An Apple for the Teacher? Femininity, Coloniality, and Food in Nervous Conditions

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Abstract
While preparing for an intertextual reading of women's oppression and resistance in Tsitsi Dangarembga's novel Nervous Conditions, I found a video documentary which offered to simplify the task. This video, With These Hands: How Women Feed Africa is unsurprisingly neo-colonial and one dimensional, but it offers an interesting place to begin the complicated process of reading and writing about Dangarembga's more complex and progressive constructions of African feminist resistance. Both With These Hands and Nervous Conditions investigate connections between African women, food production, and symbolic uses of food. Also, the dangerous assumptions employed by the video reappear within the text of the novel as some of the many forces which the female characters must understand and negotiate.
While preparing for an intertextual reading of women’s oppression and resistance in Tsitsi Dangarembga’s novel Nervous Conditions, I found a video documentary which offered to simplify the task. This video, With These Hands: How Women Feed Africa is unsurprisingly neo-colonial and one dimensional, but it offers an interesting place to begin the complicated process of reading and writing about Dangarembga’s more complex and progressive constructions of African feminist resistance. Both With These Hands and Nervous Conditions investigate connections between African women, food production, and symbolic uses of food. Also, the dangerous assumptions employed by the video reappear within the text of the novel as some of the many forces which the female characters must understand and negotiate.

With these Hands: How Women Feed Africa is divided into three segments, each a woman’s first person story from a different post-colonial African nation. The women talk in what seems like their first language which the viewer hears for a short time before the translator’s voice, that of a woman with an accent, is dubbed over it. They talk about cultivating poor soil, of growing cash crops whose profits benefit their husbands, and of not having adequate amounts of the family’s land or of their own time to grow enough food. The end of each section is signalled by a quote from the UN Food and Agricultural Organization or the UN Economic Commission for Africa. The three quotes emphasize the amount of food production and preparation that women are responsible for and lament that in addition to this ‘traditional’ inequality of African women, ‘agricultural modernization efforts have excluded them.’ Each statement is used to cap off what each woman’s ‘authentic voice’ is supposed to be saying. Gayatri Spivak in ‘Poststructuralism, Marginality, Postcoloniality and Value’ explains this search for a voice as part of an understanding which names the Third World to ‘cover over much unease ... [by giving] a proper name to a generalized margin.’ The proper name ‘Third World’ allows the ‘anti-colonialist neo-colonialist’ to make an unabashed request to hear ‘a voice from the margin.’ (p. 220) Trying to ‘cover over [the] unease’ about this
film's relationship to its subjects, each statement emphasizes sexism from both the women's African cultures and from the UN and other 'modernization efforts' while failing to question colonialism and its own neo-colonialism.

By generalizing the experiences of 'women of Africa' from the blurbs of 'authentic voices' the film limits the kinds of resistance the women might have. In 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses,' Chandra Mohanty argues that 'using 'women of Africa' as an already constituted group of oppressed people as a category of analysis ... denies any historical specificities to the location of women as subordinate, powerful, marginal, central, or otherwise vis-a-vis particular social and power networks.' In the section 'Zimbabwe: Cecilia's story,' Cecilia is shown talking about the difficulties getting land from resettlement policies as if the only problem is that the land is not reapportioned equally to women. There is no mention of the 15 years of war that led to Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, and that much of this struggle was to reclaim the disproportionate amount of fertile land settled by the English. Under the guise of a progressive concern, the film tries to align itself with women while it erases their lives and struggles. Therefore, as Mohanty puts it, through 'the debilitating generality of their object status' it also 'robs them of ... agency.' (p. 79)

The movie's strategy of 'concern' for women is not brand new. Franz Fanon in 'Algeria Unveiled' aptly, although through the use of rigid categories of colonizer and native, explains France's policy of concern towards Algerian women as a colonizing technique. Fanon describes how 'the dominant administration solemnly undertook to defend this [Algerian] woman, pictured as humiliated, sequestered, cloistered ... transformed by the Algerian man into an inert, demonized, indeed dehumanized object.' Fanon sees this manoeuvre as an attempt to both destroy the 'Algerian culture' and to torture the Algerian man 'on the psychological level.' (p. 39) He argues that the French tried to 'defend' the Algerian woman and destroy Algerian culture by concentrating on 'a symbol of the status of the Algerian woman,' (p. 37) the wearing of the veil. The way in which With These Hands treats food production is similarly symbolic. From the beat of a pounding pestle which opens the film to the shots of women farming, women's large share of the responsibilities of food production is treated as the sign of their oppression within African cultures throughout the continent.

Criticizing With These Hands only by using the tools which Fanon provides does not thoroughly address the one dimensionality of the women in the film. Despite interpreting France's use of women as symbols of oppression, Fanon himself does not often treat women as more than symbols of national resistance. Where he addresses the psychological complications of Algerian men, he fails to address them for Algerian women. Tsitsi Dangarembga's direct reference to Fanon in the title Nervous
Conditions esteems Fanon’s analysis of psychological implications of colonialism and simultaneously criticizes his reduction of women to symbols. Dangarembga’s novel addresses the same symbol, food, that With These Hands uses to symbolize women’s oppression. However, she does not reduce oppression to gender oppression or colonial oppression. Instead she creates a story of five women who have different ways of living within the systems of gender and coloniality that make up their lives. I will show in Nervous Conditions that the narrator, Tambu, must understand how these systems and meanings of food intertwine with her ideas about liberation so that she can understand and tell the story of her ‘escape.’

Dangarembga’s narrative technique offers the structure for showing Tambu’s escape. She employs the narrative technique of having an informed narrator telling the story of herself growing up. This narrator is telling a story of ‘escape,’ of a way to live with the contradictions in her life without being trapped by them. ‘Coming of age’ narratives are frequently used for many means in modern African and Caribbean literature. The narration can heighten or complicate oppositions between understandings of ‘traditional culture’ and its ‘modern adaptations’ to colonialism and postcolonialism. In Nervous Conditions the multiplicity of voices of the narrator precludes a single ‘authentic’ voice, which could be appropriated in the way that what Spivak describes as a ‘voice from the margin’ is appropriated by With These Hands. The development of these narrative voices also helps create a framework for representing political complexity, psychological depth, and inner struggle. Dangarembga’s informed narrator is not contrasted with a totally naive young Tambu. The informed narrator shows how Tambu’s previous understandings of her actions might have been naive, but that not all her actions were naive. Dangarembga’s narrative technique allows the young narrator to explain her education as a clear-cut escape from poverty and subsistence farming. Later the understanding is not that she was misled in getting an education but that she misunderstood what education and escape would mean. First, she sees her aunt Maiguru as having escaped through getting an education. She says:

My mother said being black was a burden because it made you poor, but Babamukuru was not poor. My mother said being a woman was a burden because you had to bear children and look after them and the husband. But I did not think this was true. Maiguru was well looked after by Babamukuru, in a big house ... Maiguru was driven about in a car ... She was altogether a different kind of woman from my mother. I decided it was better to be like Maiguru, who was not poor and had not been crushed by the weight of womanhood. (p. 16)

Either Maiguru is neither black nor female or the definitions that her mother gave her don’t work, or both. Maiguru’s education has transformed many of the conditions from which Tambu wants to escape.
Tambu tries to escape from a life of cultivation by growing extra crops to sell for school fees. Her mother employs the same method to pay for Nhamo's education. But her mother translates food cultivation into education because she understands a son's education not as 'escape' from poverty, but as an investment that will return to the family, in the same way that Babamukuru's education returns to the family in the food and meat he brings them. Mainini sells hard boiled eggs and vegetables at the bus stop in order to have extra cash to pay for school fees. Similarly, Tambu not only works on her family's fields, but starts growing her own crop on a small unused portion of land. She decides to continue growing crops, a traditional aspect of womanhood which she has learned from her mother and her grandmother, so that she can both get a colonial education and attain her brother's position in the family. She grows food so that she will not have to continue growing crops for herself or for a family of her own.

The education of a son fulfills familial expectations, but the education of a daughter does not. Whatever wealth she gains would go to her husband's family. Thus Tambu's family, especially her threatened brother, try to thwart her attempts at escape. When her crop grows well and her maize is ripe, it starts disappearing because her brother is stealing it. Returning to her mother's definition, suddenly it is not her blackness but femaleness that is more involved in making her poor. It is more complicated than saying colonialism burdened her, because her brother was the one who stole the mealies. Finally someone outside the family, her teacher Mr. Matimba, helps her to sell her crop and makes sure the money goes towards her education. He takes her to the white town where she can sell her mealies for more money. Ironically she gets the funds for her education, her idea of escape, from a colonialist's pity and power.

Tambu's fees are paid by a white woman in the town, Doris, who self-righteously entertains the contradictory thoughts that Tambu is too lazy to be in school and that Mr. Matimba is using her for slave labour. She gives Tambu money when she finds out a story closer to the truth from Mr. Matimba. However, Mr. Matimba exaggerates in a way that helps get the money. He tells a story that appeals to Doris' sense of pity and charity. He says that Tambu is an orphan who is trying to earn money for school fees that he can't afford to pay because he has 13 other children. Doris' money helps Tambu get the education that she wants. It also undermines her father's authority over her. Jeremiah argues that his daughter is his so her money is his as well. Because the money is from a white person and has a receipt, Jeremiah can't have it, and Tambu alone benefits.

When after her brother's death, Tambu is chosen to go to the mission school with her uncle, she rejoices over what she considers to be further separation from the subsistence culture of her family. The young narrator creates an opposition between the homestead and the mission that the
informed narrator shows is not completely accurate. The young Tambu thinks that ‘at Babamukuru’s I would have the leisure, be encouraged to consider questions that had to do with survival of the spirit, the creation of consciousness, rather than mere sustenance of the body.’ (p. 59) When she arrives at Babamukuru’s house, she sees the plants like the ones that belonged to ‘the pages of my language reader, to the yards of Ben and Betty’s uncle in town.’ (p. 64) She describes seeing these plants as ‘a liberation, the first of many that followed from my transition to the mission,’ and rejoices at the thought ‘of planting things for merrier reasons than the chore of keeping breath in the body.’ (p. 64) However, the informed narrator has shown that young Tambu had already planted things not just for keeping breath in her body but so that she could go to school. Tambu did spend much time at the homestead growing food to survive, but she also cultivated a crop to fund her education. She had not yet planted just for beauty, especially ‘Ben and Betty’ beauty, which is beauty as defined by her education through English textbooks. The informed narrator’s story shows that at the same time as Tambu is escaping some of the hard work of the homestead by getting an education, her ideas about escape are influenced by this education. Thus Tambu recognizes escape not just in the absence of hours of farming but in the presence of English plants.

The young narrator highlights her escape against what she understands as her mother’s entrapment which she calls the sufferings of ‘being female and poor and uneducated and black.’ (p. 89) When Tambu returns to her village after a year at the mission, she notices many things about the homestead and about her ‘emancipation’ from it.

‘Why don’t you clean the toilet any more?’ I reproached my mother, annoyed with her for always reminding me, in the way that she was so thoroughly beaten and without self-respect, that escape was a burning necessity. (p. 123)

The young narrator sees her mother as totally trapped and sees nothing limiting Maiguru, because she defines being trapped as whatever can be left behind after gaining an education. Just as she considered Babamukuru’s plants liberating not only because they weren’t for food, but because they were English, she sees oppression when she sees her mother working in the fields to grow food, but sees liberation when she sees Maiguru serving tea and biscuits. (p. 73) In this instance, Maiguru does have less preparation work to do, but more importantly the food that she is preparing is distinctly marked as English.

Because the young narrator’s understanding of her mother’s entrapment is too simplistic, her ideas about escape through education are also too simplistic. The informed narrator sees that both educated and uneducated women can be trapped by gender and coloniality. She describes both Mainini and Maiguru as trapped in different ways, but unlike when she was younger, believes that they can have similar moments of resistance
within their entrapment. The informed narrator no longer sees Mainini as totally squashed by ‘being female and poor and uneducated and black,’ but sees that her mother endures her life according to other people’s decisions because her ‘mind, belonging first to her father and then to her husband, had not been hers to make up.’ (p. 153)

Mainini is trapped by the role which she plays in her family; her lack of choice about the role traps her as much as the role itself. Her role as a food producer and preparer is the location of some of her emotional struggles, but it is also the location of a moment of resistance. When Tambu decides, against her mother’s will, to go to ‘Young Ladies College of the Sacred Heart,’ Mainini protests by withdrawing from her family role. She ‘ate less and less and did less and less, until within days she could neither eat nor do anything, not even change the dress she wore. She did not go to Nyamarira to wash, or to the garden.’ (p. 184) This protest is a combination of a conscious strategy and ‘illness of [a] nature [which] is kept quiet and secret ... unlike a physical ailment of which everyone is told.’ (p. 185) Her family is less worried about how Mainini treated herself than about how she met, or failed to meet, her duties to the family. Because her family cannot function without her, her resistance is effective, but for the same reason it is shortly recuperated. Lucia brings Mainini back to health by enforcing her responsibilities to her family and by showing her the respect that she can get from her role as mother. Lucia also incorporates the symbolic power of food into her healing; she insures that Mainini eats meat and milk which are usually served only to men during holidays.

Mainini is so upset about Tambu going to Sacred Heart school because she, like the informed narrator, sees the ambiguities in Tambu’s escape plan. Tambu thinks that she needs an education to be well fed; Mainini points out what well fed means in this situation. She says to Tambu,

If it is meat you want that I cannot provide for you, if you are so greedy you would betray your own mother for meat, then go to your Maiguru. She will give you meat. I will survive on vegetables as we all used to do. And we have survived, so what more do you want. (p. 141)

Again, it is apparent that what Tambu has set up as a contradiction between food and lack of food is much more problematic. She did have enough to eat when she was living in the village. Furthermore, Mainini is not totally conquered as Tambu thought. Mainini knows what Tambu is thinking and does not like it. Again she says directly to Tambu,

Because [Maiguru] is rich and comes here and flashes her money around, you listen to her as though you want to eat the words that come out of her mouth. But me, I’m not educated am I? I’m just poor and ignorant, so you want me to keep quiet, you say I mustn’t talk. (p. 140)
Tambu does want to eat the words right out of Maiguru's mouth. She observes that these educated words are what provide the meat which she wants to eat and she believes that these words liberate Maiguru.

The informed narrator sees that despite Maiguru's education which separates her from a subsistence culture, she too is trapped by her role in her family and in the colonial system. She is still in charge of preparing food and taking care of her family, and she still has little say in household affairs. Maiguru does not get to keep the money that she earns, despite her large role in providing money and food for her household. While Babamukuru gains authority and prestige in his family by bringing food and money to the homestead, Maiguru does not gain anything except more work. When Babamukuru brings a side of an ox to the homestead for Christmas, Maiguru says to him, 'When you provide so much food, then I end up slaving for everybody.' (p. 122) Her refusal to go to the village the next year and later her five days away from the mission are moments of resistance when she refuses to play her role. But her resistance is easily recuperated. Babamukuru needs her at home and brings her back to the mission from her parents' house. Nyasha understands that Maiguru is trying to escape from something broader than just Babamukuru, but when she realizes this she cannot even imagine what escape could look like. She says to Tambu,

'It's not really him you know. I mean not really the person. It's everything, it's everywhere. So where do you break out to? You're just one person and it's everywhere. So where do you break out to? ... So what do you do? I don't know. (p. 174)

Whatever Nyasha decides to do will be very important to Tambu. If education does not lead to escape as Maiguru's case seems to say, Tambu needs to find another path. Because Tambu has dedicated much of her life to her education, this need is urgent. At this point in the novel Tambu, who used to be very different from Nyasha, is quite similar to her. Nyasha, through her clothes, language, concern with weight, disrespect of her father, and her education has been marked as English in many of the same ways that Tambu's other symbols of liberation have been. But now these symbols are being shown to offer little hope of liberation. Nyasha rebels against the contradictions in her life with a 'nervous condition' that combines frenzied studying with disturbed eating.

Nyasha's extensive studying marks her refusal to fit a colonialist's definition of a 'good African.' By not studying at all, she would have compromised her father's position as a 'good African.' She could fail her exams and still get one of the few places in school because the government would make room for the headmaster's daughter. She sees that 'practising nepotistic ways of getting advantages would mean that Babamukuru would no longer qualify as good.' (p. 107) If she failed her
exams, Babamukuru would be torn between valuing his honesty and valuing his children's education, two mutually exclusive options, both of which are important to a definition of good in English and African sets of meanings. Nyasha threatens to fail, but instead decides to study incessantly so that she can contest the definition of herself as a good African. The informed narrator understands that 'whites were indulgent' when it comes to educating 'promising' African children as long as the 'promise' is 'a grateful promise to accept whatever was handed out to them and not to expect more.' (p. 106) She sees that the Babamukuru of her grandmother's stories fits this definition. She understands that, '[the missionaries] thought he was a good boy, cultivatable, in the way that land is, to yield harvests that sustain the cultivator.' (p. 19) Nyasha studies so hard in order to establish that she does not just accept whatever is handed to her; she wants more. She uses her education not to benefit the 'cultivator' but to criticize her 'cultivation'. She sees that the English have not only stolen and cultivated the good land in Zimbabwe, but the 'good' minds. Nyasha reads history so she can compare conditions in Southern Rhodesia to apartheid in South Africa and so she can compare the labels 'freedom fighter' with 'terrorist'. At the height of her nervous condition, she refuses the colonial history she has been taught and tears her history book to shreds.

At the same time as she rebels against a colonialist meaning of 'good African,' Nyasha rebels against an African meaning of 'good daughter.' Babamukuru wants his daughter to respect him and to treat him in the way that the rest of his family does. Nyasha stays at school so long that she is late for meals. She studies all night then does not go to breakfast. Nyasha rebels by not eating or by eating and throwing up afterwards. When she tries to avoid family meals, she affronts her father's authority. He tries to regain it by commanding her:

You will eat that food .... Your mother and I are not killing ourselves working just for you to waste your time playing with boys and then come back and turn up your nose at what we offer. Sit and eat that food. I am telling you. Eat it! (p. 189)

Babamukuru does not regain his authority because Nyasha responds by shovelling food into her mouth then rushing directly to the bathroom to get rid of it.

Nyasha is working within two sets of cultural symbols to rebel against restrictions of gender and coloniality. In 'Algeria Unveiled' Fanon explains that Moroccan women worked within two systems of signification by choosing one of their own symbols and altering it 'to exert a symbolic pressure on the occupier.' (Fanon, p. 36) These women chose the symbol of the veil as one that was already being noticed by the French. Even though black had never been a symbol of mourning in their culture they started wearing black veils to express mourning for the exile of their king.
Nyasha enacts a similar symbolic transformation when she has a nervous condition that is labelled as ‘English.’ She uses the symbol of food, which we have seen inscribed by neo-colonialist positions like With These Hands as a symbol of women’s oppression in Africa. Nyasha’s eating behaviour resembles what the English would diagnose as an ‘eating disorder’ in English girls. But by rebelling with food, she is not just acting anglicized, she is using symbols similar to those used by Mainini, Maiguru, and Tambu. Furthermore, Nyasha is not the only one to have a ‘nervous condition.’ Mainini’s ‘illness’ (p. 185) when Tambu wants to go to Sacred Heart, and Tambu’s illness when she refuses to go to her parents’ wedding are also psychic and strategic moments of resistance.

The significance of a diagnosis of this ‘Western disease’ is important; a diagnosis means more than a description of Nyasha’s eating behaviours. A diagnosis would show the English that she is not a ‘grateful African’ and that the rigid distinctions between African and English are permeable because she acts as ‘English’ as they do. A diagnosis would force Babamukuru to treat her as westernized instead of expecting her to forget everything she learned in England. This diagnosis could work in the same way that Doris’ money worked for Tambu; Tambu gained power both within her family by overriding her father’s authority and within a colonial system by climbing a rank of its educational system. But where Tambu’s methods appealed both to Doris’ pity and to her parents’ appreciation of her farming, Nyasha’s methods appeal to neither the English doctor nor her farming, Nyasha’s methods appeal to neither the English doctor nor her father.

A diagnosis could offer Nyasha a place of symbolic power to which she could escape. However, she is unable to get this diagnosis, and receives only the corollary treatment of being hospitalized. For the doctors, the ‘diagnosis’ is tied to much more than eating disorders. The presence of her symptoms is not enough to prevent the first psychiatrist she sees from saying that she ‘could not be ill ... Africans did not suffer in [that] way ... She was making a scene.’ This kind of statement belies the various kinds of nervous conditions that each of the female characters goes through; this psychiatrist, like With These Hands, suggests that African women might not have psyches at all. When the second psychiatrist hospitalizes her without a diagnosis, the idea that she was only making a scene is reinforced. Because Nyasha does not withdraw something which is needed by her family, her rebellion is not recuperated like Mainini’s and Maiguru’s are. But being pulled back into a family, and back into life, seem more successful, although less rebellious, than having her anger defined as a ‘scene’ while her psychological struggles destroy her body and her health.

Tambu worries about Nyasha out of concern about her cousin and out of fear about her own life. She wonders, ‘If Nyasha who had everything could not make it, where could I expect to go?’ (p. 202) Tambu is able to survive because her understanding of Nyasha changes. She understands that Nyasha does not have everything. This understanding involves per-
ceiving her own role in food production as not totally oppressive and involves realizing the futility of relying on markers of ‘Englishness’ to liberate her. Importantly, her knowledge comes from the women’s lives around her, more than from her classroom education. This understanding comes slowly. In the last episode that is narrated, Tambu is just beginning to question the role of her education in her life. The informed narrator tells that,

Although I was not aware of it then, no longer could I accept Sacred Heart and what it represented as a sunrise on my horizon. Quietly, unobtrusively and extremely fitfully, something in my mind began to assert itself, to question things and refuse to be brainwashed, bringing me to this time when I can set down this story. (p. 204)

When Tambu tells this story she shows that she has found a way to escape, instead of the place to escape to that Nyasha sought. She can appreciate how she manipulated her skills at farming and Doris’ pity to get money for her own education. She can include her ‘nervous condition,’ where by acting and feeling ill, she stood up to Babamukuru’s ideas about Christian sin in her family and refused to go to her parents’ wedding to act as a bridesmaid, food server and preparer. While Nyasha rebels against both English and African sets of meanings, Tambu works within both. Even her telling this story works within both systems: she uses the English language and the form of a novel to tell a story about her family, just as her grandmother used an oral tradition when she told stories of her family’s past. Tambu has ‘escaped’ because she understands and can tell a story about the complicated ways that gender and coloniality are at work in her life and in the lives of the other women in her family.

Notes

1. I am influenced by the methodology used by such critics as Carol Boyce Davies and Susan Andrade. Carol Boyce Davies, in ‘Feminist Consciousness and African Literary Criticism,’ expresses a view that an African feminist criticism needs to be both intertextual and contextual criticism: textual in that close reading of the texts using the literary establishment’s critical tools is indicated; contextual as it realizes that analyzing a text without some consideration of the world with which it has a material relationship is of little social value.’ Just as ‘progressive African literary criticism grapples with decolonization and feminist criticism with the politics of male literary dominance,’ an African feminist criticism explores these interconnected meanings in a text. (p. 12) Susan Andrade incorporates Davies’ ideas among others in ‘Rewriting History, Motherhood and Rebellion: Naming an African Women’s Literary Tradition’. Andrade emphasizes the importance of recognizing who has written ‘history’ and how fiction can be seen as offering another narrative interpretation of history. By reading Flora Nwapa’s Efuru and Buchi Emecheta’s Joys of Motherhood with ‘history’ of the Igbo Women’s War, she unravels how the radical potential of
Igbo women is 'not absent but silenced' (p. 105) at the same time as it resists silencing.


All further references to this book are included in the text.


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her, given that this war was fought for a Zimbabwe independent of both white settler rule and English colonialism. These meanings would be involved in her understandings of her British education and her life in England, as well as her relationships with her psychiatrists who were white settlers in Harare. By emphasizing her family and her examination anxiety, they erase the colonial situation in which she is living and studying. They also perpetrate a form of colonialism by blaming the sexism of Zimbabwean men for the patient’s problems in the same way that With These Hands blames the sexism of African men. They repeatedly criticize her father and his Shona role as well as criticizing the two Zimbabwean men she dates, thus ignoring the agency that she might have had in her life, as well as exempting colonialism and themselves as settler psychiatrists from an oppressive role in her life.

It is also interesting that another article about ‘eating disorders’ in Zimbabwe has been published within a scientific discourse. ‘Application of the Eating Disorders Inventory to a Sample of Black, White and Mixed Race Schoolgirls in Zimbabwe’ finds that ‘eating disordered behaviours’ exist among all three groups. Its ‘scientific’ strategy of tests and charts does little to investigate meanings of this behaviour and operates with much the same framework as ‘Anorexia Nervosa in a Black Zimbabwean. Hooper, Malcolm S. H., and Garner, David M. ‘Application of the Eating Disorders Inventory to a Sample of Black, White, and Mixed Race Schoolgirls in Zimbabwe’, International Journal of Eating Disorders 5 (Jan. 1986), pp. 161-168.