

BODYBUILDER'S LIFE STYLE: THE DIET AND THE OBSESSION WITH BODY

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Abstract

Fashion models and professional bodybuilders seem to share the experience of walking on a runway uncommon. But the nature of the relation to their bodies exposed on the catwalk are somewhat different. One of the apparent difference regarding their bodily experiences is the fact that, a fashion model is expected to expose the dress instead of her body while a bodybuilder have to display his figure making explicit each muscle. Nevertheless it is not false to claim that have something else in common in their daily lives which they have to put up with. They both have to perform strict diets. Although much more is known about the diets of the models, diets of the bodybuilders and the way those diets interact with the daily experiences of bodybuilders are rarely discussed. In this article, an ethnographical account of the diets those are practiced by the body builders will be discussed so as to explain the bodily strains of the bodybuilders. This article is based on a study that took place in a local gym in Turkey. It is the aim of the article to discuss the strict food regime of the bodybuilders from a phenomenological perspective to give a better understanding about their daily activities organising around this sport. Body builders are usually associated as the bodily expression of a hard core masculinity and have a bad reputation because of the drugs. In fact the strict diets they have to undergo before the competitions have far more importance in their daily routines since the diets themselves continue for much longer periods in their lives, usually a life time. In order to look more masculine, these bodybuilders show a great effort to abstain from the worldly pleasures of food.

Keywords: *Gender, anthropology of body, masculinity, body building, foodways.*

Öz

Podyuma çıkan profesyonel vücut geliştirmecilerin görünürde mankenlerle pek çok benzer deneyimi paylaştığı söylenebilse de her iki grubun gerek podyumda gerek gündelik hayatlarında bedenleriyle ilişki kurma biçimleri birbirinden farklıdır ve bu farklılık cinsiyet çalışmaları çerçevesinde düşünüldüğünde performe edilen çoklu erkeklik ve kadınlıkları ortaya koyması açısından anlamlıdır. Bu bağlamda podyuma çıkan bir mankenden sadece üzerinde 'taşıdığı' elbiseyi sergilemesi ve bu

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esnada vücudunun görünmez olması iken; vücut geliştirmeciden izleyicilere ve kendisini değerlendirecek olan jüriye olabildiğince her bir kasını sergilemesi beklenir. Her iki grubun ortak bir başka deneyimi ise yeme pratiklerindeki sınırlamalardır. Toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmalarında mankenlik mesleğinin gündelik yaşam pratikleriyle nasıl bir etkileşim içerisinde olduğu sıklıkla ele alınsa da; vücut geliştirmecilerin görece marjinal beslenme pratikleri pek ilgi görmemiştir. Oysa vücut geliştirmeciler, her gün tekrarlanan egzersizlerin ve neredeyse kaçınılmaz olarak kullandıkları ilaçların yanı sıra vücutlarını hayal ettikleri biçime getirebilmek için sıradan olmayan bir takım beslenme pratiklerini de benimsemektedirler. Bu beslenme pratikleri vücut geliştirme yarışmalarına katılanlar açısından alışıldık olmayan bir takım pratiklerin de uygulanmasını zorunlu hale getirmektedir. Bu yazı Ankara’da yer alan ve vücut geliştirme yarışmalarına yarışmacı yetiştiren bir spor salonunda yapılan etnografik bir çalışmaya dayanmaktadır. Yazı boyunca vücut geliştirmecilerin bu sporun etrafında çevrelenen gündelik yaşantıları, bedensel deneyimleri ön planda tutularak özellikle de vücut geliştirmecilerin yemek pratiklerine ağırlık verilerek fenomenolojik bir bakış açısıyla ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Toplumsal cinsiyet, beden antropolojisi, maskülenite, vücut geliştirme, beslenme pratikleri.*

It can be argued that ‘diet’ is not the most popular topic that is taken into consideration as a masculine eating practice by most of the gender literature while the research on body images of men are becoming a rather interesting topic. The fit looking and slightly muscled body images of men are covering the front pages of various mens magazines and commercials for nearly two decades in the west and it can be claimed the trend is not any different in Turkey too. It is apparent that the quantity of these kind of images have already increased and became regular and frequently seen images which people encounter in their daily lives thanks to the media and internet for the last decade. Although how the images of men who appear on the screen are evaluated and internalised by the audience is not well studied, there is a high probability that masculinity and body related research themes will be given more consideration in Turkey in the near future. However the theme of the article is not a recent trend. The subject of the article is actually related to a trend that can be traced back to a much more earlier period both in Turkey and in the West. It is a trend that has to do much with the times where the hyper masculinity in the 1980’s (Messner: 2007) made a climax in the discourse of media and media related industries.

Although it never became popular among a large number of men it certainly had and still continuing having its reflections in Turkey. Both the ‘ideal image of men’ and ‘the definition of the ideal man’ is changing and

reshaping continuesly. It can well be argued that nowadays the metrosexuality as an image is being applauded as a better alternative compared to the hyper masculin images of the 1980's. However there still exists a subculture in Turkey where men's obsession with huge muscles did not come to loose its popularity and to some extent still keep affecting the discourses, lifestyles and foodways of a group of men.

It is rather significant that bodybuilding as a sport has it fans in the Middle Eastern world. While it is easy to come to a quick conclusion by pairing the middle eastern hegemonic masculinity and the hyper masculine image of the body builder, such a conclusion can easily lead one to ignore the discrepancies within the discourse itself. One should bear in mind that there is always multiple discourses in any situation. And within such plurivocality there has to be ironies and discrepancies and trade offs of the parties. In this article, the discourse of a subculture group will try to be highlighted while trying to point out where how the discourses can be fragmented and contradicting with the heterosexual gender norms. Throughout the article, the situations where the bodily perfection aimed by a bodybuilder can potentially create the kind of bodily insecurity that was once considered as a women's domain of experience. Throughout the article, the different food and bodily practices of the body builders will offer a different perspective towards gender and foodways.

This essay doesn't focus on bodybuilder's body as an object of display which assumes the body being docile and passive consumer of a subjective masculinity. The study conducted by Bolin (1997), takes body as a contested space where the power and privilege is continuously negotiated. In paralel with this arguement, this article also tries to put forward how the bodybuilder define their diet experience in their life worlds. The challenges perceived by the bodybuilders as a threat to their embodied beings will also be elaborated. The fragility of the body builder's self understanding and identity will be tried to put forward too. In this respect a phenomenology of bodybuilding can prove how it is unlikely to assume that Man shouldn't be interested in how they look like in order to be more manly, which is yet another discourse asserting yet another definition regarding to 'real' manliness.

Bodybuilders just like fashion models exhibit themselves on the runway. This exhibition requires a strict diet, orderly life style, and continues excercise. Contrary to fashion models, although bodybuilders go through such a strict way of lifestyle, only a handful of bodybuilders in the world make money out of it. It is a "no pain no gain" world but money most of the time Money doesn not have anything to do with it. In Turkey, there are

amateur competitions taking place at least couple of time in a year. And both men and women bodybuilders seem interested being a part of this competitions. Modeling is regarded as an occupation in which men and women are treated solely as objects of display. The body is there, on the screen not to be seen. The bodies being there is to show the dress itself, so the attention of the audience should be to the dress only, not to the curves or the muscles of the models. Bodybuilding competitors in these sense is significantly different than fashion models. Their bodily existances doesn't recompensate them with money. On the contrary, bodybuilders whether they are walking on the street or whether they are on the platform, each time they want to show their bodies's limits. They want to make a statement by using their bodies as a means to communicate their message. To be able to show how they artistically sculpted their bodies. And yet, they even have to spent lots of money in order to look how they look like.

According to Sault (1994: 19) "If we are to understand fully the significance of the body image for human behavior, such as tattoing and bodybuilding, then we must consider both the cultural context of the behaviour and the social relationships of the people involved". Being visible and making a statement within a social milieu is an embodied pursuit. The practice of bodbuilding can be read as a ritual through which an exposition of one's visibility is made possible. In their well acknowledged book, Counihan & Kaplan (1998:2) examines the relations between food and gender through its contribution to a valued sense of self. According to them "Men's and women's attitudes about their bodies, the legitimacy of their appetites, and the importance of their food work reveal whether their self-concept is validating or denigrating".

Throughout the paper we will try to understand how the strictly regulated diet helps to improve the self worth of a bodybuilder on his way to the catwalk. Here, food consumption involves the production of meanings and identities. While the diet discourse adopted by the bodybuilders takes a scientific direction, in some cases it takes an opposite direction rejecting the solid scientific facts asserted by the doctors. Much of the literature focusing on gender body/image and food discusses subjects like women's obsession with food and the compulsive eating of obesity, the self-starvation in the case of anorexia nervosa. However in our article both the compulsive eating, and the self starvation are the cases practiced by bodybuilders, a sport which is considered to be a show of masculinity.

Body is the hard cover of existance for the bodybuilder. It can be compared with an interest to fallow the fashion trends. Like fashion, it is a means of expressing the being to the world. But it is one step obsessive than

following the trends. For example a trend setter or a fashion icon knows or assumes that he or she will be gazed at from head to toe within his/her social setting and will be afraid of denudation in the middle of a public place. On the other hand, A bodybuilder has a potential to try hard eventhough he/she himself will be the one watching how his body challenges time or brings to a perfection with a maturation. Also while a fashion icon has a more sensitive attitude towards aging. Bodybuilders tend to find comfort thinking how once unnoticed muscles will manifest itself through age. A sixty seven year old body builder was telling to the reporters that how he is proud of how he looked much younger than his peers.

At some point the bodybuilder's body is not the "active" body but an 'appearing' body. But it is out there not to be gazed only. Behind the appearance the embodied person could express his effort of build his body anew. While digging deeper the narrative strategies of the bodybuilder, they seem to attach an importance how they work hard to keep their bodies as it is. It is a challenge they face with each day in their everyday lives. As Klein (1994) has mentioned, themes like 'need for self-mastery', 'improving their self-image', 'control their weight', "feeling complete" have been repeatedly came across in the bodybuilders' narratives. The bodybuilder's effort is an ongoing process. As they refer to it, once you began it you can never leave it. When one starts seeing what his body has been turning to and start enjoying how you look like you become afraid of loosing it. And that's what keeps a bodybuilder training each day. How one look as an embodied being becomes a part of ones identity. Bodybuilder's experience of pushing the limits of his body through training and diet can be an experiment with its own risks. It is in itself a challenge to push hard in order to reach a perfection which actually might never be reached. As they refer 'every one of us has its weaknesses, some has weaker biceps, while others has weaker legs. It is not important the diameter of your arm but your bodies symmetry". Aging also is not a significant issue in the personal narratives of the bodybuilder. They see bodybuilding as a lifetime activity. One should continue training as long as he can. It is also significant in the narratives of the bodybuilders that the body is not seen as something that is collapsing with age. Even the reverse of this argument is claimed in some cases. According to this narratives, through aging, the variety of the muscles that can be directly observed outside of the body will increase because bodybuilding requires patience and diligence. Time that is spent on the body will reveal itself through time on each contour of the body. It is this anticipations that motivates bodybuilders all through their lives. They are confident that their bodies will pay them back the

amount of time they spend with newly appeared fibers beneath their skin but seen through their mirror reflection.

How the body is presented and marginalized through sports and how the socially constructed body articulates hegemonic gender stereotypes has been elaborated in much of the literature. Much of these articles are based on a theoretical framework in which the body is either understood as a socially constructed phenomena or in Foucauldian sense constructed through various discourses. Contrary to these theoretical understandings, the methodological framework of this article gives priority to an understanding of body actively engaging in life. William and Bendelow (1998: 24), pointed an alternative framework for the body in which they advocated “an approach... which is less about a sociology of the body than it is in an embodied sociology: one which takes the embodiment of its practitioners as well as its subject seriously, rooted as it is in the ‘lived body’”. Csordas (1994: 269) also suggests an experiential understanding of being-in-the world suggesting that body should be understood as a “existential ground of culture and self, and therefore a valuable starting point for their analysis”. The way the bodybuilders describe their bodily interactions, the obsession they felt with their bodies, the challenges they go through both in their social lives as they encounter by being ‘bodily social beings’ and the hardships they go through such as training, diet, and drugs. By using “embodiment” as a paradigm of reference, this article is mainly about the experiences of the bodybuilders in one of the oldest gyms of Ankara. The bodybuilding can be regarded as a subculture with its own way of communicating, own way of lifestyle, training and foodway. While different lifestyles, the training sessions and the involvement with the drugs are an important part of the bodybuilding subculture, in this study, foodways are given priority compared to other dimensions of the topic.

History Of The Gym

The name of the gym which is ‘Rekor’ means “record” in Turkish. Rekor has an history and a reputation within Ankara. It has first opened in 80’s, under a different name in the same location within the Ankara city center. There are members of the gym going there for nearly thirty years now since the opening of the gym with a different name at the same neighbourhood which is on the busy street right after the biggest mosque of Ankara. The street is paralel to the main arters of the Ankara city center. And ten minutes walk to the Kızılay square. The gym doesn’t look anything like newly opened, nice looking highly sterile and elite gyms in the upper class neighbourhood of Ankara. Its centrality makes it handy for the men owning little businesses close to the neighborhood. People with different

occupations come to work out at the gym. Owners of coffeeshops, retired teachers, university students, dentist, bank officer, opera singer is an example to the variety of occupations those attending to the gym. They all have their routinized hours to come to the gym. And that makes them to socialize with the people who they tend to end up with at the same hours. Withing the sets they can talk about politics, about the football match that took place the other day or any other significant issue can be picked up as a topic to be discussed withing the sets. With a little exception, each attendant carefully and in somewhat ritualistic manner completes the sets. Usually a new comer will be helped by the staff of the gym on the first days about the proper way to handle the equipment and how to do work out in the most effective way. Since not known by the regulars they can be questioned by the regulars. But usually it has been thought that they will give up within a certain amount of time. The timing and reason of quitting is according to one informant was put as such: "Yes they usually begin but they cannot stick with it. When they realize that they didn't start looking like me (moving his arms and upper body in a proud manner) they just loose the motivation". Some of the beginners are more stubborn and continue at least one year attending to the gym. Some are tend to quit this particular gym because they want to go to a better looking place with nicer and newer equipments. And although rarely, one other motivation is going to a more luxuries gym and to be able meet and socialise with women. Although the gym-Rekor, has been accepting women customers since 2007, most of the the customers are tend to be men. Eventhough there are a few women training. It is almost impossible to see them working out side by side with the men in the basement floor where the 'real stuff' according to the informants is actually takes place. The basement floor does have small windows barely enough for the circulation of air. And Rekor does not offer any air conditioning system in either floors. While on the first floor; stationary bicycles, treadmills, elliptical machines and rather light weight dumbbells take place; in the second floor, body building work out equipments are placed. The dumbbells those are located in the basement floor are heavy weighted compared to the ones in the first floor.

The owner of the gym has asserts that "Newcomers, usually begin to come couple of months before the summer. They give a try assuming that they will have soon have a body just as the ones they have seen in the magazines. But soon they will all realise that it is impossible to achieve this goal withing three months. So they will either quit or try other means. They usually try to compensate it with drugs. But ofcourse those drugs will not help or make a difference without couple of years exercise. But if he really

gets the spirit of this place he can never quit it again. Than he'll eventually end up as a regular of this gym".

One of the most significant attribute of regulars is they not only care about their looks. But also the look of other regulars to. Their bodies become a medium of communication. They usually make a comment on each others bodies. Their bodily being as a self fulfillment as a source of pride and self esteem. To recreate their bodies to recreate their significance in their social surrounding. Not only the ones who are not found of their bodies at the beginning begin bodybuilding but also the ones who want to bring more perfection in order to feel "much more complete" start training too.

Food as a drug vs. Drug as a food

Each bodybuilder is aware of the fact that the training becomes meaningful only with proper foodways. This foodways include a strick diet favoring a high amount of protein, less amount of sugar and fat supplemented with drugs. Without disciplining onself with a certain foodway, the training itself becomes meaningless and as one of the informant has mentioned "a waste of time".

In their own understading with its nutritious value drugs are also treated as a kind of food. Since they do not begin to pay attention to the taste of a food anymore. As Parasecoli (2008: 99) highlights: "Translating grams and proteins into actual, available foods is not always easy. Eating is often viewed as refueling...". That's why it is very common for bodybuilders to eat an average of thirty to fourty eggs per day. As one bodybuilder who will soon participate in a competiton has already mentioned "three months before the competition I wasn't eating any less than thirty egg whites each day. We don't prefer egg yolk since it has way to much fat in it compared to the protein it has".

In bodybuilding shaping ones body goes in parallel with shaping ones lifestyle. Each day is organised around the training and diet cycle of the body builder. They have to eat a specific amount of protein, carbohydrate and nutritional supplements such as amino acids within every two hours. That means they have to interrupt one they have been doing every two hours. Bodybuilders are generally complaining about how their eating habbits effect their social lives in a negative way. As one bodybuilder who doesn't joing competitions nowadays expressed, I cannot take my wife out even on sundays. My food is always causes problem. I can't be away from home and gym for a long time". One informant claimed that although one has won any medals in other type of sports and competitions, the reward of bodybuilding gives much more pleasure than any other". According to another informant it

is like sculpturing. The economy side of the high protein diet has heavy burdens on the bodybuilders. Based on their various levels of economic backgrounds, this can be a challenging issue to for the ones who want to compete. Red meat, what is a good source of protein is costly in today's market. It is nearly the half of the price of a whole chicken. Nearly all the bodybuilders are complaining about the high meat prices. "The red meat is getting more expensive day by day, also we cannot see those tasty meats that we eat during our childhood", was commented by one of the bodybuilders. Another informant told that "we should eat at least one kilogram of red meat but I can't afford it. I don't make that much Money".

While amateur bodybuilders stick with a low fat diet and making it a lifestyle, the competitive bodybuilders have a complicated diet regimen. According to my informants, the daily necessity of protein intake for an amateur bodybuilder is basically calculated by multiplying the body weight of the person with two. If a bodybuilder is a hundred kilogram, than a hundred multiplied by two makes two hundred grams of protein each day not to burn the muscles instead of the fat from the body. Within the last six months of the diet, bodybuilders cut their carbohydrate intake gradually while increasing the amount of protein in their diet. According to the informants, "We try to compensate our sugar demand from fruits. Oscillation of fruit sugar is takes longer time compared to other types of sugar". One other competitive bodybuilder told "I have been eating at least fortyfive eggs while training for the competition. Till there is two months to the the competition we still can eat fruits. Right before two months, we cut fruit from our diet" One other informant noted that he cut from his diet the foods that can turn into sugar like white rice and white bread. "We prefer light colored fruits instead of dark colored fruits which has lesser amount of fructose. We also prefer dark rice and dark bread instead of white ones". Bodybuilders, try to eat at least six times a day. It is part of their discourse that one has to eat less amount of food but with shorter period of breaks. They pretty much has a much more detailed knowledge about the nutritional values of all sorts of food. They have an idea about which type of meat is better to eat, when to eat what. What one should abstain from eating. And in their daily conversations, food related subjects have a great importance. Contrary to the 'taste' 'flavor' 'texture' or 'appearance' of the food they are consuming; they are interested more in the nutritional value of the food. What will be better to eat for burning the fat or for building new muscles or more technically to repair the muscles they worn out during the exercise.

The Gym owner who has been in this sport for nearly thirty years tried to explain their relation to sugar as such: "Eventhough you are knocked

down on the floor you should stay away from the sugar. Low sugar triggers growth hormone and decreases the percentage of fat in your body. When there isn't any sugar to burn in the body, either fat and muscles would be burnt for energy. In order to prevent your body to burn the muscles you take protein. But if enough amount of protein doesn't taken then the body will try to burn the muscles. Since muscles are expensive for the body because they consume so much energy. That's why before the training I have insulin shots. But this is dangerous only about ten people know how to arrange the amount of insulin dosage per shot. This can cause hypoglycemia which can lead to death". The diet for the competition starts at least six or seven months before the competition. It depends on your body. If you have gained extra weight during bulking period you have to begin earlier. It is not good to reach your ideal form early either. Then you'll lose it by the time you enter the competition. As one informant told: "the most torturous part of the diet for the competition is the last fifteen days. You eat fat free rice but you don't drink water so the rice gets bigger and bigger in your mouth becoming a sticky ball".

One of the informants shared what he has been eating as: "we cut red meat and the vegetables completely. Start drinking ten liters of water each day. While decreasing the carbohydrates we start loading water to our bodies with 1 teaspoon of salt only. 1 week before the competition we increase the carbohydrate in our diet once more salt and water consumption decreases again to one liter approximately. Right before two days of the competition, the water decreases to half a liter. The bodybuilders informing about their water intake just before the competition stated that "After that time we don't need protein anymore. So we basically begin eating either boiled fish (salmon or scrod) or chicken breast. Two or three days before the competition we have to be weighed on the scale in order to be decided which category we will take part in. During this time, we have to take about half a liter of water. After the scaling we don't drink water anymore! But eat anything available to us which will make you seem even larger on the runway while at the same time because of the high calorie foods your veins begin to expand and become visible during the competition which is basically what is highly anticipated".

"Right after the competition we try to eat whatever we want. But then you end up being diarrhea". But of course this doesn't happen very often. The people attending to the competition has a very limited time period set for themselves. They continue to abstain eating high calorie foods with high amount of fat and sugar in it. As one informant had put it " We are really afraid of losing our looks. So we begin dieting after a short time once again.

One has to be make it a lifestyle eating this way. People usually think that they will have the body just like ours within three months since they begin working out of course they think it is all about the shots and drugs. But it is not. It is foolish to think it like that. It is typical of people that they buy what they hear from others without doing a little research about it. There is some much wrong information circulating around and actually for some gyms this kind of information makes their business more profitable”.

Bodybuilding has it own dangers that should be avoided. People who has been practicing the sport for more than five years know what is actually to be done to avoid side affects that is closely associated with the abusing of the drugs. One of the most common sideaffects of the testesterone shots is a disease called gynecomastia. It is actually ironic in itself how the testesterone known by the world as the hormone of “masculinty” can have such a side effect if taken in excessive amounts. The most striking symptom of gynecomastia is the enlargement of the breasts which can be a source of distress in the social life.

Conclusion

Although in an increasing number of gyms emerging in the market each of them try to sell a “healthy way of living”, they are well aware of the risks they have been taking during bodybuilding. “All of my blood test results are way above the average, the doctor who is also my friend is shocked with the results. He questions how could I still live like a normal person”. Even the categories of women and men might dissolve while considering the common practices taking place in bodybuilding. Too much anabolisan can casue men grew breast like women and too much testeterone leading women grow beard and a change in the shape of the bones of their face. Body builders do cook their own food. And this practice is in contrast with the hard masculine stereotype or with the established discourse stating cooking as a women's activity.

According to a Turkish proverb, a man without a belly is just like a house without a balcony. And since a balcony is a very important part of the house at least for Turkish people. A man with a moustach and a large belly is the symbol of traditional masculin image. Also the kebab culture is an indispensable feature of Turkish cuisine is popular among the middle aged men. But for bodybuilders either participating in the competitions or withing amateurs this style of eating practices and appearance should be changed. And their foodways could be evaluated as a conflicting practice with the discourse that have been surrondered in the cultural context. Most of the bodybuilders I interviewed with come from conservative backgrounds and

some of them even continue their religious practices like fasting 30 days during Ramadan while continuing their diet and training.

One of the informants who have been practicing during Ramadan which coincided with a hot and dry summer of the year 2012 told it that he can will not give up on for another. And he will be just fine after having his 'iftar' when the once the sun sets. One of the ironic thing about being a bodybuilder and attending to a competetion in Turkey is wearing the black swimsuit on the platform and posing. The swimsuits that would look really odd if worn on the beach is something totally acceptable fort the middle class male body builder most of the time coming from a politically right wing oriented neighbourhood. They like posing on the catwalk as one of them told :”eventhough you have the best body if you don't know how to show it (your body) during posing you can loose the competition”. Actually, one of the competitors who is considered to be a 'new comer' to the rekor gym since he has been going there fort the last one year is criticised by his peers in the gym. Because he didn't pay attention to the way he posed. One of the gym attendant who had a chance to watch the competition claimed that “He should have act more serious while he was posing. He didn't even practice the basics of the posing before the competition. That's why the jury didn't take him serious. And he became the third although he was beter than the guy who came second in the ranking”.

As some of the informants clearly stated bodybuilding has a different dimension to it compared to other sports that people try to excercise in order to be healthy, to rise the quality of life and social environment which they are living in. Being healthy is not a priority. Even for the participants those are over sixty five years old it is more about the idea of 'not yielding to age' 'not to give up on your body'. Bodybuilders gender performances blurs the gender dichotomies and turns them upside down. Their everyday life discourses of being so much interested with the physical appearance, being nearly narcissitic about the looks, how they take care of their body and their diet can show great contrasts with the discourses of the social environment which they live in.

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