FRAMING ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPERS COVERAGE OF MAX MOSLEY'S "NAZI" ORGY

Loubna Aljoura

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Mass Communication in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication.

Chapel Hill
2009

Approved by:

Lois Boynton

Elizabeth Dougall

Steve May

ABSTRACT

Loubna Aljoura: Framing Analysis of newspapers Coverage of Max Mosley's "Nazi" Orgy
(Under the direction of Lois Boynton, Elizabeth Dougall, and Steve May)

On March 28, 2008, *The News of the World,* a British tabloid newspaper, published a front page story accompanied by a video saying that Max Mosley, the president of the Federation Internationale de l'Automobile was involved in "a depraved Nazi sadomasochistic orgy" in a private flat in Chelsea. Explored in this thesis are the story frames and image restoration strategies and postures used by Mosley. Questions of how the news media covered the Mosley story as well as the image restoration strategies and postures evident in Mosley's response are explored using the qualitative content analysis of the news coverage of two British newspapers. This study is significant in that it explored a crisis that occurred by a leader of a private organization whose sexual behaviors were conducted in a private place, and, ultimately, the courts sided with him in protecting his privacy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter I

Introduction

In March 28, 2008, the *News of The World*, a British tabloid newspaper, published a front page story saying that Max Mosley, the president of the Federation Internationale de l'Automobile, known as the F.I.A., was involved in "a depraved Nazi sadomasochistic orgy" in a private flat in Chelsea. The session was video taped by one of the prostitutes who was paid by the newspaper. The newspaper placed a video showing Mosley speaking German in a session with five women, two of them wearing striped prisoners clothes. The video, placed on the newspaper website, shows Mosley having a cup of tea with the prostitutes after the session ended (Lyall, 2008, p. 1). In a single week, the newspaper website has attracted 1.9 million visitors, a surge of more than 600% (Conlan, 2008).

The Mosleys' family history was a major factor in the notoriety of the ensuing scandal. His father, Sir Oswald Mosley, was a known fascist sympathizer, who in 1936 married Diana Mitford, in Berlin at the home of the Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels, and Hitler was a guest of honor (Anthony, 2008).

Mosley's primary response to the *News of The World* was to send a letter to Peter Meyer, the president of Germany's motoring federation ADAC, as well as the FIA and World Council members. In this letter he apologized to his family and the F.I.A. members. But he maintained that his actions were "harmless and completely legal," completely denying the Nazi connotations (The Guardian, 2008, p. 2).

Unappeased by Mosley's response, emergent stakeholders in the scandal, specifically Jewish groups and major car companies including Ferrari, BMW, Mercedes Benz, Honda, and Toyota, called for Mosley's resignation. Mosley did not cave in. He responded aggressively to the calls of the car companies for his resignation by alluding to the BMW and Mercedes Benz wartime records, which state that they made use of slave labor during Nazi era (Anthony, 2008). He also filed a lawsuit against the News of the World for invasion of privacy. He claimed that the party did not have anything related to a Nazi theme and that it was legal since it was held in a private place and among consenting adults (Alderson, 2008).

Pressure mounted against Mosley. The Crown Prince of Bahrain issued a statement declaring that Max Mosley would not be welcome to attend the Grand Prix, and Prince Albert II of Monaco made it known he would not attend any functions at which Mosley might be present. After a two-hour debate at the FIA Paris headquarters, Mosley survived a vote over his presidency with 103 delegates voting in his favor and 55 against (Burnes, 2008).

The court proceedings of Mosley's lawsuit against *News of The World* was monitored closely, especially by the British media. During the trial, Max Mosley was supported by four of the five women involved in session. The four women said that they enjoyed sadomasochistic sex and denied there was a Nazi theme. One of the women, identified as a Ph. D. student, said: "I would rather do CP [corporal punishment] a lot more than go to the

dentist" (Pidd, 2008, p. 10). Mosley said that his wife of 48 years knew nothing of his sadomasochistic tastes. Another twist was added to the case when one of the women was identified as the wife of an M15 spy, the British intelligence service. The spy was forced to resign after his wife's "inappropriate job" became known (Chang, 2008, p. 2).

In July 24, 2008, the court ruled that there was no evidence of a Nazi theme in the video. The judge ruled that there should be a reasonable expectation of privacy in relation to sexual activities, even if they were unconventional, if they were between consenting adults on private property. The judge added that Mosley's activities did not involve violations of the criminal law so he had a right to keep his privacy. The court also awarded Mosley damages equivalent to about $120,000 and legal costs estimated to be at least $850,000 in his lawsuit against The News of the World (Burnes, 2008).

What is interesting in Mosley's case is that he did not take the most-traveled road out of the crisis. Unlike other public figures who have been under public scrutiny for their sexual activities, Mosley did not apologize and resign. On the contrary, he waged a counterattack on the newspaper accusing it of invading his privacy and capitalized on the role of public discussion of how public should the private life of a public figure be. This study is significant in that it explored a crisis that occurred by a leader of a private organization whose sexual behaviors were conducted in a private place, and, ultimately, the courts sided with him in protecting his privacy.

Framing analysis is used to study Max Mosley's crisis in order to: (1) know what strategies and postures Mosley used in the aftermath of the crisis; (2) find out what impact Mosley's prior reputation had on the crisis; and (3) examine what frames of the crisis emerged from the media coverage. Two objectives underpin this study: (1) to provide

insights on how individuals use image restoration strategies and legal posture in racist crises; and (2) to explore if there are common image restoration strategies used by individuals facing a sexual crisis.

To contextualize the study, Max Mosley's history is briefly reviewed. The definitions of key concepts and terms used in the thesis are reviewed together with Benoit's image restoration theory elaborated. The literature that used this theory are also discussed. Scholarly literature concerning racial crises and the impact of prior reputation, and the media and sexual perversions are also explored. After that, research questions are articulated and the research method used in this study is discussed, followed by a synopsis of the sampling procedures. Full discussion of the findings and their contribution to the relevant literature will be stated. Limitations of the study are listed and directions for future research are suggested.

Max Mosley's Profile

Max Mosley was born in 13 April, 1940 to Sir Oswald Mosley, the leader of the British Union of Fascists, and his second wife, Diana Mitford. The couple married at the family home of the Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels in Berlin in 1936, with Diana's friend Adolf Hitler as guest (Anthony, 2008).

Max Mosley was only 11 weeks old in June 1940 when both his parents were imprisoned under wartime regulations over German sympathizers, and taken to Holloway prison in London, where they spent the next three and a half years. Mosley did not see his parents for the first three years of his life, aside from prison visits (Alderson, 2008).

4

Due to their belief that a complete education should include the study of German, Mosley's parents sent him to school for two years in Bavaria. The rest of his childhood was spent between the Mosley homes in Ireland and Paris; there was much traveling around Europe (Anthony, 2008).

Mosley studied physics at Oxford. While a student, he married Jean Taylor. They have been together for 48 years, and have two sons, Alexander and Patrick. While he was at Oxford, Mosley supported his father's political comeback leading another party, the Union Movement (Anthony, 2008). "At Oxford," he said, "one was press-ganged into politics; people attacked my father, so one had to defend him. But I can't pretend I didn't enjoy it" (p. 12). After graduating from Oxford in 1961, he went on to specialize in trademark law.

He joined his father's Union Movement. In 1962 he was arrested after attacking anti-fascist demonstrators who had beaten his father. He told the court he could "not be expected to stand idly by" and was acquitted (Anthony, 2008).

After practicing as a barrister in London for five years, he left law and was attracted to motor racing. He bought a car from the young Frank Williams, later leader of one of Formula One's most successful teams, and began to establish himself in Formula 2 (Anthony, 2008).

Max Mosley expressed his gratitude to motor racing which freed him from his family's history. "There was always a certain amount of difficulty in being a Mosley until I came into motor racing," he once said, "In one of the first races I ever took part in, they put up the practice times, and when they came to my name I heard someone say, 'Mosley? He must be some relation to Alf Mosley,' and I thought to myself, 'At last! I've found a world where they don't know about Oswald Mosley' " (Alderson, 2008, p. 28).

During the 1970s and 1980s, he became an increasingly powerful and influential figure in motor racing. In 1993 he was elected as president of the FIA, the Paris-based ruling body which runs Formula One races and represents the interests of national motoring clubs in 127 countries. His contract for the unpaid job of president is due to end in 2009 (Anthony, 2008).

In the 1980s, Max Mosley stood unsuccessfully for a seat as a Conservative Party candidate. He kept his interest in politics and donated money for Tony Blair's Labor government. After being interested with politics for a while, he reluctantly accepted that he would always be burdened with his surname. "If I had a completely open choice in my life, I would have chosen party politics but, because of my name, that's `impossible" (Alderson, 2008, p. 19).

Opinions conflict when it comes to Max Mosley's presidency of the FIA. Frank Williams, a former Formula One world champion and the British team owner, described him as a "very, very intelligent and competent, with a streak of ruthlessness" (Anthony, 2008, 22). Conversely, the Head of Fédération Française du Sport Automobile, Jacques Regis, said "He makes decisions by himself. They ignore all those on the ground" (p. 34). But it seems that Max Mosley did not mind criticism. "I don't mind flak," Mosley said, "I come from a family where we have had flak all our lives" (p. 32).

With this background established, the following chapter presents a review of the relevant scholarly literature. The primarily emphasis is on image restoration theory.

Chapter II

Literature Review

The first section of literature review gives background information about Max Mosley as a context for the present study. The second section gives a historical background of image restoration discourse and discusses in detail Benoit's image restoration discourse theory. The third section discusses racial crises. The fourth section tackles the impact of previous reputation and the importance of ethics to CEOs. The fifth address sexual diversions as depicted by the media.

Crisis, Image, Face, and Reputation

Psychologists Tedeschi and Norman (1985) define self-presentation as "attempts to control the identities attributed to the actor by an audience and thus may be viewed as influence attempts" (p. 295). They highlight the importance of self–presentation by saying "self-presentations are meant to establish a particular *image* of some personal characteristics … in the eyes of another person. Such behaviors may also affect the *reputation*, ideals, *self-concept*, and *self-esteem of the actor* (emphasis added)" (p. 295). Reputation, image, or "face" are built through self-presentation, which is the outcome of managing other people's impressions.

Image, reputation, or "face" are acknowledged by scholars of social sciences as vulnerable and valuable intangible assets (Coombs, 2007; Gaines-Ross, 2003; Solove, 2007). Reputation can quickly be lost with negative consequences to our friendships, family, jobs, and financial well-being. Benoit (1997) defines image as "the perception of a person (or group, or organization) held by the audience, shaped by the words and actions of that person, as well as the discourse and behavior of other relevant actors" (p. 251). Domenici and Littlejohn (2006) said "face is equated to your public identity—the "you" presented to others" (p. 10). For the sociologist Erving Goffman, face is "the positive social value a person effectively claims himself [or herself] … in terms of approved social attributes" (p. 114). Penman (1994) says that the concept of face refers to persons' social identity, character, or reputation. On the other hand, sociologist Steven Nock (1993) defines reputation as a collective perception about a person. For the purpose of this paper, image will be used to express face and reputation. When crises threaten our face, we resort to facework. (Goffman, 1972).

Scholarly literature agrees on the negative impact crises may have on reputation. Barton (1992) defines a crisis as "… a major, unpredictable event that has potentially negative results. The event and its aftermath may significantly damage an organization and its employees, products, services, financial condition, and reputation" (p. 2). Along the same lines, Kathleen Fearns-Banks (2001) defines crisis as "a major occurrence with a potentially negative outcome affecting an organization as well as its publics, services, products, and/or good name" (p. 480). It can take decades to build a positive reputation, but it may only take hours to tarnish that reputation (Gaines-Ross, 2003). Individuals and organizations resort to

image restoration strategies when faced by a threat to the image they have carefully cultivated (Fearns-Banks, 2001).

The following section will introduce image restoration discourse theory and legal posture. It will also highlight examples of how image restoration strategies were used by individuals.

Image Restoration Discourse Theory

When our "face" is lost, we perform what researchers refer to as facework which Goffman (1972) defines as "the actions taken by a person to make whatever he [or she] is doing consistent with the face" (p. 110). Domenici and Littlejohn (2006) define facework as "a set of coordinated practices in which communicators build, maintain, protect, or threaten personal dignity, honor, and respect" (p. 10), which can relate to an individual's or organization's image. Along the same lines, Benoit (1994) said that when our image is threatened, we are motivated to counter threats with a persuasive discourse, which he calls image restoration rhetoric.

Earlier studies of image restoration depended on two main approaches: Ware and Linkugel's (1973), and Burke's (1974). The earliest attempt to coin a comprehensive theory about image restoration is Ware and Linkugel's theory of Apologia derived from rhetorical criticism. They identified four factors found in self-defense rhetoric: denial of any participation, relationship to, or positive sentiment to what the audience is repelled by; bolstering, or identifying with something the audience views favorably; differentiation, or separating some facts, sentiments, or relationships from some larger context within which the

audience views the attribute; and transcendence, or joining some facts sentiments or relationships with some larger context within which the audience views the attribute.

Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatization (1974) discussed two choices to restore a good reputation: victimage, which involves shifting the burden of guilt to a victim other than the original accused; and mortification, which involves admission of wrong-doing and request for forgiveness. Both theories are useful but they do not provide a comprehensive approach to image restoration.

Building on the Ware and Linkugel (1973), and Burke's (1974) theories, Benoit (1995) presented a comprehensive and unified theory of image restoration discourse. Arguing that communication is a goal-directed activity to help an individual maintain a favorable reputation, Benoit presented his typology of image restoration with five strategies, three of which have subcategories: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action, and mortification.

Denials take the form of simple refusal to take responsibility or denial by blaming another party. Responsibility can be evaded by claiming to be provoked, saying "I had no control over what happened," claiming it was an accident, or saying "I had good intentions." Offensiveness can be mitigated by bolstering one's reputation, minimizing the grievousness of the act, differentiating the act by saying "I was not lying to you. I was protecting you," transcending the act by saying "there is a much bigger issue here than the faltering economy. It is weak economical structure," which is followed by an attack on the accuser or compensating the affected people. Corrective action can be implemented with or without admitting guilt by restoring the situation to what it was before the crisis happened and/or by promising to make changes to prevent the reoccurrence of the crisis. Mortification includes

admitting responsibility for the wrongful act and asking for forgiveness. These strategies with their variations are summarized in Table 1 (Benoit, 1995). Later, researchers added more strategies.

Table 1

Benoit's (1995) Image Restoration Strategies

Benoit's (1995) Image Restoration Strategies
Denial
Simple Denial
Shifting the Blame
Evading of Responsibility
Provocation
Defeasibility
Accident
Good Intentions
Reducing Offensiveness of Event
Bolstering
Minimization
Differentiation
Transcendence
Attack accuser
Corrective Action
Mortification

Hearit (2001) added the legal posture to the image restoration strategies, citing it as the most-frequently adopted strategy by companies. He cited that companies use this strategy when corporations face product safety incidents in which the liability is considerable. Fitzpatrick and Rubin (1995) described the elements of the legal strategy. They highlighted the need to say as little as possible, citing privacy laws and sensitivities, denying guilt, and never admitting the blame. But the most-frequently cited image restoration strategies are Benoit's (1995).

Benoit and his colleagues have conducted a significant amount of image restoration research to show how these strategies are applied in various situations. Benoit's typology has been used in analyzing image restoration discourse done by corporations (Benoit & Brinson, 1994; Benoit & Czerwinski, 1997; Brinson & Benoit, 1996), governments (Benoit & Zhang, 2003, 2005), religious figures (Blaney & Benoit, 1997; Miller, 2002), political figures (Benoit & Brinson, 1999; Benoit & Nill, 1998; Blaney & Benoit, 2001), entertainment figures (Benoit, 1997), and sports figures (Benoit & Hanczor, 1994; Brazeal, 2008; Williams & Olaniran, 2002). A plethora of research using Benoit's theory of image restoration discourse when applied by individuals exists across communication, political, and religious disciplines (Benoit & Hanczor, 1994; Blaney & Benoit, 2001; Miller, 2002). Examples of these various strategies, as identified in the literature, are presented next.

Faced with the publics' doubt or perception of wrong-doing, public figures from different public spheres used denial and bolstering as key image restoration strategies, along with variations of other strategies depending on the crisis nature, to redeem their injured reputation. For example, Benoit and Brinson (1999) studied Queen Elizabeth's image repair discourse after the death of Princess Diana in 1997, in an effort to counter suspicions that the

British Royal Family did not share the sorrow of its publics. Queen Elizabeth delivered a speech to rebut the insinuations that Royals were not sorrowful and concerned for their subjects. In this speech, the Queen used two primary image repair strategies: denial of accusations and bolstering the image of the royals. The Queen also used two minor image repair strategies: defeasibility in excusing the royal family, and transcendence in calling the British people to unite before the world.

Former President Bill Clinton employed several image restoration strategies during the sex scandal involving then White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Blaney and Benoit (2001) examined Clinton's September 11, 1998, speech at the White House Prayer Breakfast. At that time, the evidence of Clinton's wrong-doing was strengthened by Lewinsky producing a dress for prosecutors which she claimed had a stain of Clinton's semen, but there was not yet a clear cut verdict of wrong-doing. In the speech, Clinton used a wide variety of image restoration strategies. He expressed his mortification, by explicitly listing several victims of his dishonesty and asking for their forgiveness. He also shared his intent to carry out corrective action by repenting his sin. He also used transcendence, by stressing that the country's interest should come before attendance to his shortcomings; bolstering, by claiming the support of many people; attacking the accuser; and differentiation, distinguishing between the legal and the moral aspects of his situation. Clinton made the distinction between his moral shortcomings and his legal purity by arguing that his moral wrongdoing was not equivalent to legal wrongdoing and that he would highlight these legal arguments.

Denial and bolstering were also used by other players in the Lewinsky scandal. After receiving criticism from Clinton, Clinton's supporters, and the news media, Kenneth Starr, the main investigator in the Lewinsky scandal, attempted to repair his image when

interviewed by television journalist Diane Sawyer on the news program 20/20. Benoit and McHale (1999) found that Starr used denial, bolstering, and to a lesser extent, mortification.

Denial and bolstering surfaced again in President Clinton's response to television journalist Barbara Walters' question about Clinton's responsibility for not improving the teen drug abuse problem in the United States. Benoit (1997) found that Clinton's answer contained four image repair strategies: denying by shifting the blame; reducing offensiveness of the act and transcending by placing the act within a broader context and bolstering by mentioning the positive measures taken to reduce drug abuse; and defeasibility, by suggesting that the right approach is changing the teenagers' attitude to drugs, not changing his action.

In another instance of being faced with public doubt movie director Oliver Stone's reaction to his critics essentially did not differ from political figures' reactions. Benoit and Nill (1998) found that Stone responded to criticism about his controversial 1991 movie *JFK* by denying the lone gunman theory and charges of inaccuracy, bolstering his major sources, and attacking his accusers and their motivation.

Not all individuals may approach image restoration by using bolstering, however. For example, Blaney and Benoit (1997) studied how Jesus defended himself in the Gospel according to St. John. They found that Jesus defended himself and his belief against serious accusations like demonic possession and blasphemy mainly with denial. When he defended theological doctrines, however, Jesus's strategies fell in line with transcendence. The ideas that earthly life is transitory, that the soul is more important than the body, and that wonderful rewards wait us in the afterlife are examples of transcendence. The authors

determined that Jesus's approaches did not reflect bolstering most likely because of the nature of the religious discourse he was delivering.

Public figures have also used bolstering and attacking their accusers to redeem their injured reputations when the wrong-doing is proven and no longer doubted For instance, Hugh Grant was arrested in Hollywood in 1995 for lewd behavior with a prostitute. During his appearance on "The Tonight Show," "Larry King Live," "The Today Show," "Live with Regis and Kathie Lee," and "The Late Show," Grant defended his image. Benoit (1997) found that Grant used bolstering, attacking the accuser—the British media - mortification, and to a lesser degree, denial to restore his reputation. Grant bolstered his image by being honest with the audience, adopting a modest demeanor, expressing his concern for the welfare of his girlfriend, and showing his wit.

In another instance, Olympic figure skater Tonya Harding was found to employ similar strategies. Harding tried to defend herself to reporter Connie Chung on the television news magazine program Eye-to-Eye following the attack on her teammate and rival Nancy Kerrigan at the 1994 Winter Olympics. Benoit and Hanczor (1994) said that Harding used bolstering, denial, attacking one's accuser, and, to a lesser extent, defeasibility. Harding bolstered her character by saying that she was not directly involved in the attack on Kerrigan. Rather, she attacked her ex-husband and her bodyguard as perpetrators of the attack, and claimed defeasibility because the situation was out of her control.

Again religious discourse presents a departure from the rule. Jimmy Swaggart, at one time one of the world's most-watched Christian televangelists, did not use attacking the accuser's image restoration strategy. In a study of contemporary apologists, Miller (2002) examined the evangelist's apology after his 1988 sex scandal and found that Swaggart used

several image restoration strategies in his televised confession. He expressed his mortification; bolstered his image by appealing to the style of religious image and discourse his audience appreciated, and by associating himself with important biblical figures; claimed defeasibility by suggesting that his action resulted from nerve problems and an addiction; and differentiated between the public perception and the actual offense. Miller (2002) argued that Swaggart's divergence from attacking his accusers can be seen within the wider frame of religious discourse and Christian doctrines. Attacking the accuser contradicts Jesus' preaching to love enemies and to turn the other cheek.

Benoit's image restoration theory developed different strategies, but it does not ascribe or suggest certain strategies for certain types of crises. The various strategies discussed in this section serve as a framework to discuss how individuals and organizations should respond when faced with various crises. The following section specifically examines crises involving race and "otherness."

Crisis Communication and Otherness/Minorities

Although Jews are considered part of a religious minority and not a racial minority, it is important to consider Richards' (1999) argumentthat ethnic or religious minorities are racialized by mainstream society, a process that allows groups to be ascribed racial characteristics. In this way, the identification of religious or ethnic minority members as belonging to a different race is a part of the general process of classification that characterizes minority groups as physically, culturally, and morally inferior to the mainstream society. Richards also listed racism against Latino immigrants in the U.S. and Anti-Semitism against Jews as examples of this process.

16

Crises involving minorities have not received much attention by public relations researchers (Baker, 2001; Williams and Olaniran, 2002). The scholarly literature does not suggest methods to avoid a racial crisis, manage a racial crisis, and restore the image hurt by a racial crisis. But some researchers studied image restoration strategies used in racial crises without putting much emphasis on the nature of the crisis.

For example, Brinson and Benoit (1999) studied Texaco's efforts to restore its image that was harmed by its racism crisis. The crisis started with reports revealing a tape recording that disclosed racist language used by top executives related to a racial discrimination suit against Texaco. The most-damaging comments were by the executives who referred to African American employees as "black jelly beans" (p. 484). The researchers evaluated Texaco's campaign to restore its reputation as successful. Texaco used bolstering by reminding people of its policies against discrimination; corrective action by initiating an investigation to prevent similar incidents from happening again; shifting the blame, by identifying the executives as bad apples; and mortification, by admitting guilt and apologizing. The researchers also attributed Texaco's success to the swift and decisive actions taken by Texaco chairman Peter Bijur in punishing the executives and settling the lawsuit. But the researchers did not reflect on the best combination of image restoration strategies to deal with racial crises.

By examining image restoration strategies implemented by Eddie Bauer and the American Airlines case, Baker (2001) took the discussion about racial crises one step further. He recommended certain strategies for certain situations. Baker concluded that some strategies are harmful in racial crises, and stressed the importance of quick action.

In the Eddie Bauer case, two African American teenagers shopping at an Eddie Bauer store were followed by a store security officer. The officer asked one of the youth to produce the receipt for a shirt he bought the day before. Since the youth was unable to do that, the officer told him to take off the shirt, go home, and bring the receipt (Baker, 2001).

Initially, the management of Eddie Bauer denied and evaded responsibility and did not offer any apology to the youths. Two weeks after the incident, the youth sued the company for $85 million, claiming false imprisonment, defamation, and violation of civil rights. The case gained momentum when black leaders called the case an example of subtle racist behavior. Two months after the incident, Eddie Bauer president Rick Feresh made the first step toward corrective action by admitting wrongdoing and vowing to fix it. Feresh also met with minority groups and distributed clothes to the homeless shelters (Baker, 2001).

The American Airlines case resulted from a pilot's manual containing a section titled "Survival in Latin America" in which offensive comments were made about Latin American passengers. American Airlines quick response included issuing an unwavering apology and moving toward corrective action, beginning with the removal of the manual. The airline also agreed to hire more minorities, to increase its donation to Hispanic causes, and to revise its manuals to remove any offensive material. Baker (2001) noted that American Airlines did not attempt to minimize the offensiveness of the action.

After comparing the image restoration strategies used in the two cases, Baker (2001) concluded that the denial strategy is ineffective in racial crises and highlighted the influence of the time frame in which the strategies are delivered—the sooner, the better. Baker also identified three major categories for crises surrounding racial incidents that demand distinct response. They are actions, like in the Eddie Bauer case; words, like those used by the

American Airlines; and symbols, like in an AT&T internal publication case, in which a monkey was used to depict its customers in Africa. Baker (2001) recommended that racial incidents resulting from words be handled with apologies and quick disassociation from the individuals or groups responsible for the behavior, and to manage crises that result from the use of symbols by modifying the symbols.

Williams and Olaniran (2002) suggested that Baker's (2001) insights are sensible but they do not explore in-depth different types of racial crises. They determined that he does not touch on what would be needed if the charges of racism are considered unfounded by the organization. This article is particularly significant in researching the Max Mosley case, in which accusations of racism were not substantiated.

In the body of scholarly literature about racial crises discussed previously, image restoration strategies were applied by corporations. The scholarly literature did not tackle image restoration strategies used by religious, political, entertainment, and sport figures involved in racial crises. This thesis will help fill that scholarship void.

The crisis negative impact on reputation is multiplied when there are precedents that confirm the crisis. The following section discusses the impact of prior reputation and the importance of ethics.

Impact of Prior Reputation and Importance of Ethics

The following section will tackle the literature dealing with the impact of prior reputation. It will also highlight the importance of ethics for key figures in any organization.

Coombs (2007) mentioned crisis type, crisis history, and prior reputation as three factors to take into considerations when evaluating a reputational threat presented by a crisis. Identifying the crisis type is the first step, followed by assessing the reputational threat based on crisis history and prior reputation. Coombs found that crisis history and an unfavorable prior reputation generally have an impact on the individual's or organization's reputation in the current crisis. In other words, if the organization has a crisis history or negative prior reputation, the reputational threat of the current crisis is higher. While Coombs considered crisis history and prior reputation, other researchers looked into the sleeper effect of organizations' and political leaders' reputations.

Lyon and Cameron (2004), in their research dealing in part with the sleeper effect, found out that reputation is a powerful force in subsequent judgment about a company. They concluded that individuals might make unfounded attributions about other aspects of an organization based on reputation. They also found that "participants retained their original impressions or judgments enough to make subsequent decisions based on those judgments. People can remember what they have concluded about the organization" (p. 231).

Studying the negative news and the sleeper effect of (dis)trust on political behavior in the 2002 elections in the Netherlands, Kleinnijenhuis, van Hoof, and Oegema (2006) found that many of the voters who did not trust any politician did not vote, despite positive intentions they had expressed before during the study. The researchers concluded that

negative news have a strong effect on trust in party leaders and that the sleeper effect of distrust on voter turnout became visible after a couple of months lapsed.

Apart from having a sleeper effect on organizations and individuals, reputation is an investment that is worthwhile making. Reputation is not only fuzzy feelings publics might have about the organization or an individual; it is an economic investment backed by concrete numbers. Gaines-Ross (2003) found that "a ten percent positive change in the CEOs reputation among CEOs studied in the 1999 Burson-Marsteller study resulted in a 24 percent increase in the company's market capitalization" (p. 16). She highlighted the fact that companies with favored CEOs are more likely to be wealth builders. Gaines-Ross (2003) stressed the importance of building organizations' head figures' reputation. She outlined factors that contribute to the CEOs capital: credibility, code of ethics, communication internally, attracting and retaining a quality management team, and motivating and inspiring employees. "With even one … factor missing or insufficiently developed," Gaines-Ross said, "a CEO courts disaster" (p. 27). She added that according to a Burson-Marsteller study "the importance of ethical behavior as a determinant of favorable CEO reputation rose from the sixth place in 1997 to the top of the chart in 2001" (p. 30).

Gaines-Ross (2003) also said that the general public expects ethical behavior. "CEOs must act in good faith according to ethical guidelines, … establish and consistently abide by these guidelines, and be able to demonstrate that their actions, whether right or wrong, are based on ethical justifications" (p. 30).

The following section will examine some of the existing literature about how the sexual perversion is represented in the media. It will highlight the suitability of sexual perversions to the tabloid culture.

Sexual Perversion and the Media

Scholarly literature dealing with how sexual perversions were depicted in the mass media is rare. Lee and Wahl (2007) studied how the media framed the "internet pedophile" story. They found that the "internet pedophile" story was told using the same narrative materials that have always explained the dangers posed to the innocent by strangers whether encountered in the woods like in "Little Red Riding Hood," on the mean streets of the city, the lawless frontier town of the Old West, or the illicit communities of cyberspace. The researchers found astonishing similarities between the older offline stories and the "internet pedophile" news.

On the other hand, Kevin Glynn (2000) identified sexual perversions as one of the themes that fit into what he termed "tabloid culture." Sexual perversions present tales of moral disorders resting at the intersection of public and private life. The horrific stories of predator and victim, the dominatrix and the slave have melodramatic narratives. Glynn added that given the sensational tales of deviant sexuality, those tales are certain to continue to find a prominent place on the media's agenda.

In summary, literature on image restoration, crisis communication in racial crises, the impact of prior reputation and sexual diversions and the media provides the cornerstone for this study to build on the examination of what strategies Mosley used in the aftermath of the crisis, what is the impact of his family, and what frames of the crisis emerged from the media coverage. The following chapter presents the research questions derived from this literature review and provides an in-depth explanation of the methods that will be used to answer them.

Chapter III

Research Questions and Methodology

Research Questions

The following research questions emerged from the literature:

RQ1: What frames emerged of Max Mosley case?

    A. What frames emerged of Mosley from the media coverage?

    B. What frames emerged of the crisis from the media coverage?

    C. What is the impact of Mosley's family history?

RQ2: What strategies did Mosley employ in the aftermath of his crisis?

Research Methods

The preceding research questions led to the development of a content analysis to examine the coverage by two British newspapers to determine how they framed the crisis involving Max Mosley. This chapter provides background about framing analysis, and describes the sample and the procedure followed for the content analysis.

Framing Analysis

A useful theoretical framework for the study of Mosley's crisis coverage is framing. A media frame is an organizing mechanism for media content. Entman (1993) said that framing ''essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text'' (p. 52). Along the same lines, William Gamson (1989) said that frame is "a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue" (p. 157).

Gamson (1989) added that facts take their "meaning by being embedded in *a frame or story line* that organizes them and gives them coherence, selecting certain ones to emphasize while ignoring others" (p. 157, emphasis in original). These frames affect the world view of the people who are exposed to them. ''The mosaic or gestalt resulting from a frame can predispose the recipient of the framed message toward a particular line of reasoning or outcome'' (McCombs & Ghanem, 2003, p. 77). In a similar way, Kuypers (2005) described a frame as a filter on readers' perceptions of the world, essentially making some aspects more prominent than others. Simply put, a frame promotes a "particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1991, p. 52).

Content analysis is used in concert with framing media messages, according to Foss (2004). Article organization, overall tone of the articles, diversity and origins of quoted sources, as well as linguistic choices (adjectives, clichés, stereotypes, etc.) used in the text are examined in content analysis.

I will conduct framing analysis, in this research, in two steps. In the first step, I looked for how the media frames Mosley in the stories that were analyzed. In the second step, I looked for crisis frames that emerged from the coverage, and define the dominant ones. These frames were identified through a thorough reading of the stories within the coding sample. Frequency of frames was tabulated to reflect their significance.

Frames were identified qualitatively, a process that Julien (2008) defines as "the intellectual process of categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables or themes" (p. 120).

The qualitative approach to content analysis is oriented toward documenting and understanding the communication of meaning as well as verifying theoretical relationships (Atheide, 1996). Julien (2008) also states that qualitative content analysis can be helpful in analyzing perceptions. Wimmer and Dominick (1997) recognized the usefulness of qualitative content analysis as a mass media research tool. Since the main purpose of the study is to identify what strategies Mosley used in the aftermath of his crisis and what media frames emerged to depict Mosley and the crisis, qualitative content analysis is a good method to approach this study.

Data Collection

Using the search term "Max Mosley," and the time frame spanning from March 28, 2008, the date *News of The World* published the story, until July 31, 2008, one week after the court issued its ruling, the Lexis-Nexis Academic database was searched under the "Major U.S. and World Publications." The search yielded 1,000 results. The search results did not

include any articles from *News of The World* because the court ruling ordered *News of The World* to remove all the content about Mosley's orgy from its website.

Because of the large number of results, 1000 stories, only articles that surfaced in the British newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* were considered. *The Guardian* has a daily circulation of 362,299, and *The Daily Telegraph* 255,840. After refining the search to include only the previously mentioned two newspapers, the search yielded 70 articles in *The Guardian* and 51 in *The Daily Telegraph.* Upon closer examination, three articles from *The Guardian* and ten articles from *The Daily Telegraph* were excluded from the analysis because they were sports briefs that included short updates about Mosley and Mosley's case among other stories. As a result, 67 articles from *The Guardian* and 41 articles from *The Daily Telegraph* were analyzed. The overall number of the analyzed articles is 108 articles (see Table 2).

Table 2

Number of Articles Analyzed

Newspaper	Number of articles
The Guardian	67 (62 %)
The Daily Telegraph	41 (38%)
Total	108 (100%)

Data Analysis

The unit of analysis is the article. I conducted conventional qualitative content analysis. I used Miles and Huberman (1994) flow model which consists of three flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and data conclusion drawing.

Data reduction is the process of simplifying and abstracting the data that appeared in the articles. This step allows selecting the data, summarizing it, and organizing it into bigger clusters. In this way, "data reduction is a form of analysis that sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards, and organizes data" (Miles & Huberman ,1994, p. 11) in a way that conclusions can be drawn.

At this point, I began to code my data, following the recommendations of Hsieh and Shannon (2005), and Miles and Huberman (1994). I derived codes inductively from the data instead of using predetermined categories. Codes are labels that assign units of meaning to information that is descriptive or inferred from the data. I organized codes into emic and etic groups (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Emic codes reflect the perspective of the articles of Mosley and the crisis as they are expressed by the articles. Etic codes are my own explanation and analysis of the data. Using etic and emic codes allowed me to look at the data from two different perspectives, mine and the newspapers'.

I started by reading the data to acquaint myself with it. Then I read the articles closely and carefully looking particularly for emic codes that emerged of Mosley, the crisis, image restoration strategies, and/or legal posture. During this stage, I highlighted the data that fit with each code, and wrote my impressions and thoughts about these codes. Often a code that emerged from one article would emerge again in other articles. After reading through the 108

articles, 29 codes emerged. I then organized these 29 codes based on their relationships to one another. This analysis resulted in identifying five frames about Mosley as an individual, seven frames about the crisis as it appeared publicly, and six image restoration strategies Mosley employed to address the crisis. Then, I organized codes in two maps according to the frames it represent, either Mosley's or the crisis, showing how the codes fit together. These codes are listed and mapped out in the next chapter and are included in the coding sheet (see Coding Sheet).

The next stage of data analysis is data display (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data display is an organized way of representing information visually into an easily accessible and compact form. These forms might include graphs, a matrix, or networks. This stage allows the researcher to see what is happening and is a prelude to drawing conclusions about the data. This process is done simultaneously with the data reduction process.

Conclusion drawing and verification is the last stage in the analysis process (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this process, I interpreted the meaning of data by noting regularities, patterns, themes, and explanations. This process started in marking themes and frames by determining the codes, and ended with applying the concepts to existing theory and scholarly literature related to crisis communication and image restoration strategies. These conclusions were verified by constantly going back to the data itself.

During the processes of data reduction and data display, I started to draw conclusions based on my perspective. While drawing conclusions, I kept returning to the articles to ensure that I used the data in the right context and to make sure that I was putting the perspective of the articles before mine. I also wrote my observational notes during the data reduction and data and data display.

I used the codes identified through this qualitative process to develop a coding sheet to code full samples of articles to determine which frames were most significant and which were less significant. The coding sheet also contained variables about the *date, newspaper, number of words,* and *story type.* The date was used in the coding to see if there were any patterns among the coverage of the newspapers. The number of words was coded because other researchers have used this information to indicate the prominence of the article. The story type—news story, comment, feature, and letter to the editor—allowed the researcher to code the tone of each news story. Mention of family history was coded to show the prominence it was given by the articles and to study the impact of prior reputation. The tone of the article (positive toward Mosley, negative toward Mosley, or neutral) was coded to examine how the media perceived Mosley related.

Using Miles and Huberman's (1994) model, I proceeded from data collection to drawing conclusions. The following section will discuss reflexivity.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is accepted as an integral part of qualitative research (Kleinman & Copp, 1993). Creswell (2007) described reflexivity as a clarification process in which "the researcher comments on past experiences, biases, prejudices, and orientations that have likely shaped the interpretation and approach to the study" (p. 208).

My selection of this research topic was affected with frame of reference that I have acquired of image restoration strategies during a class I took in crisis communication. I anticipated that studying about the best practices in crisis communication and how important reputation may bring certain biases to my study. But I recognized these biases, and was

adamant about doing impartial research. I tried to avoid interpreting what is said in the newspapers coverage based on my experience.

Limitations

This study has a number of limitations. First, because of the subjective nature of qualitative content analysis, each researcher creates reality as part of the research process. Reality only exists in reference to the researcher. So as a result, each researcher brings different feelings and behaviors to the research, which may affect the findings. Also, the findings of this study are in no way generalizable to other cases.

The sample size is another limitation. Only two mainstream British newspapers were examined. It is realistic to suggest that examination of newspapers' coverage could have yielded different results, especially if the newspapers examined belonged to alternative media. It is also logical to suggest that examination of different newspapers in different languages may give different results.

Third, the time frame may not be sufficient to fully examine how Mosley used image restoration strategies and legal posture. Another limitation of this study is the range of coding categories developed for coding purposes. Other researchers may come up with a wider range of coding categories that might alter findings of the study. Also, the coverage of Mosley's crisis should not serve as a springboard to make predictions about the people's perception about him.

This chapter identified the method of analysis fro this study. The following chapter reports the results of the analysis of frames of Mosley, the crisis, image restoration strategies and/or legal posture, followed by a detailed discussion of the findings in light of the literature reviewed.

Chapter IV

Findings

Using the search term "Max Mosley," and the time frame spanning from March 28, 2008, the date *The News of The World* published the story, until July 31, 2008, one week after the court issued its ruling, the LexisNexis Academic database was searched under the "Major U.S. and World Publications." The search yielded 70 articles in *The Guardian* and 51 articles in *The Daily Telegraph.* Three articles from *The Guardian* and ten articles from *The Daily Telegraph* were excluded from the analysis because they were sports briefs that included short updates about Mosley's case among other stories. As a result, 67 articles from *The Guardian* and 41 articles from *The Daily Telegraph* are analyzed. The overall number of the analyzed articles is 108 articles (see Table 2).

Through analyzing 108 articles, several themes began to emerge from them concerning Mosley, and the crisis. In this chapter, these findings are presented using the articles' words to illuminate how Mosley and the crisis were frames. Some findings are more evident than others in that a bigger number of articles stated them. The findings are concentrated around the Mosley frames, the crisis frames, and image restoration strategies and /or legal posture, though findings also emerged related to the sources quoted in the articles.

The following chapter will summarize the overall findings in tables. In the final chapter, the implications and meanings of these findings will be discussed.

Story Type

In order to describe the overall coverage, the article type variable was introduced into the coding sheet. This variable is a predictor of how much opinion is stated in the article. The article which is written by a staff reporter as a news story is expected to be more objective than a letter to the editor or a comment (see Table 3).

Table 3

Articles by Story Type

Story Type	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
News	48 (44%)	32 (30%)	80 (74%)
Feature	5 (5%)	4 (4%)	9 (8%)
Comment	13 (12%)	5 (4%)	18 (17%)
Letter to the editor	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Total	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)

The majority of articles were news stories (74%), followed by comment (17%). While 8% of the articles were features, only 1 % were letters to the editor. These findings were somewhat expected since new developments were unfolding during the timeframe of the

study, and the sexual nature of the crisis, combined with Mosley's family history, offered rich grounds for comment. The news stories appeared in the news sections of the newspapers when the article was dealing with the court proceedings and the sports sections since Mosley is the president of the FIA.

Length

According to the 2007 State of the News Media annual report on journalism, the average word length of news stories at medium-sized newspapers is just over 800. In this research sample, the average word length was 535 (see Table 4).

Table 4

Articles by Length

Number of words	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
800+	7 (6%)	5 (5%)	12 (11%)
400-799	26 (24%)	17 (15%)	43 (39%)
150-399	20 (19%)	14 (13%)	34 (32%)
100-149	8 (7%)	3 (3%)	11 (10%)
<99	6 (6%)	2 (2%)	8 (8%)
Total	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)

The majority of the articles (39%) were 400-799 words, followed by articles ranging from 150-399 words (32%). Articles which had more than 800 words counted for 12%,

articles ranging from 100-149 words accounted for 11%, and articles that had less than 99 words counted for 8%.

Attribution

Looking at attribution, I was interested in whether stories were written by reporters for the newspapers analyzed or whether they were wire stories. A newswire service tends to report news in the most objective way possible. A story authored by a reporter for the paper might indicate more involvement with the issue (see Table 5). And, some newspapers augment wire stories with information that their own journalists uncover.

Table 5

Articles by Attribution

	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Named author	60 (56%)	41 (38%)	101 (94%)
No byline	5 (5%)	0 (0%)	5 (5%)
Wire service	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	2(1%)
Total	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)

Table 5 shows that the vast majority of the articles were written by named reporters of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* (94%), followed by articles with no byline (5%). Stories attributed to newswire services counted only for 1%. The findings were somewhat expected since the crisis happened to a British citizen in Britain. The 1% of the articles

attributed to a wire service were about Mosley filing lawsuits against newspapers in France and Germany that published the video clip on their websites.

Sources

The majority of the articles quoted sources (71%), while 31% of them did not (see Table 6).

Table 6

Articles by Existence of Sources

Articles	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Sources	45 (42%)	32 (30%)	77 (71%)
No sources	22 (20%)	9 (8%)	31 (29%)
Total	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)

The most-quoted sources were the car teams and car manufacturers (24%), followed by Mosley (20%), car clubs and federations (13%), then Formula One officials (11%) (see Table 7).

Table 7

Articles by Quoted Sources

Sources	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Teams	29 (16%)	13 (8%)	42 (24%)
Mosley	20 (12%)	14 (8%)	34 (20%)
Car clubs	15 (9%)	6 (4%)	21 (13%)
F1 officials	13 (8%)	5 (3%)	18 (11%)
Lawyers	9 (5%)	7 (4%)	16 (9%)
Retired drivers	8 (5%)	4 (2%)	12 (7%)
Prostitutes	7 (4%)	3 (2%)	10 (6%)
NOTW	6 (4%)	1 (1%)	7 (5%)
Judge	4 (2%)	0 (0%)	4 (2%)
Royal families and officials	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	4 (2%)
Sadomasochists	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Mosley's family	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	114 (67%)	55 (33%)	169 (100%)

The sources were either Formula One entities like car clubs and federations, car teams and drivers, Formula One officials, retired drivers who no longer carry any official role within the sport, and royal families and other governmental officials whose countries host Formula One races. Other sources included parties involved or related to the court

proceedings like lawyers, the judge, *News of The World* staff, and the involved prostitutes. Mosley was quoted in both cases since he was the main actor in this crisis.

What stands out is that Mosley's close family, which includes his wife and two sons, was never quoted. Even the articles did not indicate any attempt from the newspapers that they tried to get a comment from the family but the family declined. Even the articles referred to his wife as Jean, not even mentioning her maiden family name. What is also noteworthy is that Mosley's crisis made mainstream journalism seek quotes from a normally muted voice—sadomasochists—in the mainstream media.

Tone

The majority of these articles are neutral in tone (76%), followed by articles who had negative tone (22%). Articles that had a positive tone toward Mosley counted 6% only (see Table 8). The overwhelming majority of stories were coded as neutral because they were fact-based accounts of legal proceedings. A positive or negative tone was determined primarily by the adjectives and other descriptives used in the stories.

Table 8

Articles by Tone

Tone	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Negative	8 (7%)	16 (15%)	24 (22%)
Neutral	56 (52%)	26 (24%)	82 (76%)
Positive	4 (4%)	3 (3%)	7 (6%)
Total	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)

What stands out in the articles analyzed is the existence of two articles which had a positive, sympathetic tone toward Mosley as an individual and a negative tone toward him as the head of the FIA. One of these articles said:

> *It is now seven weeks since Mosley's dalliance in a luxury Chelsea pad was exposed. The central plank of his defence - that what a man gets up to in his private life is of concern to no-one but himself – carries some weight …. But his behaviour subsequent to being exposed, his lack of contrition, has made it hard to feel much sympathy.* (White, May 21, 2008, 3)

Family History and its Placement

Family History

By looking at the family history variable, I was interested in examining whether the newspaper stories referred to the potential impact of Mosley's family history in relation to his parents' Nazi sympathies. In this case, Mosley's parents' proved Nazi sympathies embody Coombs's (2007) two intensifying factors of a crisis reputational threat—the crisis history,

and an unfavorable prior reputation. A story mentioning Mosley's family history might be more negative toward him because it will establish the crisis history and unfavorable prior reputation elements, which might indirectly increase the reputational threat to Mosley in his crisis about the anti-Semitic orgy (see Table 9).

Table 9

Articles by Family History Mention

	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Family history	21 (19%)	12 (11%)	33 (30%)
No family history	46 (43%)	29 (27%)	75 (70%)
Total	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)

The numbers in Table 9 show that the majority of the articles (70%) did not mention Mosley's family history, and only 30% did. This finding may be attributed to the fact that the majority of the articles were published in the sports section of the newspaper, rather than in other areas of the newspaper that focus on politics and crime. It is also interesting that the first article *The Daily Telegraph* published about Mosley's crisis, unlike *The Guardian*, did not refer to his family's history because *The Daily Telegraph* took some time to establish the association of Mosley's crisis with his family's history.

Family History Placement

When Mosley's family history was mentioned, the placement of the mention was coded to examine if it was given prominence in the articles. According to Kershner (2005)

the inverted-pyramid structure, used in news reporting, places facts in a descending order of importance; the higher the information is in the inverted-pyramid structure, the more important it is (see Table 10).

Table 10

Articles by Family History Placement

Paragraph number	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
1	5 (15%)	1 (3%)	6 (18%)
2	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	4 (12%)
3	1 (3%)	2 (6%)	3 (9%)
4	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	4 (12%)
5	4 (12%)	0 (0%)	4 (12%)
6	3 (9%)	1(3%)	4 (12%)
7	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	2 (6%)
8	1 (3%)	2 (6%)	3 (9%)
9	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
10	0 (0%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)
Total	20 (61%)	13 (39%)	33 (100%)

Table 10 shows that 18% of the articles that mentioned Mosley's family history placed this mention in the first paragraph followed by 12% of the articles that mentioned family history in the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs. Both the articles that mentioned the family history in the third and the eighth paragraph counted for 18% - 9% for

each - followed by 6% for each of the articles that mentioned the family history in the seventh and tenth paragraphs. Only 3% of the articles mentioned family history in the ninth paragraph.

Story Frames

This study is concerned mainly with finding what frames emerged from the sampled coverage of Mosley and the crisis. Some articles included frames of both Mosley and the crisis; others provided frames either of Mosley or the crisis (see Table 11).

Table 11

Articles by Existing Frames of Mosley and the Crisis

Articles	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total of articles
Mosley frame	29 (27%)	23 (21%)	52 (48%)
No Mosley frame	38 (35%)	18 (17%)	56 (52%)
Total of Mosley frames	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)
Crisis Frame	33 (30%)	36 (34%)	69 (64%)
No crisis frame	34 (32%)	5 (4%)	39 (36%)
Total of crisis frames	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)

In the following section, frames that emerged of Mosley and the crisis will be examined separately. The codes according to the frames they represent, either Mosley's or the crisis, are mapped out in a way that shows how the codes fit together. Figure 1 shows the codes that represent Mosley's frames.

Figure 1. Mosley's Codes
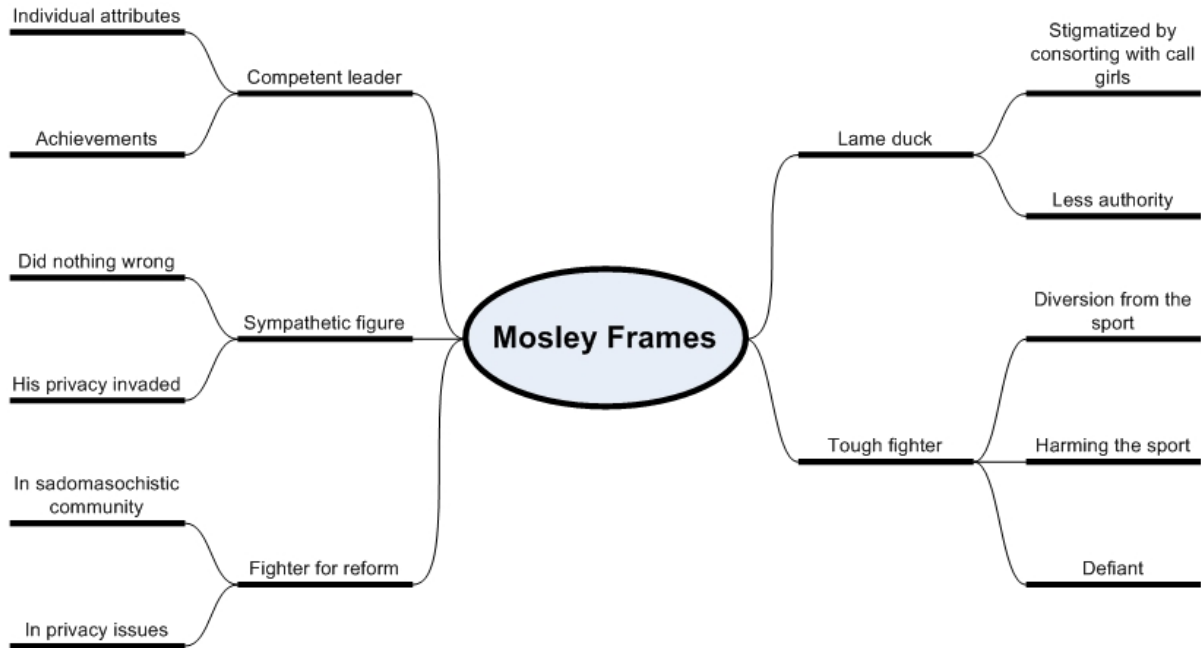
Mosley Frames

      Three dominant frames emerged that depicted Mosley while two lesser-used themes were also evident (see Table 12). The dominant frames are the tough fighter, competent leader, and the lame duck. The less-used themes are fighter for reform, and sympathetic figure. All emerging frames are discussed in details in the following section.

Table 12

Articles by Mosley's Frames

Mosley's frames	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Tough fighter	20 (28%)	21 (30%)	41 (58%)
Competent leader	6 (8%)	7 (10%)	13 (18%)
Lame duck	4 (6%)	9 (12%)	13 (18%)
Fighter for reform	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	2 (3%)
Sympathetic figure	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
Total	34 (47%)	37(53%)	71 (100%)

Tough fighter.

The most-significant frame depicting Mosley to emerge from the sampled coverage was the tough fighter. The articles depicted Mosley as a tough fighter who was besieged by calls for his resignation and fighting for survival in his post as the head of the FIA. Mosley "clung defiantly" (Garside, April 4, 2008, 1) and was "determined to ride out of the storm" (Henry, April 15, 2008, 3). He "marshaled his forces" (Henry, April 15, 2008, 7) and "fired back" (Henry, April 21, 2008, 1) at his opponents. Mosley was described as defiant, belligerent, and beleaguered leader. An article in *The Guardian* described him by saying: "He is not a sensitive soul; he is as tough as old boots" (Chancellor, July 25, 2008, 9). Another in *The Daily Telegraph* stated that "Max Mosley, the beleaguered president of motor sport's ruling body, the FIA, remained defiant last night in the face of renewed calls for him to stand down" (Garside, May 30, 2008, 1).

The tough fighter frames also reflected views that Mosley was harming to the sport. One of the officials in the sport expressed his discomfort for the sport being held hostage in this crisis (Edworthy, April 25, 2008, 5). Mosley's mere presence in Monaco Grand Prix was a big diversion from the race itself. According to one *Daily Telegraph* article, "His every move was tracked by the cameras yet not a syllable was uttered by the most eloquent tongue in motor sport" (Garside, May 23, 2008, 2). The harm Mosley did to the sport exceeded just the diversion, reporters wrote, to direct financial harm:

> *Porsche and Volkswagen have ruled out entering formula one, saying high costs and the Mosley scandal have made the sport unattractive. "[E]uros 300m a year - that is just burning money," Volkswagen's chairman, Ferdinand Piech, said. "After the affair with Max Mosley and the women it would not be very savoury to get involved (in formula one) now," said Porsche's Wolfgang Porsche.* (Henry, April 19, 2008, 1)

Despite the "nuclear consequences" Mosley's defiance had on the well-being of the Formula One sport (Garside, April 7, 2008, 4), Mosley did not waver in his opinions and kept his position as the head of the FIA. A *Daily Telegraph* article depicted Mosley's attitude by saying "Rome burns while Max thinks he still has a position to defend" (Garside, April 7, 2008, 19). A *Guardian* article said that Mosley, "like (Robert) Mugabe, is unwilling to give up without a fight" (Henry, May 23, 2008, 5).

Competent leader.

The second most-frequently used frame was the competent leader frame, which emerged when the articles described Mosley's achievements during his FIA presidency. He steered the sport in a new direction away from rule-making in motor sport to policy-making in global automobile safety. This contribution transformed the FIA into a powerful political platform, *The Daily Telegraph* reported (Garside, June 3, 2008, 8).

He has done a first-class job as president. He has made some mistakes but 90 per cent of the decisions he has taken have been to the benefit of all. He deserves to be remembered for all the positive work he has done, not for an expose in a tabloid newspaper. (Garside, May 31, 2008, 13)

Also, the articles stressed his individual attributes like being an "agile politician" (Williams, April 4, 2008 1), a "strategist" (Garside, April 24, 2008, 2), and a "persuasive" individual (Williams, April 29, 2008, 1). Even Jackie Stewart, the retired driver who has been an opponent of Mosley's even before the crisis, spoke about Mosley's personal attributes:

Sir Jackie Stewart has bet pounds 50 on Max Mosley winning tomorrow's vote of confidence over his position as president of Formula One's ruling body, the FIA. Stewart's flutter reflects the sentiment among many F1 insiders that the canny Mosley has a trick up his sleeve ahead of the Paris hearing. (Garside, June 2, 2008, 1)

Lame duck.

The third frame consists of Mosley's weakened position as the head of the FIA. Mosley's position was weakened because he lost consensus around him staying in his position and because he associated with call girls. Although Mosley won the vote to remain in his position as the head of the FIA, his image was weakened. The articles described Mosley as a "lame duck" (Henry, June 2, 2008, 4), "wounded figure" (Garside, April 7, 2008, 1), and "weakened president" (Garside, April 7, 2008, 3).

One of the articles said that "As Mosley slips back under the radar his official duties will be carried out by FIA deputy presidents Franco Lucchese and Marco Piccinini, itself recognition of his reduced status" (Garside, June 4, 2008, 10). Another *Daily Telegraph* article said "Absurdity is a sporting regulator without a voice. That is the

position in which Max Mosley, president of Formula One's ruling body, the FIA, found himself on his return to the paddock" (Garside, May 23, 2008, 1).

Further, being associated with prostitutes greatly tarnished Mosley's image and weakened his power in the sport. *The Daily Telegraph* pointed out that Mosley's lawyer in the Paris meeting persuaded the members that there was no Nazi element in the sadomasochistic orgy, "But as the dissenters pointed out, that still left Mosley with the stigma of consorting with call girls. No amount of speech-making could persuade them otherwise" (Garside, June 4, 2008, 5). Another article said that even if Mosley won the vote to remain in his presidency of the FIA, he did not win the war because "he will always be President Mosley - consort of hookers. The stain is indelible" (Garside, May 31, 2008, 5).

An article in *The Daily Telegraph* said Mosley's association with call girls made him "persona non grata at last weekend's Bahrain Grand Prix. He has been pilloried by motoring organisations of Germany, Australia and the United States" (Baker, April 11, 2008, 3). One of *The Daily Telegraph* articles said that his Mosley's association with call girls demoted him to the status of the titular head of the FIA and will not enable him to "remove the impediments to his ability to carry out his duties" (Garside, June 2, 2008, 4). The retired driver, Jackie Stewart, questioned Mosley's ability to carry his official duties "How can he go to the European Parliament to make Formula One's case, or speak to heads of state? He can't. No head of a multi-national company, for whom image is everything, would be seen talking to him or meeting him" (Garside, June 2, 2008, 5).

Fighter for reform.

The fighter for reform frame, however, is viewed differently in different articles. On the one hand, Mosley was placed in the role of crusader for social reform because he believed his right to privacy outweighed the public's right to know about his behavior. *The Guardian* included this quote:

> *His demand for a right to privacy in his sexual life has drawn supporters from unlikely quarters. Without explicitly setting himself up as a standard bearer, Mosley has managed to appeal to people who believe that some British newspapers go too far in their pursuit of the salacious.* (Williams, July 12, 2008, 17)

On the other, Mosley became a voice that is trying to change the status quo of the long-silenced sadomasochists. Those who support sadomasochists' rights believe Mosley's case allowed the public to know more about their beliefs.

> *'This trial is a good thing,' said Deborah Hyde, spokeswoman for Backlash, which campaigns for BDSM (bondage, discipline and sadomasochism) rights. 'We're finally getting the chance to talk to the media, who have ignored us for years. In Max Mosley we've got a man who says: "This is who I am." He's got expensive lawyers who can fight his case, but many others end up being dragged through the family courts or in front of their employers. In Mosley, we have someone who is fighting our corner'.* (Williams, July 13, 2008, 6)

Sympathetic figure.

A contradictory frame of Mosley also emerged from the analysis. This frame is the sympathetic figure. One of the articles states that Mosley was in "an unenviable situation of deep personal pain" (Borkowski, April 9, 2008, 1). Another article stated that all "poor" Mosley did was "…ha[ve] consensual sex, he harmed no one, and he used highly paid,

47

media-savvy prostitutes, not trafficked women. He even had a cup of tea with them afterwards" (Gold, June 5, 2008, 3).

Frames that emerged of Mosley included dominant and less-used frames. Dominant frames are the tough fighter, competent leader, and the lame duck. Less-frequent frames are fighter for reform and sympathetic figure. Each frame was discussed in detail. The following section will discuss the frames that emerged of the crisis in detail, and support the discussion by quotes from the analyzed articles.

Crisis Frames

Etic and emic codes were organized in the following figure that maps out the relationship between the codes that represent Mosley's frames (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. The Crisis Codes
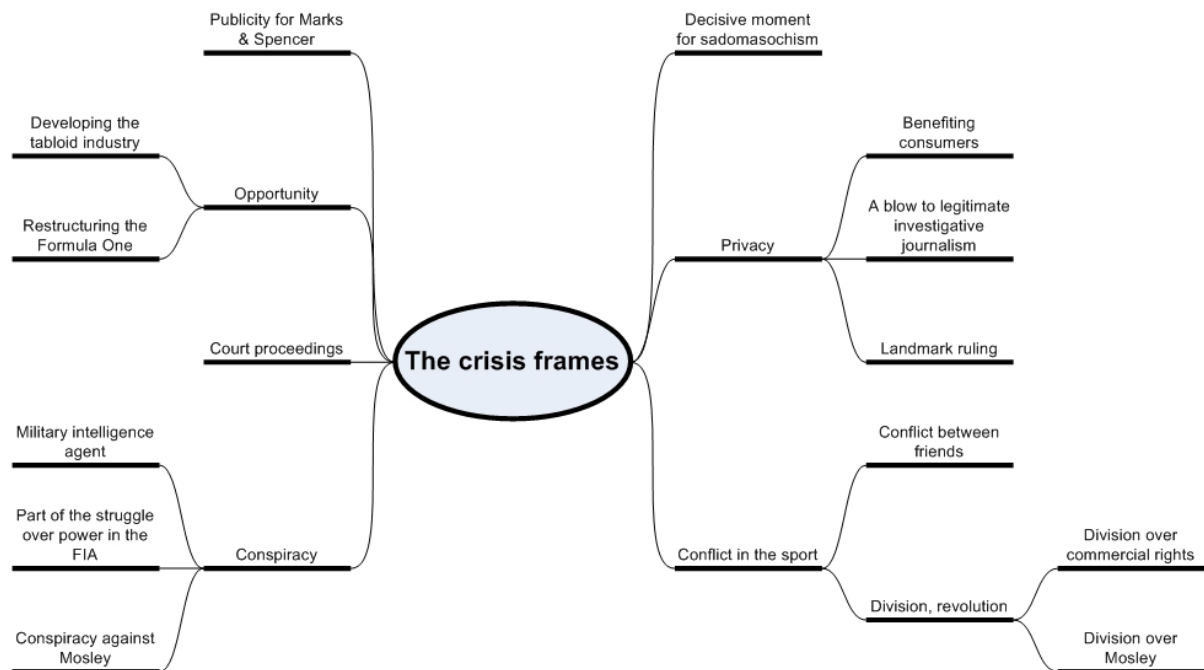
In addition to frames of Mosley the person, 69% of the analyzed articles included a frame of the issues associated with his crisis (see Table 11). The crisis frames that emerged from the analysis are conflict in the sport, conspiracy, court proceedings, opportunity, publicity for Marks & Spencer, and privacy. Table 13 summarizes the issue frames that emerged from the analysis. The following section will discuss each frame in detail.

Table 13

Articles by Crisis Frames

Issue frame	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Conflict in sport	15 (18%)	24 (29%)	39 (47%)
Court proceedings	7 (9%)	7 (9%)	14 (18%)
Conspiracy	6 (7%)	6 (7%)	12 (14%)
Privacy	9 (11%)	3 (4%)	12 (15%)
Publicity for M&S	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)
Opportunity	1 (1%)	1(1%)	2 (2%)
Turning point to SM	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Total	40 (48%)	43 (52%)	83 (100%)

Conflict in the sport.

The most-frequent issue frame is conflict in the sport which accounted for 41% of the total frames. The controversy about Mosley's role in the sport was described as a division (Henry, June 2, 2008, 1), cataclysm (Garside, June 3, 2008, 12), and a "split in motor racings governing body" (Williams, June 4, 2008, 1).

Conflict in the sport arose in two areas. The first area was disagreement about whether Mosley should stay in his position as the head of the FIA. The culmination of this conflict in the Paris vote was depicted in terms of the French Revolution by *The Guardian* article, which said:

> *In a handsome suite of Paris offices overlooking Place de la Concorde, a few metres from the site where Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette lost their heads to Madame Guillotine, Max Mosley will today learn his fate, which has been in the balance since the News of the World revealed his penchant for sado-masochistic sex with role-playing prostitutes nine weeks ago.* (Williams, June 3, 2008, 1)

The conflict did not end with the Paris vote, however. Many of the factions in the FIA tried to challenge Mosley's position (Henry, July 25, 2008, 7). The presidents of several larger federations met to discuss the possibility of renouncing their membership in the FIA umbrella body. *The Guardian* reported that "the German federation issued a statement expressing its 'regret and incredulity' that Mosley would remain in office and announcing its intention to freeze its cooperation with the FIA" (Williams, June 4, 2008, 10).

The second area for the conflict in the sport was the Concorde Agreement. This contract between the FIA, the Formula One teams, and Formula One Administration dictates the terms by which the teams compete in races and take their share of the television revenues and prize money. *The Daily Telegraph* article described the conflict over commercial rights as follows:

> *At the same time, it emerged last week that the sport is locked in a bitter commercial struggle behind the scenes. Last Friday, Mosley made public a letter to the club presidents of motor sports bodies affiliated to the FIA, highlighting the financial dispute which, in his view, threatens the sport's future.* (Garside, May 19, 2008, 7)

These conflicts in the sport rocked the commercial boat (Henry, April 5, 2008, 10) of Bernie Ecclestone, whose companies under the Concorde Agreement control the sale of television rights, and manage the administration, setup, and logistics of each Formula One grand prix. While Mosley was preparing his defense of the charges against him, Ecclestone, the commercial rights holder, distanced himself by proclaiming in a series of interviews that his old friend and business partner's credibility had been so damaged as a result of the newspaper's revelations that he should resign (Williams, June 5, 2008, 5). *The Daily Telegraph* described the "rift" (Williams, June 5, 2008, 1) between friends in terms of a mafia war:

> *Formula One is engaged in its own episode of The Sopranos. The heads of families once aligned are now locked in a deadly tango. Bernie Ecclestone's decision to make public his views on the position of Max Mosley in F1 is the equivalent to a horse's head on his pillow.* (Garside, May 31, 2008, 1)

Conspiracy.

From the beginning of the crisis, Mosley introduced the conspiracy frame by saying "that he was a victim" (White, May 21, 2008, 5) of a covert operation against him. He was quoted by *The Guardian* saying:

> *From information provided to me by an impeccable high-level source close to the UK police and security services, I understand that over the last two weeks or so a covert investigation of my private life and background has been undertaken by a group specialising in such things, for reasons and clients as yet unknown.* (Garside, April 2, 2008, 3)

Later Mosley linked the *News of The World* expose to a "struggle for control of Formula One that goes back to the original Concorde Agreement in 1981," suggesting that the expose was "a deliberate act intended to destabilise the FIA by undermining his presidency" (Garside, May 17, 2008, 3).

With the discovery that the husband of the prostitute who filmed the sex orgy was a military intelligence agent, the conspiracy frame was further consolidated:

> *The idea that MI5 itself might be interested in the personal fantasies of a middle-aged businessman is, of course, ridiculous. But the thought that someone may have been doing a bit of freelancing, using the officer's wife's connections to help build a case for the highest bidder, is not. Formula One is, after all, a sport in which spying on another team's designs for an improved sprocket on their turbocharge fixings is not unknown* (White, May 21, 2008, 6).

Court proceedings.

This frame emphasized what was taking place inside the courtroom. It provided details about why Mosley spoke German in the session because "the 'harsh-sounding" language suited his dominant role" (Tibbetts, July 9, 2008, 1). It also gave a hint about the cost of these sessions: "Mr. Mosley spent tens of thousands of pounds pursuing his sexual fantasies with the women, who were each paid pounds 500 a time. He took one to Monte Carlo twice and paid another pounds 35,000 to cover her rent for a year" (Tibbetts, July 9, 2008, 5). Also this frame reported Mosley's acknowledgment of his fascination with sadomasochism all his adult life. "Max Mosley admitted a secret 45-year history of sadomasochism in court" but denying at the same time that "the orgy was Nazi-themed" (Pidd, July 8, 2008, 1).

This frame also included the testimonies of the prostitutes who were witnesses in support of Mosley. *The Guardian* reported one of the prostitutes' passion for sado-masochism and role-playing. "'It's like children playing cowboys and indians,' she said. 'It's adults playing, having fun. We set a scenario and run with it. It's play-acting. You set yourself a certain level, let's say 12 cane strokes, and once that number has been set you want to get there. It is like running the marathon - you set yourself a challenge and you want to get past a certain point'" (Tibbetts, July 9, 2008, 12).

The Guardian also quoted Mosley's lawyer saying that Mosley's interest in sadomasochism was "not degrading or sick," and accused the *News of The World* of being out of touch with modern life: "'It's not a surprise to me or to others who don't live in an ivory tower or a monastery, or, I am sure, to your lordship, to learn that quite a lot of people, men and women, have a fascinated interest in this sort of thing,' he told the judge, Mr. Justice Eady" (Pidd, July 8, 2008, 5).

Privacy.

The privacy frame contained three different approaches to the privacy issue. The first is that Mosley's case is a landmark ruling in privacy law in Britain because it clarified that Britain is ruled by the European Convention on Human Rights in the privacy issue. Some of the articles highlighted that Mosley case is crucial in determining the strength of an emerging privacy law based on article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (Gibson, July 8, 2008, 1). *The Guardian* reported that:

> *Mr Justice Eady's decision in Mosley's favour is significant all the same, for it confirms that Britain, while hitherto resistant to the introduction of a privacy law, has actually had one all along: it is based on the European Convention on Human Rights, to which Britain subscribes.* (Chancellor, July 25, 2008, 1)

A different approach was that privacy law is not meant to end intrusion into people's lives, "It just means that the intrusion is more expensive to do" (Horrie, July 28, 2008, 5). The rise in the intrusion cost, as implied in the judge's verdict in Mosley's case, was presented by some journalists as tightening chains on the press and delivering a blow to legitimate investigative journalism (MacArthur, July 25, 2008, 4). A *Daily Telegraph* article lashed out at the tabloid industry for harming the work of serious journalism by setting the precedents that will make lawyers recommend against publishing investigative reports:

> *… the spanking that Mosley had given the News of the World would clamp the rest of the investigative media in chains. Those chains will mean the end of kiss-and-tell stories, which many will welcome. But they will also seriously inhibit legitimate investigations, for example, into drug-taking … or adultery among politicians ….*
>
> *On libel, newspaper lawyers know where they stand. On privacy, the law is still developing and the danger is that the Mosley judgment will be an inhibiting factor: lawyers will recommend against publication.* (MacArthur, July 25, 2008, 4)

A reader commented about the privacy issue in Mosley's case that the application of the privacy law, starting with Mosley's case, might benefit celebrities and consumers of news because:

> *[W]ithout intrusion, the distress that Mosley and Ronaldo have caused MacKenzie and me respectively would have been avoided. As any member of the public, with their much-championed "right to know", might add, there is such a thing as too much information.* (Topham, July 28, 2008, 3)

Opportunity.

Mosley's crisis represented an opportunity for the Formula One sport to be restructured like a multinational corporation. It also presented a development opportunity to the tabloid industry to get onboard the online media.

The crisis provided a rare opportunity to restructure the sport on a corporate business model and make a crucial change in the way the Formula One is run. Sir Jackie Stewart, the retired Formula One driver, said that the sport needs to be more transparent and democratic, run by expert in economics and business structures (Garside, April 7, 2008, 6). Stewart highlighted the importance of this opportunity by saying:

> *There's a unique opportunity for the sport to be restructured, for the FIA to be restructured," Stewart said. "I believe it can't be someone from within the sport. It needs to be a captain of industry, a CEO of standing, man or woman.* (Garside, April 7, 2008, 5)

Mosley's crisis also opened a chance for development in the tabloid industry. The video aspect of the Mosley story, which *News of The World* placed on its website, may, in the long term, be more significant for the way in which kiss-and-tell journalism is done in future, thus benefiting tabloid journalism from the viral aspect of today's communication. The video

> *helped the News of the World establish itself as a global brand on the internet. It was the accompanying video material - which could never be broadcast on conventional TV - that gave the Mosley story such value.*
>
> *It had all the hallmarks of a successful viral: so good it could have been scripted. It was funny, naughty, sexually embarrassing and shocking, yet not, to most people, disgusting. The clips could be understood in any language - and they boosted the NOTW's (News of The World) readership worldwide.* (Horrie, July 28, 2008, 8)

Decisive moment for sadomasochists.

The high-profile reporting of Mosley's participation in a sadomasochistic orgy with five prostitutes gave the bondage, discipline, and sadomasochism (BDSM) community the chance to come out of its dungeons, according to a story by a *Guardian* reporter (Williams, July 13, 2008, 4). Mosley, unapologetic for his passion for sadomasochism, had become an "unlikely poster boy for Britain's BDSM community" (Williams, July 13, 2008, 1).

The issue of Mosley sadomasochistic orgy is depicted like a possible turning point for British debate on sadomasochism, where it will be moved from the realm of abnormal sexuality to being accepted like a normal sexuality. *The Guardian* said that:

> *Nor is it likely that the multimillionaire president of the Federation Internationale de L'Automobile, Formula 1's governing body, intended to start a national debate about what the French have for centuries dismissed as 'the English disease'. But Mosley's high-profile case, apart from providing one of the most titillating legal actions in recent history, may one day be seen as a watershed in the history of Britain's sexual mores, say those in the BDSM community.* (Williams, July 13, 2008, 7)

Even Mosley referred to the possibility of having a social change when it comes to sadomasochism. *The Daily Telegraph* quoted him saying: "One time homosexuals and transvestites were criticised and in England homosexuality was a crime. But everyone does what they want in their private life because it doesn't hurt anyone. Those that criticise are those that think sex is just the classic missionary position" (Pisa, July 31, 2008, 7).

Publicity to Marks & Spencer.

During the court hearings, Mosley, while defending himself, also referred to a leading British retailer, Marks & Spencer. He said "Had I wanted a Nazi scene, I would have said I wanted one and I would have got some of the inexpensive Nazi stuff from

the joke shop, and would not have gone to Marks & Spencer (M&S) and got quite expensive jackets" (Tibbetts, July 9, 2008, 7). This note stirred a wave of comments on how Mosley's S&M orgy is publicity to Marks & Spencer. *The Daily Telegraph* said, "Good news for Max Mosley … who yesterday won his privacy case against the *News of The World*. Good news, too, for Sir Stuart Rose. You'll remember that the court heard about Mosley's fondness for Marks & Spencer leather jackets, which he put to good use in his sex romps" (Russell, July 25, 2008, 1). Along the same lines, another article said:

> *It is now time to test the truth of that old adage that there is no such thing as bad publicity. Will Max form the basis of the next promotional campaign? You can just imagine the sign-off. "This isn't just an orgy. This is an M&S Orgy.* (Russell, July 9, 2008, 1)

Dominant and less-recurring frames emerged of Mosley and his crisis. The dominant Mosley frames are the tough fighter, the competent leader, and the lame duck. These frames were accompanied by less-frequent ones like sympathetic figure and fighter for reform. Also, the dominant crisis frames like conflict in the sport, conspiracy, and court proceedings were accompanied by less-used frames like opportunity, privacy, publicity to Marks & Spencer, and decisive moment for sadomasochists.

The following section will amp out image restoration strategies and/or legal posture in vivo codes. Image restoration strategies reported by the analyzed coverage will be discussed in detail, and supported by quotes.

Image Restoration Strategies

Almost equal numbers of articles reported and did not report image restoration strategies (see Table 14). Articles that reported image restoration strategies accounted for 51%, while the articles that did not report any image restoration strategies accounted for 49%.

Table 14

Articles by Existence of Image Restoration Strategies and Legal Posture

Articles	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Restoration strategies	37 (34%)	18 (17%)	55 (51%)
No strategies	30 (28%)	23 (21%)	53 (49%)
Total	67 (62%)	41 (38%)	108 (100%)

Figure 3 represents the image restoration strategies codes (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Image Restoration Strategies Codes

The most-reported image restoration strategy in the articles is the legal posture (48%), followed by denial (32%). Mortification, bolstering, attacking the accuser, and shifting the blame accounted for (20%) of the image restoration strategies reported in the articles (see Table 15).

Table 15

Articles by Image Restoration Strategies and/or Legal Posture

Image restoration	Guardian	Daily Telegraph	Total
Legal posture	31 (35%)	11 (12%)	42 (48%)
Denial	20 (23%)	8 (9%)	28 (32%)
Bolstering	4 (5%)	4 (5%)	8 (9%)
Mortification	4 (5%)	1 (1%)	5 (6%)
Attacking accuser	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)
Shifting the blame	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
Total	61 (70%)	26 (30%)	87 (100%)

Denial and Mortification

Mosley used partial denial in his crisis. He acknowledged having the party with the hookers, but denied the Nazi theme of the party, and apologized to the car clubs and federations, without apologizing publicly for his family. *The Guardian* quoted Mosley saying:

> *Regrettably you are now familiar with the results of this covert investigation and I am very sorry if this has embarrassed you or the club. Not content with publicising highly personal and private activities, which are, to say the least, embarrassing, a British tabloid newspaper published the story with the claim that there was some sort of Nazi connotation to the matter. This is entirely false.* (*The Guardian*, April 2, 2008, 4)

After this statement which Mosley issued four days after the *News of The World* published the article, Mosley no longer apologized to the car clubs but kept denying the Nazi theme. The denial was particularly present in Mosley's statement during the court

proceedings, and was used to distance Mosley from his family's Nazi heritage. *The Daily Telegraph* reported that:

> *Mr Mosley told Mr Justice Eady that there were no Nazi connotations. "I can think of few things more unerotic than Nazi role play," said Mr Mosley….*
>
> *"It also has associations for me in other ways which would make it even less interesting. All my life, I have had hanging over me my antecedents, my parents, and the last thing I want to do in some sexual context is be reminded of it."* (Tibbetts, July 8, 2008, 10)

Legal Posture

In his initial statement, Mosley highlighted the expose as an unlawful invasion of his privacy. He also declared that he is going to sue the *News of The World* for the publication of the expose. *The Daily Telegraph* quoted Mosley saying:

> *"It is against the law in most countries to publish details of a person's private life without good reason. The publications by the News of the World are a wholly unwarranted invasion of my privacy and I intend to issue legal proceedings against the newspaper in the UK and other jurisdictions."* (Garside, April 2, 2008, 5)

Mosley highlighted what the *News of The World* did was an unlawful invasion of his privacy, and stressed that what he did was legal, private, and harmless because "it doesn't hurt anybody," "it's consensual," "it's among adults," and "it's in private" (Alderson, July 24, 2008, 19). In later stages of the crisis, Mosley stressed the fact that:

> *a scandal paper obtained by illegal means pictures of something I did in private which, although unacceptable to some people, was harmless and completely legal. Many people do things in their bedrooms or have personal habits which others find repugnant. But as long as they keep them private, nobody objects.* (Garside, April 5, 2008, 2)

Mosley stressed the difference between the private sex orgy and any other activity that relates to his public role as he head of the FIA by saying, "Had I been caught driving excessively fast on a public road or over the alcohol limit (even in, say, Sweden where it is very low) I should have resigned the same day" (Garside, April 2, 2008, 4).

Mosley said that what caused the stir in the aftermath of his crisis was not the sadomasochistic party itself but the fact that this party became public—evading responsibility from any guilt associated with publicizing his sadomasochistic preferences "the offence seems to be not what I did but the fact that it became public. But I played no role in this, indeed I did my utmost to ensure it remained private" (Williams, April 6, 2008, 3). Mosley absolved himself from any wrongdoing and shifted the blame on the *News of The World*: "I think I have done nothing wrong and that the wrong was done by the newspaper. That is why I am suing them" (Williams, April 6, 2008, 3).

Mosley reiterated his belief that his actions in private life should not affect his public functions "I don't think any of this should affect my work on motoring safety, the environment or the sport. I believe that 21st century adults do not worry about private sexual matters as long as they are legal and harmless" (Garside, April 10, 2008, 6).

Bolstering

In his initial statement, Mosley bolstered his position by referring to the support he received from within the motor sport, and by showing concern for his innocent family. *The Guardian* quoted Mosley saying:

> *I have received a very large number of messages of sympathy and support from those within the FIA and the motor sport and motoring communities generally, suggesting that my private life is not relevant to my work and that I should continue in my role," he*

continued. "I am grateful and with your support I intend to follow this advice.

"I shall now devote some time to those responsible for putting this into the public domain but above all I need to repair the damage to my immediate family, who are the innocent and unsuspecting victims of this deliberate and calculated personal attack. (Garside, April 2, 2008,4)

Later in the crisis, Mosley no longer mentioned his family but kept referring to his supporters within the Formula One sport. *The Daily Telegraph* quoted Mosley as saying: "There are a large number of people in the FIA who are saying that I must run again in 2009. I don't want to, because to be very, very honest, I want to stop going to work every day" (Pisa, July 31, 2008, 3).

Attacking the Accuser

In response to a joint statement issued by BMW and Mercedes-Benz in which they censured his role in a sex orgy and questioned Mosley's position at the head of world motor sport, Mosley referred to the Second World War era, in which the two car manufacturers benefited from the Jewish labor in the concentration camps. He was quoted in *The Guardian* saying:

Given the history of BMW and Mercedes-Benz, particularly before and during the Second World War, I fully understand why they would wish to strongly distance themselves from what they rightly describe as the disgraceful content of these publications. (Garside, April 4, 2008, 4)

Shifting the Blame

Similarly, there was little evidence of shifting the blame within the stories analyzed. Mosley used shifting the blame on *News of The World* as part of the legal posture. But apart from that, there was only one story that included a statement from Mosley blaming the

prostitute who videotaped the sex session. *The Daily Telegraph* quoted Mosley saying of the

prostitute:

> *I think she's beneath contempt... I just think it's something that most people wouldn't do for any amount of money.* (Gordon, April 24, 2008, 7)

The findings of the study will be further discussed in the next chapter. Also research

questions posed will be answered based on the results of the framing analysis.

Chapter V

Discussion

This section will answer research questions posed at the beginning of the study, relying on the findings of the study. It will also contextualize where Mosley's approach to the crisis lies in relation to the image restoration discussed earlier. This chapter also includes recommendations for future research.

Frames Used in Max Mosley's Case Coverage

Research Question 1 asked: What frames were used in the Max Mosley case? The discussion of this question will be divided according to the different frames that emerged of Mosley, the crisis, and the impact of Mosley's family history.

Mosley's Frames

Part A of the first question asked about what frames of Mosley emerged from the media coverage? Dominant and less-frequent frames emerged about Mosley. The Mosley's dominant frames are tough fighter, competent leader, and lame duck. Less-used frames are fighter for reform and sympathetic figure.

Dominant frames unfold Mosley's drama in front of the readers' eyes; they display the dramatic change Mosley's position underwent. Dominant frames follow Mosley's tough fight to stop his fall from a reputation as a competent leader of the sport to a weakened president. Before the crisis, Mosley had been a central figure and a competent president of the Formula One. His individual characteristics—like being nimble politician, strategic thinker, and a persuasive leader—gave him authority which was acknowledged by allies and adversaries alike. His accomplishments as the head of the FIA enabled the sport to become a powerful political platform for global automobile safety.

After the publication of the expose, calls for Mosley's resignation are heard. At this point, Mosley emerges as a tough fighter, who defies the voices calling for his resignation, and keeps his position as the head of the FIA. But Mosley, the tough fighter, has inflicted harm on the Formula One, according to news reports, diverting attention from the sport and damaging its finances. In some instances, news stories said that Mosley was sometimes swept up by the heat of the battle and did not realize the amount of harm he is doing to the sport.

After the Paris Vote, Mosley emerged as a weakened president despite the fact he won the vote. Mosley's position was weakened because he lost did not maintain full support for retaining his position. According to news stories, Mosley's association with call girls led car clubs and federations to believe that he was unable to carry out his official duties. So he had to delegate his duties to his deputies.

The less-frequent frames provide a more-emotional image of Mosley than those presented in the dominant frames. Unlike the dominant frames, the less-used frames presented Mosley as a sympathetic figure who had consensual sex with five professional

prostitutes. The less-frequent frames also endowed Mosley with a bigger role as a social and sexual crusader. Mosley defended his belief that privacy outweighs the publics' right to know about his behavior and he acted upon his belief. Also the articles reported that Mosley was not intimidated to silence by his unusual sexual preferences, which allowed sadomasochists to voice their opinion after their voice has been muted in the social discourse about sexuality.

I expected to encounter the "chip off the old block" frame, but I was surprised to see that this frame did not emerge form the analyzed coverage. This frame would have highlighted that Mosley is just a continuation of his family history in the Nazi aspect of the sex scandal. I did not expect to see a dominant frame like this but at least some less-frequent frame. But this frame might have been inhibited by Mosley's aggressive response to *News of The World* and the newspapers' fear of having Mosley suing them for libel.

Crisis Frames

Part B of the first question asked about what frames of the crisis emerge from the media coverage? Dominant frames—conflict in the sport, conspiracy and court proceedings— and less-frequent frames—opportunity, privacy, publicity for Marks & Spencer, and decisive moment for sadomasochists—emerged from the analysis.

The three dominant frames yield to journalistic values of what constitutes news (Kershner, 2005). Everything that is about conflict, mystery, and tantalization is fit to be a piece of news. The first dominant frame is about conflict in the industry, which was described as a cataclysmic event in the sport. The contention stemmed from whether Mosley should keep his position as the head of the FIA or not, and over the Concorde

Agreement, which regulates the teams' competition rules and distribution of television revenues.

The conspiracy frame adds mystery to the conflict frame. Mosley first introduced the conspiracy frame in his initial statement after the expose, and in later stages, Mosley connected the conspiracy frame to the conflict in the sport frame by alluding that conspiracy is motivated by a struggle for control in the sport that dates to the Concorde Agreement. The conspiracy frame was intensified after the discovery that the husband of one of the prostitutes was a military intelligence agent.

The court proceedings, the third dominant frame, reported Mosley's admission of his fascination of sadomasochism. It also gives details about how much Mosley spent on these sessions and why Mosley spoke German testimonies of the prostitutes which supported Mosley and detailed their fascination with sadomasochism.

Less-frequent frames included discussion of privacy and opportunity. The privacy frame contained three approaches to the ruling in Mosley's privacy case: (1) the ruling determines the strength of an emerging privacy law based on article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights; (2) the ruling tightens chains on the press and delivers a blow to legitimate investigative journalism; (3) and the ruling benefits consumers of news as well as people who are threatened of having their privacy invaded.

The opportunity frame depicted the crisis as an opportunity to develop the Formula One sport and the tabloid industry. According to this frame, the crisis provided an opportunity to restructure the sport on a business model that would make it more transparent and democratic. Additionally, this frame addressed the role that video might play as a future tool of tabloid journalism.

Mosley's crisis has been depicted as a watershed moment for sadomasochism in Britain, which some individuals might move this type of sexuality from the realm of abnormal sexuality to being accepted like a normal sexuality. Mosley's own comments are visible in this frame; the media reported his comparison of sadomasochism to how homosexuality was perceived in England. Mosley's mention of Marks & Spencer, the leading British retailer, led to the emergence of the publicity to Marks & Spencer frame.

I expected to encounter the "sexual perversion" frame, but I was surprised to see that this frame did not emerge form the analyzed coverage. This frame would have highlighted that Mosley's love for sadomasochism is just a perverted sexuality. This might be due to the fact that analyzed newspapers are mainstream media. Had the research included publications which are conservative, the frame might have emerged. Also had the analysis included tabloid journalism, the frame might have emerged because tabloids like to sensationalize sexual activities. Also would have the analysis included publications that belong to different cultures, the frames might have emerged because different cultures have different concepts about sexuality.

Interestingly enough, that the most-significant frames that emerged of Mosley and the crisis – fighter frame and conflict in sport frame – related to conflict. This finding could be expected since conflict is a significant news value making the story newsworthy. However, whereas most studies showed that individuals and companies took a submissive role in a crisis about inappropriate behaviors, Mosley instead confronted the accusations and addressed them based on his legal rights to privacy. This finding may call for researchers to explore crisis communication strategies to determine how legal postures come into play.

Also, the high degree of conflict frames may be something that public relations practitioners and organizations should anticipate when planning to deal with crises. They should be prepared to strategically address the propensity of the media to report crises as conflicts.

The Mosley Family History

Part C of the first question asked about the impact of Mosley's family history? The analysis showed that the majority of the articles did not mention Mosley's family history. It is a reasonable finding since a big percentage of the articles were published in the in the sports sections. This might be due to the importance of the Formula One sport in the Britain and Mosley's prominent role in the sport as the head of the FIA. Generally sports news relates to individual and team performances, not to family backgrounds. But when Mosley's family history was mentioned, it was given prominence because Mosley's family history is a newsworthy bit of information in relation to the *News of The World* allegations that the orgy was Nazi-themed.

Coombs (2007) mentioned crisis history and prior reputation as two factors that increase the reputational threat by increasing the attribution of the current crisis; in other words, the publics' perception of an individual's reputation –whether positive or negative - tends to have an impact on the publics' view in subsequent crises. All the articles that had a negative tone toward Mosley mentioned his family history. In Mosley's case, negative tone toward Mosley was associated with mentioning his family history. Hence, this finding supports Coombs' contention about crisis history and prior reputation.

Image Restoration Strategies and Legal Posture

Three elements in Max Mosley's crisis – a leader who works for a private organization, the sexual activity occurred in a private home, and the courts determined that the media had not respected his privacy rights – are unique regarding most studies in crisis communication. Three may be instances in which a crisis resulted from personal behavior (for example, Hugh Grant and Bill Clinton), but those events occurred in public settings.

Research Question 2 asked: what strategies did Mosley employ in the aftermath of his crisis? Framing analysis revealed that Mosley used various image restoration strategies but capitalized on the use of the legal posture in the aftermath of his crisis. This section will reflect on Mosley's use of image restoration strategies and legal posture, discuss what Mosley's case adds to the literature concerned with racial crises, and reflects on how Mosley dealt with the ethical implications of the crisis.

Image Restoration Strategies and Legal Posture Used by Max Mosley

In the beginning of the research, I anticipated that Mosley would have tried to restore his public image, but he did not. There is a general assumption, based on the scholarly literature that crises will be dealt with or resolved in the public realm, but that is not Max Mosley's case. Instead, Mosley employed a legal strategy that limited the amount of public communication he used.

Mosley used image restoration strategies sparsely. In his initial statement after the crisis, Mosley expressed his mortification to the car clubs and federations, and Formula One members, without expressing mortification to his family in public.

Mosley also bolstered his position by referring to the support he has received from within the motor sport, and by showing concern for his innocent family. In later stages of the crisis, Mosley no longer used bolstering by referring to his family's difficult situation, and only implied bolstering by indicating his supporters within the Formula One.

Mosley, responding to the German and Japanese car condemnation of his activity and demanding for his resignation, attacked them by alluding to their World War II records. He also shifted the blame of the crisis from himself to the prostitute who video-taped the session.

A close examination of the media coverage revealed that Mosley used image restoration strategies similarly to other public figures caught in sexual crises who considered themselves as public entities. For example, the actor Hugh Grant, after being arrested for lewd behavior with a prostitute, used mortification, and expressed his apologies to the audience and to this girlfriend. He also attacked the accuser—the British media—and employed bolstering by expressing concern for the well-being of his girlfriend (Benoit, 1997).

Along the same line, Jimmy Swaggart, at one time one of the world's most-watched Christian televangelists, used similar image restoration strategies in his televised confession in the aftermath of his sex scandal. He expressed his mortification, and bolstered his image by appealing to the religious discourse his audience appreciated and by associating himself with important biblical figures (Miller, 2000). Swaggart likely did not attack the accuser because it would contradict Christian doctrines.

These two public figures, however, did not make strong arguments to separate their public lives from their private lives, as Mosley attempted to do. This finding may reflect how American views of public figures may differ from views in Britain.

Former President Bill Clinton also used mortification by listing several victims of his dishonesty and asking for their forgiveness. He also used bolstering, by claiming the support of many people; and he attacked the accuser—Kenneth Starr, the main investigator in Monica Lewinsky scandal (Blaney & Benoit, 2001). Unlike Grant and Swaggart, however, Clinton also used differentiation to distinguish between the legal and the moral aspects of his situation. Clinton made the distinction between his moral shortcomings and his legal purity by arguing that his moral wrongdoing was not equivalent to legal wrongdoing. He placed more importance on legal arguments as they related to his position as the president of the United States.

In a similar manner, Mosley tried to differentiate between his public and private functions from a legal perspective rather than relying heavily on image restoration strategies. Mosley tried to separate his private life, to which he said the sex party belongs, and his public life, to which his role as the head of the FIA belongs (see Figure 4). Based on the news stories analyzed, it appears that Mosley did not feel that he has to use image restoration strategies because he felt that his public image was not damaged; the sex party, he argued, was part of his private life. On the other hand, Mosley indicated that had he been caught speeding or driving under the influence of alcohol (legal violation), or any other activity that relates to his position as the head of the FIA, he would have resigned immediately.

Figure 4. Mosley's Use of Image Restoration Strategies and Postures
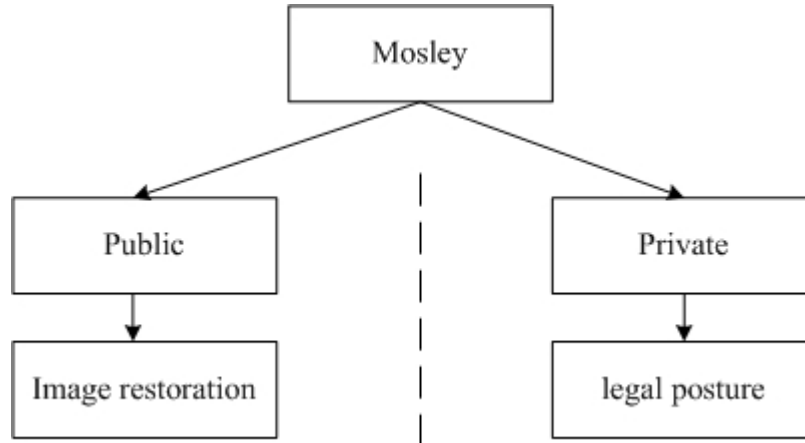
Mosley is an anomaly in the image restoration literature because he did not see himself as a public figure in his crisis. Rather, he used a legal posture, which is the most-frequently adopted strategy by companies trying to repair their images after crises (Hearit, 2001). Mosley established the clear distinction between his private and public functions in his discourse in the aftermath of the crisis, and relied heavily on a legal posture to protect his private domain, which he believed is where the sex orgy belonged.

Mosley used the elements of legal posture as described by Fitzpatrick and Rubin (1995), which vary from saying as little as possible, citing privacy laws, denying guilt, and blaming. After the expose, Mosley resorted to legal action against *News of The World,* delivered restricted public discourse, and avoided giving comments to the media. From the initial response to the crisis, Mosley was consistent in denying the Nazi theme of the sex party, highlighted that what the *News of The World* did was an unlawful invasion of his privacy, and stressed that what he did was legal and private.

Mosley said that what caused the stir in the aftermath of his crisis was not the sadomasochistic party itself but the fact that this party became public. By employing this strategy he tried to avoid responsibility from any guilt associated with publicizing his sadomasochistic preferences. Mosley absolved himself from any wrongdoing and shifted the blame on the *News of The World*.

In the beginning of the coverage, two articles made the distinction between the public and private aspects of Mosley's life. They had a sympathetic tone toward Mosley as an individual and a negative tone toward him as the head of the FIA. But in later stages of the crisis, this pattern did not linger and Mosley was only seen in terms of his official, public function.

The separation Mosley strived for between the public and private domains of his life was sustained throughout the crisis. During the initial statement, Mosley avoided exposing his wife and his two sons to the public. All the articles analyzed did not quote his wife or his sons, and did not even mention that there was any attempt by the newspapers to get a comment from Mosley's family or if the family declined to comment. Even among the frames that emerged about Mosley, none of them related to his private life as a husband or a father, and Mosley's wife was afforded a high degree of anonymity by referring to her as "Jean, Mosley's wife" without even mentioning her maiden name.

Mosley not only tried to distance his family from his actions, he also tried to distance himself from his family's history during the trial by saying that a Nazi-themed orgy would have reminded him of his parents, whom he was always connected to them and what they did. In this way, Mosley tried to distance his family from the crisis, distance himself from his family history, and face the crisis as a private individual. Further, Mosley presented himself

74

as an individual whose private life has been unlawfully exposed to public scrutiny. As a result he did not use image restoration strategies as some public figures have done in crises in the United States.

Image Restoration Strategies and otherness/Minorities

The news stories analyzed highlighted the anti-Semitic aspect of Mosley's crisis. They also underscored the allegedly Nazi-theme of the sex orgy. Some articles indicated that if Mosley's orgy did not have anti-Semitic theme, he could keep his position as the head of the FIA but if the Nazi-theme was proven, he should immediately relinquish his position.

Richards (1999) argued that mainstream society tends to ascribe inferior racial characteristics to religious minorities, and he listed anti-Semitism against Jews as an example of this process. Baker (2001) advised against using a denial strategy in racial crises and the need for immediate implementation of image restoration strategies. As Williams and Olaniran (2002) said, Baker's (2001) recommendations do not provide any useful advice if the charges of racism are considered unfounded, as was determined in Mosley's case.

Mosley responded to the racial charges by consistent denial of the Nazi theme through out the crisis. He gave his initial statement in which he used denial, bolstering and a legal posture, and then he started the legal process against the *News of The World* four days after the publication's expose.

Mosley's response to the racial crisis does not provide any recommendations for individuals facing a racial crisis, except perhaps that individuals should not admit guilt to something they did not do and to declare their denial of the action related to them as soon as possible. Any recommendations about the best image restoration strategies or posture to use in case the racial allegations are unfounded cannot be drawn from Mosley's case.

Mosley's case highlights the gap that exists in crisis communications when the crisis is racial. It also stresses the need for more research in this area of crisis communication such as considering which is more appropriate a legal posture, image restoration strategies or a combination of both to address racial crises in which the charges of racism are unfounded.

Ethics in Mosley's Case

Based on the news stories analyzed, it appears that Mosley only dealt with the legal aspect of his crisis and avoided the ethical implications. Mosley's quotes as reported by the news articles show that he did not discuss his crisis as an ethical quandary. He just restricted his discussion of the crisis in legal terms—his legal and private action, and the *News of The World* illegal invasion of his privacy. He might have avoided going into the ethical implications of his crisis because he felt that he would be starting an argument he could not win.

Further research addressing the ethical aspect in Mosley's crisis would be illuminating. Looking at the frames that emerged of the Mosley and the crisis with an ethical lens would add to the knowledge about ethics in crisis communication and would allow us to see how individuals who are involved with crises that have ethical implications would relate to ethics in trying to repair their image. For example, it would be worth examining how Mosley's statements may reflect his motivation, which relates to the ethical concepts of moral development developed by Lawrence Kohlberg (1981) and Carol Gilligan (1993); Preliminary discussion of the relationship of ethical motivation in crisis communication was explored in a graduate thesis by Hur (2008).

Research Contributions

This research has value for public relation practitioners and scholars interested in crisis communication. This research contributes, more specifically, to the scholarly literature concerned with image restoration strategies used by individual. This research also represents a case where an individual did not use mortification as his main image restoration strategy. This research also presents a unique case in crisis communication. The uniqueness of the case stems from three elements: Mosley is a leader who works for a private organization, the sexual activity occurred in a private home, and the courts determined that the media had not respected his privacy. There have been instances in which a crisis resulted from personal behavior (for example, Hugh Grant and Bill Clinton), but those events occurred in public settings.

Mosley case contradicts the general assumption, based on the literature in crisis communication that crises will be dealt with or resolved in the public realm, but that does not apply to Mosley's case. Mosley employed a legal strategy that limited the amount of public communication he used. This research may make a small contribution to the study of use of image restoration strategies and legal posture by individual faced by a crisis. It would be interesting to see if the same pattern emerges from other individuals' response to crises.

Further Research

The following recommendations for future research can be made. First, it is advisable to extend the timeframe of the study to at least until when Mosley's term as the head of the FIA ends, to include subsequent coverage which might show new frames and new image restoration strategies. Second, additional American and European print media

should be included in subsequent research. Third, publications that cover the Formula One sport in particular should be included in future studies. Fourth, it is also helpful to include transcripts of the radios such as British Broadcast Corporation.

Television news or online blogs could also be examined, expanding the reach of the research. This suggestion has two benefits. First, additional articles may be retrieved, which would allow for a more in-depth analysis of the media coverage for more-comprehensive results in terms of how these media frame Mosley and the crisis. Second, extending the scope of this study beyond just the print media to include TV, radio, online news, and other social media, will provide researchers with an opportunity to examine the media coverage from different angles, and examine whether there were differences based on the media type.

It would also be interesting to have focus groups to assess the publics' reaction to Mosley's image restoration strategies, legal posture, and his tactic of separating his private from public functions. Such input would address the salience aspect of framing (Entman, 1993), which investigates how news consumers react to the way the media frame stories. It would be illuminating to have these focus groups conducted in the U.S. and Britain to examine whether people in the two countries have different expectations of public figures and whether they perceive differences in privacy expectations for public figures. It will also be interesting to conduct in-depth interviews for journalists who covered Mosley's crisis in the American and British media to know what problems they faced when dealing with Mosley's family privacy issue and were there any significant differences between the two.

This study analyzed communication strategies that appeared in the media. What is not known is what communication may have occurred between Mosley and other officials within FIA and his supporters. Although there was an expectation that the crisis would play out

in the public realm through media accounts, it can be assumed that the media coverage did not have definitive influence on Mosley's professional fate. Hence, it would be of value to explore this case further through in-depth interviews with officials, supporters and detractors about their views of Mosley's case and what influenced their decisions.

Conclusion

Framing analysis was used to examine Max Mosley's allegedly Nazi-themed orgy to see what frames emerged and what image restoration strategies and postures Mosley used in the aftermath of his crisis. The analysis showed dominant and less-frequent frames emerging about Mosley and the crisis. Frames about Mosley, the person, are tough fighter, competent leader, lame duck, fighter for reform and sympathetic figure. The crisis frames are conflict in the sport, conspiracy, court proceedings, opportunity, privacy, publicity for Marks & Spencer, and decisive moment for sadomasochists.

The analysis also showed that Mosley used image restoration strategies sparsely, capitalizing on the use of the legal posture. Image restoration strategies that Mosley used sparingly are denial, mortification, bolstering, attacking the accuser, and shifting the blame. Mosley emphasized a legal posture, which included saying as little as possible, citing privacy laws, denying guilt, and blaming others. He also shifted the blame to *News of The World*. Using the legal posture, Mosley established the clear distinction between his private and public functions in his discourse and protected his private domain, which he believed is where the sex orgy belonged.

This research sheds light on how individuals use image restoration strategies and legal postures when faced with a sexual crisis. It is also important because it presented an anomaly of image restoration literature—Mosley did not think he needed to employ image restoration strategies because he did not believe that his public image has been harmed. This research also highlighted the gap existing in the crisis communication literature when the crisis is racial.

Appendix 1
Coding Book

1. Coder _____
(*Type in your initials)*.

2. Newspaper
(*The news paper in which the article is published)*.
   a. The New York Times
   b. The Guardian
   c. The Telegraph

3. Date: _____
(*The date the article was published. mm/dd/yy)*.

4. Story type:
   a. News
   b. Feature
   c. Comment
   d. Letter to the editor

5. Length:
(*Word count is the number of words in the story. This number excludes the words in photo captions)*.

6. Story attribution:
   a. Named author
   b. No byline
   c. News wire service

7. Did the article mention Mosley's family history in connection with fascism and/or Nazism?

   a. No
   b. yes

If yes, in which paragraph?

8. What frames of Max Mosley emerge from the media coverage of his crisis?

(Articles may include multiple or no frames. If you had to summarize how the article depicted Mosley, what would you say).

     a. Tough fighter
     b. Competent leader
     c. Lame duck
     d. Fighter for reform
     e. Sympathetic figure

9. What frames of the crisis emerge from the media coverage?
(Articles may include multiple or no frames. If you had to summarize what the article was about, what would you say).

     a. Conflict in the sport
     b. Conspiracy
     c. Court proceedings
     d. Opportunity
     e. Publicity to Marks & Spencer
     f. Privacy

10. The tone of the article:
(Tone of the article indicates the attitudes of the writers of the article as expressed in the piece they wrote. Positive is when the writer is sympathetic to Mosley. Negative is when the writer is unsympathetic to Mosley. Neutral is when the writer did express neither sympathy nor unsympathy).

     a. Positive.
     b. Negative.
     c. Neutral.

11. What strategies did Mosley use in the after math of his crisis?
     a. Denial
     b. mortification
     c. Bolstering
     d. Attacking the accuser
     e. Shifting the blame
     f. Legal posture

10. What are the sources quoted?
(Those categories will be grouped into more comprehensive categories)
     a. Mosley
     b. Formula One officials
     c. Teams and car manufacturers
     d. Car clubs and federations
     e. Retired drivers
     f. News of The World staff
     g. Lawyers
     h. prostitutes

i. Mosley's family

h. Royal families and other countries officials

j. Sadomasochists

10. Additional Observations/Comments

Please note anything about an article that you consider worthwhile for this study. This might be information within the article which was unexpected, interesting, or relevant to the analysis. Also, note any information that you think could be useful, but could not be included in the coding sheet, due to its limited coding categories.

Primary Sources

Alderson, A. (2008, July 24). Max Mosley interview: 'As long as it's adults, in private, and consensual, it doesn't hurt'. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Alderson, A. (2008, April 21). The Max Mosley profile: A shrewd operator drawn to life in the fast lane**.** *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Baker, A. (2008, April 11). Mosley did no harm, says UAE chief Maxmocked. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Borkowski, M. (2008, April 9). Can Max Mosley survive at the helm of the FIA? Yes. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Chancellor, A. (2008, July 25). What have we learned? Max Mosley isn't a Nazi - and Britain has had a privacy law all along. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 6, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Conlan, T. (2008, April 11). Web users flock to Mosley sex video**.** *The Guardian*. Retrieved October 6, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Edworthy, S. (2008, April 25). Muted welcome for Mosley at Jordan rally. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, April 2). Defiant Mosley hits back over Nazi slur. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, May 23). Ecclestone whips up Mosley storm. FIA president's letter has caused a stir. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 6, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside,K. (2008, April 7). F1 outsider must replace president. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, May 31). Kevin Garside speaks to a sympathetic but adamant Bernie Ecclestone, who says Max Mosley must resign. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis database.

Garside, K. (2008, May 31). Max and Bernie show turns ugly. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, April 4). Mosley clings on as attacks intensify. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, April 24). Mosley rallies support. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, June 4). Mosley's bubbly may yet lose fizz FIA president wins his vote in Paris but the big players say the issue is far from closed. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, April 2). Mosley says sorry but comes out fighting: FIA president claims sex stories were the result of a 'covert' operation against him. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, May 19). Mosley scandal deepens after spy row. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, May 17). Mosley's final stand. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, June 3). Mosley's head is on the block in Paris FIA chief caught in sex scandal prepares to face. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved October 4, 2008, from the LexisNexis Academic database.

Garside, K. (2008, June 2). Mosley still holds cards. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Gibson, O. (2008, July 8). Privacy law. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Gold, T. (2008, June 5). So what if Max Mosley played dodgy sex games? Some of those who condemn him should look at their own pasts. *The Guardian*. Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Gordon, B. (2008, April 24). Beaten but unrepentant - has Mosley no shame? *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Henry, A. (2008, April 15). Ecclestone backs Mosley but pressure mounts: Motoring clubs the latest bodies to seek resignation. *The Guardian.* from LexisNexis Academic database.

Henry, A. (2008, April 21). Motor racing: I'm going to stand down next year anyway, says defiant Mosley. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Henry, A. (2008, April 19). Mosley takes action. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Henry, A. (2008, May 23). Mosley's stroll in the paddock overshadows Hamilton's pace. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Henry, A. (2008, June 2). Poll shows clubs deeply divided on vote to ditch Mosley. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Henry, A. (2008, July 25). Stewart says Mosley should still resign despite court victory. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Horrie, C. (2008, July 28). A canny kiss and tell: The legal cost of the News of the World's Max Mosley scoop may be almost £1m, but the payoff in terms of sales and online hits could mean it was worth every spanking new penny. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

I've done nothing wrong, says Mosley. (2008, April 5). The Guardian. Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

MacArthur, B. (2008, July 25). Mosley verdict tightens chains on the press; Many will agree with yesterday's ruling, but Brian MacArthur fears that it will be a blow to legitimate investigations. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Mosley says sorry but comes out fighting: FIA president claims sex stories were the result of a 'covert' operation against him. (2008, April 2). *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Pidd, H. (2008, July 8). Mosley denies sick Nazi orgy but admits secret 45-year history of sadomasochism. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Pidd, H. (2008, July 9). German dominatrix denies Nazi overtones to Mosley sessions. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Pisa, N. (2008, July 31). Mosley to bow out as FIA president next year. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Russell, J. (2008, July 25). Mosley: a victory; for S&M or M&S? *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Russell, J. (2008, July 9). Mosley's orgy of spending at M&S. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

The Max Mosley backstory. (2008, April 4). *The Guardian* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from
    LexisNexis Academic database.

Tibbetts, G. (2008, July 8). Mosley admits passion for S&M sex but denies Nazi role-playing.
    The Daily Telegraph. Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic
    database.

Tibbetts, G. (2008, July 9). Why 'orgy master' Mosley spoke German; Harsh sounds suited
    my dominant role in sado-masochistic sex; says Formula 1 chief. *The Daily
    Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Topham, G. (2008, July 28). Mosley's privacy? Try this for an invasion. *The Guardian.*
    Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

White, J. (2008, May 21). Formula One's sex scandal reaches the level of 'Carry On Max'
    farce. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic
    database.

Williams, R. (2008, July 12). As courtroom drama it has been spectacular, but is Max
    Mosley's case against the News of the World an attack on the press, or an unlikely
    crusade for sexual freedom? *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from
    LexisNexis Academic database.

Williams, R. (2008, April 4). Doors slam on Mosley as car makers join the condemnation.
    The Guardian. Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Williams, R. (2008, June 5). Mosley and Ecclestone remain powerful allies despite 'rift'. *The
    Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Williams, R. (2008, April 29). Mosley may be teetering on teh brink but he has a safety net.
    The Guardian. Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Williams, R. (2008, June 4). Mosley romps home in confidence vote *The Guardian.*
    Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Williams, R. (2008, June 3). Too close to call on crunch day for Mosley. *The Guardian.*
    Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis Academic database.

Williams, R. (2008, July 13). Whatever turns them on? Inside the minds of the
    sadomasochists. *The Guardian.* Retrieved October 4, 2008, from LexisNexis
    Academic database.

References

Atheide, D. (1996). *Qualitative media analysis.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Anthony, A. A man with a chequered past. (2008, April 6). *The Observer*. Retrieved October 10, 2008, from http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2008/apr/06/motorsports.andrewanthony

Baker, G. F. (2001) Race and reputation: Restoring image beyond the crisis. In R.L. Heath (Ed.), *Handbook of public relations.* (pp.513-520). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Barton, L. (1992). *Crisis in organizations*. Cincinnati, OH: South-western.

Benoit, W. (1995). *Accounts, excuses, and apologies: A theory of image restoration strategies.* Albany: State University of New York Press

Benoit, W. (1997). Hugh Grant's image restoration discourse: An actor apologizes. *Communication Quarterly*, *45*(3), 251-267.

Benoit, W., & Hanczor, R. (1994). The Tonya Harding controversy: An analysis of image restoration strategies. *Communication Quarterly*, *42*(4), 416-433.

Benoit, W., & Brinson, S. (1994). AT&T: `Apologies are not enough'. *Communication Quarterly*, *42*(1), 75-88.

Benoit, W., & Czerwinski, A. (1997). A critical analysis of USAir's image repair discourse. *Business Communication Quarterly*, *60*(3), 38-57.

Benoit, W., & Brinson, S. (1999). Queen Elizabeth's image repair discourse: Insensitive royal or compassionate queen?.*Public Relations Review*, 25(2), 145-156.

Benoit, W., & Nill, D. (1998). A critical analysis of Judge Clarence Thomas' statement before the Senate Judiciary Committee. *Communication Studies*, *49*(3), 179-190.

Benoit, W., & Nill, D. (1998). Oliver Stone's defense of *JFK*. *Communication Quarterly*, *46*(2), 127-143.

Benoit, W., & Zhang, J. (2003). The message strategies of Saudi Arabia's image restoration campaign after 9/11. *Conference Papers--International Communication Association*. Retrieved November 1, 2008 from http://web.ebscohost.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/ehost/pdf?vid=9&hid=103&sid=c17db ebd-3a93-4a5b-8d75-bf1ae7a558b2%40sessionmgr104

Benoit, W., & Zhang, E. (2005). Former Minister Zhang's discourse on SARS: government's image restoration or destruction? *Conference Papers--International Communication*

Association. Retrieved November 1, 2008 from
   http://web.ebscohost.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/ehost/pdf?vid=10&hid=103&sid=c17d
   bebd-3a93-4a5b-8d75-bf1ae7a558b2%40sessionmgr104

Benoit, W., & McHale, J. (1999). Kenneth Starr's image repair discourse viewed in 20/20.
   Communication Quarterly, *47*(3), 265-280.

Blaney, J., & Benoit, W. (1997). The persuasive defense of Jesus in the Gospel according to
   John. *Journal of Communication & Religion*, *20*(2), 25-30.

Blaney, J., & Benoit, W. (2001). *The Clinton scandals and the politics of image restoration.*
   Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Brinson, S., & Benoit, W. (1996). Dow Corning's image repair strategies in the breast
   implant crisis. *Communication Quarterly*, *44*(1), 29-41.

Brinson, S., & Benoit, W. (1999). The tarnished star: Restoring Texaco's public image.
   Management Communication Quarterly. *12*(4), 483-510.

Bromley, D. B. (1993). *Reputation, image, and impression management.* Chichester,
   England : Wiley.

Burke, K. (1974). *The philosophy of literary form: Studies in symbolic action.* Berkeley:
   University of California Press

Burnes, J.F. British judge rules tabloid report tying Grand Prix boss to 'orgy' violated
   privacy. (2008, July 25). *The New York Times*. Retrieved October 13, 2008, from
   http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/25/world/europe/25mosley.html

Burnes, J. F. (2008, April 4).Vote lets Grand Prix boss keep job, despite scandal. *The New
   York Times*. Retrieved September 23, 2008 form
   http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/04/sports/othersports/04mosley.html

Burnes, J. F. (2008, April 7). Possible Nazi theme of Grand Prix boss's orgy draws calls to
   quit. *The New York Times*. Retrieved September 6, 2008 from
   http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/07/world/europe/07formula.html?_r=1&scp=3&sq
   =max%20mosley&st=cse&oref=login

Burnes, J. F. (2008, July 9). Trial about privacy in which none remains. *The New York Times*.
   Retrieved September 27, 2008 form
   http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/09/world/europe/09mosley.html?pagewanted=all

Chang, R.S. Blog MI5 spy linked to Mosley sex scandal. (2008, May 19). *The New York
   Times*. Retrieved October 25, 2008, from
   http://wheels.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/05/19/mi5-spy-linked-to-mosley-sex-scandal/

Coombs, W. T. (2007). *Ongoing crisis communication: Planning, managing, and responding.* Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Domenici, K., & Littlejohn, S. W. (2006). *Facework: Bridging theory and practice.* Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, *43*(4), 51-58.

Fearn-Banks, K. (2001). Crisis communication: A review of some best practices. In R. L. Heath (Ed.), *Handbook of public relations*. (pp. 479-485). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Fitzpatrick, K. R., & Rubin, M. S. (1995). Public relations vs. legal strategies in organizational crisis decision. *Public Relations Review*, *21*, 21-33.

Foss, S. K. (2004). *Rhetorical criticism.* Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Gamson, W. A. (1989). News as framing: Comments on Graber. *American Behavioral Scientist, 33,* 157- 161.

Gaines-Ross, L. (2003). *CEO capital: A guide to building CEO reputation and company success.* New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Gilligan, C. (1993). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Glynn, K. (2000). *Tabloid culture: Trash taste, popular power, and the transformation of American television*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order.* New York: Basic Books.

Hearit, K. M. (2001). Corporate apologia: When an organization speaks in defense of itself.

Holsti, O. (1969). *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*. MA: Addison-Wesley.

Hsieh, H. & Shannon, S. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research, 15,* 1277-1288.

Hur, K. Y. (2008). *Korea's Stem Cell Research Crisis: Exploring a New Model to Gauge Ethical Intent of Crisis Communication Strategies*. Unpublished master's thesis. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Julien, H. (2008). Content analysis. In Given, L. (Ed), *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods,* VI. (pp.120-122). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Kleinman, S., & Copp, M. A. (1993). *Emotions and fieldwork*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Kleinnijenhuis, J., van Hoof, A., & Oegema, D. (2006). Negative news and the sleeper effect of distrust. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *11*(2), 86-104.

Kershner, J. W. (2005). *The elements of news writing*. Boston: Pearson/Allyn and Bacon.

Kuypers, J. (2005). Framing analysis. In J, .Kuypers (Ed.), *Art of rhetorical criticism*. New York: Allyn Bacon & Bacon.

Lee, R., & Wahl, S. (2007). Justifying surveillance and control: An analysis of the media framing of pedophiles and the internet. *Texas Speech Communication Journal*, *32*(1), 1-10.

Lyall, S. Britain: Formula One chief's orgy video back on web. (2008, April 10). *The New York Times*. Retrieved October 13, 2008, from http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9A0CEFD8173AF933A25757C0A96 E9C8B63

Lyon, L., & Cameron, G. (2004). A relational approach examining the interplay of prior reputation and immediate response to a crisis. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *16*(3), 213-241.

McCombs, M. & Ghanem, S. I. (2003). The convergence of agenda setting and framing. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy, Jr., & A. E. Grant (Eds*.), Framing public Framing Analysis of Online News Sites life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp. 67-81). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miller, B A. (2002). *Divine apology: The discourse of religious image restoration.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Nock, S. L. (1993). *The costs of privacy: Surveillance and reputation in America.* New York: A. De Gruyter.

Penman, R. (1994). Facework in communication: Conceptual and moral challenges. In Ting-Toomey, S. (Ed), *The challenge of face work*. (pp.15-45). Albany: State University of New York.

The Reputation Institute. Retrieved on October 17, 2008 from
    http://www.reputationinstitute.com/events/Sydney_27_Mar_06.pdf

Richards, D. A. (1999). *Italian American: The racializing of an ethnic identity.* New York:
    New York University Press.

Sniderman, P. M., Brody, R. A., & Tetlock, P. E. (1991). *Reasoning and choice:
    Explorations in political psychology*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press.

Solove, D. J. (2007). *The future of reputation: Gossip, rumor, and privacy on the Internet.*
    New Haven: Yale University Press.

State of the news media 2007: An annual report on American journalism. (2007).
    Journalism.org. Retrieved on March 15, 2009, from
    http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/2006/narrative_overview_intro.asp?media=1

Tedeschi, J.T., & Norman, N. (1985) Social power, self presentation and the self. In B. R.
    Schlenker (Ed.), *The Self and social life.* (pp. 293-322). McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Ware, B., & Linkugel, W. (1973). They spoke in defense of themselves: On generic criticism
    of apologia. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *59*(3), 273-283.

Williams, D., & Olaniran, B. (2002). Crisis communication in racial issues. *Journal of
    Applied Communication Research*, *30*(4), 293-313.

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (1997). *Mass media research: An introduction.* Belmont,
    CA: Thomson Wadsworth.