes trajectories are often less linear. In the cases of health and environmental risks, it is possible to discover twisted trajectories,

unexpected twists, overflows, breaks, sudden changes of regime and dramatic outbreaks: We think of protest actions (such as harvesting the transgenic plantations), the upsurge of a dramatic and unpredictable case (such as the Fukushima accident), but also the integration in the monitoring committees of activists, actors on the field who weigh on the instruments construction.

We must, however, add two other social logics more connected to the field.

- One is that of the development, of certain duration, of a hegemonic power over a social environment. The study of the processes of interaction, action and reaction take place in the world, the world that surrounds large techno-scientific instruments, such as nuclear power plants, industrial sites ... but also the agencies for evaluating research, in case we are studying the sociology of science, showing the existence of a centralized power, a hierarchical organization, a hegemonic position.

- The sixth social logic is that of the interacting social environments. It is analyzed very differently as it could be seen in the examples of the sociology theory of interactionism of the Chicago School, in particular ideas of Park, the theories of the actor-network of Bruno Latour. This sixth logic makes it possible for sociologist or anthropologist with expertise in ethnography, to capture these micro-worlds, the importance of exchange step by step, the continuous re-adaptation of attitudes or habits, their capacity or their resistance to micro-transformations of ecosystems and the logics of adaptation.

It is not a question of prioritizing these logics of actions, but, on the one hand, of asserting that they are all necessary and, on the other hand, of identifying the forms of transmitting from one to the other. It is important to study, for example, how a social environment can organize itself to protest by using both the instruments of regulation of power, and the construction of a counter-discourse in relation to an official discourse. As well it is possible to describe using this model the power companies to associate actors of the field in "trading zones" to defuse the critic or to reconfigure spaces of negotiation.

The general hypothesis is that in democracy, all the crossing points are possible and important to ensure a balance between the three levels (the three plans - axiological, epistemic, ontological – we

spoke about). We need all these logics of action: the authority guaranteeing norms, the acceptance of the criticism allowing them to evolve, and the capacity to settle in policy instruments that can be supported by field experts as well as the different protagonists to express their demands, taking into account the world in its disorganization and turbulence. An ambitious sociological program consists of examining the points of articulation between these social logics. The interest is being able to analyze the global evolutions of the public action, to remain attentive to the social processes in the environments, to analyze the forms of exchange and the conditions of their transformations.

Let us use this model to analyze the situation with doping and the fight against doping.

- The first social logic is used primarily by such institutions like WADA, UNESCO or IOC, which promote clean sport, recall sports ethics and encourage public authorities to commit themselves to fight against doping. There are some academic works that aim to study the Olympics or the institutions that carry these ideals. These ideals can relate to the 25,000 pages of the Baron de Coubertin, a work of political philosophy, that sometimes analyzed as such (Boniface, 2012).

- The literature is more abundant thing in a critical perspective of this normative activity. In France, for several decades, there has been a critical approach to sport which, relying on the Frankfurt School and the theses of Marcuse (1964) and Habermas (1968), perceives the performance study as a problematic ideology. Thus, the doping would not be the practice of several deviants perverting the sports ideal, but the natural fruit of an activity that exploits the body to decidedly turn towards competition and towards excess. From an opposite perspective, there is also a criticism against these institutions concerning the fight against doping. This was made, for example, by Andy Miah (2004) when studying the Genetically Modified Athletes. He criticized the anti-doping institutions for their normative power, their propensity to dismiss decisive debates on the evolution of the human race or on hybridity without any legitimacy. For what purpose, would these debates that were dealing with the questions about the future of humanity, be impounded by the sports shows promoters?

- Let us leave this tension between discourse and counter-discourse for a few minutes to interest ourselves in the question of policy in-

struments. Much of the anti-doping activity we have observed is shown in this world of “reports”, which we have also been able to contribute to, by writing the expert reports. Compliance to the new Code, rendition of international regulations into national laws, and instrument evaluation – all of these instruments is a matter for many actors, and it is quite unfair to hear that there is an opinion that an Anti-Doping Agency does nothing until a great case of doping erupts. In the world, there are hundreds of people who all day, every day, making these instruments available... and curiously only few researchers who take this work as an object. While there is an enormous amount of literature on public policy analysis, sociology of work, shape adjustments and other classification activities on many issues, we have faced a shortage of other scientific works, when our group undertook the study of this social logic.

- The symmetric is not the object of the majority of works. This may be linked to the weak mobilization of actors on this point. Trade unionism among athletes is rather weak and its form is very different from others. Certainly, there are some initiatives of athletes involved in the fight against doping without being solicited directly by an institution (athletes for transparency, for instance). For example, in France, associations such as the National Federation of Sports Associations and Unions, criticized the disposition of a "lack of social dialogue" on doping, during a round table in a parliamentary inquiry. There are some athlete strikes on doping issues, athletes trying to fit in, and negotiating with those responsible for maintaining anti-doping policy. Nevertheless, this weakness deserves an academic attention because, as on the questions of "weak signals", one can consider that their weight and their capacity to evolve the doping issue are decisive. We think we are practically the only ones to date to analyze this mobilization activity by studying how doctors have tried in the 1950s and 1960s to put the issue of doping on the agenda, how a few actors mobilize to improve in harmonization processes, how anti-doping activists work to innovate the instruments.

- The hegemonic figures which concentrate power in matters of doping are known. The doctor, the trainer, the technical staff or the national federations in their most institutionalized form. All of these actors have this ability to have knowledge about the doping, to be connected with regulations and practices in the field. It is difficult for an athlete to avoid his national technical direction, his club doctor or federation. And we have studied doping cases organized by the federation or by the staff. It is difficult also for those who want

to take concrete action on doping to make it without these actors. This type of power, which can function over a period of time, generates central social processes in doping: calling to doping yourself (there are cases), covering positive controls (I think of the allegations of corruption that are taking place in Athletics Kenya). Or, on the contrary, it generates the development of preventive measures. All these social activities remain little studied. Part of the psychosociology analyzes the relationships between an athlete and the federal authority or coach. The sociology of expertise also contributes to the study of these processes, but, in terms of doping, remains unfortunately undeveloped.

- This is less the case for this last social logic which, despite its complexity, is the subject of numerous analyzes. This sport world, marked by these doping practices is the one towards which, spontaneously, we turn our attention. What exactly are they doing? There are numerous works on this topic. And they are varied some approaches are based on questionnaires or interviews, others prefer observation or evidence analysis. And electronic exchanges on social networks or forums might be analyzed as well. We can discuss the artifacts of different methods, but we cannot ignore the entry by the environment. Journalists, public, researchers are passionate about the reality of doping: is it widespread? On the Tour de France, in the Calcio or the Champions League, who is doing doping? What is Nadal taking? Who is on the list that Hajo Seppelt is working on?

It is possible to read the dynamics of the diagram by looking at how this reality of doping can be called or how it can be expressed in other social logics. We can take several examples of circulation:

- Let start with the reality of doping practices. We can see that it is the material of the holders of a hegemonic power, the potting soil for mobilization and the support of possible protests. But these challenges are few and do not concern the instruments or a politicization would allow to weigh on the counter-discourse.

- If we start from the axiological world, there is a very clear circulation between the expression of values or principles and the production of standards, policies and other points ensuring compliance. The discussion with the counter-discourse producers does not exist or, more exactly, it is asymmetrical: the critics of the sports order, criticize the gatekeepers (especially when they are caught in corruption allegations), and the defenders of sports ethics do not want to

counter-argue; they would have everything to lose (they are not always equipped for argumentative contests) and nothing to gain. They prefer to commit their energy to solidifying the relationships between values and the ways to maintain them, to ensure the instruments ethics (is it the case for Adams, the software used to keep all data concerning the athletes' life?), to work towards the coherence between these two social logics. Where is the reality of practice? It arises in the cases. Lack of work over time on the relations, in the field and the doping cases, can disrupt the building. In fact, it depends on the case. In cooperation with my colleague Pascal Duret (2000), I had distinguished two types of doping cases: the scandal and the matter of concern.

The scandal means by unanimously shared indignation. The exclusion of Ben Johnson at the Olympic Games in Seoul, for doping, is a perfect example of the scandal. The whole community, facing its own fault, mobilizes itself to unanimously designate him as guilty. The scandal is characterized by a strong unity of denunciation, a shortness of judgment and, clarity of the sanction mobilizing shared norms (or displayed as such). Therefore, it consists of a simple moment of purification in which the normative order in force is reactivated without discussion.

The matter of concern, like the scandal, begins with a transgression denounced by sports ethics, but the plot rebounds because the offender mobilizes external legal, media, or scientific resources to question the legitimacy of the accusation - for example, about the reliability of laboratories or biochemical analyzes, the conditions of the sampling, the criticism of no-shows, the responsibility of the staff of a club or a federation, the double-discourse of the staff, the suspicion of the integrity of judges, etc. The form "matter of concern" implies a plurality of opinions, a multiple argumentation, and absence of normative consensus a priori. And, at the time, it implies an uncertainty of its outcome. The matter of concern is not controlled from start to finish by the institutions that protect the sports ideal; the case threatens the institutions, while scandal reinforces them.

When a case of doping arises, there is a tension in the public between the expression of sports ethics and the disappointment of seeing it flouted, and sometimes, as a result of the accumulation of cases, irony pointing out the disuse of the promoters of the sports ideal.

If we are dealing with the scandal, we will look for the failure in a one-dimensional way: the same as to look for a breakdown in a car or in a computer - we starts from the ideal operation and we tracks down the link that has failed. Once identified, the group remains consolidated, because all the other links in the chain can celebrate the fact that they are not involved.

If we are dealing with the matter of concern, there are different ways of protest. Discussions about the reliability of laboratories, the relevance of no-shows, the reasons for the inclusion of cannabis as doping agents, or the relentlessness of controls in certain sports or countries may arise. But these challenges are still anchored in a defense that hardly desingularizes. This notion of desingularization, borrowed from sociology of morality and in particular from Luc Boltanski (Boltanski et al. 1984, Boltanski 1990), makes it possible to describe an important constraint to make a denunciation legitimate: to detach the whistleblower from the victim, or, to put it another way, to insure that the arguments and the challenging go beyond the interests of a single person. When an actor initiates a criticism of the anti-doping institution when challenging it, his argument remains weak, because there is doubt about his motivation: does the argument serve his personal cause or the sport in general?

- If we start with a critical thinking, we can get a curious circulation: the sports ideal and the problematic practices of the environment are put in tension by refusing to use the policy instruments or more precisely by disqualifying them: it is useless to discuss the Code as it does not solve the problem that goes beyond it. The perversion of doping and the deviance that would plague all social logics (corrupted IOC members, agents caught in vassal relations, opaque hegemonic powers, athletes without political consciousness) imposes a single solution: the Games must be stopped, as Albert Jacquard (2004) argues.

It seems to me that this model makes it possible to understand how arguments circulate or do not circulate, and how the social sciences make it possible to justify them. Two remarks are necessary.

- On the one hand, one are struck by major differences between the doping issue, and the other health issues. In the fight against doping, the actors are very much involved in the reconciliation between the axiological principles and the policy instruments but neglect the rest. While as for nanotechnology issue, for example, there are attempts at public conferences make a research on the acceptability

of risks ... we showed that WADA has almost never funded neither a study on public policy analysis, nor the research to study criticism. The world is equally turbulent and unpredictable. However, there is a few forms of protest disconnected from personal stakes and, even fewer forms of mobilization that could fit into instruments and result in a counter-discourse. Here, I think of the Fancy Bears, for example, who defend the Russian athletes. The expression of criticism does not seek to stimulate forms of politicization of the rare ways of protest and is not interested in the instruments (whereas on the nuclear issue, for example, environmental activists will defend their own metrology before ministerial experts). Athlete associations wanting to take action on the fights against doping are few and are not entitled to occupy a media area only if they register in anti-doping institutions; we are very far from movements like Act'up, greenpeace, or other collectives that carry causes that are acceptable to institutions even if they take forms of protest that disturb them. These modest movements are not really studied by the social sciences, at least for now.

Why? We do not know. It is possible to defend historical and contingent reasoning (the fact that no one has taken seriously this question), or explanations on the social properties of the protagonists (mainly doctors who think according to a medical order, ... but it doesn't explain why other protagonists did not seize the problem), a sporting property that seeks above all symbols, investing only superficially into procedures that must be anchored in social environments... In any case, this specificity remains to be studied.

- On the other hand, we can be struck by the absence of academic work on certain social logics. We have the impression that everything is ought to be done in the social sciences - thus joining Suzann Blackhouse's observation on social psychology. Again, I do not know why. Is this linked to the weak incentive of anti-doping bodies to convene the social sciences – as it is a fact that the calls for proposals are always written in the formats of the experimental sciences? Is it because the community of researchers in the sports sciences trained in moral and political sociology is very small?

It seems that the social sciences have a role to play in helping different actors to understand the limits of their social logics, to consider other ways of connecting their point of view and their activity with those of other actors. For example, we can be very careful about how athletes will “report” doping cases, not using doping control devices, but bringing together journalists who may be able to circu-

late more easily from one logic to another. Can this be considered a new modality that can reconfigure doping?

The quality of a model lies in its ability to engage consideration of other issues, and a way to place the social sciences at the heart of the fight against doping is to identify a more general issue on which the social sciences have gained legitimacy and to which the study of doping would contribute. The discussion on the cumulateness of the social sciences calls for placing work in a broader perspective.

3. The scope of a model: another approach to globalization

How can we manage the tension between the protection of universal principles and the respect of cultures and local social environments? The question of health principles can indeed clash with local practices. On public health issues, such as vaccination, one question concerns the need to hold back the epidemics while respecting native cultures in their relationship to care. In the area of doping, it is also about enforcing the Code and commitments for all countries - even the poorest, where the country's health priorities is to invest in basic health care for the population. In one of my surveys in Africa, when it was planned to subject some sports to official controls (which had hardly ever been done), one actor had this formula: “In Africa, tell me what you give to the athletes so that he accepts to piss in a bottle ... otherwise, he will not do it”. Another example of this tension can be seen in the image of the syringe found in many anti-doping campaigns ... but also, in opposite meaning in the vaccination campaigns of the WHO .



Figure 2. What a syringe means?

That includes an athlete who cannot read (at least in English). The syringe is forbidden. The syringe is positive (not sure that we distinguish the molecules in small flowers). The syringe gives strength and allows becoming a champion (and yet it is in a campaign of prevention of the doping).

Specialists in medical anthropology detail the ratio of the population to the medicine, as we can see in this excerpt from an anthropologist who conducted his research in Burundi:

To be sure of the quality of treatment people obtain injections from someone they already know and make decisions of where to seek treatment after consulting neighbors, family and colleagues... Getting treatment from a person well known to the user instills confidence in the correctness of the medicine and the safety of the injection... 'You can be sure when the injection is provided by a person you know'... Social relations do not only guarantee protection and support to the patient, but also serve as a means of gaining access to token of healing. (Birungi, 1998)

This observation, linked to an observation of a vaccination campaign, has consequences on doping: if an athlete has been injected with a product by his coach, he will not be able to understand his fault and the danger he is involved in.

Should this cultural relationship be respected at the risk of undermining doping control or imposing the World Code at all costs, potentially endangering immunization campaigns?

This tension between the local and the global goes beyond the question of doping. We wish to understand how a universal approach can be articulated with local constraints for harmonization sake.

We believe that the classical question of globalization that is encountered in international public health policies can be addressed by mobilizing the model presented above and analyzing the issue of the fight against doping. It remains to be decided how we can approach this problem given the nature of the social sciences.

In response to a request from UNESCO to assess the degree of compliance of States with the Convention by examining the reality of public action, we have proposed a research project in several countries based on different academic science teams and expertise in analyzing the social dynamics of their countries.

A first study led us to study and compare the situations of five countries (Brazil, Spain, France, Japan, Mozambique), thanks to five laboratories from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (Porto Alegre), Polytechnic University of Madrid, Paris Nanterre University, Tsukuba University (Japan) and Eduardo Mondlane University (Maputo). Our first research on 4 continents deals with vari-

ous subjects, like the knowledge of coaches in the field of anti-doping, prevention tools, the communication of federations, food supplements. Then, we have asked for the creation of a UNESCO Chair to answer the need to obtain knowledge for the anti-doping, on the local effects of an international policy³.

The objective is to define and carry out research programs useful for the fight against doping at the local level, which can help to increase knowledge about local cultures and practices. This program can be discussed at meetings of researchers at the international level. Research may focus on different points, as it seems decisive to anchor them into local needs. It is indeed a question of carrying out the study rooted in the realities of the field, as well as the realities of different countries. This would be possible due to a network of university laboratories, that this Chair will create, and on the other hand, a strict analysis based on an empirical material, composed of social science literature and surveys to take into account all the diversity of cultures and related practices.

To be able to undertake a comparison based on such different research, we must rely on a sociological model. And it is in its capacity that the proposal we are defending aims to answer both, the need for a theoretical framework to link the various studies, and a hypothesis to answer the question on the tension between the global and local.

4. Conclusion: push back the boundaries

We believe that we must analyze how to link this complex and turbulent world to the main principles. Some ways are cleared. But we think that there are many other ways. And by reflecting and helping the actors to innovate and find ways of operating the passages, these 6 logics of action will be held balanced in a certain way. We need all the six and they have to hold together. How?

For example, by encouraging debates between discourse and counter-discourse, by ensuring that instrument producers are mediated to take criticism into account and are able to discuss with those involved in anti-doping initiatives, by analyzing why the forms of mobilization are so weak. We can consider that changes pass from local initiatives, micro-changes, gradients that can change the balance of power, put arguments into debate.

Local surveys carried out by national specialists can describe these initiatives, their chances of success, the obstacles. In order to keep

the tension between the local and the global, we think that it is necessary to consider whether local initiatives are able to adapt to global rules, to organize and to push back the boundaries.

As such, we could leave the immobile debate that characterizes the fight against doping. This notion of immobile debate, taken from Marianne Doury (1997), describes the debates whose list of arguments remains immutable regardless of their factuality and temporality. Thus, the debates on parasciences are always the same: positivist and scientist rhetoric on the one hand, factuality and criticism of conservatism on the other. Similarly, the debates on doping always see the same rhetoric: the sports ideal is beautiful but it is just an ideal. This ideal is criticisable because it can also serve to nationalism, there is money that perverts everything and the financial interests have become too important, the actors of the sport are corrupted, the calendars are too busy, the athletes have no other choice, they must serve as an example, the cheaters are always ahead of the police, all sports are not controlled in the same way, ...

To escape from these immobile arguments, which are insensitive to the types of products, to the doses, to the temporality of cases, we can analyze how the protagonists work and accept or do not accept the exchange with other social logics. This implies an ability to understand, circulate and analyze processes. The social sciences are certainly well placed to do that. The issue is scientific because the possibility of research in several countries on such an issue opens the possibility of producing transposable knowledge. It is also political because our disciplines can help to overcome the challenges that affect health at the international level. In any case, the social sciences have a lot to say and understand.

5. References

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Notes

1. Keynote addressed to the V Sport, Doping and Society Conference; February 16, 2017.

2.

https://www.wada-ama.org/sites/default/files/whistleblowingprogram_policy_procedure_en.pdf

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