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GENDER, MEDIA AND SPORTS: PERFORMATIVITY OF WOMEN  
BODYBUILDERS

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GENDER, MEDIA AND SPORTS: PERFORMATIVITY OF WOMEN  
BODYBUILDERS

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET, MEDYA VE SPOR: KADIN VÜCUT GELİŞTİRME  
SPORCULARININ PERFORMATİF PRATİKLERİ

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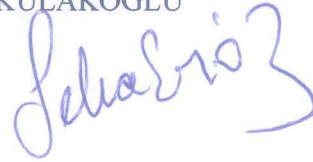
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## **ABSTRACT**

By drawing from the theories of performativity and body politics, this thesis addresses the motivations of woman bodybuilders for doing sports in the male-dominated atmosphere of bodybuilding. Four face to face and two online semi-structured interviews were conducted with six woman bodybuilders. The meaning and limitations of the bodybuilding for participants, their understanding of media and bodybuilding relationship, and use of media and Instagram were addressed in the interviews. Instagram “scenes” of woman participants for representation and presentation concepts are also examined in relation to two phases of bodybuilding as training and stage performance. It is argued that woman bodybuilders perceive bodybuilding as a space of expression, motivation, resistance and lifestyle. Bodybuilding for them is an area where they consciously perform their femininity.

## ÖZET

Bu tez, performatif pratikler ve vücut politikaları üzerinden vücut geliştirme sporunun erkek egemen atmosferinde, kadın vücut geliştirmecilerinin motivasyon kaynaklarını öğrenmeyi amaçlar. Dört yüz yüze ve iki online olmak üzere altı kaslı kadın vücut geliştirme sporcusuyla gerçekleştirilen mülakatlarda vücut geliştirmenin katılımcılar için taşıdığı anlam ve sınırlılıklar, katılımcıların medya ve vücut geliştirme ilişkisini nasıl gördükleri ve sosyal medyayı ve Instagram’i kullanma biçimleri ele alınmıştır. Ayrıca katılımcı kadınların Instagram “sahneleri” araştırma sürecine dahil edilerek temsil ve takdim kavramları, vücut geliştirmenin iki aşaması olan talim ve sahne performansı üzerinden incelenmiştir. Araştırma kadın sporcuların vücut geliştirme sporunu bir ifade alanı, motivasyon, dayanıklılık ve hayat stili olarak yorumladıklarını tartışmaktadır. Vücut geliştirme, kadın vücut geliştirme sporcuları için kendi sınırlarını aştıkları ve kadınsılıklarını bilinçli bir şekilde perform ettikleri bir mücadele alanıdır.

## INTRODUCTION

Even in the times when the concept of sports did not exist at all various physical activities such as walking, running, jumping, lifting heavy object or throwing were still part of everyday life. Those physical activities indeed created the basis of what sports is today. For a physical activity to be counted as sports, it is often routinely repeated and or involves competition. In the history, sports were usually dominated by men, and women who wanted to involve in sports activities were often seen as threats for pushing the limits defined by men. One of the possible reasons behind this is that sports often being associated with strength, power, and invincibility, in other words with masculinity while women are perceived as ‘fragile’ (Taşdelen & Koca, 2015; Taşdelen & Koca, 2016). Even in arts, the sportive human body is often represented with muscular and strong male body images. Until women had claimed presence in sports, men set the rules for sports that are suitable for women. The sports that are called ‘skirt sports’ such as tennis or, volleyball were perceived as ‘proper sports’ for women (Sweden, 2001).

As discussed in various literature mainstream media like magazines, newspapers, or television also reinforced those gendered divisions. Female body idealized by media and sports industry and sports were used as a tool to shape societies and create a healthier female body for reclamation of generations by governments, especially for the processes after wars (Molton, 2014; Karaçam & Koca, 2016). However, women who were involved in so-called ‘masculine’ sports, such as boxing or bodybuilding were often perceived as a threat to heteronormative gender construction, because those sports are not in the list of “doable sports for women”.

This thesis addresses the relationship between sports, gender, and social media as understudied areas. A significant amount work in this area focuses on the



representation and portrayal of the female athletes in media, especially in so-called mainstream media. Gendered nature of sports is discussed through the appearances of female athletes in news and various other media forms (Wenner, 1989). Football is one of the most popular sports and relatively well-researched area within sports studies. Women organized football clubs in the past to gain their visibility and voice in the sports area (Aybek & Yıldırım, 2016). Considering other 'masculine' categories in sports, such as bodybuilding, they don't have enough voice in sports and gender research field. Bodybuilding which is dedicated to manhood is a silenced sport in general in the research area as a woman study.

From the beginning of bodybuilding, men owned these sports for their leisure time. Men are idolized in the bodybuilding world, globally. Yet women continue to claim a presence and voice in these 'mannish' sports. What are their motivations? There are very few studies in the area of bodybuilding and those that are available mostly addresses male bodybuilders (Karaçam and Koca, 2016). Further researches in bodybuilding often examines the physical aspects of bodybuilding as a sports such as the techniques of training for building bodies. And the researches on 'bodybuilding' and 'social media' mostly argue the photos that fitness women post, but not professional female or male bodybuilders'. However in this research, bodybuilding is not just daily weight lifting or being fit. It is taken as training the body for a competition and publicly display. This point is important to build a bridge in between performativity and body politics which are the theoretical frame of this thesis.

This thesis contributes to real-life case studies by considering gender as a daily practice and a performative act. The accounts and personal stories of woman bodybuilders provides an understanding of the relationship between gender, sports, and body politics. This helps us to understand the perspectives of women about doing sports in male dominated environment of bodybuilding.

Through semi-structured interviews with woman bodybuilders, this research provides an insight about the motivations women bodybuilders for their claiming presence in the genderized space of bodybuilding in Turkey. While there is significant amount of research on gender and football in Turkey, other branches of sports remains understudied. It is often discussed that in the football industry, women are usually being occupied in the positions such as coaching, playing or fan (Walker & Bopp, 2010-2011), or women athletes are often alienated from the sports that are not 'appropriate' for women (Sweden, 2001). Thus woman's body in sports forms an ideological terrain (Messner, 1988), and bodybuilding as a male dominated sport forms a significant area to discuss the relationship between gender, sports, performativity and body politics. The discussion of the thesis revolves around the questions:

- What is the meaning and significance of bodybuilding in the lives of women bodybuilders?
- What does it mean to be a woman in bodybuilding and what are the challenges they face?
- How does performing an extreme sport like bodybuilding, subvert the hegemonic male in sports?
- How woman bodybuilders perceive the role of media for woman bodybuilders?
- How woman bodybuilders perceive Instagram as a space of self-presentation and self-representation?
- How Instagram becomes a vehicle to counteract subversive gender performance in the realm of sports?

Instagram provides us with a platform where performativity and body politics, linguistic and visual representations and presentations can be examined. Instagram forms an online stage to presentation and representation. Bodybuilding is also about presentation of the body on stage. Further, Instagram is a platform which can be a vehicle to counter act against hegemony. Because, in spite of debates,

users of social media platforms have the power to create their own content and they can be, watch or do according to their will. Users don't have to be exposed the content which they don't want to follow (Lupinetti, 2015).

The first chapter of the thesis locates this study within the literature on the sport, media, and gender. The second chapter addresses the concepts of 'performativity' and 'body politics' as theoretical frameworks of the study. The third chapter locates women in the history of sports. Genderization of bodybuilding is located on chapter four. The fifth chapter of the thesis includes methodology and discussion with discussion divided into six categories.

## **CHAPTER 1. SPORTS, MEDIA AND GENDER**

From general to specific topics, sports and media history date back to the very beginning of human history. Sports and media's close relationship with notions like society, hegemony, belief system, human being, politics change those areas' structure. So, the literature on sports and media, mostly includes human factor and the notions pertain to social life. The researches in this area often examine the histories of the physical activities, how they became leisure activities, their relations with nationalism, fanaticism, consumerism, sexism. Gender is one of the important subject in this area based on gendered structures of sports and media.

### **1.1. Genderization of the Sports World**

Gender equity, gender stereotyping, representation of gender, gender role socialization, gender ideology, construction of masculinity and femininity, identities are some of the areas of gender and media. Within this the topics in relation to sports consists of issues such as the insignificant number of woman sportswriters, the reproduction of the distinction between woman and man sports on media, absence of woman athletes in media, or representation of woman athletes with their physical attractiveness, being wife, mother, girlfriend or fiancée, in other words, by highlighting the role of women to support man (Adams & McCormack, 2010; Catela & Seabra, 2015; Pakkan, 2016;).

While constructed gender system infused to sports, it is inevitable to find two fields under gender and sports media category; man studies and woman studies. The studies about men and sports usually falls within the categories of advertisement, alcohol, manhood, masculinity. The place of women in sports is often discussed in relation to football, volleyball and tennis while manhood discussed in bodybuilding and football (Adams & McCormack, 2010; Erhart,

2013; Erhart, 2017). While limited number of research exist in bodybuilding. The existing ones hardly include any discussion about the presence of women in this sports category (Gillett & White, 1992). Limited number of research in bodybuilding approach the subject from woman bodybuilders' perspective. In Turkey, these studies include male athletes mostly doing fitness in their daily life as an exercise (Karaçam & Koca, 2016). Due to historically established discriminatory attitude towards woman athletes, the presence of women in male dominated sports are still seen trouble. The woman who gains visibility in the sports arena, usually feel need to create a sphere for approval by society. For example in a football stadium, men tend to be discriminatory against 'feminine women'. However 'masculine women' are accepted in stadium as fan or as player (Erhart 2013).

Most of the researches about women and sports addresses gender inequality in sports. There is a big research area on homophobic behaviors motivated by sports. It includes male locker rooms, the constructed woman humiliating language, and the media coverage that force the woman humiliating images and titles (Messner & Sabo, 1994; Hardin & Whiteside, 2006). Also, there are sports that women can or can't do or play. This distinction and the limited encouragement for women have caused to masculine and feminine concepts take place in the sports area (Pelak, 2008; Taşdelen & Koca, 2016). The separated teams for men and women are another indicator for male dominated sports field. These arguments are mostly explained by the women physical disability compared to men but the opposite was proved by David Epstein. According to him, gender equality can be achieved by special programs (Epstein, 2013).

Some researches on this field criticize sports women biologically. The achievements which are above the median of athletic women has caused women to be questioned about their femininity and this has been the subject of academic

work. This also caused biological racism in sport area. Besides this, being subject of the gender test is a morality issue due to the structured gender qualities. Because of this biological stereotypes, for example in bodybuilding competitions, woman bodybuilders could be tested and disqualified by judges decision about how muscular and masculine a woman athlete looks. On the other hand, there is no limit for male athletes on muscularity because of the prejudice about male muscle capacity. A male athlete won't be judged by how muscular and masculine a male athlete looks. So, this also causes a physiological limit (Heggie, 2010).

In this area, there are researches that are subject to women's insufficient visibility in sports. Because of the questionings about women's physical competence and the prejudices such as 'sports' bad influence on women's health' and 'the women's fragile appearance, women should not be in sports like men did', even today. But the results of researches show that in fact, on the contrary, sports have a positive impact on human health not just on the men health (Division for the Advancement of Women of the United Nations Secretariat, 2007). The nationalism factor also has been an issue for the sports-women subject. Researches like Tervo's (2001), make subject to build a national character that includes gender-specific roles which can be determinant of masculine sports sphere.

Another research topic in this area is sexist language (Arpinar-Avsar, Girgin & Bulgu, 2016). Male language of male athletes and the contribution of sports to sexist language is discussed within the literature. By using participant observation, Adams, Anderson and McCormack (2010) uncover how coaches use language with reference gender, sexuality, and war to encourage the performance of athletes. On the contrary of the aim of coaches who use aggressive discourse, the outcomes of this are limited (Hargreaves, 1994; Hilliard, 1984). Sexist naming of women's athletic teams is one of the reasons for the inequality of facility of sports and the renaming the solutions of sexism (Pelak, 2008).

In addition, there had been lots of feminist researches in sports which form feminism concept in the sports area. In the 1970s, feminism perspective sprang in sports sociology, in North America. Feminist sports sociology was an element of more general sports feminism that was centered on the efforts of practicing sportswomen to unmask discrimination and to equalize opportunities with men. Sports feminism was a late-comer to the women's movement which had tended focus on questions of legal, political and ideological importance, rather than on cultural issues such as sports and leisure." (Hargreaves, 1994, p.30).

## **1.2. Sports Media**

The sports and media relationship started with a boxing game news which was published 150 years later after the appearance of first newspapers ("Sports journalism.", 2015). The growing interest from individual sports to team sports, the sense of belonging and fanaticism and also the nationalization of sports attracted the interest of the press media as the oldest media ever. The culture of sports is mediated through various news and broadcast. Lipsyte (1975) describes the mediation of sports as 'SportsWorld' with a power to shape the consciousness (cited in Wenner, 1998).

An increasing amount of literature addresses the symbiotic relationship between specific sports and media, the roles of media on the attitude, and the perception of the public towards sports and sportive activities. The dimensions of marketing, objectification, gender, race, nationalism, and globalization are integrated into the sports literature, and the topics such as fandom, violence in sports audience, the role of internet and social media on sports and sports media, sport organizations, sport communication are among the issues discussed (Serbanica & Constantinescu, 2016; Büyükafşar, 2016; Kellner, 1996; Tervo, 2001; Sandvoss,

2003; Schiffer, 2015). Football and the Olympics are the widely covered research areas while textual and content analysis are often preferred methodologies (Dart, 2012) . Sports and media researches also look at the sports scandals and their effects on advertisement, events, broadcasts, consumers, audience (Hughes & Shank, 2005). Sports media studies is by nature interdisciplinary and work in interrelation with the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, history, communication and culture (Billings, 2011).

Few studies addresses political and economics aspects in the relationship between sports and media (Beck and Bosshart, 2003, Billings, 2011, Sandvoss, 2003, Wenner, 1989). With the changing structure of societies, sports events built a symbiotic relationship with media through the contribution of consumer mentality. This situation generated home centered society structure (Sandvoss, 2003). When media is a perfect "channel" to give information about sports events and winning fans, sports is also the perfect event to reach large number of audience which means "money" (Beck and Bosshart, 2003). Mediated sports are one of the biggest economic income providers for example global sports events such as World Cup. The sports media, which is a consumable material incorporating the economy, takes up more space with the sports fans, from children to adults. Wenner (1989) defines 'sports media journalism' not as a profession, but just a money making business?'. This perspective moved the sports event away from its traditional meaning. Sports and media fusion became addicted to profit-seeking, commercialized value system.(Wenner, 1989).

Mediums such as radio and television facilitated the international audiences. The television takes the biggest share of being watched, while internet and social media offers new alternatives and the old media loses audience (Billings, 2011). Today, the place of the audience has also changed together with the new media. Social media users and new audience and the abilities such as instant recording or



online coursing turned into an active form from a passive form with the changed factors (Billings, 2011; Raney & Bryant, 2009). Interactive aspects of social media allows the user select information they would like to reach. There are 6 motivations sources behind of fans to spend time online at social media platforms which are the tendency of choosing club licensed products, fandom perception, communicating, sharing, being informed, spending time (Akkaya & Zerenler, 2017). Olympic Games in Beijing, in 2008, was the milestone of sports communication in the social media platforms that led to an increase in the use of social media platforms and the audiences of social media platform (Lee, 2015).

The sports structure has been re-structured by the internet and social platforms. These platforms turnt sport consumption from an individual activity to group activity (Swarm, 2018). Once the sports organizations that were dependent on media to cooperate with the marketing strategies can now create their own media channels (Lee, 2015). Sport organizations start to build relationship with audience directly and freely from any other media channel, so this lowers the costs of advertising and increases the sales. In adding that, the social media sharings from fans or audience will do the advertisement by themselves for those clubs and organizations. Athletes also use social media to interact with their fans. Athletes can express and explain themselves at first hand. They can build a personal brand to promote themselves and do this with less cost, beside they can enjoy it. Also athletes can gain more popularity by doing fan giveaways or creating hashtags (Ma, 2018; Suthar, n.d.; ). Engagement of athletes and their fans humanizes athletes who are uplifted by mass media (Swarm, 2018). Beside of all positivity and contribution of social media platforms, bad contents, quick distribution, negative comments, hate speech are the negative sides of those platforms (Ma, 2018; Suthar, n.d.; ).

According to a research which examines the growing impact of social media on sports, 61% of sports viewers follow sports online, 93.3% of global sports leaders say that social media usage will increase in the next 5-10 years. The most popular sports organizations of sports are, in order, Facebook, The Olympics (IOC), FIBA (Basketball), FIFA (Football), in Twitter, FIFA (Football), The Olympics (IOC), FIBA (Basketball) and in Instagram, FIFA (Football), The Olympics (IOC), World Rugby. The most popular and the most high-earning athlete in all social media platforms is Cristiano Ronaldo who is a footballer. The most successful campaign on social media platforms is '#Maketherules' by Nike which was promoting women athletes (Suthar, n.d.). This changed sports consumption by blurring the line between the audiences, athletes and organizers. Thus, sports journalists and the mainstream sports media started losing their agenda-setting roles (Punzi, 2015; Schiffer, 2015). However still, the most popular sports and athletes are the same as mass media's. Also the examples and the topics of research about social media mostly are related to those popular sports which are football, basketball, athletics, Olympics (Lee, 2015).

Most of the researches on social media platforms are related to marketing, athletes' or fans' or organizations' and clubs' usage of social media platforms, mostly Twitter. (Hambrick & Mahoney, 2011; Pegoraro, 2010; Watkins & Lewis, 2014; Browning & Sanderson, 2012). Because of the fewness of sport related posts of athletes and the high personal contents, professional athletes' post topics are mostly non-sport topics (Hambrick, Simmons, Greenhalgh & Greenwell, 2010). Bodybuilding related social media researches are very few. The most related topics are fitness, diet and health. These three topics are consumed by mostly teenaged girls. Their body image perception and health behaviors are affected by those contents (Carotte, Vella & Lim, 2015).

### **1.3. Sports, Gender and Media**

Media is an important tool for creating gender roles and their boundaries, also to propagate the male gaze (Hargreaves, 1994; Hilliard, 1984; Brandt & Carstens, 2005). The general media structure has been copied and pasted to the sports media, and despite the increase in women's participation in the sport, the sports media still maintains male dominance. We can see prominently the gender discrimination in sport by examining the newspapers and the other media tools like television (Schell & Rodriguez, 2001; Bernstein, 2002). This gender discriminatory instigative attitude in media is much more discernible on women coverage than men (Harris, 2002). Nonconstructive attitude of media contributes to dissemination of the patriarchal attitude towards women's presence in sports (Pelak, 2008). But in time with sportswomen's gaining visibility in sports media, the balances have changed a bit. Women have more visibility but this is not the turning point and for it, still, there is some time (Bernstein, 2002; Billings, 2011; Trolan, 2013).

One of the reasons of that unbalanced situation is hegemonic male gaze. According to Brandt and Carstens' research (2005), there are three types of stereotype of woman athletes in media which are "sex object", "person trying to be beautiful for men" and "wife and mother" and those stereotypes are formed by male gaze. Media is responsible to construct and constitute them and these labels are causing physiological damage on woman athletes (Brandt & Carstens, 2005). Also, while mass media constructing an audience for man athletes, decreasing woman athletes' voices and this creates an illusion as 'sports is still man area' despite of increased participation of women in sports (Cooky, Messner, & Hextrum, 2013).

According to researches, in the sports media, there is a predisposition to cover sportswomen about their body shapes and personal life more than their sports achievements (Kane, La Voi & Fink, 2013). Woman athletes are exposed to accusation about gender, and their skills, ambition, attachment, impeccability to sports based on their gender. For example, mainstream media representations of bodybuilding eroticizing the woman bodybuilders and creates the concept of muscle worshipping. This eroticizing constructs a preconception on woman bodybuilders and this causes difficulty to find support and sponsorship. Because, especially in Turkey, Islam and Turkish culture doesn't support nudity (Richardson, 2008). Also, another reason is the hegemonic masculine structure of bodybuilding industry (Vallet, 2017).

Not just woman athletes, also woman sports journalists are exposed to this discrimination and sexist discourse while male sports journalist are not. Woman sports journalists remain on the agenda with their personal lives like woman athletes. As woman players are accepted as a minority, who still chase their rights, also Black players' images on media improved. There are coverages that emphasize Black players' success, intelligence, skills, but there are still prejudgments about minority reporters and journalist in the post-racial world. The Olympics is one of the solutions of the minority problem with the major amount of woman athlete coverages (Billings, 2011).

Researches on gender, sports and media, also examine the notion of 'dual identity' which is maintains the structured women's roles (Bruce, 2015). So women can be sportswomen in this field but in another one, they have to be women in accordance with accepted social value judgments. Even a former soccer player and manager Ron Atkinson says that; "Woman should be in the discotheque, the boutique, and the kitchen, but not in football." (Doughan & Gordon, 2006, p.72).

With increase of woman visibility in sports, the woman audience of sports also increases, especially in sports like football and baseball which are accepted as 'male sports'. But the majority of sports audience is still formed by male. For television, sports audience consists of %90 man, %76 woman. On the other hand, a typical NFL game is watched by 6 million women and a Super Bowl game is watched by almost 30 million women. According to Wenner's study, most of the women that create this audience of baseball and football are elderly (Wenner, 1989). Today, internet-based sports pages, sports blogs helped women to gain visibility. With internet-based sports blogs, sportswomen became more visible and sport blogger women contributed to this. But there is a fact to research that sportswomen are shown still "sexually suggestive" (Clavio & Eagleman, 2011).

Sports blogs, like mass media, cover man athletes more than woman athletes. According to those sports blogs there is one way of masculinity which is having the healthy, muscular male body. There are still reflections of constructed masculinity of male hegemony. However it is hybrid way of masculinity. Because of the modernization of masculinity with social media, the new way of being masculine is having a bare-hairless chest and tanned bodies (Clavio & Eagleman, 2011; Andreasson & Johansson, 2013). On the contrary of male-dominated voice of social media, sports blogs and social media platforms have female-dominated workforce which is named 'pink-collar industry'. Invisibility of workforce, lower payments are the factors of increased woman online-workers. With the online, invisible environment of sports blogs and sports related social media platforms, women are able to work for what they want to work easily by using these platforms as a vehicle. This invisibility creates a shield and protection for harassment, online misogyny and vitriol in online world because of audience thinks that they are men. The reason behind this misunderstanding is the tone that used by woman workers (Cretaz, 2018).

## CHAPTER 2. PERFORMATIVITY AND BODY POLITICS

Women's role as being the object for male gaze makes the women function (Nelson, 1999). Watching a feminine and muscular women bodybuilder on stage performing the practices of body politics is the reproduction of male gaze. According to this statement, a woman bodybuilder out of stage is not a woman because she is not obligated to carry feminine features and the politics of body on her muscular body. Because 'being woman' has to be re-doable process with the changing structure depending on connotation. Bodybuilding, its gendered structure, its two phases and those relationship with media create the perfect square to use Judith Butler's performativity and body politics as the theoretical framework of this thesis.

### 2.1. Performativity

Judith Butler introduced the notion of performativity in the book of *Gender Trouble* by drawing from J. L. Austin's speech acts theory and performativity and Lacanian and structuralist point of view. The concept of performativity helps us to understand that social reality did not come to existence simply rather it is constructed through societal steps like language, gesture, symbolic notions, etc. People incorporates this social reality and human bodies performatively 'do' act of speaking. Hence the subjectivity is not an individual act but is created in relation to conventions (Dino, 2015). Performative speech acts make something happen, 'do' something with the power of speech. These acts actualize things that did not exist before its articulation. For example, in the wedding ceremony saying 'I do' actualizes and officializes the marriage (Keokee, 2014). Austin defines two ways of speaking called utterances. The first one that is the constative utterance or perlocutionary act represents the defining and informing acts, for example, I went shopping, I ate dinner. Second one that is the performative utterance or

illocutionary acts stands for performing the speech directly. A priest can pronounce two 'dolls' man and wife but it would not be a real marriage, despite of the power of priest (Salih, 2006). Butler uses this situation to explain the notion of gender. According to Butler, genders are doable. The act of a woman can feminize that act. A woman's body does not come out for wearing skirts but when woman wears skirts, it becomes feminized. When a man wears the same skirt, the feminized label of skirt carries the power to define the meaning in man's body (Keokee, 2014).

To Butler, sex cannot be far from being performative in a level because of the body's inexplicable structure, but body's structure rises on the act of define and body cannot be 'one' without speech acts which construct the body. When a doctor says 'it's a girl', it is not a reporting speech, but assigning the gender. With this act, the doctor disciplines, regulates and punishes her. This act doesn't explain the reality but starts the process of being a girl. From the beginning of social existence, the gender of the one's is already assigned. There is no natural body. The one is not a girl, a boy, on the contrary, the one does the girl, does the boy (Salih, 2006). There is no 'is' in gender but there is 'do'. From this point, "femininity is not a choice but the forcible citation of a norm" (Salih, 2006, p. 62). Presenting gender as a reality and producing it on continuous natural bodily features tell us that there is the construction of gender and, like the gender notion, 'masculinity' and 'femininity' concepts are constructed. According to Butler, there is a perception that bodies can be separated into sexes by their natural appearances and their natural tendency to be heterosexual. By this, heterosexuality becomes reproducible. Also, compulsory heterosexuality is hidable under that naturality (Butler, 2009).

Butler defends that performativity is not all about imitating the reality, but it is about citations of the reality "through the invocation of convention" (Butler, 1993,

p. 225), repeating the rules that are superior of the performer, domineering and extremer. Some of the connotations do not just tell the performing act but “confer a binding power on the action performed.” (Bell, 1999, p. 43). Also, Butler separates the performance from performativity. “Whereas performance presupposes a preexisting subject, performativity contests the very notion of the subject” (Salih, 2006, p. 56). There is a distinction between expression and performativeness. If there is no distinction, the pre-constructed identity would be non-existed, so gender would be non-existed. Accordingly, gender would be supposed to be ‘regulatory fiction’(Butler, 2009). On the other hand, the identity is embraced by performance paradigm’s critical epistemology as devised and circumstantial. While criticizing the concept of an individual subject, it charters the practicing and performing body (Jones, Jr., 2015). Butler investigates belonging by paying attention to the notion that defends the production of the self, is an effect. This based on Nietzsche philosophy and linguistic theorists such as Foucault (Bell, 1999).

One of the highest point work in the gender study field is Judith Butler’s explanation of gender construction and its social meaning, practices by using linguistic performativity (Cavanaugh, 2015). Butler’s performativity includes actions like repetitive ‘iterative’ action and physical ‘corporeal’ action. These actions tied to speech act and corporeal act. Those come together under the drama notion while being destructive. Performativity is about performers, also about the relation between performers and their audiences (Foellmer, Lünenborg & Raetzsch, 2018). According to many in that field, such as Beauvoir, Merleau-Ponty, the body is an unnatural gendered construction which is constructed as cultural and historical. However, Butler examines the ways of body construction by considering corporeal acts and how those acts’ taking part in the cultural transformation process. Butler defends that, “The body becomes its gender through a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through



time.” (Butler, 2009, p. 523). According to Butler, gender is not simply put on our bodies’ by history or language. Gender is a daily process, constant action. People put on them their gender under restriction. In the moment of understanding gender as a given thing by language and nature, hegemony tries to extend its ruling areas (Butler, 2009).

According to Butler, no one determines its gender because the script has already been written. Gender is constructed by language and linguistic acts. Discourse and language are not constituted by identity but they constitute the gender. The one can choose a gender costume from limited options like choosing a costume from wardrobe suitable to life condition and economy. There is no true or false in fabricated gender, it is just a role of discourse and society punish the one who doesn’t perform the gender act which is already determined that how will it be repeated (Salih, 2006). Bodies’ appearances are limited in societies. Those bodies have to carry signs of cultures by acting. That shows us the act does not belong to one. “The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene.” (Butler, 2009, p. 526). Bodies act in accord with their interpretations in the culturally limited and gendered environment and they comply with the order like scenario’s interpretations by many actors in a stage. However, one is aware that the action on stage is an act and detracts it from reality. So this gives the actor a free space to interpret the role. In real life, one doesn’t aware that one action. So one doesn’t say ‘it is an act’ (Butler, 2009; Dino, 2015).

One can’t act and perform the gender wrong. Because this is the reason for punishment according to hegemony. This punishment can be overt or unstraightforward. By punishing, hegemony assures the realness of gender and by believing to the realness of gender, one can escape from the punishment (Butler, 2009). Also, there is no counter-power to those hegemonic politic acts. Except for

language, the one cannot utter itself, because there is no 'I' outside of the linguistic act. Hence, this requires practice. Identity is performative and gender acts with linguistic create a subject. From the time that gendered body became one with the acts which are constructors of the body, there is no subject which owns the act and the act of gender that intended (Salih, 2006). Genders are not created by one's subjectivity, thus people act the gender which is ongoing. The acts are considered as personal, hence, they are results of hegemonic power and the system of thought. Thus, there is no reality in gender notion which is defined as heteronormative. On the contrary, heteronormative genders are real as a transgender (Dino, 2015). A transvestite not only reflects the severance in between sex and gender but also dare to that severance. A transvestite, beside of challenging the popular belief about gender, performs the gender as anyone else does, so the gender of a transvestite is real as anyone else. Because gender becomes real, only if it is performed, otherwise doesn't (Butler, 2009).

Gender is not a stable thing, it is a process of stylized repetition construction. Beauvoir emphasizes that "One is not born, but, rather, becomes a woman.". This construction depends on the body design. This design creates an endless illusion via acts. The process of gender construction can only be successful if it begins with the internalization of the acts and continuous with the actor's appropriate appearance to those acts. According to Butler, those constituting acts not only institute the identity of the actor but also they institute the actor's identity as compiling illusion, an object of belief (Butler, 2009). Butler emphasizes on the 'subversive practices'. These practices take the advantage of citationality of gender performances. These performances are practicing in the other context by society. While Butler points this situation, the gender performances are not honest and they are instinctually failed (Salih, 2006). "Butler suggests that what she has called "the contentious practices of queerness" exemplify the political enactment of performativity as citationality." (Salih, 2006, p. 63). While distinguishing the

term 'performance' from 'performativity', Butler suggesting the theatre's great contribution to queer politics. Further, the term 'queer' with semantic change, has become something else. Once 'queer' was an insult expression, 'an interpellative performative' act changed its meaning into strength (Salih, 2006). With performativity, 'queer' became a strategy which helps to produce 'sense' with using 'shame' as an effect (Kosofsky Sedwick, 2003).

There is a good example of performative gender; drag performance. Being drag queen is one of the best reflectors of gender performativity. Without representing reality, it imitates the cultural codes. Drag performance has no source and used by people who want to protest the hegemonic power structures. According to Butler, these drag performances utter that there is no essentiality under the gender notion. Genders can be changed, degenerated and differentiated, and this can be a reason of gender trouble (Butler, 2011). What Butler calls drag is "reconceptualization of gender" (Coles, n.d. p. 8). Because to Butler, assigning a gender to a body is not a natural process, bodies become gendered in a discourse and the drag is probative to that process. In the drag culture, Butler defends that the body is limitless (Coles, n.d.). Drag performances are the productions of heteronormative mind for entertainment and to set the lines what is straight and what is not (Salih, 2006). On the other hand, while drag showing us that the gender binaries how limited can be, at the same time drag can create other limits about gender. In the drag community, one has to follow gender forms, for example, someone with a breast implant may be excluded from that community (Coles, n.d.). Just definite bodies can perform drag. There are certain rules to be a drag, especially in drag queen contest, for example, there will not be surgery below the neck, contesters have to be a male, contesters cannot use hormones (Dougherty, 2017). Thereby with drag notion, the gendered body is not far from us. If the gender is repetition, then drag performance is a variation of that repetition. Thus drag performance is gender destroyer and has a political meaning because it destroys the ordinary through

bodies. Anyhow, from the point of the murdered drags, transgenders or transexuals, are they murdered because they turn their bodies to something as it's supposed to be or are they murdered because they are women (Coles, n.d.).

While Butler takes credit with her study about performativity, in the field there are few counter thoughts. Seyla Benhabib questions Butler, if there is no other gender identity further gender expressions how a female changes the construction of acts or expressions. John Hood Williams and Wendy Cealy Harrison approach to performativity from the point of doer-less action. Also Williams and Harrison interest into the usage of speech act and psychoanalytic theories together. Because in the performativity of Butler, there is no 'i', but psychoanalyst particularly interest in the 'i' and its construction process. According to Prosser's points of view, there is no performative gender. Prosser claims that directly regard transgenders and performativity, transgenders, not all of them, are in search of just 'being', freed from performative gender rules (Salih, 2006). On the other hand Gamson, about queer identities, critiques all scholars to not taking cases as real life and to miss the self-direction (Jones, Jr., 2015).

### **2.1.1 Performativity and Sports**

Sports involves competition and this competition becomes visible through complex physical activities. These physical activities requires internal or external motivations. Sports finds its place within body of the athlete. This place is a repetition of determined actions. Like gender, this scheduled processes' repetition naturalizes sports. Then, before the beginning of sports history these processes and gender are intertwined (Bulgu & Koca, n.d.). The gendered sports is the outcome of this intertwinement. For example, if a woman athlete competes good, the others tell this woman that she played like a man. Thus if a woman wants to be good at sports, she has to be good in manhood. A woman who has feminine

features and who is bad in sports is patronized by the hegemonic power. But a man who is masculine and who is bad in sport is not patronized by hegemony on the contrary he rewarded. Likewise, the feminine men also in the same category as the feminine women (Davidson & Shogan, 1999). According to Catela and Seabra 'being a body' is learned the social practice. Performativity has to be associated with 'do'ing the gender practices not 'have' or 'be' such as 'do'ing sports. Sports strengthen gender practices. The way of exercising and the rules are identified with the body like gender. "...we are the product of training the body in a certain way, this is, through practice, we do discipline our body to act in a certain way socially expected." (Catela & Seabra, 2015, p. 110).

One of the topics addressed in the search in 'performativity and sports' is about the reflection of hegemonic masculinity in sports over physical appearance which means over the body. The ideal body is defined through the masculine male body which is competitive, resistant to tough conditions, big, strong. Hence the female body called feminine matching with weakness, fragility, petiteness. These opposite poles which characterize feminine and masculine used by sport to underline gendered body. With this strategy, ideal sports typology and ideal sports body become very important, thus the importance of performer and performance become invisible. The female athlete gets skinnier and thinner according to ideal woman body image and becomes invisible while male athlete getting bigger (Gieseler, 2012). According to Gieseler, this situation is in use in traditional, mainstream sports. But in extreme sports, this is not the case. Gieseler defends that extreme sports are good examples to resist heteronormativity, challenge the binary thinking and language. "Mainstream expectations and binary language often dictate sporting bodies; in the extreme sporting culture, it is possible for athletes at the margins to reclaim their bodies through parody, resistance, and transcendence." (Gieseler, 2012, p.11). The organized sports originate the most important area for power relations and performative acts. Because there is

hierarchical order between the coaches and the athletes and the relationships between them are established on the masculinity. While the feminine terms which are settled on by society, being used as insults in these areas, if a female or a male athlete behaves as 'feminine', the athlete is marginalized. Also having different bodily features as female or male such as different muscle and fat ratios is one of the reasons the discrimination in sports. This discrimination is reflected by performative acts, by the body. This shows us by using 'natural order', patriarchy says 'this is not a human touch, this is just a natural inequality' (Messner, 1988).

Sports ensure arousing social structures and rules over the body with the sports practices, also sports reflect heteronormative values. The construction of social structures and body practices with sports and sports rules create inequalities and gender discriminations. For example, a female athlete who has a thinner body compared to a male athlete according to social values can show herself less than the male athlete. Also, a thinner female athlete has a lesser opportunity in the field of sports (Catela & Seabra, 2015). Parallel human behavior with traditions and gender norms in society is a contribution to the reconstruction of the hierarchical order. This is exactly the same in sports too. For example, a woman bodybuilder with a muscular body, to enter the masculine bodybuilder world, for keeping her heterosexism with her powerful body structure, has plastic surgery. Like sports, female athlete's body with ideology is turned into contested terrain (Messner, 2007).

The tendency of sexualizing the sports with the athlete's body while showing women as sexualized objects and men as the owner of the god's body one of the reasons the overlapping of gender performativity and sports. While the male athlete becomes a temple that women worship as an image, a female body becomes an object that is paired with lesbianism. The female athlete who is sexualized becomes legalized which means becomes the one that can be in sports.

For example, females who playing softball or another masculinized sports are definitely lesbian according to this homophobic and sexist approach (Gieseler, 2012).

Another example of gender discrimination in sport and performative practices is the size of a basketball. Changing the size of a basketball according to a female and a male athlete is propagating the gender politics over sports, however, the aim of a basketball is just getting in the basket. According to Catela and Seabra's research when female athletes playing with the male's basketball, there is no difference about the scores that means a female athlete who plays badly with a female ball plays badly with the male ball too. So what is the point? On the other hand, male athletes played worse with the female ball than a male ball. So is it performative affect (Catela & Seabra, 2015)? According to Messner's study, gender roles which are taught from childhood in fact from the birth take a serious part in being in sports and representing oneself. Changing baseball bat size according to sex, changing football shoe type according to sex and such as elements fuel up the gender norms in sports from childhood (Messner, 2007).

Clarke and Clarke (n.d.) say that we are just the observers of the reflected ideology. Hegemonic patriarchy by using 'tools (apparatus)' chooses to reflect male athlete (Althusser, 2014). In this situation, the female athlete stays under-represented. By doing this, patriarchy strengthens its place in society, in sports. When the female athlete is represented in any place, she is represented as a mother, a wife, a girlfriend or as a sexualized woman. Because, by doing this, patriarchy makes female vulnerable or needy (Messner, 1988). Even in the stadium, if a female fan doesn't sing sexist songs or swear like a 'man' and doesn't fit into 'shape', the female fan is accused to be a 'girl', according to research in Turkey and UK (Toffoletti, 2017). Social norms which are already determined come to light by athletes' representations in media. In 2004, Markula

uses the ideas of Foucault about sports and performative bodies and emphasizes that there are two kinds of bounding that ties sports and the body together, physical and mental by dominant discourse. Also in sports, there are two discursive sides, with power and anti-power. The athlete body, in this situation, is mediated to an audience which is created by individuals and the athlete's body transfers the power by doing sports from media (Emmons & Billings, 2015).

Such as daily life, in sports, transgender athletes are one of the performativity issues. This is a fact that the media's coverage of sports and athletes takes part in readers', audiences' behaviors and thoughts. In this system, regulations keep producing by, for people and audience including binary gender norms, body politics, and unconscious performative acts. This regulation can be understood as biometric regulation in sports. With biometric regulation, it is set that in sports there is dichotomy order and trans athletes 'distort' this order such as Renee Richards in tennis, Michelle Dumaresq in mountain biking and Keelin Godsey in the hammer throw. Sports organizations are regulated by gender codes. Transgender athletes challenge biopolitics and patriarchal hegemonic orderly organizations and they can 'be' outside of the binary thinking, this problematizes them. Transgender people in daily life or in sports can be 'acceptable' when they fit into binary gender roles. This requires a performance visually with clothing and styling. Such an antagonist act like this in patriarchy reserves heteronormativity. In sports because of the biological myths about male body's fat and muscle ratio and female's, a sports competition is rejected without sex and gender norms. So, The International Olympic Committee (IOC) stipulates for transgender athletes to have complete surgery and this requires a heteronormative performance (Matthews, 2016).

Binary thinking stays strong by performative traditions, discrimination between female and male athletes. It is not enough to blame hegemonic structures. "In other



words, we find ways to fight against language and performance that demands a choice between boxing trunks and miniskirts.” (Gieseler, 2012, p. 138) For Matthews, discrimination between female and male athletes in sports reinforces the base of gender inequality by defending biological myths and binary thinking. Also, journalism and media promoting this discrimination in many ways such as the representation of athletes, images, discourse. But, with focusing on this expansionist sexist discourse by scholars, critiquing binary order between athletes by journalist and working on genderless sports language in media can make difference (Matthews, 2016).

### **2.1.2. Performativity and Social Media Platforms**

Visual representation is the most important factor for social platforms and of course ‘selfies’ (Walker Rettberg, 2017). The one who takes the selfie becomes both the object and subject of the photograph. A mythic face is created on a social platform with the photos taken and shared. Those photos of faces have to satisfy people from certain angles. This aim of satisfaction creates the need for editing with ‘easy smartphone applications’ for the amateur photographer. According to Van Dijk this is manipulation. With social media photos of ours, we can control our representations. Or, Van Dijk questions whether it controls our representations or fits into shapes that were already created on social media platforms like Instagram. Actually, a photo that is posted is a replica of oneself and performing constantly how the photographer wants, however in the history of the photograph the only aim was showing the truth, the reality. While we take selfies and idealizing ourselves and being a ‘wish’, we move away from ourselves via camera because what camera does is moving photographer from the scene (Wadjih, n.d.).

Social media becomes a space to articulate subversive acts of gender performance in sports. This process in which we choosing and editing a self-portrait to

represent ourselves means that we perform. It is a performance which is we performatively posing to others. “The way in which the subjects perform themselves through their choice of pose is attached to embodied meanings created by these performative acts.” (Wadjih, n.d., p. 9). The one who constructs its identity constantly and actively performing while deciding every step of construction like a director (Caldeira, 2016). People performing constantly to present themselves to others while they deciding how to represent themselves and their identity types on social media platforms. By doing this, people feel to achieve something and feel like accepted (Lupinetti, 2015). However, there are debates on if it is a representation or it is presenting oneself according to constructed forms in society (Wadjih, n.d.).

To get back to Butler’s performativity, it is appropriate to say that networking socially reserves the acts and those acts can be explained by performativity. This social networking can be in real daily life or online. Because, the construction of identity is a process in reality and in virtuality. It is same in the online that how people perform their self in reality by norms and stereotypes. In online, identity construction is a performative act because ‘users’ setting their information about themselves, they can choose likes, tags, photos, appearances, status updates, responding ways. And of all these acts are conscious performances and behaviors. This process is not stable, is an ongoing process. However, contrary to popular belief, it can be challenging to represent one’s gender in online platforms suitable to their will. Because in online sites, besides the willingly commenting or updating a statue, users facing two gender choices; female and male (Cover, 2012). The performances that are repeated daily basis naturalize the performative acts to Butler. By performativity, gender roles become the same but seem like subjective. This subjectivity of appearance makes self-narrative ‘particular’ to one. On the contrary of real life, in online virtual spaces, those narratives and

performative acts are not easy to disappear; however, they are easy to find (Papacharissi, 2012).

With social media people that never showed their faces on mainstream media got a chance to represent themselves to wider communities how they like to do. On social media, there are three ways to represent self; visual, written and quantitative. Visual represents photos and images, written represents status updates, Twitter posts, comments on Instagram, quantitative represents the information in the form of graphic or numbers such as the number of steps or the density of a photo that one shared. Those self-representation ways can be mixed and intertwined. Also those self-representations aim to the socialization of one's and communication (Walker Rettberg, 2017). But what is Instagram? "The word Instagram is a portmanteau of 'instant camera' and 'telegram', which captures the idea that users or 'Instagrammers' can share images instantaneously and in real time." (Luyt, 2017, p.1). Hence, this platform, with this close relationship with reality, can reflect real life issues on the internet such as gender, hegemony, constructed discourse.

To Luyt's research on Instagram, hashtags show us that the real-life gender binaries are reflected in virtual life. Because, the sameness of mentalities and the language make this inevitable. The outcome of this statement is social media platforms are just replicas of mainstream media and at the end of the day mainstream and social media are not so different. Hashtags are words that people use them with photos to connect people interested in the same topic or to collect photos and images under the same topic. So, Luyt, by searching hashtag '#strength', finds that sports types are constructed to gender norms online. While '#strength' hashtag photos of males mostly matching with 'challenge, strong body form', female matching '#strength' hashtag is about 'having fun'. There are sports which fit for females and males according to patriarchy in the online world like in

mainstream media. In fact, in social media, means of words reflect deep-rooted stereotypes. Also, another point in that research shows us, female weightlifters and females who are interested in sports have to set boundaries for their 'femininity' and highlight it. However, because male owns the sport, male weightlifters or males who are interested in sports let their photos speak for themselves without any gender signs (Luyt, 2017).

Although the mainstream media is more open to the audience than the old one, social media, ever so it is debatable, provides a freer environment for users, to the audience. From the women's and women athletes' point of view, people became able to represent themselves to wider community how they want. However, if people represent or present themselves in online platforms is another debate about social media. Mainstream media tries to fit women in a certain shape more than social media. However social media is an unrealistic space without limits, so users can create their own context in it and users can choose what information they want to get. In this way, hegemonic social order can be reconstructed. By this ability of creation new angles, women gain power on how they want to be represented. Also, this empowering is not just about representing for women. There are some of the modalities to counteract subversive gender performance in the realm of sports thanks to social media platforms. For example, according to studies and researches, women who doing fitness, feel good when they see their progress from their 'timeline' on social media especially Instagram (Lupinetti, 2015). They have wider audience, they have their own communities, they can share what they want and they can represent and/ or present themselves how they want.

The most accurate and popular topic to build a relationship between bodybuilding and Instagram is 'fitness selfies'. Because of the 'feminine' feature of women who doing fitness, this way of exercise is more supported among women. Also, the

mainstream media and sports magazines encouraging this fit body type. Social media platforms, especially Instagram because of the sharing videos and photos feature, offer the perfect space. While users make a career from posting 'fitness selfies', this kind of photos gets lots of 'likes' and 'followers' (DiFonzo, 2016).

While social media platforms provide users to represent and to express themselves, there is a negative impact which is called 'cyberbullying'. This notion corresponds to a bad wording or rude people online. There are examples of suicides that people who, mostly young people, influenced by this act with other components and killed themselves (Hosseinmardi et al., 2015). Bullying in cyberspace includes an intentional aggressiveness (Kowalski, Limber & Agatston, 2012). When we look more closely to the certain situation about women who do fitness will be a good example to this point. On Instagram while fit women who are in a 'feminine' shape getting compliments about how they 'looking good' and getting motivating comments like 'keep up', the negative comments coming to women who are 'out of feminine shape' and 'muscular' like 'looking like a man, mutant', 'turning a man', 'disgusting', 'obsessed'. Also, another issue that 'fit women' complain about is 'objectifying by others' and 'naming attention seeker'. This cyber bullying is reflecting daily life in form of 'hiding'. Women who have the muscular body to hide their bodies wearing oversized clothes because they think people don't get them. Also, those women name themselves as others (Lupinetti, 2015).

Because of the free-speech, in social platforms, cyberbullying became uncontrollable. Cyberbullying examples are effective on elite athletes too. It is good for fans to reach easily to professional athletes but this situation makes athletes more open to cyberbullies. While some athletes taking comments full of hate from their fans because they were bad at performing on the field, some of them taking comments full of hate from their anti-fans because they were good at

performing on the field. Those hate comments are not about sports only, they become personal and sexist, especially to female athletes. For example, professional tennis player Grace Min came face to face with sexist comments (Soong, 2017). Another cyberbullying example is about taking another person's, stranger's photo and uploading to an online platform, without any permission (Crouch, 2016). Another example of cyberbullying is experienced by Rebecca Marino who is a professional tennis player. Marino announced that she retiring because she couldn't stand anymore to this attitude coming from cyber bullies ("Cyberbullying in Sports," n.d.).

## **2.2. Body Politics**

There are structures which serve to government and carry the dominant thought system. The carriers are named by Althusser as ideological state apparatuses and the dominant thought named by Gramsci as hegemony which symbolizes an invisible power (Althusser, 2014; Mouffe, 1979). So, the ideological state apparatuses such as school, religion, sports enforce the hegemonic power to society and in this way, it gets easier to govern the society (Althusser, 2014). On this wise, hegemony can shape the minds. Apart from that, the body is the "...focal point for struggles over the shape of power according to Foucault" (Ramazanoğlu, 1993, p.182). Foucauldian 'panopticism' which is a power's object construction over visuals, takes part on everybody and makes body political (Jackson II, 2006). The ways of dealing with the body such as economically, politically show us that body is not just a biological formation. Karl Marx has an important place to reimagine body historically, apart from its biological meaning. The body becomes socially and economically shaped arena (Bordo, 2003). Modern forms of power do not use the top down and repressive methods. They do their job ingeniously, unintelligibly, imaginatively. They can naturally enter our everyday habits (Davis, 1997).

‘Biopower’ notion helps us to understand how body politics work in societies. By Foucault term, ‘biopower’ is a practice to discipline the body of the population via governments, universities, even families (Siqueira-Barras, 2017). There is no neutral order, whereat institutions give us frames to discover certain forms for genders and bodies. According to Foucault, modern power is produced not only hierarchically but horizontally, and it is not visible and understandable, because it is almost mixed with our lives. We constantly repeat this modern power with language and our everyday practices without awareness. One of these practices is a biopolitic data collection and this practice provides the politization of bodies. Collection of body sizes, finger prints, health records, ideal body narratives, passports, norms that defining the perfect body are some examples of biopolitic data collection. The body, but the imaginary one which means the constructed one, is socially and historically constructed by the language, common daily activities and practices (Gatens, 1996).

The concept of body politics refers to a contestation area of power where body is regulated monitored and struggled over through various discourses. The first usage of body politics occurs with the second wave of feminism in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. According to feminism, human body is political already. History and control mechanisms shaped the physiology and morphology of the human body (Bordo, 2003). According to Bordo, bodies are the areas on which can be studied and which can be shaped (Lennon, 2014). The problematization of the body is the reason to make bodies political. The bodies which are defined by governments such as identity cards make the bodies the topic of politics (Ramazanoğlu, 1993). Deciding stereotypes for genders, disciplining the bodies, fashion, gendered social areas, gendered sports, deciding how to think about bodies by hegemony are not new. The body politics had been used easily because of body’s features such as differences that quickly recognizable over the body and

the identities that can be named immediately, the ability to turn a behavior into daily activity on society (Jackson II, 2006)...

In many parts of society, body politics was applied as a comparison of women and men. For example, King mentioned that Aristotle regards women as ‘afflicted with natural defectiveness’, and St. Thomas Aquinas defines women as ‘imperfect women or misbegotten male’. According to many people, women are passive creatures in society and this point of view is the consequence of the hegemonic patriarchal discourse (King, 2004). Davis defines this perspective as patriarchal body regimes (Davis, 1997). In societies dominated by patriarchy, women are reduced in rank mentally and bodily, but their economic ‘value’ is recognized, ergo ‘dehumanized’ women are not individuals but part of a system. Losing singularity by power and being part of collectivity make woman ‘man-made’ (Barkass-Williamson, 2016-17). In Bordo’s study, it can be found that “...the female body is both construction and resource.” (Bordo, 2003, p. 36). Support of patriarchal power by social values, institutions, and law, legitimates whatever power wants to do, ergo in a gendered context, male power can discipline women with violence or without (Ertürk, 2009). The bodies that cannot be controlled and cannot be fit into ‘shape’ are created by the power turn into ‘gender trouble’ (Butler, 2016). “The example of Madonna, the female bodybuilder or the male transvestite is potential sources of ‘gender trouble’, precisely because they upset our normative conceptions of the appropriate female or male body and provide inspiration for a transgressive body politics.” (Davis, 1997, p. 12).

According to Irigaray, the female body recognizes itself over the male body. Because the only body which has form and identity is the male body. Male body can be a leader by using power and authority, which are provided by hegemony and the patriarchy. On the other side, the female body is formless and a chaotic



structure, therefore it is a threat to already constructed hegemonic male body and the power (Irigaray, 1985).

Along with the rising of capitalism, women's entering into work life could not change the common sense about 'domains of women'. Despite the fact that men and women were together in the same place in the same job and the inequality of payments and positions of jobs, did not come to an end (Siqueira-Barras, 2017). There are unresolved problems between modernity and tradition. Because, the traditional values of woman collide with the reality of the neocolonial process on the woman body. Non-Western women are the most critical point in this debate. Because they create cheap labor, also they are the workers at home and in the sex industry which stands up against all non-Western belief system (Harcourt, 2009). Anyhow Western women were made politic bodies, after The First World War, in Western, women body were made the focal point to body politics especially on the issues like birth, womanhood, and motherhood (Lennon, 2014). Along with the feminist movement, women resist against being an 'incubator'. According to the research that Siqueira-Barras refers, 3.6 births per woman in 1960 in the US decreased to 2 in 2011 (Siqueira-Barras, 2017). Such policies about controlling population and reproduction aim to set boundaries for women, even if they attempt to eliminate the womankind (Butler, 2009).

The politics of bathrooms, also support the body politics segregations on the body. Joshua Rothman says in his article in *The New Yorker*, "... if you think historically, you realize that we've always used bathrooms to segregate people. ... So we've always used bathrooms to enforce social boundaries." (Rothman, 2016). These gendered toilets are being an issue for feminists, activists, queer and transgender theorists for studying on degenderization of toilets. The segregation of toilets is the result of the nineteenth century's understanding of moral and percept of absolute womanliness, Victorian mind. In male-dominated systems, separated

bathrooms ensure a safe public space to women and girls, because this male domination harnesses the consent of females' sex and makes females defenseless for harassment (Jeffreys 2014). Also, segregated toilets aim to prevent diseases which is a proof of health politics and body politics' close relation and the obsession of hygiene what Foucault names 'hygienic superego' (Cavanagh, 2010). In addition, the number of toilets for women is higher by comparing to men's. This enforces the segregation based on biological construction of body (Jeffreys, 2014). Gender-neutral toilets are musts for gender equality (Cavanagh, 2010).

Gender takes an important role in body politics. Because gender is not just a biological situation, also it has constructed meanings which differ from society to society. Gender has structured nature but also it is a fluid concept which constructed through 'gendered', living carrier of the power, language. In this way, gender roles can be described. People who define themselves without constructed gender and go further of those roles, break the heteronormativity formed by power. From this point of view, the body politics are included in the perspective of queer theory. Queer theory protests the binary politics which are established over the body (Harcourt, 2009). As a new feminist body, queer theory creates alternative politics of the body, thus culture (Davis, 1997). According to feminist theory, woman representation is a must. However feminist theory has to be liberalized and distort the order. According to Butler, there is sexually divergence on point of origin of feminist theory and this legitimizes the male domination. This divergence encloses the binarized gender and settles the boundaries according to heterosexuality. Queer theory, by its comprehensiveness, distinguishes from feminist theory. While Butler doesn't argue with the idea of female and femaleness expressions, Butler defends that the other expressions of woman and womanhood need to be represented. However theoretical language has to be considered. Because expressions are not pre-linguistic. Language constructs the whole process of expressions and their analysis' (Butler, 2009).

Queer theory, with poststructuralism affect, rejects all the binary norms and identity politics that established socially and academically. Also, queer theory tries to de-construct structured identity labels. Hence it asks that ‘What is gender?’ (Jones Jr., 2015). “Because the logic of the sexual order is so deeply embedded by now in an indescribably wide range of social institutions, and is embedded in the most standard accounts of the world, queer struggles aim not just at toleration or equal status but at challenging those institutions and accounts.” (Warner, 1993, p. introduction xiii). On the other hand, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida defend that queer theory interested in the birth of homosexual subjectivity in and out of culture bounds (Namaste, 1994). According to Irigaray and Tronto bodies are subjected and discriminated by heteronormative and patriarchal dominant power which has to be stopped and protested. This is a necessity for equality in politics anyway (Siqueira-Barras, 2017).

### **2.2.1. Sports, Media and Body Politics**

Considering that sport is a structure that develops over the body, sports are cut outs for body politics, especially for the female body (Molton, 2014). Also, the governments have tried to give women a place in sports area with not very innocent causes, while they limiting women’s access to sport. The governments, mostly for the processes after wars, to create a healthier female body form for reclamation of generations, used sport as an excuse (Karaçam & Koca, 2016).

As of the time that sports were used as a tool to shape societies, female body idealized by media and sports industry. Female magazines were encouraging women to have a healthy and beautiful body. To have this body, women had to do sports. In some magazines, women could find the specific moves to make their silhouette more feminine. These politics on body never stopped. Because they were feeding the sports industry, fashion industry and they were spreading the

ideology of government upon bodies. This standardization helped the government to control new generation by forcing the ideal body image thus their body politics (Molton, 2014).

At the same time, while women were entering to bodybuilding environment globally, media didn't approve the woman bodybuilder body. Especially in Turkey, the news headlines consisted of sentences such as "Böylesi düşman başına" (I would not wish such a woman on my worst enemy), "bu kadınlardan korkulur" (those women are redoubtable), "...bir yandan pazularını geliştirirken, bir yandan da cerrahlık düşleri kuruyor" (while she improving her muscles, she dreaming about being a doctor), "kaslı kadın terör kaynağı" (muscled woman is a source of terror), "erkek gibi vücut" (body like man's), "güçlü kaslar" (powerful muscles), and "acı, kuvvet, ve çift cinsiyetli görünümünden hoşlanıyorlar" (they like pain, strength and hermaphrodite image) ("Turkish Women Bodybuilding History," n.d., n.p.). After 1986, Turkish press showed more interest in women bodybuilders such as Tülay Özbek who lived in Germany. The language and the discourse of the press changed after the late '80s. It became more moderate and supportive. For example, about female bodybuilder Zeynep Everi, in 89, Turkish press published the news mentioned that 'lady body (bayan vücut)'. Also the examples of headlines in that times were; "'erkek gibi (like a man)', 'en güzel hakem (the most beautiful judge)', 'Türk rüzgarı (Turkish wind)', 'kıskandıran vücutlar (enviable bodies)', 'vücut şov (body show)', 'babasının kızı (like father, life daughter)'" ("Turkish Women Bodybuilding History," n.d., n.p.).

The way the fitness magazines dealing with the ideal body image construction started to change from the middle of the 90's. The debates over the ideal body image changed into body acceptance and the self-love. Anyhow the fitness magazines that encouraging women to accept themselves and their bodies all the way they are, using the fit body photos in the magazine pages as an example, instead of discussing on intelligence or other perfections. The dominant narrative

was about body shaping in those magazines. Hereat, readers of these magazines irritated from the unrealistic representation of 'real woman' and they started to complain with their feedbacks to magazines (Markula, 2001). This confusing politics of magazines that mixing unrealistic body image and the body acceptance narrative is just a selling politics and gender politics ideally suite for commercialism (Bordo, 2003).

Body politics and the ideal body image encouraging people to have uniform bodies and these acts normalizes the fit body hence when people gains weight, they get enervated and depressed. The phenomenon of being 'never good enough' and 'formed by others' feeling also outcomes of the body politics that processed by commercials, tv programs, media over and over. Extreme body-workouts, anorexia, bulimia, heavy exercise regimes are certain ways to have the hourglass shaped, ideal body (Molton, 2014). "In such a way, many bodybuilders and anorexic persons may be seen as 'victim' of the extreme control of their bodies and of the contemporary construction of an ideal body image." (Marzano-Parisoli, 2001, abstract). But not just females who struggle with those reinforced body politics, also males feel like they have to do something with their bodies (Bordo, 2003). Like the ideal thin body for females, males are forced to have muscular, toned bodies. Also under this bodily effect, individuals have to succeed in career and the happily ever after (Dittmar, 2008). The body has to be ideal and has to carry the social norms no matter whose body it is. In this way, the body becomes an object, and the interest for the body grows day by day (Marzano- Parisoli, 2001). In addition to regulating the shape of body, shaving or using beauty product also are part of the body politics (Molton, 2014). In that point Butler asks that "which bodies come to matter- and why" (Butler, 1993, p. xii).

On the contrary of the creating thinnest body with the ideal body image, this manifest increases the obesity level in West. Because of the difficulty of the goal,

women give up on being 'ideal' (Gardner, 2001). Thus, self loses value because self never worth any value as an individual but being just an image. Even objectified female is defined by Young and Bordo as "eye candy" (Bordo, 2003, p. xiii; Molton, 2014, p. 151). Popular culture also adds fuel the flames by using media tools. For example, Susan McClary's study on Madonna's, one of the pop icon, music videos, also the recreating body themed movies are showing us that body is just a plastic which could be shaped by society and thoughts (Bordo, 2003).

With the effect of popular culture, it can be noticeable for the consumer behaviors that, body politics are reinforced with the consuming culture. People are encouraged by consumer culture for dieting, jogging and consuming cosmetic products to fight with their natural feature which is aging. Thus the ideal appearance, with popular culture and media tools such as television, is presented to people to place their thoughts that imperfect bodies are no longer normal and natural (Featherstone, n.d.). In the media, the ideal image of a person reflected by idealized models which are 'bodies', and they represent a beautiful and successful body. According to Dittmar, "there are psychological costs of consumer culture, and at the extreme, they can manifest as mental and physical health pathologies, such as compulsive buying or extreme body-shaping behaviors." (Dittmar, 2008, p. 2). Also, another consumer product, a doll such as a barbie can spread the ideal body thoughts through children. Even the change can be manageable, it is hard when profits come from 'the ideal body image sells' politic. Hence, consumers, children, learn to value people by their images (Dittmar, 2008).

With the new technologies, beside of mass media tools, there is new media which requires a virtual body and identity reflection. In this space, there is sexualization also, like our real dimension, from our second body, hence body politics are reproduced according to their real-life meanings. But, non-existence of physicality

creates a reality without risk. In the digital world, the relation of social organization to the social structure is important as well as the meaning, significance of virtual bodies. Because the meeting point of the digital space and the body can create social meanings that can not be found in the real field (Holmes, 1997).

In the digital space there are platforms called social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram are potential spaces for people to create their own contents under surveillance or not. Some of the researchers think that social media platforms are vehicles to escape from hegemonic power. On the contrary, the other part of the researchers such as Kramerae think that these social media platforms are spaces on which the dominant power is re-created and the gendered stereotypes are echoed. By the Westernized thought system, and its mediated version with man-made technology, dominant power easily transduce with metaphysical, structured, virtual bodies. Social and cultural ideas about gendered human bodies are transferrable into virtual atmosphere simply (Holmes, 1997).

In the previous version of media, receiver, audience was passive but today receiver can use its creativity and can interact with medium and the content, so Mark Poster claims that it is possible to self-construct (Holmes, 1997). People can fight with the real world body politics by using social media platforms. For example, in Iceland people used #freethenipple hashtag in social media platforms to point out that there is double standardization toward the female body and this hashtag was used to normalize female breast, re-define the meaning with the explanation that breasts are just organs, they are not sexual objects. Also, the hashtag was used to remove the patriarchal power from the porn industry (Rudolfsdottir & Johannsdottir, 2008). Another example is blogger Aliaa Magda Elmahdy. Elmahdy posted her nude photo to protest body politics in Egypt on her

blog. According to Eileraas (2014) work, “nude body reconfigures the body politic and reimagines the theater of the political”.

Social media platforms are not just for personal entertainment, they also create a place where personal journalism turns into self-campaign. With those platforms, like many things, sports news and media structures’ were changed in terms of form and nature. Journalist and journalism were challenged by sports fans, athletes. Mediator was extinguished. Athletes found the chance to be themselves, to express themselves and their lives more openly in realistic way. For example an athlete can share photos to constantly update the autobiographical narrative in real time. This provided to be outside of ‘media’s boundaries’. This means that people can act outside of body politics which media reinforces (Hutchins & Rowe, 2013). But, some researches defend that on the contrary of general belief, social media does not support being out of body politics or being woman in sports world (Dumont, 2017).

In the meaning of transformation of professional sports production, diffusion and consumption, new media technologies and social media contributed so much. These platforms ensure worldwide communication for athletes, their fans and sports organizations. However, this situation was understood late. Today, athletes in social media involve the processes of creation and diffusion of informations (Dumont, 2017). Also mass media producers, newspapers, tv channels have spaces on digital platforms. On the contrary of opportunity to use this digital space to be counter against hegemony, hegemony can use to spread its messages via those channels on digital environment. Like 1980’s news about bodybuilders, contents and narratives are so similar to those news headlines however they are so few. Most of the contents talk about “The body that men would envy” or the personal lives of those woman bodybuilders (Yaman, 2016; Avrupa Haberleri, 2019).



### **CHAPTER 3. LOCATING GENDER WITHIN THE HISTORY OF SPORTS**

Various discussion and attempts of uncovering when, why and where sports developed took place within the literature of sports history (McComb, 2004). Sports historians Kyle, Gardiner, and Jüthner (1983) respectively think that early Greece hosted the golden ages of sport. Various research claimed that sports like combating were arisen around 2300 BC, in the Indus River area (Scambler, 2005). Anyhow, there were no traces of unofficial sport in Mesopotamia. However, there are some clues that according to hierarchic order, upper classes owned sports and also official sport were used by the military (Mandell, 1984). It was claimed that Greek and Roman sports understandings created the base for modern sport. At the times of Greeks and Romans, the sport was a very important activity and those important activities were accepted as ‘masculine activities’ (Aybek & Yıldırım, 2016). Sports were seen as activities requiring heavy works, power and troublesome, on while works that politeness-seeking were seen as more suitable activities for the women (Memiş & Yıldırım, 2011). We can see examples of this situation in Athens where women’ place was defined as house (Aybek & Yıldırım, 2016), except Spartan women among other Greek civilization women. Spartan women were educated and well trained by physical means to give birth to a healthy nation (Memiş & Yıldırım, 2011; Demirel & Yıldırım, 2013). The examples of sportswomen in Ancient history were Egyptian women in the years of B.C 2600 and Etruscans women, who lived in Rome for a long time, could freely exercise (Memiş & Yıldırım, 2011).

Exclusion of women from sports in the Ancient times was also reflected in Olympics as women could not participate in Olympics, and married women could not even watch the Olympics in Ancient Greek, except Demeter the mother goddess. It is also remarkable that during the same time period only women running race was organized by woman competitors for the honor of the Hera.

Only woman races required less effort and easier criteria than the male races. For example, the ratio of the runway was shorter (Yıldiran, 2014). Such exclusion of women from Olympics lent to definition of ideal body for sports as male body (Yıldiran, 2014). Coubertin defines the Olympic hero as an adult male individual until Christianity took place in the historical stage. Christianity followed a harsh attitude towards the Olympics and tried to ban it. (Aybek & Yıldiran, 2016). During the Middle Ages sports was undervalued due to medieval education system (Demirel & Yıldiran, 2013). Since the church was the only educator at the time, thus physical activities were perceived useless. In the middle ages, women were excluded from sports but men continued their presence in sports with (Memiş & Yıldiran, 2011; Aybek & Yıldiran, 2016). High society women in the Middle Ages were allowed to do sports but only chosen by men such as riding, dancing, and ball games.

During the Enlightenment, the philosophers and the educators like John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Johann Bernhard Basedow, Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, supported the inevitability of sports in education and included this idea in their teachings. Thus the late 17th and early 18th centuries accepted sports and physical activities as education for creating social rules and a way for preventing disease (Guedes, 2007). *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* by John Locke (1693), and *Emile* by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1764) are examples to the ways of thinking of those times. The function of sports in education continued in the modern era (Demirel & Yıldiran 2013). Yet physical education has not made great progress in the education of women till the 19th century when women showed interest in archery, rowing, chess, hunting, ice-skating, horse riding also tennis, fencing, and bowling (Aybek & Yıldiran, 2016). The participation of women in sports before 18th century was evident in arts, literature and paintings. For example, The Odyssey written by Homer included a ball game between the princess and her maids. In China, women participated in sports such as wrestling and martial arts.

In India, women were active in yoga and dance. In Japan, upper-class women took part in sports, especially in football as shown in the painting titled, “A football game” by Kawamata Tsuneyuki (Schann, 2014). On the contrary women were not able to take part in the early American sports until mide-80s. The sports in America was completely belong to men in the 17th and 18th centuries (Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

In pre-Victorian England, women were very couraged about showing their body and they were boxing in their underwear, commonly in the 18th century, but with the Victorian era it changed and showing body and participating to a sports event banned. Through the end of the 19th century, the sport became an important activity among women to be able to talk and do whatever they want (Townson, 1997). In the 19th century, during the Victorian period in England between 1837 and 1901, emerges as an important period in researches about women and sports (Scraton & Flintoff, 2002) To Schann, the base of the sports today is 19th century’s sport (Schann, 2014). Taşdelen and Koca regard this period as “a history of women's fight for equal rights in sports” (Taşdelen & Koca, 2016, p. 78). Victorian era, by means of sports, was the clear page for assigned gender roles to male and female (McCrone, 1991). Women were tried to leave behind men in this period (Aybek & Yıldiran, 2016).

According to a Victorian belief system, women are physically fragile and except for some sports activities, sporting is not suitable for women. Even if they stay in certain sports areas, women made society accept that they can do sport. But in order to be able to do sports, a certain amount of was power was required. This meant that only upper-class women could be interested in sports. The appropriate sporting activities for women have not required too much muscle activation and masculine appearance; they were feminine, lack of mannish look and effort that needs muscularity such as tennis, golf, and archery (Taşdelen & Koca, 2015;

Taşdelen & Koca, 2016). Sweden defines these sports as ‘sport of skirts’ or ‘skirt sports’ (Sweden, 2001). Also, the clothing in sports was matter at that time of the Victorian Era. Because, the clothing in sports affects the success of the competitors (Parker, 2010).

In the Victorian era, sports magazines started to cover women in sport. Readers were suggesting in the comments that women should do the sports which are specified by men such as fishing and cycling. Cycling which was an approved sport by men, allowed freedom of dress and the opportunity to stay alone for a woman (Taşdelen & Koca, 2016). In the Victorian era, the first professional women's cricket team was created and football, which has been described as a ‘vulgar’ sport by upper-class women, has been commonly played among working-class women. In the same period, in America and Canada, the ‘tender’ sports were seen suitable for women and cycling became widespread in Canada. In America, women's colleges have played a major role in the development of the sport, and education reform has resulted in a significant increase in women's participation in the sport (Costa & Guthrie, 1994; Taşdelen & Koca, 2016).

Coubertin appeared in the middle of the 19th century with the idea of international Olympics. Coubertin thought that the French society was turning to a feminine society and they had to return immediately to the patriarchal structure. He was defending the necessity of ancient Athenian Olympic education system for this purpose (Aybek & Yıldiran, 2016). According to Coubertin women should not participate in competitions (Coubertin, 1993) and “the women sport is against the laws of nature” and women will “feminize” and “ruin” the sport (Aybek & Yıldiran, 2016, p. 69), especially fencing. Second Olympic games in 1900, opened up to women because of the critics on only-man Olympics in 1896. Golf and tennis were the first women sports in Olympic history (Mitchell, 1996; Taşdelen & Koca, 2016; Yıldiran, 2014).

At the same time, men's sports clubs also fostered the same attitude, as Coubertin's, towards women, so sports women opened their own sports clubs (football, golf) and Women Sports Federation in France; Femina-Sport and Academia, to encourage girls, women, women workers and employees to join sports and educate them. (Aybek & Yıldıran, 2016; Scraton, Magee, Caudwell & Liston, 2007; Townson, 1997; Koca, 2018; Quintillan, n.d.). At the time when the number of feminist associations was exploding, women's sport was developing in the form of sports clubs (Femina Sport, Academia...), while societies were experiencing an exponential increase in the number of woman sport club members (Bauer, 2011).

Despite all efforts, women couldn't participate to the Olympics in the field of athletics, there within 1921 the first women's competitions were organized and the International Women's Sports Federation was established (Parčina et al., 2014; Aybek & Yıldıran, 2016). In 1922, women's competitions were repeated in Paris and these competitions were called the first women's Olympic. But on the other hand, the naming of these competitions as 'the first women's Olympic' was disapproved by IOC (International Olympic Committee). As a result of this, according to the decision of FSFI (Female Sexual Function Index), the next games, (1926, 1930, 1934) were named 'World Women Games'. The traditional attitudes continued in the following period, but the first attempts were considered successful (Aybek & Yıldıran, 2016). Women sports made a successful peak after the First World War, those years were named as 'golden ages' (Townson, 1997). Also after the Second World War the sportswomen increasing in sport kept going, anyhow women were minority compare to men in sports (Schann, 2014).

Anyhow, in Islamic countries sports and physical education for women and its history was really compelled for Muslim women. Still, there are struggles about

sports and physical education of women (Benn, Pfister and Jawad, 2011). Modern sports are not computable to traditional Islamic culture, therefore numbers of athletes are not so high (Pfister, n.d.). But in Muslim countries, different attitudes are adopted against women. In sport, in general, the body is in the foreground, the main 'image'. In Islam, women bodies have to be covered up. Accordingly, hijab and turban issues arising. Muslim women who cover up can manage to be a participator in sports that have flexible dress-code. But other hand, sports such as swimming, with specific dress-code can be a challenge for Muslim women. This situation is not a struggle for all Muslim women. Because not all Muslim women wear hijab or turban. Thus there are other struggles for Muslim women like stereotypes, family pressure, being a woman. Also, there are other thoughts about Islamic approach to the sport. On the other hand, there is a number of Islamic scholar and feminist who defend, with 'the proper suit to Islam', that girls and women are encouraged to get involved to physical activities (Benn et al., 2011). One of the most important examples of it; Muslim Women's Games that was realized in 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005 in Teheran. Women number continue to increase in sports ( Pfister, n.d.). "Women's struggles and resistances in the sport today need to be situated in a historical understanding of patriarchal power relations." (Scraton & Flintoff, 2002, p. 51). Today, sportswomen have no equal terms with men but progress still going on. Also the participation level also higher compares to the past.

### **3.1. Women in the History of Sports in Turkey**

In parallel to a long history of Anatolie, different kinds of sports also exist in the history of Turkey. In the earlier times in the history sports have generally functioned to feed military necessities. According to the results obtained from the archaeological excavations made in Anatolia, wrestling, sword, archery, horse riding, javelin, hunting, boxing were the sports practiced in Anatolia which was

named as Eastern sports. Anyhow, Hittite owing to its bronze technology made the sport a leisure activity because of the remaining free time with reduced daily work. (Fişek, 1985). Also, Hittites added sports to worship activity that they do for the gods, and these joints formed the basis for the ancient Olympic Games. (Yıldız, 1979). Seljuk Empire made contributions to sports such as defense and war preparations tactics. Those are used by the Ottoman Empire (Fişek 1985). In the Ottoman Empire, apart from science, sports were seen as an activity that needs talent. Factors affecting this situation were lack of un-trained experts and popularity of sports among foreigners and non-Muslims (Günay, 2016). On the contrary according to Dizdar, in the Ottoman Empire, sports activities intertwined with daily life (Dizdar, 2016).

In Anatolia, the first organizations of sport independently from the war are called “wrestler lodges”. The wrestling sport that independent from combat training with bringing a new dimension to sports perception in Ottoman Empire got East and West closer to each other. Afterward, in Anatolia, gymnastics were learned from Europe and started to be applied. Sports activities that added to school curriculum started to secularize but they couldn’t provide massification of sports (Fişek 1985). But “football provided this alone.” (Fişek, 1985, p. 47). In a short period, football compare to modern gymnastics became very popular (Günay, 2016). Also, football and football clubs were part of the reason of institutionalizing of sports orientation with the West and Turkey and identification of sports with football (Fişek 1985). Anyhow, the football clubs mostly belonged to non-muslims and this situation was leading to distinctions among the people, which led to the use of the sense of nationalism in the wrong direction. Also during this period, sports activities, gymnastics, scouting were used to prepare people for war (Günay, 2016).

The studies on the transition from the Ottoman to the Republic of Turkey show us that the interventions as Tanzimat Edict, that the Ottomans made with the thought of westernization (Bulgu & Çelik, 2010; Canşen, 2015; Dizdar, 2016). In Tanzimat era, which is an iconic symbol for positive steps about modernization, sports and sports education were taken seriously like in West, and sports expanded out of the military area in Ottoman Empire (Bulgu & Çelik, 2010). In Turkey, during The Second Constitutional Era and after the declaration of The Republic, body-training and sports gained momentum to improve (Arpacı, 2013). In the 2nd Constitutional Period, women fought for social rights and sport played an important role in gaining rights for women in the Early Republican Era.

Especially from the second half of the 1920s and through the 1930s, this improvement increased accelerated (Günay, 2016). The spread of sports among Muslims actualized with the studies of Galatasaray High School physical education teacher (Günay, 2013). The first years of Republic in Turkey have been an important period for keeping tabs on the developments in the world about the sport. The understanding of modern body discipline has entered the literature and this actualized by the contributions of inspector general of physical training Selim Sırrı Tarcan (Arpacı, 2013).

Common thought in this period was the thought of creating the ideal body (Arpacı, 2013). We see the predominant role of the state on sports after the declaration of the Republic. Paying attention to the sport in any aspect by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was one of the reasons that intertwining of sports and civilization. Post-Republic sports were tennis, fencing, and sailing, including gymnastics. These sports are mostly spread among the elite people in the society. According to Canşen, the reason for this was that the frontalization of the body was not compatible with Anatolian culture. (Canşen, 2015). We can understand that most of the innovations related to women's rights have been made by the government



and education was the base part of these innovations. From the beginning of Republican Period, the thinking of raising an healthy and strong nation dominated the physical training and sports regulations in education. Also with modernization, authorities tried to increase women participation to sports and this effort carried the aims of to create healthy nations therefore healthy children from healthy and strong women, and the thought of eugenics (Kavasoğlu & Yıldiran, 2016). “Therefore, the primary purpose of women's participation in the sports was identified with highlighting the traditional role of motherhood, also it was reinforced with the view that strong mothers will give birth to strong children.” (Kavasoğlu & Yıldiran, 2016, p. 98).

In the Republican period, the image of the Republican woman was created. The Republican woman had to be healthy, ethical and well-educated. This stereotype was reflecting the western style housewife (Kavasoğlu & Yıldiran, 2016). From 1930's the performance of female athletes were encouraged by the images of new women stereotype and interviews which were emphasized on the effects of sports like being healthy, being beautiful and being esthetic on media tools (Bora, 2012). With media, authorities gave fear to the notion to encourage women about sports. They defend sports have the positive affect on children's health and those kind of statements increased women participation to sports. The magazines and the newspapers of the time guided women about the sports that women had to do or could do, also women encouraged to play a part in a sports field like their 'European congenics' (Kavasoğlu & Yıldiran, 2016). News about sports women emphasize the gender roles of woman. Although the number of sports women news is low, news about sports women centre on specific sports branches such as volleyball (Koca, 2018). Thus the experts went to the base of the work and they added body training lessons to the education as it is all over the world. Gymnastics and physical education programs that are being worked on in schools have started to be presented to the public as show and these shows have been

regularized by the department of education (Maarif Vekaleti) and started to be held every third week of May (Arpacı, 2013).

Besides most of the publishing which reinforce the patriarchal mentality, the images were associated with the physical beauty on media. In the same time, the beauty queen of Turkey in 1930, Mübeccel Namık, associated her success with her daily exercises and this association gave the sport a different meaning in society. Adding that, jockey Fazilet Hanım didn't see herself belong to the sports world as much as men and she defended that women have to do housework and take care of their children first. So, we can see that this discriminative attitude towards women is internalized by even sports women (Kavasoğlu & Yıldırım, 2016). To fix this understanding, photographers focused on the sportswomen in the sports festivals such as gymnastic festival was organized in 1929 with excluding sportsmen. Anyhow this attitude reinforced the patriarchal point of view among the understanding of sportswomen mentality, supported objectifying women, especially sportswomen, and genderization of sports. On the other hand, Aksu Bora (2012) cites to Kandiyoti's thoughts about Halide Edip Adıvar's novel. Kandiyoti thinks that Adıvar describes a Republican woman, sexless and elude from womanhood.

Participating in Olympics in the west one of the ideal acts for "being modern as a nation" and this shows us that sports became an important force in the foreign policy of the government (Kavasoğlu & Yıldırım, 2016). Olympic female athletes show that there is a development in female sports history (Pfister, n.d.) So in 1936, two Turkish women participated to Berlin Olympic games in fencing; Halet Çambel and Suat Aşeni Fetgeri. With this participation, Turkey emphasized on own modernization and rationalization. An interview with Çambel shows us this participation of Olympics with women reflected a national sense of mission. Çambel mentioned Atatürk and his request to participate to Olympics with women

athletes in that interview. In this way, the message was given that the Republic of Turkey was not a womanless revolution (Hekimler, 2013). According to Pfister, the Islamic cultures do not pay attention to modern sport thus Olympics and she describes Turkey ‘secularised country’ because of the two Olympics sportswomen, two fencers (Pfister, n.d.).

In between 1930 and 1980, the professional sportswomen, mostly, were coming from the rich families. Most of their families were interested in doing sport. Besides, this attitude of families that encouraging women to be an athlete was considering as modernity. On the other hand middle income families’ women members, at the end of the 1960s got the chance to be able to do sport professionally. Primary school teachers and gym teachers were the cornerstones for those women. After the 1980s, sports activities in schools became widespread. Paying attention to sports in the schools and the assignment of good teachers contributed to raising good sportswomen. However, if women could not be able being well-behaved, ethnic girl, super athlete, perfect mother and faithful wife, they could not be a proper athlete (Yarar, Cantek & Özgüven, 2009). Also, another factor to being a proper athlete and a proper women is choosing the sports outfit wisely; suitable clothes for women when doing sports were loose and simple clothes (Kavasoglu & Yildiran, 2016).

Despite the elapsed time and the possibility of making a career in sports, stereotyping on female athletes still performing in societies such as Turkey’s (Yarar, Cantek & Özgüven, 2009). Women’s participation in sport increased in our days but still it is not comparable to men’s participation in sport. Also, women can compete with men and can be in gendered sports branches (Yüksel, 2014). Today, the stereotype about gendered sports is still exist especially among football fans and in football stadiums. However on the contrary of bodybuilding, woman fans have to hide their ‘feminine sides’ and they have to orient themselves with the

sexist discourses in those places. (Erhart, 2013). This is because men don't think that socially expected feminine looking women don't know even the 'offside rule'. This stereotype also widely reinforced by media (Erhart, 2017). Football understanding approves male hegemony and its natural strength and dominance. This attitude tries to keep away women from football and football stadiums. Women can be here only if men decide to host them in stadium. For punishing the teams, federation decided to organize women fans and audience only games and male fans who are older than 12 age wasn't allowed in stadium. This shows us only 'men' can want women in stadium otherwise they are not welcomed (Erhart, 2016) "The most popular leisure-time physical activities for Turkish women are aerobics (aerobic classes in sport centers) (60 per cent), walking (in outdoor places) (48 per cent) and fitness activities by using machines (exercise bikes, treadmills and strength training machines) (41.6 per cent)" (Koca & Hacısoftaoğlu, 2010, p. 9).

Despite of increased woman participant to olympics, today, still participation of sports women to olympics is insufficient in accordance with male participation. Turkey was successful at 2008 Olympics because of the 4 medals which were gained by female athletes Elvan Abeylegesse (10,000 m and 5,000 m races), Sibel Özkan (weightlifting), Azize Tanrikulu (taekwondo). Also at 2004 Nurcan Taylan, a female weightlifter was the first female weightlifter who won the gold medal. 2012 London Olympics is the most woman participated olympics in history with the ratio of %55 man, %45 woman. Turkey took part in this olympics with 55 men and 48 women (Koca, 2018). Further, locally, women were encouraged to do sport with the facilities like 'Ladies Locals' in Ankara, Turkey which is male-gaze free (Pfister, n.d.; Koca & Hacısoftaoğlu, 2010). In the academic field nowadays various workshops and panels are organizing to stop the sexist attitude in a sport such as 'Woman and Sports Workshop (Ankara, Turkey, 2016)'. "Although sport in Turkey is being encouraged and supported by the state through The Directorate

General of Youth and Sports (DGYS), the Turkish Football Federation, and sports clubs, the gap between the facilities and number of sports provided for male and female athletes can easily be seen.” (İnal, 2011, p. 1)

Beside participation to the sport as sports woman or athlete, in decision-making level such as directing, managing, coaching, women are few. “This means that sports policies are made by men.” (Koca & Hacısöftaoğlu, 2010, p. 10). The researches on gender and sports management didn’t start until 1980’s (Koca, 2018). Further, in Turkey, there are no sport organizations for women, the Turkish media’s female athletes representations are insufficient and stereotype highlighter, hence the low representation in these levels can be the reason of disregarding women perspective (Koca & Hacısöftaoğlu, 2010).

However, not far from today, in 2003, in Turkey Rafting Championship, because of the danger of the parkour, the authorities of federation excluded women from racing (Koca & Hacısöftaoğlu, 2010). According to a research made in Turkey, in İstanbul, Adana, Ankara, Gaziantep, İzmir, Kars and Trabzon, the numbers of sports women, sports manager and trainer are lower than sports men in 2007, 2010 and 2017 consistently (Koca, 2018). In spite of the increase of women participation in sports, the quitting of sports increased also in women. The reasons for increasing of quitting sports in women are; marriage in young ages, partner pressure, young motherhood. One of the most important reasons for moving away from sports by women is the problem of harassment. Koca and Hacısöftaoğlu discover that as a reason for women quitting the sport, the responsibilities about family, baby-care, and housework (Koca & Hacısöftaoğlu, 2010). “The families’ view of sports is also an important factor affecting girls’ sports.” (İnal, 2011, p.1).

## CHAPTER 4. GENDERIZATION OF BODYBUILDING

Bodybuilding is defined as “a process of maximizing the muscle hypertrophy with a combination of different exercises (weight training, specific caloric intake and rest).” (Writers, 2017, para. 5). In this study, bodybuilding is taken as training the body for a competition and publicly display, not as daily weight lifting or being fit. As Dutton & Laura (1989) suggested “it can be characterized in terms of an active interest in the aesthetics of muscularity and its achievement by means of methodical training.” (p. 27). Eugen Sandow was accepted as the first bodybuilder because as his muscularity spoke to the definition of the bodybuilding in literal terms. Sandow displayed his physique to the public as an innovation (Dutton & Laura, 1989).

Bodybuilding, so-called muscle building, from ancient times, in Greek and Egypt, was used to train the body for power and strength. In Ancient Era, in Ancient Greek times, bodybuilding wasn't named as a sport. Bodybuilding was seen as a phase, step of development and improvement of the body to reach a record high in the gymnasium. Around the 11th century, in Indian culture, bodybuilding became an exercise style with the tools like dumbbells (Writers, 2017). Firstly, like in India, working with dumbbells and body weight was for coping with daily life tasks and being healthy and without any ending-goal. But in the 19th century, bodybuilding gained a new purpose; entertaining. Weight-lifters started to lift big animals. But in 1867, Eugene Sandow born and he became a touchstone in modern bodybuilding. Sandow had the symmetrical muscled body that impressed people and by showing his face in books, postcards, he became famous. Also, he created a bodybuilding magazine named Physical Culture. In 1891, World Championships in England organized to make official bodybuilding contests. In 1896, bodybuilding got into Olympic Games (Robson, 2014).

In real terms bodybuilding starts with 'pre-competition era' in between 1800 and 1930. In this era, there were some competitions but they weren't in the most general sense (Writers, 2017). Sandow organized first bodybuilding competition 'Great Competition' in UK, in 1901. With his contribution and his book named 'Bodybuilding', the notion of bodybuilding got into the language. In the USA, the first bodybuilding competition 'Most Perfectly Developed Man in America' was organized in 1903 (Karaçam & Koca, 2016). The notion of 'strongman' came to exist with specific exercises such as lifting heavy animals and pulling big cars. After 1930, 'pre-steroid era' begins which is accepted as modern bodybuilding in the western world. In this period lots of gym centers were opened and the popularity of taking photos from mirror increased. The pre-steroid era is an important period in the history of bodybuilding because athletes were thinking that the secret of being good at bodybuilding was a good diet before steroids. Bodybuilding was natural. Also, women started to take place in the contest but not as contestants (Writers, 2017).

The very first bodybuilding competition was organized in 1939 in real terms named Mr. America by Amateur Athletic Union. Mr. Olympia is the ultimate prize for bodybuilders. To join Mr. Olympia, one has to win a competition or at least has to come to the final round. In 1950s bodybuilding became very popular and 1960s became a stage for Joe Weider, who is a founder of Federation of Body Builders, and Bob Hoffman's duello. They were producers of equipment for bodybuilders and they fought about which one's products were used most in the bodybuilding world. Also, Weider took part in Mr. Olympia's organization. 60's also known as the beginning of protein packed foods era and steroid use. Females were starting to be in bodybuilding, in the '50s and '60s. Female bodybuilders were appearing in the bodybuilding shows; they were living together, eating and training together (Writers, 2017). With the '70s, bodybuilding was called literally a sport. Bodybuilding divided into phases and those phases took the names of

successful bodybuilders such as Arnold Schwarzenegger. Also, a movie made about him named Pumping Iron. The '70s are the golden ages for modern bodybuilding (Gilbert, n.d.; Writers, 2017). V shape became the main goal in this sport which is a body shape with big arms, big shoulders and tiny waistline. This body shape, even with lots of hard work, could not be achieved in the pre-steroid era (Writers, 2017). In the 1970s, George Butler and Charles Gaines mention bodybuilding as “dwarf-tossing and midget-wrestling, freak show” (Locks & Richardson, 2012, p.13). In the early '80s, female bodybuilders were accepted as elite bodybuilders while male power and significance continued upon this industry (Klein, 1993). In 1977, with International Federation of Bodybuilders (IFBB) allowing, Ms. Olympia was added to Mr. Olympia and women could emerge in the competitions of bodybuilding (Lupinetti, 2015).

In '90s symmetrical body type gains important and also female bodybuilders gain visibility by media. Ms. Olympia which was generated in the '80s becomes famous. The rules in competitions for the female bodybuilder and feminine features were settled. Corinna Everson and Lenda Murray marked 90's. After them Juliette Bergmann, Dayana Cadeau, Iris Kyle made themselves heard (Writers, 2017). In the '80s and '90s, the female body standards that bodybuilding competition asked were not fitting to gender norms and society's ideal female body. So, female bodybuilders had to be more feminine and less muscular. In the 2000s, female bodybuilders had the ideal and more 'masculine' body compare to male bodybuilders. But decreasing muscularity and muscle mass, made female bodybuilders look alike and their sizes degraded to bikini fitness category which is beginner category of bodybuilding (Locks & Richardson, 2012).

Today, bodybuilding living the most modern period with articles, various types of workout, easy access to knowledge. It is, by all means, mediatization of bodybuilding (Writers, 2017). Instagram and social media made a huge influence



on the fitness industry and the bodybuilders to open them to the public (Lupinetti, 2015). Social media platforms are places for sports fans to show their commitment at the same time these platforms could enable social change (Sayan, Erhart, Görgülü & Aslanbay, 2017).

#### **4.1. Bodybuilding in The History of Turkey**

In Ottoman Empire, janissaries were practicing bodybuilding to increase their strength. For this sultans like IV. Murat created training programs for janissaries (Özdemir, 2015). Ali Seyfi Bey, Ali Rana Tarhan, Rıza Tevfik the Philosopher (Filozof Rıza Tevfik), Şevki Sevgin, Cemal Erçman the Shot Putter (Gülleci Cemal Erçman) and Faik Üstnidman were first known bodybuilders in Turkey. In 1924, Cemal Erçman as a shot putter and Şevki Sevgin as weightlifter attended Paris Olympics. They later contributed to the establishment of bodybuilding in their times (“Türkiye’de Vücut Geliştirme,” 2012). The first bodybuilding championship was organized in İstanbul in 1969 under the title of Türkiye Şampiyonası (Turkey Championship) (Özdemir, 2015). From 1970, bodybuilding was attached to ‘Halter ve Jimnastik Federasyonu (Federation of Powerlifting and Gymnastics)’. ‘Vücut Geliştirme Federasyonu (Federation of Bodybuilding)’ was founded in 1991 (“Tarihçe,” n.d.). Ahmet Enünlü the champion of Madrid World Championship in 1978 turned bodybuilding into one of the sports branch in Turkey (“Vücut Geliştirme,” 2008). Thus Turkey has become internationally successful in bodybuilding. Ahmet Enünlü was one of the responsible people contributed to this success by winning the world championship three times. the weightlifter magazine which was published by Yaşar Can Tümerdem helped to the public recognition of bodybuilding as a sport in Turkey. However the economic aspect of bodybuilding made it exclusive for people with higher economic status (“Türkiye’de Vücut Geliştirme,” 2012).

Turkish women's involvement in bodybuilding was in the '80s. Tülay Caner, woman bodybuilder, who was at the time living in Germany won the second place in the world championship of bodybuilding in 1992. The news on women bodybuilders also started appearing on the newspapers in 1981. Today, on the contrary of fewness of researches on bodybuilding, there are competitions for woman bodybuilders. However, on the higher levels on this sports such as management level and education level, still men's names are much more than women. On Türkiye Vücut Geliştirme ve Fitness Federasyonu (Federation of Bodybuilding and Fitness of Turkey)'s online page, woman educators are few on educator's list. Also, woman participator to courses of Türkiye Vücut Geliştirme ve Fitness Federasyonu (Federation of Bodybuilding and Fitness of Turkey) are less than man participators. These facts are searchable on Türkiye Vücut Geliştirme ve Fitness Federasyonu (Federation of Bodybuilding and Fitness of Turkey)'s online site. In addition, on lists of national teams, men bodybuilders are predominant. Majority of woman bodybuilders compete in lighter weights. In heavier weights women are minority. For example in 2017's national team auditions, on physique category, one woman competed in open weight and she won the first place without any competitor. In the same competitions, on the same category, with the settled weight first place is won by one man out of 74 men. In 2019's national team auditions, on physique category, on master physique category, 2 women competed while 28 men competed on the same category (Türkiye Vücut Geliştirme ve Fitness Federasyonu, 2019)

#### **4.2. Bodybuilding as a Gendered Space**

Bodybuilding accepted as the property of male and maleness, to prove that such as dependency, emotionality, weakness belongs to female (Klein, 1993). Bodybuilding is considered as man sports and this is something related to art. The muscular male body has been subject to art from the ancient time till today. That

body prototype which is matched with power and strength has been an inspiration to bodybuilders. Michelangelo's sculptures such as David or Greco-Roman sculpture Torso of a Dancing Faun or Apollonius's Belvedere Torso or Arnold Schwarzenegger's pose, all of them are showing us the relationship between art and sports, especially bodybuilding (Dutton & Laura, 1989). It is a fact still today that people refer to ancient time greek art male body to describe ideal male body image and they link it with manhood (Karaçam & Koca, 2016). Also, photography is another art for which is related to bodybuilding. In bodybuilding, striking a pose on stage trend came out from a deficiency in early photography art named long exposure time which requires still object or subject. With the popularity of photography art in bodybuilding, increased interest to female nude which reflects the reality on the contrary of painting (Locks & Richardson, 2012).

According to Bourdieu, manhood is inseparable from physical masculinity (Karaçam & Koca 2016). Therefore muscularity is perceived as opposite of femininity. So, a muscular woman makes people questioning, in this context, the apperceiving of these notions. Hence, the female bodybuilders become a challenge to gender and power relations. Female bodybuilders are named 'apologetics' because they have to carry their 'feminine' sides to stage, to performance such as makeup, breast surgery or high heels... Female bodybuilders adding these feminine features to a 'masculine' body. And this is the way that female bodybuilders can deal with sponsors. "..., female bodybuilders are persuaded to perform the feminine ideal while simultaneously looking muscular." (Lupinetti, 2015, p. 35). According to Bolin, they are named as 'perverted'. Female bodybuilders depolarize the gender notion. Female bodybuilders by training their body outside from gender norms, they can escape from daily life routine of gender (Locks & Richardson, 2012).

According to Lowe's study, there is a notion called 'dual purpose' and it is used to explain the togetherness of muscularity and femininity. This means mixing traditionally defined feminine codes with muscle. In bodybuilding, there is a line that draw by dominant male power and this power created standards for female bodybuilders. For example, hair length for female bodybuilders is regulated by IFBB. While female bodybuilders are accepted to play inside of the line, 'because there is no other choice', they try to redefine the rules by building their bodies. But female bodybuilders, despite the all acceptance, are regarded as out of bounds. Male bodybuilders rejecting to date with female bodybuilders, there are exceptions. Because, male bodybuilders who reject to date with female bodybuilders have the prejudice about female bodybuilders' understatement effect (Lowe, 1998). Female bodybuilders also are named "...deviant, unfeminine, manlike, lesbian, or being recast to fit within the dominant patriarchal views of femininity." (Lowe, 1998, p. 10).

"While male bodybuilding has often been viewed as the assertion of hegemonic masculinity, female bodybuilding has been regarded as feminist resistance and critics have considered how/ if it challenges traditional feminine iconography." (Locks & Richardson, 2012, p.21-22). Some female athletes also challenge this power relation and gender norms by action. For example, Gloria Miller Fudge took off her high heel shoes during her performance on the stage or Cammie Lusko working on her body with an intense fitness routine that according to people this routine belongs to male bodybuilders (Lupinetti, 2015). On the other hand, Lakoff and Scherr defend that the body which female bodybuilders have is a beauty determinant. Also, female bodybuilders are a challenge to the traditional female image (Messner, 1988).

Bodybuilding has its own jargon and in it, words are gendered. This situation one of the main reason that female bodybuilder are alienated. Also, the question such

as ‘are you a bodybuilder’ asked a female bodybuilder by looking her body, is a common reason of female bodybuilders feeling be alienated, because they think that their body is different (Lowe, 1998). Such as female bodybuilders, male bodybuilders are living in a world of norms and gender rules. Society has expectation from male bodybuilders such as ‘hyper-masculine body’. This body, according to societies, reflects self-worth and masculine features. Also to pump that up, consumer culture is used. Making female bodybuilders leaner with extreme diets and exercises, helps to strength male hegemony with dedicating ‘muscularity’ to male bodybuilders (Gillett & White, 1992).

#### **4.3. Two Phases of Bodybuilding: Training and Performing The Body on Stage**

Bodybuilding has two phases; training and performing the body on stage. For competitive bodybuilding, one has to do weight training hard and aims to while dieting and doing cardio, lose fat and gain lean muscle. Body is the focused organism, shaping it and improving it constantly are the main acts to succeeding. A method in training constitutes one of the most significant parts of the bodybuilding. Lewis & Cash (2005) claims that while competitive bodybuilding training gains favor in the sportive life, bodybuilders, female or male are also more self-confident in their personal lives.

“Most bodybuilders would assert that bodybuilding is not simply an activity which somebody ‘does’ in the gym for a few nights in the week, but is a lifestyle which performatively shapes identification.” (Locks & Richardson, 2012, p. 26). The masculine body is perceived as a powerful machine capable of tireless and uncomfortable work (Smith & Stewart, 2012). On the contrary of the general judgment about perfect muscular body of bodybuilder, bodybuilders are not always in a body that already ready for the stage. If they always having the

competition body, they could have health trouble because of the strict diets and the water loss. Also in the stage, bodybuilders use some techniques to be seen as perfect, but it is just some tanning spray so it is illusion (Locks & Richardson, 2012).

Well-sculpted muscular physique is the final stage and the main goal in bodybuilding. Being the object of the gaze in the stage of the gendered show are important aspects of bodybuilding as a sport (Locks & Richardson, 2012). Bodybuilders present themselves to the judges and compete with other presenters in the stage. This presenting process is a performance. If a bodybuilder wouldn't present itself in the stage, or rather if a bodybuilder is physically compatible but attending no presenting event in the stage, the esthetic of that body is useless in sportive term. This situation shows us the performativity in bodybuilding as performativity is one of the characteristics of presenting itself as artistically (Gilbert, n.d.). According to sociologist R.W. Connell, feeling 'male', physically requires presenting oneself, including shape, size, and posture.

There are two kind of bodybuilding competitions; official and private. Only licensed athletes could participate in these competitions. Bodybuilding competition has five categories; bodybuilding, fitness, wellness, body fitness and classic bodybuilding in Turkey. However, only men compete in the classic bodybuilding category. In a bodybuilding competition, judges looking female bodybuilders as a standard of femininity. Those standards are published by Türkiye Vücut Geliştirme ve Fitness Federasyonu (Federation of Bodybuilding and Fitness of Turkey) in Turkey. Topics such as condition of accession, weight classes of categories, dress codes, doping rules, stage poses, awarding and stage design are included in this guideline. The last update was made in 2010 (Türkiye Vücut Geliştirme ve Fitness Federasyonu, 2010). Before competitions Türkiye

Vücut Geliştirme ve Fitness Federasyonu (Federation of Bodybuilding and Fitness of Turkey) publishes the reglement of competitions.

Worldwide bodybuilding competitions are ruled by IFBB (International Federation of Bodybuilding&Fitness). In online page of IFBB, there are rule booklets for competition categories which are Classic Physique, Men's Bodybuilding, Men's Classic Bodybuilding and Games Classic Bodybuilding, Women Bikini Fitness, Body Fitness, Women's Fitness, Men's Fitness, Women's Physique, Men's Physique, Athletic Fitness, Men's Wheelchair Bodybuilding, Children's Fitness, Men's Fit Model, Women's Fit Model, Mixed Pairs, Women's Wellness. Worldwide competitions are more organized, various, also their rule booklets are more detailed (IFBB, 2019).

## **CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY AND DISCUSSION**

### **5.1. Methodology**

This thesis draws from the in-depth interviews with women bodybuilders to understand the motivations of women bodybuilders to claim presence in the gendered environment of the bodybuilding. The questions around following points were addressed to understand their perception of bodybuilding as a gender sport, their motivations for doing this sport, the challenges they face, and the meaning they attribute to media.

-How does it like to be a woman in bodybuilding?

-Is bodybuilding a space of struggle?

-Do boundaries, standards, rules of sports for female bodybuilders practice politics on female bodybuilders' bodies to protect their feminine side or they create a struggle area?

-How woman bodybuilders perceive media and vice versa according to woman bodybuilders?

-How woman bodybuilders perceive Instagram under the notions of self-presentation and self-representation?

-How Instagram becomes a vehicle to counteract subversive gender performance in the realm of sports?

This thesis contributes to real-life case studies by accepting gender as a daily practice and a performative act. Majority of the research on sports often draw from content analysis, and the experiences of athletes are not taken into consideration. By interviewing with woman bodybuilders, we can hear their experiences, feelings and perceptions about doing sports in male dominated environment of bodybuilding. In-depth interview's close structure to daily conversation makes the collecting data more realistic (Showkat & Parveen, 2017).

Also, framing with body politics, this thesis shows woman body is used for propagation to set the agenda by government (Lennon, 2014), with the example of woman bodybuilders. "Women's struggles and resistances in the sport today need to be situated in a historical understanding of patriarchal power relations." (Scruton & Flintoff, 2002, p. 51).

Four face to face and two online semi-structured interviews were conducted with six female bodybuilders who professionally participate in bodybuilding competitions to explore the meaning and significance of bodybuilding for them. Giving voice to women bodybuilders and contributing to their visibility were intended through in depth interviews. The selection process of the interviewees was based on their participation in professional bodybuilding competition since the concept of sports in this thesis defined as an activity with the features of



physical exertion, skills, competition, and a clear goal. Bodybuilding as a sports involves a competition and a goal besides physically training and skill.

By media, with the changing shape of the area, social media and Instagram was chosen to work with. Also, there is a common point that Instagram and bodybuilding share, a scene. Instagram pages of the woman bodybuilders were used to contact potential interviewees. 30 competing woman bodybuilders with high number of followers (over 3000) in Instagram as a signifier of their fame were contacted via the direct message feature of Instagram to kindly ask for their participation in this research. They were found from the lists of athletes which were published on Bodybuilding and Wrist Wrestling Federation of Turkey<sup>1</sup>. 6 of them accepted answering the questions directed for this thesis with four face to face and two online interviews. The age, profession, sports achievements of the interviewees, and number of their Instagram followers are listed on Table 1.

**Table 1. Participants' Informations**

	AGE	PROFESSIO N	SPORTS ACHIVEME NTS	
PARTICIPAN T 1	19	Student in university	First place in Turkey Junior Bikini Fitness Championship, footballer	21,5 B.
PARTICIPAN T 2	35	Personal Fitness Trainer, Personal Pilates Trainer	Fourth and first places in Championship of Turkey Bikini Fitness Category, volleyballer	4511

<sup>1</sup> <https://tvgfbf.gov.tr/iletisim/>

	AGE	PROFESSION	SPORTS ACHIEVEMENTS	
PARTICIPANT 3	30	Tourism Professional, Personal Fitness Trainer	Fourth place in IFBB Turkey Bikini Fitness Competition	3745
PARTICIPANT 4	30	Fitness Journalist, Personal Fitness Trainer	First place in Championship of Turkey Bikini Fitness Category, First place in Miss Shape Universe Wabba World Championship	7879
PARTICIPANT 5	34	Theater Player, Personal Fitness Trainer, National Team Trainer	One Second and Two Third places in Turkey Bikini Fitness Competition and Two Second and One Third places in Turkey Body Fitness Competition	78,3 B.
PARTICIPANT 6	32	Personal Fitness Trainer, National Team Trainer	Two Second and Two Third places in Turkey Body Fitness Competition, swimmer	5953

Interview questions addressed the backgrounds of women bodybuilders in sports, their motivations, their perspectives about the gendered environment of bodybuilding, and their use of Instagram. The responses of the interviewees were discussed in six categories. They reveal bodybuilding’s structural problems, bodybuilding’s close relationship with performativity, what ‘being woman’ means in bodybuilding, media and bodybuilding’s relationship, changing values of self-representation and self-presentation according to platform, and the counter hegemonic usage of Instagram. (See Appendix 1 for the Interview Questions.).

**Table 2. Distribution of Question According to Discussion Topic Title**

<p><b>5.1 The meaning of sports</b></p>	<p>-What does ‘sports’ mean to you?          -How can one understand you?          -What is the separation point of you from other female athletes?</p>
<p><b>5.2. Personal Sources of Motivation</b></p>	<p>-In this system that imposes bodybuilding as a masculine sport, what makes you keep doing this sport and what are your motivations?          -On stage, there are certain standards and rules which are set to show female bodybuilders’ feminine side. You have to be ultra well-groomed. Could you talk about this situation?</p>

<p><b>5.3. Bodybuilding as Performative Act</b></p>	<p>-What are womanhood, femininity, and bodybuilding according to you?</p> <p>-Which image pops up in your mind when I say bodybuilding?</p>
<p><b>5.4. The Burden of ‘Being Woman’ and Body Politics</b></p>	<p>-Is bodybuilding a gendered sport?</p> <p>-What does ‘being woman’ means in bodybuilding community?</p> <p>-In the meaning of the world and in Turkey, what does ‘doing bodybuilding as a woman’ means?</p> <p>-Have you ever criticized about doing bodybuilding? Could you speak of about, if you have?</p>
<p><b>5.5. Thoughts on Media Representation</b></p>	<p>-Could you evaluate the media’s perspective to bodybuilding and female bodybuilders?</p>
<p><b>5.6. Instagram</b></p>	<p>-What is the contribution of the Internet and social media platforms to bodybuilding and to viewpoints to this sport?</p> <p>-Which one reflects you; gym photos of you or competition photos of you on Instagram?</p> <p>-Which one reflects you, the gym you or competition you?</p>

Bodybuilding is about reaching the perfect muscular body shape by methodologically training for presenting that body on stage to compete. That stage gives us perfect opportunity to practice performativity notion because of its relationship with the act, actor, performance, perform. Also, bodybuilding's gendered nature creates a base to examine the body politics within. In general, researches give the opinions about bodybuilding's attachment to protein-packed foods, social media, and arguments about doping. Historically attributed to manhood, bodybuilding, today intertwined with consumerism and still continues to binding with manhood.

To include Instagram to this research, the personal Instagram accounts of participants are examined. Participants were asked about their most representative post on Instagram. According to their answers, the photos and their comment sections were examined. For the same two weeks period (from October 27 to November 11 2018) according to their answers, the posts are counted. This date range is chosen the interviews were finished to compare with the chosen photos. A number of representative photos are important because visualization is important in Instagram. In line with the main question of this thesis the gym and the competition stage photos as the representative spaces of bodybuilding world were included in the analysis. The main intention behind is to reveal if they posting the photos that they think their representative ones. The question here is if do their actions are transferred to the digital world.

Like images, language too has the role to reflect real life values on social media platforms. Like love, people show their hate via comments and direct messages. Instagram is a social media platform that offers an area which mixes images and written language, thus if there are, carried values from real life to digital world can be examined at the same time from different angles. Therefore, while participants' biweekly images on their personal Instagram accounts were

examining, the comments under those images also were examined to understand if real life thinkings of people have carried to digital world via comment section hence language. Therewith participants' counter hegemonic and counter mass media types of usage of Instagram are questioned.

## **5.2. Discussion**

Under the light of performativity and body politics, this chapter discusses the collected data and the relationship of the facts such as bodybuilding's struggle space, performative bodybuilding act, being woman in bodybuilding arena and the body politics relation with it, media and bodybuilding, self representation and self presentation according to platforms; bodybuilding scene and Instagram scene.

### **5.2.1. The meaning of sports**

To understand other factors about bodybuilding and women, first we talked about bodybuilding and its meaning to participants. Because these personal findings are important to reveal significance of the woman bodybuilders' problems in bodybuilding's gendered space. Bodybuilding is everything to participants. Bodybuilding is the answer of everything according to most of the participants. This chapter focuses of three aspects; the meaning of sports to participants, understanding the participants, difference of the participants.

The meaning of sports according to those participants is vary. To P1, sports means everything, friend of her body, like a lover. P2 sees sports as life. According to P3, sports is everything. Sports means passion for P4. To P5 sports means patience. P6 says that "Sports is love.". Four of the participants, P1, P2, P3, P6, say "You should train with me if you want to understand me.". To understand P4, one

should listen her songs because she is musician and to understand P5 one should party with her or call her when he/she is in trouble.

Except P4 and P5, to understand them the most important thing is the training process. Because on the contrary of presenting, representing has, besides appearance, other housings like values of a person, perspectives. Unlike binarized systems such as genderization process, there are lots of un-discussed values in bodybuilding. Those values represent outside of all binarized notions. Bodybuilding is not just about presenting body on stage. The reality behind its training phase. Mostly we don't look beyond, like people's performative genders. Woman bodybuilders are not same. There are separation points for every single person in that performative lives that we live. P1 is free and easy. P2 loves the disharmony between Turkish culture and bodybuilding. P3 is ambitious. P4 has a unique background story. P5 has an artistic background and P6 has nothing to say about her separation point. As we see, all participants of this thesis look similar on stage with their competition costumes, paintings and their muscle mass, however they become different when they come off the stage.

So, at the end, majority of the answers come cross with bodybuilding. This shows us that the other outcomes are not just some general thoughts on bodybuilding. They come from their hearts, they are very personal untouched issues. Knowing all these personal answers makes easier to understand the delicacy of the struggles and challenges women bodybuilders have to live, standing firm.

### **5.2.2. Personal Sources of Motivation**

While the participants accepting the challenges of the gendered space of bodybuilding, they also have different motivation sources to keep 'being' in the bodybuilding world. These sources of motivation various from being happy with

their own muscular body image to music or personal memories and relationships. These personal motivation sources are proves of the limited external help. Understanding these sources of motivation shows us the limitation of institutionalized support they get from government. Especially on the subjects like encouraging women to do sports, encouraging women to participate bodybuilding events, to go abroad to represent Turkey. Before from genderization of sports mostly according to governments' interests, women can't do almost any sports. While female body differentiated from sports, the male body is more involved in sports (Bulgu & Koca, n.d.).

For P1 looking at the mirror itself is a source of motivation for claiming existence in bodybuilding. The motivation of P2 is doing something that she can succeed on and also winning recognition. P3's determination is her biggest motivation. While training, she says that she feels pain but for her, there is no giving up. Her will to see further, her will to accomplish more on her body keep her going. Also, she wants to give her successes to her grandmother who passed away recently, because of this she always trying to do better in bodybuilding. The biggest source of motivation of P4 is her past. Because she says she started a fire and she has the instinct to do the best. Second motivation of her is her future. Because she wants to live whatever she dreams of. She always remembers her starting point and her final destination to get up every morning, to diet. Also, she is motivated by music, she thinks her earphones are her shields.

P5's motivations are her next competition and her trainer. Because her trainer never leaves her no matter how her shape is. Also, her next competition motivates her and shapes her ideas, goals on her body. If there is no aim for her, there is no motivation. Once she motivated, no one can break her. According to P6, because she knows the other side, only sedentary can say that bodybuilding is a mannish sport. In Turkey, this became a norm. Football and horse-racing are the only



treasurable sports in Turkey to her. However, this perspective in Turkey is not motivation breaker for P6. The biggest motivation source of P6 is her late husband because she wants to achieve his goals in life.

Those motivation factors, like P4's earphones, are their protective shields which help them to keep going. They created an arena to themselves to fight, despite charged with being a deviant, manlike (Lowe, 1998). Female bodybuilders sculpturing their muscles show their bodies on that stage with all their femininity, because they value their womanhood. However, in this arena what role does the limits such as the height of heels, bikini shapes, minimized body sizes, play? Like motivations, this is also a question that only personal insights can answer. However, female bodybuilders keep being in this arena, they playing the game with male rules. There are fewer women than men in sports professionally (Schann, 2014). Also, female athletes have less opportunity than male athletes (Catela & Seabra, 2015). This affects the resolution process in sports organizational and professional, even meditational. The most important thing is how female bodybuilders think about it.

According to participants, the restrictions, struggles in the bodybuilding world or discriminations in it are not a bad thing. They are unanimous about this subject. Because, bodybuilders have the freedom to choose their competition weight category. Because this is competition, the procedures have to be there. Limits are not about genders, but about categorization. This is why they don't feel like distracted. The criterions are musts, they help to judges and make the judge's decision process easier. Every competition has a system of standards; those criterions are helpful to choose the best. Even if there are limits, it doesn't matter for competitors, in spite of bodybuilding competitions are not open weight. With those standards, in competition, forms competing, not bikinis, make-ups, jewelers and the other way detract from the goal of competition.

Being limited is not a limit for those bodybuilders. They know that being in that arena is a challenge for the male hegemony all by itself. For them, those limits are not for banning women from bodybuilding sport, they are just helpers to find the winner. However, they think this is a variable factor no matter what, they keep trying to do their best bodies. According to P3 the important point in bodybuilding is keeping the feminine side and womanhood for women without using an excessive amount of hormones. Because taking those hormones makes woman mannish and doing bodybuilding as a woman loses its meaning. This creates a perception like ‘women can do this sport only if they take hormones and drugs’ says P3. This statement emphasizing the importance of doing this as a woman and showing to male hegemony that woman can do this sport without being a man. Thus this is a sport and it hasn’t got a gender, the gender is given to bodybuilding, like people.

### **5.2.3. Bodybuilding as Performative Act**

Performativity in bodybuilding consists of ‘do’ing process. Bodybuilding is not just an activity which people do in the gym but it is a lifestyle which people shape their identification performatively (Locks & Richardson, 2012). Bodybuilding’s two phases, training and competing are suitable to be analyzed via performativity. The act of ‘do’ing bodybuilding should be repetitive of a series of acts, like performative gender explanation of Butler (Butler, 2009). While doing that, the discourse of sports has penetrated to one. In sports, especially traditionally dominated by male hegemony, there is a dictation process upon sports bodies. Language dictates sports over bodies. Sports body is defined with a muscular, masculine, strong male body. In a Western world like in sports, perfect masculine body image is visualized by the male body (Townson, 1997). This image is reinforced for years through different tools such as media. By doing this,

performers have become invisible, the importance is shifted to gender and gendered sports. The appropriate area is generated for female and male athletes (Gieseler, 2012).

Unconsciously, 'do'ing bodybuilding and showing the body to judges tell something without speaking. A female athlete performs a series of constructed reality, follows the standards of male hegemony. Also in bodybuilding, on stage, a female athlete can't choose 'being feminine'; it already is assigned to that athlete. There is no subject, there is an actor in a gendered act, thus there is no subject on the stage, and there is only a 'do'er. Beside of this close relationship in between bodybuilding's two stages and performativity, we can understand performativity by looking words' established meanings. Because like, gender and performative acts, people use words to be performative. Words can turn into acts by their meanings. For example, in a wedding ceremony, saying 'i do' can make a person married. This is acting without doing an actual act.

To understand, the role of performativity on woman bodybuilders, participants were asked about the first image that comes in their mind with the word 'bodybuilding'. By asking connotations of words, the aim is to question the power of words to define our acts. This thesis, like speech act theory, accepts that there are two ways of speaking; perlocutionary and illocutionary. Those illocutionary acts refer performative utterance and the way of speaking performatively isn't just define or inform like perlocutionary acts. It has the power to turn words into acts. Also such as gender, the meaning of words are not taken, they are already given (Salih, 2006).

An arm muscle mass with fibers pops up on P5's mind. P6 thinks the smell of gym when i say 'bodybuilding'. While 2 of the participants match 'bodybuilding' with more sensorial and abstract notions, the other participants, who create the

most of the group, match 'bodybuilding' with people by referring their genders. In this large group, 2 participants match 'bodybuilding' directly with 'manhood'. The conclusion of this process gives to us the idea of woman bodybuilder's instantaneous image about bodybuilding which is a man's silhouette. Likewise, as part of this thesis, participants reflected on their perception of womanhood, femininity, and bodybuilding with the same purposes of 'bodybuilding' question. When participants think on those notions they build consensus on a woman bodybuilder image as instantaneous image. For example P1 says that "Bodybuilding, womanhood, and femininity all together create perfect female image and muscle is one of the important factors shows the woman as strong and feminine.". Even 'being woman' is just a state of gender, not sex, the nations womanhood, femininity make bodybuilder notion belong to 'woman'. However, thought of genderization makes nations gendered.

For a very long time, male domination, especially media, support creating the ideal female body image. It was toned by easy work-out, lean, thin, delicate, well-mannered (Kavasoglu & Yildiran, 2016). By using media, the ideal female body image was placed in society's mind. This unconscious process kept going by increasing intensity and even in a female athlete's mind, the role of this image is visible. This is the same process of making muscled male body is the key image of the sport. Female bodybuilders are forced to be leaner with extreme diets and exercises to reinforced male hegemony by attributed to male bodybuilders muscularity and body strength (Gillett & White, 1992). These are the key factors that build the gendered notions. There is a constructed belief system which says the fragile female body belongs to home, while male character is matched with physical activities (Creedon, 1994). Even Darwin made an inference about naive female body (Siqueira-Barras, 2018). Females are excluded from sports because of their famine features. Like females, males who have feminine features are excluded from sports (Davidson & Shogan, 1999).

We see this construction by words and notions in early Republican period in Turkey. The created Republican female body image corresponded those; healthy appearance, ethicality, well-educated, fit, feminine, exemplary (Kavasoğlu & Yıldiran, 2016). But doing bodybuilding as a female takes a stand against those values, especially an image of a muscular, masculine female bodybuilder who can't have a child. This genderization upon female bodybuilders makes female bodybuilders feel alienated (Lowe, 1998). One of the participants, P4, reinforces the importance of words with this sentence, "Since i was little girl, people told me that i had to keep myself in the background because i'm a girl. This is relevant to my culture. However bodybuilding opposite of hiding yourself, you have to show yourself."

#### **5.2.4. The Burden of 'Being Woman' and Body Politics**

Considering that sport is a structure that develops over the body, sports are cut outs for body politics, especially for the female body (Molton, 2014). For example, the governments, mostly for the processes after wars, to create a healthier female body form for reclamation of generations, used sport as an excuse (Karaçam & Koca, 2016). In sports, body politics works by dividing sports into two groups according to binary gender system. As researches discussed the reason for this divided structure of males and females in sports dates back to ancient times (Aybek & Yıldiran, 2016). Today, most of the women can easily participate in sports; however, those sports are limited. There are sports which are accepted suitable to women for centuries and this belief system still going on (Schann, 2014).

In this context, to understand 'being a women' in sports, one has to ask a female athlete. Despite unintentionally canonical thinking of gendered sports, interviewed

six independent of each other professional female agreed on the idea of un-gendered sports structure and this makes us question that male hegemony on bodybuilding. Further, they think there is no gender for any sports. For example P5 says that “There are two structures (male and female) and they differ because of, just, the hormones. The numbers of hands, arms, extremity, muscles, and eyes are same.”. Also P6 says “Bodybuilding is not a gendered sport. Even if men and women are separated by hormone names such as estrogen and testosterone, estrogen has testosterone and testosterone has estrogen. Bodybuilding is just about pleasure and will.” Hence those output from P5 and P6 backing a fact found by researches that which support this statement; ‘biological sex factor is not important in sports, there are no gendered sports’ (Heggie, 2010). However, woman bodybuilders struggle on doing bodybuilding and being in bodybuilding environment as a woman. There is a perception that includes thoughts like ‘Woman can’t be muscled.’, ‘Woman can’t practice with dumbbells. Also, there is a prejudgment that men are belong to bodybuilding and vice versa they say.

Six interviewed bodybuilders love to be ‘a female bodybuilder’ and to represent their congenerics. They reached consensus on ‘being a woman in the bodybuilding community’ is hard, even is being ‘nobody’, especially in Turkey. Also, carrying the title of ‘woman bodybuilder’ is a challenge by itself. They have different reasons but they agree on that. Participants share the same ideas about differences being a female bodybuilder in Turkey and in other countries, especially in West. They say that based on their abroad competition experiences. While in Western countries, whatever their appearances are they feel freer on the streets on the contrary of Turkey. P4 says “I’m used to discriminative attitude. Compare to a worldwide level, this attitude is much more in Turkey. In Turkey, while two female athletes competing in my weight, in global competition female athletes outgrow from the stage. Because bodybuilding and weightlifting are a lifestyle in other countries and they are normal as playing tennis.”

According to participants, bodybuilding sport is a luxury in Turkey, because of the nutrition, outfits, supplements, competition expenses, beside of sexism, male hegemonic discourse, stereotypes, biological features. One has to work in a good position to cover those expenses or one has to find a sponsor to cover them all. P3 says, “It is (bodybuilding) hard to experience. Bodybuilding is an expensive sport because a bodybuilder has to eat certain meals and in certain amounts. It is difficult materially and spiritually for female and male athletes.

However, because of the preconceptions about bodybuilding, it is hard to find a sponsorship. All six participants agreed with this statement. Turkish culture according to participants turns thumbs down on bodybuilding which requires bikini on stage. From the morality angle, a mix of female nudity and the muscled female body is not the exact ideal appearance of a female in the eyes of the majority of Turkish society to them. While people think that bodybuilding is a hobby, not a sport, they don't approve for women the clothing concept of bodybuilding. According to participants burden of being female bodybuilder is heavier in Turkey. P2 correlates female bodybuilding hard condition in Turkey circumstances with Islam. She says, “Nudity and wearing bikinis on stage creates a misconception of the bodybuilding, people see bodybuilding other than sport. However these thoughts are faded a bit, but still, it is not easy to do bodybuilding. In comparison to world standards, Turkey is far behind of them. Female bodybuilders in Turkey trying to break taboos with their successes in bodybuilding competitions.”. While the determinants of this thinking are the society and culture (Pitts, 2003), religions too are playing a crucial role in daily life activities. Especially in bodybuilding, there are factors which contrast with Islamic belief. While Muslim women are associated with invisibility, in bodybuilding female athletes have to show their bodies with bikinis (Benn et al., 2011). Hence in an Islamic country, even there are different levels of being

religious which differ from country to country, female bodybuilders are judged because of their wearings. In the 1990s, there was a belief which defends female athletes are not natural (Aybek & Yildiran, 2016).

The reason of this heavier burden dates back to Ottoman Empire's body politics. Body politics started with Sultan Mahmud II's reforms on Muslim population in Turkey. Because of the decreasing Muslim population, women became a focal point, therefore, the government concentrated on higher birth rates and fertility, hence improvement work upon society in that time can be considered as gendered. To Balsoy, women's personal issues were politicized with new abortion legislation in Tanzimat reforms (Zinngrebe, 2014). In today, from Islamic sided women's rights activists refuse to be mentioned as feminist but they defense women rights. Islamists accept feminist movement as part of Enlightenment discourse. According to them, this discourse ousters the God from life and they defend opinions opposite to feminism. Hence, the rights given by Islam to women can't be questioned. (Friedland, 2013).

However, 'being woman in bodybuilding' is different within the context of the world in general. Bodybuilding in international level is a very reputable sport, but in Turkey, it is not given the value it deserves according to participants. Participants think that this situation is relevant with culture, belief system, stereotypes, norms, religion, economical situation also general perspective on bodybuilding. The critique factor makes bodybuilding harder for women and encourages the struggling. The critiques get together under certain headlines; being a woman, muscled and masculine appearance, competition wearing, insane dedication, tenderization of bodybuilding. The consensus about critiques is when they become successful, most people stopped criticizing them. Another common point is those female bodybuilders were critiqued by their closed friends and family. They think the main reason of being critiqued is people's ignorance.



However woman bodybuilders, by using their dedications and their motivations, make the struggle something to live for and create their own battle area to struggle. They like to be woman and to show their feminine sides, while they like to be out of performative boundaries which body politics determined. In this way, performing an extreme sport like bodybuilding subvert the hegemonic male in sports.

### **5.2.5. Thoughts on Media Representation**

While ideal male body image which is represented by Michelangelo's sculptures such as David or Greco-Roman sculpture Torso of a Dancing Faun or Apollonius's Belvedere Torso or Arnold Schwarzenegger's pose (Dutton & Laura, 1989), is a product to sell for media, media didn't 'legitimize' female bodybuilder image till 90's (Writers, 2017).

However, there was an ideal female body image which is reinforced largely by media especially print media (Marzano-Parisoli, 2001). While the representations of the female athletes on media is limited, the existing representations often falls into discriminatory and sexist discourse. (Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010; Schann, 2014). For example the good female athlete is described as 'player like a man', the bad male athlete is described as 'player like a girl' (Davidson & Shogan, 1999). Especially in Turkey, the representation of female athletes is low which means women voice is not hearable (Koca & Hacısoftaoğlu, 2010). This discourse reflects to realty as sanctions. According to this ideal female body image, in bodybuilding woman competitors' body sizes were decreased 'from mannish to feminine' (Locks & Richardson, 2012).

Female bodybuilders were asked about their perception about media representations of women bodybuilders. Two of the six participants think that

media's perspective on women is changing in good way. However, the support of media has to be increased. Other four participants think that Turkish media don't appreciate enough female bodybuilders. To be newsworthy, one has to be somebody's relevant or connection. P3 says, "Media care about football, volleyball or athletics mostly. Because, the media consider this sport as a hobby.". In Turkey, people don't want to see a muscled and powerful women. It was like this in Victorian Era too. The muscle was a red dot for women, still is from others point of view (Taşdelen & Koca, 2016). Media support this. The reason behind lack of interest to sports according to P5, especially from bodybuilding side, is the nudity. She says that there is no sexuality in bodybuilding because bodybuilders cover their sexual organs, but media act like there is a problem. Also to her, doping is one of the reasons behind the media's attitude towards bodybuilding. To P6, media don't give any value to female bodybuilders. This situation is unique for Turkey she says. People don't know their national athletes in Turkey, they don't know how they suffer, which faces they got through. Nobody cares about them to her. P6 thinks that if she was a horse or footballer, definitely she would more respectful in Turkey.

This shows us how body politics shapes the media according to general belief system. They are all connected and they support each other. According to participants answers, media's perspective includes religion, culture, gender, sports, stereotypes. While media shaping society's mind, culture and society shape media's perspective. It is the same mutual relationship of sports and media (Sandvoss, 2003). However this is mainstream media which is almost close to audience's contribution. But in the situation of alternative media, audience is the main character. In this chapter, in addition to mainstream media's perspective, alternative media and social media platforms are questioned.

## **5.2.6. Instagram**

### **5.2.6.1. Thoughts on Instagram**

From the sports angle, the internet creates an environment for athletes to represent themselves. This is the chance to change or reinforce the perception which mainstream media created about sports and female and male athletes (Harris, n.d.). Female bodybuilders were asked about their perception about social media's impact on bodybuilding. The outcomes from six interviews point the same direction which says social media are good for sports and bodybuilding. Internet and social platforms contribute lots to bodybuilding. There are two different contributions to bodybuilding and female bodybuilders that Instagram made. People can follow bodybuilders, one; to learn and two; to draw inspiration. Because of bodybuilding and fitness are popular in Instagram, female bodybuilders and fitness became known. P2 says, "Thanks to Instagram, i became able to share my trainings, my diet programs with my followers." Mediatization of bodybuilding opens bodybuilding and fitness to bigger mass (Writers, 2017). The biggest part of the mediatization process is taken by social media platforms (Lupinetti, 2015).

Instagram becomes a vehicle to counteract subversive gender performance in the realm of sports. Because despite of gender, people can choose the direction of usage of Instagram. This is because social media gives the opportunity to people freedom to choose their representations, avatars. Also, it gives people a chance to be on media, while it is hard to be on mainstream media (Walker Rettberg, 2017). In a social media platform, the user sits on the director's chair and one constantly constructs and performs its identity, because we know they change time-space concept by their features like sharing post anytime, keeping the post on them

forever or delete the posts (Caldeira, 2016). This situation causes an anti-mass media structure outside of norms.

Participants criticize those 'suddenly become master' people who take photos of their bottoms while they held dumbbells in gym clubs. Those people also have bought off fake followers, whereas people like P4 have real followers on Instagram. On one hand, P4 says, "I'm happy about the earnings of Instagram, the easy access to fitness exercises and the rising interest for bodybuilding especially from women, on the other hand, i'm sad because there is no control system on people in Instagram and this cause infollution about bodybuilding and fitness.". In Turkey, there are lots of negative things happen especially on social media platforms. Because of this reason, most of the female bodybuilders are working together with social media specialist. P6 says even people calling her at midnight with contact details on her social media platforms for business. Because of the structure of social media platforms, they have the specialty to be accessible from far and near. The Internet changes the space-time concept. However, they create a perception that the usage of them is changing according to the country.

#### **5.2.6.2. Stage or Gym: Self-Representation and Self-Presentation**

Bodybuilding's competition field is a stage. Bodybuilders show their best on that stage after their hard working preparing process. This is the presentation of a body. As an art piece, bodybuilders present themselves to judges. However, the representation of their hard workings, pains and performatively shaping identity process (Locks & Richardson, 2012) are hidden under a smile and performance of body politics on that stage (Gilbert, 2016).

Male bodybuilder is belong to that stage but female bodybuilder performs outside of the gender norms and this is not appropriate (Klein, 1993). Female

bodybuilders construct performatively challenge to male hegemony with their representing. But this challenge is suppressed by adding feminine features to bodybuilders masculine bodies such as high heels, make-up (Lupinetti, 2015). However, those factors are becoming 'feminine features' by time by being repeated performatively. Like Butler's skirt example, acts or things can carry feminine features because they have been used by a female and they attached to femininity. They became the carrier of femininity and they make others feminized (Keokee, 2014). Even female bodybuilders carry the feminine features on their bodies, they are named as perverted because they have the power to depolarize genderization. They have the ability to create a gender-neutral area, an arena to escape from gender routine (Locks & Richardson, 2012). On stage, like a drag queen, a bodybuilder doesn't represent reality, hence doesn't perform body politics but imitates the cultural codes (Butler, 2011). A drag queen, while competing in a drag queen contest, re-creates gender stereotypes in society by trying to apply 'feminine standards that already fixed' (Coles, n.d.; Salih, 2006). Drag queen imitates the cultural codes like a woman bodybuilder. This imitation can change gender nation, degenerate or differentiate and this imitating limitless body can cause to a gender trouble (Coles, n.d.).

Like bodybuilding competition stage, Instagram gives people their own stage to show themselves. So representation and presentation incomprehensibility is the same in online platforms. Instagram provides a stage people to represent themselves visually, in written and quantitatively simultaneous with a real-life timeline and for a long or short time (Walker Rettberg, 2017). Instagram gives the opportunity to create our own personalities in online world. This creation can be wholly different from our real selves, also we can reflect the reality. Because we can perform however we want by choosing the editing process (Wadjih, n.d.). In this field, the user has the power to construct structures for its own, however, this is debatable. Because online platforms like real life give people the fear of

rejection. The main provider of a sense of belonging is more important to represent the real self, thus people tend to present themselves according to general opinion and perform those values (Lupinetti, 2015). While constructing this online identity, the user has been performing constantly (Caldeira, 2016). Because of the user-friendly feature of online spaces, personal self-construction is possible (Holmes, 1998).

Users of social media by sharing content, present their online selves. This self-presentation aims to make a good impression on others and to present the ideal self (Harrings, 2015). Self-presentation on social media could aim to self-promotion and involve narcissistic emotions (Orsatti & Riemer, 2012). These online selves are consciously structured and they are self performances that reflect identities. The difference between self-presentation and self-representation is produced self-representation text's potential of subsequence (Shields Dobson, 2015). Social media platforms give chance to people to represent themselves for themselves rather than someone else. This process is chosen and conscious also it is not disconnected from real selves. Because online self-representation requires textual and visual symbolization and to do this one has to know itself in high conscious level (Shields Dobson, 2015). According to a research that examines peoples' online behaviors about representations finds that mostly people are realistic on social media about their personalities (Orsatti & Riemer, 2012).

Bodybuilding uses the same technical as photography which names long exposure time. Bodybuilders, especially on stage, stand still for judges in different positions. This is very similar to Instagram platforms. Bodybuilders share their poses on Instagram. The difference between in that situation, bodybuilders can't choose backgrounds, narratives, outfits, make-up on stage but on Instagram, they can choose all the feature of posts. The post is constructed as presentation, also stage presentation is constructed too. But their construction processes are

different. Even bodybuilder shares a staged photo on Instagram, she/he can choose angles, perspectives, but on stage, this is not possible. Hence the constructed stage photo turns into constructible when it becomes to a photo (Locks & Richardson, 2012). Also, by choosing to be on bodybuilding competition stage, is another construct which is against to popular belief, body politics, performative background.

Bodybuilders take a pose to compete. While they stand still, they become the object to gaze. Till that phase, they don't have the perfect shape all the time. Before days from competition, bodybuilders do different diets and drink the different amount of water to reach the perfect body. Also before the competition they do make-up, they choose their best bikinis, they spray their tans. Like in Instagram, bodybuilders put 'filtre' on their appearance (Locks & Richardson, 2012). In the light of these informations, two questions were asked to participants to examine if they are present or represent themselves in real life and in virtual life, Instagram.

First, participants were asked which self represent themselves in real life, gym or stage. Majority of the participants pointed out that their selves in gym better reflect them<sup>2</sup>. Participants share the same idea about this process, they think that the stage doesn't represent them but they present themselves on stage as a contestant. The stage is temporary field for their sport, the main area where they feel belong in the gym. Gym-self is natural, real, healthier and sustainable to them. On stage, the contestant has to smile and to look like the happiest person in the world, but sufferings on the way to stage are hidden like definition process, dieting. The longest period to be in that body is the stage duration and for the

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<sup>2</sup> The photos and posts of participants couldn't be used because of ethic issues. Participants didn't want to give their names, hence the photos couldn't be placed in this thesis.

show, thus stage-self is temporary. On stage they are ageless, characterless and feminine, also caricatured images. P1 says, “On stage, i do show performance. The gym me is more natural and real.” So, how can we understand a female bodybuilder, while the stage is just photography?

Further, because of this similarity with real life and because of the contribution to bodybuilding, participants talked about which Instagram post is the most reflective photo of them<sup>3</sup>. According to most of the participants, gym is the reflector of their selves on Instagram. Instagram is a free place for users to share their performances in their minds and this hasn't got to be a reality. In Instagram, six participants' most reflective images are examined for two weeks period from October 27 to November 11. According to them, there is an image of them which represents themselves on Instagram. The reason behind this is to understand how participants think about their representations and presentations. The aim here is to compare thinking processes of participants if they have the same motive to think in real life self-representation and in Instagram life self-representation. Data are grouped below.

Those who pointed that the gym photos are the most representative are P1, P2, P3, P6. Among those photos which they shared for two weeks period, the most of the shared images were gym photos. P1 shared 12 posts, 2 of them were gym photos. Among those 12 posts, there was no competition photo of her. P2 share 19 post, 4 of those posts are gym photos, 4 of those posts are gym videos of her, 2 of those posts are competition photos collaged with gym photos. P3 shared 14 posts, 9 of those posts are gym photos. Among those 14 posts, there was no competition photo of her. P6 shared 33 posts, 7 of them were gym photos. There were 2 competition photos of her. Those who pointed that the gym photos are the most representative are P4 and P5. Among those photos which they shared for two

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weeks period, the most of the shared images were competition photos. P4 shared 8 posts, 3 of those posts are competition photos. Among those 8 posts, there was no gym photo of her. P5 shared 12 posts, 3 of those posts are competition photos. Among those 12 posts, there was no gym photo of her.

According to those outcomes, it is obvious that especially six female bodybuilder participants, use their social media platforms, in that case, Instagram, as suitable as their thinking about their representation on Instagram. Like their statements, for two weeks of examination, they behaved like how they like to represent or present themselves on their Instagram pages. This proves that Instagram is a social media platform which provides us a replica of real life moments scene to represent ourselves and perform our virtual identity. This identity can be a reflection of real life or can be a reconstruction process of our identities like P4 and P5. In both, we performing ourselves visually, in written and quantitatively (Walker Rettberg, 2017).

#### **5.2.6.3. Hegemonic Reflections on Comments Section of Instagram**

Instagram has written representation feature beside visual, hence people can express themselves using comment boxes and direct message feature too. So, in Instagram in addition to representation of self by photos, a user can represent the self by commenting on photos beside its own channel. To do this, language and it's all carryings have to be transferred. The written representation of Instagram give people the opportunity to communicate with people directly and this makes audience different from mainstream media audience. Social media platforms name audience as users and turn them an active into passive position (Billings, 2011). Active users reflect their real-life values and they indicate their judgment in bad and good ways. There are examples to this statement on Instagram. A feminine woman who does fitness gets compliments and a muscular woman who does

hardcore bodybuilding get critiques about how manly she is. This is hate speech also cyberbullying (Lupinetti, 2015). So, in online platforms, there is sexism too. This is because there are free-speech rights but also there is a thin line between free-speech and cyberbullying.

On 'commenting' feature of Instagram, participants have their own unique thoughts and experiences. After her competition, P3 received support messages. Because her followers thought she deserved a better place more than 4th and 5th places. P3 says in her Instagram page, there are no negative comments besides constructive feedbacks about training. The reason for no-negativity in her page is, to P3, her naturalness and this motivates people. The comments include sexual harassment is not the topic of P4 today, but she received back then. She receives negative comments about her language on Instagram and her English grammar. She thinks, because of her success in the bodybuilding industry, people try to humiliate her with other subjects. The reason behind this, to her, people lack self-confidence and aren't to appreciate.

For example P6 received comments like 'Mafyalar (Mafias)' and "Tehlikeli güzeller (Dangerous beauties)". Especially Turkish printed press, from the 1980s, mentioned female bodybuilders as something to be afraid of. Media introduced woman bodybuilders as a source of terror ("Turkish Women Bodybuilding History," n.d.). Mainstream media's reflection on alternative media is not extraordinary. However, the content producer of mainstream media is authorities, alternative media's content produced by everybody, by users which can be anybody. People may think that alternative media sources could bring together collective ideas which reflect the mind of society or this could give the opportunity to individuals the chance to make heard themselves (Lupinetti, 2015). On the other hand, people assume that mainstream media are the carriers of the hegemonic messages despite the message reflect societies opinion or not. While

alternative media seems like a free place from all the stereotypes and judgments, it is observable that alternative media sources act and penetrate the belief system to societies just like mainstream media (Luyt, 2017).

Sexist discourse is detected in the comment section of P5's photos. However they seem like 'compliments', they are reinforcing the male hegemony on female athletes. Naming a female as "Arnoldiçe" or "King" is the same situation when someone saying to a successful female athlete that 'she played like a man' (Davidson & Shogan, 1999). 'Arnoldiçe' comment refers to Arnold Schwarzenegger who made the 70's golden ages of modern bodybuilding (Gilbert, 2016; Writers, 2017). Like as Turkish word 'bayan (lady)' which is reproduced from the word 'bay (gentlemen)', 'Arnoldiçe' is reproduced by Arnold. This situation reinforces the male hegemony on bodybuilding by referring to the idol of bodybuilding. However, it is more obvious with the second comment 'King'. King word directly points to male iconic dominative. Beside support messages and compliments, there are words like "Kraliçem (My queen)" and "Goddess" in the comment section of P4's photos. Those words are reproduced from male origin words. However, this sexist discourse spreads over with help of media, especially upon female athletes. This sexist discourse is not reproduced over female origin words because there is almost no voice in the decision-making mechanism (Schann, 2014).

## CONCLUSION

Because of the researches existing doesn't sufficient to answer woman bodybuilders' motivation sources in male-dominated environment, this thesis combine performativity and body politics by problematizing that gap. The common fact in this area is the woman ratio in muscle related sports like some of the martial arts, bodybuilding is really low (Koca, 2018). The reason for this rarity

is male domination of those sports. The male body has been related to muscle power, strength, masculinity. Also, those woman efficient sports have been related to those notions. Male body represented with the muscular body in lots of areas, despite women. Women are defined as fragile, small, thin, lack of muscle which are the total opposite of bodybuilding. This discriminative naming system according to gender, transform sports, bodybuilding into a sexist area (Creedon, 1994). Women participation in bodybuilding was after men's. Those factors caused the trivialization of women in bodybuilding society. According to participants these facts don't reflect the reality. The reality is 'estrogen has testosterone and testosterone has estrogen'. The reality is 'strength depends on the body's biological construction, muscle, and bone system, not gender'. They accept the genderization in bodybuilding as a cultural norm. There is no gendered sports to them.

The facts of bodybuilding's community makes women participation to bodybuilding and their acceptance harder, despite of the fact that woman bodybuilders make bodybuilder their lives. The factors such as economic insufficiency, stereotypes, norms, Islamic perspective, rare sponsorships, disrespect to bodybuilding, woman's place in society, belief system structure bodybuilding as struggle area. This struggle differs according to countries. Participants claim based on previous experience Turkey is more negative than other countries. The reasons of this situation is same as the bodybuilding's struggle in itself.

Male hegemony, especially in bodybuilding, makes its presence felt by setting boundaries for female bodybuilders, such as body sizes, stage appearances... Despite female bodybuilders' power to shape their bodies independently from societal norms, they have to perform settled standards on stage. However, those rules are not effective in the gym. While female athletes prepare themselves with the same routines and training programs as men, on stage woman bodybuilders

have to be a definite woman. Those settlements affect female bodybuilders' representation. This situation reminds us Butler's drag queen reference in performativity. Because a drag queen, like a woman bodybuilder imitates the cultural codes, however this process is not directly copying the existed reality on a body. This imitation bends the standardization. A man performs the role of a woman in its own standards (Coles, n.d.; Salih, 2006). A woman bodybuilder do the training and the posing process in its own standards which were created for and by man. Because of discriminative attitude of bodybuilding towards women, these standards differ according the binaries gender system.

While participants think that the standards of this sports are necessary, they still carry the burden of being woman in bodybuilding world regardless of the country. A female bodybuilder is found odd by society because she enters to male domination, she has muscled body, she does masculine. According to society, those acts were not defined for females by body politics. Media also helped to reinforce this discrimination and male domination by creating an ideal female body form which reflects the woman definition (Hargreaves, 1994; Hilliard, 1984). Media, male domination, tries to construct a female body image that fit, thin, feminine, beautiful which is a role model to wives and mothers (Yarar, Cantek & Özgüven, 2009). According to female bodybuilders, its reason could be the negative attitude toward a strong and muscular female. Because, the transition of male features to the female body is a threat to male domination. Even though participants don't have the worst attitude towards media, they don't think that media is fully on their side. According to them, possible reasons for that is Islamic perspective and the popularity of football. In Turkey, Islam and culture intertwine. Bodybuilding clothes and the training programs conflict with Islamic culture. While they building their bodies, muscling up, they showing their most of the bodies, naked, on the stage. Islamic culture is against that combination on a woman's body (Benn et al., 2011).

Beside of mainstream media, today, it is a fact that we can feel the hegemony on alternative media platforms and this thought goes long way back (Holmes, 1997). However, internet and social media platforms are open to the usage of everybody who can reach the internet, on social media platforms genderization is detectable. The promoter of this discriminative attitude in social media platforms are hate speech, stereotyping, negativity via language and the images. Also, body politics arose in social media platforms by reflecting real life genderization and discrimination processes (Soong, 2017). About social media, they think that it's a positive thing for bodybuilding world, especially Instagram. Beside keeping track on bodybuilding and bodybuilders, Instagram allows participants to create their own content and to become one to be track on. Instagram could be used as a vehicle to counter act against hegemony on mainstream media.

Instagram offers a scene, a stage to representation and presentation. Bodybuilding offers a stage to competitors, like Instagram. A bodybuilder has to compete on stage. Actually, while a bodybuilder using Instagram, bodybuilder doing the same action as on the competition stage. But while presenting the body, on stage, bodybuilder can't choose the appearance; however, Instagram gives the opportunity to choose appearance to present one. Still, there are few negative comments that participants made. They think that because of the open for everybody format of Instagram, anybody can be a bodybuilder, rather an image of bodybuilder. This affect their professionalism. Sometimes they get negative messages, it also disturbs them.

Taken together with Instagram, representation becomes two-dimensional. In real life, some of the female bodybuilders find their stage images superficial, but on Instagram, they represent themselves with their stage photos. They think the stage is a show, the stage body is not sustainable and they think Instagram, together

with the stage. Because Instagram posts are constantly performing replicas of them and they idealize their bodies with stage's standards, hence it is not real. On the contrary of a feminine image of the stage, female bodybuilders don't think those standards as a restriction. There have to be rules to be uniform and be judged by them. Otherwise, it won't be a competition.

Despite all those negativity, female bodies resist to 'be' there to fight. While doing that, what are their mainstays? How are they motivated? What makes them to 'be' there? Female bodybuilders, despite all, create a bodybuilding arena just to 'be' as female. They performing bodybuilding to subvert the hegemonic male in sports and social media instrumentalized as a vehicle for this purpose. Female bodybuilders have different motivation sources. While one bodybuilder tries to cherish the memory of her dead husband, the other one is motivated by looking into mirrors. One of the motivation sources is 'gains', the other is 'being determined'. Also, one's past and the future can motivate a female bodybuilder. Goals also are motivations sources. So motivation can be a concrete thing or something that someone only can feel it. It can be personal and particular. Separately from its structure, motivations make them women 'be' in the male-dominated fields.

The issue of sponsorship, as one of the major problems in woman bodybuilding, is one of the issues that was not addressed in this research. Because people don't take seriously this sport and they don't exercise due care to woman bodybuilders. This sports seems like a hobby according to society. This situation remains undercover in daily life and in academic researches. Since the reasons of this situation are the same with struggles of woman bodybuilders, sponsorship has to be included in the research area of gender, sports and media. Further more participatory methods would provide new perspectives in understanding the

competition arena. Especially, observing the training periods, their daily routines could provide very useful insights.



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## APPENDIX 1- INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Question 1. Could you talk about yourself and your sportive journey?

Question 2. What does 'sports' mean to you?

Question 3. Is bodybuilding a gendered sport?

Question 4. What does 'being woman' means in bodybuilding community?

Question 5. In the meaning of the world and in Turkey, what does 'doing bodybuilding as a woman' means?

Question 6. Have you ever criticized about doing bodybuilding? Could you speak of about, if you have?

Question 7. Which one reflects you, the gym you or competition you?

Question 8. How can one understand you?

Question 9. What is the separation point of you from other female athletes?

Question 10. Could you evaluate the media's perspective to bodybuilding and female bodybuilders?

Question 11. What is the contribution of the Internet and social media platforms to bodybuilding and to viewpoints to this sport?

Question 12. Which one reflects you; gym photos of you or competition photos of you on Instagram?

Question 13. What are womanhood, femininity, and bodybuilding according to you?

Question 14. Which image pops up in your mind when I say bodybuilding?

Question 15. In this system that imposes bodybuilding as a masculine sport, what makes you keep doing this sport and what are your motivations?

Question 16. The female body, for centuries, is made a subject to others and is shaped according to constructed standards. You can shape your body without any restriction of daily life. You don't following any rules in life to get in a form that socially acceptable. However, on stage, there are certain standards and rules which

are set to show female bodybuilders' feminine side. You have to be ultra well-groomed. Could you talk about this situation?