



8-18-2015

Socially Deviant Communities Online: How the Pro-Anorexia Movement Utilizes the Anonymity Provided by the Internet to Thrive

Samantha Thomas
Western Michigan University, samanthat884@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/honors_theses



Part of the Medicine and Health Commons, Other Sociology Commons, Social Control, Law, Crime, and Deviance Commons, and the Social Psychology Commons

Recommended Citation

Thomas, Samantha, "Socially Deviant Communities Online: How the Pro-Anorexia Movement Utilizes the Anonymity Provided by the Internet to Thrive" (2015). *Honors Theses*. 2617.

https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/honors_theses/2617

This Honors Thesis-Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Lee Honors College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



Western Michigan University

Socially Deviant Communities Online: How the Pro-Anorexia
Movement Utilizes the Internet to Thrive

Lee Honors College Senior Thesis

Samantha Thomas

August 18th, 2015

With the establishment of the internet many communities whose growth were previously inhibited have been able to develop and grow into large and active networks. Groups, unable to organize in the past, are now able to meet and communicate easily by utilizing the digital world. The internet not only provides the ability to have an interactive format in which people from all locations and backgrounds can come together, it also creates an environment in which underground societies can develop. One of the most prominent features of the internet is its provision of anonymity: the user is able to hide his or hers identity and exist apart from their true self. This capability can create confidence in many people, enabling them to participate in positive online activities that they would initially shy away from, as well as make it possible for more socially negative groups to exist without being directly identified and stigmatized. One of these deviant societies is the Pro-Anorexia community, an online society existing in the form of internet sites which supports as well as promotes anorexia nervosa (Mulveen 283). The Pro-Anorexia movement could possibly survive by way of an alternative communicative platform, but without anonymity from the internet, it would not have the capability to thrive as it currently does.

Due to harboring socially unacceptable values and promoting dangerous and unhealthy behaviors, the Pro-Anorexia movement is one that cannot successfully exist in real life. As a result of this rejection by mainstream society, the movement must primarily live online. The existence of the internet is an incredibly large factor in the ability for the Pro-Ana community to survive. Before the establishment of the internet, preceding the late 1990s, those suffering from eating disorders were unable to access many resources which did not focus on recovery (Knapton

93). Evidently now, with the internet firmly established and made easily accessible to most individuals, Pro-Ana communities flourish inside of the digital world.

The two major ways in which the internet makes the Pro-Ana movement successful is its accessibility and the anonymity it provides. Any individual with connection to the internet and the ability to read simple text can gain entry into to the Pro-Ana world (Borzekowski 1532). These sites are easy to find by doing a simple google search and are available at any time throughout the day (Borzekowski 1532).

Anonymity is defined as non-identifiability (Wallace 23), the inability to be identified in a certain situation or condition (Wallace 23). Those who are anonymous are not invisible, but simply exist while information about who they truly are is inaccessible (Wallace 25). Anonymity is one of the key aspects which makes the successes of the Pro-Ana community possible. In a positive light, the lack of identification gives individuals the ability to express vulnerable topics and taboo ideas without fear of identification or exposure. Protection against discrimination is provided as well, creating a safe haven in which individuals can find sanctuary (Wallace 31-32). This anonymity also gives comfort by making the escape from any hostile situations or difficult circumstances in which the individual is unidentifiable simple (Borzekowski 1532). If someone cannot be identified, they cannot be tracked when fleeing a situation when threatened or under attack. While this lack of identifiability brings a sense of safety and comfort, anonymity is what makes the Pro-Ana community a possibility not only in that its security draws in members, but that it enables the circulation, production, and communication of negative and damaging material with little responsibility or repercussion.

Anonymity online makes it difficult, if not impossible to locate the source of material published without a stated author (Lee 6). The inability to easily identify users on the internet is a key factor in making it possible for the the Pro-Ana community to exist. Anonymity helps the Pro-Ana movement not only by drawing Anas to the sites with the promise of identity security, but by avoiding the medical community and growing segment of society which recognizes anorexia and other eating disorders as psychiatric disorders and works to prevents and treat them.

Anorexia nervosa (AN), the disorder central to Pro-Anorexia, is one of the three major eating disorder diagnoses, along with bulimia nervosa (BN) and eating disorder not otherwise specified. (Barbarich-Marsteller vii). Anorexia nervosa has the highest mortality rate of all eating disorders. (Smink 412). A large amount of people suffering from AN commit suicide due to depression, commonly comorbid with AN (American Psychiatric Association 341, 343). Death due to the physiological complications of AN contributes to the elevated mortality rate (American Psychiatric Association 343). The core features used to identify AN are an extreme fear of becoming fat or experiencing weight gain, continuous restriction of energy intake, repeated behaviors preventing weight gain, and a distorted view of body weight or shape (American Psychiatric Association 339). AN is divided into two separate categories, restricting type anorexia nervosa (AN-R) and binge/purge type anorexia nervosa (AN-BP) (American Psychiatric Association 339). AN-R is a form of anorexia in which the individual loses and prevents weight gain by way of dieting, exercising to an extreme amount, and fasting, but not routinely partaking in binge eating and purging (Barbarich-Marsteller 2). In contrast, those suffering from AN-BP routinely binge eat and purge (Barbarich-Marsteller 2). A detailed

description of the disorder and its subtypes are located in Table 1 (Appendix A), Table 2 (Appendix B) and Table 3 (Appendix C).

Anorexia nervosa and behaviors of self-starvation are not recent phenomena, but have been present for many centuries. The act of willingly and purposefully denying the body of food has been present throughout the majority of history, first appearing as fasting. Fasting was initially used as a religious practice, meant to bring someone closer to their deity or separate themselves from the material world (Bemporad 218). During ancient times fasting to the point of death was not a popular practice in Western society, but often done in Eastern religions (Bemporad 218). Gradually the act of self-starvation as a religious practice spread to the Western world, hitting a notable peak during the 13th through 17th centuries (Bemporad 221). During this point in time many European women began to partake in self-starvation for religious as well as social reasons. St. Catherine of Siena was one of the most famous religious fasters of her time, acting as an inspiring role model for many self-starving women after her (Bemporad 222). After a string of traumatic life events St. Catherine dedicated herself to God and began to partake in a series of severe activities, such as flogging herself in order to imitate the suffering experienced by Christ, long meditations, self-starvation, self-induced vomiting, and little sleep (Bemporad 222). After a pain-stricken life filled with self-denial, religious dedication, and an abundance of good deeds done towards her community, St. Catherine passed away at the age of 32 from malnutrition (Bemporad 222). After the death of St. Catherine many women began to starve themselves to death for both religious and social reasons (Bemporad 222). Women suffering from lack of nutrition were not only able to declare their religious devotion, but avoid social obligations such as child-birth, arranged marriage, and raising a family as well (Bemporad 222).

Following St. Catherine many other women gained much fame and attention for their self-starvation and anorexic-like states (Bemporad 223). It was not until the 17th century that self-starvation and its symptoms were addressed in a medical approach, most notably by John Reynolds (Bemporad 224). Before Reynolds women suffering from an anorexia-like syndromes were considered to be possessed or just seeking attention (Bemporad 223). In 1689 Richard Morton gave one of the first complete and modern descriptions of anorexia nervosa (Bemporad 225). Many years later in 1874 William Gull titled the psychiatric disorder and provided a detailed clinical explanation of the AN (Till 348). Gratefully in the following years humanity's understanding of anorexia nervosa and other eating disorders has grown, though the question of why women have a far greater tendency than men to develop an eating disorder is still not sufficiently answered.

What exactly causes AN to occur far more frequently in women than in men is not explicitly clear. For every 10 women diagnosed with anorexia nervosa there is only one man diagnosed with the same disorder (American Psychiatric Association 341). The incredibly low occurrence of AN in males does give strength to the idea that gender identity, specifically the level of femininity, has a large influence on the development of AN in an individual (Till 443). Pressures for women to pursue the ideal woman, one who is thin, beautiful, accomplished, and career driven, essentially society's "super women" can be contributed to the development of AN (Mensing 564). Although society's standards and a pursuit of feminine perfection may encourage the development of an eating disorder, it is unclear if these pressures may or may not be the main contributing factors to why so many more women develop eating disorders than men.

The unequal distribution of gender between men and women heavily effects who is part of the Pro-Ana community and what their gender and sex may be. When addressing the gender of an individual managing a Pro-Anorexia site, it is often assumed that they are female. There are likely a few male-run Pro-Anorexia sites on the internet, but the prevalence of eating disorders amongst women, a girly appearance of many of the pages, and an overwhelming amount of content geared towards women on these pages indicates that most Pro-Anorexia sites are run by woman. Although most Pro-Anorexia authors are likely female, a clear declaration of gender is not commonly present on a Pro-Ana page. Anonymity plays a large role in clouding many attributes of the Pro-Ana member, including their sex and gender.

Just as there is a large array of factors which cause the unequal occurrence of AN between the sexes, there is a multitude of different of ways people suffering from AN deal with their eating disorders. Individuals with eating disorders develop variety of different methods in which to cope with their psychiatric disorder. Some with AN may seek recovery, many may decide to quietly coexist with it, and others might embrace it, accept it, and even promote their eating disorder. People suffering from AN who celebrate their eating disorders are part of the unique community of Pro-Anorexia.

Outside of its community, the Pro-Ana movement is viewed in a negative light and heavily criticized for its actions and values. The group can be described as a deviant community, one which does not conform to the standard moral structure upheld by the general population. The rejection of Pro-Ana and its deviant state is due to its consistent presentation of damaging content and encouragement of unhealthy behaviors and mindsets constructed around a serious psychiatric disorder.

Pro-Anorexia, commonly abbreviated to Pro-Ana, is a primarily online movement which rejects the notion of AN and other eating disorders as psychiatric disturbances and instead embraces them in a positive, non-clinical approach (Fox 944, 955). A fully-agreed upon definition of Pro-Ana has yet to be established, some defining it as the promotion of the anorexic lifestyle as a choice and others as a support system for managing an eating disorder (Knapton 461, 463). Though definitions vary, Pro-Anorexia is built on idea that in some form or another, the body and mind can be positively affected by anorexia nervosa (Fox 463).

While the definition of Pro-Anorexia varies from source to source, the content provided on Pro-Ana sites is fairly consistent across the internet, all containing material primarily focused on the development and maintenance of an anorexic state. The Pro-Ana movement predominantly exists in the form of online blogs and forums, some with a main author and others with contributions from a community of Anas, a title commonly used to refer to those belonging to the Pro-Anorexia community (Knapton 462). Websites often contain online journals, poetry and artwork (Brotsky 94), sometimes caloric charts, calculators (Borzekowski 1539) and less frequently materials promoting self-injury (Lipczynska 547). Sites also contain a large amount of ‘thinspiration’, and various other media meant to provide information, inspiration, and support to achieve success as an anorexic. (Borzekowski 1256).

One of the most characteristic and destructive categories of material on Pro-Anorexia sites is ‘thinspiration’, or ‘thinspo’, images of slender or even emaciated women, quotes, and other materials meant to inspire, encourage, or trigger anorexic behavior (Norris 444). From the surface thinspiration can seem fairly harmless, featuring popular models from brands like *Victoria's Secret*, slender athletic women in skimpy exercise apparel, and famous celebrities,

such as Miley Cyrus, Vitoria Beckham and Kate Moss. Quotes include inspiring words from a variety of sources, usually encouraging physical activity, determination, and the desire to live a healthy and strong life. These milder examples are commonly found on more mainstream websites, such as *Pinterest* and *Tumblr*. More alarming images are more often encountered in underground Pro-Anorexia sites. These pictures normally show close ups of scantily clad, dangerously underweight young women. Images tend to exclude the face of the photographed woman and focus in only on the body or specific body parts. Protruding ribs, hip bones, spinal cords, and collar bones are popular thinspiration subjects, all celebrating the emaciated female figure. Many quotes and sayings in thinspiration are disturbing, including feelings of hatred and disgust about one's body, purification and empowerment by way of starvation, and a fervent desire for weight loss and control over food consumption. Thinspiration containing pictures of overweight and obese individuals exists as well. Referred to as 'reverse inspiration', these pictures are meant to disgust the viewer and further encourage and fortify anorexic behaviors (Lipczynska 546). The fact that this type of material simply exists is unsettling, but that these images are in abundance and regularly circulated throughout Pro-Ana groups is an incredibly concerning matter. Thinspiration is one of the most characteristic attributes of the triggering material distributed in the Pro-Ana community, but there are a host of others which can be attributed to the starvation-centered society as well.

Another common type of media viewed and shared within the Pro-Ana world are the methods of self-starvation and nutritional restriction. Countless web pages contain mass amounts of information on how to decrease caloric intake, successfully binge and purge, overexercise, and hide disordered eating from friends and family. Some methods are common weight-loss

techniques used by people without eating disorders, such as getting a sufficient amount of sleep and having hot water with lemon juice in the morning (“Tips & Tricks”). The majority of advice though ranges from simply strange to dangerously unhealthy. Unconventional tips suggest methods such as eating in front of a mirror while naked or only in underwear (“Tips & Tricks”), and following week long diets which allow no more than 700 calories per day. (“Diets”).

Strenuous exercise regimens are also provided, along with a cumbersome list of ways to hide disordered eating from friends and family. The majority of these tips suggest unhealthy behaviors, behaviors that deny the body of essential nutrients, push the body far past its natural limits, and fortify a disturbed mental state.

The most unique and debatably most socially unacceptable aspect of the Pro-Anorexia community is the Pro-Ana philosophy or religion, what many of Anas use as a foundation for their anorexic lifestyle and behaviors. Ana philosophy ranges from fairly straightforward beliefs to those with an eery cult-like feel, painting the AN as a moral system to be exercised and believed, not as a severe, clinical mental disorder (Knapton 470). Many Anas believe that successfully maintaining an anorexic state will create an environment in which they feel in control and have a sense of purity (Fox 958). Members may decide that dedicating themselves to an eating disorder and having absolute control over their diet and weight will build a deeply sought after sense of structure and order in their uncontrollable lives (Borzekowski 1529).

A more religious side of Pro-Anorexia is that which mimics well established religions, commonly Christianity. ‘Ana’, the personification of Anorexia Nervosa, is revered as a powerful deity or goddess (Knapton 470). She becomes an individual, or entity, when Anas disassociate themselves from the eating disorder itself (Knapton 470). Some Anas may pray to the goddess

and follow two of the most prominent religious works established in the Pro-Ana community, Ana's Ten Commandments (Appendix D) and Ana's Creed (Appendix E). Ana's Creed, published by an unknown author, is a troubling ode to the deity 'Ana', a passionate recognition to all of the suffering Anas have endured, and a declaration of belief in the goddess and all of her calorie-free virtues ("Religion"). Ana's Ten Commandments is a set of ten rules initially discussed in the book *Your Dieting Daughter: Is She Dying for Attention* by Carolyn Costin (Borzekowski 1530). Though the commandments were originally intended to aid parents with daughters struggling with AN, they were adopted into the Pro-Ana philosophy and used as a tool for AN instead of against it (Borzekowski 1532). The list gives ten disturbing rules to be followed, including stating that the number on the scale is the all-powerful ruling factor in one's life, that one should chastise themselves after consuming high calorie foods, and that being an anorexic holds a higher value than health itself ("Religion"). Prayers mentioning sins, pertaining to the perceived lack of success in anorexic activities, and requests for guidance and protection are also used, placing 'Ana' in a role commonly reserved for entities such as Jesus Christ ("Religion"). While a detailed moral structure and routine rituals benefit many who regularly practice a specified faith, the Ana religion is far from healthy and rings strongly of a negative mental state. In general, AN is evolved by the Pro-Ana community from a clinical disorder into an intricate and consuming way of life, one with a mentally and physically unhealthy belief system and unsettling religious routines (Knapton 470).

The heart of the Pro-Anorexia movement is the collection of online communities that gives members the means to communicate with one another. These online groups, or 'digital communities' (Dosani 1) have interactive formats that most commonly come in the form of

online forums (Brotsky 94). Forums for messaging, bulletin boards where members can post various materials, instant messaging, and chat rooms are some of the features utilized by Anas to synthesize a flourishing online community (Brotsky 94). While being part of an understanding community is beneficial to any individual, unfortunately the good that an Ana may experience in her community is not enough to combat the collective damage of her disorder (Brotsky 107).

Unlike the other aspects of the Pro-Ana movement, such as Thinspiration, Ana philosophy and religion, and the promoted methods of starvation, there are arguable positives about the social interactions which the online Pro-Ana community makes possible. A neutral, judgement-free environment is established where those suffering from eating disorders can gather without being criticized for their activities or heavily pressured into recovery (Brotsky 97). Anas dealing with their eating disorders are able to find others to express their worries and troubles to (Ferreday 277). Some feel that Anas struggling with eating disorders are most importantly able to find support, acceptance, and affection from others like themselves, needs that are difficult to attain from individuals who do not accept them and their Pro-Ana mindset.

Although interaction amongst Anas may provide a few positives, insidious results can occur due to being in an environment saturated with the promotion of eating disorders and the existence of competition. The online groups make supportive networks as well as competitive interactions possible. Online, many Anas view Anorexia as a kind of game, something to win and be better than others at (Knapton 469). Anas compete with one another, seeing who can be the 'best Ana' by weighing the least or reaching their weight loss goal first (Knapton 469). As well as being the thinnest and having the strongest self-discipline, success is gained by the amount

of pain an Ana experiences because of her disorder (Knapton 467). The more pain she endures, the more she wins (Knapton 467).

In addition to how much an Ana weighs and how much self-discipline and control she exercises, the amount of pain an Ana endures due to her disorder is used as a marker of success (Knapton 468). The more physical pain induced from self-starvation an Ana is able to handle, the stronger she is considered to be, and the more success she earns in the Pro-Ana community (Knapton 467). Essentially, the strongest Ana wins. Although having the ability to endure intense pain and discomfort is admired amongst members of the Pro-Ana community, usually they focus in on the discomfort caused by the eating disorder itself. Being able to withstand intense hunger pains, regular vomiting, rigorous exercise routines, and other discomforts caused directly by the eating disorder itself is what is being admired. Emotional pain and distress is often not what is being celebrated. Depression and other psychological issues often accompany AN, making the likeliness of suicide and other self-harming activities a possibility (American Psychiatric Association 341). Although people with AN are at high risk for suicide (American Psychiatric Association 342), only a small percentage of suicidal and self-harm material are associated with the Pro-anorexia movement itself. (Borzekowski 1529).

After considering the extent to which the Pro-anorexia community deviates from mainstream society, it is important to realize how powerful the internet as a tool is and why so many Pro-Anorexic people are utilizing the internet to such a heavy extent. Our culture views anorexia nervosa and other eating disorders as psychiatric disorders, not as conditions to be celebrated. This makes it difficult for Pro-Ana material to be promoted and made visible to the general public in the material world without the Pro-Ana community receiving condemnation

and heavy criticism. This inability to openly go about being Pro-Ana without negative results is why many people pursuing becoming an Ana turn towards the internet. The internet is the perfect tool for anyone who aspires to be an Ana and is in search of an accepting community.

Anonymity, accessibility, community, and a vast selection of information that can be used to develop anorexic skills are provided by the internet without being actively exposed to the general public and receiving an immense amount of criticism and discrimination from the outside world.

Although the Pro-Ana movement is not well known, there have been attempts at addressing this society and shutting it down. Actions to censor Pro-Anorexia sites and end them have been made (Ferreday 283). In August 2001 all detected Pro-ana websites were deleted by *Yahoo!* from its servers (Ferreday 283). Unfortunately this was not sufficiently effective, due to Anas finding other servers to publish their web pages on and avoiding key terms, such as ‘ana’ and ‘anorexia’ (Brotsky 95). Other actions taken by the Pro-Ana community to remain undetected were to increase the importance of membership and posting disclaimers on the sites stating that encouragement of the anorexic lifestyle and promotion of starvation is not their intention (Brotsky 95). Though past attempts at addressing Pro-Anorexia have not been incredibly successful, further efforts trying to reduce the influence of the Pro-Anorexia community is necessary to help its members who are suffering from eating disorders and who actively avoid treatment.

The Pro-Anorexia movement is not commonly known, and therefore not frequently addressed. Increasing public awareness of the existence and influence of the Pro-Anorexia community and movement and avid promotion of healthy lifestyles and body images amongst those suffering from AN would be a positive step in the right direction. An obvious solution

would be to increase the monitoring of the Internet and enforce a heavier amount of censorship upon websites. Although directly approaching the issue by increased censorship and monitoring seems like the most effective plan, it would be violating a number of rights provided to the citizens of this country. There is no easy way to decrease the influence and abundance of Pro-Anorexia communities, as there is no simple way to deal with the eating disorders so many individuals in these communities suffer from.

The existence and success of the Pro-Anorexia movement and its communities is without question incredibly disheartening. While addressing the issue of Pro-Anorexia is a complex matter that may take an extended period of time to be dealt with, there is hope for those caught in the digital snare of Pro-Ana. The utilization of the internet by the Pro-Anorexia movement is a strong testimony to how effectively the Internet can be used in order to establish such a socially deviant society and above all a strong example of how a useful tool such as the internet can be so strongly misused. Though the Pro-Anorexia movement and the communities that it has spawned are overall viewed as negative, the movement does deserve a small amount of positive recognition. Many people with eating disorders who have had no where to belong in the past are now able to be part of a society in which they can find support, comfort, inspiration, and community amongst individuals similar to themselves.

Appendix A

Diagnostic Criteria for Anorexia Nervosa

Diagnostic Criteria	Definition
Criterion A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Limitation of sufficient nutritional intake resulting in critically low body weight in relation to age, sex, developmental course, and physiological health.
Criterion B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Severe dread of weight gain or becoming overweight. •Or continuous actions done to prevent gaining weight, despite being terribly underweight.
Criterion C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Distorted view of body weight or shape. •Unreasonable effect of body weight or figure on self-worth. •Or a continuous inability to realize the danger of the present low body weight.

(American Psychiatric Association 339 - 340)

Appendix B

Subtypes of Anorexia Nervosa

Subtype	Characteristics	Weight-loss techniques
Restriction type	Repeated episodes of bingeing or purging has not occurred within the past three months.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Dieting •Fasting •Excessive exercise
Binge-eating/purging type	Repeated episodes of bingeing or purging has occurred within the past three months.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Self-induced vomiting •Abuse of laxatives, enemas, and/or diuretics

(American Psychiatric Association 339)

Appendix C

Supporting Diagnostic Characteristics of Anorexia Nervosa

Diagnostic Characteristics	Features
Physiological disturbances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Complications with blood health •Complications in serum chemistry •Irregular vital signs •Hormone imbalances •Loss of bone mineral density •Heart rhythm problems •Fluid and electrolyte imbalances •Reduced level of resting energy expenditure
Mental disturbances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Depressed mood •Social retraction •Decreased sex-drive •Irritability •Insomnia •Obsessive-compulsive behaviors
Other disturbances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Worry about eating in public •Intense desire for control over environment •Rigid patterns of thinking •Social reservation •Excessive control in emotional expression •Tendency to misuse drugs and alcohol

(American Psychiatric Association 341, 343)

Appendix D

Ana's Ten Commandments

1. If you aren't thin, you are ugly and worthless.
2. Fasting and praying to Ana are true signs of control and power.
3. You can never be too thin.
4. No one can know you worship me.
5. You will count calories.
6. Being thin is more important than being healthy.
7. You will do anything to look thinner.
8. If you eat you will feel guilty.
9. If you eat you will punish yourself.
10. The scale is the truth, trust it.

-From the online post "Religion"

Appendix E

Ana's Creed

I believe in Ana, the mother of feather weight, the fair judge of all,

and I believe in the Thins, the daughters of Ana, my only masters, who began from the Trigger.

Born from the Voice, tortured by all and everyone, died, and buried.

Risen and sat my Ana's side, they will come again in glory,

to judge all, dead and undead, and her kingdom will rain down on all.

I believe in Ana's control and guidance, the only force to hold down this chaotic world,

and I believe in perfection, Ana's gift to man kind, the only thing worth my life.

I believe in the Fallen and the Forgotten, the countless Calories that strive to pull me down.

I believe in the vile truth that I am not perfect yet, but I will do anything to obtain it.

-From the online post "Religion"

Works Cited

Peer-reviewed Journal Articles

- Bemporad, Jules R. "Self-starvation through the Ages: Reflections on the Pre-history of Anorexia Nervosa." *Int. J. Eat. Disord. International Journal of Eating Disorders* 19.3 (1996): 217-37. *Wiley Online Library*. Web. 5 Sept. 2015.
- Borzekowski, Dina L. G., Summer Schenk, Jenny L. Wilson, and Rebecka Peebles. "E-Ana and E-Mia: A Content Analysis of Pro-Eating Disorder Web Sites." *American Journal of Public Health* 100.8 (2010): 1526-534. *PsychINFO*. Web. 19 Apr. 2014.
- Brotsky, Sarah R., and David Giles. "Inside the "Pro-ana" Community: A Covert Online Participant Observation." *Eating Disorders* 15.2 (2007): 93-109. *EBSCOhost*. Web. 21 Feb. 2015.
- Dosani, Sabina, Claire Harding, and Simon Wilson. "Online Groups and Patient Forums." *Current Psychiatry Reports* 16.11 (2014): 1-6. *SpringerLink*. Web. 26 Jan. 2015.
- Ferreday, Debra. "Unspeakable Bodies: Erasure, Embodiment and the Pro-Ana Community." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 6.3 (2003): 277-95. *SAGE journals*. Web. 19 Mar. 2015.
- Fox, Nick, Katie Ward, and Alan O'rourke. "Pro-anorexia, Weight-loss Drugs and the Internet: An 'anti-recovery' Explanatory Model of Anorexia." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 27.7 (2005): 944-71. *PsychINFO*. Web. 19 Apr. 2015.
- Knapton, Olivia. "Pro-anorexia: Extensions of Ingrained Concepts." *Discourse & Society* 24.4 (2013): 461-77. *SAGE journals*. Web. 26 Jan. 2015.
- Lee, Ya-Ching. "Internet and anonymity." *Society* 43.4 (2006): 5-7. *SpringerLink*. Web. 11 Mar. 2015.
- Lipczynska, Sonya. "Website Review." *Journal of Mental Health* 16.4 (2007): 545-48. *EBSCOhost*. Web. 19 Apr. 2015.
- Mensinger, Janell Lynn, Deanne Zotter Bonifazi, and Judith Larosa. "Perceived Gender Role Prescriptions in Schools, the Superwoman Ideal, and Disordered Eating Among Adolescent Girls." *Sex Roles* 57.7-8 (2007): 557-68. *SpringerLink*. Web. 6 Sept. 2015.
- Mulveen, Ruaidheri, and Julie Hepworth. "An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Participation in a Pro-anorexia Internet Site and Its Relationship with Disordered Eating." *Journal of Health Psychology* 11.2 (2006): 283-96. *Sage journals*. Web. 19 Mar. 2015.

Norris, Mark L., MD, Katherine M. Boydell, PhD, Leora Pinhas, MD, and Debra K. Katzman, MD. "Ana and the Internet: A Review of Pro-Anorexia Websites." *International Journal of Eating Disorders* 39.6 (2006): 443-47. *Wiley Online Library*. Web. 10 Mar. 2015.

Smink, Frédérique R. E., Daphne Van Hoeken, and Hans W. Hoek. "Epidemiology of Eating Disorders: Incidence, Prevalence and Mortality Rates." *Current Psychiatry Reports Curr Psychiatry Rep* 14.4 (2012): 406-14. *SpringerLink*. Web. 10 Aug. 2015.

Till, Chris. "The Quantification of Gender: Anorexia Nervosa and Femininity." *Health Sociology Review* 20.4 (2011): 437-49. *EBSCPhost*. Web. 5 Sept. 2015.

Wallace, Kathleen A. "Anonymity." *Ethics and Information Technology* 1.1 (1999): 21-31. *SpringerLink*. Web. 11 Mar. 2015.

Books

American Psychiatric Association. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-5*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 2013. *PsychiatryOnline*. Web. 9 Aug. 2015.

Barbarich-Marsteller, Nicole C. *Anorexia Nervosa: Symptoms, Treatment, and Neurobiology*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2012. *Eating Disorders in the 21st Century*. *ProQuest ebrary*. Web. 21 April. 2015.

Website Articles, Blogs, and Posts from Pro-Ana Websites

"Diets." *Pro Ana's Personal Ana Buddy, Tips, Tricks, Diets, and More*. Pro Ana's Personal Ana Buddy, Tips, Tricks, Diets and More, n.d. Web. Mar. 19 Jun. 2015. <anacamp.webs.com/diets>

"Religion." *Pro Ana's Personal Ana Buddy, Tips, Tricks, Diets, and More*. Pro Ana's Personal Ana Buddy, Tips, Tricks, Diets and More, n.d. Web. Mar. 19 Apr. 2015. <anacamp.webs.com/religion>

"Tips & Tricks." Web log post. *The Pro-Ana Lifestyle Forever*. N.p., n.d. Web. 21 Oct. 2014. <<https://theproanalifestyleforever.wordpress.com/tips-tricks/>>.