Individual and contextual factors in ethical decision making: A case study of the most significant doping scandal in Canadian university sports history

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ABSTRACT

This case study is written for instructors of sport management courses focused on ethics and integrity-related issues in team environments. The case highlights the real world example of the University of Waterloo Warriors varsity football that, in 2010, experienced the most significant doping scandal in Canadian university sports history, with a total of nine anti-doping rule violations asserted through the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport. This case study also incorporates the findings of an independent review of the Waterloo football program in relation to the use of banned substances, and includes first-hand accounts from Bob Copeland who was the acting director of athletics. These findings are then interpreted in the context of relevant theory related to performance enhancing drugs (PEDs) use. Along with the findings of this review, which included interviews with athletes, coaches, and administrators, the case study provides important insights into ethical decision making processes and leadership structures in a team sport environment. Particular emphasis is placed on the role that individual cognitive antecedents and contextual organizational factors (i.e., policies, leadership, ethical climate, and infrastructure) play in ethical decision-making processes.

Teaching note

The use of performance enhancing drugs continues to be an ethical concern in North American collegiate sporting environments (Yusko, Buckman, White, & Pandina, 2008). The non-medical use of anabolic steroids has been shown to be associated with student-level characteristics including being male and participating in intercollegiate athletics (McCabe, Browner, West, & Nelson, 2007). This case study presents the story of a highly publicized doping scandal through the lens of an acting director of athletics. The aim of this case study is to challenge students to think critically about the importance of creating ethical team and organizational cultures. Students will engage relevant theory to offer explanations of the incident, as well as use theory to develop effective interventions and preventative measures that can be applied to team sports environments. The theoretical explanations offered in this case study are combined with the results of the independent review of the incident, which included interviews with coaches, athletes, support staff, administrators, and subject matter...
experts. After completing this case study, it is expected that students will have a better understanding of the multifaceted and complex nature of the problem of banned PEDs use among elite, university-level athletes.

1. Case synopsis

The University of Waterloo varsity football team was suspended for the entire 2011 season after eight players were found to be using banned performing enhancing drugs. An independent review was undertaken and the findings of this review offered important insights into how the culture of the sport, attitudes of players, and the policy environment may have contributed to this situation. This case provides an opportunity to examine why these behaviors may have occurred, and how they might be influenced in the future, through the application of organizational behavior theories.

2. Assignments and class discussion

This case incorporates scholarly research and several important theories that instructors can introduce to contextualize class discussion, and help students critically examine the decisions made by some student-athletes on the University of Waterloo football team to use banned PEDs. The independent review (Appendix A) also provides important context for this critical inquiry and discussion through interviews with players on the football team as well as coaches, support staff, and administrators. Instructors are encouraged to have their students read the entirety of the independent review to inform the discussion and assignments offered in this case study. Moreover, students should be encouraged to critically examine the recommendations of the independent review through their understanding and application of relevant scholarly research.

The overall pedagogical objectives are to encourage students to critically examine the interrelationship between both cognitive and contextual factors as they may influence a student-athlete’s propensity to use banned PEDs. It is also important for students to acknowledge any limitations to these approaches as predictors of behavior, and to consider other research in the literature related to deviant behavior and ethical decision making. Students should come to better understand ethical principles (e.g., fairness, justice) and the complexity and nuances of managing ethical issues in team sports environments. From this critical examination, students should be equipped to strategically analyze the policy environments in other team sports contexts and offer recommendations to reduce high risk behaviors through appropriate interventions.

The complexity of issues in this case is most appropriate for students in senior level sport management courses who have completed introductory courses in organizational behavior and/or sports ethics. The case encourages small group discussion and reflection that can be facilitated by an instructor. The exercises can be completed individually or in small groups and instructors are encouraged to introduce other organizational behavior constructs that may assist students in developing a more complete understanding of the issues presented in this case. This case can be examined within an organizational behavior or strategic management course in sport.

2.1. Organizational behavior or strategic management courses

After successfully completing this case, students will be able to:

(1) Identify and discuss how contextual factors (e.g., policy, leadership structures, and education) influence banned PEDs use by student-athletes in high performance team environments.
(2) Identify and articulate how different individual factors (i.e., cognitive processes) may play a role in ethical decision making, including the decision to take banned PEDs.
(3) Recommend policy, leadership, and educational structures informed by ethical principles, and which may limit or modify the propensity of student-athletes to take banned PEDs.
(4) Identify and discuss how some student-athletes may rationalize the use of banned PEDs.
(5) Understand the management implications of how sound organizational policies can foster an ethical, values-based culture.

Instructors can use this case to discuss how the use of banned PEDs may be influenced by individual cognitive factors such as moral awareness, moral judgment, and moral disengagement together with contextual organizational factors, including the policy environment, leadership structures, and educational programs. Rather than considering these factors in isolation, it is important for instructors to help students critically examine the interrelationship between cognitive and contextual factors in influencing a student-athlete’s decision to use banned PEDs. As suggested by Smith et al. (2010), “an improved understanding of the contextual pressures and factors that influence athletes’ and players attitudes to drugs in sports will be pivotal to understanding how drug policy interventions may modify players’ propensities to take drugs” (Smith et al., 2010, p. 182).

According to Bovard (2008, p. 364), “education alone is incompletely effective in changing behaviors.” Therefore, education must be combined with other interventions including drug testing programs, penalties for illegal drug use, leadership structures, and policies that foster an ethical team culture. The role of each of these factors can be discussed in reference to the Waterloo football doping case, as well as how these contextual factors can be managed to reduce the
probability of banned PEDs use in the future across high performance team environments. The following questions can be used to guide a discussion of this case for an organizational behavior course in sport management.

1. The Waterloo football team was characterized by a hierarchical leadership structure, which is typical of many team environments in sport. Discuss the effectiveness of hierarchical leadership structures as they relate to the reporting of doping issues within a team environment.

2. What is the role of policy as it relates to developing an ethical team culture? What are some specific policy measures that might facilitate a more ethical team culture, and what are the limitations of policy in this regard?

3. Describe and critique the concepts of moral awareness, judgment, and disengagement as they relate to an athlete’s decision to take banned PEDs.

4. Why is it important for administrators to understand cognitive processes as they relate to behavioral ethics outcomes in sport?

5. Discuss how policy and education can be used as tools to influence moral awareness and moral judgment related to a student-athlete’s decision to take banned PEDs.

6. Discuss how athletes come to rationalize their decision to use PEDs.

7. There appeared to be tacit approval for PEDs use amongst some of the football players on the Waterloo team. Some of the players who were interviewed characterized banned PEDs use by others as being a personal, individual decision. Specifically, the authors of the independent review indicated “some comments even from players not using PEDs support the notion that the culture anticipates the use of banned substances to be a matter of personal choice” (Appendix A, p. 3). How can reference group opinions and peer approval regarding the use of PEDs be modified through policy, education, and peer leadership within a team environment?

8. Students could be asked to discuss the efficacy of threat appraisal as a deterrent in the case of the Waterloo football team. For programs where drug testing is negligible or non-existent, students could be asked to discuss the role and relationship of other inputs that influence a student-athlete’s attitudes and behaviors towards PEDs. For example, Donovan, Egger, Kapernick, and Mendoza (2002) suggest six inputs including threat appraisal, incentive appraisal, reference group opinions, personal morality, and personality factors. It may be helpful for students to reference the final report of the task force on the use of performance enhancing drugs in football (Appendix B) in discussing this question. This report provides context for the Waterloo football doping issue as it relates to penalties for using banned PEDs, and the frequency of drug testing (both of which relate to the concept of threat assessment).

Sample assignments for this course might include:

1. Students could be asked to write specific policies and ethical principles designed to help facilitate an ethical culture in a team sports environment. For example, what policies might help facilitate a supportive environment for all players on the team to raise concerns about suspected PEDs use?

2. Students could be asked to develop an inventory of organizations that promote integrity, ethics, and values in sport (e.g., truesport.org). From this inventory, students could be asked to select one of these organizations and make a presentation to the class about the specific messages, strategies, and programs promoted by the organization.

3. Leadership is an important component in organizational behavior, as well as a construct that was examined in this case. Students could be asked to complete a two-part assignment as follows: (1) Provide a literature review of organizational behavior theory related to leadership concepts, with emphasis on the role and relationship of coaches and team captains; (2) Develop an organizational structure for the leadership of a team sport, with clearly defined roles and expectations of coaches and team captains. For example, this might include criteria for selecting captains, communication structures (between coaches and captains, and between captains and players), and accountability frameworks for players on the team.

4. Students could be asked to undertake an internet search of team suspensions in intercollegiate sport and to lead a class discussion or write an essay on the factors that led to the suspension. This discussion or essay should also incorporate the scholarly literature and theoretical constructs introduced in this teaching case.

5. Player orientations and educational programs are commonplace in team sports, yet many ethical issues persist. One reason may be that education programs focused solely on deterrence or health consequences (in the case of PEDs use) have been shown to play a limited role in influencing behavior. Students could be asked to develop a peer-to-peer education program focused on moral awareness, and moral judgment.

3. Teaching points

We have suggested a number of possible activities and assignments for students to complete. Instructors are encouraged to first discuss the case through a selection of the discussion questions provided in advance of the recommended assignments. It is not necessary to have students complete all assignments or pose all discussion questions related to this case. The manner in which this case study is facilitated is up to the discretion of the instructor. Instructors may wish to introduce other discussion questions or assignments that incorporate other organizational behavior theories that apply to this case.
Appendix A


Appendix B


References

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Case study

Bob Copeland was the Director of Athletics at the University of Waterloo, Canada’s most innovative university known for being the birthplace of Blackberry™ than the win-loss record of its football team. However, it was football that would make international headlines in 2010 with a doping scandal that saw the eventual season-long suspension of the varsity football team by the university’s senior administration. In the United States, a decision like this is often referred to as a ‘death penalty’ for a program, but the Waterloo football team has emerged with a stronger policy environment through what was learned through this experience. For example, new reporting requirements were established as well as processes to document allegations or suspicions concerning PED use. The decisions that were made by Copeland and the senior university administration were polarizing, precedent-setting, and provide a unique case for future administrators who must deal with issues related to integrity, ethics, culture, and policy in a university athletics environment.

On Friday, March 26, 2010 Copeland was informed by University of Waterloo police services that two players on the football team, along with a recent alumnus of the program, were arrested on various charges including breaking and entering, possession of stolen property, and possession of anabolic steroids and human growth hormone for the purpose of trafficking. Copeland knew that he had to act quickly and decisively given the serious nature of the charges and the significant quantity of steroids that were seized. However, there was no playbook or precedent for the decisions that were about to be made, by Copeland or the University of Waterloo. It was immediately apparent to Copeland that this was likely not an isolated incident and could involve more players on the team, and perhaps those on other teams in the community. A meeting was immediately convened with Copeland, the university’s police services, the Associate Provost, Student Services (his direct report), and the Director of Communications and Public Affairs for the university. After a brief crisis management discussion, it was agreed that Copeland was to contact the Executive Director of Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS), as well as the Director of Athletics for Ethics in Sport (CCES), the national agency responsible for performance enhancing drug testing in university sport.

In discussions between Copeland and officials with the CIS and CCES, processes were reviewed pertaining to the testing of athletes. Copeland suggested the possibility of testing the entire team rather than a subset of athletes. He knew that there would be a cloud of suspicion over the entire team and the best way to deal with this was to test everyone. This decision was made to determine exactly which players were using banned substances. This was also the most fair and equitable approach rather than trying to determine based on other subjective factors who should be tested, and who should not. There was quick consensus on this approach although the procedures, cost, and timing were factors that required clarity. Within three days of agreeing on this approach, and less than one week from learning of the arrests, the CCES arrived in Waterloo and conducted one of their largest missions outside of an Olympic Games. A total of 82 samples were collected, including 62 for urine and 20 for blood.

The varsity athletics programs at Waterloo are governed by policies and rules of Ontario University Athletics (OUA) and CIS, including a performance enhancing drugs (PEDs) policy implemented by the CCES. The CCES is a government-funded, independent organization responsible for administering the Canadian Anti-Doping program (CADP), which is a signatory to the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). The CCES was responsible for all aspects of PEDs testing involving CIS athletes, including test distribution planning, selecting athletes to be tested, the testing of athletes, results management, and imposing sanctions. The CCES also produced a mandatory e-learning program for student-athletes. Essentially, the process for testing university athletes in Canada was very similar to the protocols used to test Olympic athletes; the processes were rigorous, independent, and reliable. Although this process in Canada offered consistency in applying the same policies and standards across all university programs, the frequency of testing was insignificant and this was well-known to coaches and players alike. For example, only 2–3% of Canadian University football players are tested for PEDs in any given year (Appendix B). The task force on the use of performance enhancing drugs in football recommended that “the total number of tests conducted in the sport of football be significantly increased from the current 2–3% to 30%” (Appendix B, p. 43).

At the beginning of each school year and athletics season, representatives of the Department of Athletics met with each varsity sports team – usually after a practise – to ‘walk through’ various policies and expectations of student-athletes, including technical information about eligibility and more serious matters about banned PEDs, as well as general behavioral expectations. These sessions were usually about 30 minutes in length and delivered by a departmental representative such as the Director of Athletics, Associate Director of Athletics, or Manager of Interuniversity Sports. In some cases, an athletics physical therapist also participated in these orientation sessions. The CIS also mandated that all athletes sign a declaration of participation, which required athletes to submit to testing for PEDs, if requested, as a condition of eligibility. The University of Waterloo did not require athletes to sign any other corresponding documents related to any policies or behavioral requirements. Coaches were also expected to reinforce behavioral expectations and rules with their players.

Following the testing of the team, it was a difficult and uncertain environment for everyone associated with the football program for a period of more than two months. It was a stressful and challenging environment for players, coaches, and
administrators as everyone waited for the results to be made public. Regular closed weekly meetings were convened by a senior management group of the university including the Director of Athletics, and senior administrative representatives of the university including student services, public affairs, legal, and police services. Progress with the testing was discussed, along with the health and safety of the players, and myriad of other considerations related to how this situation would be managed moving forward. The purpose of these meetings was for consultation and to ensure clarity of issues and facts across all pertinent levels of the university; any decisions with respect to sanctions related to players, staff, and the program were to be made by the most senior officers of the university.

At an overflowing press conference on June 14, 2010, 75 days following testing day, the results of the testing and other decisions by the university were announced. A total of eight doping-related sanctions were made public, representing 13% of the players who were tested. In total, four players self-disclosed their steroid use without being tested, and four athletes tested positive for the presence of banned substances including one athlete for human growth hormone. In addition to these eight, a ninth player had been arrested and charged with possession of steroids for the purpose of trafficking, among other charges. On June 21, 2013 this player was sentenced for steroids trafficking. In addition, it was announced that three full-time coaches were being placed on paid administrative leave and an independent review of the program was to be conducted, led by the former Chief of Police with the Waterloo Regional Police Service. What came next was unexpected by most, and proved to be an intensely polarizing issue among players, media, administrators, and everyday citizens. The University of Waterloo announced the one-year suspension of the football program.

After the announcement, Copeland pondered the following questions: How could this have happened to such a promising program, with a highly principled coaching staff and a strong group of team captains in leadership roles? What interventions would need to be established to ensure such an incident would never happen again? A review of the academic literature may provide some theoretical explanations of what occurred at Waterloo, as well as help identify effective prevention strategies that can be applied to other university athletics programs in the future.

Treviño, Weaver, and Reynolds (2006) proposed two inter-related categories of influence on behavioral ethics in organizations, which would include an athlete’s decision to use banned PEDs. In this context, they first suggest athletes’ decisions to use PEDs may be understood at the cognitive level of the individual. Specifically, the authors highlight the role cognitive processes relating to moral awareness, judgment, and disengagement might play in explaining PEDs use among athletes. Moral awareness refers to an interpretive process where individuals recognize that a moral problem exists in a situation (Rest, 1986). This recognition is important because identifying an issue as ethically significant is an important first step in ethical decision making and subsequent behavior (Treviño et al., 2006). Once an individual becomes aware of an ethical issue, moral judgment processes are likely to be triggered (Rest, 1986). According to Kohlberg’s (1969) moral development theory, individuals pass through a six stage process of moral judgment, which are embedded within three broad categories. At the preconventional level, individuals reason about what is right based on their concern for being obedient to authority and fear of punishment. Donovan, Egger, Kapernick, and Mendoza (2002) suggested that threat appraisal (i.e., the cost of being caught via enforcement procedures and ill-health effects) is an important factor to consider when predicting attitudes and intention regarding PEDs use among elite athletes.

At the conventional level, moral judgment is more externally oriented, relying on the expectations of significant others or rules (Treviño et al., 2006). According to Donovan et al. (2002), reference group opinions are critical antecedents of attitudes toward PEDs use and subsequent behavior. Research has suggested that athletes who perceive approval from important others (e.g., fellow athletes, coaches, family members, administrators) to engage in PEDs use may be much more likely to do so (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). Finally, at the principled level, individuals determine what is right more autonomously by looking to universally-held principles of justice and rights. More recently, researchers (e.g., Bandura, 1999) have also discussed the role of moral disengagement in ethical decision making. Essentially, moral disengagement “frees the individual from self-sanctions and guilt that would normally accompany violations of one’s ethical standards” (Treviño et al., 2006, p. 958). In turn, the extent of athletes’ moral awareness, judgment, and disengagement might be heavily influenced by the team’s culture and moral atmosphere (Treviño et al., 2006).

Cognitive processes at the preconventional and conventional levels may suggest that athletes rationalize using PEDs in the sense that they are: ‘part of the game’ ‘what my competitors are doing’ ‘what my fellow teammates would want me to do’ or ‘what are needed to make it to the next level!’ (Rest, 1986; Sagar, Boardley, & Kavussanu, 2011). Recently, Petróczi (2014) posited that functional use theory is useful for understanding decisions to use PEDs. This theory suggests some athletes rationalize PEDs as ‘tools of the trade’ (Bloodworth & McNamee, 2010; Kirby, Morgan, & Guerin, 2011; Smith et al., 2010) or a necessary component of training regimens (Brissoneau, 2006; Petróczi, 2014). Indeed, functional use theory suggests athletes’ main motivation to take drugs is “not as much gaining an unfair advantage over their opponents, but maximizing their athletic performance, which may or may not lead to winning” (Petróci, 2014, p. 3). Consistent with functional use theory, Donovan et al. (2002) argued that incentive appraisal (i.e., the benefits of PEDs use in terms of perceived performance enhancement) is an important factor influencing decisions to use PEDs.

Treviño et al. (2006) also proposed a contextual–organizational category of influence on behavioral ethics outcomes. According to the authors, this category highlights the role punishments, policy, ethical infrastructure, ethical climate/culture, and leadership might play in understanding PEDs use among athletes. This category of influence suggests PEDs use might be more prevalent within teams and organizations that lack sufficient ethical leadership and support systems to encourage and reinforce ethical behavior (Treviño et al., 2006). In these instances, athletes may be unaware of PEDs-related policy or consequences. Moreover, a lack of ethical leadership and rigid hierarchical structures may create team cultures in
which athletes (particularly in non-leadership roles) are unwilling to confront issues among teammates, or report problems to coaches or administrators (Treviño et al., 2006). Ethical team cultures are ones in which athletes are encouraged to report the misconduct of their teammates.

Effective PEDs intervention strategies might be best informed by ecological models of health behavior. Sallis, Owen, and Fisher (2008) noted that these models emphasize the environmental and policy contexts of behavior, while incorporating social and psychological (i.e., cognitive) influences. According to Sallis et al., “ecological models lead to the explicit consideration of multiple levels of influence, thereby guiding the development of more comprehensive interventions” (p. 465). Thus, interventions targeting both individual and contextual-levels proposed by Treviño et al. (2006) might prove effective in curbing the use of banned PEDs among athletes. For example, a review of the findings of the independent review of the Waterloo football PEDs scandal through the lens of the individual and contextual factors described above, should be examined to determine if such factors can help administrators develop more effective policies and interventions to address a variety of ethical issues.

The results of the independent review were made public on August 18, 2010 and the coaches who were on paid administrative leave were immediately reinstated. The review helped shine a light on the culture of the football locker room at Waterloo, including the moral and ethical decision-making process of student-athletes – individual cognitive factors as described in the literature. The role and efficacy of policies and educational strategies was also included in the findings of the review – contextual environmental factors as described in the literature. The terms of reference for the Waterloo football review included an assessment of how the “climate, culture and leadership of interuniversity athletics on campus may have contributed to this situation” (Appendix A, p. 1), as well as a review of policies, procedures, and practises related to banned substances.

A total of 14 players were interviewed, as well as coaches, support staff, and other senior staff in the department including the Director of Athletics. This independent review was commissioned by the university and conducted at arm’s length from the university, led by the retired Chief of Police from the Waterloo Regional Police Service who acted as the principal investigator and co-author of the review. The review indicated that there was “a great deal of rumour and speculation about use of performance enhancing drugs” (p. 3) and “it would be naïve or ‘head in the sand’ to expect that on a university football team there would be no players who were using PEDs” (p. 3). A key finding included several comments from players who were not using PEDs that “supported the notion that the culture anticipates the use of banned substances as a matter of personal choice” (Appendix A, p. 3). This finding is consistent with theories that suggest cognitive processes relating to moral judgment and disengagement can have an influence on behavior (Engelberg, Moston, & Skinner, 2014; Lucidi et al., 2008; Treviño et al., 2006). Engelberg et al. (2014), for example, found that the perceived culture of the sport was considered central to the ‘normalization’ of doping, particularly in body building. When explaining decisions to dope, athletes in their study engaged in a process of moral disengagement characterized by minimizing consequences and diffusion of responsibility. Clearly, this activity is cheating; however, it may have been justified in the minds of some athletes on the Waterloo football team who considered it to be ‘part of the game’ (Sagar et al., 2011).

There was no evidence in the review that coaches or team leadership contributed to the situation, however, several observations were made about the leadership structure and culture which was very hierarchical. The role of team captains was reviewed and found that “the tone in the locker room and on the team is set by the captains, a group of senior players chosen for their leadership qualities” (p. 4). Captains were expected to ensure that their “teammates conduct themselves so as to bring credit to the team and university” (Appendix A, p. 4). Most of the captains indicated they would deal with an issue related to PEDs use if there was credible information, and they would take this information to the coaches; however, “most players not in a leadership position said they would do nothing” (Appendix A, p. 7). This finding is important as it relates to Treviño et al.’s (2006) discussion of team cultures in which athletes in non-leadership roles are unwilling to confront issues among teammates, or report these problems to their coaches or others (Treviño et al., 2006). One could argue that despite the strong leadership of captains on the team and the principled leadership of the coaching staff, that the overriding team culture for Waterloo football was not an ethical one. This has important implications for policy and educational interventions that would encourage a positive culture amongst all athletes on the team. Strict hierarchical leadership structures may not be the most effective structure to achieve a more broadly based culture of integrity within a team.

The review noted that information regarding the rules and expectations regarding banned substances was abundant, however “there is a lack of systematic education for players on the health issues” (Appendix A, p. 5), concluding that “there is greater emphasis on apprehension and sanction than there is on the health of the individual, both in the on-line course and in the other materials they reviewed” (Appendix A, p. 5). Suggestions were made by players about the need to begin this education process earlier, in high schools, and that athletes from the University of Waterloo could participate in this. Although all coaches, staff, and administration were exonerated in the review, a gap in policy was noted “in that there has been no clear prescription for coaches, other staff or players for procedures to follow in the case of suspicion or knowledge of use of banned substances” (Appendix A, p. 6). It is helpful for sport administrators to consider these facts in the context of intervention strategies that are informed by both environmental and policy contexts of behavior, while incorporating cognitive influences (Sallis et al., 2008). For example, athletics departments might have greater success in addressing these issues in the future by implementing more rigorous policies that outline reporting obligations of players, staff, and coaches combined with better education for players about the moral reasoning associated with PEDs use. The role of moral education and ethics education is important as there is weak empirical evidence for the effectiveness of most health education-based programs designed to change doping attitudes (Laure & Lecerf, 2002). Melzer, Elbe, and Brand (2010) suggest that moral...
judgment has been shown to be an effective component of the ethical decision-making process. Therefore, athletics administrators should consider this approach in their education of student-athletes regarding ethical issues, including PEDs use.

After the football team’s one-year suspension, the team returned to play in the OUA conference for the 2011 season. The Waterloo football scandal and suspension created a national dialogue about the issue of PEDs in university sport including decision-making processes by athletes, as well as the policy environment related to these substances. There was considerable debate about the fairness of suspending the entire team based on the actions of a small number of individuals. A national task force on the use of performance enhancing drugs was created in the wake of the Waterloo football doping situation, the results of which offer important insights for administrators who may be faced with similar challenges.

References