



**Pro-Ana Weblogs:
Pro-Anorexia Communities on the Internet**

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Index

| | |
|---|----|
| Introduction | 3 |
| Eating Disorders and Pro-Ana | 3 |
| Literature Review | 6 |
| Theoretical Framework | 11 |
| The Uses and Gratification Theory | 11 |
| Social Interaction | 12 |
| Information Seeking | 12 |
| Expression of Opinion | 12 |
| Communicatory Utility | 12 |
| Information Sharing | 13 |
| Choice Theory | 13 |
| Methodology and Materials | 14 |
| Results | 17 |
| 1. Self-Narration | 17 |
| 2. Tracking and Goals | 21 |
| 3. Rules and Mind Tricks | 25 |
| 4. Buddies and Inspirators | 31 |
| 5. Thinspo and Meanspo | 35 |
| Discussion | 39 |
| Empowerment | 39 |
| Belonging | 40 |
| Reviewing the Theoretical Framework | 42 |
| Further Research & Limitations | 43 |
| Conclusion | 44 |
| Bibliography | 45 |
| Appendix | 48 |

Introduction

“Remember, calories are the enemy. You have control, you barely eat, and nothing tastes as good as skinny feels. Saying no to food is saying yes to skinny.”

The above is an excerpt from a pro-ana weblog, a weblog created by and for people who aspire to be anorexic. To these so-called “pro-ana’s” (short for pro-anorexia), becoming or being anorexic is a way of life: they aspire to be thin and become anorexic, sometimes even going as far as trying to talk other people into becoming pro-ana themselves.

While pro-ana blogs might not be very visible to the every-day social media user, platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, and especially Tumblr are home to many of these types of blogs. These weblogs often consist of tips to lose weight, weight loss inspiration (thinspiration), diets, and life updates from the blogger. Some weblogs also contain forums where people who visit the blog can talk to the blogger as well as to each other.

Plenty of research has been done on whether and how (social) media can influence people and how it can lead to eating disorders (Gordon, 1990; Sidani et al., 2016). However, little research has been done on how people with eating disorders use social media themselves. The aim of this paper is to find out how and why people with eating disorders use social media. The focus here will lie on the pro-ana weblogs, where everything seems to revolve around being anorexic.

Eating Disorders and Pro-Ana

As described by the Cambridge Dictionary, eating disorders are “a mental illness in which people eat far too little or far too much food and are unhappy with their bodies.” As eating disorders are considered a mental disorder, it has been adapted into the DSM, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This is a continuously updated manual that serves as the main authority when it comes to diagnosis people with mental disorders. In the fifth edition of the manual, the DSM-V, eating disorders

are characterized as mental disorders that affect eating behavior, purging (where someone self-induces vomiting) and body image. Important is to emphasize that eating disorders are considered a mental disorder, and not just a physical disorder.

The DSM-V defines mental disorders as “syndrome[s] characterized by clinically significant disturbance in an individual’s cognition, emotion regulation, or behavior that reflects a dysfunction in the psychological, biological, or developmental processes underlying mental functioning” (p. 20). It also states that these mental disorders usually result from a sense of distress in everyday activities, like social situations and/or work. This means that oftentimes eating disorders are a result of or coincide with stress and distress in a person’s life. An example of this is a traumatic event that a person has witnessed: when a person has gone through physical, sexual, or mental abuse, that person may lose their sense of control over themselves (Dansky et al., 1997; Inniss, Steiger & Bruce, 2011; Reyes-Rodriguez et al., 2011). Developing an eating disorder may be a result of this, as some eating disorders can give people a sense of control over their bodies. Another example is distress that comes from sociocultural ideals: the ideal of the thin body that is often displayed in our media contributed to increased body dissatisfaction. This body dissatisfaction can lead to healthy people developing serious eating problems in order to achieve these thin body ideals, thus resulting in eating disorders.

The DSM-V identifies ten different eating disorders which are not mutually exclusive. The most well-known and most prevalent ones are; 1) anorexia nervosa, 2) binge eating disorder, 3) bulimarexia, and 4) bulimia nervosa. This thesis will focus on so-called ‘pro-ana’ weblogs, which revolve around the ‘lifestyle’ of people with anorexia nervosa which is a type of eating disorder where a person keeps their body weight below a minimal, healthy, and normal level. This is done by excessive exercise, controlling the amount of food they eat, and other means (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Specifically, pro-ana’s are people who see having anorexia as a goal and a lifestyle: their whole life revolves around becoming thin. They idolize people with anorexia and wish to

become like them. While most pro-ana's know the dangers of being pro-ana, they refuse to change their behavior in favor of becoming thin.

Literature Review

Eating disorders have the highest mortality rate out of all mental illnesses (Arcelus et al., 2011). Before, the main and almost sole victims of eating disorders were upper- and middle-class, white, young females (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). According to the latest version of the DSM, however, eating disorders are prevalent in all sorts of groups; people from different genders, ethnic backgrounds, socio-economic classes, and ages (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

This paper's main focus is on how social media are used by people with eating disorders and what the effects of this usage are. Nonetheless, is it important to look at the research regarding the more passive effect of media; the effects that media, and the depictions of certain images (like skinny models), have on the people using the media.

In this literature review, a distinction will be made between the passive consumption media and social media and the active usage of social media. The passive consumption is mainly prevalent before the 2000's, with magazines and internet 1.0. This is a time where people could only consume media by reading and looking at it. This is in contrast with the emergence of internet 2.0, where it became possible for people to post things on the internet themselves. The age of internet 2.0 also preludes the emergence of social media like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram.

Even if the focus of this paper is on the usage of media and social media by people with anorexia, it is of importance so see whether and how the consumption of media can lead to and reinforce this eating disorder. This because it could prove helpful to know more about the research history of the correlation between social media and eating disorders, as well as the fact that, whenever people with anorexia post something on social media, it will be read by other users, resulting in a passive consumption of the active usage of social media.

Common consensus states that the major risk factors for disordered eating are sociocultural, psychological, biological, and familial (Harrison & Cantor, 1997). Nevertheless, it is unknown

which of these factors has the biggest weight to it. However, according to Harrison and Cantor (1997), there have been significant changes in sociocultural norms and these changes happen to coincide with a steady rise of the number of people with eating disorders. This leads them to think that the sociocultural risk factors are the most important. One important component of sociocultural changes is the increase in mass media as well as the usage of it.

Garner and Garfinkel (1982) stated that the media do indeed have a big influence on people, an influence that can lead to the development of eating disorders. One reason they mention for this, is that media often show thin people as successful and beautiful. This, according to Garner and Garfinkel, leads to people associating thin people with success and beauty. Moreover, Boskind-White and White (1983) found that the number of people with anorexia nervosa in the United States was highest in periods when the beauty ideal of thinness was most popularized by mass media; the 1920s and 1980s. This finding points to the importance of mass media role models that people tend to try to identify with. Garner and Garfinkel (1980) thought it important to put emphasis on these '*identificatory role models*'. Bandura's social learning theory (1997) might play a role in this phenomenon as well.

Bandura argues there are two different aspects of main importance; prevalence and incentives. Prevalence here means that the more often something is presented to a person in daily life, the more likely the person is to model the behavior. Since media tend to contain a lot of thin models, fad diets, and advertisements for weight loss devices and supplements, a media consumer is likely to see a lot of these images on a daily basis. This, according to the social learning theory, could lead to them mimicking this weight loss behavior and lifestyle. Next to prevalence, incentives are also an important component to the social learning theory. Incentives are the things that motivate a person to pursue the prevalent image (in this case of a thin body). Often the incentives have to do with rewards like social acceptance. By pursuing the media depictions of thinness, people hope to look better in the eyes of others, and thus leading to higher social acceptance from others.

In their study, Harrison and Cantor (1997) found that media consumption does predict body dissatisfaction, as well as drive for thinness. Noteworthy is their finding that the consumption of thinness-related media was higher in anorexic people than it was in bulimic people.

It is important to point out that the reasoning that ‘media gives people wrong ideas about what they should look like, thus media consumption *causes* people to develop eating disorders’ is a too blunt a statement. Levine and Murnen (2009) claim that this view on the impact of media is more a distraction to the actual problem than it is a useful explanation of what causes eating disorders. This view is backed by Kraemer et al. (1997) who claim that research should generally stop looking for singular causes for certain phenomena and instead lay emphasis on variables (risk factors) that influence the phenomenon reliably. In the case of media and eating disorders it is then more probable to see media as a risk factor for developing personality disorders than it is to see it as a *cause*. As mentioned above, there are many other risk factors that increase chances of developing an eating disorder, like stress and trauma. Often, a combination of certain risk factors is what leads a person to develop an eating disorder (Levine & Murnen, 2009).

Levine and Murnen (2009) have also found that there is a set of important predictors of a negative body image and, in some cases, eating disorders: “awareness of the importance of the thin ideal in society; internalization of that ideal; and perceived pressure from the media to be thin” (p. 30). It is noteworthy that, first of all, there needs to be awareness of the importance of the ideal of being thin. After this, a person needs to have internalized this ideal, and lastly there is the influence of media on the person. Nonetheless, it is probable that the first two predictors could be shaped by the media itself; the awareness of the ‘importance’ of being thin is often grounded in the depictions of skinny bodies that we see in media as well as advertisements for things like diets and weight loss supplements.

More recent research has also investigated the *usage* of social media by people with eating disorders. Mantella (2007) has conducted cross-sectional on pro-ana bloggings, meaning a

collection of connected pro-ana blogs. She found that these blogging participants were highly satisfied with the social support they receive from these bloggings. However, they were less satisfied with the real-life face-to-face support from for example their friends and family. On average, the BMI of the blogging participants were in the normal and healthy range, but the participants were unhealthily preoccupied with their body and weight, as well as food. The main reasons for participating in these bloggings were “being understood, accepted and supported” (p.57).

De Choudhury (2019) has studied how pro-ana bloggers use the social media website Tumblr: a microblogging service that enables users to post both text and media content in a blog form. She concluded that those pro-ana bloggers tended to use Tumblr mainly “to share image-rich graphic and “triggering” content around internalization of thin body ideals, as well as for the maintenance of the anorexic lifestyle” (p. 42). Furthermore, in her research, she also investigated the so called ‘pro-recovery’ side of Tumblr: people who use the website to either seek support in recovery, share recovery stories, or try to change the minds of people who are advocating the anorexia lifestyle. What she found was that people within this pro-recovery group often tried to permeate themselves into the pro-ana community by using the same or similar tags as them, resulting in their blog posts showing up on the Tumblr dashboard of people looking for pro-ana related tags. They then post about things such as recovery and how important it is to recover from eating disorders such as anorexia, in order to change the minds of pro-ana’s. Despite this, De Choudhury concludes in her paper that Tumblr is one of the most (if not *the* most) popular social media website for pro-ana’s to blog about their pro-ana lifestyle.

Similar to De Choudhury (2019), this paper will investigate how people who struggle with anorexia use social media themselves, but instead of doing this by looking at blogs on a pre-existing social media platform like Tumblr, this paper will investigate dedicated pro-ana weblogs; separate websites created by the blogger specifically for posting anorexia related content. In order to find out how people with anorexia nervosa, and specifically pro-ana’s, use

social media, this research will be conducted as an online ethnography where several pro-ana blogs will be analyzed. The aim of this thesis is to make clear why pro-ana bloggers start their blogs as well as how they use them and what they use them for.

Theoretical Framework

In order to properly analyze these pro-ana blogs, it is important to have a clear theoretical framework from which to look at the blogs. The section below will explain which psychological theories will be applied in this article and why these are of importance.

The Uses and Gratification Theory

This thesis will investigate these pro-ana websites from the perspective of the Uses and Gratification Theory (Eighmey & McCord, 1998). This theory is an important part within the area of mass communication research. Within the Uses and Gratification Theory (UGT), researchers focus on the audience members' behaviors and motivations. One of the most important assumptions in UGT is that the audience is an active one (Ruggiero, 2000). This means that (a) the individual must initiate and select the usage of the media themselves; (b) the expectations regarding the use of the media must come from individual predispositions, environmental factors, as well as social interactions; and (c) the active audience is goal-directed in the use of the media.

Within the research of this thesis, where the users are pro-ana bloggers, the users are typically very active: they often initiate and select their media usage themselves according to their needs (e.g. encouragement, tips, etc.), their expectations from the media are often shaped by what they already know and have seen from their surroundings since it is unlikely that they stumble upon these pro-ana media themselves, and the active users are often goal-directed in that they use the media in order to keep losing weight.

Anita Whiting and David Williams (2013) have conducted research on the topic of the Uses and Gratification Theory. They found ten of the most prominent themes within UGT: (1) social interaction; (2) information seeking; (3) pass time; (4) entertainment; (5) relaxation; (6) expression of opinion; (7) communicatory utility; (8) convenience utility; (9) information sharing; and (10) surveillance/knowledge about others. Some of these themes apply more to the topic of this thesis than others. The themes that were thought to be of use within the topic of

pro-ana weblogs are (1) social interaction; (2) information seeking; (3) expression of opinion; (4) communicatory utility; and (5) information sharing. These themes will be further explained below.

Social Interaction

Social Interaction, according to the Uses and Gratification Theory is “defined as using social media to communicate and interact with others” (Whiting & Williams, 2013, p. 364). In this analysis, this entails situations where the owner of the blog interacts with the people reading the blog and vice versa.

Information Seeking

Information seeking entails “using social media to seek out information or to self-educate” (Whiting & Williams, 2013, p. 364). In our analysis this could entail the owner of the blog asking for advice from their readers or vice versa where the readers leave comments asking for advice from the owner of the blog.

Expression of Opinion

Expression of opinions entails “using social media to express thoughts and opinions” (Whiting & Williams, 2013, p. 366). In this instance, it can mean the owner of the blog expression their opinions of others, as well as the people reading the blogs expressing their opinions of others or of the owner of the blog via comments and/or likes.

Communicatory Utility

Communicatory utility can be explained as “communication facilitation and providing information to share with others” (Whiting & Williams, 2013, p. 365). The distinction between communicatory utility and social interaction is that communicatory utility has a focus on *facilitating* communication. In the case of the pro-ana weblogs, this will probably be by giving out personal information like email-addresses in order for people to reach each other in ways beside posting on the blog and leaving comments.

Information Sharing

Information sharing entails “using social media to share information about you with others” (Whiting & Williams, 2013, p. 367). This will probably be very prevalent on the weblogs since the sharing of information is often what weblogs are created for. For the pro-ana blogs, it can be expected that information sharing posts will contain information like the blog-owner’s weight, life updates, and tips and tricks for the ana-lifestyle.

Choice Theory

The Choice Theory is a theory coined by William Glasser (1999), which main premise is that the behaviors that individuals exhibit are driven by our five genetically driven needs: (1) survival; (2) love and belonging; (3) freedom; (4) fun and (5) power. Especially the second and fifth need are of importance when it comes to analyzing pro-ana weblogs. A feeling of belonging can be an important reason someone starts to obsessively lose weight. One might feel that they are more likeable once they have lost weight. Furthermore, wanting to feel like you belong can also be a reason for someone to start or participate in a pro-ana weblog, where people with anorexia will support each other and help each other to continue losing weight.

Power can also play a role in the development and persistence of anorexia. Within these pro-ana blogs, power would be mainly focused on the power over oneself, the power to control oneself. According to research done by Serpell et al. (1999), anorexia can have the benefit of gaining a sense of control over oneself. This can be an important aspect of why someone would join or start a pro-ana weblog, as these websites are there to help people with anorexia to keep in control of themselves (e.g. controlling how little they eat, how often and how much they exercise, and how much they weigh).

Methodology and Materials

With these two theories in mind, this thesis will analyze six pro-ana blogs. Both the texts as well as the pictures on these blogs will be analyzed. The analysis will focus on the following motives which resulted from the previously described theoretical framework: 1) social interaction; 2) information seeking; 3) expression of opinion; 4) communicatory utility; 5) information sharing; 6) love and belonging; and 7) power. Next to these seven motives, the analysis will also study whether there are other often recurring motives and themes on these blogs.

I have chosen to analyze only dedicated pro-ana weblogs and to not include blogs that are part of a bigger social media website. This in order to focus more on the individual behind the blogs. Pro-ana blogs that are part of other social media platforms (e.g. Instagram Facebook, Tumblr, etc.) often post shorter posts. Besides this, a lot of these blogs consist purely of re-blogging posts of other bloggers instead of making their own content. In order to really look at the persons behind the blogs, it felt necessary to look at the dedicated blogs on websites that were separate from the mass social media websites.

For finding the pro-ana blogs, I used search engine Google, where I filled in terms that are most prevalent for such pro-ana blogs. Search terms included “pro-ana”, “blog”, and “thinspo”. To make sure that the selected samples were dedicated pro-ana blogs and not part of a social media website like Tumblr or Instagram, the search terms also included “Wordpress” which is one of the most well-known blogging service that allows you to create your own blog. This choice was made due to the fact that the length of the posts for social media blogs is often limited. This would mean that by using actual weblogs (e.g. WordPress weblogs) the analysis would be more insightful. From the results of this search, I have selected a sample of blogs that are currently active or have been active in the past five years. The choice for five years was made since this resulted in more samples while still keeping the blogs quite recent, which make the analysis more representative.

In total this thesis will analyze six blogs. One of the main criteria of the blogs used was that there should be a decent amount of content on the blog. The table below indicated the amount of posts per blog. These numbers might seem low, but the posts contain a lot of information and tend to be rather long.

Gender was not taken into account for this research. However, all blogs appeared to be run by young women and one blogger stated she was a male-to-female transgender.

| | Number of Posts | Last Updated |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Weblog A | 11 | 2017 |
| Weblog B | 21 | 2017 |
| Weblog C | 18 | 2014 |
| Weblog D | 64 | 2017 |
| Weblog E | 15 | 2020 |
| Weblog F | 6 | 2019 |

Since the websites are openly on the internet, the blogs are public domain and no informed consent is needed for the analysis of these blogs. However, since these blogs belong to people who are considered a vulnerable group, I have contacted the secretary of the ethical review board of Tilburg University, who stated that, even though the weblogs are public domain, it is important to keep the bloggers as anonymous as possible, which is why names and any other information that could reveal the identities of the bloggers will be removed from examples and the rest of the analysis.

I started the analysis of the six blogs using the seven labels that resulted from the above described theoretical frame: 1) social interaction; 2) information seeking; 3) expression of opinion; 4) communicatory utility; 5) information sharing; 6) love and belonging; and 7) power.

While reading the blogs, I analyzed the texts, the images, the likes, and the comments using the program Atlas.ti. This research tool offers the possibility to easily analyze pieces of text. I

used this program to code the text with the seven labels from the list above; I took each separate piece of text and looked at which of the seven labels fit it best, after which I labeled it with the corresponding code. If a piece of text did not fit any of the labels, I coded it with “Other”, so I could look at these pieces of text later to see if there was another important recurring theme in the weblogs. Furthermore, early on in the analysis it became clear that blogposts often contained inspiration to continue the pro-ana lifestyle, which resulted in the label ‘inspiration’ being added to the list of codes.

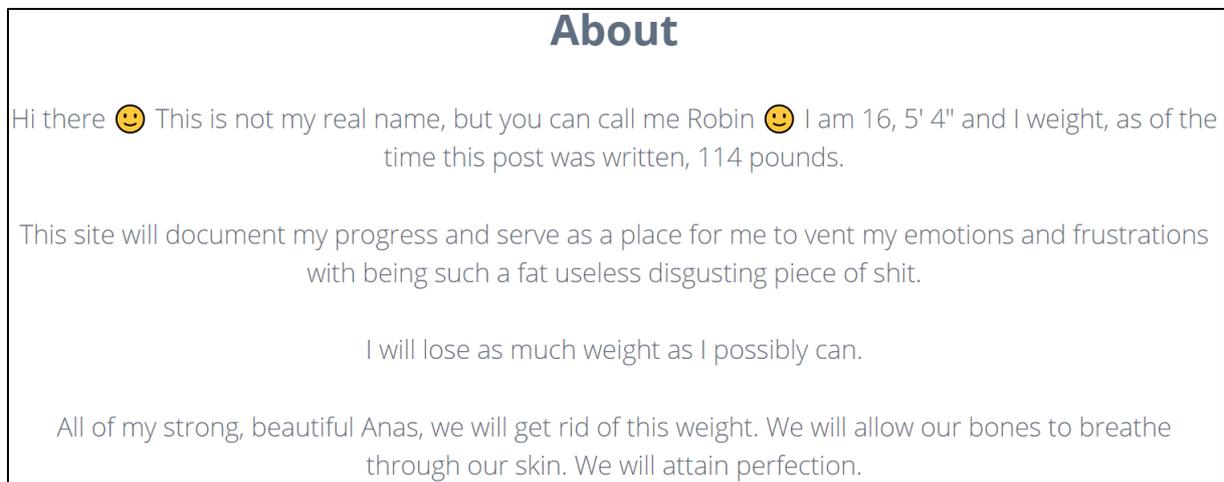
The first step of the analysis was looking at how often these labels occurred, resulting in Table 1 (see appendix). After this, I looked at each piece of text and each image per label and color-coded specific things and motives that appeared to be very prevalent on the pro-ana blogs. By doing this, I noticed the following recurring motives within the blogs: (1) self-narration, (2) tracking and goals, (3) rules and mind-tricks, (4) buddies and inspirators, and (5) thinspo and meanspo.

Results

While not all six motives were prevalent on all six blogs (e.g. some blogs focused mainly on posting about rules or thinspo, while not posting about goals and the like), all motives still appeared to be of substantial importance within the blogs in general.

1. *Self-Narration*

Five out of six bloggers blogged not only about pro-ana but talked about their private life as well. For most blogs, (one of) the first posts made were ones where the blogger introduced themselves in one way or another.



Often, these introduction posts contained the bloggers' weight at the time of posting, as well as their height. The bloggers could have posted this in order to give the readers an idea of their current situation and so they can imagine what the bloggers look like. Besides this, these posts offer a way for the bloggers to keep track of the progress they made in losing weight.

Also noteworthy is that this blogger in the previous example used a fake name for her blog. This is most likely to make it impossible for her readers to find out her real identity, as well as making it impossible for her family to figure out that the blog is hers.

welcome.

Featured · [REDACTED] · 29 Comments

(if you want to view categories, click the arrow and the word the second time it appears. for example, there is lifestyle with an arrow, so click the arrow and it will drop down another lifestyle- click the second one.)

[this blog is **ACTIVE** as of March 2020]

It's 2018, and the media hates us. Type in pro ana blog, and half the results is shaming us for not eating, for having these blogs. Plus, most of the pro ana blogs left are from, like, 2014. I was tired of going through half-finished, out-of-date blogs, so I made my own.

i support recovery, but am not in it myself.

My name is [REDACTED] I'm 17, and I live in the United States. If you want to become ana buddies, or join a group chat, go [here](#) and let me know your snap. I'm 5'5, my starting weight was 125 lbs, my goal weight is 100 lbs, and my ultimate goal weight is 88 lbs. Currently, I am 107.4 (March 29 2020).

Pro ana is not a religion here- just a lifestyle. I'm not trying to teach you to have an eating disorder, this is merely a refuge. It's that little voice inside our head that we can't seem to shake, but at least we don't have to do it alone.

So welcome, love you lots. Remember, calories are the enemy. You have control, you barely eat, and nothing tastes as good as skinny feels. Saying no to food is saying yes to skinny. But also, we are here to be skinny, NOT dead or hospitalized. And no one must EVER find out.



Where within the first example, the blogger made it clear she was using a fake name, this blogger appears to be using her real name instead. It is possible that this is still a fake name, but to make certain that the privacy of the blogger is protected, her name is left out of the example.

In their introduction post, this blogger mentioned the 'hate' that the media have for pro-ana bloggers. An example of this, as was posted about on another blog, is the banning and deactivating of pro-ana blogs on social media. Specifically, the blogger was banned from Instagram for "violating their terms of use", meaning that this social media website has regulations against the activities of pro-ana bloggers to try to keep these bloggers from influencing others.

Just like in the first example, this blogger also states her height and weight as of the time of writing the post. However, this blogger also talks about her Goal Weights; something that people in the pro-ana community often set for themselves to have something to work towards. Updates on these Goal Weights are often given in later posts.

An interesting paradox within this posts is that the blogger states to “support recovery” but that she is not in it herself, meaning she supports the recovery of others, but is not planning on trying to recover from her eating disorder herself. This could be because the blogger recognized that she does have an eating disorder, but that she does not wish to get rid of it. Furthermore, she refers to the eating disorder as “that little voice inside our head that we can’t seem to shake”, which leads one to think that the blogger does not believe she will be able to get rid of this little voice and recover.

However, the blogger does make clear that being pro-ana should not be something that causes more serious problems such as hospitalization or even death, urging her readers to be careful while pursuing the pro-ana lifestyle.

Apart from introduction posts, some posts also contain information about other things in the bloggers’ lives.

18
FEB
2014

Estoy listo para España

posted in [Uncategorized](#)



Today is going to be rough. Lately, I've had no motivation for school. I have a very difficult class schedule and can't afford to make bad grades. My parents both expect me to go to medical school and be a surgeon. That was the plan all along. Except, now I don't want to be a doctor but I'm not sure what exactly I want to be. I skipped my O chem lab for the second time today, I've never skipped a lab. I've been missing classes and not doing work. I don't know what's wrong with me! I've had this dream of living in Spain since I was a junior in high school, I'm ready for that already. I'm applying to study abroad in Seville, Spain for the year next year. The thing is, I can't wait that long! I want to run away and go live in Spain. I just need to get through this semester I guess and then go off next year. How do I bring myself to start working hard again?

I don't know. What I do know though, Is my calorie goal is 500 or less today (ABC diet day 1) and I'm not messing that up. I've got that in the bag. Today, my goal is for all of my calories to be from fruits and vegetables. Stay strong, stay skinny

XoXo,

Ana

Things like the example above are in stark contrast with the rest of the posts on the blogs, which will be discussed below. Where normally it is all about counting calories and losing weight, posts like these are about problems that every teenager or young adult can experience: trouble with school, expectations from parents, or even relationship problems are things that some bloggers talk about on their blogs.

Within the theme of Self-Narration, the focus lies on the personal life of the blogger. They often introduce themselves in one of their first blog posts, they talk about their personal struggles, and not all of these posts contain things related to pro-ana, but instead also focus on 'normal' teenage problems.

2. Tracking and Goals

As mentioned above, the bloggers often talk about their weight goals: not only in their introductory posts do they mention their current weight and goal weights, they also have posts dedicated to setting goal weights.

Back From Treatment, Back To Losing.

Posted on [January 19, 2017](#)

Hello lovelies, Robin is back from treatment hell.

My parents put me into treatment several months ago, and now I'm free, free as a bird. I've had to reset my goal weights again, and I've already passed one of them, which was 115, so that's some good news!

Weight Goals

1. 115
2. 110
3. 105
4. 100
5. 95
6. 90
7. 85
8. 80
9. 75

Daily Calorie Goal
500-700

Alright, I'll be posting more frequently on here from now on, I promise!

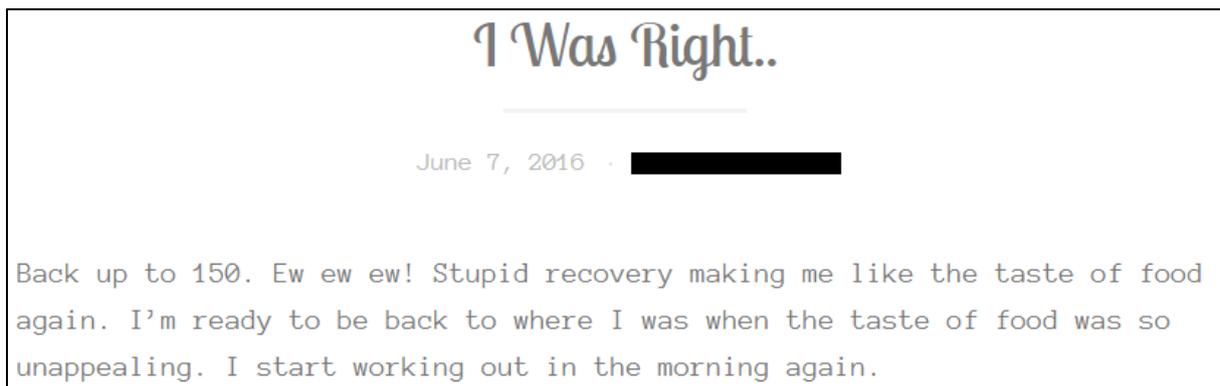
Stay Strong, Anas!

~Robin ♥

Here, an example of such a goal weight post. Often, the bloggers set multiple goal weights instead of setting one “Ultimate Goal Weight”. The example above is no exception to this. The ultimate goal weight of this user is 75 pounds. This would, taking into account the height and age of the blogger, result in a BMI of below 13, whereas a healthy person should have a weight between 18,5 and 25. Their BMI as of the time of writing this post, with a weight of 115 pounds, fell nicely between these two numbers with a 19,7

The blogger also states that she has set a daily calorie goal of 500 to 700 calories. This is way too low for a young woman who's daily calorie intake should be around 2000 calories (NHS, n.d.).

Next to these goal weights, the bloggers also often gave updates about their weight. In these posts, they either talk about the weight they lost and how they managed to do so, or about how they gained weight.



The above is an example of the weight updates that are often posted on the pro-ana blogs. These posts create a way for the bloggers to keep track of their weight. Besides this, it is not uncommon for comments to be posted below these messages with encouraging words to help the blogger keep or get back on track to losing weight, which could be a motive for the bloggers to post these weight updates.

Besides posting weight goals and updates on the pro-ana blogs, a lot of the bloggers post about what they have eaten that day. This can be to inform their readers about their lives or to keep some sort of diary for themselves about what they ate or a way to keep themselves accountable for what they are eating. A side effect of these types of posts could be that it inspires other people to also maintain such a diet themselves.

I did want to skip breakfast completely. So that my 13 hour fast could become a 19 hour fast but my mom made me eat some toast. Luckily I was able to eat half and throw the rest when she wasn't looking.

What Ive Eaten Today

Breakfast: none

Lunch: Egg + Toast-195

Snack: none

Dinner: Chicken Strips- 100

Squash- 0

~Calories Burned At Gym~

640

Total Intake: 295

Total After gym: -345

I was completely able to burn off all calories! Luckily there was this aerobic/ dance class that I did for an hour.. I was constantly moving so that's why I burned so much. Its a fun class too!

Anyway

DAY 2/30 COMPLETED

The post above shows multiple things of interest. First of all, the blogger talks about wanting to prolong her 13-hour fast to a 19-hour fast. Fasting is something that seems to be very popular amongst people within the pro-ana community as it is supposed to boost metabolism and cause rapid weight loss. Second, we see that the blogger has only had two out of the three recommended daily meals. Next to this, the meals eaten that day contained very little calories, resulting in a very low calorie intake of below 300 calories that day. Besides this low calorie intake, the blogger also states that she has worked out in the gym a lot, where she burned off more calories than she ate that day.

This is a good representation of what the daily lives of these pro-ana's seem to look like, based on their blogs: fasting, eating very little, skipping meals, and working out. Next to posting about these habits, the bloggers also talk about their "binges", periods where they eat a lot of food in little time.



Sometimes the amount eaten during such a binge, which pro-ana's consider to be a lot, could be a normal diet. While the foods mentioned in the above example might not be the most healthy foods, the amount of calories taken in by the bloggers is most likely not or not much above the recommended calorie intake of 2000 calories a day. However, it is noticeable that the blogger is really upset about having eaten the things she did, something typical for pro-ana's even when having eaten a normal meal.

In summary, within the theme of Tracking and Goals, the focus lies on anything related to counting how many calories the blogger ate, how many they burned, how much weight they gained or lost, and the setting and reaching of weight goals.

3. Rules and Mind Tricks

Sharing tips and rules on how to stay or get thin was one of the most important activities on the blogs. All six analyzed blogs contained multiple of these types of posts. Examples are posts about diet plans, rules to adhere to when living the pro-ana lifestyle, sharing so-called ‘safe-foods’ that contain very little calories, and anti-binge tips.

the monster. A trick I've learned for eating as little as possible is to think of hunger as a little monster living inside my body. Whenever I have a thought like "just one bite" or "You deserve it, you've worked so hard to get here just relax and reward yourself" I imaging a tiny little fat bulbous pustulating monster resting in my stomach. If I feed it, it will consume my entire body. So I just keep a tight leash on it. If I starve it for long enough, it will shut up and die. 😊 Try it if you're having trouble, it really works wonders for me. Make sure to make the image of the monster as grotesque and disgusting as possible. I don't usually give out tips and tricks or whatever, but I think this is a really helpful tactic and thought I'd share.

Have a beautiful, skinny, wonderful day sweethearts.

Stay Strong ♥

~Robin

Above, an example of a trick posted on one of the blogs about how to prevent yourself from eating. It is often on these websites that the pro-ana bloggers use certain mind-tricks to keep themselves from eating in order to stay skinny. Often these mind tricks contain some sort of ‘negative-side effect’ of eating, like in the example above, where the blogger imagines a tiny monster growing and consuming her body.

Anti Binge

- Go through old stuff, throw away everything you never wear/use.
- Mop/dust/vacuum/scrub anything, change bedsheets anything. The harder you work, the more cal you'll burn! **Hobby's**
- Practice or learn to play a music instrument
- Go shopping, you'll burn cal walking
- Go out for a drink
- Go through old photo albums
- Make jewelry
- Read a book!
- Have a beauty day!
- Have an extra shower
- Take a very long bath
- Give yourself a mani/pedicure
- Brush your teeth
- Eat chewing gum/ drink water
- Detox!
- Put on very beautiful make-up
- Post on an Ana form
- Write your thoughts in your journal
- Watch MTV, let's get inspired by all those skinny's!
- Make an ana video/poster/collage/drawing/poem/story/website.. anything!
- Think of all the things you'd like to eat, and think of how many calories that are... and how many lbs!

The post above characterizes the posts containing tips on how not to start binge-eating. Tips on this subject differ from things such as “take a bath” and “read a book” to things intended to lose more weight such as working out or cleaning the house resulting in burning a lot of calories instead of consuming them. Similar tips can be found in posts about ways to keep yourself from eating in general or ways to distract yourself while you are fasting. These tips are often either about trying not to think about food at all or about thinking of food in a negative way.

Besides these tips, a lot of blogs also contained *rules* to adhere to when being pro-ana.

In order to be successful it is best to set rules for yourself. Here is a List of my rules that you may use or twist for yourself to use at any time!

1. No food before 7 AM. No food after 6 PM.
2. Drink one glass of water every hour.
3. If a craving comes put loads of salt and take one bite. Then throw the Rest away.
4. 3 cups of Green Tea A day.
5. Vegetables and fruit do not count in my daily calorie intake. Especially vegetables.
6. No sweets at any times.
7. Avoid chips at all possible times.
8. Do Not Binge when bored.
9. Tell no one.
10. No seconds.

Some bloggers claim that there are certain rules that one definitely has to follow in order to truly be considered part of the pro-ana community. However, most of the time, such rules are mainly presented to inform the readers of the blogs about the rules that the blogger adheres to in order to lose weight; they are not presented as a 'must' but mainly as something to take inspiration from.

The Ana Way



Thin Commandments

1. If you aren't thin you aren't attractive.
2. Being thin is more important than being healthy.
3. You must buy clothes, cut your hair, take laxatives, starve yourself, do anything to make yourself look thinner.
4. Thou shall not eat without feeling guilty.
5. Thou shall not eat fattening food without punishing oneself afterwards.
6. Thou shall count calories and restrict intake accordingly.
7. What the scale says is the most important thing.
8. Losing weight is good/gaining weight is bad.
9. You can never be too thin.
10. Being thin and not eating are signs of true will power and success.

The above is a post about 'The Thin Commandments', a wordplay on the Ten Commandments of the Bible. These Commandments are something that are posted on multiple of the analyzed blogs, and seem to be of importance to a lot of pro-ana's, where some consider these to be mandatory rules to adhere to when living the pro-ana lifestyle.

Besides these tricks and rules, all blogs contained posts about diets and exercises.

17
FEB
2014

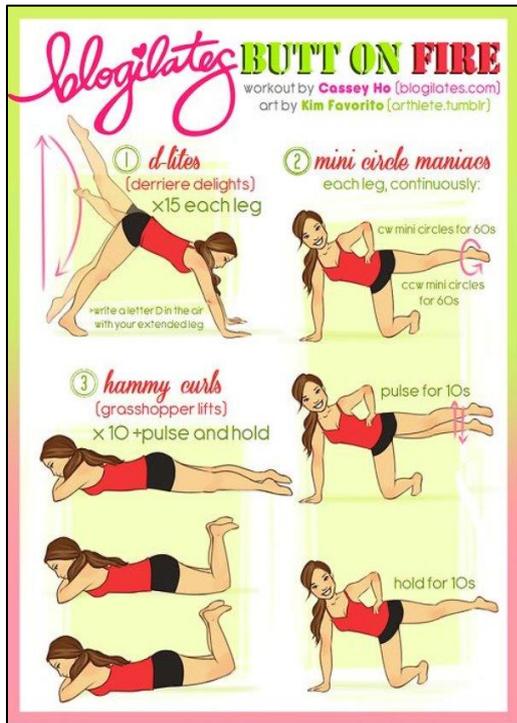
“The ABC Diet”

posted in [Uncategorized](#)

So, I was skimming through some of the blogs I follow and found a truly motivating one. Being the challenge junkie that I am, I now feel so motivated to complete it. Basically this “ABC” diet gives you calorie restrictions that vary everyday. The point of this is to help you lose a great deal of weight by “tricking” your metabolism. What draws me to this peculiar diet is the fact that, as you can see on my “plan” post, it varies your calorie consumption like I already do! I find success in that, so I can only imagine how much you could lose by actually finishing the whole thing. Which, I imagine is the catch here. Finishing it. 50 days:

- 1: 500 calories (or less)
- 2: 500 calories (or less)
- 3: 300 calories
- 4: 400 calories
- 5: 100 calories
- 6: 200 calories
- 7: 300 calories
- 8: 400 calories
- 9: 500 calories
- 10: fast
- 11: 150 calories
- 12: 200 calories
- 13: 400 calories
- 14: 350 calories
- 15: 250 calories
- 16: 200 calories
- 17: fast
- 18: 200 calories

In this post, we see an example of the diets that are posted on the pro-ana blogs. This specific diet, the ABC diet, is posted on multiple of the analyzed weblogs. This diet is, according to the blogger, intended to lose weight by “tricking” your mind with varying daily calorie intakes. The suggested calorie intake is dangerously low, considering that the average adult woman needs to eat around 2000 calories a day (NHS, n.d.), but diet plans with such low calorie intake are not uncommon within the pro-ana community.



These are some of the workout plans posted on one of the pro-ana weblogs. Most of the times, the workouts are posted in the form of pictures as the ones above. These are found online and then posted on the pro-ana weblog, which is why the same workout images can often be found on different blogs. These workouts are in themselves not unhealthy. However, when combining them with the low-calorie diet of pro-ana's, it results in rapid and unhealthy weight loss.

The focus of the theme around Rules and Mind Tricks lies solely on sharing tips and tricks to for the pro-ana lifestyle. The tips vary from ways to keep your mind off of thinking about food, to workouts to as many calories as possible, to diet plans with unhealthily low daily calorie intakes.

4. Buddies and Inspirators

Two bloggers gave their readers a way to contact them via email. They provided this way of communication in order to find pro-ana buddies. Within the pro-ana community, buddies are people who help each other to stay on track with their weight loss. Some people are or become friends with their pro-ana buddies, while others see buddies solely as a way to keep themselves on track to lose more weight.

CONTACT

THIS IS MY EMAIL: [REDACTED]

FEEL FREE TO WRITE ME IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTION OR YOU JUST WANT TO TALK WITH SOMEBODY.

IF YOU WANT ME TO BE YOUR PRO ANA BUDDY YOU JUST HAVE TO SEND ME A MESSAGE BY EMAIL AND THEN I WILL HELP YOU TO REACH YOUR GOALS (I HAVE EXPERIENCE)

OR MAYBE YOU PREFER ANOTHER PRO ANA BUDDY AND I CAN FIND YOU ONE BECAUSE I HAVE SOME CONTACTS.

BYE BEAUTIFUL 

This blogger has created an email address specifically to put on this blog for her readers to contact her. She also indicates that she is willing to help people find other pro-ana buddies since she ‘has some contacts’. This could be an indication that pro-ana’s tend to have some network containing other pro-ana’s, and that there thus is some sort of community for them.

Besides the bloggers themselves asking for pro-ana buddies, the people who comment on the blog posts also often ask to be pro-ana buddies with the bloggers themselves or with other readers of the blogs.

[REDACTED]

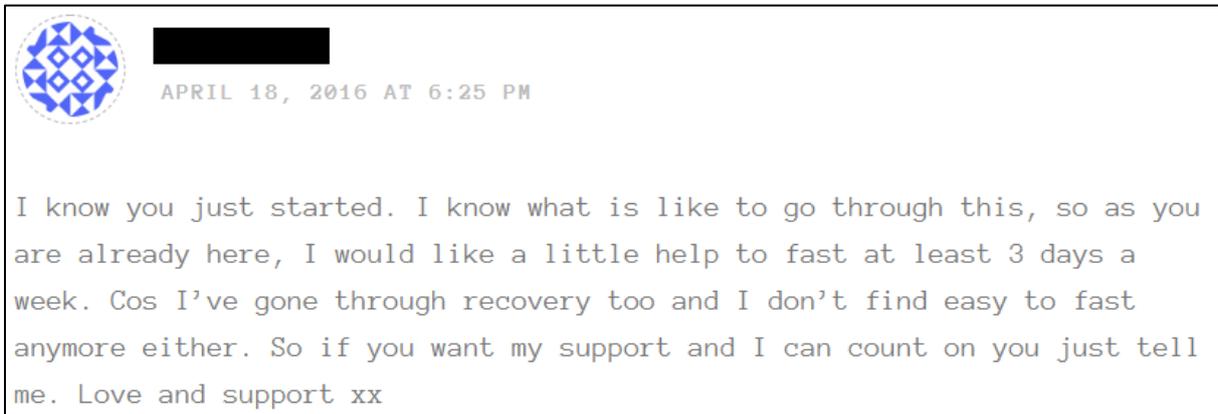
 22 October, 2015 at 2:11 am



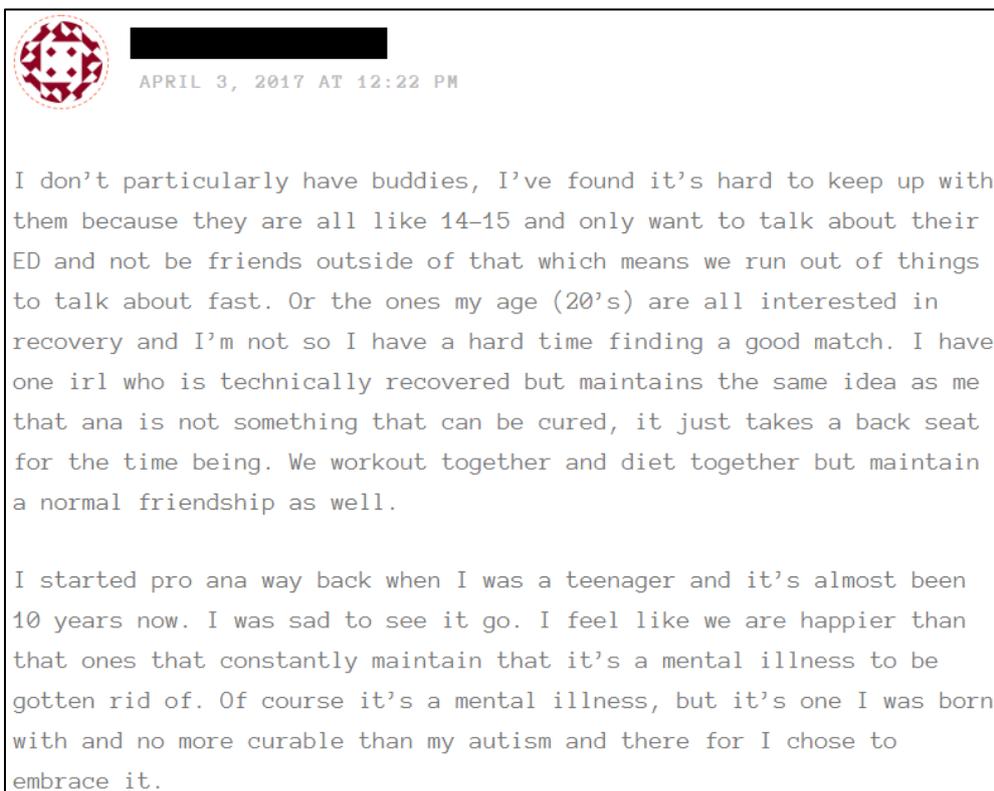
Help I need a buddy im a newbie ana!

★ Liked by [6 people](#)

Comments like the above are often followed by multiple comments from other pro-ana's with their Kik-accounts, which is a mobile messaging app similar to WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger. Kik is often used by pro-ana's to communicate with one another, and then especially amongst pro-ana buddies.



The above is an example of a reader wanting to be the pro-ana buddy of the blogger. The readers probably feel a connection with the blogger because they have read about the blogger's personal life and may recognize their own struggles in the blogger's posts.

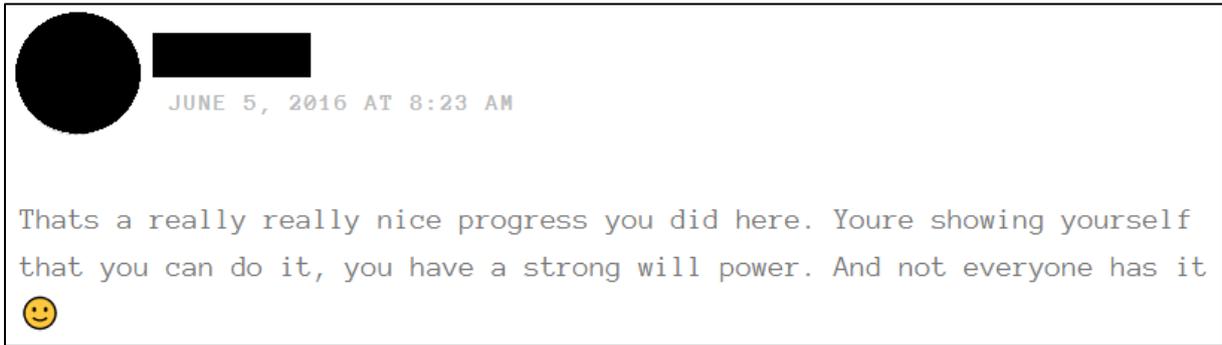
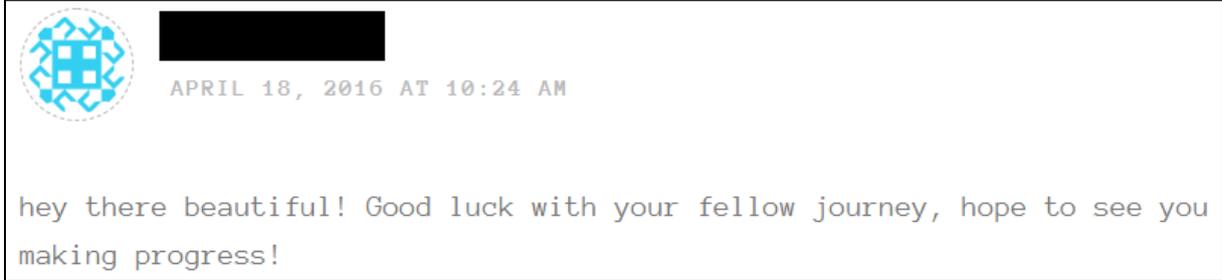


The comment above is interesting, since this is the only comment that is negative about pro-ana buddies. The user raises a point that the 14-15 year-old pro-ana's often only care about the

pro-ana part of being buddies, while the user, who indicates she is around 20 years old, would like to actually build a friendship with her buddy. She also indicates that people around her age who are looking for a buddy are often interested in recovery, while she herself is not.

This example gives a good illustration of how pro-ana buddies are often solely focused on losing weight, and using one another in order to do so. A part of the charm of having a pro-ana buddy might come from competitiveness between buddies, where a pro-ana can feel pride in telling their buddy about how little they have eaten or how much weight they have lost, which would make it somewhat easier to stick to the pro-ana lifestyle.

Besides asking for buddies, there are also a lot of comments on posts with words of encouragement for the blogger.



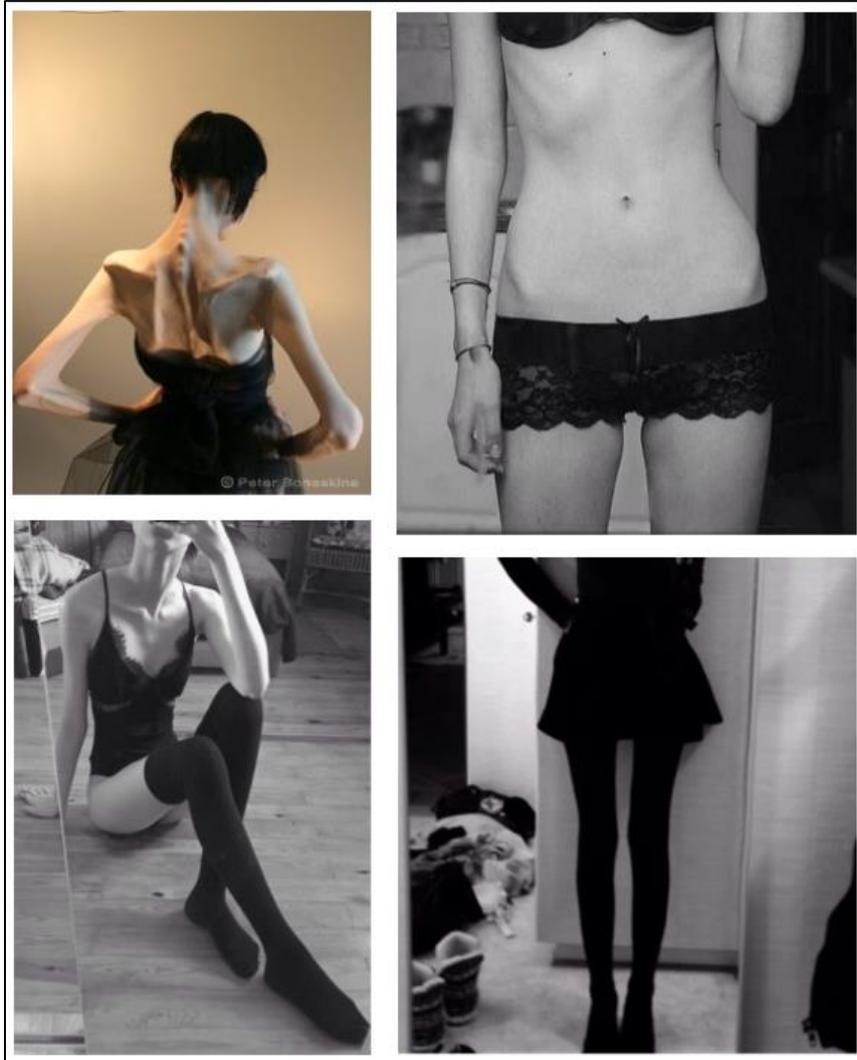
One can imagine that words like these are incentive for the pro-ana blogger to keep doing what they are doing. When they lose more weight, they might feel excited about letting commenters like the above know about the weight loss and feel pride in doing so. Next to feeling excitement and pride, these comments could also make the blogger feel like they cannot disappoint their commenters and readers. This would encourage the blogger to stick to their pro-ana ways.

Encouraging comments seem to be quite prevalent on the four blogs that have enabled comments. When taking into account the above examples, one can imagine that comments like these are important to the blogger and might even be incentive to start a blog in the first place, since such comments can help a pro-ana to keep going.

In summary, where the previously discussed themes were mainly one-sided conversations from the bloggers to their readers, the motive of Buddies and Inspirators seemed to be more about interaction between the blogger and the readers as well as the readers amongst themselves. The focus within this motives lies mainly on helping each other along on the 'journey' of being pro-ana. The most prevalent way in which this is done is finding pro-ana buddies where the main purpose lies in keeping one another in check.

5. *Thinspo and Meanspo*

Another thing that seems to be very important to the pro-ana bloggers is inspiration posts, also called thinspiration or thinspo within the pro-ana community. These are posts containing images or texts that serve as inspiration for pro-ana's.



The above images are some examples of the thinspo images on the blogs. Most other images are fairly similar to the ones above. Often recurring themes in these images are visible bones, especially protruding ribs, hipbones and collarbones, and thigh gaps, where the inside of the legs do not touch each other anywhere when the feet are positioned on the ground next to each other (bottom right picture). What can be noted from the above images is that the girls in the pictures are very feminine in their posture as well as their clothing, Possibly the bloggers feel like being extremely thin is an important part of femininity,

“Collarbones, thigh gap, hipbones, flat stomach, shoulders, slender neck and face, spine. remember what you want.”



The above is an example of thinspo in the form of text. Again, we see the recurring themes of the visible bones (collarbones, hipbones, etc.) and thigh gaps. These are things that most pro-ana's want and are therefore prevalent in a lot of thinspo.

Quotes from a Meanspo Thread

Posted on April 3, 2016

Here are some quotes I've taken from a Meanspo thread on a forum I'm a member of 😊 I hope they help you as much as they've helped me.

No more setbacks you pathetic excuse for an eating disorder.

Stop complaining. You are too fat to even CLASSIFY for an eating disorder.

Your weight is shameful. Honestly, it saddens me to see someone who could be so perfect to ruin themselves with pizza and cookies.

Oh, excuse me. You NEED that food?

BULL

FUCKING

SHIT

You don't need it. You WANT it. You fat piece of shit.

Look at yourself in the mirror and be honest. Call things as you truly see them.

Just cause it TASTES good doesn't mean it's gonna LOOK good in that new bikini you swore you'd fit into one day.

Come to think of it, you have to be the first person I have ever met with actual ROLLS OF FAT all over their body. It's repulsive.

Oh, you're gonna eat? I'm sorry. I thought you wanted to be skinny.

Your thighs remind me of the ocean. They are both seemingly endless, and if you pat your thigh, it has a current just like the ocean too.

You really think he WANTS to touch you?! Your disgusting you fat whore. You know what he's thinking about when he's in bed with you? A real woman with enough self control to actually look like a human being, instead of the deformed lard he's stuck with: YOU

The above is an example of so-called meanspo. This is a form of thinspo containing mean messages that are meant to keep pro-ana's on track. Meanspo often contains messages talking about how eating food will make you fat, so that when you are eating or feel like eating, you can read the messages in order to suppress the urge to eat. Furthermore, meanspo messages often talk about opinions that others might have of the reader to make them believe that others think they are fat and would like them more if they lost weight.

The theme of Thinspo and Meanspo is very prevalent on all blogs. The focus within this theme lies in sharing images and texts that serve as inspiration for both the blogger and their readers to keep pursuing the pro-ana lifestyle. The posts within this theme range from pictures with skinny girls, that make you want to be like them, to texts that idolize the feeling of being thin, which make you want to feel like that, and texts that are focused on being mean to the reader in order to keep them from gaining weight.

Discussion

The purpose of this thesis was to find out why people create pro-ana weblogs and what they use them for. The results of the analysis showed five main purposes of creating such a blog: (1) narration of the self, (2) keeping track of progress and goals, (3) posting about rules and tricks, (4) finding buddies, and (5) posting pro-ana inspiration. From these five purposes of the blogs, two main motives for creating such blogs can be deducted: empowerment and belonging.

Empowerment

Empowerment seemed to be an overarching theme within the pro-ana blogs. For the bloggers, creating a pro-ana blog seemed to be a way to keep themselves accountable: posting things like weight goals are ways for the bloggers to tell their readers how and why they want to lose weight, as well as how much they want to lose. This way, the blogger has something to work towards: posting about how they lost weight to let their followers know they reached their goal. Whenever the blogger posts about how they gained weight, this is often followed by comments saying that it is okay and that they should keep strong and keep trying. Things like this function as a way for the blogger to keep working towards their goal of losing weight and can make the temptation of giving up smaller, thus making the blogger feel empowered.

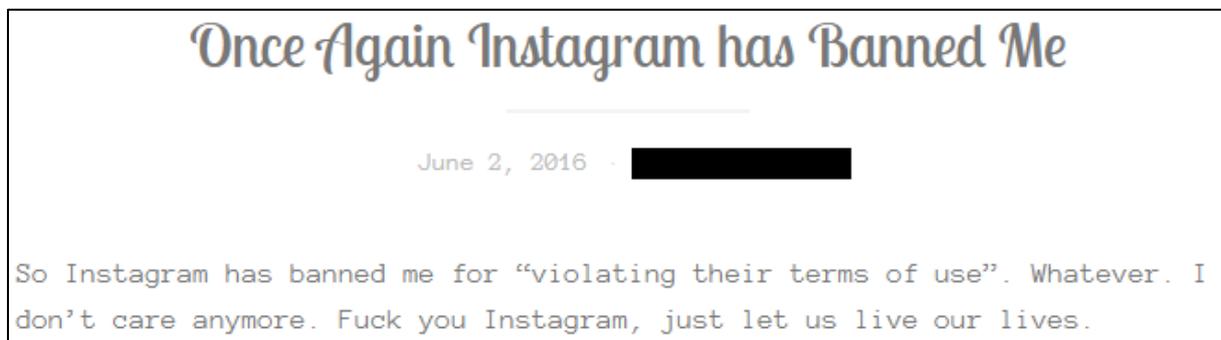
Buddies are another example of creating this feeling of empowerment. Looking for buddies, as this thesis found, is an important part of these pro-ana weblogs. Being pro-ana buddies is a way to be held accountable. When you have someone who is working towards the same goal, it is easier for you to keep track of your goal and not deviate from your plans to achieve this goal.

The finding that usage of pro-ana blogs increases the feeling of empowerment is backed by other research. Li (2016) found that social media engagement does indeed have an effect on empowerment for the user, however, the effect appeared to be small. It is logical that the effect is small, as empowerment “is formed by many individual, societal, and contextual factors, of which social media use is only a small part of” (p. 9). Nonetheless, according to Li, the effect

on empowerment should not be overlooked as it can create significant social changes. Lastly, she also found that the more active usage of social media (e.g. creating and posting on a blog) will have a bigger impact than the more passive usage of social media (e.g. only reading the blog).

Belonging

Another important overarching theme of the pro-ana blogs seemed to be the feeling of belonging. It appears to be very hard for people within the pro-ana community to find a place to connect with one another. One of the bloggers posted the following on their blog:



Most of the bigger social media platforms have rules and regulations that state that it is not allowed to run a pro-ana blog, resulting in such blogs being banned from the website. When you create your own blog on a separate platform, these rules and regulations do not apply. As a result, these blogs function as a safe place for pro-ana's to communicate with one another and post about their pro-ana lives.

Within the comment section, commenters say encouraging words towards the blogger as well as sometimes each other. Bloggers as well as commenters give out contact details with which other pro-ana's can contact them personally, with the intention of providing or asking for help. These pro-ana blogs create a kind of community and a place where pro-ana's feel free to share their lives with one another. This creates a sense of belonging which is difficult to find on other platforms where pro-ana accounts are often shunned and banned.

These findings are in accordance with Mantella's research (2007), where she found that pro-ana's within a pro-ana blogging are generally very pleased with the social support they get from

being part of these bloggings. Furthermore, what she found about the “importance of being understood, accepted and supported” (p. 57) seemed to be applicable on the blogs analyzed in this thesis as well, where these things seemed to be incentive to start up a pro-ana blog in the first place.

De Choudhury’s research on pro-ana blogs on the blogging platform Tumblr (2019) found that these blogs were mainly used “to share image-rich graphic and “triggering” content around internalization of thin body ideals, as well as for the maintenance of the anorexic lifestyle” (p. 44). While it is true that the blogs were used to post (sometimes triggering) thinspo, this was often not the main goal of these blogs. The maintenance of the anorexic lifestyle, however, was very important within the analyzed blogs. The bloggers posted about rules to adhere to in order to lose weight, tricks in order to not eat or stop thinking about food, and goals. All of these are ways to make it easier to maintain the anorexic lifestyle. The two overarching motives of empowerment and belonging also tie in to this, where the feeling of empowerment makes it easier to maintain the lifestyle and the feeling of belonging makes it more attractive to maintain the lifestyle in order to continue being part of the community.

De Choudhury (2019) also explored the important part that pro-recovery groups within the pro-ana community play on Tumblr. While analyzing the blogs, there was no sight of any post or comment related to pro-recovery. The only time that pro-recovery was mentioned was when someone indicated they were not interested in recovery or how they could not find buddies because most of them would be into recovery while they were not. This is something that might make creating a pro-ana blog outside of a social media website more attractive, since there are apparently less people focused on recovery and the blog can thus focus solely on the pro-ana lifestyle.

Reviewing the Theoretical Framework

When looking back at the theoretical framework that was established before the analysis was conducted, it is noticeable that some motives that were thought to be relevant to the pro-ana weblogs were more important than others. Motives that were of the biggest relevance were (1) social interaction, (2) communicatory utility, (3) information sharing, (4) love and belonging, and (5) power, which, within Choice Theory, regards power that one has over oneself, which was later on in this thesis referred to empowerment. (1) Social interaction and (2) communicatory utility were very prevalent. The difference between these two is that social interaction entails the actual communication between the blogger and the readers, while communicatory utility revolves around *facilitating* ways to communicate with one another. In a sense, setting up a blog is already a way to facilitate communication, but this also entails sharing email addresses, or Kik-accounts. (3) Information sharing seemed to be mainly important for sharing tips, tricks, and plans for losing weight. The importance of (4) love and (especially) belonging, and (5) empowerment has been described above.

Besides these important themes, there are also some themes that appeared to be less relevant in the pro-ana blogs. These are (1) information seeking and (2) expression of opinion. (1) Information seeking was not very prevalent on the blogs, possibly due to the fact that it is nowadays very easy to just type any question you have into any search engine like Google, and you will find multiple answers to your specific question. (2) Expression of opinion was also barely prevalent on the blogs. It seemed that bloggers mainly kept their opinions to themselves. Whenever any opinion was shared, it was mainly about the blogger's own body, with them expressing what they did not like about it.

Further Research & Limitations

This thesis raised multiple questions that could not be answered with the conducted analysis. The first being the question of what the long-term effect of being part of pro-ana blogs would be. It would, for example, be interesting and useful to analyze whether running or reading a pro-ana weblog has a significant effect on recovery rates as well as recovery speed. Another question that begs for further research is how often ex-bloggers from pro-ana weblogs return to their blogs or start other pro-ana blogs. Various research has been done on the addictive effect of dieting and exercising for pro-ana's (Gordon, 1990; Godier, 2015; Barbarich-Marsteller et al., 2011). Could running a pro-ana blog be addictive in the same way that dieting and exercising can be addictive to them? Lastly, the question arises on how pro-ana weblogs affect people who are not pro-ana. Possibly, when people who have a low self-esteem visit such pro-ana weblog by happenstance, they could be encouraged to become part of this community and/or develop anorexia nervosa or another eating disorder themselves. This is purely speculative, but it would pose an interesting question for further research to look into some of the dangers of pro-ana weblogs.

There were some limitations to this research. One of them being that this paper only focused on dedicated weblogs for reasons described previously. However, there are a lot of other pro-ana communities on different social media platforms such as Instagram and especially Tumblr. The communities on these platforms could differ a lot from the kinds of communities that were formed on the analyzed blogs. It would be interesting to be able to compare these two types of pro-ana blogs and see what their differences and similarities are.

Furthermore, to really get to understand why people start pro-ana blogs, it would be insightful to have a conversation with the blog owners. In these conversations, or interviews, they could explain their thought process before and during the time that they were running the blogs. This way, the results would be more insightful and more useful in helping the people behind those blogs.

Conclusion

This thesis looked at how and why people use pro-ana weblogs. Six different weblogs have been analyzed, after which it became clear that there were five prevalent types of posts on these blogs: (1) Self-Narration, (2) Tracking and Goals, (3) Rules and Mind Tricks, (4) Buddies and Inspirators, and (5) Thinspo and Meanspo. Throughout the analysis, it became clear that there were two main reasons for these pro-ana's to start their blogs: (1) empowerment, and (2) belonging. Empowerment was very important to the bloggers, in the sense that their blogs created incentive for them to keep living their pro-ana lifestyle: the blog owners would receive encouraging messages from their readers which made them feel like they could not disappoint their readers. Belonging was also very important for the bloggers, since their blogs functioned as a sort of safe-haven for them where they could talk about their lifestyle freely without being judged by others who would consider pro-ana abnormal or would try to make them stop being pro-ana. On these blogs, pro-ana's could come together and talk to each other: whether it would be about tips, updates about their pro-ana lives, or other things that were not necessarily related to pro-ana.

In summary, the pro-ana blogs seemed to be created in order to make it easier for the blogger to continue with the pro-ana lifestyle, both by giving them a feeling of empowerment and perseverance, but also by creating a community of like-minded people who would help each other throughout their pro-ana 'journey'.

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Appendix

Table 1

| Label-Blog Results | Weblog | | | | | | Totals |
|------------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | |
| <i>Social Interaction</i> | 2 | 58 | x | 152 | x | 14 | 226 |
| <i>Information Seeking</i> | x | x | x | 3 | x | x | 3 |
| <i>Expression of Opinion</i> | x | x | x | 4 | x | x | 4 |
| <i>Communicatory Utility</i> | x | 5 | 4 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 23 |
| <i>Information Sharing</i> | 9 | 72 | 18 | 60 | 11 | 8 | 178 |
| <i>Love and Belonging</i> | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| <i>Power</i> | x | 1 | 1 | x | x | x | 2 |
| <i>Inspiration</i> | 63 | 7 | 20 | 32 | 4 | 4 | 130 |
| <i>Other of Interest</i> | 1 | 4 | 1 | 22 | 3 | 1 | 32 |
| Totals | 75 | 147 | 44 | 284 | 20 | 28 | 598 |