IKK
One-year-master in Practical Philosophy

Cyborg athletes
- A European history of gender, technology and virtue in sports

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Summary in English
This essay takes its start in a discussion on gender, sports and cyborgs by Swedish philosopher Kutte Jönsson in his book *Idrottsfilosofiska introduktioner*. I argue that he is wrong in arguing for agnosticism as to what sport is. Instead I give an historic account of what sport is and what values is inherent in our modern conception of sport. According to my account there are at least four distinct European traditions of sport. These are the Greek, Roman, Nordic and British traditions and each have their own history and their own set of values. Based on these traditions and what they have in common I suggest the following definition: *sport is a public display of mental and physical discipline corresponding to socially relevant values and includes an element of competition.*

I then discuss how this definition of sports and the many different, and sometimes conflicting, values inherent in our modern conception of sports, effect the line of reasoning suggested by Jönsson. I conclude that they strengthen his position and that gender separation should in sports be abolished. I have found that one central value within the field of sport, expression of self, is especially important. I also argue that the same arguments pose a strong challenge for arguments against doping and other technological enhancements in sports.

Sammanfattning på svenska

I uppsatsen diskuterar jag sedan hur denna definition och framför allt de många olika, ofta konkurrierande, värden som finns nedärvda i begreppet sport påverkar Jönssons diskussion. Jag kommer fram till att de stärker hans argumentation och att vi bör överge könsseparation inom idrottsvärlden. Av de värden jag har funnit inom de olika idrottstraditionerna är ett särskilt viktigt, nämligen värdet av att atleterna kan uttrycka sig själva genom sitt idrottsutövande. Jag argumenterar även för att samma resonemang utgör en allvarlig utmaning för de som vill att doping och andra tekniska förstärkningar av kroppen ska vara förbjudna i sportliga sammanhang.
Preface

This essay would of course not have been possible without the supervision of Henrik Lerner or the intellectual support and encouragement of my fellow students at IKK and the staff at CTE who was kind enough to let me join their seminars. But there are three people that deserve a special mentioning here. So a special thanks to my brother Daniel Björksaga, who woke up my interest in philosophy in the first place. To my sister Ester Andreasson at IEI who helped me understand and appreciate feminist thinking the way it deserves. Finally a huge thanks to my girlfriend Johanna Sundstén who not only put up with my eccentric ways during the writing process but also was the only person who volunteered to read the whole essay in it's entirety before presenting it at the seminar. Her feedback gave me the confidence to keep the essay in the personal style I had given it.

This final version of the essay is as good as it gets without rewriting it in the form of at least three different papers and/or in my native language, Swedish. I realize that the scope is perhaps a bit to large for a single paper, but I'm still very proud of the end result and if the reader learns nearly as much from reading this essay as I have from writing it will be worth every minute of writing it.

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**Background**

Sport is a common interest to all members of society. For professional athletes it is a matter of making a living. For the amateur it may be a matter of health as well as enjoyment. What kinds of sports are chosen in schools might affect the grades of students. There are other, more hidden, effects as well as sports are not value neutral. Different sports promote different values and abilities. It is not surprising to find that aggressiveness is more highly valued in sports with lots of physical contact, such as hockey or soccer, than in sports with less contact, like sailing or volleyball. It is also likely not a coincident that there are far more hooligan violence in connection with the two first than the two later. The values of the sport affect not only the players but the audience as well. By promoting a sport society also promotes the corresponding values, even more so since most western societies not only promote sports culturally but also funds it by tax money. The fact that sports are publicly funded is alone enough to argue that sport is a public matter and that the values it promotes therefore a public concern and should be a matter of public debate.

I will work from a form of virtue ethics in this paper. I cannot fully argue for the base of virtue ethics I argue from as it would be a paper, or book rather, in itself. I will only briefly mention the form of virtue ethics I will be using to avoid confusion about the terms when discussing virtue and ethics. I do believe that this paper is relevant even outside the specific form of virtue ethics I work with to avoid confusion about the terms when discussing virtue and ethics. I do believe that this paper is relevant even outside the specific form of virtue ethics I work with to avoid confusion about the terms when discussing virtue and ethics.

While studying philosophy of sports I came across an interesting line of reasoning regarding gender and sports. In *Idrottsfilosofiska introduktioner* (Introductions to philosophy of sports) Kutte Jönsson uses the last four chapters to discuss equality and gender in relations to sport. He argues that separating male and female athletes is becoming increasingly difficult due to a better understanding of biology and medicine. He makes an analogy with cyborgs here. The borderline between male and female are being blurred just like the borderline between human and machine has been. He refers here, of course, to Donna Haraway's ironic article *A cyborg manifesto* in which she attempts to create a mythology true to feminism. The cyborg-metaphor also highlights how technology and gender interconnects in the world of sports. In this context technology includes not only mechanical enhancements but also drugs/doping, surgery and even surveillance technology like different forms of drugs tests and even medical examinations. This field within philosophy of sport is what inspired me to choose the topic of this essay. I wish to continue on the line of thinking outlined by Jönsson but I have two major reservations regarding the basic outlook Jönsson has.

First of all he is outright critical to sports. I have a much more idealistic basic view on sports. I will argue that there are in fact some values inherent in sport and that these values in fact give us reason to abandon gender separatism, at least in some sports.
Secondly he argues that it is not possible to define sports, perhaps it is not even something we would want to do. I argue for quite the opposite, that we in fact have good knowledge of the historical roots of sports and the values connected to different traditions of sport. This is however a pluralistic account as at least four different accounts of sports is inherent in our present European conception of sport. In this essay I will argue that different values of English "sport", Nordic "idrott", Greek "athlein" and it’s subdivision of Roman circus entertainment are inherent in our present conception of sports. These values may at times be conflicting and my discussion will focus largely on the consequences of this in regards to gender separation.

Although I differ from Jönsson on these accounts I believe that it is possible to use Jönsson's chapters on equality, gender and the futures of sports as a foundation for an idealistic account of the future of sports, especially when it comes to gender issues.

**Purpose and method**

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the future of sports, in regards to gender and technology that Jönsson starts out on. I will to do so from a background of virtue ethics and argue for the reintegration of the concepts of virtues and sports. The purpose of this thesis can therefore be summed up as answering the question of how technology, sports, gender and virtue interact.

I will first give a historical background of European sport based on the four major traditions I have encountered while studying the subject. I do this as it is necessary to the proper understanding of sport as a pluralist concept. I will also show what the common features of sport between the different traditions are.

I then give an account of Jönsson's view on sports, gender, justice and equality. I will also show how his position fits well with my pluralist account of sports and that his theory does not need to be agnostic to what sport is. I will create and argue for a stronger version of his line of reasoning based on the nature of sports as it is seen through history.

Then I will describe the “balance of excellences argument” as it is put forward by Devine in *Doping is a threat to sporting excellence* (2010). This argument poses a possible challenge for my account but I will show how this can be resolved while maintaining both standpoints. I will also argue that modern British sport culture have gained undue influence over how we normally discuss sport.

I will then end this essay by making a collected account of the topics discussed and state my view on how gender and sports should be handled and what general consequences this has as far as sport philosophy is concerned.

The traditions described in this essay are all European perspectives on sport. I believe that it is very likely more elements are to be found in other cultures, especially in Asian traditions. My experience with martial arts such as the Japanese Aikido and the Chinese Tai-Chi Chuan says that the Zen Buddhist and Taoist traditions has created sports that are physically demanding and a pleasant pastime but without any real element of competitions and indeed very few elements of comparing physical power at all. These "inner forms" of martial arts, as they are
sometimes called, are cousins of the more militaristic and competitive Jiu-jitsu and Wushu (or Kung-Fu, better known in the west). So there cannot be made clear distinctions between eastern and western conceptions of sport, even if there are aspects in some Asian sports that seem to be fundamentally different from western sports.

It is of course possible; perhaps even likely, that there are further different views of sport in other parts of the world. Egypt, the first superpower on the African continent, had its own sports traditions that have likely affected African sport. (p.35-38) The Persians where the first to play sports with a ball and stick in their version of horse pole and have influenced not only oriental sports but also the sport practices of other many other cultures. (p.31-34) It is an interesting subject in its own right but I will have to limit myself. When I write about sports here I will limit myself to the European tradition. In that term I include North America as well as their culture of sports came from Europe along with the European migrants. I know that this approach is Eurocentric, for which it could be rightly criticized. At the same time I feel that my approach to sports actually broadens the debate as compared to the contemporary discourse by pointing out that our conception of sport is a pluralist one.

Disposition

In my first chapter I will give a brief introduction to philosophy of sports as I understand it. I will discuss the word sports and argue for a pluralistic understanding. Instead of trying to find a one-size-fits-all definition of sports I acknowledge that there are in fact several distinct sports traditions, all with their own history and set of values. I will not attempt to make a complete analysis of the term sports but I do strive to make it more inclusive. There is a large focus in most modern debate on the competing aspects of athletic tradition and modern English concepts of sports. I would like to claim that this view is not only limiting but also misleading. I will keep my aim on European traditions. This chapter could also be read as A European history of sports.

In my second chapter I will discuss how gender and sports are handled in the contemporary debate within the field of philosophy of sports. This is the central part of my thesis. This chapter will largely be based on the discussion that Kutte Jönsson starts in Idrottsfilosofiska introduktioner. My main focus will be on arguments concerning gender separation in sports. My ambition is to identify and discuss the main arguments in the debate and formulate the strongest possible argument against gender separation.

The arguments that I have found in Jönsson's work and would like to discuss are:

1. The justice and equality argument
2. The queerness argument
3. The cyborg argument

I will also write about a possible counter argument that I call The virtue or Balance of excellences argument and see if how it can be handled that is inspired by the article by Devine mentioned earlier. This chapter could also be described as being about contemporary sport. To this I would also like to add an argument of my own that I call The anti-British-cultural-imperialism argument. It is not a good stand-alone-argument but rather adds further weight to other arguments against gender separation in sports.
In my third chapter I will argue for the end of gender separation in sports. I will also deal with what the plausible consequences for sports and society are if I follow my line of reasoning. I will try to show how this is possible within the framework of traditional sports culture, if one allows oneself to look outside the prevailing modern British paradigm. This chapter may also be described as the possible future of sports.

My fourth and final chapter will sum up the debate and clearly state my conclusions. I will be clearly normative in my approach. In my opinion it is all too common within sports philosophy to have what could be called a hidden normativity. That is that the authors fail to understand that their own values shape the presentation of the subject without ever being clearly stated. I can, as in the case of Jönsson, be quite apparent for those who are familiar with the jargon of his political subgroup, and no harm is done. It is perhaps worse in the case of Devine who seem to be unaware of the conservative values underlying his arguments. None of these authors are deliberately deceiving the reader. They are trying to contain their opinions but fail to do so, and it would have been better had they openly confessed fully their opinions.

Chapter 1 - My definition of sport

Kutte Jönsson is skeptical to if there is any one definition that captures all of what is commonly seen as sports. I would like to argue that there are at least four major sports traditions only within European history. Each has its own structures of values attached to them. These traditions are Greek athletics, Roman circus entertainment, Nordic/Germanic idrott and British sport. I will not attempt a complete analysis if these but I do believe a brief historical account offers some suggestions to how to better understand what sport is about. I will start off with athletics, which I then subdivide in to the ancient Greek and the ancient roman sports practices. They are of course related but at the same time distinctly different. I will then continue with the sports, or idrott of the Nordic and Germanic people starting in early medieval times. Finally I will go on to describe the modern British sports tradition with its roots in late medieval times. Based on this I will argue that there are some common features to all these traditions and that it is possible to formulate a definition of sport. I will not capture all of everything in each traditions but it will capture what is the common core of the concept of sport. This is important to the discussion on sport because all authors have some idea about what sport is, or should be, when discussing it. If the word is not clearly defined, but used in a more general way, it is likely used in the same way as in common language. The common language usage of sports is, as I hope to show, very much based on the modern British tradition and because of this excessively narrow.

Before I carry on describing these traditions I would like to make a short note on what I mean by values and virtues in this paper. Virtue and excellence are two different translations of the same Greek word arête and are interchangeable. Since many people probably have very specific ideas about what constitute virtue it might at times be less confusing to talk about excellence when it comes to skills in a sport context as the connection to what is commonly regarded as ethics might be unclear.

I will be using sport in italic when referring to specifically to the British tradition and in plain text when using the word in a more general way.
I will be using the definition of virtue suggested by Christine Swanton in *Virtue ethics - a pluralist account* (2003)2. “A virtue is a good quality of character, more specifically a disposition to respond to, or acknowledge, items within its field or fields in an excellent or good enough way.” (Swanton, p.19) The “items” in that definition are what I call values in this paper. Ethics is within this tradition not to be understood as only explicit rules of behavior. Some philosophical traditions make a clear divide between morals and ethics, this outlook does not. Being moral, virtuous, in this ethical system is taking all relevant items in to account when acting and explicit rules of behavior might be one such item.

As I wrote earlier it is not the purpose of this paper to argue for this way of writing about virtue ethics, but since there are many different schools of ethics that use the same words I feel I have to clarify the way I use words like value, virtue and excellence. I will be using a pluralist account of virtue ethics. This means that I do not base my view on ethics on a single overarching goal, such as happiness, to which all values then relate. Instead there are many different values that are valued for different reasons. Football for example might be good for society as a whole as it teaches teamwork, it might be good for the players’ health to exercise regularly and it might be good for the audience, having a pleasant pastime and enjoying themselves. The corresponding values of football therefore could be teamwork, health and joy. Since these are things many people value, regardless of their usefulness, they are not merely instrumental for a higher goal or value, but valuable in themselves.

**Greek traditions - Athletics**

Much can, and has been, written about the concept of athleticism and its connection with virtue. This is not surprising as both Plato and Aristotle used athletes as examples to explain part of their views on virtue. Describing the relationship between virtue and sports in ancient Greece would be an essay in its own right, or a book of its own, such as Heather L. Reid’s *Athletics and philosophy in the ancient world*. In it she describes thoroughly the sports practices of ancient Rome as well as Greece. I cannot do her work justice here but there are two points that have become important to my understanding of sports which can be seen in this essay.

The first is the view on virtue/excellence within sports. The Greek sport is concerned with the development and display of *arête* which is virtue or excellence. Originally this concept what associated with the aristocrats but with time the success of commoners within sports came to challenges the view that virtue was reserved for the aristocrats. It came to be seen as a more common form of virtue or excellence. (Reid, p.2-3)

The second is the idea that the soul moves the body and that the movements of body display the state of the soul. The Greek did believe in a body/soul dichotomy but to them the *soma*, body, was unanimated and given life by the mind, *psyche*. The movements of the body came from the soul. Athletic training therefore was primarily the training of the soul. (Reid, p.5) When I write that this view has affected me I do not mean that I believe in a body/soul dichotomy but rather that I believe that sport expresses the soul, that is something fundamentally personal, of the athlete. It is not simply bodily movements, it goes much deeper.

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2Which has also been a huge inspiration for my general outlook on ethics and I suggest reading it if one desire a full argument on pluralist virtue ethics.
Ancient Greece was a generally misogynist society by modern standards but there are some accounts on women in Greek sport traditions. Women had no large space in the Greek public but there are some exceptions. It seems Spartan women did practice sports and would take part in summer and winter events aimed at producing brave soldiers. Plato admired the Spartan system of education believing that it would produce better members of society, and that women performing their duties better was of as much use to society as men performing theirs better. (Reid, p.64-66)

In a passage of *The Republic* Plato argues that women should be part of society’s military and intellectual ruling elite. He supports this by stating that a nation’s leaders are its watchdogs and that everybody knows a female dog has as much guardian instincts as a male. This is of course a clever way of saying that ability, not gender, is what should matter and that this is the case when choosing animals for a task, and that choosing humans should be made in the same manner. (Plato’s Republic, book five, p.451 section C and onwards)

Women in ancient Greece did also compete in footraces in connection to major sports events. Most of these footraces are believed to have been rites of passage for women, proving their physical strength in preparation of marriage. (Reid, p.65) In conclusion there were some room for women in Greek sport and some thinkers like Plato wanted that space to be expanded.

Aristotle’s however did not share Plato’s view on women. In his gymnasium there was no place for females. He based this on his theories about female biology, theories of which have since been proven false. Reid seems to want to take Aristotle in defense against the title of “paradigm misogynist”, which he is often given by feminists, by saying that it was a view typical of his time and that similar views are still held by many in spite of modern knowledge on male/female biology. (Reid, p.77)

Aristotle believed that the male and female souls where different and that female souls were the result of a failed conception. The male soul was the norm and a female soul was a mutilated male soul and therefore not capable of arête in the same extent as the male. Because, according to Aristotle, the soul shapes the body the inferior soul of women give them inferior bodies as well. Quite contrary to the belief of Plato that men and women have the same sort of soul. (Reid, p.78)

A description of Greek sports would not be complete without mentioning the Aristotelian ideal of the pentathlete. The pentathlon, or quinquerium, was, as the name suggest a competition in five different events. The original Greek pentathletes competed in running, long jumping, wrestling, javelin throwing and discus throwing. The pentathletes, like all other athletes, had to make an effort to train their bodies, their virtue and excellence. They have to rise above striving for pleasure and avoiding pain to excel as athletes. A good metaphor for what it takes to be truly virtuous in Aristotle’s opinion. At the same time they were not specialized in one single sport and there for could not let any one excellence take over but had to strive to achieve a proper balance of excellences. This striving for the mean between the excesses is a very good metaphor for Aristotle’s virtue ethics that is built up in much the same way. (p.73-75)

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3 This is likely based on abilities that was of use to the Greek infantry. Modern pentathletes compete in shooting, fencing, swimming, equestrianism and cross-country running, reflecting the needs of late 19th century infantry, following the thought behind the competition. Athletic pentathletes compete instead in a modified version of the old Greek events, following the form of the competition.
This view on sporting excellence as a balance of excellences is very much alive in modern sports debate. I will also be using a “balance of excellences”-argument later on in this essay. Before we carry on I just want to add a small note here about athletics in the English language as it is used in a very different meaning than the one described above. Athletics has like originated from the Greek verb *athlein*, meaning to compete for a prize. It comes in to use in English around the same time as sport but in the form of athlete (substantive), replacing the older "pleggman". The form "athletics" however is much younger, being an 18th century construction derived from athletic (adjective). This word has little to do with playfulness or amusing one self. It relates to fighting for a prize. (URL 1-3)

In some literature "athlein" is pointed out as the source of winning as the main focus in modern sports. On the background I have described above this seems unlikely. The focus on a clear single winner is indeed supported in Greek sports as its purpose is to find out who is the most virtuous. But it is not a question about winning at any price, not if it includes immoral behavior. In England, much later in history, the focus on having a clear single winner as well as having a higher level on predictability of outcome became more pronounced. The dichotomy some authors like to put up of the athletes focused on winning a price and the sportsman focused on fair play is simply false. The main difference is instead in the attitude towards predictable outcomes. The attitude of the Greeks that a runner slipping in cow dung was likely not in favor with the gods and therefore not the most virtuous among the participants is not acceptable to the modern sports enthusiast. This is seen in the example with negative reactions to the case of Steven Bradbury who in winter Olympics of 2002 won the men’s short track over 1000m. He always placed himself at the rear end of the race and passed his much faster opponents as they fell. This paid off and he won the gold medal. Some would argue he won not on his own merit as much as the mistakes of other athletes and their bad luck. (Jönsson, p.84)

Even if the athletes of ancient Greece did fight for a price there seem to have been a lot more to sports in their society. It is very likely that the British focus on predictable outcomes is related to the popularity in Britain of betting on sports event. The rules of the games where changed, perhaps, to make the outcome less effected by luck and therefore more suitable for betting purposes.

**Roman traditions – Circus entertainment**

In Rome there is a shift in sports. From being primarily for the athletes own virtuous development, for his own sake or for the sake of contributing more to society, the primary focus are now instead on the needs and wants of the audience and the roman government. Sport turns from being about personal development of the athletes into entertainment and displays of power of the organizer. (p.81) But perhaps not only entertainment. Reid argues that at least in three aspects the spectacles of the Roman circus could be seen as educations in virtue. I will take shortly mention these lessons here. They are those of epicurean wisdom, stoicism and cosmopolitanism. The epicureans would see the games as an opportunity to take part in the beauty of struggle and success, without having to risk upsetting themselves, suffering pain or creating unbalances in their own being. They would acknowledge and admire the beauty of the games from a safe distance, not letting it stir their emotions. (p.83-85) The gladiator facing possible death remaining indifferent was a role model for the epicurean as an example of the correct attitude to life and death. (p.85-87)
Another epicurean lesson from the spectacles where the sense of security and peace of mind that came from observing the wealth and power of roman society. Even with all its faults the roman empire upheld peace, security and social order. (p.87-88)

The stoics in a similar way regarded the gladiators as examples off accepting your external circumstances, whatever they may be, and facing death emotionless. Their idea was that we cannot choose our destiny, but we can choose to be virtuous in dealing with it. To some stoics it seemed that the gladiators that choose to remain virtuous and accept their destiny would also do better in the arena. (p.93-96)

The stoics as well had a disdain for physical training and the heavy eating related to building muscels. Seneca, for example, regarded it as silly as more weight on the body would only crush the spirit. The body should only be exercised as much as needed to keep it at good health, not more. (p.92)

The idea of being a citizen of the world, a cosmopolitan, was embraced by Marcus Aureliius. During his time as a roman emperor he used the circus spectacles as a way of unifying the different social groups of the great roman empire. Instead of competing for their home region or social groups contestants in the roman circus would compete for a faction, represented only by a color. (p.99-103) Quite similar to the way that the Greeks used the Olympic games as a pan-Hellenic event strengthening the ties between different city-states. Or how the modern Olympics are used as a symbol of peace and good international relations. In these forms of sports there is a cosmopolitan streak.

In Rome this focus seem to have changed to sports being there first and foremost for the sake of the arranging party and secondly for the spectators. The arranging party, the roman state, could display its power and cosmopolitan ideal. The spectator could learn to become a more virtuous person through watching the athletes struggle at the circus. Here sports becomes entertainment and education, but not performed for the sake of the athlete but for the sake of state and the audience. The athlete is used as a means for the goals of others.

**Athleticism and Christianity**

In the New Testament, written in an Greco-Roman context, there are references to boxing and running and in what way a good Christian are like a good athlete (able to withstand punishment without breaking and to hold on to virtue until the race is over). From first Corinthians chapter nine:

> The Need for Self-Discipline
>
> 24 Do you not know that in a race all the runners run, but only one gets the prize? Run in such a way as to get the prize. 25 Everyone who competes in the games goes into strict training. They do it to get a crown that will not last, but we do it to get a crown that will last forever. 26 Therefore I do not run like someone running aimlessly; I do not fight like a boxer beating the air. 27 No, I strike a blow to my body and make it my slave so that after I have preached to others, I myself will not be disqualified for the prize. (URL 4)

As we will see later this is relevant because Christianity is invoked as a source of motivation for the sports practices within the British sport tradition. The different sports traditions I am describing here have not existed separated from each other but are instead intertwined with each other in the course of history.
Nordic-Germanic tradition - “Idrott”

Much could be written about the Nordic word “idrott”. It comes from the Norse word *idrottir* meaning "skill" or often more specifically the skills suitable for a free man. Here in lays a normative aspect of what a free man should be like. (Enoksen 2004, p. 52-56) Given the duty of all free men to do violence on behalf of the courts or for family honor a lot of the traditional idrotts test martial skills and corresponding virtues such as courage and correct level of aggressiveness. (p.64-65 and p.82)

Today it is used in the Nordic countries as a synonym to sport which has been imported from the French and English language. However it has a different connotation, especially in two aspects. First of all it has historically signified some skills that are not physically demanding, such as designing ships, writing and reciting poetry as well as winning debates at the ting (court). Secondly it seems that no total winner was normally selected with in this tradition, instead people where paired up according to skill and a winner was selected in each match. Prices were normally not rewarded even if some athletes seem to have been sponsored by a chieftain that could afford it. It was seen as a sign of greatness for a chieftain to be able to support a large number of people playing at his estate. (p.85)

In some sources it is stated that among German tribes in early medieval times women did compete with men in sports. Importance was placed not on gender but on if a person was free or not. Historians explain this with the role free women played in war in northern Europe at the time. While not living as warriors or taking part in assaults they were expected to be able defend their homes while the males were absent on travels of war, trade and exploration. Free women therefore, much in the same matter as free men, had to be trained in martial skills and a warrior mindset. (Blom, Lindroth 1995, p.72)

While hardly a feminist society northern Europe during the pagan era had a high level of gender equality for its time. The role of women changes greatly for the worse with the regions conversion to Christianity. With it the legal status of women, as witnesses and heiresses for example, are diminished and they no longer play a military role.

The last great era of Germanic sports ideal starts during the late 18th century and over time results in the formation of different gymnastic schools. The elitist philanthropic school, the elementary gymnastic (spread through the Swiss public schools), the nationalistic German Turner gymnastics (ironically with French roots) and the Swedish Ling gymnastics (spread in British poorer schools as "the Swedish drill"). These schools of gymnastics focus on the athlete’s proper physical development and the usefulness of sports for society as a whole, especially in forming boys in to soldiers. (p.119, p.131, and p.145) I stress this point because it is quite contrary to the focus of British sports culture that focuses more on the spectator and the gambler, not as much the athlete himself or usefulness to society. (p.116)

Perhaps these German and Swedish schools of gymnastics should be even considered a sports culture in its own right. The idea that sports does not exist for its own sake but rather serve, or should serve, some higher social good seem to be very much alive in the contemporary debate. It is also interesting to note that it was within gymnastics that Swedish sport society had many of its first real female leaders. Under the leadership of women such as Elin Falk, Greta Adrian and Maja Carlquist, the gymnastic movement changed during the early 20th century from fragmented and predictable movement in to rhythmic gymnastics and later on even expressive gymnastic, where the gymnastic is more like dancing and an expression of
the athlete performing the movements. (p.266) To be fair to Ling he did mention that this "expression of self" was part of his gymnastic ideal but it would not be adopted by the public. It was first later when gymnastics started to be formed by female athletes that this more expressive form made itself noticed.

**English tradition – “Sport”**

The term sport comes from an Anglo-French word "disport" established in the 15th century meaning "to take pleasure or amuse oneself". In the late 15th century it came to mean more specifically "to amuse oneself by active exercise in open air or taking part in some game". From the 16th century it obtains an element of being physically demanding as well.

Much later, in the late 19th and early 20th century, it obtains another meaning as well, at least in American English, where "being a good sport" signifies having the sense of a stylish man. The connection is believed to come through the styles of people living of gambling and betting. (URL5)

The values of *sport* in this sense are those of pleasure, amusement and being physically active. I also believe that the middle and upper class concept of being a good sport, having a sense of style, is inherited in the concept of "fair play" that is often talked about in sports philosophy. Not only following the rules but also having a sense of style when playing.

This sense of style was fostered in the public schools in England. These schools recruited its pupils from the higher layers of British society. They put a large importance on sports and students exercised as much as 10-15 hours a week. Teachers where expected to participate as well and sports merits where important for teachers to advance their careers. So strong was the belief in the educational powers of *sport*. The ideology behind this was what was called *muscular Christianity*. The boys fostered in these schools where to be strong christian men of action, not primarily deep thinkers. This christian ideal brings with it some of the Greco-roman traditions imbedded in christian culture. (Blom, Lindroth, p.147)

The public schools where often set in rural locations and favored sports popular with the landed gentry like hunting and equestrian sports. As an urban middleclass developed in growing cities their influence over these schools became larger and more urban sports such as football (in a rough version developed in the streets of England) became more popular and tamed to a version more suited to gentlemen. (p.146) The sportification process seen here is somewhat of a character trait for the English concept of sport. That is the process of taking the, often spontaneous, games of different people and make the more organized and rule bound. That is more predictable and suitable for gambling, another strong English tradition. (p.116)

Another aspect closely related to the ideal of fair play is the ideal of amateurism. The ideal in England was even that of the "gentleman amateur" as at least some workers had the opportunity of physical training with in their line of work that gave them an advantage, deemed unfair by some gentlemen. (p.53) The ideal of the gentleman amateur is the form of amateurism that most clearly is designed to make sports a privilege of the upper class. Not only is the ideal sportsman here clearly a man, he is also clearly not a working man. This form of social discrimination would be unthinkable today.
Also in the English traditions there is an absence of women in the history of sports. This is because the public schools that was so important to the development of sport, and thereby all modern sport, where all-boys boarding-schools. British sports culture is there for created in an all-male environment. However there was an earlier British and Celtic tradition of women sports much similar to the Nordic traditions. These popular sports of course also helped create British sports. (p.66-67) It is only the distinct modern British form of sports that are a product of the privileged all-male environments of the public-schools.

The absence of women in the literature about sports is not an isolated incident. In gender research the phenomena of marginalization of women is one of the major concerns. Women and women’s issues are worse than maltreated in official history, they are made invisible or nonexistent. The lack of accounts of female sports should not be held as evidence that sport is a cultural phenomenon especially misogynist. Rather this is a part of a larger cultural structure. It is of course also quite possible that females have participated in sports or similar games to a large degree but that these activities have simply not been regarded as of equal social importance and therefore not noted in literature to the same extent as the male counterpart. I am offering an account of the history of sports and other believable accounts are available as well.

Summary of the four traditions
There are at least four distinct European sports traditions that are similar but not always overlapping. European sport today has inherited aspects of all these four traditions and harbors the values of the time in which they were first established. Therefore it would not be surprising to find conflicting values within sports. I am an idealist concerning if sports have a clear connections with ethics, I believe that this is quite clear on the background I have described above that there is in fact such a connection. However this does not mean that there are not conflicting values inherent within sports or that all values are values we should want to promote.

Below follows a brief summary of this chapter.

Greek tradition
- Participation is an important value
- Sports are primarily for the sake of the athletes and secondarily for the sake of society
- Practicing sports is seen as education in virtue and an expression of excellence
- Sport is mostly a male activity, females are given only some space within sports, gender equality is not valued
- Sport is originally only for the aristocrats but becomes a more general practice with time
- Preparing for war is an important part of sports
- Sport is an expression of the soul and of the athletes virtue
Roman tradition
- Observation is the norm
- Sports are for the sake of the audience and the those arranging the games (the state)
- Watching sport is seen as education in virtue
- Women have no role as athletes
- Sport is divided in to training for health for free people and doing sport as circus entertainment for slaves
- Sports teaches civic values rather than military ones
- Sports may reveal the qualities of the soul of an athlete (such as courage for example)

Nordic/Germanic tradition
- Participation is the norm for free men and women
- Sports are for the sake of both individual and his or hers social group and in some cases for the sake of his or her sponsor, it is both play and preparation for war and seafaring
- Sports are a way of achieving and publicly displaying virtue and being worthy to be counted as a free member of society
- Sports are for men and women both even if men seem to have been the primary focus
- Sports are a concern only for free members of society
- Primarily military values are taught, but some civic values have equal standing, in the end of this tradition expression of self becomes an important aspect
- Sport is at its best an expression of self

British tradition
- Both participation and observation are seen as morally good
- Sports are for the sake of the observer or gambler as much as for the individual practicing the sport, compared to the other traditions the good for society plays a low roll
- Sports are for both men and women but the genders are normally kept separate in organized sports
- Some sports are only for “gentlemen”, others are mixed, but social groups are kept separated from each other and the values of the “gentlemen” are the dominant
- Military as well as rural sports have a lower value and sports teaching civic values and building character becomes the main focus

What do these traditions have in common? They all seem to believe that sports trains more than only the body. They seem to share the idea that sports can be used as education, either by watching it or participating in it. They all seem to regard sports as something that have value for the practitioner, the audience and for society as a whole. But they do differ about which of this should be the primary focus of sport. Also they have different ideas about the balance of civic and militaristic virtues in sports. But in these aspects they still seem similar in that they see the disciplining of the body as something that connects with virtue. Based on this I suggest that sport is a public display of mental and physical discipline corresponding to socially relevant values and includes an element of competition. Despite differing in actual content all the traditions share this basic aspect. It is the smallest common denominator.
As I mention above the traditions differ in content. One such occasion is when it comes to who is allowed to participate in sports. None of the traditions have allowed everyone to participate on the same conditions. A line has always been drawn between men and women, free citizens and slaves or between members of upper and lower classes. Reflecting in each case the general social standings the groups in question. It would therefore be reasonable to expect men and women in society that strives for gender equality to compete together on equal terms. This is however not the case. In the following chapter I would like to argue that this should be the case.

The Nordic tradition seems to be the only tradition clearly stating that sports can be seen as an expression of self. However as the Greek tradition saw all bodily movements as originating from the soul they also come close to the same conclusion. This aspect of sports as an expression of self or expression of soul is an aspect that I find very interesting and it is one that has implications for modern sports debate. If this is an aspect of sport that we want to maintain and take seriously it would seem to affect how we regard not letting athletes compete as the gender they feel they belong to as well as not letting athletes use drugs or other enhancements to realize their full potential, that is their full expression of self or soul. This is not a final argument to end gender separation or allow doping or other technical enhancements but is a factor that should be taken into consideration when discussing these issues.

Chapter 2 - An account of sex, gender and sports

In *Idrottsfilosofiska introduktioner* (Jönsson, 2008) the author uses a large portion of the book for discussing gender and sports. This is the well-built part of the book in my opinion and I will start out presenting his position while making my own comments as I go along. His position is based on three major points. Justice and equality (argument from fairness), problems with making a clear distinction between genders (argument from queerness) and finally sex and modern technology (argument from cyborgs). Based on these arguments he argues against gender separation in sports.

In addition I have added two further arguments. One is the balance of excellences argument that I borrow from John William Devine and the second is an argument I’d like to call the anti British imperialism argument.

Both the argument from fairness and the balance of excellences argument could be used in support of gender separation, especially the latter in its original form. I will however show how they can be turned around and used against gender separation.

The justice and equality argument

Perhaps the most obvious argument against gender separation is the idea that men and women are social equals. It is not within the scope of this essay to argue for social gender equality. It is enough for our purpose here to observe that gender equality is an important value in our society as a whole. As I stated early in the essay sports is a social practice and should not be seen as a disconnected and separate sphere. Sports is a social practice, often funded by tax money, if sports does not further the values of society at large it should either be changed, have its funding removed or perhaps even abandoned altogether. As I have showed in the
previous chapter sports practices have in fact differed from time to time to suit the particular values of the society of its time. Unless there are good arguments to the contrary we should not hesitate to change sports once more to better suit the values of our present society. But even if we agree to hold justice and equality as something to value, as virtues we’d like to uphold as a society, it does not in itself solve the question of if gender separation is morally defensible or not. For what does it really mean applied to sports?

The perhaps most intuitive sense of justice and equality is what could be called formal. That all participants have the same conditions during a specific event. For example that all participants in a running event start at the same time and have exactly the same length to run. If these formal conditions are met during an event it is just and the competitors equally treated. It is another world fair. However Jönsson argues against an argument, from Swedish sports philosopher Mikael Lindefelt, that this is only part of the competition and that you have to look at the larger competition to see if it is fair. To really know if the competition is fair we need to know more about the runners individual conditions. Factors such as their genetic makeup and the conditions they grew up under should be taken in to account as well, Lindfelt argues according to Jönsson. (Jönsson, p.84)

This however is not the case in sports in practice, except when it comes to gender separation. It could be argued along the line of reasoning above that women should not compete with men because of genetic and social differences that would give women an unfair disadvantage in competitions with men, even if formal justice and equality is met in the single event of the competition. Jönsson calls this a liberal account of justice and equality. That the importance is placed on formal justice and equal opportunities at the starting line. (Jönsson, p.85) Jönsson add several issues that he thinks complicates the formal view but in the end states that there is simply no way around the importance of the equal opportunity principle in sport even if it problematic in some ways. What he argues for is instead that we take the principle seriously and look at the factors that create inequality in themselves instead of only separating men from women. After all what is relevant is that the competitors have equal opportunities, not only during the small game, but in the big game as well, that is in life in general. Factors that are in some respect beyond the individuals control such as body-weight and height, environment, organization, technology and genetics should all be counted for in an account of what is just and equal competitions. Jönsson suggest several practical alternatives to gender separation such as handicap systems or weight and length classes in sports where genetic factors play a large part. (p.100-112)

I think it could be even more clearly stated in support of this line of reasoning that we would likely not accept the same argument when it comes to ethnic minorities or social/economic groups. Poorer social groups are at a severe disadvantage in expensive sports such as equestrian sports, pistol shooting or ice hockey. Yet it would be strange to argue that someone from such a group that do become good at their sport should not be allowed to compete along with people born in richer social groups. It would seem as a form of further discrimination against them. Jönsson’s argument should not be understood as an argument against the principle of formal fairness perhaps but rather as a statement against it not going far enough as well as it not giving a full explanation of what constitutes equality and fairness in sports.
The argument from queerness

It is common to make a clear distinction between gender and sex, at least in the Swedish debate, letting gender be the social counterpart of the biological sex. This is perhaps not very surprising as in most cases it is clearly visible from outer genitalia which sex and person belong to. However this is not always the case. As Jönsson mentions there are at least three different ways to define someone’s biological sex; outer genitalia, inner genitalia and chromosome makeup. (p.177-178) In most persons all three will be aligned but this is not always the case, most notably in XY-women, that is women with both inner and outer female genitalia but male chromosome make-up. However it seems that there is another biological level that is important to how sex is defined in sports. Men that undergo sex change may only compete as women if they first remove the hormonal glands that produce testosterone (p.182) This hormonal aspect of sex should not be neglected. While not normally regarded as a characteristic needed to define what sex a person belongs to it seems to be important in relation to sports.

Jönsson goes on to argue that, from a gender equality standpoint, we don’t have reason to believe that talking about gender is preferable to talking about sex anyway. Even if we manage to prove that it is clear that there are, let’s say, five different biological sexes, what says there will still only be two genders that all of these people are expected to fit in to? he asks. (p.180) Rather than being skeptical to the use of biological sex in debates perhaps we should be skeptical to the use of the word gender as it might reinforce the historical view on the sexes, contrary to the intentions of those who prefer to stick with gender in an attempt to not be locked in to debates over biology in discussing the social roles.

Jönsson uses the American-polish runner Stella Walsh as an example. After she was shot to death in an armed robbery an autopsy was performed. It was first then that her sex came in to question as it was revealed that she possessed male genitalia along with some female characteristics. This means she had at least one developed testicle and because of this a higher level of male hormones compared to other women. Jönsson refers to an article by biologists Katrina Nordqvist and Annika Eriksson published in Forskning och framsteg nr 1 2002. They argue that Walsh was cheating by having a larger muscle mass due to higher level of testosterone and being confirmed a man in the autopsy. Jönsson claims it might be more correct to claim that the autopsy showed that her sex was unclear, rather than that she was a male. Perhaps she was too male to compete as a female but at the same time too female to compete as a man. (Jönsson, p.181).

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4Jönsson claims it was published in 2004 but I can only find an article by that name published in 2002. Further the article is not about Stella Walsh, she is only mentioned briefly in the introduction. The article itself is about why sex cannot be reliably tested by examining only the XX/XY-chromosome because many other genetics factors play a role in determining the actual sex of an individual. Also he seems to referring as well to a short reply by Annika Nordqvist in Forskning och framsteg nr 3 2002 where she defends calling Stella Walsh a cheater against critique it has received. There she states her argument more clearly.
Did she have and extra physical advantage over other female athletes? Probably. But if she had competed as a man she would have had a physical disadvantage instead. It would then be absurd to claim that the other men where then cheating on her using the abilities they were born with. Further she clearly identified herself as a female and was legally regarded as such and unlikely deliberately deceiving her competitors. I assume that since the fact that she had male genitals was discovered first after her death mean that it cannot have been obvious what sex she belonged to and we don’t know if it Walsh herself was aware of having male sexual characteristics as well.

It is interesting here that the focuses of the biologists in the case of Stella Walsh are on the hormonal level being the important aspect here. Perhaps hormonal levels in themselves are the real issue and not what gender a certain individual belong to? This however would mean that we should rather have different leagues given hormonal levels, as these vary with in the same sex and not only in between sexes.

Another way of looking at it would be to use hormonal levels, in themselves, as a marker of gender. Not only looking at outer/inner genitalia and chromosome makeup but hormonal levels as well. Such a chart would give us a vast number of different sexes, one for each possible combination of the four.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outer genitalia</th>
<th>Inner genitalia</th>
<th>Chromosomes</th>
<th>Hormones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this model we get 32 different possible sexes. I am not a biologist so I can’t tell if all these combinations are in fact possible. However chromosomes come in more variations than simply XX-female and XY-male as in this chart, so it may have to be made larger as well to cover all possibilities.

Further this chart only takes in objective factors, not cultural and psychological. Adding legal status, self-identification or upbringing would make the chart a lot larger. The legal sex of the individual may or may not be the same as the gender they identify with or have been raised as. The point of this chapter is not in any way to meant to argue that these subjective factors are not important, they are, but even when disregarding them identifying what sex a person belongs to is, at times, a complicated matter.

I believe that if sports should be segregated the best way is to simple choose one of these factors and look only at that factor. Since it would seem that what really matters in sport is the hormonal levels, as these are what effects the athletic capacity the most, this would be the best choice for a non queer account of sex in relations to sports. One might be tempted instead to choose chromosome levels instead as that would seem less arbitrary and would in most cases give the same results as looking at hormone levels unless these have been altered medically.
However it would not solve all cases, as there are XO-women with ambiguous sex characteristics and XY-women who are normally regarded as female. I believe that looking at hormone levels is the objective sex-theories best bet. Also those kinds of test are not more intrusive on personal integrity than a normal drug test.\(^5\)

A normal drug test, by WADA standard, is a urine sample given by the athlete under direct visual supervision by an anti-doping official. The athlete has to be completely naked from the knees to the mid chest. (Guidelines for urine sample collection v 5.1 (2010), p.17) So even without specifically trying to reveal the sex of the athletes one sexual characteristic is in effected controlled in modern sports. This test might, or might not, have revealed Stella Walsh ambiguous sex depending on how clearly visible her secondary sex characteristic was.

In addition to the normal urine samples sometimes blood-screening, in the case of looking for EPO, or blood-testing, when looking for human growth hormones, are used. (URL6 and 7). The later should also be a possible way of testing for hormonal levels in general. Genetic testing is sometimes considered being an intrusion on the athletes personal integrity as they can find out more about themselves then they would like to or that is relevant to the sport they practice. A view that Jönsson seems to hold as well (Jönsson 2007, s.183-184)

To avoid this critique objective sex theories, within the field of sports practice, should opt for either using outer genitals or hormonal levels as the main criteria for identifying sex. None of those would be more intrusive on personal integrity than is the current doping tests. As I have argued before the hormonal levels are more relevant to within the context of sports and the best line of argument seems to be to define sex according to normal hormonal levels.

But what should be regarded as normal hormonal levels?

There are many different meanings for words like natural and normal. Lerner and Hoffman (2011) for example have listed two different meanings of natural and seven different meanings of normal within human medicine in their article Normality and naturalness: A comparison of the meanings of concepts used within veterinary medicine and human medicine which I will be using in a short passage here.

Natural within this context is used in regards to the genetic constitution and signifies either what is species typical performance or genetic mechanisms that are naturally selected. (Lerner, Hoffman (2011), p.409) My intuitive use of the word is instead closer to unaltered or as it would be in the state of nature. Lerner and Hoffman argues that using natural in the sense it is used in veterinary medicine, that is what can be observed about the organism in its natural environment, could add value to the medical debate. This is closer to my intuitive use of the word, and I think closer to its use in common language as well. It would mean, in the case of humans, that we observe what is natural by observing humans outside high-tech society. (p.409) Or as in the case for us philosophers, we simply imagine people outside high-tech

\(^5\)I’d like to add here that I find it noteworthy that only women have been gender tested. There is no way of knowing if any supposedly male athletes have in fact been women. I assume it has been ruled out as a possibility on the assumption that a female would be disadvantaged by competing with men rather than with women. But can we be sure of that the same sort of women that choose to be drafted as men and go to war, and such accounts are plentiful in history, also to prove their equal worth with men also in athletics as well? This is something I have so far not encountered while studying the subject.
society. It is in this sense I will be using the word natural. That is what would be the case for an individual outside of high-tech society, unaltered by drugs or other technologies. If we use this definition of natural Stella Walsh was naturally neither man nor female, which of course is a problem for any non-queer theory.

Normal within the context of human medicine has a vast set of different meanings ranging from what is within normal distribution to the most perfect function. My usage of the word fall closely to their category of “most commonly encountered”. (p.409) I make this statement to make it clear what I mean when using the words normal and natural here as I have been made aware that these words are use in many different meanings.

Some people obviously have natural advantages over others in sports. No elite athletes could be said to have normal physics. If they had they would not be elite athletes. Yet some natural, but not normal, abilities are considered as unfair advantages. As for example in the case of Stella Walsh. Another similar case is that of high hemoglobin values among some athletes who are caught with high levels of red blood cells. Today it is well-known that values can get higher than normal naturally in some cases and an upper limit is now in place. It seems very strange to me to claim that someone is cheating by naturally being too good. If Walsh had undergone hormone treatment it would be, it seems, a different matter altogether as she would have consciously gained an unfair advantage over their competitors. But how should one treat similar cases where someone has an unfair advantage that they can’t help having? Excluding those who are born to good from competing seems morally wrong, as sport is in part about being good.

Also, were should the line be drawn? In the power lifting move deadlift people who have long arms compared to the rest of their body will have a mechanical advantage compared to other lifters. Some otherwise normal people have what is jokingly called "positive ape index". That is they are longer in between the fingertips of their outstretched arms than they are tall from head to feet. This gives them an advantage over their normally built competitors, yet there is no rule against them competing. I am sure there are similar biomechanical advantages in other sports as well. When is someone who is born with better basic abilities for some sport simply too good to be allowed to compete? The answers I’ve encountered as to where the line should be drawn are either arbitrary or unclear.

The cyborg argument
Kutte Jönsson makes several references to Donna Haraway's "A cyborg manifesto" (1991) and to her use of the word monsters to describe gender benders. Her work deserves at least a little more description to do it justice. “A cyborg manifesto” is an ironic attempt at building a myth faithful to socialism and feminism. Haraway argues that the prevailing myth in our society is that of the bible. That man was originally innocent, living in a natural state, but that he has become separated from nature and now seeks to return to his natural innocent state. She argues that this myth is not suitable to modern super individual humans. Today, according to her, people are their own creators not letting their cultural heritage or even physical body act as boundaries. The body for a modern human becomes a "map of power and identity". Far from longing back to some original and natural unity and innocence these people feel that the unnatural is the normal and choose their affinity instead of simply accepting a natural family.
The concept of the body being a map over power and identity, as she states in the end of the chapter, is actually the best starting point in explaining her idea. Bodies are not natural anymore and this is so normal, so trivial, that we hardly notice. It is not natural for the author of this paper to wear glasses, but without them he would suffer headaches all through the process of writing this paper. The plastic prostheses in his mouth are not natural, but without them he would not be able to eat normally. But these prosthetics that restores his normal functions also is a sign of his belonging to a group on the globe with the power to correct physical malfunctions to near perfect levels. Haraway argues that we cannot go back to the way things were before we started merging technology with our bodies, or at least we would not like to. We have become cyborgs and we need new myths more suitable than that of the natural state as a paradise we have fallen from and would like to return to.

For her the cyborg is a suitable metaphor for the modern human. It is normal for us to choose our identity, to view ourselves as our own creation and then form our body to reflect our chosen identity. The most common forms of changing the body are not even reflected on by most. Cutting the hair a certain way.Trimming the beard or choosing not to have a beard, for some men a trivial choice but for some a conscious marker of gender identification. Changing the way one speaks. Some are more debated but are becoming more acceptable such as tattoos and piercings. Not changing the function of the body, but using it to express ones identity. All these, mostly, esthetic however. More controversial perhaps then sexchange operations, male/female hormone treatment and the use of drugs, most commonly probably steroids and amphetamine/ephedrine to help shape the body into the desired form. Heated debate has also been around where the limit should be drawn between drugs and nutritional supplements. As I see it there are two main categories of changes and three main categories of reasons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal changes</th>
<th>Hormone treatment, drugs, supplements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>External changes</td>
<td>Bodybuilding, sexchange operations, body modification, piercing, tattoos, prostheses, and plastic surgery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esthetic reasons</td>
<td>Fixing crooked teeth, looking good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical reasons</td>
<td>Being able to work harder, restoring normal bodily functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological reasons</td>
<td>Feeling good about oneself, being the person one feels like, expressing perceived identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Internal and external changes are of course sometimes connected. When an athlete changes its diet the changes will be mainly internal but likely have clearly visible effects externally. This is very much relevant for sports philosophy. This is because if one follows this line of reasoning it is hard to use arguments from naturalness against the use of doping without also having to argue against prostheses. It is possible, perhaps, to argue that difference should be made between restoring normal function artificially and improving function artificially. This is however not always as simple as it may seem.

**The case of pistol shooting (and shooting in general)**
In the case of the author there is no problem for him to compete in pistol shooting contests wearing glasses, as these only give him full normal eyesight. If he was to attach a small patch to the side of the glasses, blocking his peripheral vision, it would be cheating in most competitions as it would improve the ability to focus forward beyond the normal. However no rule blocks people with disabled peripheral vision to compete. In most circumstances reduced
peripheral vision is even seen as a handicap and may even lead to being disallowed to obtain a drivers license. An argument from naturalness here, to be consequential, should mean that no glasses are allowed and that people with reduced peripheral vision are allowed to compete. If one instead opt for glasses being allowed and people with reduced peripheral vision to be banned from shooting contest this could perhaps be called an argument from normality. However it seems strange to ban someone who has a handicap from participating on the grounds of having an unfair advantage. Perhaps he should be allowed and other competitors be allowed to block their peripheral vision with patches. This would probably be a lot less natural, but also more fair. And the best shooters would perhaps have even greater scores.

What if in the future advanced contact lenses would be able to enhance the performance of shooters even more, perhaps having a function of optic zoom or aiding in measuring distances, a feature that would improve marksmanship on unknown distances immensely. Would these be allowed? Perhaps not the former, but later could be seen as a prosthetic for one-eyed competitors that have lost their natural ability to estimate distances. Pistol shooting contests already have a pretty high tolerance for specialized equipment that are a very material focused sport, and one with many handicapped competitors due to its relatively low reliance on physical fitness. Perhaps, to borrow the terminology of Devine, the ability to choose and use the right hardware is part of the balance of excellences needed to be a successful pistol shooter.

Also, there is a strong tradition in pistol shooting to divide competitors in to subclasses depending on the weapon they use and what style of shooting the compete in. In field shootings normally unmodified ”service” weapons are used and no special aids allowed, but in precision competitions special sharpshooting weapons are used along with several other aids such as stiff shooting jackets, focus-goggles. Perhaps it would be natural for such a sport to simply add a ”cyborg” class instead of trying to ban new technology.

There is another interesting aspect of Olympic firearms sport as well. Shooting was a part of the modern Olympics from the beginning in 1886. The shooting competitions changed from one Olympic to the next and did not take any specific form. After world war one shooting was abolished in the Olympic games until 1932 when it was reintroduced. From the beginning there where only two events but would grow to 17 with time, showing the great diversity within shooting as a category of sport. The competitions where considered male events but since no female class existed women were allowed to compete making shooting a mixed sports in practice. This ended in 1980 for all shooting events besides shotgun competitions that remained mixed until the 1992 Olympics. It is hard not to put this in relation to Margret Murdoch winning an Olympic silver medal in one of the rifle events in 1976 and Zhan Shan winning an Olympic gold medal in the Skeet event 1992. (URL8)6

Perhaps it would be too strong to claim that these women winning medals where the reason women could no longer compete with men simply because they were becoming a threat to male superiority, much in the same manner as the Greek nobility switch to equestrian sports when they saw their superiority in wrestling, running and boxing threatened by the commoners, even if I personally do not want to rule out the possibility. It is perhaps possible

6 I have used Wikipedia here to find the exact years. Kutte Jönsson uses the example of Zhan Shan and Skeet in his book. He adds that women where even banned from competing in Skeet in the 1996 Olympics, Only in 2000 was a women’s Skeet event created. Jönsson argues that this shows that the purpose was to save men from the humiliation of being defeated by women. (p.189)
that the success of these female marksmen helped create a greater public interest in women’s shooting sport and which let to having enough qualified females to start up women’s only events. A feminist would however not be very impressed by this claim and neither should we. It may be true that the efforts of Murdoch and Shan created the possibility of female shooting events. But why create an Olympic event simply because a possibility arises? It seems there have to be some other, underlying reason and it cannot be that female athletes are inferior too men in this case. I believe that the case of shooting is a good counter example to the idea that gender separation are in place for the sake of female athletes.

Shooting makes a good example because it demands a very low level of physical strength to be successful. It does demand some upper body strength do handle the recoil of some firearms and to hold heavier weapons still enough for the precision competition. However it is not in the form of ”the stronger the better” but rather there is a threshold of how strong one needs to be to compete successfully. There are plenty of women who pass the threshold of having enough upper body strength. After that other qualities, or ”excellences” to remain true to the terminology common in sports philosophy, become more important.

Sex and modern technologies (a thought experiment)
If we accept the cyborg argument and feel that is either impossible or undesirable to tell what is individual and what is technology, it seems to deprive us of some arguments against doping. Take the example of a female that has undergone a sexchange that wants to compete as a man. Should she be allowed to take male growth hormones to be able to compete equally with other males? If so to what hormone levels? If we play with the thought of establishing a ”norm” for what level of male hormones is the maximum acceptable for the sake of fairness, why should not also all athletes born male be allowed to increase their hormone levels to the same level?

What about males that have unusually low levels of male hormones, which is quite common due to environmental issues, should they be allowed to use doping to restore their ”normal” levels?

Similarly with muscle mass. On an average females only have 70-80% of the lower body strength as that of males and 50-60% of the upper body strength. (Jönsson, p.185) If male hormones are not enough to increase the female sexchange athletes to male levels, should they be allowed to use anabolic steroids as well to reach a normal male level? It is clear to me that the lines between restoring natural abilities and enhancing abilities are blurred, especially if one accepts the cyborg argument. As in the case of sexchange patients claiming that the surgery lets their body express who they truly are perhaps doping would give some would be athletes the ability to express who they want to be. I do not have the answers to all these questions, I simply want to note that these questions arise with this line of thinking. It is my intention to get back to them later on.

To sum up the cyborg metaphor it is simply not possible, or at the very least not we would like to do, do draw the line between natural and artificial as we embrace many restorative artificial changes to the human body. What we do not accept would instead be artificial improvements, but as I think I showed with the above example this is no simple matter. The example of Pitorious comes to mind here. He is an athlete with carbon fiber prostheses below his knees. This is not natural but the question is if the prostheses restore his natural ability to run or improves is ability to run. We can’t know this as he had no pre-prosthetic career since he lost his lower legs very early in life. It would seem very strange indeed to speak of having
prostheses as having an unfair advantage as it is normally considered a handicap. Even if an argument against artificial improvements is more convincing than argument from naturalness it may not be enough to convince us. Instead of discussing this in a general way it will have to be discussed on a case by case based. Each category of sport and each category of enhancements by themselves.

**The cyborg-argument and gender separation**

I argued previously that it is hard to make a clear male/female distinction that does not exclude at least some people. The cyborg-argument means that it is hard to distinguish what is human and what is technology. These two arguments combined makes a strong case for allowing athletes to use technology to alter themselves in accordance with the sex they consider belonging to. This however, if gender separation is kept in practise, might lead to unfairness. Most of all in the cases of male athletes changing outer genitalia without hormone treatment to become more feminine chemically, thus keeping their male physical advantages, and in the case of sex change women using male competing as male without being allowed to medicate their hormonal levels to equal those of male elite athletes. However allowing sex-change women to alter their hormonal levels to equal that of male elite athletes would be unfair to many male athletes that are below such levels themselves without resorting to doping.

The cyborg-argument, if accepted, ads further weight to the queerness-argument. The queerness-argument states that is is difficult to make a clear division of all humans in to two sexes. It state in that part of the essay that the best way around the queerness-argument is to look at only one sex-marker and that it should in that case, for several different reasons, be natural hormonal levels. However the cyborg-argument makes clear that we do not normally put a high value on being natural, and that it is even hard in some to talk about what is natural to a human.

The main point I hope the reader takes away is that we do not normally argue for the natural, in the meaning “as seen outside hightech society” as an ideal. Quite on the contrary, as a society, we value technology that correct for natural imperfections, be they practical or aesthetic ones. There for if one is to argue that naturalness is something to strive after in the field of sports one has to offer a suggestion as to why other values should govern sport than the rest of society.

**The balance of excellences-argument – a possible counterargument**

What is it we are really applauding when we applaud the winner in a sports event? One way is to answer in the way John William Devine does in his article *Doping is a threat to sporting excellence* (2010). That is that what we applaud is a balance of excellences in the winning athlete. The article is written in response to another article written by Savulescu et al (2004) arguing that doping should be allowed to the extent that it is not harmful to the athlete’s health. Devine believes that being good at using doping is not a skill we would like to have as part of the excellences it takes to be a winner. He also think that this argument is valid not only when it comes to drugs but to any enhancement with in the field of sports, even it is not a point he’d like to argue for in that particular article. Allowing doping, he argues, would
change the existing balance of excellences at least within some sports and work against the traditional purpose of the sport.

This argument is of course a strong argument against the cyborg argument, or so it might seem. If it would turn out that the traditional purpose of a sport is to teach virtues and abilities that society no longer needs, or no longer holds in high regard, we should only be glad if the balance of excellences changes along with it the purpose of the game. The new purpose of the sport perhaps being to teach how to properly use, or integrate with, technology. What if one of the excellences of bodybuilding would be how to use steroids and amphetamine in a safe manner in order to sculpt even greater bodies? Unless one is inclined to argue that sports, as it is, serves only good purposes one should not argue against changing the balance of excellences in a general manner.

I agree with the view that what makes a great athletes a great athlete is that he posses the correct balance of excellences needed within his particular sport. This view has great explanatory power, especially when working from a pluralist account of sports and virtues. In this model the real problem with ”lucky” short track winner Steven Bradbury is perhaps not that he was ”lucky” but that he was too good a tactician that he won despite not having the best balance of excellences. (Perhaps the real fault is with the sport itself being constructed in a way that allows one single excellence to be too important in the balance.)

As seen in the history part of this essay the social needs of each time has helped shape the virtues within in the sports of its time and used sports to further these values. The purpose of the sport, and the corresponding balance of excellences. I would like to argue that society has changed in some respects since the formation of modern sport in late 19th century England. Partly other virtues are needed. One of them is the proper integration of technology and human. This might sound like science fiction but many researchers already see human/machine integration as a fact. I think that sports could, and should, change to better suit modern society in this respect. Sports could be a good area to experiment in a controlled and safe way with enhancing humans with technology. It is already being done within advanced prosthetics and some researcher, such as Amber Case see the identities of my generation as the first cyborgs, our bodily identities being so closely intertwined with our online alter egos that we cannot ourselves make a clear physiological difference. Losing a cell phone with all contact information to our friends and perhaps hundreds of photos is like suffering severe memory loss and has a very real effect on or physical lives. We have externalized some of our brain functions to electronic devices and when we sleep they work for us as ambassadors in social media or even making money for us as picture we have put up for sale on a site are bought by a company, with our us even having to wake up and take a call. This development is very real. So even if the term cyborg makes us think of science fiction it is rapidly becoming science fact. Therefore I’d like to argue that allowing medically safe enhancements would change the balances of excellences and thereby the purpose of some sports to the better. (URL9)

At the same time many practices within sports today that are a danger to the health of athletes. Many athletes have short careers before they have to stop because they have become injured or can no longer maintain their level of performance. These practices should be looked over and perhaps banned as well in the sake of being consequent. Or we should stop trying to ban ways to achieve maximum performance all together, but that would likely push the willingness to endanger ones health to far up among the excellences needed to win. Maybe
the focus on maximum performance and constantly setting new records in itself is the problem.

**The anti British imperialism argument**

As we have discussed above competitions are about displaying the balance of excellences proper to a specific sport. These balances of excellences are closely connected to the purpose of the sport in question. There are several different sports traditions and each has given their sports different purposes. Today the dominant sports tradition is the modern British sports tradition with its roots around the time of the industrial revolution. It carries with it the values of the British upper classes of the time and the spirit of colonialism as well. Along with the British empire colonizing other countries in general the process included the local sports traditions as well. The local sports traditions where organized, clear rules stated and a clear distinction was made between spectators and audience. That is the local sports traditions where anglicized. One example of this is horse polo that was picked up by the British from tribes in the middle east. Today it is perceived as one of the most British sports thinkable. The same way many colonies observed the rulings of the supreme high court in London the people in the colonies started to observe the way sports was played at the finest clubs in England as the norm for how to perform sports. Much the same way English culture in general became the norm in continental Europe after world war two the continental sports tradition became anglicized as well. Cultural imperialism is normally regarded as something negative in general. Perhaps modern sports are missing out on something when it focuses primarily only on one of its historical roots, perhaps the balance of excellences becomes unbalanced even.

This imperialism should not be regarded as some conspiracy by the British crown or anything along those lines. Rather it is simply a result of the dominant political and cultural statues of Great Britain. Still it does have the above mentioned effects. Even if one is not inclined to take the stance of multiculturalism, like the author, one might still admit that valuable aspects of the European sports tradition are lost, or becomes hard to understand if sports are viewed only through the glasses of British sports culture. I believe that we need to make more noticeable that within German and Nordic sports tradition there have been a larger place for women. Also there has been a greater focus on the usefulness to society of sports as well as a larger focus on the good of sports for the individual athlete. The present focus on the good of sports for the audience and for the good of the sports organizations and clubs as institutions are a predominantly British idea. Of course the entertainment value of the sports, and thereby the economy of the organizations and the clubs are important for sports continuing to exist in the form it does today. Probably even more so for the continuation of athletes performing on the level they are presently doing, which require full time training and in many cases expensive training methods. However I think that we should not ignore that maximum performances, entertainment value and economic viability are just some values within sport. They should be weighed against other values.
Summary
It is very difficult to divide all persons into men and women without an arbitrary definition since not all people are perfect cases where all gender markers align. The only gender marker that is relevant to sports is levels of growth hormones. Since these vary not only between genders, but also within genders, it would be less arbitrary to simply divide people according to levels of growth hormones. Separation along gender lines is arbitrary and should be avoided.

One of the values of sport is expression of self or soul. I argue that dividing people into men and women, despite what they feel like, is a limitation on their expression of self and therefore against one of the purposes of sport. The same goes for not letting athletes use drugs, prostheses and other technical enhancement to realize their full potential, at least in sports where this would not readjust the balance of excellences in an unwanted way.

I claim that the distinction between natural and unnatural that underlies resistance to allow enhancements in sport is one that we would not like to argue for in general since it would disallow using many enhancements needed to live a normal life, such as glasses or dental prostheses. Arguing from normality is also troublesome as a least elite athletes, cannot be regarded as normal at all. Instead we should focus more on if athletes are healthy, not if they are normal or natural. This would likely change many sports that currently have a high risk of injury or illness for the competitors.

Finally I also argue that proper integration of human and machine is a socially relevant value that should be given room in sports and that perhaps the military values that is prevalent in sports today is not as socially relevant as it has been given historically and should therefore be given less weight in the balance of excellences.

Chapter 3 – Concluding discussion

Two different aspects of sport as a balance of excellences
First of all, as I've mentioned earlier in this essay. Sport contains a balance of excellences. First of all in the most obvious way that each sport has its particular balance of excellence related to its purpose in the way Devine argues. I'd also like to argue that when defining the term sport in general we should make a pluralist definition where we see it as a balance of excellence traditionally associated with public displays of physical ability. I will use this part of the chapter to discuss what these two meanings of balance of excellence entails in regards to gender separation in sports.

According to Devine each sport has its own balance of excellence that is related to its purpose. As we saw in chapter one the four different European sport traditions has slightly different purposes. The main purpose of the Nordic tradition for example was to publicly prove military skills and virtues. This is also a central purpose for the Greek tradition. Devine argues that we should not change the balance of excellences of sports since that would change the purpose of the sports and there by the sports themselves. Some sports today still follow these militaristic traditions and while I personally still see a great value of these skills and
virtues they do not have the same general social value they had in less specialized societies. I believe we have reason to look at the skills and values thought by different sports and question how relevant they are to our modern society. Being a good soldier may have its value, but it is not the only value that exists and perhaps should play a smaller role in sports.

A very good example to clarify my standpoint is the case of E-sports. E-sport is a collective name for competitions in computer games. In my view it should be regarded as sport because it is a public display of physical and mental ability, at least in the case of FPS (First Person Shooter) games since they require very fast reflexes and a high level of concentration. Also they require some general computer skills as most gamers choose all the components for their computers and put them together themselves and fine tune the settings of the game to run optimally on the chosen hardware. It seems to me that computer skills are more relevant to general population today than for example wrestling skills. But if we want sports to remain the same we cannot change the balance of excellences within them. This is an extremely conservative view on sports.

The other main category of e-sports is RTS (real time strategy) games. These do not demand the same physical abilities, or computer skills, but instead rely largely on the player’s tactical and strategic mindset. Often they also have an economic aspect that perhaps could be interpreted as of some civic relevant skill to master. These games take time to learn properly and the strategies are often learned by heart by the player which demands some learning ability. In this aspect they are very much like chess, and many other board games for that matter. In the original meaning of idrott would these games be called a sport and arguably also by my definition of sport as well, even if they would be in the borderlines of my concept of sports as the physical element is minimal.

This do not affect all sports as many traditional sports teach have a socially relevant purpose. Most team sports teach cooperating with others to achieve common goals, which is as socially relevant today as it was in late 19th century England. Other sports, especially the more militaristic ones could perhaps be more in question as for example the social relevance of marksmanship is lower today where many nations rely on professional armies instead of conscription.

The balance of excellences argument could be used on another, more general, level as well. When viewing sports as a pluralist concept as I am suggesting we could also see the different traditions as different excellences in themselves. (Or meta-excellences, as they are in a way theories about excellence.) I'd like to argue that sport as a concept is, or at least should be, a balance of these meta-excellences. Some of them aspects of sports are common to all the traditions but some are not. The main divide could be made between those the focus mainly on expression of self/soul and therefore participation in sport and those that focus mainly on education of the audience or some other usefulness for the arranger.

In the case of the Greek and Nordic there is also a large aspect of usefulness for society just like the Roman and British traditions. The differences lays instead on the focus of the arranging party using sports as a way of educating the people and at the same time display their power. In Rome through the state arranging magnificent games in the arenas and in England in through the physical training of the young social elite in the public schools and the gentlemen displaying their skills publicly, unchallenged for a long time by other social groups. Teaching, to put it bluntly, the superiority of the empires social elite. Today it is not only the state or the social elite that arrange games but different sport associations do so as
well. In some cases, like bodybuilding, it is the athletes themselves that pay to compete about the prize money. The arranger only provides a stage and an audience and makes most of the profit. Such sports are very clearly mostly there for the sake of the arranging party. I argue that this is not unique for sports today, but an integrated part of both Roman and British sport. This is not a problem as long as it is kept in place by the other traditions that focus more on the usefulness for society as a whole and the good of the athlete.

**Queerness, cyborgs and expression of self**

I believe that sports of today as become unbalanced. While focusing too much on the economic gains of the arranging party, and by that on the entertainment value of the sports in order to attract a large audience. There is too little room for sports as form of education for the audience, even if some argue that the huge success of Swedish football player Zlatan Ibrahimovic has taught the children from Rosengård district where he grew up, that success is possible even for them through hard work and determination. A sort of liberal education in the idea that even if you come from a disadvantaged background success is always possible. Be that as it may there is less space for such educational aspects in sports of today. There is even less room for expression of self or expression of soul. I argue that more room should be given to use sports as a means of self expression for the athletes.

The possibility to express oneself varies of course from sport to sport. In some sports like figure skating or swim jump the athletes are allowed to choose from different jumps of different difficulty. Combining programs that suit them. In bodybuilding there are many different classes where types of physique are the norm. In "Fitness" bodybuilding popular in the Nordic countries the athletes have to perform different physically demanding task before posing. How well these are performed is added in the final score together with the posing score. This is because having a functional body is valued as well as being beautiful. In "Bikini" and "Male physique" relatively normally built men and women pose in bathing suits. In "Classic" only the size, definition and proportions of the muscles are grounds for the score. This way the athletes can choose the sort of physique that they see as most attractive and work towards it. Bodybuilders, in a sense, strive to make their outer appearance correspond with their inner view on who they are. Arm wrestling is also an interesting example as the rules allow for several different forms of arm wrestling to be used and each arm-wrestler develops their own style of doing it. In other sports there are less room for expression of self such as in Olympic weightlifting where the rules are extremely strict on how to perform the lift and different weight classes means the athletes cannot put on too much muscle either, unless you are competing in the open weight class of over 105kg.

I believe that this aspect of sport, presented most clearly in the Nordic and the Greek sports traditions, is an aspect that still exist within many sport practiced today. Still it should be given more room. If sports are too be expressions of self we should not limit people to competing to the gender they are regarded as belonging to socially. I argue that the demand that sexchange males should undergo hormonal treatment to be allowed to compete as women is wrong for another reason as well as it works against a central value of sport, that of displaying physical fitness. It is contrary to the purpose of sport to demand of an athlete to make him or her a worse athlete. If an athlete feel like a man or woman, they should be allowed to express themselves as such in sports as well, or at the very least this expression of self should be seen as a valid demand on sports and be seriously taking in to account as long as there is a gender divide within sport. Also proponents of a gender divide in sports will have
to attempt to answer the question of how people who do not identify as either male or female but as queer should be treated. Should they be divided according to the social role given to them by society or should there be men’s sport, women’s sport and other’s sports on all events? What if they not only identify as not belonging to a specific gender but it is in fact unclear what biological sex they belong to as in one of the cases discussed in this essay? One possible answer would be to look at only one gender marker and divide the competitors after that, but I feel that would not be to take the athletes own sense of self into account if it does not correspond with the chosen gender marker. If queerness is taken seriously and expression of self is accepted as an important aspect of sports these questions become relevant. I believe that this poses a difficult challenge for the proponents of separating men and women in sports.

Another consequence of taking the aspect of expression of self seriously is that it might change the way we think about drugs and other enhancements as well. If a bodybuilder feels that they have reached their natural limit and cannot improve more as an athlete, should they accept that they cannot further express themselves or should they be allowed to use medical help to reach further perfection as athletes? Some sports philosophers argue that they in fact should as long as they do not jeopardize their health. If we accept this however we will also have to accept other rule changes in sport that remove risk to the health of the athletes. At least until we are making sports so safe that they become boring and no longer able to prove such virtues as courage, which are central to most sports traditions. The best counterargument against this is in my view, as I have state before, the balance of excellences argument by Devine. He argues this will change that balance of excellences in sports, thereby at least in part their purpose and they therefore will no longer be the same sports. I agree fully with him on this, but not his value statement that this would be a bad thing. For as we have seen sports are not static, they have changed all through history and adapted to social changes over time. I do not agree with his general conservative outlook on the preservation on sports. As long as it is not done dramatically fast or in violation of the central aspects of sport traditions. I argue that the proper use of technology is a valuable skill for people in our society and that it would in fact be a good thing if it was a value that was integrated in to the balance of excellences of sport.

Chapter 4  - Summation

There are four main sports traditions in Europe. What they have in common are that they have an aspect of public displays of virtue thorough performing by physically demanding acts. What separates them is mainly that the Nordic and Greek traditions focus on participation and on the athlete’s expression of self or soul. The Roman and British traditions put larger emphasis on the arranging parties’ interests and on the value for the audience of both entertainment and education in virtue.

Sport is therefore not a single concept with a single purpose but instead a pluralist concept with many competing purposes, values, virtues/excellences that sometimes work in different directions. The job of philosophy of sports is to make sure that this balance of excellences remains in balance and that no single tradition and its values gain improper dominance. Philosophy of sports seems to be oblivious at times of this pluralistic aspect of sports, A better understanding of the historical background of athleticism, idrott and sport would affect two issues that are much debated in modern philosophy of sports; how to deal with unequal treatment of men and women and if drugs and other technical enhancements should be allowed. I argue that if we take the aspect of expression of self, inherited strongly within the
Greek and Nordic concept of sport, seriously this strengthen the positions of ending gender separation in sports since it gives added weight to the claims of queer athletes as well as sexchange athletes. I also argue that proper integration of body and technique is an important skill for people to have in modern society and that technology can be used to further expression of self. This cyborgian view together with valuing expression of self leads me to argue that allowing athletes to use drugs and other technical enhancements should at the very least be taken into serious consideration.

I would also like to claim that this can be done without fundamentally changing what sport is by simply re-balancing the existing values more towards the Nordic and Greek traditions and away from the Roman and especially the British that is the most dominant as of present date. However many particular sports will become dramatically different and perhaps their main purpose will change as well, as has happened before in history. This however is no reason to be generally conservative in matters of sports. That is unless one likes to argue that the values and skills taught by sports today are the right ones and that teaching gender equality and how to properly integrate body and technology is somehow either unimportant or wrong.

The limits of using drugs and other enhancing technology should be the point at which they come in to conflict with other values or virtues, such as the health and safety of the athletes for example. However this should also be the case in many other sports as well and more effort should be made in general to avoid harm to athletes.
Written sources


Online sources

URL 1-3 and 5 are *Etymonline* used to explain the historical background of some words


URL4: [http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1%20Corinthians%209&version=NIV](http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1%20Corinthians%209&version=NIV) an online bible, in the quote using the same wording as the *New International Version* translation, retrieved 2013-05-17


URL 6 and 7 are from the World Anti Doping Agency homepage.


URL9: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1KJAXM3xYA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1KJAXM3xYA) Amber Case in a presentation of her research at TED-talk, to give an example of this line of reasoning, retrieved 2013-05-17