Exploring the Development of Identity and Community Amongst Disabled Youth on Instagram

Kristen Tollan, B.A.

Applied Disability Studies

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Faculty of Social Sciences,

Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario

Abstract

This study explores the ways in which disabled young people use Instagram as a platform for developing their identity and building community, both online and off. Based on the social models of disability, particularly the affirmation model as proposed by Swain & French (2000), and the principles of photovoice and other social media-based methodologies, the study explored the publicly accessible Instagram accounts of eight participants ranging in age from 19-24, with each account providing 21 photos and associated captions for analysis. From the collection of observational notes, four themes were developed and examined, noting their connections to the concepts of identity and community: social media trends; disability, chronic illness and mental health; friends, family, and the greater community; and positivity, gratitude and giving back. The study demonstrates the uniqueness of Instagram as a tool for self-expression and the importance of studying disability in relation to current internet practices. The study concludes with possible directions for further research to fill the existing gap within this area of literature.

Keywords: affirmation model, disability, Instagram, social media, youth

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I have to thank my supervisor, Dr. Donato Tarulli, for his continued support on this project. At times, I have struggled with getting the project done and completed in a way I could be proud of, but Danny always had feedback that got me back on the right track and motivated me to complete this thesis. And I am so proud of it, now. With that, I must also thank my committee members, Dr. Maureen Connolly and Dr. Priscilla Burnham-Riosa. Their insight has been invaluable, and I have truly enjoyed having Maureen as my primary instructor throughout the course of my master's classes. I have learned so much from the three of you and I appreciate it endlessly. Of course, I must also thank the participants of my study, though anonymous to the reader, who provided me the data and the inspiration to conduct this study. I hope to continue to follow their growth online and see the profound differences that their voices are making for those with disabilities.

To my classmates: Emily, Victoria, Alison, Eaman, Janice, Ralph, Jedine and Diane. Thank you. You gave me such valuable insights into this course and what it meant to other people. Your perspectives were so unique and interesting to me, and I wish we had seen each other more! But I am so glad to have met you. And thanks for the rides home, of course.

Finally, thank you to my support system, as always. Mom and Grandma, for being the people to help me stand when I felt I could not continue. To Heather, my dearest friend, for never letting me feel unloved. To Kim, Jess and Shannon for being the best at telling me what I needed to hear and giving me the laughs and coffee breaks I needed when I needed them. And to my dad, for always being my guiding light. Even though you are no longer here physically, you are always with me.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables and Figures	v
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction	1
Personal Paradigm & Rationale	2
Theoretical Position	3
Intersectionality in this study	5
Research Questions	5
Study Outline	6
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review	7
Narratives of Disability	7
Disability as a Resource	8
The Affirmation Model	10
A Social-Relational Approach	12
Disabled People and Online Access	13
Developing Identity and Community	20
Summary	24
CHAPTER THREE: Methodology	26
Purpose	26
Research Framework	27
Deciding on Instagram	27
Traditional photovoice methodology	27
Adapting photovoice methodology	29
Participants	30
Data Collection	32
	33
Data Analysis Ethical Considerations	34
Ethical Considerations	35
Summary	
CHAPTER FOUR: Results and Discussion	36

Analysis of Image Trends	36
Analysis of Caption Themes	38
Discussion of Themes	40
Social Media Trends	40
Disability, Chronic Illness and Mental Health	48
Friends, Family and the Greater Community	52
Positivity, Gratitude and Giving Back	54
Summary	56
CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions	58
Summary of the Study	58
Strengths of the Study	60
Limitations	60
Implications for Future Research	60
Final Thoughts	61
References	63
Appendix I – Image Types Broken Down Individually	67
Appendix II – Data Analysis Journal	71

List of Tables and Figures

Tables		Page
1.	Participant Demographic Details	33
2.	Comparisons of Participant Caption Themes	40
Fig	gures	
1.	Examples of Hashtag Usage	29
2.	Image Categories (Collective)	38
3.	Example from Brittany's Instagram	45
4.	Example from Payton's Instagram	48
5.	Example from Chelsea's Instagram	51
6.	Example from Ashley's Instagram	55
7.	Example from Zane's Instagram	57

Chapter One: Introduction

Methods for interpersonal communication have steadily increased and improved over the course of decades. With the development of devices like the smartphone, tablet and laptop, users are no longer confined to a specific spot in order to talk to others, as was the case with desktop computers and landline phones. With mobility established, designers and manufacturers of these devices began to add unprecedented and almost unimaginable new features that allow not only for communication, but for self-expression as well. With the advent of high-quality cameras that can take endless photos and videos instantly comes also a booming market for platforms on which to share these photos and videos.

Social media, including platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, has become a controversial yet undoubtedly popular use of technology. As explained by Baym (2010), with all the new developments of technology comes one of two common reactions: fear or enthusiasm. Fear emerges from the idea that our communication has become more shallow, threatening the quality of personal relationships. However, for others, excitement emerges. For these people, new means of connection and communication offer opportunities in fact for *deeper*, more diverse and more numerous connections all across the globe (Baym, 2010). It is the latter reaction that has inspired this research, combined with an interest in how these evolving means of communication influence those in our society who are often overlooked but from whom there is so much to learn, namely, disabled youth.

Communication technology is increasingly prevalent in the lives of young people ages 11-25, with youth now representing the largest group of social media users in Western culture (Walker, King & Hartman, 2018). Youth who grow up in this age of technology, with such a

prevalence of online spaces, are often termed "digital natives" (Székely & Nagy, 2011). Scholars have begun using social media more frequently as a tool for garnering knowledge about youth participant experiences, particularly in relation to these digital natives. As described in the study by Walker et al. (2018), which outlines some 15 examples of this new methodology applied to healthcare settings, researchers have conducted studies using Facebook for concussion awareness, Pinterest for depictions of depression, and YouTube as a peer support resource for youth with mental illness, to name a few. Other studies using social media as a data collection tool include Almjeld's (2015) study on depictions of girlhood on Pinterest, Miller's (2017) look at student social media use for queer and disability identity-making, and Brusilovskiy's (2016) examination of social media use for the psychological well-being of individuals with mental illnesses.

Walker et al. (2018) further elaborate on this methodological progress, explaining that "online data collection methods may be among the most effective methods for collecting data on adolescents and young adults (13-24 years old)" (p. 45), arguing that using social media as a data collection tool may be more ecologically valid for specific populations, including vulnerable youth. Disabled youth are a population that is more vulnerable to experiencing social exclusion and isolation, along with the associated psychological difficulties that can be linked to these issues (Dobransky & Hargittai, 2016; Obst & Stafurik, 2010). However, Guo et al. (2005) found that internet use could significantly reduce these social barriers to inclusion for disabled people by providing access to education, information, and social networks (Obst & Stafurik, 2010). Yet, despite the growing use of social media platforms as a data collection tool for research regarding

young people, disabled youth have been slow to be included in this new methodology (Walker et al., 2018).

Personal Paradigm and Rationale

In order to help fill the gap in this area of research, the present research study examines patterns and differences in social media usage by disabled young adult participants, particularly in relation to the formation of their identity and social communities. Evident in my own personal experience, and through examining works by various scholars, online spaces demonstrate an unparalleled opportunity for disabled youth to expand their social circles. For example, Leiter (2011) examined foundations of community spaces for disabled young people and found four main environments (geographic, disability-based, religious, and virtual) to be the most prominent bases for forming communities. Furthermore, online platforms like YouTube (video-based) and Tumblr (a blogging platform) have been used as a space for disability-related content more and more frequently, with opportunity for dialogue and collaboration making them increasingly popular. Vloggers like Molly Burke, Jessica Kellgren-Fozard, and Shane Burcaw have all had steadily increasing follower counts (in the hundreds of thousands) on their YouTube pages and Instagram profiles as they post videos about a variety of topics, from blindness and guide dogs, vintage and modern fashion, LGBT history, and inter-abled relationships.

While the prevalence and popularity of disabled content creators on social media is increasing, I believe that disabled people also deserve more exposure when it comes to academic research, outside of a medical and rehabilitative perspective. Much of the research done with disabled participants focuses on treatment, in attempts to cure diseases and disorders or to curb certain behaviours. Some scholars take on a newer approach, which focuses on the social and

environmental aspects surrounding the disability experience. Disability is often looked at as a negative experience, both by those without disabilities and even, at times, by those who have them. While it is certainly important to recognize and articulate these struggles related to the disability experience, it is also important to consider the idea that not all experiences of having a disability are negative ones. The social model has been recognized as allowing this positive paradigm shift. As Carol Thomas (1999) writes, the social model is "seen by many disabled people to have transformatory potential at the individual as well as the societal level" (p. 15). The people that Thomas refers to include disability activist, researcher and artist Liz Crow, who is quoted as saying that

this social model of disability has enabled me to confront, survive and even surmount countless situations of exclusion and discrimination . . . It has enabled a vision of ourselves free from the constraints of disability (oppression) and provided a direction for our commitment to social change. It has played a central role in promoting disabled people's individual self worth, collective identity and political organisation. I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that the social model has saved lives". (Crow, as quoted in Thomas [1999] p. 207)

This model has allowed disabled people to reimagine their experiences as disabled to include opportunities for building community, for personal growth, for self-expression and self-acceptance as positive and fulfilling parts of one's life, contributing to the overall quality of life of a disabled person. I aim to portray these experiences in my study as a way of countering the traditional narrative of disability as a tragedy through the eyes of insiders, rather than doctors or parents.

Theoretical Position

The social model of disability is conceptualized as a different framework for analyzing disability (Cameron, 2014). The social model looks at disability not as something that a person

has (i.e., a physical or mental impairment), but rather, as an oppressive societal relationship in which barriers and lack of access create disablement (Cameron, 2014). Furthermore, social modelists argue that what is required to better the lives of disabled individuals is not necessarily treatment and rehabilitation, but rather the recognition and removal of physical and social barriers in society (Cameron, 2014). Carol Thomas' (1999; 2004) "impairment effects" theory emphasizes the impact of impairment on an individual, as things like chronic pain or mobility difficulties certainly can restrict activity. In saying this, she argues however that it is important to recognize the difference between impairment effects and the experience of oppression and societal barriers that define disability. Both play a critical role in the experience of disability. This is a key concept drawn on in the current research. Impairments and the medical model of disability often create an isolating experience of disability in which a person's struggles are individual and the ability to create a positive quality of life is also left to them to bear. However, as Thomas emphasizes in her discussion of the social model, these frameworks of thinking provide disabled people a new way in which to view themselves, their experiences, and the greater community to which they belong.

Using Swain and French's (2000) affirmation model as a theoretical foundation for my thesis allows the opportunity to expand on the social model's discussion of disabled identity and community. Swain and French (2000) argue that the affirmation model is a "non-tragic view of disability and impairment which encompasses positive social identities, both individual and collective" (p. 569). They developed the affirmation model to directly contrast the personal tragedy model, a dominant view of disability often expressed by able-bodied and neurotypical people, and even at times internalized by disabled people themselves. While identity and community are not mutually exclusive concepts, they are defined separately in the literature

review (Chapter Two). The aim of this research is to draw on these two complementary theories as a foundation for using social media as a tool for a) expressing one's identity related to disability and b) forming connections with the disability community.

Intersectionality in this study

A critical element of disability studies as a field is the discussion and appreciation for the concept of intersectionality. Disabled people can and do exist simultaneously as a part of any other identity category, including various genders, races, socio-economic status, and more. These intersections are part of what makes the disabled experience so diverse. Furthermore, the social structures that shape both disability and other identity constructs, often combine to increase (or decrease) the marginalization felt by disabled people. However, it is also important to note that "intersectionality" as a term was coined by Crenshaw in 1989 as a means of explaining "aspects of black and minority ethnic (BME) women's experiences of discrimination in relation to the law" (Goodin, 2014). In the present research, there are no participants of colour, nor are there any participants from outside of Western, dominant nations. This certainly shapes the understanding of the results of this study and presents an important avenue for further exploration in the future.

Research Questions

This research is informed by three main research questions:

- 1. How do disabled youth use Instagram to express their identity? What can be seen from both the images and the captions they post about their evolving identity and self-concept as disabled, if anything?
- 2. Do disabled youth use Instagram in a way that fosters community and connection with other disabled youth?

3. How can we leverage the knowledge gained in this study to further examine how youth with disabilities understand and communicate about their disability, both online and off?

Study Outline

This study comprises five chapters, each addressing a different aspect of the research. Following this introductory chapter is Chapter Two, which encompasses the literature review, including a discussion on prominent narratives of disability, a look at the internet and social media as both a tool for research and in relation to disability, as well as the development of the themes of identity and community. Chapter Three focuses on the methodology of the study, including the research framework, participant details and the steps followed for data collection and analysis. Chapter Four provides the results of the study, specifically looking at trends found in the types of images posted, themes across image captions (and examples) and elaboration on participant backgrounds. Following the results, the major themes are discussed in greater depth and with further connections to the literature. The final chapter, Chapter Five, includes a summary of the study, discussion of its strengths and limitations and implications for further research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Understanding the social model of disability is crucial to the present research, as the social model provides the basis for seeing disability in ways that step outside of a personal tragedy paradigm. Looking at disability in a positive way, which is one of this study's aims, also requires supplementing that model with other perspectives. There are other important narratives that build on a more nuanced understanding of disability and, further, provide context to the themes outlined in this study. This literature review provides a background in concepts such as the consideration of disability as a resource and the affirmation model. Following the discussion of these disability narratives, literature is discussed on the use of the internet and social media, particularly in relation to mental health, social media as research, and accessibility for people with disabilities. Concluding this chapter is further discussion of the concepts of identity and community in relation to disability.

Narratives of Disability

Cameron (2007) states that contemporary discourse surrounding disability does little to include positive resources, particularly in regard to constructing positive personal and social identities. However, disability arts in particular has provided a turning point for viewing disability in ways outside of the personal tragedy and medical models, allowing for a paradigm shift towards positive views. For example, Cameron (2007) describes the first visit to a disability arts cabaret as "a moment of epiphany" (p. 505), in which the disabled person finally realizes that their experiences aren't theirs alone, but rather, shared and felt and understood by others. This is the key element for understanding the present research, and therefore a starting point for this literature review. This section discusses some prominent narratives of disability that were

influential in the shaping of this research. Garland-Thomson's (2012) discussion of disability as a resource explains the value and utility to having disability as a part of society, in contrast to a eugenics-based approach that looks to eliminate impairments. The affirmation model by Swain and French (2000) is also addressed, particularly in relation to its emergence from the social model and the influence of disability arts on positive identity development. Finally, the section closes with a look at Thomas' (2004) article on a social-relational approach to disability, in which she differentiates between impairment effects and societal barriers to access. According to Thomas, impairment and disability are separate concepts as they relate to individual struggles and societal oppression respectively. The two do combine, however, to create a unique experience for a disabled person. This is an important narrative to discuss in this research, as many of the participants in the study discuss both impairment related difficulties and also structural barriers that create their experience of disability.

Disability as a Resource

Garland-Thomson's (2012) article on disability as a resource opens with a contrasting claim by another scholar, stating that disability "restricts, excludes, renders one exceptional: disqualifies" (p. 339). However, Garland-Thomson (2012) rejects this belief, stating that disability is something found in every family, something that happens to everyone if they live into old age; an experience that unites humankind. The main point Garland-Thomson makes here is that disability is so easily rejected by society, yet it is such a present part of the human condition, making this rejection a contradiction. Still, the typical narrative that surrounds discussions of disability is one based on medical pathologization and, as Garland-Thomson (2012) describes, eugenic logic. This way of looking at disability frames impairments as strictly

personal, and furthermore, something that humans as a species should strive not only to avoid but to eliminate. Disability is understood as synonymous with "pain, disease, suffering, functional limitation, abnormality, dependence, social stigma, and economic disadvantage" (Garland-Thomson, 2012, p. 340) and also as a means of limiting life opportunities and quality. However, Garland-Thomson (2012) argues for a contrasting view of disability in which it can be seen as a resource, and indeed as something we should aim to conserve. She calls her stance a countereugenic argument for the conservation of disability, as eugenics aims to create a utopian society in which disability does not exist and life is therefore "better". In contrast, Garland-Thomson (2012) intentionally calls for the conservation of disability as a way of alluding to biodiversity and the value and benefit of disability characteristics, rather than seeing them as deficits. She looks to examine specifically what would be lost from society, besides the individuals themselves, if disability were eliminated. There are many reasons why disability should be conserved, according to Garland-Thomson (2012), including its functions as a narrative resource, an epistemic resource, and an ethical resource. Her argument for epistemic resource resonates the most with the current study, as Garland-Thomson (2012) states that "people draw on their bodily experiences not only to think and know but also to construct our social reality. In other words, our bodily form, function, comportment, perceptual apprehension, and way of mind shape how we understand our world" (p. 345). Without disabled people, society would lack the valuable knowledge about diversity, inclusion, and the human condition that we strive to find today. An example of this is in Garland-Thomson's (2012) depiction of Helen Keller, who, while blind and deaf, was able to engage her other senses in ways that able-bodied others could only dream of. She opened a door to ideas and knowledge that could scarcely be imagined before.

Garland-Thomson's (2012) perspective for understanding disability aligns very strongly with the aim and intent of the present study. A stand-out point in her discussion of disability as a resource is her reference to what she calls a "because-of-rather-than-in-spite-of counter-eugenic position". This point is a prominent one, as many people who are disabled often hear comments and language surrounding their accomplishments that positions them as an inspiration, who achieved something *in spite of* their disability, rather than *because of*. It is very rare for disabled people to hear that their disability contributed to their positive existence.

This idea that disability is in fact not negative, and rather something that everyone experiences if they live long enough — a natural part of the human experience — is a key element of Garland-Thomson's (2012) thinking on disability as a resource. It is also the focus of Swain and French's (2000) affirmation model concerning disability, which concerns the benefits of being disabled and positive social identities surrounding the concept.

The Affirmation Model

As presented in the theoretical approach section of Chapter One, Swain and French's (2000) affirmation model views disability from a more positive and personally accepting perspective, one which counters the ideologies of the personal tragedy model. Furthermore, it addresses the benefits of being disabled and the connection of impairment and disability to individual and collective social identities. First proposed by disabled feminists, the affirmation model was developed as way of addressing critiques of the social model whilst still encapsulating its strengths. Scholars like Crowe and Thomas believed the social model over-emphasized structural barriers and underrepresented the impact of personal aspects of disability (such as

impairment effects) (Cameron, 2014). Thus, the affirmation model was created by Swain and French, emerging from the values of disability arts and Disability Pride (Cameron, 2014).

This approach complements the social model of disability, which emerged in the 1970s as a result of the activism by disabled community members tired of the frequent oppression they faced. The social model focused not on specific impairments, but rather on the disablement faced by people with impairments due to barriers and inaccessibility (Cameron, 2014). The social model has faced criticism for its perspectives at times, but ultimately provided a foundation for the development of the field of disability studies and more inclusive ways of thinking about disability. Ultimately, the social model demonstrates that the problems disabled people face are related to oppression, not their impairments, despite statements to the contrary by those who subscribe to the personal tragedy model. The personal tragedy model, as Cameron (2014) describes, is based out of the normative ideology that able-bodiedness is to be valued, while impairments are unfortunate tragedies and people who have them contribute little to society. This way of thinking has been the dominant paradigm for centuries, though scholars and activists are countering it with perspectives like the affirmation model. In contrast, the affirmation model demonstrates the opportunities for building a positive identity and positive experiences, including the release from some of society's more stifling requirements (Swain & French, 2000). Furthermore, the authors describe the opportunity for personal growth due to one's disability, either from the ways disabled people are forced to adapt (for example, a person who becomes disabled later in life), or the ways they gain a greater understanding of oppression and the human condition overall (Swain & French, 2000). Swain and French (2000) also emphasize the

uniqueness of the disabled experience, in which quality of life is not defined simply by whether or not someone is disabled, but rather if

they can achieve a lifestyle of their choice. This, in turn, depends on their personal resources, the resources within society and their own unique situation... The writings of disabled people demonstrate that being born with an impairment or becoming disabled in later life can give a perspective on life which is both interesting and affirmative and can be used positively. (p. 576)

The affirmation model provides an opportunity for positive outlook on one's experience of disability, if one chooses. The element of personal choice is an important tie-in to the concept of identity, as a disabled person can choose to identify as such, and furthermore choose to look at their disability in whichever way suits their experiences best. Disability experience is unique, an idea further emphasized by Thomas' (2004) social relational approach.

A Social Relational Approach

Carol Thomas' (1999, 2004) concept of impairment effects, discussed above, is an integral component of her social-relational approach to disability. In proposing a rationale for the concept, Thomas (2004) notes that popular, UK-based approaches to disability studies are primarily driven by the social model, despite the fact that the social model is not a fully developed theory, but rather a model with limited utility. Thomas (2004) argues that the basic use of the social model relies on the idea that "all restrictions of activity experienced by disabled people are attributed to socially imposed barriers" (p. 27). Thomas believes that the social-relational element of the social model has been overshadowed by the idea of socially imposed barriers and proposes, as a revision to the social model, the idea that impairment and disability are, as the social model states, separate, but interrelated. From Thomas' (2004) perspective, impairments cause their own

set of restrictions on a person's activity based on their mind or body's capabilities, while disability encapsulates "restrictions of activity that result from the exercise of the power to exclude" (p. 29). In many cases, *disability* and *impairment effects* can interact to create barriers and limit activity. Thomas drives home the point that it is important not to identify the experience of disability as impairment effects, but to clearly understand the difference between societal disablement and the difficulties associated with an impairment. This creates a foundational point for this study; there is no arguing against the struggles that disabled people can face due to their impairments. Chronic pain, frequent medical visits and numerous medications, for example, are all difficult to deal with. Furthermore, there are many challenging external experiences of disability as well (inaccessible buildings, people staring, or the lack of proper social assistance). However, Thomas (2004) emphasizes that that these two types of factors relating to disability combine to create a unique experience that cannot be generalized by a framework or model. It is this idea that helps shape this study, which is motivated by depicting an honest view of disability through the lens of those who experience it firsthand.

Disabled People and Online Access

The internet and social media have become an essential part of the daily routine in most Western communities, particularly among young adults and adolescents (Park & Calamaro, 2013). This has been the focus of a great deal of research, both in terms of the impacts social media can have on its young users, as well as the use of social media as a research tool. Social media can be used as a tool for studying and understanding how disabled youth use the internet and Walker et al. (2018) provides a strong introduction to the idea.

Walker et al. (2018) discuss the lack of disability representation in the research process. Social scientists have begun using social media as a tool for data collection in their studies about youth populations, gaining insight and information about patterns of online engagement among young people, including their interactions and unique opinions (Walker et al., 2018). However, the authors argue that using social media as a tool for researching more diverse populations, including disabled people, has been slow in progressing. Nevertheless, Walker et al. (2018) say that disability research *has* evolved to value more than just a biomedical approach, finally including the lived experience of disabled participants. As well, social scientists are appreciating the value of studying social, environmental and medical experiences and interactions to provide a well-rounded understanding of disability.

For example, Shaw and Gant (2002) examined the impact of internet usage on the psychological health of its users. In their study of undergraduate students in an introductory psychology class who chatted anonymously amongst each other online, Shaw and Gant (2002) found support for their hypothesis that internet usage would be beneficial to users, associated with lower levels of depression and loneliness and higher levels of self-esteem and perceived social support. This hypothesis was in direct contrast to much of the research done previously on the same topic, including work by Kraut, Patterson, Lundmark, Kiesler, Mukophadhyay and Scherlis (1998). Kraut et al. (1998) argued that the arrival of the internet in the 1990s could change the lives of citizens as much as the advent of the television and the telephone did in their respective decades. While this is a claim I support, they further elaborated on their hypothesis with the finding that increased internet usage was associated with various declines, including

decreases in in-home familial communication and size of social circles, as well as increases in depression and loneliness (Kraut et al., 1998).

The concerns regarding the internet's increasing popularity, as outlined in Kraut et al.'s (1998) article, did not entirely disappear as the frequency of internet use continued to grow. For example, Obst and Stafurik (2010) discuss community for disabled people, specifically in relation to internet-based communication methods for people with a physical disability. In the introduction of their paper, the authors propose the idea that communication over the internet can enhance the wellbeing of physically disabled users through opportunities for connection. However, they also speculate that these internet-based communities could increase isolation in a population already at risk, similarly to ideas discussed by Kraut et al. (1998). The research conducted by Obst and Stafurik (2010) focused on three main areas: the most common types of support received online; the structural differences in support received both online and off; and the influence of online support on the wellbeing of participants. Previous research indicated a risk for increased social isolation spending more time online if the participants did not feel they received enough social support offline. Obst and Stafurik (2010) found that most of their participants' experiences of social support and sense of community online were associated with individual well-being. Obst and Stafurik (2010) also found that the time spent online was not associated with perceived offline support, meaning that the participants had support both online and off, rather than turning to their computers for something they weren't finding in their offline lives. Social media, despite concerns regarding the impact on mental health, in fact provides social connections for users, particularly those with disabilities who may be subject to greater isolation.

Leiter (2011) further discusses the reality that most disabled youth and adults with intellectual and other types of disabilities face more social isolation than their able-bodied or neurotypical peers. However, Leiter believes that although disabled youth have less community connections, these connections still do exist; they may just be found in different areas of life than their able-bodied peers. Thus, Leiter (2011) examined these foundations and found geographic, disability-based, religious, and virtual environments to be the most common.

Leiter (2011) defines disability-based communities as being settings in which membership is based on the youth's experiences of living with a disability. Leiter's (2011) disability-based community foundation is defined with the possibility of being disability-specific or more diverse, addressing a spectrum of disabilities, as well as fulfilling social desires or developmental needs of members. Of the 96 youth participants in Leiter's study, 73% were involved in disability-specific communities. Furthermore, virtual communities were, understandably, "shaped by youth's access to electronic means of communicating with others" (Leiter, 2011, p. 17). Frequently, virtual communities served as an extension of other aspects of the youth's lives, as well as occasionally a way of making new connections. Leiter also describes that in her study, the participants typically experienced one of the four types of community exclusively, without interaction with any of the other three types.

While Shaw and Gant (2002), Obst and Stafurik (2010) and Leiter (2011) examined the use of social media for building community, Miller (2017) additionally explored identity through the online experiences of queer, disabled, university students. He stated that the participants' engagement with social media gave them the chance to explore their identities, and "for some, to cement how they identified or gain new language that prompted a revelation" (p. 509).

Furthermore, these revelations demonstrated that online engagement with social media "presents an opportunity for higher education scholars and practitioners to understand students' identity development processes... in a more nuanced way" (Miller, 2017, p. 509). While research on the identity-making practices of queer *and* disabled young people, especially in higher education, is quite limited, Miller notes that research is increasing in relation to college students' use of social media. Still, he argues that the intersection of identity development and higher education student technology usage is an area with great exploratory potential.

The results of Miller's (2017) study showed that all 25 participants had either active or passive engagement with online spaces. Notably, many of these online interactions with others involved Miller's participants discussing their queer identity and disabilities separately from one another. Nevertheless, some participants aimed to find an intersectional community online, where they could discuss their sexuality and disability identities in the same place. Ultimately, Miller found three key themes discussed throughout his study, made evident by the exploration of university student social media usage patterns: finding validation, becoming involved, and managing identities contextually (Miller, 2017). Miller stated that the participants of his study, whom he interviewed directly for their insight and opinions, rejected the commonly held belief that online communities and connections are not real, or as valid as ones made "in real life". This offered implications for future research, presenting the notion that students' online lives are increasingly central to their higher education experiences. Furthermore, the unrepresented area of study related to social media use and identity development presents great opportunity and possibility.

Research literature has demonstrated the importance of digital literacy and participation in today's society, also examining areas of inequality in regard to online activity. Many different populations who are marginalized in respect to digital access have been studied; however, disabled people are not often included in these studies. Dobransky and Hargittai (2016), for example, note a digital disability divide, in which disabled people are not only excluded from the research, but also excluded from the opportunity to even get online. The authors indicate that the design of technology and the rapid pace of technological advancement are both barriers to access, along with frequent financial instability faced by disabled people, which prevents expensive technology from being purchasable (Dobransky & Hargittai, 2016). Certain populations of disabled people, however, do not face as many barriers to getting online as others. Dobransky and Hargittai (2016) write that those who are hearing impaired or have difficulty walking do not have as many access barriers when it comes to tech, while the visually impaired, those with handrelated mobility issues and those who have difficulty leaving the house are more likely to not be online. After controlling for certain sociodemographic characteristics (age, socioeconomic status and types of disability), Dobransky and Hargittai (2016) found that disabled people are more likely to engage in a specific subset of online activities: downloading videos, playing games online, reviewing products or services, sharing their own content, and posting to blogs (Dobransky & Hargittai, 2016). This relates directly to this study's examination of social media usage trends, as posting photos and video to the internet is a direct act of content, and in some cases, even serves as webblogs for the account users.

Foley and Ferri (2012) also comment on the inclusion aspect, or lack thereof, with modern technology. They begin their discussion with the recognition that technology has never

posed greater potential for connection and access to resources, yet still presents often unexpected barriers to inclusion for disabled people (Foley & Ferri, 2012). The authors argue for the view that technology and access actually have a paradoxical relationship, in which the access and integration created by technology also creates unprecedented forms of social exclusion. Foley and Ferri (2012) discuss subtle forms of exclusion, in which technology "privileges particular ways of being... [and is] designed in ways that reflect taken-for-granted ideas about what constitutes normal" (p. 192).

Beyond physical technology like cochlear implants and other assistive devices, Foley and Ferri (2012) also discuss the virtual world of cyberspace. Being online often offers the promise of a utopia where one can be anything one desires, and as the authors describe, "identity, embodiment and subjectivity can be fashioned and refashioned at will" (p. 193). Foley and Ferri (2012) argue that the utopia would be expressed through the idea of personal choice, stating that "the postmodern cyberbody then, becomes more of a choice than a static reality" (p. 193). Online, being disabled does not disappear; it is just different. For example, in the current age of COVID-19 when online education is extremely prevalent, those with learning disabilities such as dyslexia who could typically decide whether or not to disclose their disability in a traditional classroom situation, may now be facing no choice but to disclose in order to keep up with their work. In contrast, a wheelchair user would typically be classified as having a "visible" disability, but now can decide whether or not to share their disability at any time (Foley & Ferri, 2012). To conclude their article, the authors present a new perspective on technology and disability, something similar to the design-for-all framework that is popularized in graphic design and engineering spaces. Foley and Ferri (2012) support the idea that technology should be designed

for *people* collectively, rather than some designed for the disabled population and some for the rest of society. The ultimate message of the authors is the promotion of accessible technology for all, rather than assistive technology for some. This concept and the former example of the postmodern body connect notably to the key concepts of this study – identity and community. Developing technology that allows everyone to have access creates better opportunities for community-building, both within the disabled population, and also for disabled people and their able-bodied peers. Furthermore, this inclusive vision for technology "allows exciting new worlds where bodily limitations can be transcended, and new freedoms found" (Foley & Ferri, 2012, p. 193), allowing for new opportunities to build one's identity – whether that includes their disability or not.

Developing Identity and Community

Identity is not a concept specific to disability or to children's studies, but rather a critical component of psychology, existing as a part of research on the study of the self (Dunn & Burcaw, 2013). In their study of disability identity, Dunn and Burcaw (2013) state that identity refers to "conceptions of the self, expressions of individuality, and accounts of group affiliation. Identities define us because they contain traits, personal characteristics, roles, and our ties to social groups" (p. 149). In their article, Dunn and Burcaw (2013) conducted a literature review of various publications relating to disability identity. They found six key themes across six narrative articles that reflected ways in which disability identity is developed. On the basis of their review, Dunn and Burcaw (2013) conclude that "disability identity entails a positive sense of self, feelings of connection to, or solidarity with, the disability community [... and that] a coherent disability identity is believed to help individuals adapt to disability, including navigating related social

stresses and daily hassles" (p. 148). The themes that emerged included communal attachment, affirmation of disability, self-worth, pride, discrimination and personal meaning. Dunn and Burcaw (2013) claim that these narrative accounts of disability, alongside the themes that are presented, show potential to inform both disabled people and able-bodied individuals about what life is like with a disability. Furthermore, the authors believe that a coherent disability identity could serve as a tool to help one adapt to their disability and navigate the struggles associated with being a part of a marginalized group.

Cameron (2010) also examined, in his research aptly titled "Does Anybody Like Being Disabled?", the idea of disability identity. One of the specific questions addressed in his study was "How useful a concept is 'disability identity' as a tool to people with impairments in making sense of their own experience?" (p. 260). Cameron (2010) argued similarly to Dunn and Burcaw (2013) that disability identity allows people with impairments to directly address the personal tragedy ways of thinking that are consistently shown in society, particularly in the media. Belonging to a social group of disabled people allows one to make sense of the ideas of inadequacy and resist them. Cameron (2010) also demonstrates the idea that disability and impairment do come with struggles, particularly when living in a society that is structured to accommodate able-bodied people, not disabled ones. He does not claim that disability identity circumvents these issues, but rather, that disability identity is a fluid thing that changes at various times. This idea is also proposed by Watson (2002), who discusses ways in which people with impairments may not identify as disabled, though it may seem strange to others. It demonstrates, however, the flexibility of identity as a concept and the freedom of choice for people to identify as disabled or not.

Community is the second focus theme examined in this research. In keeping with Leiter's (2011) idea of community foundations, Hall (2010) discusses spaces of inclusion for disabled people. Hall, a human geography scholar, focuses his examination of spaces of inclusion more so within the physical realm; however, his key findings can translate well to the arena of social media and personal connection. Though his unique research on alternative spaces of inclusion revolves around people with intellectual disabilities, Hall (2010) also cites other sources relating to other forms of disability, including mental illness, which demonstrates the applicability of his research to other areas. In particular, Hall discusses how people with intellectual disabilities (IDs) are often faced with only two options for successful inclusion in "normal society" – paid work and/or independent living. However, these options are often not desired by people with IDs, who instead seek out and become active in alternative spaces of inclusion. There are many reasons why these traditional spaces are not wanted by people with IDs, including "poor experiences of employment, isolation and abuse suffered when living alone, the complexity of welfare benefits, and the need for practical, social and emotional support" (Hall, 2010, p. 51).

Some of the examined alternative spaces of inclusion, often explored in relation to those with mental illness, are referred to as safe havens or oases (Hall, 2010). Hall describes a study in which artistic spaces of inclusion were studied for mentally ill participants. The study found that the participants "yearned" for attachment and belonging, either to people or places. In the spaces of art projects, participants found themselves building social capital through the forms of bonding with others (through friendship and communal support) and also a bridging form of social capital in which people with and without mental illness interacted with each other through exhibitions

and cultural settings. Feelings of safety and belonging are important gains for the participants in these projects (Hall, 2010).

An example of Hall's discussion of alternative spaces of inclusion is shown in a study of peer-to-peer support for mental illness. Naslund, Aschbrenner, Marsch, and Bartels (2016) examined this topic, looking at the use of social media as a tool for peer-to-peer support for severe mental illness. This idea of support is a common theme within the concept of community that is examined in the present study. Naslund et al. (2016) state that the unsolicited and naturally occurring communication of peer-to-peer support has been described as a transformational feature of the modern internet. Peer support is emphasized as a critical tool in treatment for severe mental illnesses, such as bipolar disorder or schizophrenia, conditions that are so debilitating at times that they can rightfully be referred to as disabilities. This peer support brings with it the opportunity to feel connected to others and an overall sense of belonging to a group (Naslund et al., 2016). The authors break down the concept of online peer-to-peer support in the article as a sort of tipping point in the treatment of severe mental illness. The authors describe the experiences of symptoms of the illness, social isolation, fear of reaching out and stigma as combining and leading to the point where the person decides to visit a social network (Naslund et al., 2016). Once reaching this point, they are provided with opportunities to challenge stigma, increase their own involvement in their mental health care and access interventions for their physical and mental wellbeing. Social media's generally accessible nature for many people of various populations, and Naslund et al.'s (2016) study demonstrates the benefit of this modern tool for research and intervention with disabled participants.

Summary

The literature presented in this chapter addressed narratives of disability, social media and online environments, and the key concepts of identity and community. In discussing disability narratives, it was shown how disability is a resource that can benefit society, and not something that needs to be looked at through a personal tragedy lens (Garland-Thomson, 2012). The affirmation model of disability continues this idea. It is based on the social model as its foundation and draws on positive identity formation elicited from experiences in the disability arts (Swain & French, 2000). A social-relational approach to disability concluded the narrative section, based on research by Thomas (2004) and the idea that both impairment effects and social barriers combine to create a unique experience of disability.

Following this, literature was examined relating to the internet and social media. Shaw and Gant (2002), as well as Obst & Stafurik (2013), focused on the internet as a tool for social connection and positive self-esteem, while Naslund et al. (2016) provided insight into the internet as a peer support resource for people with mental illness, serving as an example of the way communities can be formed online. Leiter (2011) described foundations for community amongst disabled people, citing virtual and disability-based. Walker et al. (2018) presented various ways in which the internet and social media can be used as a resource for gaining knowledge about the experiences of disabled youth. Miller (2017) explored both identity and community in relation to queer and disabled university students and their online practices, while Dobransky & Hargittai (2016) examined the unique online spaces in which disabled people were most active. Foley & Ferri (2012) also examined the ways that technology can be both accessible and inaccessible for disabled people.

Finally, the literature was discussed in relation to identity (Dunn & Burcaw, 2013; Cameron, 2010; Watson, 2002) and the ways in which it is shaped by disability, but also other factors that influence a person's life. Community was also examined with a focus on Hall's (2010) notion of alternative spaces of inclusion, which can be represented by online spaces such as Instagram.

The literature presented here provides a foundation for the exploration of the three research questions that form the current study. The affirmation model (Swain & French, 2000), alongside Garland-Thomson's discussion of disability as a resource (2012) and Thomas's look at a social relational approach to disability (2004), contributes to an understanding of positive disability identity. Therefore, it helps to provide a basis for looking at Instagram as tool for disabled youth and their expression of their identity. Following this, the exploration of social media as both a tool and an alternative space for community connections among disabled people sets a precedent for examining the way Instagram specifically can be used to build community.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the usage patterns on social media by disabled youth. The research questions revolved around identity and community, looking to see how disabled youth use Instagram to express their identity and how this can be seen in both the images and captions of their posts; if disabled youth use Instagram in a way that fosters community and connection with other disabled youth; and finally, how the knowledge gained in this study can be leveraged to further examine how youth with disabilities understand and communicate about their disability, both online and off. This topic is important in the fields of both disability studies and child and youth studies because of the growing development of social media and technology and the speed at which these changes are occurring, as well as the fact that disabled people are often left out of these conversations. As the literature demonstrated, disabled people are at risk for social isolation, which can be improved upon with access to social media (Shaw & Gant, 2002; Obst & Stafurik, 2010; Naslund et al., 2016; Dobransky & Hargittai, 2016; Leiter, 2011) Furthermore, disabled youth are a population commonly overlooked when discussing social media patterns (Walker et al., 2018) despite the knowledge that can be gained from hearing about their experiences.

The accounts analyzed in this study, along with the trends that the analysis elicited, can be used as a stepping stone for understanding the ways young people use their most favoured spaces on the internet. The study as a whole aimed to shed light on the experiences of disabled youth, demonstrating them as valuable and important resources in the field of disability studies. Methodologically, the study draws on a variety of research that uses social media as a research

tool. I frequently relied on *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods*, specifically a chapter focusing on the use of Instagram for gathering research data (Laestadius, 2018), considered in more detail below.

Research Framework

Developing the structure of this study revolved around two key aspects: first, deciding on a primary social media platform to focus on for data collection and analysis, and secondly, finding a methodology on which to base data analysis. When selecting a social media platform from which to find and analyze data, I had many options, ranging from Facebook to YouTube and everything in between.

Deciding on Instagram

Using Laestadius' (2016) chapter on Instagram as a research tool was extremely beneficial in determining which platform to use. My aim was to select a platform that combines both text and image. Facebook is a first thought for this; however, that platform functions as a mostly private social network, where users tend to have "friends" that they know in real life and extensive privacy settings on the posts they share, as well as the expectation that their data will not go beyond their social circles. There is also Twitter, though that platform has a 2200-character limit and does not require that each "tweet" have an image or video. YouTube is a video-based platform, as is Tiktok, both of which have unique features and user demographics.

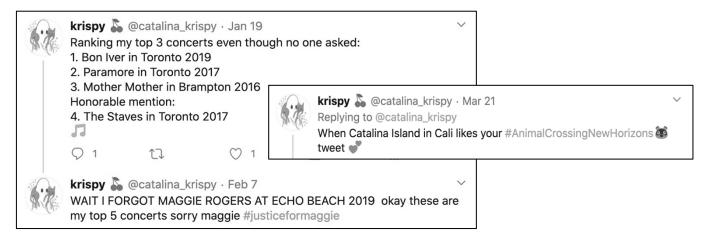
Instagram, however, is distinct in that it does require the posting of an image or short video, as well as the opportunity to caption each post. Memes, images of text, and photos taken by devices other than mobile phones are all possibilities on Instagram (Laestadius, 2016).

Furthermore, Instagram has a privacy feature allowing for accounts to become outright

unavailable unless the user approves a follower request. All the accounts I chose for this study were public pages, making them both ethically and physically accessible for my research.

Hashtags are also very popular on Instagram, in a different way than typically seen on Twitter and other forms of social media. On Twitter, hashtags often indicate "continued text-based conversation" alongside the intended use as a search tool (Laestadius, 2016). An example from my own Twitter account is provided below in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Examples of Hashtag Usage



As can be seen in these two tweets, one hashtag (#JusticeForMaggie) is a bit of humour that continues or adds to the context of the first tweet. Contrastingly, I included the hashtag #AnimalCrossingNewHorizons as a way of linking my tweet to any others created about the recent Nintendo video game release. The second method of using hashtags is more common on Instagram, and in fact, searching the hashtag #disability is one way I found some of the accounts used in this study. Furthermore, hashtag use on Instagram is more likely done as a way of providing context for an image or indicating participation in a community (Baym, 2010).

Yi-Frazier et al. (2015) conducted a study using the principles of photovoice on the Instagram platform, specifically in relation to youth with Type-1 diabetes. Drawing on their

methods and initial photovoice guidelines laid out by Wang and Burris (1997), I was able to develop a methodology that worked for my research aims.

Traditional photovoice methodology

Photovoice is a participatory action research technique in which participants are given a camera and asked to take photos of scenes around them related to a given topic or theme (Yi-Frazier et al., 2015). According to Wang and Burris (1997), photovoice is also described as very flexible and adaptable, able to meet the needs of a variety of communities and their goals.

Yi-Frazier et al. (2015) elaborate on traditional photovoice methodology, explaining that it usually involves a group discussion following the photography session(s) in which participants come together to discuss the photos. Furthermore, they state that using photography in youth populations has shown to elicit unique and relevant perspectives relating to the young person's point of view, particularly in relation to experiences with play and school. However, it has also been noted that photovoice projects conducted with adolescents usually take more time and coordination than projects done with adult participants (Yi-Frazier et al., 2015). Therefore, Yi-Frazier et al. (2015) adapted this methodology to work best for their needs and involved Instagram as a new tool in their photovoice methodology.

Adapting photovoice methodology

Once an understanding of photovoice methods was developed, I drew on the work of Yi-Frazier et al. (2015) as well as Gibney (2017) and Miller (2017) to adjust the methods to suit my goals and research questions. Specifically, Yi-Frazier et al. (2015) used Instagram as their primary method of photo collection, while Gibney (2017) chose to use publicly accessible content on social media sites such as YouTube, and Miller (2017) used direct interviews with

student participants about their social media usage in relation to queer and disability identity-making. Yi-Frazier et al. (2015) more closely followed photovoice methodology through an Instagram-based investigation with youth, which provided a resource for this study in relation to both data collection and analysis. Gibney (2017) aimed to examine how "higher education students who identify as LGBTQ navigate their school and daily life experiences in relationship with their identity on web logs" (p. 2). While Gibney's (2017) study did not include direct requirements for an investigation relating to content and frequency of Instagram posts, her methodology of analyzing YouTube and blog content provided another resource for the data analysis of the present study through presenting a way in which to structure my own analysis. Finally, Miller's (2017) methodology used grounded theory for analyzing specific themes that emerged from the data. Together, these three studies aided in my development of a methodology that would be most effective and useful in my own research.

Participants

In choosing the participants whose Instagram accounts would be studied for this research, I aimed to select between five to ten accounts with a fairly diverse demographic profile. I ultimately settled on eight accounts, with details shown in the Table 1. Four accounts selected were people I already followed personally (two of which are personal friends) and four were selected through searching the #disability hashtag on both Instagram and Tik Tok. While I wanted to use Instagram as my primary source of data and gathering of participants, I found it difficult to find useable accounts through exclusively browsing the #disability hashtag. When browsing on Instagram, the number of photos was overwhelming, with only choices to view them based on being recent, or being popular. While viewing the "popular" posts with the most likes, I found

that the majority of them did not meet my inclusion criteria of being posted by youth about their firsthand experiences with disability. Instead I searched the hashtag #disability on TikTok as well, since I had noticed an increase in content being created recently on the platform by youth that focused on disability, rather than on Instagram, where the age range of disabled posters seemed to be getting higher. On TikTok, 41% of the users are within the age range of what's considered youth (ages 16-24) (Beer, 2019). Once a participant was chosen from TikTok or Instagram, their content for analysis in the study was drawn exclusively from Instagram.

To be considered as a participant, Instagram users had to meet a few specific criteria. Their profile had to be public, which means it did not have privacy settings nor was otherwise locked from viewing. Also, their age had to be within the range of 18 to 25, therefore considered a young adult but not a minor. The United Nations defines youth as being between the ages of 15 and 24, which encompasses being a teenager (13-19) as well as a young adult (20-24). However, I chose to exclude participants who were under 18, as this is still classified as a child by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and further, by legal and ethical guidelines. Finally, the participants also had to identify as having some sort of impairment or disability, though a diagnosis or a specific type of disability was not a requirement. I tried to include an equal number of males and females, but noted male participants were difficult to find within the necessary criteria. However, within the age bracket I was looking for, I did find a fairly even spread, as well as a diverse range of diagnoses, which was my main goal. The participants I chose, organized by the pseudonym chosen to describe them moving forward, are listed in Table 1, which also includes their age, disability diagnosis and location.

Table 1. Participant Demographic Details

Pseudonym	Age	Disability (status and/or diagnosis)	Location
Alexis S.	22	Ehlers-Danlos Syndrome	USA
Ashley M.	24	(Undiagnosed) Ehler's-Danlos Syndrome, Celiac disease, mental illness	Canada
Austin G.	21	Cerebral Palsy and hearing impaired	USA
Brittany A.	24	Spinal Muscular Atrophy Type 2	USA
Chelsea W.	21	Cystic Fibrosis	USA
Payton L.	19	Autism & mental illness	Canada
Zane V.	19	Down Syndrome	USA
Zoe W.	22	Autism & mental illness	United Kingdom

Data Collection

Laestadius (2016) describes three types of data collection methods for Instagram. She states that photos can be collected using coding and programming directly with Instagram's interface, from a third-party program that would perform the same steps automatically. The third option was the one that I chose to use, in which Laestadius describes viewing the participants' Instagram accounts on the app as a user would, and then copying photos and captions from there. To choose the photos (and their associated captions) that were analyzed, I went to the beginning of each participant's account (most recent) and went back through 21 photos, then downloaded these 168 photos (21 x 8 participants) to my computer. I feel that choosing this specific number of photos created more validity, as I examined a consistent amount of data from each account without using my own inferences to select what was analyzed. Furthermore, Instagram publishes photos in rows of 3, so going back through 21 photos or 7 rows allowed me to look at what would essentially be the "front page" of each Instagram account, giving an accurate look at a

viewer's first impression of the accounts. Following that, I collected all of the photos and their associated captions, proceeding to organize them in a spreadsheet (Appendix II), to move forward into analysis. All photos in the spreadsheet which logged my analysis were removed to protect the privacy of the participants. Identifying details such as names and places were also removed. Photos that were included in this thesis as figures had the faces of the participants blurred and pseudonyms were used at all times.

Data Analysis

In keeping with the adapted photovoice methodology used by Yi-Frazier et al. (2015), the photos of each participant were first grouped based on visual content. Seven types of photos were classified. These types included selfies (photos of the person themselves, whether taken by others or on their own); old photos (including the person and/and family members/friends – typically scans or photographs of film photography); recent photos with friends, family and/or pets; landscape photos; celebrity photos; internet memes (a humorous image, video, piece of text, etc., that is copied and spread rapidly by Internet users); and lastly, photos of objects or miscellaneous content.

Following this step, I moved on to analyzing the captions, which held the most detail about the participants and their experiences. The captions were analyzed in three stages. Firstly, I read through the captions of each photo by one participant and classified the caption based on major themes that emerged. For example, Chelsea W.'s most common themes included sickness/disability/chronic illness; gratitude; giving back; living life to the fullest; friendship/community; and growing up/infantilizing disability. I then proceeded to follow this method with the seven other participants. In the second stage, I created an organized chart for comparison of the themes

across participant profiles (seen in Chapter Four, Table 2). After creating this chart and reading through key phrases in the captions a second time, I was able to see trends in the themes, both in the way they were presented across participants, and also how they connected to the concepts of identity and community overall.

Ethical Considerations

There were two main ethical issues to be considered throughout the course of this study. The first was the collection of participant data, and the second was how that data would be shared in the write-up. Firstly, I chose photos that would all be considered public domain as the photos were posted online without any privacy settings. This meant that the Brock Research Ethics Board did not have to be consulted for the study. However, I did collect data from two participants who I know personally, due to the nature of their friendship with each other and the way that friendship has been influenced by social media. However, their real names and photos were not used and in fact, no information about their individual friendship or their relationship to me was in turn deemed relevant for this study. With the methodology used, their connection to each other and to myself was not shown through the photos and captions collected, but is presented in this section for transparency.

For the second ethical issue, which was the presentation of results, anonymity was ensured at all times, both in my journals and in the final document. All photos in the spreadsheet of Appendix II – in which I logged my analysis – were removed to protect the privacy of the participants. Identifying details such as names and places were also removed. Photos that were included in this thesis as figures had the faces of the participants blurred. Pseudonyms were used at all times throughout the write-up of the study.

Summary

This section described the methodology that was used in this study as a means of understanding the usage patterns of disabled youth on Instagram in relation to their identity development and community connections. The research relied on qualitative methods specifically using adapted photovoice techniques (Yi-Frazier et al, 2015) and social media-based methods as described by Gibney (2017), Miller (2017) and Laestadius (2016). The collection of public domain data combined with the personal nature of social media content allowed for a small but diverse set of participants, whose demographic details were described in Table 1. Data collection and analysis methods followed the modified framework of photovoice studies (Yi-Frazier et al, 2015; Wang & Burress, 1997). Ethical considerations were discussed in the concluding section of the chapter. Chapter Four follows and presents the results and discussion of the study.

Chapter Four: Results and Discussion

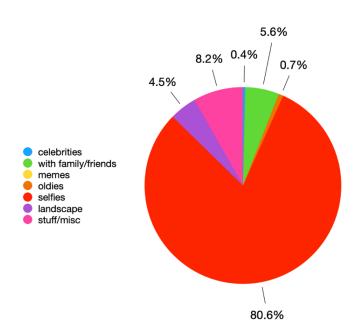
This study examined the content of eight Instagram accounts belonging to disabled youth between the ages of 19 and 24. After analyzing the photos and captions of 21 photos per account, there were trends in the types of images posted by the participants, as well as many themes that emerged from the associated captions. The first type of analysis includes a look the types of images each participant posted, such as notes on the frequency of selfie posts in contrast to posts with friends and family, or other types of photos. This was used as a way of noting whether or not there was a visual connection to the concepts of identity and community when viewed at first glance. The themes observed in the captions are presented as well, through a table (Table 2) that visualizes these themes across all accounts and through providing concrete examples of key phrases or photos. Based on the research questions that inform the present research, it was expected that participants who posted more selfies would demonstrate a stronger connection to their identity as disabled and that photos with friends and family would also be paired to captions expressing their relationship with the community, whether disabled or otherwise.

Analysis of Image Trends

Each of the eight participants' individual accounts were analyzed, with the collective results shown in Figure 2 below, and the breakdown by individual shown in the appendix (see Appendix I). The results indicated a very diverse spread across the eight participants. Some posted nearly all selfies (Austin, Ashley) while others favoured landscapes (Zoe) or photos with friends and family (Zane). The one type of content that was not posted by any of the participants within their first 21 posts was memes. These image trends were notable as they indicated preliminary insight into the caption themes that later emerged from the participants' profiles. For

instance, many of the accounts posted primarily selfies. It was more common for these participants who posted selfies to also share details about their disability and their identity as disabled. However, the image trends did not exclusively predict who would discuss their disability on their Instagram profile. In other cases, such as Zoe, Payton, Ashley and Brittany's profiles, the types of images they posted (landscapes, selfies, writing, etc.) indicated the elements of their lives that were important to them, outside of their disability (e.g., friendships, creativity, travel, etc.). Although the participants never explicitly discussed identity formation in their captions, it became apparent that, of the two concepts most relevant to this study – identity and community – identity was more pertinent to the participants. I found seven image types across the 21 photos in each account and demonstrated this in a pie chart based on the frequency with which each type appeared.

Figure 2. Categorical Image Trends (Collective)



Analysis of Caption Themes

As is shown below in the breakdown of caption themes, a number of themes were found across the photo captions of the eight participants. In regard to the themes included in the results, I conducted the analysis first by writing down any themes I noted across each participant's photos and captions. Then, I took the seven most common themes in the captions that appeared across the accounts and grouped them into a lesser amount based on similarities and patterns. Specifically, I took the themes of disability and chronic illness as well as mental health and grouped them into one theme, because of the interconnected nature of disabling physical and mental symptoms. Following that, friends and family were considered their own main theme due to their connection with the idea of community. Giving back and gratitude appeared linked in the sense that they related to a thankfulness towards others in the greater community. I felt that this also connected to the theme of positivity in that when the participants showed gratitude, they were also placing a positive perspective on the experiences they had with their disability. The final theme that emerged that was significant across multiple accounts was social media trends. This theme connected specifically to the platform I was analyzing (Instagram) and the ways in which the participants followed trends or unique behaviours to add exposure to their posts. In doing this, I ended up with four themes for discussion.

My first impression was that the disability theme and the social media trends theme would connect more closely to the concept of identity, while friends and family and positivity would tie into community. The seven most common themes from the photo captions are visualized in Table 2 below, as well as a list of other less commonly seen themes that were mentioned, organized by individual.

 Table 2. Thematic comparisons of participant captions

Seven Original Themes

	Disability, chronic illness	Friends, family, pets	Positivity	Mental health	Social media trends	Giving back	Gratitude	Other*
Chelsea W.	x	x				x	x	x
Brittany A.	x	x		x		x		x
Zoe W.		x						
Zane V.	x	x	x		x		x	
Alexis S.	x	x	x	x			x	x
Payton L.	x	x	x	x	x			x
Austin G.	x	x	x		x			
Ashley M.	x	x	x			x		x

— living life to the fullest; growing up; home

— living an ordinary/normal life; writing/work/school; home

— living an ordinary/normal life; writing/work/school; home; LGBTQ; travel

— none

— school/work; sports; religion/church

— school; uniqueness; resiliency

— none

— ballet

Other Themes Chelsea W. Brittany A. Zoe W. Zane V. Alexis S. Payton L. Austin G. Ashley M.

Four Final Themes (condensed from above)

	Disability, chronic illness, mental health	Friends, family, pets	Positivity, gratitude and giving back	Social media trends
Chelsea W.	x	x	X	
Brittany A.	x	x	X	x
Zoe W.		x		
Zane V.	x	x	X	x
Alexis S.	x	x	X	x
Payton L.	x	x	X	x
Austin G.	x	x	X	x
Ashley M.	x	x	X	x

Discussion of Themes

Social Media Trends

"Social media trends" as a theme encompasses the usage and patterns of hashtags in captions, as well as posting particular content relating to popular, often viral, trends. Zane, Payton and Austin most commonly followed trends with their content, which is notable because these three participants, along with Ashley, were found on Tik Tok, a platform that thrives on viral content. Furthermore, it is the use of hashtags and creating "viral" content that allows Instagram users to be found by others outside of their immediate or "real life" circle. This creates further opportunity for expanding their community and also for finding people who share their same interests or experience, such as disabilities, thus why I found this theme an important aspect of the present research.

Austin is a rising Tik Tok star, with 12 million likes and nearly 500 thousand followers on his account. Living in the United States, he has cerebral palsy (CP) and is also hard of hearing. Much of his popular content deals with having CP and his experience as disabled. A unique thing about Austin's account is that some of his more viral videos show him using American Sign Language to perform popular songs. He also often performs trends like Tik Tok dance routines while discussing disability at the same time. On Instagram, his first 21 photos contained 20 selfies and a photo with his mom. The bio reads: "[University] '20 [university major]; Positivity influencer; Tik Tok: [account name] (449k); America's Got Talent Contestant season 12 #signlanguage #photography". Austin's account featured disability as a theme on occasion, but most commonly focused on social media trends and overall positivity.

Zane's profile, for example, included hashtags in every post, including ones relating to his disability (#downsyndrome, #dslove, #worlddownsyndromeday, #321). Zane was found on Tik Tok. Zane has Down Syndrome and is 19 years old, residing in the United States. On Tik Tok, he creates popular videos with his older brother. At the time of this research, Zane and Peter had 3 million followers on their Tik Tok account, and nearly 72 million likes. Their joint Instagram profile has 71,000 followers. The bio to their Instagram account simply includes their post office box information, as well as links to their personal accounts. On Zane's individual account, his bio has the phrase "Changing Perspectives One Heart at a Time | Down Syndrome".

It is important to note that Zane and Peter share the Instagram account that was analyzed in this study. Therefore, it is Peter who typically writes the captions seen on the account.

Understanding the concept of identity in relation to Zane and his disability is thus mediated through Peter's voice and his conceptualization of his brother's disability as an ally to the community, rather than a disabled person himself.

Zane also posted photos from his appearance at a 2020 event called Playlist Live, which is an annual convention held in Orlando, Florida, primarily for YouTube and Tik Tok content creators. Other captions promoted the YouTube videos made by Zane and his brother or addressed their growing follower count. Similarly, Payton included the hashtag #actuallyautistic on one post, but the majority of her hashtags were related to increasing her visibility on social media, including ones like these: #love #instagood #photooftheday #tbt #cute #quote #me #followme #happy #follow #fashion #selfie #picoftheday #tan #girl #blonde #instadaily #friends #summer #fun #smile #bossbabe #instalike #happy #beautiful #entrepeneur #instamood #megannpresets #motivation #art (taken from a selfie caption posted on August 2, 2019).

Payton was found on Tik Tok, where she has a significant following of 540,000 people and 8 million likes. While some of her content is following Tik Tok trends, her most "viral" content talks about her living with autism and what autism is like for a young person, especially a girl. Her Instagram account has over 40 thousand followers, most of whom likely found her from Tik Tok like myself, as is indicated by her bio. The bio reads: "leo; finding myself; ill do your lashes [Instagram account]; ya i'm that autistic girl". Payton is 20 years old and Canadian. The make-up of her Instagram account (the first 21 photos) was almost entirely selfies, with 81% or 17 photos being of her and the remaining 4 including Payton and friends. Payton did mention disability in her posts on occasion, but more commonly, her friends and family, as well as some social media trends were themes seen in her captions.

Two other participants also had unique patterns of hashtag use in their posts. Chelsea included no hashtags in her posts, perhaps indicative of the fact that she did not profit off her social media posts and already had a rather large following from her public speaking and advocacy work. Brittany, a twenty-four-year-old resident of the United States and the oldest participant, lives with a diagnosis of Spinal Muscular Atrophy Type 2 (SMA 2). Brittany is participant I know from my life outside of this study. She and I are friends, though we have not met in person, but rather found each other on a blogging site. She is close friends with another participant, Zoe, who she has known for 11 years. Zoe is the single participant from outside of North America, residing in the United Kingdom. She is diagnosed as having autism and mental illness and also identifies as disabled. Zoe and Brittany met online through a fan-fiction website, and I met Zoe through Brittany.

Zoe had a more unusual selection of content in this study, with her Instagram photos displaying a majority of landscape photos (48%). Selfies were only 14% of her first 21 photos. Her Instagram bio described her pronouns (she/they) and also stated that she identifies as a "queer poet & storyteller based in [location]". Zoe's themes did not discuss disability at all, focusing rather on her work as a writer, her travel experiences, her friends and family and LGBTQ+ issues.

At the time the data was collected, Brittany's bio included her pronouns (she/her), the identifiers of "storyteller, space babe, fairy tale enthusiast" and the name of the novel she was writing and editing. Brittany's profile contained a majority of the miscellaneous photo type, but when further examined it was found many of these photos related to her writing and activism work.

Brittany used hashtags frequently in similar ways to Zane and Payton; however, there was a notable difference. Many of Brittany's posts included her own writing, both for online publications and her first novel. Even the posts that were not related to her work showed the prevalence of disability awareness and activism in her life. Hashtags related to her writing included: #authorsofinstagram #authorlife #writersofinstagram #ownvoices #criplit #sciencefiction #fantasybooks. #criplit and #ownvoices are notable as they indicate both that her book includes disabled characters or content about disability, and also that she is a disabled writer. Further, Brittany posted selfies including hashtags like #livemoremagic #myeverydaymagic #spinalmuscularatrophy #spinalmuscularatrophytype2 #disability #disability awareness #disabledandcute #disabledpeoplearehot #disabledfashion.

Figure 3. Example from Brittany's Instagram



The hashtag #myeverydaymagic is popular among people of all abilities, with photos posted sharing a similar aesthetic of light and airy colours, flowers and other generally pleasing content. However, in the context of a person with a disability using this hashtag for her selfie, something more could be indicated, which connects to the idea of disability identity. Brittany lives with Spinal Muscular Atrophy Type 2, a severe disability that is also a visible disability due to her using a wheelchair. Brittany strives to make disability a more prevalent part of the literary landscape and also non-fiction spaces, as evident by her use of the #ownvoices hashtag. Perhaps by her use of hashtags like #myeverydaymagic, which is shown in context in Figure 3, Brittany is attempting to normalize the everyday activities of disabled bodies and their own existence in social media spaces, which are often filled with glamourized, able-bodied celebrities and influencers. In fact, *The Washington Post* discussed this very concept, citing creators with whom Brittany has worked in the past. The post stated "creators with disabilities say they have gained many benefits from social media participation, such as support and acceptance, discovery of other people with similar conditions, information sharing and even income" (Chiu, 2019). Brittany's attempts at normalizing disability also speak to the first research question of this study- how

disabled youth express their identity through photos and captions on Instagram. In viewing Brittany's 21 photos and captions, it is clear that she views her disability as a prominent part of her identity. However, she also recognizes the normalcy of being disabled, no different than her identifying as a "storyteller, space babe [or] fairytale enthusiast" (taken from Brittany's Instagram bio). It could also be said that Brittany's Instagram patterns show an owning of her disability, something that is in keeping with the social model and the affirmation model of disability. The affirmation model (Swain & French, 2000), as was discussed in Chapter Two, provides the opportunity for disabled people to choose how they identify. Here, Brittany demonstrates an interchangeable identity that reflects her unique characteristics and the freedom to be who she wants to be on any given day.

These ideas coincide with a point drawn in Cameron's (2007) article on disability narratives, in which he states that there is a "normality genre" in popular media (specifically films, but I argue it can be seen in writing and television as well), in which disabled people perform the "alien" role, as if in a science fiction story—"representing a threat to the fabric of normal decency, which has to be resolved... in order that normality can be preserved or restored" (p. 502). He then goes on to state that this resolution typically happens by means of death or curing the character's disability. However, writers like Brittany include characters with disabilities who are the protagonists, yet do not face untimely deaths or overcome their impairments. She further emphasizes this in her own life through the reclaiming of her identity as the protagonist of her story with her own "everyday magic".

Payton and Ashley's accounts provided interesting results in this area as well, as both posted almost entirely selfies, and had very limited content associated with their disability

(Payton has Autism and mental health issues, while Ashley deals with Anorexia and undiagnosed physical issues). Instead, their themes focused much more heavily on the things that interested them, such as fashion, makeup, dance and other "typical" hobbies for girls. This aligns with Hill's (2017) study on disabled girls' self-representation practices online, in which she states that "disability is often framed as a problem or lack, and that experiences of disability for girls appear to trump or silence other experiences, such as those of sex and gender, and the intersections that exist between these" (p. 114). It is highly likely that these girls, whose content on other social media platforms focuses heavily on their disability, curate their Instagram accounts more carefully as a way of normalizing *other* aspects of their life, outside of their disabilities. For instance, Ashley uses a feeding tube that enters her body through her nose, which is therefore always visible in her Tik Tok dance videos.

Ashley, found on Tik Tok, is currently undiagnosed but deals with chronic illness. Currently using a NG tube for feeding, she speculates that she has Ehlers-Danlos Syndrome as well as some type of gastrointestinal illness. Ashley is twenty-four years old and lives in Canada. Her Tik Tok is popular for her content relating to disability, but also for her dances and other ontrend videos. On Tik Tok, Ashley has over 70,000 followers and nearly 800,000 likes. Her Instagram focuses on a different part of her life – her experience as a ballerina. Her Instagram bio reads: "Ballerina; Documenting my journey through the ups and downs of my personal struggles mentally and physically through dance." As would be expected, dance, and particularly ballet, was the most common theme across her captions and photos, although disability, friends and family, positive and giving back were evident as well.

Payton is also known on Tik Tok for posting content dispelling myths about girls with autism. On Instagram, however, Payton and Ashley post pictures with their friends and other "ordinary" activities that are outside of the realm of frequent doctor's visits and psychiatric diagnoses. Payton and Ashley's accounts connect with the discussion of identity from Chapter 2, particularly in relation to the choice of identifying as disabled (or not). As described in Dunn and Burcaw's (2013) work, there are key aspects of disability identity, such as pride, self-worth and personal meaning. However, some people with impairments don't develop their self-worth from their impairments, like Payton (Watson, 2002). It is also notable that Payton identifies as autistic, and with a social group whose members often title themselves as neurodivergent rather than disabled. In this case, her identity is fluid, and at times may be represented in her neurodivergence, while at other times, she chooses to identify based on other important aspects of her life. Figure 4 depicts an example of Payton's typical photos.

Figure 4. Example from Payton's Instagram



Disability, Chronic Illness and Mental Health

Across the captions analyzed from all of the participants, disability showed up frequently, but was also often separate from chronic illness and mental health. For instance, Brittany commonly discussed her diagnosis of Spinal Muscular Atrophy as her disability, but never mentioned any mental health diagnoses as a disability. She still discussed mental health in her posts, focusing on it more as a common aspect of human nature rather than a disability. Payton, in contrast, has diagnosed mental health issues and talks about them alongside her discussions surrounding autism. Disability was discussed at times purposefully with a clear intent to demonstrate a point, whereas other phrases about disability were said in a more casual, commonplace way. For example, in her April 9, 2020 post, Alexis wrote about her service dog assisting her in dealing with her high heart rate (due to Postural Orthostatic Tachycardia Syndrome or POTS). She then easily segued into talking about her homework and basketball activities.

Alexis, who has a fairly large social media following, with 7600 followers on her account at the time of this study, was found through her work as a disabled model for a popular clothing line. The make-up of her Instagram account included 17 selfies out of the first 21 photos, 3 miscellaneous and one with a friend. Her bio read "chronically ill semi-functional human; owner of [company]; crushing stereotypes, kissing fish, cutting down on waste; service dog [name]". Alexis's profile paid frequent attention to disability related topics, including her diagnosis of Ehlers-Danlos Syndrome among other unknown conditions, as well as her work and school life, sports, and religion.

In contrast to Alexis, Brittany typically wrote captions centered around one main topic, often disability-related but not always. Her post on March 8, 2020 read: "We have the first

presumptive coronavirus case in Minnesota. Which is something. I'm officially on lockdown, which means I'm wearing nothing but pajamas and listening to my embarrassing playlist of bubblegum pop to keep my spirits up. It's not fun being immunocompromised in a world full of germs. I'm fighting tooth and nail to keep from falling into a depressive episode, so naturally, I'm writing a blog post about it."

Outside of the disability-related hashtags, three participants posted about disability most frequently and in-depth – Chelsea, Alexis and Brittany. Chelsea is the only participant who is no longer living. She had a very large online following at the time of her death; however, this study has upheld her anonymity in keeping with the protocols of the research. Chelsea was a 21-year-old living in the United States at the time of her death. She died from complications associated with a lung transplant. She was living with cystic fibrosis and was undergoing a double-lung transplant surgery in 2018 when she passed away. Therefore, her data is the oldest, chronologically, covering the timeframe of January to September 2018. Her Instagram account includes a simplistic "bio" section with only an emoji waving hello. Chelsea's profile was the most diverse in terms of types of photo and all four of the common themes were evident on her profile, with a particularly high amount of posts talking about disability.

For Chelsea, it was impossible to post photos of herself on Instagram without her disability being apparent, as she wore a nasal canula at all times to deliver oxygen support to her lungs. However, it was entirely her choice to become an activist in the disability community. Her Instagram account, nearly 2 years after her death, still has 162 thousand followers. Many of her longer post captions were filled with her opinions about living life as a "sick person", but also a young person, and trying to reconcile the two into a high quality of living. Of the 21 posts that

were analyzed from her account, four stood out as the most important. In one from June 21, 2018 she discussed losing her apartment to mold toxicity, which is dangerous for anyone, but especially someone with cystic fibrosis. She wrote not only about the struggle of having to find a new apartment in California, but also the "spectacular" way in which her life "fell apart", and the emotions that came from living with a chronic illness whilst trying to live a life she was proud of. Chelsea shared in a June 21, 2018 post (shown in Figure 5) that she

spent the past year just barely holding myself above ground- juggling being sick with the deep incessant need in me to do something of value with my time. I've been exhausted just keeping myself alive and have nothing left to give to the world around me. That has always been my biggest fear in life, that I would spend everything I had "fighting" my illness and have nothing to offer- and for me, living without being able to give something of yourself to the world, living without adding value to the world, is not a life I want... You can't put your life on hold until your "better" life begins. You have to fight like hell to make sure that the life reflected back at you right now is one you want to be living. I'm not going to let myself live a life I'm resentful of. Not if I live for another three months and not if I live for another 30 years.

Figure 5. Example from Chelsea's Instagram



The quote emphasizes a few different things about Chelsea's life with a chronic illness, the main one being just how much it shaped her short life and the identity she had. Chelsea often referred to herself as "sick" in her posts, but she also frequently mentioned the life she wanted to lead and how important it was to her to be proud of the legacy she left behind. Instagram provided a platform for Chelsea to express these thoughts and have them received by other youth who felt the same, either with a disability or without. For Chelsea, as was previously stated, it was impossible to share parts of herself without also sharing that she was disabled, due to the visible nature of her oxygen support. However, Miller (2017) discusses the contextual management of one's identities. He describes the participants in his study as carefully considering how they would represent themselves in particular online spaces. For Chelsea, perhaps the curation of her Instagram account allowed her to compartmentalize her disability in ways that she could not do in real life. Chelsea's Instagram photos were the most thematically diverse, including friends, family, celebrities, landscapes, and other miscellaneous content. Furthermore, a lot of her captions discussed her disability, but on her terms. The captions contained Chelsea's own words and thoughts about her disability, rather than perceptions that other people might carry with them when they passed her on the street (such as those attached to idea of personal tragedy). Some of Miller's (2017) participants also discussed the idea of facing judgement on an online platform – either as something they experienced, were actively trying to avoid, or no longer were concerned about, in relation to their queer and/or disabled identities. Chelsea shows a lack of fear in her posts- not fear of death, or judgment, although perhaps an unfulfilled life was one thing she did fear.

Friends, Family and the Greater Community

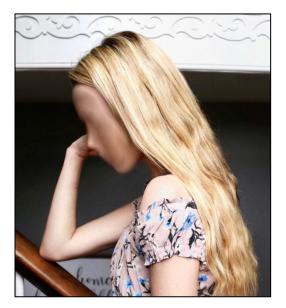
Another main theme, which was addressed across every participant account, was connections with friends, family, and animals. In some cases, this was exclusive to "real life" friends and family, while in others, the fostering of online community was also discussed. An example of this is in a post on September 4, 2018 by Chelsea's sister, after her passing, in which she referenced her sister's "connections with people all around the world" and how special it was "to see a group of people who don't know each other come together in a time of sadness to become such an amazing support network". Others, including Zane, also posted about the impact of community on them, and the reverse, of their impact on the community. In a March 22, 2020 post by Zane's brother Peter, he wrote: "It's hard to put in words the amount of impact Zane has made on me and others from his contagious smile to the great love he shares. Although I hear often how wonderful that he has a big brother to look up to but the truth is it's the other way around. How did I get so lucky to admire someone and learn from him everyday. Happy World Down Syndrome Day! Thank you for being you." This supports the positive impact of disabled voices on social media, both for themselves and for others.

However, social media comes with a variety of pros and cons for most users, as the amount of contact and sharing of information with others can sometimes be overwhelming. However, for disabled people, social media also can serve as an unmatched opportunity for connection – both with their "real life" social circles, family and friends, and with people across the globe who may share some experiences with them, which was displayed both in Leiter's study (2011) and the present research. As was seen in Table 2, all the participants in this study featured captions and photos that included their loved ones, and at times, referred to the greater

community around them that social media provided access to. Chelsea and Alexis both made frequent references to their friends, family, and a wider community, as did Ashley.

Having nearly 3000 followers, Ashley has one of the smaller accounts in this study, particularly in comparison to Chelsea and Alexis. However, it was still notable that she felt connection with her followers enough to share updates and deeply personal information with them through public Instagram posts. As Leiter (2011) notes, "the web provided additional ways for the youth to make and maintain connections and to try out new aspects of their identities" (p. 17). Hall's (2010) work on alternative spaces of inclusion is also relevant as Ashley's statements demonstrated connections with her followers in a non-traditional community space, shown in her post presented in Figure 6 below. In fact, Hall (2010) states that people who are often excluded from social interactions (which includes disabled people) unsurprisingly seek out alternative spaces to find inclusion and belonging. Ashley writes about the frequency of mental health issues in those active in the arts in Figure 6, and her attempts to create community through her Instagram account. These attempts coincide with the idea that individual and communal belonging can increase self-esteem and strengthened self-identity (Hall, 2010). She also demonstrates exploration of her identity both as a ballerina (her username for Instagram is ballerina ashley) and as a young adult with a disability.

Figure 6. Example from Ashley's Instagram



Hello Everyone! Some of you may have noticed that my bio has changed and soon my content as well! I've been hesitant to do this for quite some time, but It's really been pressing on my heart to create a safe space for dancers to be able to discuss their struggles & or relate to my own personal experiences whether that be mentally or physically. I feel like I have been very quiet about my personal struggles in my life on this account, and would love to open up the conversation of mental health among dancers of all ages. It's no question that dance is not just a physically demanding career; but it also wreaks havoc on the mind, and mental health. In the arts, one in three people are affected by anxiety, depression or other mental health issues. Also eating disorders are 10 times more common in ballet dancers than non-ballet dancers. I believe many of us are aware of these facts, but when it directly effects you or a loved one- I know JUST how difficult that can be. I know this personally as I've struggled with Anxiety, Depression & Anorexia for about 11 years now. Very recently I have been through some tests that may show that I have Celiac Disease, and this has no doubtably been the hardest four months of my life by far. I also suffer from Sinus Tachycardia...OUR BODIES ARE CRAZY MACHINES!! I have a huge passion for helping people & children of all ages and I hope that in opening up my account and posts, that not only can I share my passion and love of dance but also support YOU GUYS as much as possible! I really want all of you to know that my DM's are ALWAYS open. Everyone you meet is fighting a hard battle ... Bee kind. Lets ROOT for each other- and WATCH each other grow.

Positivity, Gratitude and Giving Back

The theme of positivity, gratitude and giving back was shown through a combination of posts that depicted connection to both identity and community. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, giving back and gratitude as well as positivity were linked as one main theme for discussion. This was because the posts that related to gratitude and giving back often included a more positive or uplifting captions from the participants. Furthermore, community as a concept was related to this theme due to the fact that participants wanted to give back to their communities for the positive experiences they had with the people around them. This is demonstrated in Zane's example with Figure 7 below. Identity, however, was more closely related to the idea of gratitude, as participants frequently showed gratitude for the good things in their lives, both in spite of *and* because of their disabilities, similar to Garland-Thomson's (2012) discussion using the same concept.

The participants explored positive relationships with their disability, such as Austin's sign language music videos. Taking a social media trend and adapting it to his own characteristics and identity demonstrated an understanding of who he was, and a desire to fit the world around him into that reality, rather than trying to fit himself into an able-bodied world. This theme also presented the positive connections that participants had made to people they met online because of their disability. For instance, Zane and his brother Peter were able to attend the Playlist Live convention and meet many members of their online community in real life. This was not because Zane is disabled and was the "token" disabled person at the event, but rather the manifestation of just how impactful their disability-related content was on social media. Zane and his brother had over 57,000 followers on their Instagram at the time of data collection, a number that is only growing due to the relevance and relatability of the brothers sharing their life with people online. The creation of an online, alternative space spread out into traditional spaces, and demonstrated the impact of having diverse voices present at all times. This connects to Foley & Ferri's (2012) discussion of making the online world inclusive and accessible for all from the beginning. They state that "we should be talking about technology as a global, accessible and inclusive concept, not one that requires a qualifier based on who it is for" (p. 196). Zane and Peter represent this idea through both the scope of their reach, and their own engagement with others online. Their content is not only accessed by disabled people, but able-bodied people as well, thus creating a community that is inclusive of all abilities. Furthermore, as Peter comments in Figure 7, below, he and Zane met a pair of Youtubers they were very much inspired by prior to their own growth online. He states that their content helped his brother transition from being "non-verbal" and how big of an impact the online world made on their family.

Figure 7. Example from Zane's Instagram



All of you have been one of the biggest and first inspiration in our pursuit of social media. Zane's interest in YouTube and TikTok is due to the many years of love and admiration for your content. It has provided years of comedic content but most importantly during a time when he was known as non-verbal it provided language assistance as he repeatedly imitated the content with his own special personality. From the bottom of our hearts we can't thank you enough for your time, kindness, especially for these memories that we will forever cherish.

Gratitude was shown in many ways throughout the captions that were examined. There is often an opportunity for ableist forms of gratitude when it comes to disability, whether intentional or not, such as being grateful a disability isn't worse or being grateful to not be "wheelchair bound" for instance. However, these participants never subscribed to a personal tragedy way of thinking. Instead, gratitude was demonstrated through the ways in which disability made their life what it was. For example, Chelsea was grateful for her best friend helping her with oxygen therapy, which not only helped her breathe, but made her closer to her friend in sharing this intimate experience. Brianna showed gratitude through her writing, a career which has been spearheaded by her disability and passion for inclusion. Alexis expressed a love for adaptive sports and fitness, something that would not have been found without her attempts to accommodate for her disability.

Summary of Results

The results indicated that identity was expressed in a variety of ways across the participant profiles. Identity was shown more blatantly through the frequency of the participants posting selfies, but also through specific identifying labels used in bio sections, repeatedly

included hashtags and the themes that emerged from each unique photo caption. Community as a concept was more implicit. It was not shown in the majority of photos, as most photos did not include family, friends or other community connections. However, through reading the captions, the ways in which the participants connected to their peers, both online and off, became more apparent. The preceding sections also described the four final themes for discussion that were evident in the analysis of the photos and captions shared by the participants. The four themes included social media trends; disability, chronic illness and mental health; friends, family and the greater community; and positivity, gratitude and giving back, and all connected to the broad concepts of identity and community. Each participant demonstrated more than one of the four themes in their posts, as well as other themes that were not addressed by all participants, but rather that were specific to their own individual experiences. Identity was shown through not only the sharing of one's experiences with disability, but also the other elements that made up their life. Community was made both online and off, but these community-building opportunities were ignited by the use of social media as a means of connecting and sharing one's story. Normalizing disability as an everyday occurrence and also living life to the fullest were two concepts that, when juxtaposed, actually went hand in hand, as they provided opportunities for the disabled participants to achieve goals and find happiness, whilst also indicating to able-bodied people that the disability experience cannot be generalized.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

Summary of the Study

Technology is advancing at a rapid rate, providing unprecedented opportunities for research and exploration. However, disabled people are often left behind in this modern technological age, included as afterthoughts rather than a part of design from the beginning (Foley & Ferri, 2012; Dobransky & Hargittai, 2016). Social media and online spaces provide a unique tool for researching the youth demographic (Amjeld, 2015; Brusilovskiy et al., 2016; Gibney, 2017; Hill, 2017; Leiter, 2011; Miller, 2017; Naslund et al., 2016; Park & Calamaro, 2013; Walker et al., 2018; Yi-Frazier et al., 2015), particularly those with disabilities and severe mental health issues. Framed as an alternative space for inclusion (Hall, 2010), Instagram specifically presents an opportunity for youth with disabilities to explore their identity and build community.

This research, shaped by the affirmation model of disability (Swain & French, 2000) examined the profiles of eight young adults with various disabilities, ranging in age from 19 to 24, and located across North America and the United Kingdom. The aim of the study was to explore the ways that Instagram was used as a platform for self-expression in relation to building identity and community amongst these youth. The methodology of the study was shaped by adapted photovoice methods, and scholarly work including that by Gibney (2017), Yi-Frazier et al. (2015), and Miller (2017). After collecting and organizing 21 photos for each of the eight participants, the images and associated captions were analyzed based on three aspects. These three aspects included the types of images posted, the themes expressed in the captions, and the connection of the previous two areas with the key concepts of identity and community.

The results of the study indicate that selfies were the most common type of photo posted, although this wasn't always indicative of the participant's relationship to their disability or their identity as such. Some participants posted selfies discussing disability (Chelsea, Brittany) while other chose to discuss other topics relevant to their lives. From that, four major trends emerged: social media trends; disability, chronic illness and mental health; friends, family and the greater community; and positivity, gratitude and giving back. Social media trends related to the nature of the platform being examined and the way the youth engaged with it, while disability as a theme presented many connections to the concept of identity. Some of these connections included the desire to normalize disability as only a part of one's identity (for example, participant Ashley's profile), while other participants looked for the opportunity to live a fulfilled life in ways that appreciated and celebrated their disability (for example, Chelsea and Brittany's profiles). Friends and family and the greater community provided connections to the idea of building community, as none of the participants came to Instagram with an already existing collection of followers. Rather, they worked to build rapport and relationships with the people who began to follow them, finding reciprocal comfort within the notion that they were not alone in their experiences. The theme of positivity, gratitude and giving back connected to both identity and community. The participants explored positive relationships to their disability, and to people they had met online because of their disability. However, positivity was not the exclusive experience shown in the photos and captions – negative experiences were depicted also, but there was always a common thread of gratitude for what one had, and a desire to give back to those who did not have as much.

Strengths of the Study

The study's primary strength was the exploration of the disabled experience through the viewpoint of disability insiders, rather than family members or medical professionals. The study also relied on the affirmation model as a theoretical foundation. In using the affirmation model, the study brings awareness to a model which prioritizes positive identity, encompassing both impairment *and* disability (Swain & French, 2000). Furthermore, the present research presented a different perspective for viewing social media – an alternative space for inclusion, and a foundation of community where youth can express their identity in unique and unprecedented ways (Hall, 2010; Leiter, 2011). Furthermore, the study presented an insider view of disability as experienced by young people, on a platform that is underrepresented in academic research, yet extremely popular and influential in the lives of youth.

Limitations

A limitation of this study is the lack of diversity across the participants. While the diagnoses of the participants were different across each person, other elements of diversity were not as well-represented in the sample. For example, the study participants came from North America and the UK, which are predominantly white countries, and all of the participants in the study were white or white-passing. Furthermore, there were only two male participants, and LGBTQ+ status was not disclosed by all but one of the participants (Zoe). While these participants met the inclusion criteria of the study, it would certainly improve future studies in this area to include a more diverse sample of participants.

Implications for Future Research

Future research could immensely benefit from a larger, more diverse sample in which race, gender, sexual orientation and country of residence and other characteristics were more

varied across participants. Intersectionality is a major part of disability studies as a field, considering the ways in which disability interacts with other areas of societal marginalization such as race and sexual orientation. To further examine how these different identities impacted one's portrayal of their disability identity would certainly improve the impact of the research. For example, Woodin (2014) writes that single-identity politics in relation to disability discredits the diversity of the disabled experience. Identifying as only disabled or only Black or only a woman would lessen the impact of the struggles that are faced when all of these identities meet. Thus, the results of the present study could vary greatly based on the unique combinations and interactions of social identities.

Furthermore, it would be very interesting to see how the results of the present study translated across platforms other than Instagram. Although this study only examined Instagram as a platform, it was noted that different content could be explored on platforms like Tik Tok or Facebook. For instance, Payton is known on Tik Tok for her autism-focused content and exploring the area of disability-related videos on that platform alone would provide novel and interesting insights into the topics at hand. For instance, looking at commentary on a platform like Tik Tok could show how the disability-related content is perceived by viewers.

Final Thoughts

In this study, normalizing disability as an everyday occurrence and also living life to the fullest were two concepts that, when juxtaposed, actually went hand in hand. They provided opportunities for the disabled participants to achieve goals and dreams, whilst also indicating to able-bodied people that the disability experience cannot be generalized as a collective experience, and certainly not as a tragedy. The main concepts in this study, identity and community, served as the vessel through which to research the disabled population, the only socially oppressed group

which any person can find themselves in at any time. Identity was demonstrated both through expression of being disabled and what that means for a young person, but also through the exploration of other unique traits, qualities and events that make up the life experience of a youth. Community was shown through the participants connections to their friends, family, and peers, as well as the greater society around them. This was influenced by their online activity on such a novel platform. Through the activism of these participants, living their day-to-day lives as disabled youth, their followers are presented with plentiful opportunities for exploration into what it really means to be disabled and given a reminder of both the diversity and common ground found in the human condition.

References

- Almjeld, J. (2015). Collecting girlhood: Pinterest cyber collections archive available female identities. *Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 8(3), 6. Academic OneFile.
- Baym, N. (2010). Personal connections in the digital age. Maldren, MA: Polity Press.
- Beer, C. (2019). Is TikTok Setting the Scene for Music on Social Media? *Global Web Index* (*Blog*). Retrieved from: https://blog.globalwebindex.com/trends/tiktok-music-social-media/
- Brusilovskiy, E., Townley, G., Snethen, G., & Salzer, M. S. (2016). Social media use, community participation and psychological well-being among individuals with serious mental illnesses.

 *Computers in Human Behavior, 65, 232–240.**
- Cameron, C. (2007). Whose problem? Disability narratives and available identities. *Community Development Journal*, 42(4), 501–511.
- Cameron, C. (2014). The social model. In C. Cameron (Ed.), *Disability studies: A student's guide* (pp. 137-140). London: SAGE Publications.
- Chiu, J. (2019). On YouTube, people with disabilities create content to show and normalize their experiences. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from: https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/on-youtube-people-with-disabilities-create-content-to-show-and-normalize-their-experiences/2019/10/04/8e000168-afd1-11e9-8e77-03b30bc29f64_story.html
- Dobransky, K., & Hargittai, E. (2016). Unrealized potential: Exploring the digital disability divide. *Poetics*, *58*, 18–28.
- Dunn, D. S., & Burcaw, S. (2013). Disability identity: Exploring narrative accounts of disability. *Rehabilitation Psychology*, 58(2), 148–157.

- Foley, A., & Ferri, B. (2012). Technology for people, not disabilities: Ensuring access and inclusion. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, *4*, 192 200.
- Garland-Thomson, R. (2012). The case for conserving disability. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry*, 9(3), 339–355.
- Gibney, G. (2017). Queer Heterotopias in Higher Education: LGBTQ Student Identity in Web Logging. (Unpublished master's thesis). Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario.
- Hall, E. (2010). Spaces of social inclusion and belonging for people with intellectual disabilities. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, *54*, 48–57.
- Hill, S. (2017). Exploring disabled girls' self-representational practices online. (Report). *Girlhood Studies*, *10*(2), 114–130.
- Kraut, R., Patterson, M., Lundmark, V., Kiesler, S., Mukophadhyay, T., & Scherlis, W. (1998).

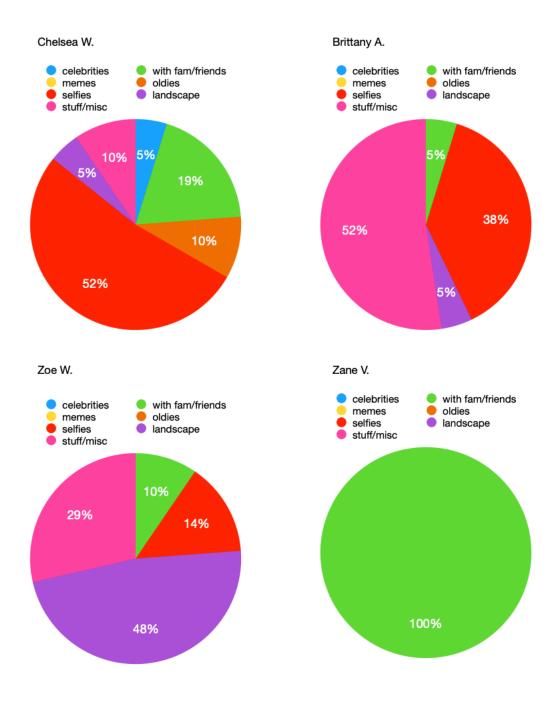
 Internet paradox: A social technology that reduces social involvement and psychological well-being? *American Psychologist*, *53*(9), 1017–1031.
- Laestadius, L. (2016). "Instagram" in L. Sloan & A. Quan-Haase (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods*. Sage Publications: London.
- Leiter, V. (2011), Bowling together: Foundations of Community among Youth with Disabilities in Carey, A. & Scotch, R. (Ed.) *Disability and Community (Research in Social Science and Disability, Vol. 6*), Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Bingley, pp. 3-25.
- Miller, R. (2017). "My voice is definitely strongest in online communities": Students using social media for queer and disability identity-making. *Journal of College Student Development*, 58(4), 509-525.

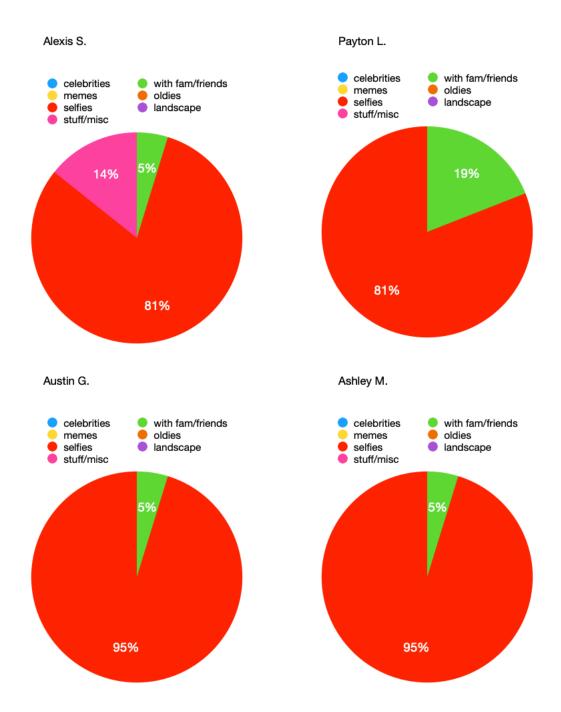
- Naslund, J. A., Aschbrenner, K. A., Marsch, L. A., & Bartels, S. J. (2016). The future of mental health care: Peer-to-peer support and social media. *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences*, 25(2), 113–122.
- Park, B. K., & Calamaro, C. (2013). A systematic review of social networking sites: Innovative platforms for health research targeting adolescents and young adults. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 45(3), 256-264.
- Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (Fourth Edition). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Swain, J., & French, S. (2000). Towards an affirmation model of disability. *Disability & Society*, 15(4), 569-582.
- Székely, L., & Nagy, Á. (2011). Online youth work and eYouth A guide to the world of the digital natives. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *33*(11), 2186–2197.
- Thomas, C. (1999) Female Forms: experiencing and understanding disability. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Thomas, C. (2004). Rescuing a social relational understanding of disability, *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research*, 6(1), 22-36.
- Walker, M., King, G. & Hartman, L. (2018) Exploring the potential of social media platforms as data collection methods for accessing and understanding experiences of youth with disabilities: a narrative review. *The Journal of Social Media in Society*, 7(2), 43-68.
- Watson, N. (2002). Well, I know this is going to sound very strange to you, but I don't see myself as a disabled person: Identity and disability. *Disability & Society*, 17(5), 509–527.

Yi-Frazier, J. P., Cochrane, K., Mitrovich, C., Pascual, M., Buscaino, E., Eaton, L., Panlasigui, N., Clopp, B., & Malik, F. (2015). Using Instagram as a modified application of photovoice for storytelling and sharing in adolescents with Type 1 Diabetes. *Qualitative Health Research*, *25*(10), 1372–1382.

Appendix I

Individual Image Category Breakdowns



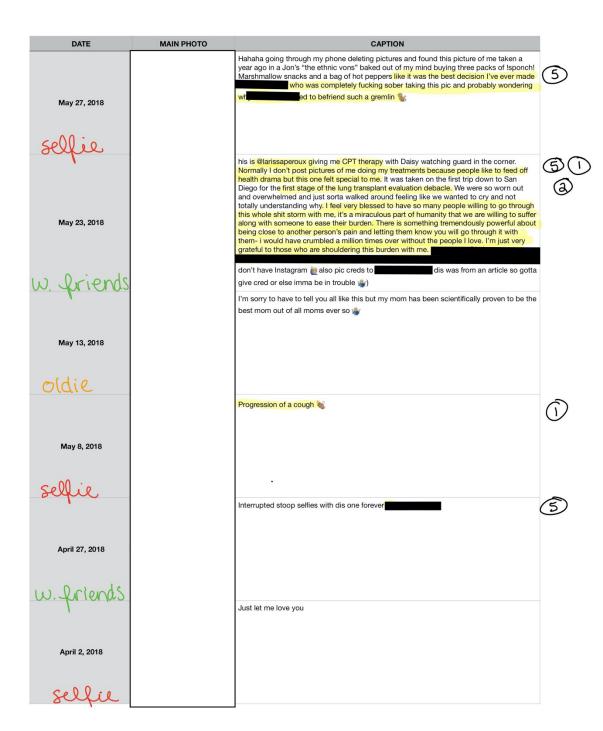


Appendix II

CONTENT THEMES CHELSEA W. 1. Sickness/disability/chronic illness 2. gratitude 3. giving back 4. living life to the fullest 5. friendship / community 6. growing up / infantilizing disability. BRITTANY A. 1. sickness/disability/chronic illness 2. writing/school/work 3. mental health 4. living an ordinary life 5. giving back/ contributing to society 6. friends ZOE W. 1. home/nature/uk 2. writing 3. family/pets 4. ordinary life 5. LGBTQ 6. travel ZANE V. 1. Family 2. Trends/humour/social media 3. Down syndrome/Disability 4. Happiness/positivity 5. Friends ALEXIS S. 1. Gratitude/positivity 2. Health/disability 3. Family/friends/pets 4. Sports 5. Religion/church 6. School/Work 7. Mental health PAYTON L. 1. Disability/autism 2. Uniqueness 3. Positivity 4. Mental health/illness 5. School 6. Resiliency 7. Social media 8. Family/friends 9. Gratitude AUSTIN G. 1. Social media/trends 2. Disability/ASL/CP/deafness 3. Optimism, positivity 4. Family/friends ASHLEY M. 1. Ballet 2. Disability/health/chronic illness 3. Community 4. Helping, giving back 5. Positivity/happiness 6. Family

Types of Photos selfie - a photo of the person, whether taken by themself or another person. oldie - a photo from years ago of the person, their family and for other personal events. meme - our internet graphic. w. friends -> a recent photo of the person and their friends, family, pets, etc. celeb - a photo of a famous person landscape -> a photo of the user's stuff/misc. - a photo of objects, etc.

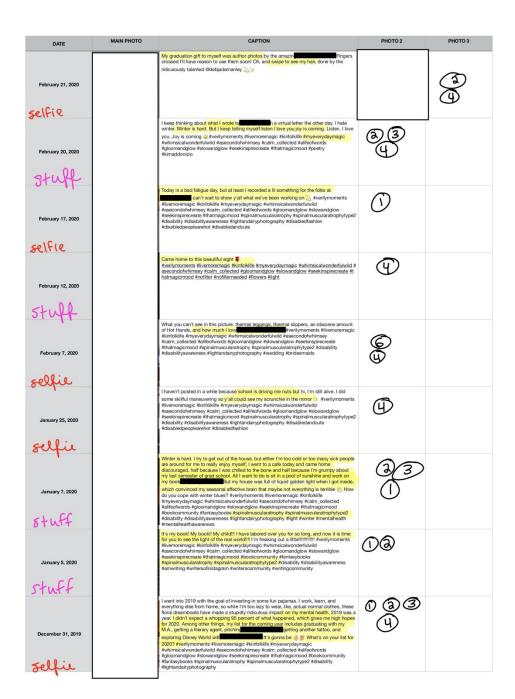
DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	
September 4, 2018		hey this is really appreciate all the kind words that you all are spreading about claire. I know how much it meant to her to have connections with people all around the world and it's so special to see a group of people who don't know each other come together in a time of sadness to become such an amazing support network. thank you again *	5
oldie			
August 26, 2018		We some cheese balls just cheesing it up. So grateful for everything this month. I'm grateful for all the people who donated to help me get through transplant. I'm grateful for the doctors that'll be scooping out these lungs and giving me some more life to work with. Im grateful for the chance to keep being a person. I'm grateful for my own head and for all the weird things in it. I'm just really overwhelmingly grateful for all of this. There is no passionate rant to be had here I am just happy and thought I would let you all know.	(3)(1)
w. friends			~
July 26, 2018		Just laid around in bed today eating fruit, taking pictures of myself because I feel like I look healthy and not malnourished for the first time in months and reading articles on fungi's ability to communicate with other fungi and plants-fucking riveting and also terrifying. I've had a theory going for years that the real battle being waged on earth is between bacteria and fungi and that everything that happens and has happened is somehow directly because of them. Anyway I've got nothing all that deep or moving to say, Just wanted to post these cuz I like em and tell you all to go research the history of fungi and it's role in evolution if you are bored. Ok	(<u>)</u> -3
5000:0		or data in you are series. On the	
oupu		hospitals don't teach you manners wolf child forever	
July 24, 2018			
sellie			
June 21, 2018		This post is about to be a life update/rant of all rants so click if you are bored and in need of entertainment. Two weeks ago I lost my apartment due to mold toxicity that had been building for lord knows how long. I literally can't explain everything fucked up that has happened because it won't all fit in a text post but the main points include: having aspergilus in the lungs decreases chances of lung transplant success. I had to put my dog down, we lost all our furniture, I have no money saved up because I have been too sick to work this year, our airbnb has a gas leak and a plethora of other shit that just seems too ridiculous to be true. In all honesty though I am profoundly grateful that my life fell apart this spectacularly. I've spent the past year just barely holding myself above groundjuggling being sick with the deep incessant need in me to do something of value with my time. I've been exhausted just keeping myself alive and have nothing left to give to the world around me. That has always been my biggest fear in life, that I would spend everything I had "fighting" my illness and have nothing to offer- and for me, living without being able to give something of yourself to the world, living without adding value to the world, is not a life I want. I do not want to fight for a life that consists only of self care, I would rather die than live just for the sake of living. I can sense how fragile this life is, how fragile our futures are. How easy it is to let yourself be swept into a version of your life that you despise. It's far too easy to let your life become something you resent. Everyone has been scolding me for wanting to stay living on my own, for wanting to move to different side of town and find a home while being on the transplant list. "why not just wait until	(1) (2) (4) (3)
selfie		after the surgery to try and start your life?". You can't put your life on hold until your "better" life begins. You have to fight like hell to make sure that the life reflected back at you right now is one you want to be living. I'm not going to let myself live a life I'm resentful of. Not if I live for another three months and not if I live for another 30 years.	

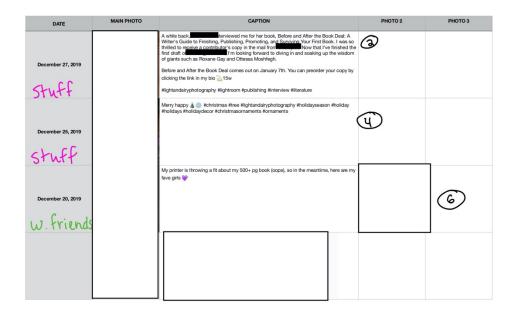


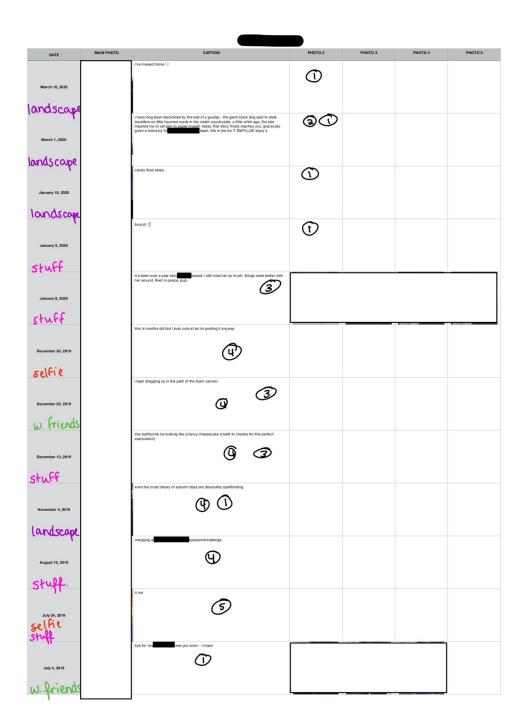
DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	
		It is to dedicate all my late Sunday afternoons of sweet melancholia to the albums I Want You and What's Going on. we have been blessed. Was going to post this yesterday on his death day to be original but I forgot so here we are	
April 2, 2018			
celebrity		Bookshop haul 👌 feelin a certain kind of mood	
March 28, 2018			
stuff			
*1		LA sun popping it's head out to give me some impecable lighting 🙌 🌡	
March 24, 2018			
selfie		The way sick people are captured in media completely ruined any ounce of self confidence i had growing up. I learned to deeply hate having my picture taken by professionals because there was always a need to make me look childlike and innocent-lacking in anything sexual or appealing. I was convinced I looked like an ugly sickly five year old for the first two years of high school and that that was why guys never seemed to be interested in me in "that" way. It took having a fair amount of relationships and casual sex before I realized that I wasn't the empty smiling shell of a girl I saw reflected back in	(1) (5)
March 19, 2018		pictures. It's so much easier to believe that sick people are cherubs-held in perpetual youth and innocence-who simply don't understand the truth of their condition because they are living up in the clouds. Seeing people who are sick as anything more complex and intelligent than that would mean we couldn't use them as these false beacons of hope. I've struggled more with guys, depression drugs, family and career than I ever have with my ilness. I'm not an innocent and I'm not a child. I'm not "dying before I have had a chance to live" and what I choose to talk about with the world is not just empty positive falsehoods. Sick people deserve to be seen as more than hollow shells just waiting for their lives to begin. As always thank you to pictures of me that will ever be taken.	
Super		has a new visual poem that I found so beautiful I just wanted to share it. I've had a deep affinity for poetry and literature my entire life-it was the only thing that touched at the loneliness and isolation of being sick. I don't know how I managed to become best friends with someone whose writing affects me so much. Sometimes when we are being lazy and laying around she will read to me some of whatever it is she is	0
March 10, 2018		working on and I get these pangs of feeling like I am a witness to something vastly important that's unfolding. It's surreal. It's surreal to be close to someone you admire this much and whose work feels so vital to you. Anyway, she's got more of her work on her page if you feel like falling down the hole.	
suff		It's an Al Green stay up late on the couch staring at the wall sorta night \$\mathbb{\mathbb{E}}\$ I impulse bought expensive gaudy ass sunglasses today to match my Sherpa coat and now I gotta wear them around the house all day to feel like I'm getting my moneys worth \$\mathbb{\mathbb{F}}\$	
February 22, 2018			
sellie			

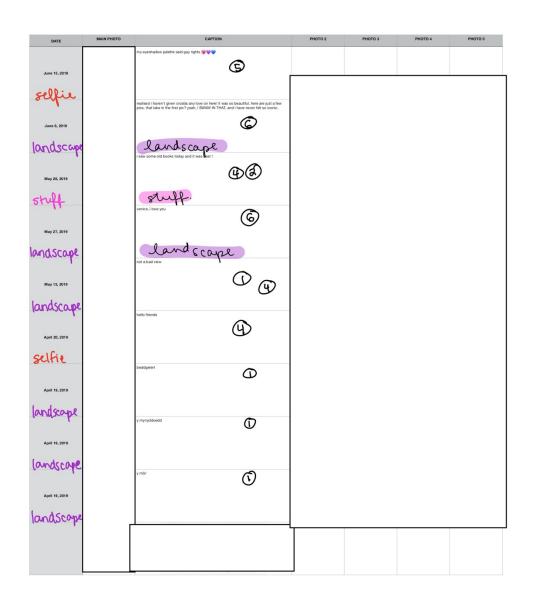
DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	(D)
February 20, 2018		I'm hooommmmeee use fucking blessed to have a home of my own to come back to and a life of my own that's worth living, worth putting up with all the encless treatments and seemingly pointless self care. It's so rare for people with of to be able to go out on their own in life; more often then not we are entirely dependent on others to survive and we are forced to live half lives in fear of losing it all to our illness. I resigned myself at an early age to losing it all to illness. I've risked my health so many times in search of the things that will make my life worth living and although I am having to deal with the consequences of that in a very real way I feel honored. Really truly honored to have lived and failed and accomplished in the ways I have. I'm trying to not die here and it's fuckin wild, Trying to get new lungs and taking any possible cure I can rummage up. I think that the act of wanting something better is one of the most terrifying things we can do. But alas, here I am. Wanting to live, not because I was told that's what I should do but because there's a kind of life I believe is worth living. I know this is all a bit corny but there comes a point where you don't care and I have apparently reached that points so happy to be home drinking coffee and plotting with the life is sweet. Getting admitted to the hospital for a bit to tune up-tune the second of the peaceful last day of freedom building sand tunnels	\$ (9) (9) (0)
February 5, 2018			
w. friends		tonight was insane it's midnight and I'm still pumped the fuck up	
February 1, 2018			
landscape		%	
January 30, 2018			
selfie			

DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	PHOTO 2	РНОТО 3
April 6, 2020		This pandemic will go down in history as a collective trauma, which exclains why we're seeing such a broad spectrum of trauma responses. In my latery could be column, texture the column texture that the column texture the column texture that the factornavirus. Swipe to see the full cycle, and click the link in my bio to read more. The indignitization the helicingourself thindestelf feel feelingerses stellerlasers self-careaccount if mentalhealth fimentalhealthmatters if trauma fit aumareaccounty fit aumaresponse.		D 93
stuff		My book softicially on Goodreads! If you're interested in reading it toomeday), I'd appreciate it if you're interested in reading it more people will see it on their home feeds. Link in bio ##authorsofinatagram #authorifie #writersofinatagram #ownvoices #cripit! #sciencefiction #fantaspooks.		Ō(a)
April 4, 2020		TIGHES THOMS		
April 1, 2020		I may not have iPhone portrait mode, but at least have the conflest t-shirt in the world in few information disconnemnage intributed in mover-damage swhimstateonderhabit it ascondorfwritmers claim collected safetendword sploomandgow seekin splecerate #thatmagicmood spinalmuscularatrochy spanimuscularatrochy-ypo2 Edisab Bity #disabilityavareness #[ightandairyphotography #disabledandoute #disabledpeopleareh of #disableddanhion		(P)
selfie				
March 30, 2020		My latest column (c. is about hope for what comes after the isconnaviru. There is nothing good about this panderiis. But I genuriny believe we can make it into something good. We have a responsibility to fatten the curve, yes, but we also have the privilege of fooking to the future with critical consciousness and a desire to make the world a better place. Link in blo in \$4\$ stayhome disability advocate #disability rights #writingcommunity #writerscommunity #writersofirstagram #ailerotwords *seekinging-reset #signalmuscularatophy #spinalmuscularatophy/ppcil #disability		①
stuff		#disabilityawareness		_
March 27, 2020		It's finally warm enough for me to go outside. The first walk of the year is always a big deal, but this felst at little bit like an insich. The brids were draiping, the sun was out, and signs of like were everywhere, including this aweet lit message written in chak. I'm statring to think that not everything is hopeless "## herein/moments filtvernormagic filtrinds/iff ##meverndamagic filtvernormagic filtrinds/iff ##meverndamagic filtvernormagic filtrinds/iff ##meverndamagic filtvernormagic filtrinds/iff ##meverndamagic filtrinds/iff ##mever		3(4)
landscape		The been wanting this III bb for years, and the other day he just ? furned up on my doonstep out of the blue?? Not sure who bought it for me but, hey, wheever you are, thanks a bunch, you have me believing in magic again !;+	(3
March 15, 2020		PS. Just serf out that neveletter I mentioned a week ago (cops). Click the link in my bio to read and subscribe! PS.S. These are wild times. Stay safe and stay home. I love you. We'll make it through this 3.9.		
stuff		#verilymoments #livemoremagic #kinfolklife #myeverydaymagic #kinimsicalwonderfulwiid # asecondfolwhimsey #cahm_collected #alifeofwords #gloomandglow #siowandglow #seekin spirecreate #fattmagicmood #glitterpurkjewellery #glitterpunk #lapelpins #lightandairypho tography3wReply		
March 8, 2020		We have the first presumptive conservine case in "which is something, I'm officially on lockdown, which means I'm wearing nothing but pajamas and stening to my embarrassing playls of bubblegum pop to keep my spirits up. It's not fur being immunocompromed in a world ful of germs. Im flighting toth and nail to keep from falling into a depressive episode, so naturally, I'm writing a blog post about it. Click the link in my bio and subscribe to get the post in your indow when It qoes live. Also, please, for the love of everything holy, wash your hands. I'm choosing to believe that spring will come and wash the natisees away "En-lymnoments livemoremagic Rivintiolitie" immywen/daymagic Pahirimsclaiwonderfullwild #asecondoftwirinesy #calm.collected fastificativords \$2 (chomandjow #seckimandjow reservatingscroncest that thangairgmood		
selfie		#spinalmuscularatrophy #spinalmuscularatrophytype2 #disability #disabilityawareness #lightandairyphotography #coronavirus		
February 29, 2020		Off to br a class on literary agental I got new glasses last week and I'm kind of in love with them he had something them to the standard of the literary and the standard of	4 3	
selfie		For #rarediseaseday, I wrote about trauma and service dogs and stories I consistently get		
February 24, 2020		a kick out of teiling. Link in bic \ mathematical #whatmakesmerare/SMA #raredisease #rarediseaseawareness #idsabilityadvocate #writingcommunity #disabledwriters #alfelotwords #spriamiusuularatrophy #spiniamusoularatrophytype2 #disability #disabilityawareness	3	
stuff				





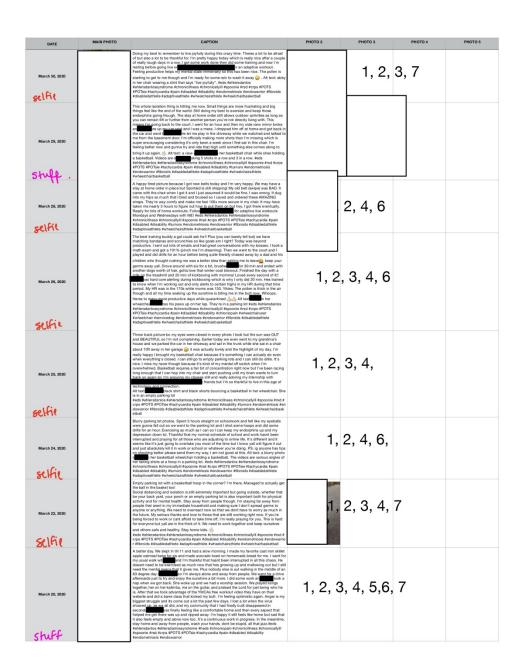




DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	PHOTO 2	РНОТО З	PHOTO 4	РНОТО 5
		Happy Birthda bu are the best big brother! #happybirthday #downsyndrome #dislove #birthday #brotherlove #brotherla				
April 9, 2020			1, 3, 4	ļ.		
10.			., .,			
selfie		Everyone is posting take mugshots so here is us "locked up" on the playground in adownsyndrome additional about the statement of the statement				
		#downsyndrome #dslove #brotherlove #brothers #playground	0 0	r		
April 8, 2020			2, 3, 4	•		
selfie						
		Life is full of sunshine with ground —				
April 5, 2020			1, 3, 4			
selfie		We are so excited to continue sharing our journey with you! Thank you for 50K! ♥.			-	
		#50K #50Kfollowers #downsyndrome #brotherlylove #dislove #friends #followers #gratitude			2, 3, 4	
April 1, 2020		Abrothers			_, _, .	
selfie						
action c		These are what memories are made of - missing baseball season! Spering Ebaseball Emissions Ebrother/slove Statisticague Edownsyndrome Edislove Ebrother!				
March 30, 2020		ove Ebrothers	1, 3, 4			
			!, 3, 4			
selfie						
		Never underestimate the value of pure joy and laughter!. Elaughter Etoorherious Ejoy Effestale thappy (therapy texals Reseccise Eneighborhood Elebaskies Esunshine Edownsyndrome Etoorherious Edolous Libaskies Esunshine Edownsyndrome Etoorherious Edolous	1 0	4		
March 28, 2020			1, 3,	4		
calc:						
selfie		Living our best quarantine lifel 🍪 . Edownsyndrome Edslove Equarantine Ebrotherlove Ebrothers Efunny Efunnyvideos				
		#downsyndrome #dislove #quarantine #brotheriove #brothers #funny #funny/ideos	1, 3,	1		
March 27, 2020			١, ٥, ١	4		
suffe						
		Wanted to share how we celebrated World Down Syndrome Day! *** #downsyndrome #dslove #love #bettertogether #wdsd #321 #brotherlove #brothers	1 0 4			
March 23, 2020			1, 3, 4			
-10						
selfie		It's hard to put in words the amount of impac				
		It's hard to put in words the amount of impactable as made on me and others from his contagious smile to the great love he shares. Although I hear often how wonderful that he has a big bother to look up to but the furth is list be other way around. How did i get so lucky to admire someone and learn from him everyday. Happy World Down Syndrome	1, 3, 4			
March 22, 2020		Day! Thank you for being you \(\phi\). Eworlddownsyndromeday #downsyndromeawareness #celebrate #downsyndrome #dislove #brotheriove #brothers #love flamazing #rolemodel #wdsd	1, 5, 4			
selfie						
301		In the mist of everything happening in the world we are reminded of those we care about the most. © Even if we are driving each other crazy in quarantine				
March 20, 2020		#brotherlove #brothers #downsyndrome #dslove #bettertogether	1, 3, 4	ļ		
Taxaba da						
selfic		Happy St. Patrick's Dayl Check out our new YT video "Not My Arms Challenge". Link in				
		Happy St. Patrick is Lay: Unick out our new 11 video "Not My Arms Challenge". Link in the blo ⊚	1, 2, 3	4		
March 17, 2020			1, 2, 0	, ¬		
selfie						
800.0		There is only one thing that can have us both so rapt up. Comment below your guess 🍙 . #downsyndrome #dslove #brotherlove #brothers #intrigued #love #bestife				
		CONTROL CONTROL STATEMENTS TO CONTROL STORY STATEMENTS TO STATEMENTS	1, 3, 4	ŀ		
March 14, 2020						
selfie						

DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	РНОТО 2	РНОТО З	РНОТО 4	РНОТО 5	
March 11, 2020		Where's My Brother? 🔒 Do you want to see more? Comment your favorite! 👜 🥎	1, 3,	4			
SCIER		That brother love 🔐 🔐 . 8brotherlove #dislove #downsyndrome #brothers #love #wrestling #elbow					
March 8, 2020			1, 3,	4			
selfic		Can't believe it's been a week since Playlist Live. We are happy to be borne but missing evanues and the enteror that filled us. This deserves it's own and. Special files happy you to the contract of the special special special special special special special special special special sure believe the special special special special special special special special special sure believe the special spe					
March 7, 2020		interest in flourized and ratios is such to the risky years of love still attendant for your flowers are the result of the resu				1, 2, 3,	4, 5
wyfriends		International Processing Systems and Processing Systems (Systems Systems Syste				1.0	4
March 4, 2020						1, 3	, 4
Selfie		We are still beaming with happiness from Playlist Live. Grateful for all genuine and good hearts individuals we met and for the new frendships we made © stillower disformationess flastesheets betworks playlishings teals					
March 4, 2020		eatfriends		1, 2, 3,	4		
selfie		We are having so much fun at Playlist Live! . #playlistine #brothers #colabs #happy #fun #criando #downsyndrome #dalove #brotherlov e					
March 1, 2020			1	, 2, 3, 4			
February 28, 2020		This day is finally here - Playfet Live! #Playfettive #trifluencers #TikToS #You/Tube #Friends #Belos@Ry		1 0 0			
selfre				1, 2, 3,	4		
February 28, 2020		So excited Ch our way to our first ever illiplaysistive fipiluylist if ordundo filun illidownsyndrome ilidalove librotheriove illimotheriove illimotheriove illiplaysistic illiplaysisti		1, 2,	3, 4		
selfie		Pizza anyone? •					
February 25, 2020		factura filmitherione fidoamsyndrome figliordanos fideepdishpizza filmithers fidalone filasee gas filoodiovellanguage		1, 3	3, 4		
selfie	Γ			,	,		
	L						

			•			
DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	PHOTO 2	РНОТО З	PHOTO 4	PHOTO 5
April 10, 2020		Sall don't how the right words to sepress my gratitude to the great. after been diagnosed with the press visus for the pared objects. I was given so many health prescription and argues with so approximate. I today but how, and it sound many health prescription and argues with so approximate. I today but how, and it sound many press of the control o	1, 2			
April 9, 2020		Me and my to the modern of the	2, 3, 4			
selfie						
April 6, 2020		Nothing quite like al' flogot fo tile a picture while I was training to let's take one in my work octhress. Yes of lotto. Enday was ETAL I was a use my an of motore restly none motor occurs of the control of the control occurs oc	1, 2, 3,	4		
Selfie		Rind of a weind day but still great. My eyes did not want to open this morning and it was rough going there getting out of both. But I seeke up made some order and breakfast then should be some or the some of the some of the some or the some order and the some deadstage of for some time now due to formic lines but the sundy does alone in my soons to being with family and worthsping is always assense. Their I played some copie times, but goth off for the is of me get mo to fail on propose to could prefer a copie times, but goth off for the is of me get mo to fail on propose to could prefer all copies times, but goth off for the is of me get in to fail on propose to could prefer all copies times, but goth off for the is of me get in to fail on given so in could prefer all confidence sights with more as all the sight of victories give fail the sight of victories give fail the sight of victories and well-the sight of victories give fail of victories give fail of victories give fail and the sight of victories give fail of victories give fails were all the sorred give fail of victories give fails with an of the given give and as each mission when the given the given give fail of victories give fails with a fail of victories give fails.				
w/ friends		Face tomorrow with strengtif We got this. If the "Ball Part He shadow is a strength or one whell next to the shadow is the shadow in the act. They we took swince it is not shadow in the act. They we took swince it is not shadow in the act to the shadow in the shadow		7		
April 4, 2020		The control of the co		2, 3, 4	4	
Stuff April 2, 2020		Edisableadarities daughreventheire enheelchaaritheire enheelchaarites asertaal An ontsides walk gild Allen has been so god will helt hanged out on heinig me just throw the ball for a title bit because the roads here are so hilly my legs cant dut walk. So we over to a walker just her said gild provide to a make a final in the saut. Ne said the said of the said of the title dot it still wetter the control of about and hour and half I worked on my jeft arm a lot for mineting a title lispassed after all these days absorbed with my right arm. One of the said of		2, 3, 4		
selfie		I wrote 1100 words for a paper today but still need 400 to make it to the minimum. Yall				
April 1, 2020 Selfi L		mink I can manage a 400 word conclusion his ¹⁶ / ₂₀ poet a good 2 hours on that body then you as how all, be the count for an hour I have about valve. How many his evolution over Moor I'm high in bot coulding my dog because why not. Typing not to the the Scharled of the county	1, 2, 3,	4, 6		
March 31, 2020		A titte on and regimen step melt Doday was burrapi. Lots of title through last princy on top of active driver and making melt belief an indexing. In instagging on one of a cities in such a cities in the cities of the cities of and long year got at all short of cities which is flustering in leaded a good vention today or when the resistance staff on the small hill in the Lit. It staffed unring partly hard which make some endurance staff on the small hill in the Lit. It staffed unring partly hard which make the company of the cities of the shower from the sky lot. Don't begin termore at 5 on the cities of the cities of the cities of Lots toget termore at 5 on the cities characteristic and one control adaptive solution.		2, 4, 6		
selfie		Alt text: abby in her wheelchair in a parking lot, soaking wet and smiling #eds #ehlersdanios #ehlersdaniossyndrome #chronicaliness #chronicallyill #spoonie #rsd # crps #POTS #POTSe #tachycardia #pain #disabled #disability #endometriosis #endowarrior #fibroids #disabledathiete #adaptiveathlete #wheelchairathlete #wh				



DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	РНОТО 2	РНОТО З	РНОТО 4	РНОТО 5
March 19, 2020		by first when I have that all the under basketale courts and the tack have been closed is April 26. In 1981 and the 1982 and 1982 and 1982 are necessary presentant to state; this occupants aske and healthy but it is definitely hard for somewhere the men who can ship top for an incip posity in representational, one state spaces on can be that somewhere the properties of the spaces of the spaces can set that any short value but it is not the same. All soft origy races have been conceiled or pushed back, and the elisiphood of the begins after to the part of the spaces of the space	1, 2,	3, 4,		
March 18, 2020		Neederly, with Need For Gerosia. In Chief a Let, I was anyon, reas analose, Tre still re- leasing wombons' which and I for green given. The Bit data been a Side Shim morming of works up and just went stadged to the frace. There were a feet people there in the middle grass chief prostille to out of enter quadrotic beta the II. When the let is been bothering me lainly grass chief prostille to out of enter quadrotic beta the II. When the let is been bothering me lainly and under the prostille the III. I was a subject of the III. I was a subject of the III. I was not the way from the thing prive that one lower through changed uny be absorbed times on the way from and then showed, nepped, headed to the baskettest cort only it as earth at all culdoor and indoor counts there were been concess for that was a harmore Silmed and do concern the new to be sent cost of the was a barrow. Silmed and other counts the reverse the concess of the silmed to hardle but I lower were will. Keep replementing cool of distancing and stop giving to restaurate and seria and parties. The silmed visualists in the laist serious fathering the curve time. Lowly will. Ser fathering the Aught services fathering the disponsance in Province Aught services and persons. The service fathering the objects the Aught services are serviced to the service and fathering the curve time. Lowly will. Services are described to the services and fathering the	1, 2, 3	3, 4, 7		
March 15, 2020		#adaptivetack #whete/baritack #fosibledisping Im gurna be hore, this wides load identicipating is all of easier will Im gurna be hore, this wides load identicipating has a lot easier will It was just me here likrow'r to be a wreck. I love her presence and geofenes. We did in which work a beat his posed more than a week to logher eagur will all ex-tool forsighed but look her university is closed for at least 2 more weeks and I'm already an orifies student, analyte included by modes. Indeed. If we was always the size of the closed and books logether. We played books organize and took raps, We made good food and took a droke acoust door to exploy the sun. Not faulds for the reacon that we are in this situation but all an installul for tha fur and by its brought me this faul acids feel residencies but all materials for the fur and by its brought me the faul acids feel residencies Left the size of	1, 2, 3	, 4, 6, 7		
March 14, 2020		up thing challf I've got to get serve less later this week in Life se happyill T no ideally leaving so much fair practicing. With all the quantities if the three been during the own through a contract of the contract of	1, 2	, 3, 4		
March 11, 2020 SELFIC.		Groups are at my fearth a bridge present. This tills become de whetch to have got me as the disappointed my videose and of all the late for the 10 per late in the season firm during a greety even mic of cardio on the triad and disregally all towards and or season firm during a greety even mic of cardio on the triad and disregally all towards along of a lat of new physical bringsy associate by the disregally as disregally as series are disregally as late of the physical brings are disregally as the series of the season of the season of late of the season of late of the season of late of the season of disability the micros feedback of the season of disability filmons feedback or season or season or season or season or season or season or season or season or season or season or sea				
			1, 2, 4	4		

DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	PHOTO 2	РНОТО З	РНОТО 4	РНОТО 5
March 13, 2020		commisses, the availage of sometimes is used to describe author people, not the very comment user, but diver use and individuals, we are all offineters; you dinney for first or that are searchy sites, we are all offineters; you dinney for first or that are searchy sites, experiences, traits, special inferentials, opportunities and physical skills are different to the proposal inferential states and the proposal inferential states are searched to the proposal inferential states and the proposal inferential states are some examples of objects of difficulty sites through and not seen by having a simple search or site of the proposal inferential states and the states are some examples of objects of difficulty sites through any of some by having a simple section that do not be set of the states		1, 2, 3		
selfie						
		CEO of cool eyes		ı		
March 10, 2020						
w. friends		you can find me dancin in between the raindrops 🎉				
January 24, 2020		_				
selfie		all spruced & up with the biff				
December 12, 2019						
w. frjends		santa, we can explain				
December 2, 2019						
w. friends		constant stress. constant pressure, depression weighs on me and makes every step, smile, ounce of effort urbearable, but i'm tough. I'm determined to live and to thrive, i know that life is going to got better right now, not things are urbearable-but harging on to the	4.5.0	7.0.0		
November 5, 2019		constant dress. content pressure, depression weight on one and makes may strp, strake, owned with the strake that it is sufficient to the less of the strake that the strake t	4, 5, 6,	7, 8, 9		
selfie		helping even just a few people out there and i love that, thanks guys, it's overwhelming to think of who cares about me when i thought no one did, xo i'm a lover not a fighter but i'll never let you flex on me				
October 18, 2019						
selfie		the lovechild of amanda seyfried and billie elilah				
September 30, 2019						
selfie		the bible didn't mention mention us, not even once				
September 18, 2019						
selfie		for when the cold wind blows, i will close my eyes calmly, knowing i am anchored to you.				
August 27, 2019		for when the cold wind bloss, all ofcom my yes calmy, knowing i am and/one to you. Whose instagoed short-body that school expuse the software shappy follow flashion skelle spicothecky was agir ellored knowledge the software shappy follow flashion skelle spicothecky was agir ellored knowledge if should be shappy the saufful direct peneur first amood shoot-vation flast shootsbabe firstalke shappy through the forest peneur first amood shoot-vation flast on the shappy through the sh	7			
selfie		bet you won't get as far into the cave as we did, for make but friends). Howe kinstapood spectootheady that focus fragosis time followine shappy stokes if sallow stalling specimeday it as fair flored kinstadaky if sinds it summer thus famile flore installing shappy rebustful feetingeners; intramood immogranipeness innovation shap shappy rebustful feetingeners; intramood immogranipeness innovation shap to the shappy shape of the property in the sallow of the shape shape shape the shape sha				
August 26, 2019		#happy #beautiful #entrepeneur #instamood #meganspresets #motivation #art	7			
selfie						

DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	РНОТО 2	РНОТО З	РНОТО 4	РНОТО 5
August 14, 2019		bow me synthet sock road is, five a entargood phosophology set clock spoul and soften me sharping follow defined settles of spoulders give says followed should be should faurmine film familie Booolable Installer shappy Rheadful Rentopensur Bristamood Enngalvopresets Brookvation Batt	7			
August 12, 2019		the A is full five irristagood sphotod/thinday stitl incure study showers shappy slow irristagood sphotod/thinday stitl incure should should saumer from famile shoulded serialize shappy Resaufful sentengeneral should not should be should be should be should be should be should sentence that should be sh	7			
w. friends						
August 6, 2019		amone need a bridservald ¹⁸ 8. Hove firstagood imphotoffheaty ittle soute façole tendiolome happy shows feations feating first bloods firstable should be followed to the problems of seating in this should be foreign the same feat feating the should be should be foreigned to the same feating of reagant present enough the same should be should b	7			
selfie						
August 2, 2019		ne bolding at the LCBO . Thanks everyor for beddy wither a "ye very thankful i have so many worderful people in my fell in the beddy wither a "Kone Entalpood Stockombedy title door Report in the disclosure Rappy Stolye Matthion Selface potenthedy that of periodes Resultably Helmoid Raumeer Afford Resultable Pentalike Hoppy Resulful Renterpeneur Restanced Rengarpeneets Emotivation Rat	7, 8, 9			
selfie		how can i resist				
July 25, 2019		Sizve Einstagood Sphotooffinday Ettis Eode Roustle Eme Efolkowne Bhappy Bollow Blash on Seelle Rouschhady state after Britonice Estabality Briting Summer Har Brosse Babe Einstallise Shappy Sheautiful Rentrepeneur Einstamood Simegaanpressels Emotivation East	7			
seifie						
July 15, 2019		you are my sereletst downtal. #Ever linstagood richotoottheday #16 feute Equito #me followme Happy Molovi #falanie estler fipcolitoteday and mayir Wolovia #8/redox #summer #fun #smile #bossbabe #instalke #happy #beaufful #entrepeneur #instamood #megannpresets #motivation #art	7			
selfie			•			
July 8, 2019		thinkin of your dismond micro. It is not stated to the following this final following thinking follow flats to the following thinking follow flats on state following the fig fill Richolds final final following the fig fill Richolds final final fill fill fill fill fill fill fill fi	7			
selfie						
July 6, 2019		teck bucket. Sicher Brastapoor Scholzoffinday sitti füute faucle filme Bfollowine Bhasoy stollow Mathi Sicher Brastapoor Scholzoffinday situat spül filhonde Brastaday Mindels aummer Albo Branile Ross babe Brastalike Bhasoy Sheaustid Bentrepeneur Brastamood Simeganzonsesti Brootivation sant	7			
califia			•			
selfie		topic like it's hot \$\tilde{\alpha}\$ is bless my rejuviniqe oil for helping me achieve this tan with no surbunni\tilde{\alpha}\$ (FREE THIS WEEKEND with a VIP purchasell \$120 save_ you know where to find med.). **Except Entialappood Scholoofffieday \$155 Soute Souote Erne #Sollowme Shappy #Sollow Stath*	7			
July 5, 2019		Blove Einstagood Enhotooffheday Etol Ecute Ecucle Eme Efollowme Phappy Efoliow Hathi on Exelle Epicoffheday Etan Egif Bolonde Einstadaly Efriends Exemmer Ehn Exelle Ecosi- babe Einstalike Ehappy Rheautful Bentrepeneur Einstamood Emegannoresets Emotivation Bart	1			
selfie		me when I remember how I would've got dress coded so hard in this fit filize irristagood (shotooththeday thit ficule flouche flouched) (Historia flouched) (Historia flouched) (Historia flouched) (Historia flouched) (Historia flouched)				
July 3, 2019		lice instagood inholochinoley title foote fauste fore followine filiage; follow filiation on stella fiscionidady title followine filiage; follow filiation of stella fiscionidady title following filiations filiations for stellar filiations for stellar filiations for the filiation filiat	/			
selfie.	-					
	L	3.00				

DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	PHOTO 2	РНОТО 3	РНОТО 4	РНОТО 5
April 10, 2020		I hear that mugahots were a trend now			1	
selfie		I was rice to know ya, let's do it againt				
April 8, 2020						
Selfie		Well done is better than well saidig Bergamin Franklin éportrathhood éportratipage éportrats sportrathmood éportratipage symbols installus épistocithiseagy épistographer évuldemessculture évellvérosépter édiscovergiobe étravel édestinationaum Fearthfoous étrejobbervacioner haldeolpium!	1			
selfie		The Earth is what we all have in commonWendel Berry	•			
April 5, 2020						
selfie		Quality is not an act, it is a habit.				
April 3, 2020			3			
selfic		I still remember how it all changed:				
March 28, 2020		sal fisiariurquage famericanspoliniususe fione fisiarina fision fich finadichinarios del af fostantanto fostanes selekturcimuse ficane fisiarius fisiarius fisiarius fisiones fisiarius Guitare firmusici fisione fostore firmusicalir finiti finazionesage fisiarius fisiones	6,۱	\		
selfie		Be fierce not scared g*				
March 26, 2020			3			
scifie		With all this going on, this is my mood				
March 23, 2020						
selfie		That's all you need to know ittle sneak peak on my new yt video! Link in bio!	2			
March 22, 2020		жологанна трошога тиш такропераца такропе				
selfie		Chase your dreams! You never know, you might achieve them!				
March 19, 2020			3			
selfie						
March 16, 2020		You can't five a positive life with a negative mind. or	3			
selfie						
March 15, 2020		Live life to the fullest even if there's a deadly virus going around at Eviral Fexplorepage Boorona.		3,1		
selfie						

DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	PHOTO 2	РНОТО З	РНОТО 4	РНОТО 5
		Let's go take a picture together				
March 13, 2020						
selfie						
SCITTE		th air				
March 9, 2020						
n.101n						
selfie		Be as goofy as you want to be				
March 7, 2020				3		
- 101-						
selfie		Let me show you what I can do				
March 4, 2020						
selfie		Let's just keep the lights on +				
March 1, 2020						
selfie		I feel so small compared to this				
February 28, 2020						
selfie		I wish that this night will never be over@ pic credit				
February 22, 2020						
selfie		Just thinking about life				
February 17, 2020						
selfie		Happy birthday and Valentine's Day to my amazing mom! I'm so glad you support me with			1	
		Happy birthday and Valentine's Day to my amazing mom! I'm so glad you support me with every decision that I make! I hope you have an wonderful double holiday!			111	
February 14, 2020					4	
w. friends	_					
	L					

DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	PHOTO 2	РНОТО З	PHOTO 4	РНОТО 5
May 18, 2019 Selfie		Intel® Europeol # Some of you may have noticed that any 400- has changed and soom yo content as well? We been health of the first gains some first. In this really been pressing on my heart to create a safe space for discress to be able to discoust their pressions of the pression of the	1, 2, 3	, 4		
		₩ Simplicity ₩				
May 11, 2019 Selfil			1			
		Long time no stretch in Remind me to warm up next time I just spontaneously decide to do things like this	1			
May 2nd, 2019			I			
selfie		Long time no see sunshine 🌞 Hope everyone's doing well! - xo				
March 8, 2019			I			
selfie		Pulled out one of my favourite custom Leo's out the other right and spent a good few hours practicing. Feels so good to be home ⊌ and by home I mean ballet. ', No, I'm not				
February 11, 2019		In classes or in studio right now due to health issues, but taking my own time to do what I live and breathe. # GOAL for 2019 - start attending classes again	1.0	λ.		
selfie		You're back! It's been a while, how have you been? '	1			
January 24, 2019			•			
outer		Helio lovelies! : It's been so long since I've posted some real up to date dance photos. It felt so good to put everything on and do what! love today ** xxxo**	1			
July 23, 2018			I			
selfie		D∰NUT W∰RRY, BE HAPPY.				
June 13, 2018						
selfie		Happy 2018 everyonel Pretty delayed in posting but I am still alive ⋒ haven't really got				
March 20, 2018		any riew photos to post but 1'm hoping to very soon ** Hope everyone is doing well Xoso p.s.i am well aware I have a pupil in my hair **				
selfie		I haven't posted here in over a year! இ Took advantage of the snow storm the other night with my brother! hope everyone had a very Merry Christmas! ♣ ❤ xo	1			
December 26, 2017			I			
selfie						

DATE	MAIN PHOTO	CAPTION	PHOTO 2	РНОТО З	РНОТО 4	РНОТО 5
		Blueberry Island				
August 11, 2016						
selfie						
*		Oh my goodness! It's been SO LONG since I've posted Time has been flying by like crazy! Working full time has definitely been keeping me super busy and very tired me and my sister went on a fun adventurous bike ride & enjoyed the		\mathcal{C}		
June 5, 2016		crazy: working full time has definely been keeping me super busy and very time and my sister weet and a fun adventurous bike ride & enjoyed the beautiful weather!! I hope everyone is doing well a solution work.	5.	0		
. O .: . As			0.			
w. friends		She believed she could, so she did. 8				
May 1, 2016						
selfie						
ocqu		Cheeky puppy selfie ∰ It's been much too long since I've posted here ∰ I've been keeping extra busy with work, but things are going great! Love you all Xo	5			
April 28, 2016		mosping conditions, and mining are going groun 2000 you are no				
April 20, 2010						
selfie			_			
1		Every brunette needs a blonde best friend 💝 and that blonde best friend of mine is my sister 🟭 💞 A few days late, but better late than never! #nationalsiblingsday (still 4 siblings				
April 14, 2016		left out from this post 💞 ove you all so muchif)	$\langle \mathcal{O} \rangle$			
0 . 4						
w. friends		Throwback to filming wit				
		anything right now!	1			
April 7, 2016		1	l I			
co00:0		1				
selfie		Hello my lovelies! 💗 it's been much too long and I apologize for being MIA. Just wante	_	_		
		to update you all that I arrived safely in Edmonton and I'm finally starting to feel at home! My room has come a long way and is starting to become so cozy I'm absolutely loving decorating my new space I hope to post some new things very soon so STAY tuned! I	13.1	\bigcap		
March 31, 2016		appreciate each and every one of you guys and hope you stick around to see more of my new life in	フ _・ ・			
selfie						
		Over 150 pounds of luggage I am finally here in X Safe and sound! Just wanted to update you guys and also let you know that for the next few months I may be posting some more personal photos and such following along with my new life here in	7 [•		
March 20, 2016		posting some more personal photos and such following along with my new life here in xoxo	3	2		
						
selfre			_			
•		helio lovelies! @ Just wanted you all to know that today I am flying away from home!	フロ			
March 18, 2016		cannot join mid-season and have to wait until September 😜 until then I am going to be practicing and working hard Independently until I am able to get into a studio! 💗 I am so so anxious to start dancing again! Xo	3,5	, '		
10:0		so anxious to start dancing again! Xo	'			
selfie		Hello Everyone 🏶 Sorry for being so inactive lately! I've been super busy packing and				
		organizing everything for moving on Friday X Lots of new adventures and experiences in store for me and I can't wait for all of you to be a part of this exciting new chapter of my		75		
March 13, 2016		life 💞 xoxo	:	> ✓		
selfie			'			
0.54		issing this more than anything right now. ** Can't wait to start dancing again soon once I'm sattled in out West! The countriews having. T.18 Days before I move away ** I'm	. ^			
2016 00		I'm settled in out West! The countidown begins T-18 Days before I move away 💥 I'm really glad I'm pushing myself to take this opportunity/adventure and run with it and experience so many different things, but at the same time I'm have a lot of mixed emotion:	\vdash			
2016-03-01		Just all seems so surreal right now!	110			
selfir						
1]			
			J			