

# Down the greasy slope: The fatal contradictions of anti-doping

Dr Nick Gibbs, Northumbria University

Dr Timothy Piatkowski, Griffith University

Dr Luke Turnock, University of Lincoln

## Please direct correspondence to:

Dr Nick Gibbs: Department of Social Sciences, Northumbria University, 2 Sandyford Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 8SB . E-mail: [n.gibbs@northumbria.ac.uk](mailto:n.gibbs@northumbria.ac.uk)

## Abstract

This article seeks to critically question the internal logic and coherency of ‘anti-doping’ through the case study of advantage-seeking practices in the sport of Brazilian Jui-Jitsu (BJJ). We provide an analysis of the recent controversy between high profile fighters Gordon Ryan and Nicky Rod involving the relative morality of image and performance enhancing drug (IPED) use compared with ‘greasing’, whereby BJJ athletes apply substances, such as oil or lubricants, to the body to make it harder for opponents to establish a grip or maintain control during grappling exchanges. We employ this case study to highlight the impasse between the World Anti-doping Agency’s (WADA) ethical foundation of the ‘spirit of sport’ and the anti-doping industry’s ‘anti-policy’ stance. We then query why a host of non-chemical advantage-seeking practices are normalised and overlooked within the rigid and constrictive system.

Ultimately, we characterise WADA as a myopic compliance system that stifles moral debate around advantage-seeking in sport and is hamstrung by an ethical discord between anti-policy and the neo-Aristotelian ideal of the spirit of sport. We close with a call for a holistic ethical understanding of advantage-seeking in sport and the need to encourage stakeholders to ‘think institutionally’ in order to establish a malleable and reactive response to doping.

**Keywords:** anti-doping, Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, enhancement, greasing, steroids, anti-policy, ethics, spirit of sport

**Words:** 8,432

**Acknowledgements:** We would like to thank Dr Tom Raymen for his efforts in reading an early draft of this paper and guiding us towards the central theoretical and ethical frameworks from which we

35 have drawn. We would also like to extend our thanks to the Crime, harm, and Ethics research cluster  
36 at Northumbria University, which provided the first and third author with a platform to present our  
37 initial ideas and develop the conceptual framing of this piece.

## 38 Introduction

39

40 The discourse of ‘anti-doping’ has a unique hold over the international sporting community,  
41 the global media, and the academy alike (Sjolqvist et al., 2008; Fink et al., 2019; Havnes et al.,  
42 2020). Doping is generally understood as the violation of the World Anti-Doping Agency’s  
43 (WADA) notion of ‘the spirit of sport’ (WADA, 2017), most commonly manifesting as athletes  
44 in regulated competitions using substances that appear on the organisation’s ‘Prohibited List’  
45 (WADA, 2023). However, over the course of this article, we wish to critique the utility of anti-  
46 doping as a means of regulating advantage-seeking in sport and critically question the  
47 applicability of ‘the spirit of sport’ in the context of WADA’s doping-industrial complex. The  
48 framework through which we will make this argument is William Walters’ (2008) notion of  
49 ‘anti-policy’, wherein WADA’s efforts will be understood as a deontological compliance  
50 system that is incapable of fulfilling the neo-Aristotelian ethics of the spirit of sport, and  
51 therefore powerless to react to non-chemical and novel forms of doping.

52

53 In this work we understand doping as a broad ethical issue and, rather than being limited just  
54 to the ingestion of banned substances, recognise that it ought to be understood as actions that  
55 unfairly enhance performance and run counter to the ethics of sport. Here we draw on the work  
56 of Schubert and Könecke (2015) as they base their understanding of doping according to the  
57 axes of legality and legitimacy, perceiving what they term ‘classical doping’ as being that  
58 which is both illegal and illegitimate in a sporting context. Synthesising the literature, Schubert  
59 and Könecke (2015) find consensus in the idea that doping behaviours are those which are in  
60 contradiction with the following: athletes’ health; fairness and equal opportunity as sport-  
61 intrinsic principles; naturalness of sporting performances; and exemplary function of sport and  
62 its athletes. However, there is one point upon which we depart from Schubert and Könecke.

63 They term actions that are considered illegitimate but not illegal as ‘illegitimate enhancement’  
64 (Schubert and Könecke, 2015: 69), separating this from the concept of doping. As will become  
65 evident however, we take a broader view of doping as actions that enhance sporting ability but  
66 run counter to the spirit of sport ideal. This neo-Aristotelian position recognises non-chemical  
67 doping as well as the use of prohibited substances, presenting a challenge to current anti-doping  
68 frameworks.

69

70 The vehicle through which we will attempt to demonstrate the shortfalls of the current anti-  
71 doping framework is the sport of Brazilian Jui-Jitsu (BJJ), with specific attention paid to the  
72 recent controversy surrounding the practice of ‘greasing’ compared to chemical enhancement.  
73 Greasing can be defined as the practice of applying substances, such as oil or lubricants, to the  
74 body to make it more difficult for opponents to establish a grip or maintain control during  
75 grappling exchanges. This tactic has swept the BJJ community, furnishing us with a periscope  
76 through which to examine the current anti-doping framework’s inability to arbitrate on the  
77 morality of cheating in elite sport. We will argue that greasing is an example of *non-chemical*  
78 *doping* and will therefore employ the recent controversy around greasing and chemical doping  
79 in BJJ to ask pertinent questions around enhancement, ethics, and sporting morality. Our  
80 central argument, therefore, coheres around the question: *why is the current anti-doping*  
81 *framework incapable of addressing non-chemical doping in the same way that it regulates the*  
82 *ingestion of prohibited chemical substances?*

## 83 The war on doping

84

85 Efforts to tackle doping in sport are far from new (Bloodworth et al., 2010). Since 2004,  
86 WADA has updated their Code annually and, responding to developments and mutations in the  
87 image and performance enhancing drug (IPED) market (Paoli and Donati, 2014; Gibbs, 2023;

88 Piatkowski, et al., 2023; Turnock and Gibbs, 2023), the Prohibited List has grown steadily to  
89 include a large array of ergogenic compounds. The purported aims of the WADA Programme  
90 and the Code are to care for athletes' fundamental right to participate in doping-free sport and  
91 thus promote health, fairness and equality in line with 'the spirit of sport'. WADA also seek to  
92 oversee harmonised, coordinated and effective anti-doping programmes at the international and  
93 national level, covering the detection, deterrence and prevention of doping (Mottram, 1999).  
94 However, despite wielding a great deal of political and legal clout, WADA has faced some  
95 critique from the academy. Møller (2016), for example, contends that anti-doping efforts under  
96 WADA have been unsuccessful and counter-productive, as they fail to protect athletes' right to  
97 participate in doping-free sport, do not offer significant health protection, and are ineffective  
98 in ensuring fairness and equality for athletes worldwide. More recently, significant gaps and  
99 the need for further reform have been identified within the revised 2021 World Anti-Doping  
100 Code, raising concerns about its overall effectiveness in safeguarding athletes' interests and  
101 promoting clean sport (Kambhampati and Star, 2021). However, much of this critique exists at  
102 the level of pragmatic delivery and not, as we seek to offer, the systemic level.

103

104 Bucking this trend, van de Ven and Mulrooney (2014) level their ire more broadly as they argue  
105 that the anti-doping industry has crept ominously into non-competitive spaces, characterising  
106 the monolith of WADA as a sprawling omnipresence with a proclivity to overstep its  
107 fundamental remit (see also van de Ven, 2016; Christiansen, 2021). Similarly, Coomber (2014)  
108 has noted how broader attitudes to illicit recreational drugs, and the attendant punitive policies  
109 to regulate them, have led to a fear-driven anti-doping framework that misunderstands and  
110 overreacts to the moral threat of IPEDs. The result of this, Hunt et al. (2012) argue, is a 'moral  
111 crusade' more in line with the ill-fated and heavily critiqued war on drugs than sports  
112 governance. Moreover, Pitsch and Gleaves (2021) contend that many of anti-doping's

113 normative arguments rely on ‘unverified empirical premises’ which, according to McNamee  
114 (2012), have led to highly individualised and punitive sanctions that fail to address the wider  
115 issues at play (see also Aubel and Ohl, 2014). More interestingly still, Geeraets (2018) provides  
116 a robust critique of WADA’s ‘spirit of sport’, contending that the central ‘ethical pillar’ that  
117 supports anti-doping is inherently ideological and undermines athletes’ ‘voluntary’  
118 involvement. However, this paper will make the argument that it is not WADA’s spirit of sport  
119 foundation which ought to be critiqued if we are to reflect on the ineffectiveness of anti-doping.  
120 Instead, we will contend that it is its ‘anti-policy’ framework which makes the spirit of sport  
121 an impotent ideal and straightjackets any attempts to regulate non-chemical and novel forms  
122 of doping.

## 123 Anti-doping as anti-policy

124

125 Given this paper’s central argument, it is now worth establishing what we understand by the  
126 term ‘anti-policy’ and how anti-doping is enmeshed in a tapestry of similar anti-policies in late  
127 capitalist life. Casting a critical eye on the contemporary landscape of governance, William  
128 Walters (2008) has noted that our everyday existence is increasingly regulated by what he terms  
129 ‘anti-policy’. Put simply, this phenomenon includes policy efforts like anti-poverty, anti-  
130 terrorism, anti-corruption, and anti-racism, which set out to vanquish the great scourges of our  
131 time. Worthy causes we can all agree, but Walters argues that these forms of governance are  
132 essentially empty vessels ‘which derive whatever legitimacy they enjoy from the claim that  
133 their objective [is] to repress bad things’ (Walters, 2008: 270) and serve to appease public  
134 concern rather than truly address the panoply of harms that these large-scale issues represent.  
135 The swell of anti-policies is arguably built upon their seductively unopposable premise; that  
136 the bad thing (in our instance, doping in sport) is morally problematic and ought to be  
137 combatted. Kuldova (2022: 22, italics added) sums this up:

138

139 'Anti-policies build consensus around that which *nobody can be for* (Walters, 2008).

140 They are typically fuelled by scandals and mediated outrage. As such, they are a

141 seductive tool. After all, to be seen doing 'the right thing' is a vital currency in a world

142 driven by reputations and scandals. And with each scandal we also see this demand for

143 remedy: more anti-policies, more zero tolerance visions (Newburn & Jones, 2007),

144 more ethical guidelines, more standards and best practices, more accountability, more

145 audits, and more detailed implementations on the principles of 'good governance', all

146 of which seek to eradicate this or that crime, harm, or moral failing (Shore, 2008; Shore

147 & Wright, 2015).'

148

149 Anti-doping, we argue, is yet another example of anti-policy that functions to allow governance

150 to be seen to be doing the right thing and taking a moral stance on doping in organised sport,

151 without ever truly engaging with the moral and ethical debates at play. The discourse and

152 infrastructure built around anti-doping therefore acts to satisfy fans' and officials' yearning to

153 'do something about the issue'. However, as Kuldova goes on to note, a step in the right

154 direction may be viewed as progress, to the detriment of any critical analysis of the anti-policy

155 itself. This, we argue, is where we find ourselves with WADA and anti-doping. This claim is

156 implicitly supported by Dimeo (2016: 104), whose cutting critique of the 'clean sport' ideal

157 argues that:

158 '[Anti-doping discourse] paints a picture of present-centred crisis, a loss of ethical

159 direction, that needs resources, regulations and punishments in order to be recovered

160 and the future to become a better place. Therefore, it is a strategy about power

161 enhancement, indeed power over athletes and their entourage, that places control with

162 centralised authorities who can impose their will over those defined as 'transgressors'.

163

164 Dimeo all but describes anti-doping as a form of anti-policy here, exemplifying the sway that  
165 the movement has over the sporting world. Similarly, as noted by Hunt et al. (2012), the anti-  
166 doping industry exercises the power to ban and expel ‘cheats’ from sport and acts as the self-  
167 appointed arbitrator of fairness according to strict anti-policy compliance standards. This is  
168 propped up by the numerous scientists and other professionals involved in testing programmes,  
169 athlete education, and compliance, whose legitimacy somewhat justifies WADA’s existence.

170

171 Kuldova ultimately outlines an eight-component ‘anti-policy syndrome’ which includes  
172 (amongst others) the moral obligation to act, a reliance upon specific modes of knowledge and  
173 data-led expertise, and a deontological form of ethics. She situates the rise of anti-policies  
174 within the broader securitisation of society, wherein risk is pre-emptively managed through  
175 ‘*anticipatory* forms of governance’ (Kuldova, 2022: 5, italics in original). Crucially, Walters  
176 (2008) notes that *governance* need not mean *government* and therefore bodies like WADA and  
177 its multitude of ‘national anti-doping organisations’ (NADOs), alongside a wealth of private  
178 sector organisations, have become the ‘little others’ (Winlow and Hall, 2012) that arbitrate  
179 issues like doping. Ultimately, to borrow again from Kuldova (2022: 22, italics in original),  
180 much of organised sport may well be *anti-doping*, but ‘what are we *for*’? Which advantage-  
181 seeking practices are morally just, and which ought to be punished and mitigated against?  
182 These enquiries open up a thornier question about the ethics of elite sport and how we should  
183 understand advantage-seeking not just in relation to chemical enhancement, but to a raft of  
184 forms of one-upmanship that pervade elite sporting environments.

185

186 Though we contend that doping has become subject to this form of governance, we should also  
187 acknowledge the very real health risks that accompany the consumption of the various



188 substances being prohibited. Indeed, this article does not set out to deny the existence of  
189 doping-related harms or the unfairness of athletes taking performance enhancing substances to  
190 gain an advantage over their peers. The use of compounds on the banned list, particularly  
191 anabolic steroids, is underscored by a raft of physiological issues, including urogenital  
192 problems, insomnia, injection site pain, liver disease, and cardiovascular disease (van  
193 Amsterdam et al., 2010), as well as adverse mental health effects (Chegeni et al., 2021; Scarth  
194 et al., 2022). Thus, whilst we wish to make a case for a more expansive and situated  
195 understanding of ‘doping’ that challenges the anti-policy fundamentals at play, we are certainly  
196 not diminishing the need to protect athletes’ health and well-being. Neither are we setting out  
197 to advocate for an end to drug testing in sport and a no-holds-barred ‘enhanced’ sporting  
198 environment (Savulescu et al., 2004), as has been proposed in Aron D’Souza’s ‘Enhanced  
199 Games’ startup (Richardson, 2024). Instead, we seek to problematise the current anti-policy  
200 framework of anti-doping and make a case for a fuller understanding of the concepts of  
201 advantage-seeking, fairness, and sporting inequality.

## 202 The ethical impasse of anti-doping

203

204 Owing to its anti-policy ethos, we argue that anti-doping is suspended in an ethical impasse.  
205 This stalemate arises from the contrast between the neo-Aristotelian principles of the spirit of  
206 sport and the Kantian deontological inflexibility of anti-policy. More simply, WADA’s twin  
207 ethical pillars are entirely at odds with one another, with the spirit of sport being an example  
208 of positive ethics, and the anti-policy framework being underpinned by negative ethics.

209 As noted above, WADA claim that the ‘spirit of sport’ ideal underlies their anti-doping  
210 operations and supposedly provides the ethical prism through which decision making is  
211 informed. The ideal, which is rooted in historical notions of Olympic sporting amateurism  
212 (Ritchie, 2015), is defined by WADA (2017) as:

213           ‘... the essence of Olympism, the pursuit of human excellence through the dedicated  
214           perfection of each person’s natural talents. It is how we play true. The spirit of sport is  
215           the celebration of the human spirit, body and mind, and is reflected in values we find  
216           in and through sport, including: Ethics, fair play and honesty; Health; Excellence in  
217           performance; Character and education; Fun and joy; Teamwork; Dedication and  
218           commitment; Respect for rules and laws; Respect for self and other Participants;  
219           Courage; Community and solidarity.’

220

221   The spirit of sport thus emphasises ideals such as ethics, fair play, and respect, promoting an  
222   aspirational vision of sporting excellence, and advocating for a holistic appreciation of sport  
223   that transcends rule compliance. This ethical position, we argue, is based on the Aristotelian  
224   concept of *telos*, ‘a final cause or purpose that benefits the wider social body or humanity more  
225   generally’ (Raymen, 2024: 168). The ideal provides competitors with a common, collective  
226   purpose that drives towards WADA’s notion of *good* sport. Aristotle ties the foundational  
227   concept of *telos* tightly to the idea of human flourishing, and, if we prescribe to a neo-  
228   Aristotelian position, the governing question in life should be ‘*how do I live virtuously and*  
229   *well?*’ (Lemos, 2007; Cohen-Almagor, 2017). As Raymen (2023: 105) notes, ‘Neo-Aristotelian  
230   ethics sees morality not as a given or as something that can be practised by simply obediently  
231   following rules, but as an achievement’. Therefore, WADA’s spirit of sport is fundamentally  
232   Aristotelian as it provides a *positive*, aspirational guideline to competitors and their affiliates,  
233   encouraging them to embody an ethos of fairness throughout sporting competition, rather than  
234   simply and cynically following the prescribed rules. The spirit of sport, with its emphasis on  
235   ‘playing true’, enjoins its adherents to subscribe to anti-doping because of the internal good of  
236   ‘Ethics, fair play and honesty [...] Dedication and commitment; Respect for rules and laws;  
237   Respect for self and other Participants; Courage; Community and solidarity’ (WADA, 2017)

238 rather than following the rules simply because they have to. Such adherence follows Hugh  
239 Heclo's (2008) seminal work on 'thinking institutionally', a rallying cry for us to quell our  
240 cynicism towards institutions and instead value positive ethics and a commitment to human  
241 flourishing. This concept will be explored at length later in this paper.

242 However, though we (unlike many scholars) see immense value in the notion of spirit of sport,  
243 we contend that anti-doping's anti-policy approach challenges and ultimately negates this  
244 ethical foundation. As MacIntyre (2011) expertly dissects, we live in an age of disbelief and  
245 cynicism that proscribes any ascription to the positive ethics described above (see also  
246 Johnston, 2004; Winlow and Hall, 2012; Raymen, 2024) and instead, to put it crudely, we look  
247 to interventions like the swell of anti-policies to thwart badness rather than promote goodness  
248 (Kuldova, 2022).

249 Instead of being underpinned by the Aristotelian approach then, contemporary life – and  
250 certainly anti-policy – is rooted in a deontological form of ethics most heavily associated with  
251 Kant (see MacIntyre, 2016). Under this negative form of ethics 'doing right is made something  
252 quite independent of faring well' (MacIntyre, 2002: 81) and ethics are understood as an  
253 individual duty divorced from a notion of collective good. Under such an ethical framework,  
254 'doing right' is reimagined as compliance with the rules rather than adhering to a doctrine of  
255 human flourishing (Raymen, 2024). Linking this back to anti-doping, whereas the Aristotelian  
256 ideal of spirit of sport binds the act of not consuming performance enhancing substances to the  
257 telos of good sport (fairness, competition, honesty, etc), the deontological anti-policy position  
258 has little regard for the telos of sport and simply exists to establish a priori evils, independent  
259 of any particular conception of the Good. As such, as articulated by Dimeo (2016: 107-108)  
260 the current system of anti-policy has:

261           ‘... created a series of drastic and draconian solutions, alongside a practically  
262           compulsory global compliance strategy. Rather than allow each sport or country to  
263           address its own problems, the policy landscape was revolutionised with the aim of  
264           increasing testing, enforcing meaningful sanctions, harmonization and standardization.’

265   Important here is that the standardised anti-policy approach only allows for a cynical and  
266   compliance-based understanding of anti-doping, meaning that the spirit of sport and any  
267   attempt to understand eschewing enhancing substances as part of the telos of good sport is  
268   effectively written out of existence. This is where we encounter the ethical chasm that  
269   underpins our argument. Given that anti-policy ‘sees efforts to improve the moral character of  
270   actors within these fields as foolhardy, idealistic, and doomed to failure’ (Raymen, 2024: 169)  
271   the Aristotelian ethical pillar of spirit of sport is hamstrung and all that anti-doping is capable  
272   of is retrospectively administering punishment and altering the specific compounds on its  
273   banned list.

274   Pertinently, it cannot draw upon positive ethics to look beyond its siloed remit of chemical  
275   enhancement and is, therefore, blind to illicit advantage-seeking practices that are not regulated  
276   within its banned list. It is this ethical log jam that we can see play out in our underpinning case  
277   study in this article: the relatively under-researched sport of Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu and a well-  
278   publicised spat between two of its leading proponents.

## 279   Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu and advantage-seeking practices

280  
281   Brazilian jiu-jitsu (BJJ) is a type of martial art often used in competitions alongside boxing,  
282   Muay-Thai, kickboxing, or mixed-martial arts (Andreato et al., 2017). It utilises components  
283   of grappling as well as several submissions including chokes and joint locks, traditionally  
284   performed in a ‘gi’ (Petrisor et al., 2019). BJJ is often used in one-on-one combat competitions,

285 where individuals use a combination of throws and submissions with the opponent using a  
286 range of offensive and defensive sequences (Mickelsson Blomqvist, 2021; Petrisor et al.,  
287 2019). Following the wider popularisation of mixed martial arts (Bishop et al., 2013; Stan,  
288 2019) as well as recognition within its' own right, BJJ has received growing attention,  
289 particularly in the no-gi class (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2020). This has propelled the sport's  
290 preeminent competitors onto the global stage and has led to something of a furore over the  
291 advantage-seeking and doping practices routinely undertaken in the pursuit of victory.

292

293 Previously, the International Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu Federation (IBJJF) was the only organisation  
294 in the sport of BJJ which was known to test athletes for steroids and enhancement drugs (IBJJF,  
295 2022). Their stance on doping was as follows: "The IBJJF is opposed to the practice of doping  
296 in sport on ethical and medical grounds and abides by the provisions of the World Anti-Doping  
297 Code ("Code") and World Anti-Doping Agency Prohibited List ("Prohibited List")". Recently  
298 however, in a landmark move, the IBJJF has abolished their testing protocols (Fischer, 2023),  
299 seemingly in response to several athletes being caught for doping violations (Tang, 2023). This  
300 new stance more closely mirrors other internationally recognised BJJ organisations like the  
301 Abu Dhabi Combat Club (ADCC).

302

303 A key player who has contributed significantly to the rise in popularity of no-gi BJJ is Gordon  
304 Ryan. He is recognised as the greatest no-gi grappler of all time. Ryan "openly admits to taking  
305 performance enhancing drugs" (Meehan, 2022). However, his recent candour was somewhat  
306 lacking prior to the removal of doping controls. In 2018, after testing positive for Clomiphene,  
307 he claimed that he had unknowingly ingested the substance through a contaminated  
308 supplement. Many in the BJJ community were sceptical of his explanation, given the  
309 prevalence of steroid use in the sport. Ryan was suspended for six months and stripped of his

310 titles from the 2018 Pan-American Championship. Since this, he has become transparent  
311 regarding his use of IPEDs such as steroids, so much so that many viral videos have emerged  
312 with his admissions (BJJEE, 2023).

313

314 Following this, a separate form of performance enhancement termed ‘greasing’ has received  
315 similar scrutiny in the world of BJJ. The practice of ‘greasing’ – which describes BJJ athletes  
316 applying substances, such as oil or lubricants, to the body to make it harder for opponents to  
317 establish a grip or maintain control during grappling exchanges – has raised questions about  
318 the nature of enhancement and cheating. This scandal has mainly been played out between  
319 Gordon Ryan and fellow elite BJJ athlete Nicky Rod. The greasing controversy involving  
320 Nicky Rod first occurred in 2019 during the ADCC World Championship. In his semi-final  
321 match against Marcus "Buchechea" Almeida, Rod was accused of applying grease to his body  
322 to make it more difficult for his opponent to hold onto him (King, 2022). Despite video  
323 evidence, Rod denied any wrongdoing, and no action was taken against him. These greasing  
324 accusations resurfaced recently, however, when Ryan accused Rod in their 2023 Fight Pass  
325 invitational match, (Bradley, 2023):

326

327 *“The moment he started sweating, he definitely was lotioned and the lotion came out.*

328 *I couldn’t get a hold of him. He was so slippery...” [Ryan, FPI-3 Interview]*

329

330 In the ensuing days, Ryan released several videos through his Instagram account, providing  
331 some further understanding to the public around the ‘issue’ (Wendling, 2023). Pertinently, Rod  
332 suggested that some competitors ‘rely on steroids’ to gain a significant advantage (IBJJE, 2023)  
333 and subsequently crowned himself as the "Natty King" (referring to his ‘natural’ non-

334 chemically enhanced status), emphasising the contrast between those who use performance-  
335 enhancing substances and those who do not.

336

337 *Some of the guys that do steroids in the sport, they literally couldn't compete at all if*  
338 *they weren't. You're talking guys that are naturally 175, 180 pounds, and in nine*  
339 *months they're 230 pounds. It's fu\*\*ing insane... [Rod, IBJJF Interview]*

340

341 *I'm very confident that a lot of these guys couldn't compete if they were natty, so I*  
342 *call myself the Natty King. [Rod, IBJJF Interview]*

343

344 *That's his excuse, he's like: "He put lotion on." First of all, no, never cheated a*  
345 *fu\*\*ing bit. And then on top of that, I'm a natural athlete going against a not-natural*  
346 *athlete and you still need excuses. [Rod, IBJJF Interview]*

347

348 Nicky Rod then opted to prove his 'natty' status by spontaneously undergoing (and passing) a  
349 doping test conducted by a popular Youtuber (Zelander, 2023). BJJ therefore presents anti-  
350 doping researchers with something of a petri dish in which to interrogate the nature of  
351 enhancement and the relative morality of IPED consumption and non-chemical forms of  
352 doping like greasing. We shall now attempt to disentangle these prescient questions and speak  
353 to the wider, often overlooked, nuances that arise, as well as interrogating this landscape as a  
354 manifestation of 'anti-policy'.

## 355 Discussion

356

357 The uneven playing field: Sporting inequalities and non-chemical  
358 doping practices

359

360 Aligning more with Ryan, we understand greasing as an example of non-chemical doping.  
361 Greasing or 'lotioning' the body, as we will argue in this section, undermines the spirit of sport  
362 and is opposed to the telos of fair competition. This echoes our Aristotelian understanding of  
363 doping as not simply a compliance issue (e.g., consuming a banned substance) but one of  
364 sporting ethics and illegitimate enhancement. Indeed, the spat between Gordon Ryan and Nicky  
365 Rod introduces a far wider debate than those that generally surround anti-doping policy.  
366 Namely, what is the relative morality of chemical doping and non-chemical doping? And how  
367 can we understand this within the current anti-policy anti-doping framework?

368 Nicky Rod's stance that Gordon Ryan is at an unfair advantage due to his chemical  
369 enhancement, demonstrated in his protestations that '*a lot of these guys couldn't compete if*  
370 *they were natty*', nicely captures the anti-policy stance espoused by WADA. In Rod's mind,  
371 the dualism of doped versus not doped is crystal clear; doping is morally wrong and therefore  
372 the only 'cheating' that has occurred is Ryan's consumption of IPEDs. Dimeo (2016: 105)  
373 sums this up in his diagnosis that '[c]ategories of doped and pure bodies—or "dirty" and  
374 "clean" to use anti-doping rhetoric—are imagined as facts' within the current framework.  
375 However, Ryan's counter accusation highlights the fundamental flaw in anti-doping's anti-  
376 policy position. If we look beyond the myopic view that chemical doping is the only  
377 problematic form of advantage-seeking, we could make the argument that Rod's alleged  
378 greasing tactics – which perhaps negate any strength increase that Ryan was able to glean from  
379 his IPED use – are just as ethically reprehensible as his competitor's. Of course, the health  
380 impacts of 'lotioning up' are negligible, especially compared with IPED consumption, but if  
381 we consider WADA's guiding principle of 'spirit of sport', is there a fundamental difference



382 between the two? The greasing scandal, therefore, exposes the shackles that anti-doping's anti-  
383 policy position places on the ideal of the spirit of sport. If we were to subscribe to the neo-  
384 Aristotelian ideas of the telos of fair competition that are represented by the spirit of sport, we  
385 can comprehend and address the unfair advantage gained through 'lotioning up'. However, the  
386 deontological stance underpinning all anti-policies precludes such vision and, therefore, is  
387 powerless to foil Rod's brazen attempts to seek one-upmanship and understand Ryan's  
388 protestations about the relative morality of chemical versus non-chemical doping.

389 It is worth also pondering a few similar examples of what we consider non-chemical doping  
390 from across the elite sporting world. Sparkes and Brighton (2019) discuss the prevalence of  
391 'boosting' by spinal cord injured athletes, whereby a condition known as autonomic dysreflexia  
392 – characterised by a sudden increase in blood pressure and blood flow to muscles as well as  
393 heightened adrenaline – is deliberately brought on to enhance performance. Given that no  
394 external compounds are ingested by 'boosting' athletes, ought we to overlook this practice just  
395 like we omit greasing from doping scrutiny in BJJ? We can also consider technological  
396 performance aids like the use of oxygen tents (Savulescu et al., 2004) and the controversial  
397 Nike Vaporfly running shoes, which stirred debate at the Tokyo 2020 Olympics over alleged  
398 'technology doping' (Dyer, 2020). Similarly, Michael Phelps' use of a full-body swimsuit –  
399 which boosts performance by compressing the body and aiding buoyancy – during the Beijing  
400 Olympics again throws doubt about anti-doping's current stranglehold over the performance  
401 enhancement ethics of elite sport (BBC, 2009; O'Connor and Vozenilek, 2011). More broadly,  
402 at the time of writing, Manchester City Football Club remain in possession of their wealth of  
403 league and cup trophies despite facing 115 Financial Fair Play charges and being repeatedly  
404 accused of 'financial doping' (Iorworth et al., 2018; Morgan, 2024). Can we really consider  
405 such an alleged flouting of Financial Fair Play rules to be somehow divorced from the moral  
406 debate of performance enhancement and advantage-seeking? We argue that a system of

407 deontological compliance is incapable of arbitrating on the underpinning morality of these  
408 questions, as they can only be deployed rhetorically without a suitable ethical framework. With  
409 this said, WADA do include what Zwierzchowski and Gawel (2021) term ‘techno doping’ in  
410 their consideration of Olympic and Paralympic sports equipment, most pertinently the use of  
411 appropriate prosthesis for limb-deficient athletes and wheelchairs for sports like wheelchair  
412 basketball. Though this does represent a less siloed approach, we nevertheless contend that  
413 such mediation is still marred by WADA’s narrow understanding of doping and a lack of  
414 ethical dexterity.

415 Of course, some commentators may suggest that governing bodies and league committees  
416 ought to be the umpires of issues like greasing and financial misconduct. However, we believe  
417 that the unique position of WADA and their role as guardians of the spirit of sport affords them  
418 a responsibility for wider equity in sport, including over these issues. This coheres with our  
419 broader understanding that non-chemical doping should be a concern for the WADA project,  
420 but only if it can be moved away from its current anti-policy format. Whilst sport thrives off  
421 natural and fair inequality (e.g., one athlete’s natural ability and work ethic being better or  
422 worse than another’s) then, WADA are in a unique position to oversee these notions of fair  
423 competition from above.

424 Demonstrative of the wider significance of the Ryan versus Rod controversy, we might also  
425 consider entrenched inequalities in competitions like the Olympics, where well-resourced  
426 nations are able to provide cutting-edge training facilities, sports science and coaching  
427 compared to swathes of developing countries (Krishna and Haglund, 2008; Schubert and  
428 Könecke, 2015). Such inequality is mostly left unquestioned and is rarely considered in the  
429 discourse of anti-doping, but arguably constitutes a far deeper reaching form of inequitable  
430 advantage-seeking, particularly given the soft power posturing that characterises international  
431 sporting competitions (Cornelissen, 2010; Grix and Houlihan, 2013; Rawnsley, 2024). Our

432 current anti-policy understanding cannot even attempt to consider these examples.  
433 Interestingly, the questions around relative morality that we raise here are far from new. As  
434 Dimeo (2016) notes, as far back as the 1960s, doctors were questioning the emerging discourse  
435 of doping controls, with one prominent physician writing that, if used under medical  
436 supervision, the ingestion of doping substances ‘is not more unfair than the fact that one athlete  
437 will have a good coach and excellent training facilities whereas another does not’ (Hollyhock,  
438 1969: 126). These ambiguities are summarised by Gleaves et al. (2014: 93) in their contention  
439 that the current anti-doping framework ‘cannot work looking forward. It cannot tell us why a  
440 new innovation like waxing skis is or is not contrary to its ideal. More to the point, it cannot  
441 tell us if blood transfusions are more akin to steroids or to ski wax’ (see also Coomber, 2019;  
442 Brannigan, 2012). As this quotation illustrates, an anti-doping anti-policy approach is unable  
443 to consider anything beyond its siloed remit of chemical doping as it is prohibitionist and static,  
444 making any ethical judgement beyond its inflexible compliance framework an impossibility.  
445 And yet, WADA prides itself on working with the underpinning ethos of the spirit of sport, and  
446 this is where we might find some reprieve and ultimately allow anti-doping to ‘look forward’.

## 447 The need to return to the ‘spirit of sport’

448

449 Obasa and Borry (2019: 452) claim that ‘the entire framework of anti-doping policy rests upon  
450 the spirit of sport concept’. For the reasons we have outlined above, we do not necessarily agree  
451 with this statement given the anti-policy approach currently undertaken by WADA. However,  
452 we argue that a truly flexible and ethical anti-doping system should indeed have at its core the  
453 spirit of sport. Returning to Kuldova’s (2022) plea to ask what a policy is for, rather than  
454 against, we contend that the ‘why’ of anti-doping can be found in the spirit of sport ideal. If  
455 anti-doping were to be shorn of its anti-policy ethos, the spirit of sport could be unshackled and  
456 anti-doping could look forwards as well as looking back (Gleaves et al., 2014). Arbitration of

457 elite sport through this ethical lens delivers a critical analysis of the relative morality of doping  
458 practices like steroid consumption and greasing, oxygen tents and running shoes, and boosting  
459 and training facilities. We argue, therefore, for a *return to the spirit of sport*.

460

461 Our optimism regarding this concept does not necessarily chime with the existing literature,  
462 however. In their review of academic interpretations of the spirit of sport, Obasa and Borry  
463 (2019: 452), brand it a ‘multivariant concept’, which they characterise as vague and contested  
464 (Loland and Hoppeler, 2012; Henne et al., 2013). Yet it is this malleability which we argue  
465 makes the spirit of sport a more capable ethical ideal than anti-policy compliance. The  
466 flexibility of the spirit of sport allows for a more nuanced and comprehensive approach to  
467 addressing the complexities of athletic performance and drug use, moving beyond the  
468 limitations of strict compliance and moralistic frameworks. Indeed, as Parker (2012: 337)  
469 makes clear, ‘Within sport, the existence of inequalities is both presupposed as a condition of  
470 the social practice and prized as its outcome. The goal of athletic competition is to establish  
471 the inequality of the competitors vis-à-vis particular sport-relevant abilities’. Therefore, we  
472 need an anti-doping framework that allows arbitration over which inequalities adhere to the  
473 telos of good sport, and which do not.

474

475 However, we acknowledge that such an Olympic idealism is at odds with the reality of  
476 contemporary sport. Ritchie (2013: 199) captures how the spirit of sport has been somewhat  
477 hijacked by the anti-doping movement:

478

479       ‘[T]hose involved with the creation of WADA’s Code had to actively create “sport’s  
480       spirit” as a problem solving measure in light of the immediate issues facing them and  
481       in light of the latest crisis occurring in sport. A “catch all” phrase was needed to deal

482 with practical issues at play and to warrant inclusion of substances on the banned list in  
483 particular, and the result was the active construction of the “Spirit of Sport.” (Ritchie  
484 2013: 199)

485

486 Though Ritchie’s (2013) statement relates more to the inclusion of recreational non-enhancing  
487 substances like cannabinoids and WADA’s subsequent ability to ban compounds for political  
488 rather than sporting reasons (see Waddington et al., 2013; Obasa and Borry, 2019), it is worth  
489 unpacking here. Opposing Ritchie’s cynicism of the spirit of sport ideal, we instead suggest  
490 that the reduction of the Olympic ethical ideal to a ‘catch all’ phrase is instead symptomatic of  
491 the anti-policy deontological ethical position. The point is that the spirit of sport has been  
492 exhumed from the anti-doping system, rather than, as Ritchie argues, being actively constructed  
493 by it. The ethical impasse between anti-policy and the spirit of sport has therefore led to the  
494 affect that Ritchie describes; the sense that WADA employ the spirit of sport ideal for cynical  
495 purposes and dismiss the telos of sporting competition on account of their questionable agenda.  
496 Again, this reality emphasises the need to return to the spirit of sport as the governing principle  
497 and free it from the trappings of anti-policy, where it is diminished and nullified as a vague  
498 justification for a backward-looking system of compliance.

499

500 However, for a return to the spirit of sport ideal to permeate the elite sporting world a  
501 substantial cultural shift would need to occur. Just as IPED consumption can at times be  
502 understood as hyperconformist (Kotzé and Antonopoulos, 2019; Gibbs, 2023), it could be  
503 argued that inequitable advantage-seeking and a ‘win at all costs’ mentality constitute the  
504 current prevailing ‘spirit’ of elite sport. Undermining WADA’s Olympic idealism, doping  
505 ought, therefore, to be situated alongside practices like greasing, financial doping, inequity of  
506 resources and facilities, and sports science technology and not, as the current anti-policy

507 framework mandates, as a standalone ill that exists exclusively in the purview of WADA and  
508 their national denominations. This sentiment is captured perfectly by Tamburrini (2006: 203):

509 ‘... sport has evolved into a highly competitive, professional activity in which agents try  
510 their best to perform at their highest possible level. Unlike recreational sports – whose main  
511 traits (to have a good time and promote health) still marked competitive sport at the  
512 beginning of the twentieth century – professional sport is now driven by a desire to expand  
513 the boundaries of what hitherto was considered to be humanly possible, even by  
514 jeopardizing one's own health. [...] Banned doping substances and techniques are therefore  
515 obviously in accordance with the ‘spirit’ of today's crudely competitive, highly technified  
516 sports world, as they have everything to do with the essential purpose of the athletic contest:  
517 to expand the limits of our capacities.’

518 This extract speaks to the ethics of elite sport that exist in praxis and how Nicky Rod's alleged  
519 greasing techniques, despite his protestations, ought not to be viewed as fundamentally morally  
520 superior, or indeed much different at all, to Ryan's open consumption of IPEDs. Ultimately, if  
521 the underpinning drive for sportspeople is to ‘expand the limits of our capacities’,  
522 conceptualising doping exclusively through WADA's anti-policy lens is extremely  
523 problematic. This is why we must unshackle the spirit of sport from its anti-policy trappings  
524 and allow arbitration of advantage-seeking practices according to their telos, rather than their  
525 (mal)compliance. However, as Tamburrini's argument in some sense echoes WADA's (2017)  
526 definition of the spirit of sport as ‘the pursuit of human excellence through the dedicated  
527 perfection of each person's natural talents’, it could be read as defending the morality of non-  
528 chemical doping. We can easily make the argument that substances like anabolic steroids are  
529 inconducive to human health and flourishing, but the use of technology and entrenched  
530 inequalities, under Tamburrini's argument, seem less problematic. With this said, other aspects

531 of the spirit of sport ideal around fairness and equality somewhat negate this argument, as the  
532 process as well as the outcome of sporting conduct can be considered.

533 We ought also to be cognisant of the spectacle of elite sport and its function as a highly  
534 profitable artifact of consumption (Carrington and McDonald, 2008). Using BJJ as an example,  
535 it is no coincidence that drug testing has been removed exactly at the time when the sport – and  
536 its competitors – are gaining enhanced commercial success. Thus, advantage-seeking in its  
537 various forms ultimately is far from deviant when we consider both athlete motivation and  
538 commercial intent. Given this reality then, can our current straightjacketed view of anti-doping  
539 and its place in the moral dimension of sport really provide us with anything more than a  
540 punitive compliance system for ‘drug cheats’? Doping, we suggest, has become the proverbial  
541 bark for those moral arbitrators who cannot see the wood for the trees.

542 We can therefore situate the problem as follows: the spirit of sport cannot be realised as an  
543 ethical framework within a system of anti-policy. Due to WADA’s inability to look beyond  
544 compliance and banned substances, the Aristotelian concept of spirit of sport is unable to be  
545 used to arbitrate over advantage-seeking practices like greasing or boosting in the way that it  
546 could were it not bound to an anti-policy. In the absence of this guiding ethical framework, the  
547 amorality of elite sports as a ‘win at all costs’ industry has been allowed to run riot, as has been  
548 manifest in the greasing scandal described in this paper. In this climate, sport is viewed as an  
549 industry focused on entertainment and profit, rather than an Aristotlian pursuit of excellence  
550 (Andrews, 2016). This practice prioritises commercial success over ethical considerations. The  
551 emphasis on victory incentivises athletes to use IPEDs, despite potential health risks,  
552 highlighting the disconnect between the 'spirit of sport' and the pragmatic reality. We posit that  
553 ‘cheating’ then becomes an acceptable strategy within a system that values outcomes over  
554 integrity. The structures governing sport, including leagues, sponsorship deals, and media  
555 coverage, create immense pressure on athletes to prioritise winning above all else. This is the

556 true spirit of sport under a deontological ethical framework. These systems reward performance  
557 and success with financial incentives and fame, further entrenching a culture where ethical  
558 breaches are overlooked if they lead to victory. Consequently, athletes operate within a  
559 framework that implicitly condones and potentially encourages amoral advantage-seeking  
560 tactics.

561

562 It follows that substantial resources and discourse are devoted to combating doping in sport,  
563 whilst the wider inequalities and advantage-seeking practices that are not chemical in nature  
564 are allowed to flourish, adherent as they are to the *true* spirit of sport. In line with anti-doping  
565 as an anti-policy then, WADA's current deployment of the spirit of sport as an ethical system  
566 speaks to their concern to contribute towards the credibility and marketability of sport, rather  
567 than its fairness and equality of competition. Dimeo (2016: 104) notes that the current system  
568 allows 'a core group of Western, male, middle and upper class scientists and administrators  
569 [...] to protect their own power base', which of course rests upon the profitability and status of  
570 elite sporting competitions. The organisations are effectively afforded the liberty to 'look busy'  
571 with their anti-policy work, whilst shying away from the deeper conversation around sport,  
572 advantage-seeking, and systemic matters of concern. Consequently, current anti-doping anti-  
573 policy measures, rooted in prohibition and compliance, fail to address the underlying issues  
574 and we need a return to the spirit of sport as an ethical basis in order to truly challenge the  
575 advantage-seeking practices described in this paper.

576

## 577 **Anti-policy and the crisis of relativity**

578

579 Considering the swathes of chemical and non-chemical doping behaviours discussed above,  
580 and the inability for governing bodies to enact their spirit of sport ideal, we feel well positioned  
581 to make the argument that anti-doping is indeed an example of an 'anti-policy'. By premising



582 its existence on a moral antagonism to doping behaviours, WADA have established a  
583 deontological form of ethics (Kuldova, 2022) which is at odds with its own supposed ethical  
584 foundation. Working to preclude any valuable debate about the morality of the wider suite of  
585 advantage-seeking behaviours across competitive sport, this form of anti-policy effectively  
586 neutralises much of the critical conversation about acts like greasing, financial doping,  
587 equipment and facilities, and many more inequalities that are baked into high-level sport.  
588 Indeed, as we have demonstrated with our account of the greasing controversy in BJJ, when  
589 doping controls are lifted, wider conversations about winning virtuously are allowed to play  
590 out far more conspicuously.

591 Walters (2008: 275) remarks that anti-policy always understands issues in ‘very specific ways  
592 and is objectified by particular networks of practice’. Put more simply, WADA only understand  
593 cheating according to their own compliance framework and through a somewhat blinkered lens.  
594 This is by no means a swipe at those individuals administering the burdensome task of sparring  
595 with doping behaviours in a ‘clean sport’ context. Instead, given the fatal contradictions  
596 described above, WADA appear to be waging a particularly expensive and bureaucratic war,  
597 on terms that only they themselves have defined. WADA has become society’s sole prism  
598 through which to understand the issue of doping. This is captured nicely by Walters (2008:  
599 280) in his observation that anti-policies ‘impose a system of technocratic expertise upon a  
600 space that otherwise might be considered a site of political controversy and public dialogue’.  
601 Instead, WADA and the various NADOs effectively monopolise the conversation, limiting  
602 most mainstream discussion to familiar discourse about whether certain drugs should be  
603 banned or not, and whether the bans they hand out are equitable and proportionate. Their anti-  
604 policy stance also nullifies any critical layperson discussion around what might or might not  
605 be adherent to the spirit of sport, leaving controversies like the greasing saga described in this

606 paper to play out in the media as opposed to the institutions that ought to arbitrate fairness in  
607 sport.

608 Going further, it could be argued that anti-doping also adheres to Walters' idea of the *positivity*  
609 of anti-policy. He states that 'the objective of negating things frequently goes hand-in-hand  
610 with calling something new into existence' (Walters, 2008: 275). Would the concept of doping  
611 even exist without its old adversary anti-doping? Of course, the use of enhancing compounds  
612 long predates current conceptions of anti-doping (Holt et al., 2009; Paoli and Donati, 2014) but  
613 it was the anti-doping movement that arbitrated that these behaviours ought to be cast as doping  
614 and their exponents ensnared in the punitive web of WADA's punishments. In this sense, we  
615 can understand anti-doping as generative or at least complicit in the moral objection that it was  
616 set up to overcome.

617 Ultimately, we find ourselves in something of a crisis of relativity. On one hand, anti-doping  
618 policies mount a moral crusade against chemical performance enhancement, condemning it as  
619 a serious ethical breach. On the other hand, numerous non-chemical doping practices, which  
620 align with the prevailing 'win-at-all-costs' ethos of elite sport, are systematically ignored or  
621 downplayed as routine elements of competitive practice. For us, this ethical contradiction  
622 revokes any claims for moral ascendance from bodies like WADA and positions anti-doping  
623 as just another example of anti-policy syndrome (Kuldova, 2022), shorn from its supposed  
624 foundation of the spirit of sport.

## 625 Concluding thoughts: Is it time to think institutionally 626 about doping?

627

628 This paper has sought to answer the question: *why is the current anti-doping framework*  
629 *incapable of addressing non-chemical doping in the same way that it regulates the ingestion*

630 *of prohibited chemical substances?* We have argued that the crux of the answer is the  
631 fundamental misalignment of anti-doping's anti-policy status with its Aristotelian ethical ideal  
632 of the spirit of sport. We hope to have made a convincing case for anti-doping being a strident  
633 example of anti-policy, as conceived by Walters (2008), due to its static, compliance-centred  
634 negative ethical position. A position which is incapable of 'looking forward' (Gleaves et al.,  
635 2014) and therefore ill-equipped to apply the ideal of the spirit of sport, upon which it  
636 supposedly rests. To borrow the words of Dimeo (2016: 108-109), we therefore concur that  
637 '[e]ven though WADA have provided a rigorous, well-resourced, inter-connected policy  
638 environment, and built up a lot of support from governments and the media, they have not  
639 brought us much closer to the vision of clean sport'.

640

641 The Ryan vs. Rod controversy serves as a microcosm of a far broader ethical conversation in  
642 elite sport. The debate between chemical and non-chemical performance enhancement  
643 techniques exposes the internal inconsistencies of the current anti-doping anti-policy  
644 framework and exemplifies the stultifying effect that such governance and compliance systems  
645 have on moral discourse in sport (Kuldova, 2022). WADA's inflexible position – represented  
646 by Rod's unambiguous 'doped vs non-doped' argument - speaks to how anti-doping, in its  
647 current form, is complicit in perpetuating what we have termed the true spirit of sport. In line  
648 with Kuldova's diagnosis of anti-policy syndrome then, WADA's protocols and remit satisfy  
649 the moral obligation to act and appease the public's concerns, whilst offering a deontological  
650 negative form of ethics which precludes the application of the spirit of sport as an ethical ideal.

651 So how do we move beyond the current anti-policy landscape of anti-doping and unshackle  
652 ourselves from the negative ethical conversation that omits the wider picture of non-chemical  
653 doping? And what exactly does ethical sport look like if it is not merely the absence of chemical  
654 doping? Though we certainly do not claim to have the answer, it is here that we can return to

655 Heclo's (2008) call to 'think institutionally'. At the outset of Heclo's work, he presciently  
656 describes two world-class athletes, whom he christens Barry and Cal, who arguably embody  
657 how contemporary elite athletes currently conceive of their profession under an anti-policy  
658 anti-doping system, compared to how they might understand their role according to an  
659 Aristotelian spirit of sport ideal. Barry abides by the rules of the game, but is not moved by the  
660 game's spirit or ethos. Cal, on the other hand, exhibits a deep respect for the game beyond  
661 merely the rules and, arguably, represents the amateur idealism upon which the Olympic  
662 Games are built (Dimeo, 2016). Heclo (2008: 1-2, italics added) explains:

663 'Barry is "into" succeeding in his athletic career, and Cal is "into" succeeding in the  
664 game [...] For Barry, the game is a setting in which his athletic prowess is exercised  
665 and his accomplishments are recorded. For Cal, the game is that whole rich tradition of  
666 people and events that defines his appropriate performance. *Where Barry sees a set of*  
667 *rules, Cal sees an ethos*'.

668 This differentiation embodies the competing ethical frameworks that we have argued make up  
669 anti-doping policy. Barry's viewpoint encapsulates many athletes' understandings of WADA  
670 and other regulators as compliance organisations, who provide 'rules' (detailing which  
671 compound is banned and which is not) but offer no conception of good ethical practice. It is  
672 the Barrys of the sporting world who commit wholeheartedly to what we have called the true  
673 spirit of sport, cynically seeking advantage and one-upmanship within the current rules.  
674 Conversely, Cal's appreciation and respect for the sport and 'commitment to the entire social  
675 practice of the game' (Heclo, 2008: 4) illustrate what an anti-doping system might look like if  
676 athletes competed with a true appreciation with the spirit of sport and thought institutionally.  
677 Heclo terms this a 'respect-in-depth' and we can draw parallels to athletes who envisage their  
678 sport as a craft (see Gibbs et al., 2022), showing an appreciation to the internal and historical  
679 worth of the game. Applying this to the Ryan versus Rod debacle then, the latter's protestations

680 demonstrate an unwillingness to think institutionally and a commitment to the rigid anti-policy  
681 ethos that pervades doping discourse in sport and beyond.

682 We therefore speculatively propose that a truly effective system of arbitrating against the raft  
683 of non-chemical doping practices should apply an Aristotelian lens and place the spirit of sport  
684 ideal at the centre of a more holistic system that is not bound by the anti-policy fundamentals  
685 of anti-doping. This system ought to be premised on positive notions of fairness and equity,  
686 rather than a negative compliance-based set of inflexible rules. This way, one-upmanship like  
687 Nicky Rod's greasing and spinal cord injured athletes' 'boosting' can be understood within a  
688 coherent ethical framework and the siloed dualism of doped versus not doped can be overcome.  
689 Of course, this proposition relies not just upon a shift in athletes' mindsets, but also those of  
690 sports club officials, owners, national governing bodies, and many more actors. We are not  
691 blind to the practical challenges involved in such a realignment. Given the distrust and cynicism  
692 that many feel towards governing institutions in contemporary life (Hecló, 2008; Raymen,  
693 2024) as well as the cynical and hypercompetitive culture that pervades the highly lucrative  
694 global elite sports industry, we acknowledge that the course of action we propose is highly  
695 ambitious. However, as Hecló (2008) makes clear, deep down we all remain wedded to the  
696 value of institutions and the notion of collective ethics despite the prevailing cynicism within  
697 post-modernity. As such, we must be strident in opposing the superficially unopposable lure of  
698 anti-policy and pushing for an ethical system that is capable of truly arbitrating the relative  
699 morality of a panoply of advantage-seeking practices. Ultimately, we advocate for an elite  
700 sports industry which is committed to institutional thinking, valuing the Olympic idealism of  
701 the spirit of sport and respecting the telos of the games that athletes play and spectators adore.

702 We hope that this original contribution to the anti-doping discourse inspires some pause for  
703 thought and drives the debate from its current anti-policy stagnation to a more holistic  
704 understanding, underpinned by a commitment to thinking, acting, and arbitrating institutionally

705 (Heclo, 2008). After all, this is only the beginning of the journey *down the greasy slope* towards  
706 a true application of the spirit of sport.

## 707                   References

- 708    Andreato, L. V., Lara, F. J. D., Andrade, A., & Branco, B. H. M. (2017). Physical and  
709    physiological profiles of Brazilian jiu-jitsu athletes: a systematic review. *Sports Medicine-  
710    Open*, 3, 1-17.
- 711    Andrews, D. (2016). Sport, spectacle and the politics of late capitalism: articulating the  
712    neoliberal order. In: A. Bairner, J. Kelly and J. Woo Lee, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Sport  
713    and Politics*. London: Routledge, pp.225–237.
- 714    Aubel, O., & Ohl, F. (2014). An alternative approach to the prevention of doping in cycling.  
715    *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 25(6), 1094-1102.  
716    <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2014.08.010>
- 717    BBC (2009). Fina extends swimsuit regulations. Retrieved from:  
718    [http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/olympic\\_games/7944084.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/olympic_games/7944084.stm).
- 719    Bishop, S. H., La Bounty, P., & Devlin, M. (2013). Mixed martial arts: a comprehensive  
720    review. *Journal of Sport and Human Performance*, 1(1).
- 721    Blomqvist Mickelsson, T. (2020). Modern unexplored martial arts—what can mixed martial  
722    arts and Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu do for youth development? *European Journal of Sport Science*,  
723    20(3), 386-393.
- 724    Bradley, K. (2023). Nick Rodriguez denies greasing, as allegations with ex-teammate Gordon  
725    Ryan get ugly. Bloody Elbow. Retrieved from [https://bloodyelbow.com/2023/02/14/nick-  
726    rodriguez-denies-greasing-as-allegations-with-ex-teammate-gordon-ryan-get-ugly/](https://bloodyelbow.com/2023/02/14/nick-rodriguez-denies-greasing-as-allegations-with-ex-teammate-gordon-ryan-get-ugly/)
- 727    Brannigan, M.C. (2012). Introduction: Telos, Culture, and Enhancement Technologies.  
728    *Health Care Analysis*, 20(4), pp.319–327. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10728-012-0223-2>.
- 729    Carrington, B. and McDonald, I. (2008). *Marxism, Cultural Studies and Sport*. Abingdon:  
730    New York.
- 731    Chegeni, R., Pallesen, S., McVeigh, J., & Sagoe, D. (2021). Anabolic-androgenic steroid  
732    administration increases self-reported aggression in healthy males: a systematic review and  
733    meta-analysis of experimental studies. *Psychopharmacology*, 238(7), 1911-1922.
- 734    Christiansen, A. V. (2011). Bodily violations: testing citizens training recreationally in gyms.  
735    In M. McNamee and V. Møller, eds., *Doping and anti-doping policy in sport*. London:  
736    Routledge, pp. 126-141.

- 737 Cohen-Almagor, R. (2017). On the philosophical foundations of medical ethics: Aristotle,  
738 Kant, JS Mill and Rawls. *Ethics, Medicine and Public Health*, 3(4), pp.436–444.  
739 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jemep.2017.09.009>.
- 740 Coomber, R. (1999). Controlling drugs in sport: contradictions and complexity. In South, N.  
741 (Ed). *Drugs-Cultures, Controls & Everyday Life* (pp.103-122). London, Thousand Oaks.
- 742 Coomber, R. (2014). How social fear of drugs in the non-sporting world creates a framework  
743 for doping policy in the sporting world. *International Journal of Sport Policy and*  
744 *Politics*, 6(2), 171-193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2012.756824>
- 745 Cornelissen, S. (2010). The Geopolitics of Global Aspiration: Sport Mega-events and  
746 Emerging Powers. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27(16-18), pp.3008–  
747 3025. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2010.508306>.
- 748 Dimeo, P. (2016). The myth of clean sport and its unintended consequences. *Performance*  
749 *Enhancement & Health*, 4(3-4), pp.103–110. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2016.04.001>.
- 750 Dyer, B. (2020). A Pragmatic Approach to Resolving Technological Unfairness: The Case of  
751 Nike’s Vaporfly and Alphafly Running Footwear. *Sports Medicine - Open*, 6(1).  
752 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1186/s40798-020-00250-1>.
- 753 Fink, J., Schoenfeld, B. J., Hackney, A. C., Matsumoto, M., Maekawa, T., Nakazato, K., &  
754 Horie, S. (2019). Anabolic-androgenic steroids: procurement and administration practices of  
755 doping athletes. *The Physician and Sports medicine*, 47(1), 10-14.  
756 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00913847.2018.1526626>
- 757 Fischer, E. (2023). The IBJJF has announced that starting on June 1st, 2023 they will no  
758 longer be testing their competitors. JiuJitsuTimes. Retrieved from  
759 [https://jiujitsutimes.com/the-ibjjf-has-announced-that-starting-on-june-1st-2023-they-will-no-](https://jiujitsutimes.com/the-ibjjf-has-announced-that-starting-on-june-1st-2023-they-will-no-longer-be-testing-their-competitors/)  
760 [longer-be-testing-their-competitors/](https://jiujitsutimes.com/the-ibjjf-has-announced-that-starting-on-june-1st-2023-they-will-no-longer-be-testing-their-competitors/)
- 761 Geeraets, V. (2017). Ideology, Doping and the Spirit of Sport. *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*,  
762 12(3), pp.255–271. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/17511321.2017.1351483>.
- 763 Gibbs, N. (2023). *The Muscle Trade: The Use and Supply of Image and Performance*  
764 *Enhancing Drugs*. Bristol: Bristol University Press.
- 765 Gibbs, N., Salinas, M. and Turnock, L. (2022). Post-industrial masculinities and gym culture:  
766 Graft, craft, and fraternity. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 73(1).  
767 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12921>.
- 768 Gleaves, J., Llewellyn, M.P. and Lehrbach, T. (2014). Before the rules are written: navigating  
769 moral ambiguity in performance enhancement. *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*, 8(1), pp.85–99.  
770 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/17511321.2014.908410>.
- 771 Grix, J. and Houlihan, B. (2013). Sports Mega-Events as Part of a Nation’s Soft Power  
772 Strategy: The Cases of Germany (2006) and the UK (2012). *The British Journal of Politics*  
773 *and International Relations*, 16(4), pp.572–596. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-](https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.12017)  
774 [856X.12017](https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.12017).

775 Havnes, I. A., Jørstad, M. L., McVeigh, J., Van Hout, M. C., & Bjørnebekk, A. (2020). The  
776 anabolic androgenic steroid treatment gap: a national study of substance use disorder  
777 treatment. *Substance Abuse: Research and Treatment*, 14, 1178221820904150.  
778 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1178221820904150>

779 Hecló, H. (2013). *On thinking institutionally*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

780 Henne, K., Koh, B. and McDermott, V. (2013). Coherence of drug policy in sports: Illicit  
781 inclusions and illegal inconsistencies. *Performance Enhancement & Health*, 2(2), pp.48–55.  
782 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2013.05.003>.

783 Hollyhock, M. (1969). The application of drugs to modify human performance.

784 Holt, R.I.G., Erotokritou-Mulligan, I. and Sönksen, P.H. (2009). The history of doping and  
785 growth hormone abuse in sport. *Growth Hormone & IGF Research*, 19(4), pp.320–326.  
786 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ghir.2009.04.009>.

787 Hunt, T.M., Dimeo, P. and Jedlicka, S.R. (2012). The historical roots of today's problems: A  
788 critical appraisal of the international anti-doping movement. *Performance Enhancement &*  
789 *Health*, 1(2), pp.55–60. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2012.05.001>.

790 International Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu Federation.(2022) Anti-doping. Retrieved from  
791 <https://ibjjf.com/anti-doping/> April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2023.

792 Iorwerth, H., Tomkins, P. and Riley, G. (2017). Financial Doping in the English Premier  
793 League. *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*, 12(3), pp.272–291.  
794 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/17511321.2017.1351484>.

795 Johnston, A. (2004). The Cynic's Fetish: Slavoj Žižek and the Dynamics of Belief.  
796 *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, 9(3), pp.259–283.  
797 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.pcs.2100014>.

798 Kambhampati, A., & Star, S. (2021). Playing true? A critique of the 2021 WADA Code. *The*  
799 *International Sports Law Journal*, 21(4), 223-242. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s40318-021-](https://doi.org/10.1007/s40318-021-00193-z)  
800 00193-z

801 King, B. (2022). Nicky Rod fires back at Gordon Ryan's greasing claims with PED  
802 accusations. Calf Kicker. Retrieved from [https://calfkicker.com/nicky-rod-fires-back-at-](https://calfkicker.com/nicky-rod-fires-back-at-gordon-ryans-greasing-claims-with-ped-accusations/)  
803 [gordon-ryans-greasing-claims-with-ped-accusations/](https://calfkicker.com/nicky-rod-fires-back-at-gordon-ryans-greasing-claims-with-ped-accusations/)

804 Kotzé, J. and Antonopoulos, G.A. (2019). Boosting bodily capital: Maintaining masculinity,  
805 aesthetic pleasure and instrumental utility through the consumption of steroids. *Journal of*  
806 *Consumer Culture*, 21(3), p.683-700. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540519846196>.

807 Krishna, A. and Haglund, E. (2008). Why Do Some Countries Win More Olympic Medals?  
808 Lessons for Social Mobility and Poverty Reduction. *Economic and Political Weekly*, [online]  
809 43(28), pp.143–151. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40277720>.

810 Kuldova, T. (2022). *Compliance-Industrial Complex: The Operating System of a Pre-Crime*  
811 *Society*. New York: Springer Link.

812 Lemos, J. (2007). Foot and Aristotle on Virtues and Flourishing. *Philosophia*, 35(1), pp.43–  
813 62. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11406-007-9049-9>.



- 814 Loland, S. and Hoppeler, H. (2012). Justifying anti-doping: The fair opportunity principle  
815 and the biology of performance enhancement. *European Journal of Sport Science*, 12(4),  
816 pp.347–353. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/17461391.2011.566374>.
- 817 MacIntyre, A. (2002). *A Short History of Ethics*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- 818 MacIntyre, A. (2011) *After Virtue*. London: Bloomsbury.
- 819 McNamee, M. (2012). Lance Armstrong, anti doping policy, and the need for ethical  
820 commentary by philosophers of sport. *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*, 6(3), pp.305–307.  
821 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/17511321.2012.708252>.
- 822 Meehan, J. (2022). Grappling with the Past & Future of Steroids and PEDs in BJJ. JiuJitsu  
823 Legacy. Retrieved from <https://jiujitsulegacy.com/health/steroids-and-peds-in-bjj/>
- 824 Mickelsson Blomqvist, T. (2021). Brazilian jiu-jitsu as social and psychological therapy: a  
825 systematic review. *Journal of Physical Education and Sport*, 21(3), 1544-1552.
- 826 Møller, V. (2016). The road to hell is paved with good intentions—A critical evaluation of  
827 WADA’s anti-doping campaign. *Performance Enhancement & Health*, 4(3-4), pp.111–115.  
828 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2016.05.001>.  
829
- 830 Morgan, T. (2024). *Manchester City’s relegation odds slashed to 25-1*. The Telegraph.  
831 [online] 22 May. Available at: [https://www.telegraph.co.uk/football/2024/05/22/manchester-](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/football/2024/05/22/manchester-city-relegation-odds-115-charges-premier-league/)  
832 [city-relegation-odds-115-charges-premier-league/](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/football/2024/05/22/manchester-city-relegation-odds-115-charges-premier-league/) [Accessed 23 May 2024].
- 833 Mottram, D. R. (1999). Banned drugs in sport: does the International Olympic Committee  
834 (IOC) list need updating? *Sports Medicine*, 27, 1-10.
- 835 O’Connor, L.M. and Vozenilek, J.A. (2011). Is It the Athlete or the Equipment? An Analysis  
836 of the Top Swim Performances from 1990 to 2010. *Journal of Strength and Conditioning*  
837 *Research*, 25(12), pp.3239–3241. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1519/jsc.0b013e3182392c5f>.
- 838 Paoli, L. and Donati, A. (2014). *The sports doping market : understanding supply and*  
839 *demand, and the challenges of their control*. New York: Springer.
- 840 Parker, L.S. (2012). In Sport and Social Justice, Is Genetic Enhancement a Game Changer?  
841 *Health Care Analysis*, 20(4), pp.328–346. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10728-012-0226-z>.
- 842 Petrisor, B. A., Del Fabbro, G., Madden, K., Khan, M., Joslin, J., & Bhandari, M. (2019).  
843 Injury in Brazilian jiu-jitsu training. *Sports Health*, 11(5), 432-439.
- 844 Piatkowski, T., Gibbs, N., & Dunn, M. (2023). “I feel like I'm walking the line: one side it's  
845 manageable, the other side it's f\*\*king prison”: Exploring the dual nature of user-  
846 manufacturers of image and performance enhancing drugs. *Deviant Behaviour*. 45(7), 929-  
847 946. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2023.2250896>
- 848 Pitsch, W. and Gleaves, J. (2020). If You’re Not First, You’re Last: Are the Empirical  
849 Premises Correct in the Ethics of Anti-Doping? *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*, pp.495-506.  
850 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/17511321.2020.1818277>.

- 851 Rawnsley, G. D. (2024). Soft Power in the Digital Space. In C. Bjola and I. Manor, eds., *The*  
852 *Oxford Handbook of Digital Diplomacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.63-79.
- 853 Raymen, T. (2023). *The Enigma of Social Harm*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- 854 Raymen, T. (2024). Ethics Without Agents: Corruption, Financial Crime, and the Interpassive  
855 ‘Ethics’ of Compliance. In: T. Kuldova, J. Østbø and C. Shore , eds., *Compliance, Defiance,*  
856 *and Dirty Luxury: New Perspectives on Anti-Corruption in Elite Contexts*. London: Palgrave  
857 Macmillan.
- 858 Richardson, A. (2024). The Enhanced Games or Enhancing Harm? *Performance*  
859 *enhancement & health*, pp.100285–100285. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2024.100285>.
- 860 Ritchie, I. (2013). The construction of a policy: The World Anti-Doping Code’s ‘spirit of  
861 sport’ clause. *Performance Enhancement & Health*, 2(4), pp.194–200.  
862 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2014.10.002>.
- 863 Ritchie, I. (2015). Pierre de Coubertin, Doped ‘Amateurs’ and the ‘Spirit of Sport’: The Role  
864 of Mythology in Olympic Anti-Doping Policies. In: J. Gleaves and T. Hunt, eds., *A Global*  
865 *History of Doping in Sport: Drugs, Policy, and Politics*. London: Routledge, pp.6–24.
- 866 Rollo, I. (2023). Joe Rogan Discusses PEDs And The Success Of Gordon Ryan: ‘That’s A  
867 Factor’. Jits Magazine. Retrieved from [https://jitsmagazine.com/joe-rogan-discusses-peds-](https://jitsmagazine.com/joe-rogan-discusses-peds-and-the-success-of-gordon-ryan-thats-a-factor/)  
868 [and-the-success-of-gordon-ryan-thats-a-factor/](https://jitsmagazine.com/joe-rogan-discusses-peds-and-the-success-of-gordon-ryan-thats-a-factor/)
- 869 Savulescu, J., Foddy, B. and Clayton, M. (2004). Why we should allow performance  
870 enhancing drugs in sport. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, [online] 38(6), pp.666–670.  
871 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1136/bjism.2003.005249>.
- 872 Scarth, M., Havnes, I. A., Jørstad, M. L., McVeigh, J., Van Hout, M. C., Westlye, L. T.,  
873 Torgersen, S., & Bjørnebekk, A. (2022). Severity of anabolic steroid dependence, executive  
874 function, and personality traits in substance use disorder patients in Norway. *Drug and*  
875 *Alcohol Dependence*, 231, 109275.
- 876 Schubert, M. and Könecke, T. (2014). ‘Classical’ doping, financial doping and beyond:  
877 UEFA’s financial fair play as a policy of anti-doping. *International Journal of Sport Policy*  
878 *and Politics*, 7(1), pp.1–24. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2013.854824>.
- 879 Sparkes, A.C. and Brighton, J. (2019). Autonomic dysreflexia and boosting in disability  
880 sport: exploring the subjective meanings, management strategies, moral justifications, and  
881 perceptions of risk among male, spinal cord injured, wheelchair athletes. *Qualitative*  
882 *Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, pp.1–17.  
883 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676x.2019.1623298>.
- 884 Stan, S. V. (2019). Strategic management in sports. The rise of MMA around the world—The  
885 evolution of the UFC. *Ovidius University Annals, Economic Sciences Series*, 19(1), 540-545.
- 886 Tamburrini, C. (2006). Are Doping Sanctions Justified? A Moral Relativistic View. *Sport in*  
887 *Society*, 9(2), pp.199–211. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430500491264>.
- 888 Tang, A. (2023). 5 BJJ Black Belts Face 3-Year IBJJF Suspension for Violating USADA  
889 Anti-Doping Rules. JiuJitsu Times. Retrieved from <https://jiujitsutimes.com/5-bjj-black->

890 [belts-face-3-year-ibjif-suspension-for-violating-usada-anti-doping-](#)  
891 [rules/#:~:text=Five%20well-known%20jiu-](#)  
892 [jitsu%20black%20belts%20%E2%80%94%20Igor%20Feliz%2C,a%20USADA%20press%2](#)  
893 [0release%20published%20on%20March%208](#)

894 Turnock, L. and Gibbs, N. (2023). Click, click, buy: The market for novel synthetic peptide  
895 hormones on mainstream e-commerce platforms in the UK. *Performance Enhancement &*  
896 *Health*, p.100251. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2023.100251>.

897 van Amsterdam, J., Opperhuizen, A., & Hartgens, F. (2010). Adverse health effects of  
898 anabolic–androgenic steroids. *Regulatory Toxicology and Pharmacology*, 57(1), 117-123.

899 van de Ven, K. (2016). ‘Blurred lines’: Anti-doping, national policies, and the performance  
900 and image enhancing drug (PIED) market in Belgium and The Netherlands. *Performance*  
901 *Enhancement & Health*, 4(3-4), pp.94–102. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2016.03.003>.

902 van de Ven, K. and Mulrooney, K. (2014). Anti-Doping ‘On Steroids’: Bigger, Stronger and  
903 Faster. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2581558>.

904 WADA (2017). *WADA Ethics Panel: Guiding Values in Sport and Anti-Doping*. [online]  
905 Available at: [https://www.wada-](https://www.wada-ama.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/wada_ethicspanel_setofnorms_oct2017_en.pdf)  
906 [ama.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/wada\\_ethicspanel\\_setofnorms\\_oct2017\\_en.pdf](https://www.wada-ama.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/wada_ethicspanel_setofnorms_oct2017_en.pdf).

907 Waddington, I., Christiansen, A.V., Gleaves, J., Hoberman, J. and Møller, V. (2013).  
908 Recreational drug use and sport: Time for a WADA rethink? *Performance Enhancement &*  
909 *Health*, 2(2), pp.41–47. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2013.04.003>.

910 Walters, W. (2008). Editor’s Introduction: Anti-policy and anti-politics. *European Journal of*  
911 *Cultural Studies*, 11(3), pp.267–288. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549408091844>.

912 Wendling, A. (2023). Gordon Ryan’s Instagram Story: greasing in Jiu Jitsu | Felipe Pena  
913 accuses Nicky Rod at WNO. Retrieved from [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YK5-qKg9-](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YK5-qKg9-7w)  
914 [7w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YK5-qKg9-7w)

915 Winlow, S. and Hall, S. (2011). What is an ‘Ethics Committee’?: Academic Governance in  
916 an Epoch of Belief and Incredulity. *British Journal of Criminology*, 52(2), pp.400–416.  
917 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azr082>.

918 World Anti-Doping Agency (2023). *WORLD ANTI-DOPING CODE INTERNATIONAL*  
919 *STANDARD PROHIBITED LIST 2023*. [online] Available at: [https://www.wada-](https://www.wada-ama.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/2023list_en_final_9_september_2022.pdf)  
920 [ama.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/2023list\\_en\\_final\\_9\\_september\\_2022.pdf](https://www.wada-ama.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/2023list_en_final_9_september_2022.pdf).

921 Wright, M. and Hirotsu, N. (2003). The professional foul in football: Tactics and deterrents.  
922 *Journal of the Operational Research Society*, 54(3), pp.213–221.  
923 doi:<https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.jors.2601506>.

924 Zwierzchowski A, Gawel E. (2021) Performance enhancement and doping in adaptive sports:  
925 legal framework within the international paralympic committee. In: Zwierzchowska A,  
926 Sobiecka J, Plinta R, Eds. *Sports for People with Disabilities: Theory and Practice Health*  
927 *and Social Dimension of Training Sports of People with Disabilities*. Katowice, Poland:  
928 Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego w Katowicach.