



# Cultural and Historical Perspectives on Body Image, Obesity, and Eating Disorders

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## 4. Historical and cultural perspective on obesity and body image in Portugal

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**Abstract:** Portuguese adolescents and young people are subject to normative discontentment related to body image perception. This perception is subjective and influenced by several factors including mass media communication or social media messages. To aggravate this situation, we live in a pro-obesogenic era. Advertising for unhealthy food facilitates excess body weight which in turn contributes to body dissatisfaction and to the manifestation of eating disorders. We analyzed the covers of printed magazines from the last 13 months to understand how body image is portrayed in actuality. Of the total magazines, 29% have messages related to beauty culture. Some of them were related to weight or body shape such as “body in shape” (“Corpo em forma”), and “prepare the body for summer” (“prepare o corpo para o verão”). Only 15 (9.4%) of those magazines are assisting the slenderness culture: “Easter without gaining weight” (“Páscoa sem engordar”), “After holidays lose weight” (“depois das férias perder peso”), “do not come back with more weight from holidays” (“não volte com mais peso das férias”), “loose weight for once” (“emagreça de vez”), and “loose x kg in y weeks” (“emagreça x kg em y semanas”). From the total of magazines, 8.5% (14 magazines) were identified as having body shaming, inducing that a change was necessary to have a desirable body. Despite these results, excess body weight is still a target of social stigma and bullying at scholarly levels. However, movements of body positivity and TV shows increasing awareness of how stigma affects people suffering from obesity and eating disorders are becoming more common opening space for improvements in the next years, that will undoubtedly need a multidisciplinary integrated approach in order to succeed.

### 4.1 Introduction

Portuguese society, like other contemporary western societies, is strongly marked by the conditions of postmodernity as described by Giddens (1). In this scenario, Portuguese adolescents and young people are subject to the influence of dietary patterns and models, and body conditions. In Portugal, the transition to post-modernity took place very quickly. As a result, traditional and post-modern conditions, like body image perception, coexist and aggravate the situation. Traditional models and beliefs such as the idea of “Fat is Beautiful” [“Gordura é formosura”] and “What is foreign is better” negatively influence the behavior of young people and compromise the desirable communication (namely in traditional and social media) between generations, which, in turn, encourages attitudes of social disruption and adoption of extreme behaviors, like anorexia.

Global obesity levels have been increasing over the past 4 decades (2). People with obesity often suffer from stigma associated with their weight. Weight-based discrimination is one of the most common forms of discrimination. Recently, several medical associations and institutions worked together on a “Joint International Consensus Statement for Ending Stigma of Obesity”. In their consensus, they recognize that individuals with obesity face not only an increased risk of serious medical complications but also a pervasive, resilient form of social stigma (3). Despite affecting diverse ages and backgrounds, women are generally more likely to suffer weight-based discrimination compared to men.

Body image is defined as “the multifaceted psychological experience of embodiment” (4). Perception of obesity and body image varies through time and geography, and so does the subjective understanding of who is obese and the consequences of obesity and body image in health.

The perception of body image is subjective and involves a person's thoughts, emotions, and imaginations. Society-level concepts and culture-specific notions about physical appearance are also involved (4).

Popular adages are good examples of old times perception of obesity. In Portugal, there is a proverb that says “*Gordura é formosura*”, which can be translated as “Fatness is goddess”. A few decades ago, when food security was not democratized, only the richest were fat, while the rest of population was facing hunger, undernutrition, and other diseases. During these times, the cultural perception was that being obese was not only healthier but also prettier. Nowadays, being obese is correlated with several chronic diseases, and it no longer is perceived that “Fatness is goddess”(5). In fact, obesity is frequently associated with dissatisfaction with self-body image and social discrimination.

Body image dissatisfaction is generally associated with dissatisfaction by excess, although in some cases, and particularly in men, there is a dissatisfaction by defect, that is, a desire to increase body size. The dissatisfaction by excess, which is reflected in a desire to reduce body size, may be based on several factors. The cultural stereotypes that are created concerning physical appearance and an ideal of beauty, largely coming from mass communication, play a determining role. When these factors are not addressed in the best way, they can lead to eating disorders, especially in young people.

### **Factors often occurring in adolescence that may drive body dissatisfaction**

Adolescence is characterized by rapid and significant changes in the body, characteristic of puberty, and which occur at a rhythm of their own, which may not be the same as those seen in their peers and friends (6). Overestimation of role models, identifying ideas of beauty in friends, or even in media personalities may lead to comparisons that can be a source of frustration.

Studies conducted in Portugal also showed that young women, girls, and teenagers, who present bigger concerns with body image are more prone to feel sensitive to body dissatisfaction. In a cross-sectional observational study with 323 adolescents from three schools in Portugal, dissatisfaction with body image was present in 34.4% of the inquired. Despite most adolescents having an adequate body mass index, 61.5% of them were dissatisfied with their body image (7).

Besides body satisfaction, recent studies have been focusing on facial satisfaction, namely on satisfaction with the appearance of their eyes, nose, facial shape, and face overall. In The U.S. Body Project, face satisfaction and body image were presented as different constructs with a weak to moderate correlation between them. However, both facial and body image dissatisfaction were aggravated by general anxiety or by perceived pressure from sociocultural concerns (8). The “Face Q-satisfaction with facial appearance overall” instrument, was recently validated in the Portuguese language in Brazil (9), and the same may occur in Portugal bringing more knowledge to how facial satisfaction is affecting the Portuguese Youth.

### **Cultural stereotypes regarding physical appearance**

The beauty culture is related to and intersects with the theory of female objectification described by Barbara Fredrickson and Tomi-Ann Roberts in 1997 (10). The theory of female objectification postulates it is the education of girls and women to adopt a vision of themselves that leads them to treating themselves as an object of observation and physical evaluation by the other (11). This type of objectification can easily lead to body dissatisfaction, especially when women take into account the cultural norms for thinness and beauty.

In a study published in 2013, Castro and Osório conducted research aiming to analyze content produced by a group of Portuguese-speaking pro-anorexic adolescents. In this qualitative exploratory study, 11 Portuguese-speaking blogs written by teenagers were examined. For several months, interactions and the content of the blogs were analyzed to deeply understand the “pro-anorexia” movement in Portugal. Pro-anorexia, also called “pro-ana” is a social movement where individuals suffering from eating disorders find in digital places a way to bond with others with the same disorders without judgments found in the outside world (12). This was also a way to connect without having to meet in person, which in Portugal usually is associated with meals and food time. Going out for a coffee/ drink or dinner is part of the Portuguese culture and a typical way to bond (13).

In these blogs, it was possible to find information about diets, tips and tricks, exercise and fitness routines, information about drugs, medical experiences, and health problems. Also, pictures, videos, music, and quotes that could be seen as “thin inspirational” were commonly shared. Content could go as far as sharing suicidal thoughts and self-harming practices.

Testimonials of these teenagers, aged between 13 and 19 years old, also evidence of how celebrities were seen as body image models and how their parents, peers, and cultural and social pressures were perceived by them. An example translated in this study shows how dieting and body image was perceived as crucial to having social acceptance: “I think I’ll manage to eat till 800 calories or less. I must do so. It’s my life at stake. The way people see me and the future” (12).

School seems to represent a big pressure with some teenagers feeling the urge to lose weight in order to avoid bullying. A study conducted in the Portuguese region of Bragança showed that one in every four children was a victim of bullying. Testimonials from these victims illustrate a fear to go to school (14). Although bullying can assume many forms, body image is often a topic of aggression.

Also using a convenience sample of teenagers (14 to 18 years old) from two secondary schools in Portugal it was shown that adolescents revealed attitudes that put them in a situation of increased risk for eating disorders and revealed that the drive for thinness – i.e. the desire to be thin – was the most relevant attitudinal dimension (15).

Body dissatisfaction and ultimately the development of eating disorders can be triggered by a slenderness idealization portrayed in media advertising and social media images. To better understand how women’s bodies are depicted in local culture, a quantitative and qualitative analysis of local magazines was conducted by the authors of this chapter.

## **4.2 The slenderness culture: a case-study of magazine covers**

### **Methodology**

We conducted a case study of the printed magazine covers in the women’s/fashion segment to understand how body image is portrayed by them.

The women's/fashion segment is the second segment with the highest paid, digital, and printed circulation in Portugal, just after general information. According to the Association for the Control of Drawing and Circulation (APCT) during the year 2021, 8969 digital and 1224389

copies were sold in this segment. Men's segment which is represented by the magazine with the same name "Men's health" sold 8925 digital and 57816 printed copies (16).

From the women's/fashion segment, 10 magazines are listed: Activa, Elle, Happy Woman, Lux Woman, Maria, Máxima, Revista Cristina, Saber Viver, Telenovelas and Women's Health. We intended to choose those with the highest circulation, but since only 5 of the 10 magazines had data about the magnitude of circulation, those were the chosen ones. They were Activa, Maria, Saber Viver, Telenovelas, and Women's health. The analysis of magazine covers was conducted in late April 2022 and was related to the last year, i.e. from April 2021 to April 2022. As men's segment is represented only by one magazine this one was also included in the analyses.

Covers of the magazines were collected from official web pages, gathered in a single file, and analyzed by four independent evaluators. Evaluators were professors of dietetics and nutrition and researchers in the field.

Evaluators were asked to analyze whether or not they considered the magazine cover as representing a slenderness culture, if it contained expressions that could be perceived as body shaming, if it conveyed messages that promoted a healthy diet and if the bodies represented were considered underweight, normal weight, or overweight. In case of discrepancies between evaluators, the evaluation of the majority was the one considered.

### **Body image and headlines of Portuguese magazine covers**

The magazines analyzed represented a total of 159 samples. Of these, a total of 103 (64.8%) have on their cover a photo where an evaluation of the body image is possible. The remaining have only face images or captions from TV shows or soaps where body image was not easily accessed.

Of the total of magazines with a body image possible to be analyzed, in 100 of them (98%), the cover was evaluated as depicting someone with normal weight.

In addition to some subliminal messages possibly perceived through the body photo, we also analyzed the written messages present on these covers. Of the total magazines, 29% had messages related to beauty culture. Some of them were related to weight or body shape "body in shape" ("*corpo em forma*"), "prepare the body for summer" ("*prepare o corpo para o verão*").

Only 15 (9.4%) of those magazines were assisting the slenderness culture, such as "Easter without gaining weight" ("*Páscoa sem engordar*"), "after holidays lose weight" ("*depois das férias perder peso*"), "do not come back with more weight from holidays", ("*não volto com mais peso das férias*"), "loose weight for once" ("*emagreça de vez*"), and "loose x kg in y weeks" ("*emagreça x kg em y semanas*").

From the total of magazines, 8.5% (14 magazines) were identified as having body shaming, inducing that a change was necessary in order to have a desirable body. "Stop being thin" ("*deixe de ser magro*"), "improve your body" ("*melhore o seu corpo*"), and "tips for tall, short or short legged men" ("*dicas para Homens magros, altos, baixos ou com pernas curtas*").

At the opposite end, 22 (13.8%) had positive messages of healthy eating like: "healthy lunchboxes" ("*marmitas saudáveis*"), "healthy diet, what to eat and drink" ("*alimentação saudável, o que comer e beber*"), and "towards summer, special healthy eating" ("*rumo ao verão, especial alimentação saudável*").

Despite all these messages, we also have some references to body positivity headlines such as: "body positivity and the movement of women who do not want to be perfect" ("*body positivity e o movimento das mulheres que não querem ser perfeitas*"), and "liking our body is learnable" ("*gostar do nosso corpo aprende-se*"); other positive messages like "celebrating the singular beauty" ("*celebrar a beleza singular*"), and "beauty, what I learned with my daughter" ("*beleza o que aprendi com a minha filha*").

For a more comprehensive analysis, we divided the magazines into three subcategories: one was focused on the summary of TV soaps or melodramas; another one focused on the female lifestyle and the last one was the male lifestyle.

There are some differences in the categories: Soap magazines, and magazines considered related to women lifestyle or to fashion.

Soap magazines are the ones that focus less on all the items, beauty cultures, healthy diet, and body shaming. Beauty culture is mentioned in 5.3% of the total of these magazines. Also, 5.3% of them were identified as inducing body shaming, 8.0% have beauty culture, and 7.1% have mention to healthy eating.

From 26 magazine covers identified in the women lifestyle, 38.5% have beauty culture. 0% slenderness, and body shaming, and 19.2% healthy diet. In the fashion category: women's health, from 7 magazines analyzed, 85.7% (6) have a beauty culture, 14.3% have a slenderness culture, and 42.9% body shaming, and 42.9% healthy diet.

In the men category, and from the 13 covers analyzed, 11 (84.6%) were assumed as promoting the cult of beauty, 38.5% slenderness culture, 38.5% body shaming, and 46.2% of covers have allusions to healthy eating.

Other expressions were identified in this analysis not related to the initial goal, but also focusing on the body changes or anti-aging tips. Examples include: "hair in the body, how to eliminate them" (*"pêlos no corpo, como eliminá-los"*), "against wrinkles" (*"contra as rugas"*), "hair that will be fashionable this summer" (*"cabelos que vão estar na moda este verão"*); some of them are anti-aging: "riddles and acne, the solution" (*"rugos e acne, a solução"*), "younger skin" (*"pele mais jovem"*), "new treatments to rejuvenate skin" (*"novos tratamentos para rejuvenescer a pele"*), "SOS, wrinkles and dark circles" (*"sos, rugas e olheiras"*), and "energy from 20 to 60, what to eat and how to train" (*"energia dos 20 aos 60, o que comer e como treinar"*).

The majority of messages with beauty and slenderness were associated with summer: headlines like "happy belly in summer, without swelling" (*"barriga feliz no verão, sem inchaço"*) or "enjoy the summer, body in shape" (*"aproveite o verão, corpo em forma"*), or either "lose weight on holidays, tricks that work" (*"emagreça nas férias, truques que resultam"*).

We conclude that men magazines have more messages related with muscle and strength: "muscle, energy and health, what to eat between meals" (*"músculo, energia e saúde, o que comer entre refeições"*), "energy, what to eat throughout the day" (*"energia, o que comer ao longo do dia"*), "how to gain muscle" (*"como ganhar músculo"*), "more muscle, eat this" (*"mais músculo, coma isto"*), "the best meat, for your muscles" (*"a melhor carne, para os seus músculos"*), and "muscle, what you need to know to stop being skinny" (*"músculo, o que precisa de saber para deixar de ser magro"*).

Also, we see an increase of these messages near the time of festive occasions like Easter or Christmas: "lose weight until Christmas", "Easter without increasing weight", "Christmas recipes", or "Christmas culinary".

It is also possible to analyze that some of the magazines opt for having photos of people showing a considerable part of their body/skin on most of their covers. Men without a shirt or in shorts or women showing their legs or abdomens, for example in swimming suits or training clothes are common in some magazines, and rare in others, showing some sort of editorial policy of the message conveyed in these magazines. The editorial policy is also visible when some magazines have more messages promoting healthy lifestyles than others.

### **4.3 Impact of mass media communication on the social stigma of people suffering from obesity or eating disorders**

Assessing exactly how communication about body image has changed in the few past years is not an easy task. We can although look at how these topics are being addressed in the media today. Curiously, one of the main comedians in Portugal launched a program about the limits of humor where he addresses important topics like obesity, body image, and eating disorders, among others. In this program called TABU, Bruno Nogueira (17) spends an entire week co-living

with people suffering from these conditions. He is able to show the human perspective from the participants who talk about their struggles, either internal or external, resulting from social life and interaction with others and how that impacted their lives.

This type of show, streaming on one of the main Portuguese TV channels, and bringing these topics to the audience with some careful humor, can be a powerful way to impact social feedback, influence stereotypes, and improve people's empathy and awareness (18). If it also helps people with these conditions to increase self-acceptance, is a more complex topic. Despite not being the gold solution, interaction with a sensitive community is undoubtedly an important process to overcome any body distortion. Changing the perceived consensus on stereotypes about obese people has been proved to improve attitudes towards them and reduce bias (18,19).

### **Body dissatisfaction perceived by the individual – A case study testimonial**



Fig. 1- Woman at a beauty parlour (Source: worldobesity.org)

Sara (fictious name) is a 23-years-old dietetics and nutrition student struggling with her body appearance and external judgments.

Before starting studies on nutrition and dietetics fields, Sara had never received education or orientation on how she should eat. Being raised by a single mother who worked a lot, Sara had never had a regular eating pattern. Her emotions had always interfered with her relationship with food leading to cycles of bingeing and excessive dieting. Bingeing episodes were also often followed by purging events like forcing vomiting. She had been overweight for almost all her life, and in adolescence, Sara was a target of bullying from colleagues at school due to her body image. This accumulation of events drew her to a depressive phase where she lost a lot of weight, which she gained back in a constant struggle with balance.

She decided to study dietetics to better understand how to deal with food, so she could change her reality and that of others who have gone through the same experiences. The need to be an example in her profession is driving her to change her diet and increase her physical activities. She feels that her professional skills as a dietitian are judged by her body image which increases pressure to have a better looking overall. Although her relationship with food has improved, feelings of external judgment and internal blame still accompany her. Despite having

started to deal better with internal feelings of guilt, she is still sensitive to familiar or peer-pressure. Social media has also a strong role in reminding Sara that she doesn't fit in the "normal" and "perfect" stereotype bodytype.

### **Body positivity movement**

The positive movement that first emerged in the 1960s aimed to highlight health challenges and risks as people conforming to standardized designed shapes, now supports and celebrates diverse body types (20). As it is known today, the Body Positivity movement appeared in the media around the year 2012, with the aim of changing unrealistic female beauty standards into an approach that is real to the current times. The movement is gaining popularity and at the same time some critics.

Criticism of the movement is based on the point that people disregard medical and health complications that are directly related to the development of chronic diseases such as obesity, diabetes, heart disease, and cancer. Many advocates of the body positivity movement criticize this correlation (21). However, this should not be ignored or left in the background.

The Body Positivity movement does not mean conforming to the body that society does not accept, but understanding and accepting how it presents itself, being aware that there are, yes, parts of the body that we do not like so much, even though we must choose to accept them instead of hating them. The era of social media seems to have exacerbated the fixation on body image, which leads to an increase in mental health problems and disorders such as depression, body dysmorphia, and anorexia (22).

Portugal and other southern European countries share common lifestyle conventions, beliefs, and beauty ideals, when compared to some northern European countries, those in the South tend to have stricter standards with the body figure. The average height and weight in these countries are generally lower than in the northern part of Europe. The plus-size mindset and movements that support body positivity and differentiation are still not very popular in these societies, especially among the young population. Although the average weight of people in southern Europe has increased over the last decade, the fashion industry continues to ignore it (23).

In the battle for body acceptance, new movements emerge with similar ideas, but which go beyond the body such as body neutrality, which advocates the idea that we should look at our body as it is, from a functional perspective as opposed to appearance. It is a social movement whose objective is to reduce the great significance given to physical attractiveness in our society (24).

The relationship that is built with our body is complex and it becomes difficult to summarize it in a simple affirmative or negative answer when asked whether or not to accept it. Therefore, the main idea of body neutrality that has gained strength in recent years is to withdraw the attention and importance we give to the shape of our body and focus beyond it. Body neutrality offers an alternative to the well-known body positivity, which advocates the idea that we should love our body, as it is (Pedro, 2020).

### **Real women marketing campaign**

A famous beauty products brand had implemented a marketing campaign that can be assumed as disruptive to the global body image of slimness. This brand uses the concept of "real women", hence women of different sizes and body shapes in their campaigns, and in addition, it offers body positivity, self-acceptance and self-esteem tools for teens, parents, and teachers on their website (Recursos para Pais e Encarregados de Educação (dove.com))(25). In the same way, some Portuguese famous athletes, actors, singers and social influencers introduce in their social media, TV, and media interviews, messages to promote health instead of slimness, to promote acceptance instead of "fighting" one's own body and natural shape. Their message is either explicit or implicit. These messages can be read, as example, in Instagram stories and posts of

Carolina Deslandes (@carolindeslandes – a famous Portuguese singer); Ana Guiomar (@anaguiomar.oficial - famous actress), Mafalda Beirão (@mafalda\_beirao - digital influencer), and Catarina Corujo (@catarinacorujo – digital influencer, also known as body healer). Pictures of own body with no filters and where visible, body and skin imperfections are posted. Texts focusing on the importance of self-esteem, self-acceptance, and fighting body-shaming messages are frequent in these profiles.

This approach has been studied by researchers recently and if on the one hand, it increases mental and emotional health and social acceptance (26), on the other hand, it seems to create a new pressure on women to 'love' their bodies, and therefore may make women feel worse about themselves if they do not; in the same way, it is mentioned that such content still focuses on appearance and thus may merely perpetuate the underlying issue in the first place – by keeping the focus on the body. Even of greater concern is the result of some studies that suggest body positivity encourages obesity by 'glorifying' unhealthy habits. In a similar vein, some authors asserted that the normalization of larger bodies is contributing to the prevalence of overweight (27), or the misperception of normalweight (28). No scientific consensus on this topic exists yet (29) and further research is needed.

### **Pro-obesogenic environment – Digital marketing of unhealthy foods**

Marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes of creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offers that have value for customers, partners, and society (30). Marketing activities should benefit society as a whole. With the different consumer needs, the market must be divided into segments so that companies can plan and position the product and its respective marketing. In this perspective, the contextualization of marketing in a digital context is associated with a diverse promotional component. A digital media maximizes the impact through creative and analytical methods (31). Strategies are created to facilitate response and adapt marketing to the customer to segment the market. Unlimited access to the Internet and other forms of digital marketing allows immersive, interactive, and integrated marketing strategies (32).

Digital marketing replaces several diversities of traditional marketing, creating more effective and dynamic strategies for industries. Furthermore, digital marketing is an instrument of communication through the Internet. It addresses several tools that serve as a bridge between brands and customers, as a way to help brands to establish a simple and clear communication with their customers (33).

In the universe of the food industry, the impact has been overwhelming. Digital marketing does not only replace other more traditional forms of food marketing, but also complements and amplifies its effects. It increases brand presence across broader and more diverse media, resulting in more excellent brand and product awareness (34). As a result, companies are shifting their advertising spending favoring digital marketing, where customers can be reached and engaged, particularly on social media platforms (35).

The increased use of digital media and the amount of time people spend online results in a shift away from advertising that is now bought programmatically. Programmatic digital media allows individual targeting of advertising impressions, which can substantially affect consumer behaviour. Food companies are increasingly using social media to market. Influencers and social media marketing considerably influence the general public's food choices and subsequent intake, emphasizing children and young people. A significant investment in food-related advertising was observed in Teixeira, Holzer and Barbosa study in 2021 (33), with 35% of advertising promoting food and drink and a significant proportion of advertisers being food-related. This study also shows that most influencers' videos featured food and drink cues (60%), which equated to an average rate of 13.5 per hour. These studies, which evaluated food and drink cues featured in YouTube videos and Instagram posts shared by teenagers, showed a higher prevalence of food and drink (92.6% and 85%, respectively) (33).

The Digital 2020 report – published by We Are Social and Hootsuite – shows that digital, mobile and social media have become an indispensable part of everyday life worldwide. More than 4.5 billion people were using the Internet at the start of 2020, a 7% increase compared to January 2019. Regarding Portugal, in January 2020, 8.52 million of Portuguese were Internet users and, in 2019, they spent 6 hours and 43 minutes per day in online activities. If we consider about 8 hours a day to sleep, Portuguese people currently spend, on average, more than 40% of awake time using the Internet (36).

It has been widely recognized and demonstrated by scientific community that marketing of unhealthy foods is contributing to obesity in children (37,38), and Portugal transposed for national legislation a European Directive about marketing regulation. The Law no. 30/2019 of 23 of April introduces restrictions on the marketing of foods and drinks that are calorie dense, nutrient-poor and high in salt, sugar, saturated fat and trans fatty acids intended to a segment audience of children under 16 years old (39). This Law is very evident regarding advertising channels and clearly includes the Internet as one of the possible advertising vehicles, in Article 20-A, point 2- , paragraph d): “On the Internet, through websites or social networks, as well as in mobile applications for devices that use the Internet, when their contents are intended for children below 16 years of age”.

Despite this, many Portuguese children seem to continue to be targets of these advertisements, as shown by Bica et al (2020) (40), in a Portuguese exploratory study of food marketing in digital platforms. The authors concluded that 60% of the 68 YouTube videos analysed included food and beverage cues, of which 70% were classified as less healthy, and the most frequent featured products were ready-made and convenience foods (23.1%). Because of the importance of the Internet for the Portuguese and the growing trend, it is essential to understand online consumers' behaviour, namely the impact of digital marketing activities on their consumption and purchase decisions. This Portuguese study showing that children exposure to unhealthy food advertising is still happening in Portugal, with possible negative consequences for body weight and increasing the risk of developing some form of eating disorder.

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