A Sociological Analysis On Eating Disorders Among Anorexia And Bulimia Nevrosia Patients And Primary School And University Students As Risk Groups In Turkey III: Media

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Özet

Medyanın sunduğu bir seri süreç bir yandan hegemonik bir kültür anlayışının oluşmasına hizmet ederken öte yandan toplumda ideolojik bir işlevi yerine getirmektedir. Bu çerçevede araştırmamızın amacı anorexia ve bulimia nevroza hastalıklarına giden süreçte bir risk grubu olarak görülen ergenlik ve gençlik dönemi örnekleminde yer alan öğrencilerin kilo problemi ve kontrolü konusunda medyanın rolünü ortaya koymaktır. Bu bağlamda günümüzde bedenin bir tüketim nesnesi olduğu, bireyin onu kontrol etmesinin elinde olması nedeniyle bedenini bir özne olarak algılaması görüşü güçlenmektedir. Bu düşüncelerden hareketle araştırmamızda medyayı izleme sıklığı ile mankenlere benzeme isteği ve diyet yapma davranışı, kilo bakımından kaygı düzeyi ile medyada yayınlanan diyet listelerini uygulama arasındaki ilişkiler test edilmiştir. Araştırma bulguları incelik/zayıflık kültürünün oluşmasında medyanın etkisini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Medya ve yeme bozukluğu, manken-modeller ve diyet yapma, medya-diyet listeleri ve yeme bozukluğu

Abstract

A series of processes presented by the media both serves the formation of hegemonic culture, and carries out an ideological function in the society. Within this framework, the aim of this study is to define the role of the media in weight problem and weight control of the students in the sampling groups in adolescence and young adulthood periods which are accepted as risk groups in the process leading to anorexia and bulimia nevrosa diseases. In this context, the view that the body has been a consumption object, that the individual perceives the body as subject since it can be controlled has been somehow popular in our age. Depending on these ideas, the relation between the frequency of following the media, the wish to resemble models and the behaviour of going on a diet; and the relation between the anxiety level in terms of weight and applying diet lists given by the media are tested. Findings of the present study reveal that the media have an effect on the formation of culture in which being slim is very important.

Key Words : media and eating disorder, impact of media, media and bulimia, media and anorexia, models and going on a diet.



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I. Introduction

Rapid changes in communication technologies in the last quarter of the 20th century have brought together changes in social institutions and relations in a global sense. These changes have created different interpretations with negative and positive dimensions. Especially television as a means of communication is thought to play an active role in making different cultures to resemble each other. In this sense, the term, 'global village' used by McLuhan (McLuhan and Powers 2001) points out the fact that the world is becoming smaller.

When the role of the media in the globalization process is considered, it is claimed that the the degree of influence of mass media means is quite high. These paradigms are evaluated in two categories by communication scientists as liberal traditional theory and critical theory. Liberal traditional theory claims that programs broadcast via different means of mass media provide homogeneity by increasing cultural similarities, however, different local cultures keep their existence. This view has a positive and optimistic approach in that communication among societies will develop with the technological advances in mass communication means. On the other hand, critical theory, having a negative and pessimistic approach, claims that culture will turn into an industry and become something like a trading object as communication means rapidly changes.

On the other hand, studies on the effects of mass communication means used with the aim of advertising and propaganda in political elections between 1940s and 1970s found out that the level of their effectiveness was limited and low (Mac Quail and Windahl 1993). However, with the expansion of globalization during 1990's, the powerful effect of mass media was on the agenda again, considering it as a factor determining the social agenda, as well as controlling and governing people. The idea was that it was the fourth important factor/power following legislation, execution and judgement.

Today, the idea that the media affect individuals and forms the public opinion can be said to be widespread. In the line of thought from the reformists including, for example, Wright Mills (1974), members of Frankfurt School (Jay 1989), Herbert Schiller (1993), Jean Baudrillard (1991) and Noam Chomsky (1989) to the radicals, the idea that media lead individuals to a kind of psychological ignorance, turn culture into a trading object, create an area of hyper reality by making everything simulated facts and use the country politics as a means of justification and legitimation has gained importance.

Stuart Hall (1996), who draws attention to the effects of the media, claims that television and the media broadcasts create a hegemony, also undertaking an ideological function. Hall may be said to have a warmer approach to the concept of hegemony, which he took and developed from Gramsci and Althuser because his understanding (Hall 1996 and Sparks 1996) of hegemony is more comprehensive in that it includes all definitions of reality, yet all his alternatives reflect the spectrum of the dominant classes. However, his understanding of hegemony is based on public agreement and consent. This understanding necessitates a continously dynamic observance of different definitions of reality as well. So, Hall's understanding indicating that hegemony is supported not only by one governing class but also by a conjunctural consensus of



different strata of classes associates with Mill's (1974) theory of power élites and forms an ideological process. In this ideological process, after the public consent is ensured, the media undertake an important function in the formation of a series of processes which will create legitimacy. Thus, while particular profit is perceived as general interest, general interest is represented as the dominant interest. So, the media are qualified as an ideological means of the government by Hall as also indicated by Althuser (1978) (Dursun 2001: 37-39). This way, the audience may adapt the ideology presented by the media, with the idea in mind that the media have already interrogated the content presented to them and they consume that ideology by living it. This understanding is evaluated as a way of producing popular culture at the same time. Thus, value judgements adopted by society are agreed upon and they are practised and legitimized in daily life.

Television which is the most widespread communication means is seen as an indispensable part of the universe of our lives. However, it is the media on which many speculations are made. This case emerges from the fact that the entertainment function of television is more popular, its visual and oral dimension is highly foregrounded and it can be easily followed. Television brings into home environment programs such as news, discussion programs, series, film and magazin programs and gives directions through advertisements on what to be consumed. This direction is realized through the consent of the audience, rather than creating through the coercive power of the hegemonian culture, as Hall states. Thus, social pathologies, as Durkheim calls them (1986), may easily turn into acceptable and ordinary norms. A similar case is valid also for other types of communication means such as newspapers and journals.

Besides the functions such as informing individuals/the public, giving them news, entertaining them, the media also have other functions to earn money and to gain economic profit. In this sense, advertisements are the biggest sources of income for the media. So, the frequency of following the media is a factor stimulating the sense of profit (Postman and Powers 1996: 14). In this context, it is obvious that contemporary media is based on the purpose of making a profit as it activates the consumption economy. In his book *La Societé de Consemmation*, Baudrillard mentions the universalities of daily news as a feature of consumption society. According to him, all types of news (political, historical, cultural, magazin) are updated. In other words, they are visually dramatised. The meaning and content of a news is derived from its aim by the media and decreased into signs. So, the audinece is presented not with the reality itself but its pseudo-reflection. The audience lives with these signs by denying the reality and consume these so-called realities. Among these consumed objects, there is an object having lots of extra attributions. This is 'body' (Baudrillard 1997: 155).

Baudrillard claims that having escaped from its restricted sense in the enlightenment period in the 17th and 18th centuries, body has turned into an object of freedom. He also states that the rediscovery of the body has been put forward in advertisements, fashion and popular culture. Among the signs of this rediscovery are health, diet, treatment cult, youth, elegance, obsession with masculanity and feminity, body care, discourse expressing wish and desire for the body (Baudrillard 1997: 155-156).

The idea that puts the body at the central place as a subject emerges from the

hedonistic understanding of the consumption society. A better physical appearance of the body, its health and control are presented by the media as an ultimate goal for the consumption society. So, existential status of the body appears as a cultural fact. The relation with the body depends on its mental representation in every culture. The relation with the body in a way explains how social relations are organised (Baudrillard 1997: 156-158, Mettleton 2001). These ideas, which Hall relates to the concept of 'hegemony', are said to be producing an ideological formation. As a result, it is seen that there are different cultural understandings of the body at every age.

2. Media And Nutrition Disorder

The media as a means of producing popular culture are an important and effective factor on the audience developing nutrition habits, body image and behaviour of dieting. In this context, as the frequency of following magazin programs and watching advertisements increases, the ratio of going on a diet and weight control behaviours also increases among the audience. Fashion shows in magazin programs and publishing their colourful pictures in the press, etc. increase the desire of audience to resemble models. In this sense, created/produced culture creates a hegemony and becomes a general and current life style.

The birth of eating disorder is closely related to the globalization developed in the last quarter of the 20th century. The development of nutrition technologies and their transfer have changed the food culture. Relatedly, an increase has been recorded in the amount and variety of dietetic products. Thus, fast consumption opportunities and the emphasis on slim people have turned putting on weight into a problem. The increase in the number of programs about health and nutrition on different television channels, continous presentation of diet lists in newspapers and journals are important signs of change in the approach to nutrition and weight. Today, over-weightness is considered as an aesthetic and health problem. So, while the media become a means of marketing the products, it also presents its audience a model for being slim/elegant and graceful.

In recent studies, it is seen that the effect of the media has increased on creating or triggering the symptoms of eating disorders by producing an ideal slim woman stereotype image and transmitting this image to the audience. The image of woman as a sexual object is supported by television, cinema, magazin journals and newspapers. A picture of a cover girl or an ice-cream advertisement is a constant sign reminding this matter all the time. These signs have a priority over established values. The ironical part of this situation is that the cost of being slim for these models or actresses is very high in order to have this kind of body or appearance. While they want to look beautiful with the aim of being on the agenda, they struggle with eating disorders (Hall and Cohn 1992: 28-29).

According to Kempa and Thomas (2000), the media insist on that everybody can and should adapt these standards. The recent trend is to combine the norms of health and beauty. In order to make dieting a social norm, dietetic foods and dieting programs are continously advertised at the media. Possessing an attractive body is accepted not only as a desired situation but also as a success. Over-weightness is neither produced nor accepted by the media.

The media have an important place in the identity development and socialization



process of young girls, as indicated by Thomsen, McCoy and Williams (2001). It is known that the disease of anorexia nevrosa comes up frequently at the adolescence period. Fashion and beauty journals for women have a unique place in the socialization process. There is a close relation between this kind of journals and learning sex roles, identity formation, value and belief development. It is known that one fourth of the white women between the ages of 12-14 in the USA read these journals. They have important effects on the socialization process of individuals. According to Ferguson, the author of *Readers of Women Magazin Journals*, the samples of super women are presented in these journals, thus role models and methods of being beautiful and successful are imposed and imitated (Thomsen et al. 2001).

A study on this subject was carried out by Garnet et al. They studied on the change of attractive women standards between 1960s and 1980s. They chose *The Miss America Pageant* and *Playboy Playmate* as monthly journals in their studies. They found out that the preference was towards a less roundy shaped female models and slim female models. The interesting point here is that while ideal woman form is getting slimmer, the actual weight of woman in daily life is getting increased in the USA. The authors also indicated that the increase in anorexia nevrosa is in parallel with this period. They also studied on changes in the males' preferences, and produced questions about this subject such as 'what is the ideal form women want to be?' and 'is it the result of women's perceptions about what is attractive for males?'. As a result, the media have been found to be effective on the change of these preferences. It presents the 'contemporary woman image' in accordance with the physical appearances of fashion models and causes women to feel the pressure of weight also. Moreover, this message means the power of the slim (Moorey 1991:39).

Within this frame, the relationship between the media and eating disorder will be examined in this part of the study. Among many other variables in the definition of nutrition disorder, going on a diet and weight control which are regarded as important factors in the process leading to this disease. In other words, weight and carrying anxiety about weight are taken as the basic variables and the relation between these variables and the media are tested.

3.Method Of The Research

Since the basic aim of this study is to determine the sociological risk factors effective in the process leading to nutrition disorders, the sample group of the study is made up of basic risk groups such as adolescents, young adults at university and actual patients suffering from these diseases. In the frame of this study, only anorexia nevrosa and bulimia nevrosa, which are contemporary problems in terms of nutrition disorders, are focused on.

The sampling group of adolescents as a risk group was selected from the 8th grade students at Beytepe primary school at Hacettepe University. The sampling group of the university students was selected from the students of the Faculty of Letters and the School of Economics and Management at Hacettepe University and from the students of the School of Economics and Management at Baskent University.

87 8th grade students out of a total of 180 enrolled students in 2001-2002 academic year, 356 students out of 8301 students at the Faculty of Letters and the

School of Economics and Management at Hacettepe University and 100 students out of 700 students at the School of Economics and Management at Başkent University participated in this study. In the evaluation process of questionnaires applied to primary school and university students, only 443 questionnaires were found appropriate for evaluation.

The most difficult part of the research was to get in touch with patients. In the sampling group for Ankara, as a result of correspondences made with Gazi University Hospital, Numune Hospital, Ankara Higher Specialisation Hospital, Ankara Social Security Hospital, İbn-i Sina Hospital of Ankara University, Başkent Hospital, Bayındır Hospital and Güven Hospital, it was found out that there was either not any application to hospitals with this disease or there was not a psychiatry service of the hospital. In some cases, researchers were not allowed to get into contact with the patients due to their private psychological conditions. Most probably, suffering individuals did not accept themselves as patients. At the preparation stage of the research, when getting a permission from the hospitals was needed, it was seen that there had been limited application. Since it was a widespread behaviour, going on a diet was accepted as a very ordinary and usual type of behaviour but it was later thought that it had a risk of turning into a disease when continued seriously for a long time. In consequence, the research had to be limited with four patients treated at the Psychiatry Service of Hacettepe University Hospital. A questionnaire including sociological variables indicated in the literature was applied to this sampling group consisting of four patients. Interviews with them were also made. Among these sociological variables, the relation between weight problem and television, newspaper, magazin-fashion journals within the scope of the media was studied.

The following relations are tested:

-As the frequency of following the media increases, the ratio of wish to resemble slim models and actresses also increases.

-There is a positive relation between the frequency of following the media and dieting.

-The ratio of applying diet lists presented by the media among people having a high level of anxiety about their weights is high.

4.Findings

In this part of the study, the frequency distribution of nutrition patterns in relation with the media among patients, primary school and university students and relations among variables are analysed.

4.1.One-Way Frequency Distribution Of Patients, Primary School And University Students

Four of the patients stated that they followed television programs on healthy nutrition and diet. Two of them indicated that they applied diets presented in these programs and three of them said that they followed fashion and magazin journals. One of the patients reported that she wanted to resemble models in these journals in terms of the body image when she was between the years of 11 and 14. Sociological features of the patients were given in previous studies in detail.

The most outstanding feature of the patients is that although they are extremely slim, they perceive themselves still over-weight. 36% of the primary school students define their weights as abnormal (18,7% as over-weight, 17,3% as slim). 12% of the students defining themselves as over-weight indicated that they felt like this because they were heavily affected by magazin programs on television, 9,3% by their friends, 2,7% by their mothers.

The ratio of the university students perceiving their weight as abnormal between the ages of 11-14 is 51,1% (34,9% as slim, 16% as over-weight). The most important factor for the university students perceiving themselves over-weight between these ages is friend (11%). The ratio of the university students affected by their brothers or sisters is 1,7%. The lowest ratio belongs to the university students affected by magazin programs at the media (1,4%).

When the findings of two groups are compared, it is found out that the students perceiving themselves as over-weight at the adolescence period are heavily affected by the media and the students at university by their peers.

The ratio of the primary shcool students indicating that they mostly wished to resemble models at television programs or in magazin journals in terms of physical appearance as an image between the ages of 11-14 is 36%. It is 18,7% among primary school students wishing to resemble their fathers and 21,9% among students wishing to resemble their mothers.

44,9% among university students wished to resemble models, 16,8% either fathers or mothers, 4% teacher, 3,6% their friends when they were at the adolescence period. It is seen that the media are the most effective factor in terms of body image, and models set an important role model for young adults.

16% of the primary school students indicated that they learnt the behaviour of dieting from their families, 8% from a doctor, 6,7% from their peers, 4% from the media. 17,7% of the university students learnt this behaviour from their peers, 13,2% from their families and 12,4% from the media.

As a result of these findings, it is seen that the effect of the media increases at young adulthood period. The ratio of the primary school students watching programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television is 25,3%. It is 42,4% among university students. The ratio of the primary school students applying diet lists published in newspapers is 14,7%. It is 14,5% among university students. The ratio of the primary school students who are members of a journal publishing articles on healthy nutrition or diet lists continously is 10,7%. It is 2,8% among university students. The ratio of the primary school students following fashion-magazin journals is 41,4%, it is 46,1% among university students. The ratio of the primary school students when they were between the ages of 11-14 is 62,7%. It is 51,3% among university students.

4.2. Analysis Of Relations Among Variables In Primary School And University Student Groups

One of the most important findings of the research is that among students at young adulthood period, there is a considerable derivation from their real weights in their perceptions of their present weights. 70,1% of the university students perceiving

themselves as overweight have normal weights according to the body/weight index. Only 29,9% of them are overweight (Chi-square = 72,849, p<0,05). When the relationship between these basic variables, which causes this derivation is examined in terms of the media, the results can be summarized as follows;

45,5% of the primary school girl students go on a diet. 66,7% of these students take fashion models as a model, 33,3% of the students at normal weight take actresses as a model. 64,1% of female university students go on a diet. 61,6% of female university students going on a diet take actresses at normal weight as a model in terms of body image, 37,6% very slim models as a model for themselves. In this case, it may be said that the image of slim people is valid for adolescent girls, whereas normal body image is favoured by females at young adulthood period. Moreover, there is an increase in the behaviour of dieting in the transition period from adolescence to young adulthood.

It is found out that 23,5% of the primary school boy students go on a diet. Boys want to resemble either very slim actors (50%) or actors at normal weight (50%). 33,3% of male university students go on a diet. A considerable number of these students (68,3%) wish to resemble actors having normal weight, 19,5% very slim actors. According to these findings, males at the adolescence period wish to resemble mostly very slim people, males at young adulthood period take mostly people at normal weight as a model. As a result, it may be said that adolescents without gender difference admire extreme slimness. Moreover, it is found out that girl/female students prefer extreme slimness, more than boy/male students do.

It is also figured out that 31,9% of the primary school students and 36,6% of the university students have anxiety about their images and weights. 54,5% of the primary school students applying diet lists published in newspapers carry anxiety about their physical appearances or their weights. 72,1% of the primary school students not applying these diet lists do not carry such a kind of anxiety. In sum, the relation between anxiety about the body at the adolescence period and the application of diet lists published in newspapers is significant (Chi-square = 3,051, p<0,05). The students being anxious about their body images or weights are more sensitive to the diet lists. In terms of the same variables, it is found out that among university students, the ones applying the diet lists published in newspapers carry anxiety about their physical appearances. The university students not applying these lists (67,4%) do not carry such a kind of anxiety. Thus, as the level of anxiety about the body image increases, the ratio of application of diet lists published in newspapers also increases.

When the relation between going on a diet and following programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television is examined, 78,3% of the primary school students not going on a diet do not watch this type of programs, whereas 37,5% of the students going on a diet watch them. Although the relation between these two variables is not found significant at the adolescence period, it is seen that among students going on a diet there is an increase in the ratio of watching this type of programs. At young adulthood period, it is found that the majority of the students (62,8%) going on a diet watch these programs and the majority of the students not going on a diet (72,2%) do not watch them. The relation between the behaviour of going on a diet and watching programs about healthy nutrition and diet is found significant (Chi-square = 43,640, p<0,05).



45,8 % of the students going on adiet at the adolescence period and 52,7% of the students at young adulthood period are found to follow fashion/magazin journals. In terms of these findings, among students going on a diet, a difference depending on age in terms of following fashion/magazin journals could not be observed.

Among primary school students, the relation between going on a diet and applying diet lists published in newspapers is found significant. 91,3% of the students not going on a diet indicated that they were not interested in these diet lists, 29,1% of the students going on a diet reported that they strictly followed these lists and applied them (Chi-square =9,947, p<0,05). This relation is also found significant among university students. 96,9% of the students not going on a diet do not follow these lists. 30,7% of the students going on a diet strictly follow these lists and apply them (Chi-square= 45,196, p<0,05).

5. Regression Analysis

A regression analysis together with one-way analysis and corelation analysis among variables is also made on the results gathered from the sampling groups selected from primary school and university students. There is a positive relation at a low rate among following programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television and the behaviour of going on a diet (X1) and whether there is a part of the body which is thought to be fat (X2). As a result, programs about healthy nutrition and diet can be said to be effective on the behaviour of going on a diet (X1), and whether there is a part of the body which is seen as overweight (X2).

A model is tried to be constructed in order to test the relations among variables such as following programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television (X1), perfectionist structure (X2), thinking continously eating (X3), counting calories at every meal (X4), the idea that men love slim women (X5), looking for spiritual beauty in social relations (X6), and the idea that losing weight is important for beauty (X7). Consequently, in a relative order, (X1) following programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television, (X2) perfectionist structure, (X6) looking for spiritual beauty in social relations, (X4) counting calories at every meal, (X3) thinking continously eating, (X7) the idea that losing weight is important for beauty and (X5) the idea that men love slim women are found to be effective on following fashion/magazin journals. The relative order given above includes important factors on the result.

When t-test results are examined in relation with the significancy of regression coefficient, only variables of (X1) following programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television and (X2) perfectionist structure are found to be effective on dependent variable (following fashion/magazin journals). A positive relation is found between following diet lists published in newspapers and counting calories at every meal (X1) and following programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television (X2). When t-test results about the significancy of regression coefficient are examined, both of the factors (X1 and X2) are found to have effect on following diet lists published in newspapers as a dependent variable.

6. Discussion

According to the findings of the research, it has been found that the media have not a direct effect on nutrition disorder, except for the actual patients who wish to resemble models/actresses in terms of the body image. On the contrary, the following results are found for the students at the adolescence and young adulthood periods who are accepted as risk groups:

In the sampling groups, the ratio of wish to be slim is higher at the adolescence period, whereas normal body image is preferred at young adulthood. There is an increase in the behaviour of going on a diet in the transition period from adolescence to young adulthood. It is seen that there is an increase in the control on the body image with gaining autonomy at young adulthood and being slim as much, as to conceal sexuality with the imposes of the media is not desired. The media in Turkey emphasize extremely slim figures when fashion is considered. On the other hand, in areas where women sexuality is overemphasized, bodies with more round shapes are used instead of extremely slim bodies. So, since young adulthood is a period when sexual identity is expressed clearly, the media lead preferences of young people to a more normal platform in this context. The exposures of the media on the body image in different areas creat conflicts in individuals. On the one hand, the individual wishes to be slim, on the other, he wants to live his sexuality. Most probably, this conflict causes inconsistency in his perceptions of the body, for instance, although he is slim, he perceives himself as over-weight. This situation makes the individual's concepts related to the body image in different areas inconsistent. With Mead's terms (1934), a conflict among different selves emerges. Consequently, the individual becomes open to diseases as he breaks away from the mode of healthy selves.

As a matter of fact, for the people at the adolescence and young adulthood periods, a significant relation has been found between the anxiety about the body and the application of the diet lists published in newspapers. The individual becomes open to outside stimulants to remove the inconsistency. As a result of this situation, people anxious about their body image or their weights become more sensitive to these diet lists. It may also be said that if the emphasis on being slim in the individual's social environment such as in his family or peer group plays the role of intensifiers, then the anxiety/tension about weight also increases.

There is an increase in the behaviour of dieting together with watching programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television, depending on cognitive development at young adulthood. Within the framework of these findings, the media can be said to have an effect on the students about their weight problems. So, it is seen that the media create a 'hegemony' by producing a series of processes related to the weight problem and its control within the context of popular culture. Moreover, this series of processes are began to be consumed, as they are approved by the audience. This situation is also legitimised and social pathologies become ordinary. As indicated above, while the media increase the desire of individuals for consumption by the help of things it presents, it may also change their consumption habits. Thus, the body perception of the individual may change and the body turns into a consumption object. So, Baudrillard's description of contemporary society may be accepted as a valid view.



When the results of regression analysis testing the relations constructed by forming a model in this study are examined, important factors drawing attention in following fashion/magazin journals are watching programs about healthy nutrition and diet on television and perfectionist identity, which is one of the basic features of the patients having nutrition disorder. This feature is easily adapted to the body image emphasized in the culture as 'good, beautiful and desirable'. When the desire of being the best is directed towards the body, then it encourages individual to have a good, beautiful and desirable body, as in the other areas. As a result, when the emphasis of culture on gender, the family atmosphere arising from the relation between parents and child, intellectual and behavioural cultural reactions created by the media, called 'dominant pioneers of culture' by Spengler, give path, or play the role of cataliyst, to the emergence of perfectionist identity, and when individual internalizes his body as an object – there might be other psycho-social reasons in his personal history as well -, then it is possible for people already having a nutrition disorder to be caught by anorexia and bulimia nevrosa diseases.

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