Digital activism of women with disabilities on Instagram: analysis of three cases in Chile

Activismo digital de mujeres con discapacidad en Instagram: análisis de tres casos en Chile

Ativismo digital de mulheres com deficiência no Instagram: análise de três casos no Chile

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ABSTRACT | This article studies the digital activism of three Chilean women with disabilities Instagram content creators. We used the ethnographic method to observe their activity in their public profiles. The results reveal an activism that encompasses educational objectives, denunciation, opinion on national issues, and coalition with other groups. The activists base their activism on concepts related to the social model of disability, feminism, ableism, inclusion, and diversity. It is concluded that digital activism is a powerful tool for the movement of people with disabilities and that it is part of a network of anti-ableist activism in resistance.

KEYWORDS: digital activism; disability; ableism; gender; social movement of people with disabilities.

RESUMEN | *Este artículo analiza el activismo digital de tres mujeres chilenas con discapacidad creadoras de contenidos en Instagram. Se utilizó el método etnográfico para observar el contenido de su actividad en sus perfiles públicos. Los resultados revelan un activismo que integra objetivos educativos, de denuncia, de coalición con otros grupos y de opinión en temas coyunturales nacionales. Las activistas sustentan su acción en conceptos que se relacionan con el modelo social de la discapacidad, los feminismos, el capacitismo, la inclusión y la diversidad. Se concluye que el activismo digital es una herramienta poderosa para el movimiento de personas con discapacidad y es parte de una red de activismos contracapacitistas en resistencia.*

PALABRAS CLAVES: *activismo digital; discapacidad; capacitismo; género; movimiento social de personas con discapacidad.*

RESUMO | Este artigo analisa o ativismo digital de três mulheres chilenas com deficiência que são criadoras de conteúdo no Instagram. O método etnográfico foi utilizado para observar o conteúdo da atividade nos seus perfis públicos. Os resultados revelam um ativismo que integra objetivos educativos, denúncia, coalizão com outros grupos e opinião sobre questões nacionais. As ativistas baseiam sua ação em conceitos relacionados ao modelo social da deficiência, o feminismo, o capacitismo, inclusão e diversidade. Conclui-se que o ativismo digital é uma ferramenta poderosa para o movimento de pessoas com deficiência e faz parte de uma rede de ativismos contra o capacitismo em resistência.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: ativismo digital; deficiência; capacitismo; gênero; movimento social das pessoas com deficiência.

INTRODUCTION

Social networks have had implications for social action, including the creation of a space for digital activism and content creators that can represent a collective identity, culture, or lifestyle.

Historically excluded groups, such as people with disabilities, are among these activists. In Hispano-America, YouTube, Instagram and TikTok have become spaces in which young people and adults with disabilities engage in activism, either through their personal accounts or collective accounts for disability outreach and education (Bonilla-Del-Río et al., 2021; Federación de Asociaciones de Personas con Discapacidad Física y Orgánica de la Comunidad de Madrid, 2022).

This research aims to analyze the digital activism of three women with disabilities in Chile who create content on Instagram on issues related to disability, through three approaches: 1) ethnography (methodological approach) to understand digital social networks as an ethnographic field; 2) the gender perspective (analysis), recognizing in these women an intersectional and situated activism, and 3) ableism as an approach of critical disability studies to analyze these activisms as resistance practices.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To situate digital activism in this research, we will begin by defining it as "the participation and organization of citizens who use ICTs to disseminate, promote, and defend various civil, political, social, and cultural causes –often seeking a specific objective related to the authorities' policies or decisions" (Azuela & Tapia, 2013, p. 11). In this regard, the Internet both enables and supports the organization of collective action online, including its transnationalization, as well as new forms of protest or virtual versions of these (Millaleo & Velasco, 2013). In fact, for Treré (2020) the Internet complements and enhances hybrid media activism without dissociating it in its political aspect from the tie with conventional media, for strategic reasons. Based on the cyborg metaphor, proposed by Haraway, Rovira (2017) understands digital activism as a connected multitude that transits between the in situ and online world, generating hybrid performative constellations that create resistance in moments of political urgencies. Regarding its communicative purpose, she considers that it is defined by its capacity for self-management, globality, possibility of alliances, and links at the transnational level.

Digital activism in social networks allows increasing "the ability to give visibility to discourses that are not selected in the hegemonic public sphere" (Millaleo & Velasco, p. 9), so it can be a way to confront the invisibilization of

disabled people and collectives, as well as ableism. Thus, there is an emergence of content creators, influencers, organizations' digital accounts, and social networks of projects and media related to disability, which have raised a digital culture and political digital activism (García, 2022). Digital social networks have become a relevant contested public terrain that has raised a voice for diversities, dissidences[1], and other social groups. The proliferation of feminist, indigenous, sexual diversity, anti-racist and disability activisms, among others, has intensified profusely during the COVID-19 pandemic (Bringel & Pleyers, 2020). Numerous digital disability activists have emerged in different parts of the world, including Latin America. In the case of Chile, they have generally appeared through previous non-activist exposures, such as being athletes, humorists, or communication workers. Others without previous exposure have created, follower after follower, a space out of pandemic confinement.

Studies on digital social networks and disability are scarce. Most analyze big data, map, and obtain statistics from digital social networks of disability-related organizations (Criado et al., 2018), or study how these networks help people with disabilities to feel more supported (Suriá, 2017). In Chile, the topic has not been developed. In other Spanish-speaking countries (Bonilla-Del-Río et al., 2021), the authors present digital activism as an opportunity for the digital inclusion of people with disabilities. González Amago (2021) proposes a conceptual and practical approach to the subject, based on his experience. In English-speaking countries, research on digital activism linked to the Paralympic Games (Pearson & Trevisan, 2015), political campaigns and citizenship (Mann, 2018; Trevisan, 2020), and those referring to the transformations and current challenges faced by the digital activism of people with disabilities (Ellis & Goggin, 2018) stand out.

In these spaces of digital practices (Pink et al., 2016), users can produce content and contribute to the fulfillment of their individual, collective, and identity rights. In this regard, digital activism creates spaces for media education that diminish the traditional exclusion of citizen collectives "to transform their situation and achieve a more just and inclusive society" (Bonilla-Del-Río et al., 2021, p. 22).

In the case of women with disabilities, they are highly oppressed and abused (Naciones Unidas, 2015), and live their experience within a patriarchal structure (Moscoso, 2007). In addition to society exercising hegemonic power over people with disabilities, patriarchal relationships are often replicated among disabled people (Morris, 1996). In this context, digital social networks are not exempt from

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1. Dissident collectives appeal to a corporeality or functionality that diverges from the norm within a power system.

patriarchy and can often be a hostile and risky place (Bonilla-Del-Río et al., 2021), while being fruitful for feminist agency (Laudano, 2017). Considering the above, this research incorporates the gender perspective to enrich this analysis.

Regarding disability-gender intersectionality, the *Encuesta Nacional de la Discapacidad II* (ENDISC II) (2nd National Survey on Disability) reflects that the percentage of women with disabilities in Chile is almost double that of men (20.3% vs. 12.9%, respectively) (Servicio Nacional de la Discapacidad, 2016). In addition to the above, women in general have been victims of systematic marginalization and gender discrimination that puts them at risk of acquiring disability, maintaining it, or having a low quality of life with it (United Nations Women, 2018).

In this context, the link between gender and disability has been studied in recent years from different theories and approaches. The theory of intersectionality, specifically, focuses on the difficulties faced by women with disabilities, mainly regarding employability, motherhood, sexuality, and domestic violence (Morris, 1996; Arenas Cornejo, 2009; Garland Thomson, 2017). In this connection, disability has been mainly studied from care reproduction. This is especially important in a culture such as Latin American, which has historically assigned and continues to assign the work of caregiving to women. In Chile, 73.9% of caregivers of people with disabilities are women, and 93.6% of all family caregivers are unpaid (Servicio Nacional de la Discapacidad, 2016). Crossing various statistical sources, Revuelta (2019) identifies that public policies and care in Chile are conducted under a familist and feminized regime.

The relationship between gender and disability has led to the emergence of global activisms of women with disabilities, including Latin America (Fernando, 2021; Gomiz Pascual, 2021), which shows the power of this connection and the interest of social movements and academia to further explore it (Pino & Rodríguez, 2017). In that regard, their digital practices could be understood as acts of resistance and counterproposals to the prevailing ableism. The latter refers to the value system of beliefs and practices that qualifies the person as capable or incapable/disabled, imposing an identity and a referent of capability as normality (Campbell, 2009).

Ableism is part of the social structure and exists in contemporary societies intertwined with other sociopolitical realities, such as capitalism (Maldonado Ramírez, 2020), racism (Mello, 2014), patriarchy (López Radrigán, 2020), aporophobia (Aparicio & Toboso, 2018) and colonialism (Danel, 2019). Its pervasiveness and invisibilization are profound. According to Cherney (2019), ableism becomes a problem only for people with disabilities and "Until society sees ableist discrimination as a culturally generated and reinforced system,

people generally view disability itself as the problem" (p. 10). Therefore, digital activisms can become practices of resistance to ableism, especially for their aesthetic, performative, and creative possibilities, expressed in content such as memes, viral content, dances, or capsules, among others, that oppose the mandate of compulsory bodily ability (McRuer, 2021) by rejecting bodily stereotypes and revealing a dissident attitude towards functionality, performance, aesthetics, and bodily independence of ableist base.

METHOD

This research is developed in the field of the study of digital ecosystems and digital methods for the social sciences (Snee et al., 2016), specifically in that of ethnographies. The latter are varied: virtual (Hine, 2000), multimodal (Dicks et al., 2006), ethnographies for social networks (Postill & Pink, 2012), for the Internet (Hine, 2015) or digital ethnography (Pink et al., 2016). As a methodological procedure, in a first stage of the study, the online activity of activists is observed and analyzed, focusing on an ethnography of virtual practices. A second stage, in progress, includes interviews with the activists to understand their activism's full spectrum of practices and contexts, assuming that the boundaries between online and offline, as well as the definition of the virtual, are in contest. This methodological decision is also an ethical one, since when studying digital activism, it is advisable to give voice to the activists, beyond just observing their practices.

Using public personal Instagram profiles, we selected three accounts of young women with disabilities. They are all activists with disabilities in Chile with a high number of followers, post on various topics, and participate in other work and activist practices outside of social networks (table 1).

Observation of their personal accounts included reviewing and recording their activities daily during 2021 (retrospective) and following their new activities synchronously between November 2021 and January 2022 (13 months in total). We identified and analyzed posts, stories, reels, and interactive actions (polls, questions, and lives) directly or explicitly related to disability, and took field notes.

For the analysis, we conducted an open and axial coding process. We used Atlas.ti9 software to include the technical diversity of the corpus (images, audios, videos, photographs, etc.).

The research has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Universidad Católica de Temuco.

Account	Followers	Offline activity	Disability type	Corpus
@cami.herrerar 32 years old	20K	Producer, dubbing actress, vice-president of a foundation related to disability.	Physical, wheelchair user.	25 posts, 94 stories, 6 lives, 11 reels.
@dani_zapata 34 years old	21.6K	HR engineer, wheelchair basketball player, wheelchair dancer.	Physical, wheelchair user.	19 posts, 43 stories, 3 lives, 18 reels.
@missghilli 30 years old	19.1K	English teacher, founder of a disability-related foundation.	Autism spectrum disorder/ neurodiversity.	52 posts, 22 stories, 4 reels.

Table 1. Presentation of the analyzed activists and corpus

Source: Own elaboration.

RESULTS

The resulting categories were: objectives or communicative intention, digital practices, and conceptual references in activism. This triad represents the what, the how, and the why of an activism expressed in digital social networks.

Communicative objectives or intent

The objectives are divided into the following subcategories: education, denunciation, coalition, dissemination of other activists, advertising, and opinion on current issues.

Education: the three activists coincide in educational objectives. They produce informative posts on topics related to disability through pedagogical and direct strategies that denote a clear and informed position. Some of these topics are disability, neurodiversity, inclusion, difference, ableism, use of assistive technologies, myths, overprotection, universal accessibility, media, social and political participation, sexual dissidence, and medical diagnoses. Many of their practices seek to educate on gender and feminist issues, such as parenting by mothers with disabilities, sexuality, feminist women with disabilities, patriarchy, abortion, femicide, or street harassment, among others. Some specific topics that they address in this area, from an educational perspective, are information and normalization of menstruation, education regarding the link between feminism and disability, along with exemplification with their own life experiences, either as mothers or daughters, on maternal parenting and other topics.

Denunciation: the three activists show an intention to denounce, by making visible issues that affect the community of people with disabilities, although they use different forms. While @missghilli's denunciation is direct and frequent in her posts, the other two do it less frequently and through less direct formats, such as viral dances (trend) characteristic of the social network. The topics are accessibility problems in public spaces, discrimination and prejudice (both personal and towards other people with disabilities), sexism, mistreatment in public services, and use (exploitation) of disability by non-disabled people and professionals. Two of them have communicative practices in response to cyberbullying attacks in various formats. There are explanatory and informative messages, in which an educational intention can be appreciated, while others reject the aggressive attitudes they have received and respond defensively with displeasure, disagreement, or irony. As an example, the activist @dani_zapata received cyberbullying for photographing herself sitting on a wheelchair with her legs crossed, which was interpreted by some people as a hoax or false disability. In this regard, she made a video where she showed the hate messages, while explaining how she managed to cross her legs for a photograph, as a way of teaching (Dani Zapata Lillo, 2021a).

Coalition: the three women activists have digital discourses that establish intersections, adhesion, and coalitions with other emerging excluded and vulnerable social groups, such as women, migrants, lower social classes, feminist parades, and pro-migrants. As an example, the activist @cami.herrerar speaks out in a publication on the 8M march for all women, not only those with disabilities, and specifically alludes to those deprived of liberty (Cami Herrera, 2021a).

Dissemination of other activists: although the three women refer to other activists with disabilities, both to adhere to their publications and to disseminate, this practice is specifically very present in @cami.herrera. The activist has a wide network of digital contacts with other people in the field, especially women, from Chile and other Latin American countries, such as @onwheels1 or @malditalisiadaok, from Argentina, as well as with associations working with disability, both State and private, including CONADIS[2], Teletón, and Integrados Chile at the national level.

Advertising: two of the three activists advertise, although with somewhat different profiles: @missghilli does not advertise on her profile, @dani_zapata is an ambassador for important self-described inclusive brands, and @cami.herrerar mainly advertises products and services not explicitly or directly related to disability. She can be identified as an ambassador for a clothing store that claims

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2. Disability National Collective (translator's note).

to be inclusive, with sports accessories, and with feminine hygiene products. She also advertises assistive technologies, support and rehabilitation centers, among others. Meanwhile, @cami.herrerar advertises makeup, technology stores, cosmetics, banks, among others.

Opinion on current issues: during the period under analysis, various national and world current events took place, on which they expressed their opinion, often directly relating these events to disability. The emerging issues during this period were: COVID-19 pandemic, vaccination, presidential elections, the Teletón campaign[3], and the work process of the Constitutional Convention of Chile. In this regard, although with nuances, they present left or center-left political tendencies and criticism of capitalism/neoliberalism, in general terms, and in its link with disability. They share their electoral choices on the presidential campaigns, their opinion on the Constitutional Convention process and also their vision of the October 2019 social outburst. In these areas, the activists conducted educational campaigns of special interest for people with disabilities, such as information on assisted voting, initiatives on constitutional norms related to the rights of people with disabilities, etc., with greater presence in the cases of @cami.herrerar and @missghilli. The first is generally related to foundations, organizations, and groups of people with disabilities, as can be seen in the video called *¡Tendremos segunda vuelta!* (We will have a second round!), made along with the educational platform Integrados Chile about the country's presidential elections, which educates about the electoral process, the assisted vote, and how people with disabilities have the duty to be informed citizens (Cami Herrera, 2021b). The second, @missmissghilli, does so mainly in the form of individual opinions, among which stands out her participation in the public hearings of the Constitutional Convention, presenting on issues related to autism spectrum, neurodiversity, and disability. Regarding the pandemic, they all adhere to the vaccination process and to the prevention measures indicated by the health authority. In the case of Teletón, both @cami.herrerar and @dani_zapata explicitly allude in favor of the campaign and support it, based on their experience as users of its rehabilitation institute. In the case of @missghilli, she shows a more critical perspective, since in her stories she alludes to the need for free and quality health and rehabilitation systems, without charity.

Digital practices

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3. Teletón Chile is a charity event held annually, consisting of a 27-hour uninterrupted television program, produced and broadcast by all of Chile's television networks. The funds raised by the event are used for the construction and maintenance of the Children's Rehabilitation Institutes for the treatment of children with disabilities during the following year (translator's note).

The formats used to implement their communication objectives are posts, lives, stories, interactions, viral trends, reels, and advertising. The most used format is stories, in which they show videos, photographs, and share information from other activists. There is at least one activity and format per day, but they usually do it several times a day in different formats.

Two of them have even made lives together talking about topics chosen by their own followers, regarding disability (@cami.herrerar and @dani_zapata). Viral trends are used less frequently and almost exclusively by @dani_zapata. On the other hand, @cami.herrerar uses more Instagram interactive formats, such as questions, polls, and quizzes. Likewise, she uses more video stories speaking directly to her followers. On the other hand, @missghilli is the one who most uses the post format to express thoughts and written reflections related to disability or emerging national news, although @dani_zapata also uses this format quite a lot, mainly for photographs.

Advertising is presented not only as an objective (category 1), but also as a format (category 2) or digital practice linked to disability, which is especially evident in the case of @dani_zapata, who produces educational and informative communications about disability in posts advertising assistive technologies and sports accessories.

A final aspect to consider is accessibility. All of them use an accessible format for deaf people, for example, by captioning videos, although not permanently. The activist @cami.herrerar is the one who produces the most accessible videos for deaf people, even in simple, everyday stories. Most of the time, the images posted do not have a written description in the caption, which prevents blind people from accessing them. It is also uncommon that they describe the pictures they publish, but it is @missghilli who did it the most during the analyzed period.

Conceptual references in activism

This category refers to the concepts, approaches, and theories that can be found in activism and that would be at its base. In this case, we analyzed the content of explicit conceptual and thematic allusions by the activists. The following conceptual references were identified: social model of disability, inclusion and diversity, ableism and anti-ableism, neurodiversity, neuronormativity and neurodivergence, gender and feminisms, and universal accessibility.

Disability social model: in their digital practices, they give visibility to the bases of the disability social model, especially in its most contemporary version and in line with the public policy on disability in Chile. The activists use the concept of person in a disability situation, used in Chile and other Latin American countries in the framework of the social model. They also commonly allude to the responsibility

of the environment and the context as facilitator or hinderer, pointing out that disability is of social origin. In this regard, architectural barriers, stigmatization, and prejudice stand out.

Inclusion and diversity: these two concepts are possibly the most explicitly addressed in the activists' digital communication. Inclusion is understood as a social and political objective, especially in labor, educational, and social participation spaces. They also promote in their profiles numerous events related to inclusion, in which they frequently participate. They commonly promote the idea that diversity is a value for society as a principle to achieve inclusion. Thus, diversity is presented as a source of pride and as an identity. In this regard, @dani_zapata and @cami.herrerar frequently use tags such as *#wheelchairgirl*, *#wheelchairwoman*, *#wheelchairlife*, *#wheelchairnoproblem*, among others. Likewise, @missghilli has numerous posts about the autism spectrum as part of diversity in society. In fact, one of her posts notes states: "Some people's obsession with everyone being the same are beyond comprehension[4]" (Miss Ghi, 2021a); another shows pride in diversity and educational inclusion: "It won't be the professionals who will change the education system as we know it, it will be the students…especially the neurodivergent ones" (Miss Ghi, 2021b).

Ableism and anti-ableism: the three activists have publications that directly allude to ableism and anti-ableism, especially @missghilli and @cami.herrerar. To exemplify, the latter publishes in the framework of the 8M commemoration, where she is seen with a feminist parade poster that reads "For the right to be autonomous. Anti-ableist woman. #8m" (Cami Herrera, 2021a). On the other hand, @missghilli, in one of her publications, states: "If your struggle doesn't involve a direct critique of ableism, your struggle is nothing more than the attempt to reproduce systemic violence from another perspective" (Miss Ghi, 2021c).

Neurodiversity, neuronormativity, and neurodivergence: this subcategory is so called because activists use these concepts, sometimes equivalently, as neurodiversity or neurodivergence. @missghilli is the one who communicates the most based on the concepts of neurodiversity, neurodivergence, and neuronormativity. Still, they all use the concept of neurodiversity to refer to people on the autism spectrum. A post by @missghilli features: "My friendships with neurotypical people have always ended the same way; they end the moment they start deciding for me. 'I didn't include/invite you because you don't like the noise/environment/etc.' I prefer a 'because I didn't wanted to' to 'I decide for you'" (Miss Ghi, 2021d). While she does not explicitly refer to neurodiversity, she does so by distancing herself from the neurotypical, in a dissenting sense.

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4. All the Instagram quotes are originally in Spanish (translator's note).

Gender and feminisms: the three women's digital activism reveals very clearly that the gender perspective and feminisms are a conceptual reference. They regularly share information and publish opinions on current situations that affect women and the LGBTIQ+ community, such as street harassment, abortion, equal marriage, etc. Above all, they have a discourse on disability issues intersecting with gender. In this regard, some publications by @missghilli are very noteworthy: "If men menstruated, sanitary pads and menstrual cups would be given away for free in health centers" (Miss Ghi, 2021e). @dani_zapata, in her post on the commemoration of 8M, shows a picture with many diverse women belonging to historically excluded groups, such as older women, trans women, afro-descendants, etc., in which we read "She is not fragile like a flower, she is fragile like a bomb! ✊ 💜" (Dani Zapata Lillo, 2021b). The activist @cami.herrerar, in her 8M post, points out "Today I am not parading, but I am protesting, for me, for my mom, for my sisters, my nieces, my female cousins, my female friends, my female acquaintances, for women with disabilities around the world, for those deprived of freedom, for those who are not here and for those who are coming. Never again without us women!!!!! 💪💪" (Cami Herrera, 2021a).

Universal accessibility: this concept is used by all three activists, but especially by @cami.herrerar and @dani_zapata, both of whom use wheelchairs. In a recent post by @cami.herrerar, in which she shows a photo carousel of a meeting with a female friend, also a disability activist, the caption reads: "One always returns to places that are ACCESSIBLE ♿" (Cami Herrera, 2022), alluding to the difficulties they have in choosing a public place in which to meet. In the case of @dani_zapata, in a video she shows how her partner adapted his motorcycle, making it accessible for a wheelchair user: "He conceived, created, and designed an adaptation so he could share his passion, riding a motorcycle! I frankly never thought I could enjoy and travel on a motorcycle, since it was unthinkable to ride without my wheelchair…" (Dani Zapata Lillo, 2021c).

DISCUSSION

Research from leading digital ethnographers, such as Miller (2019), points out that it is important to understand the advantages and opportunities offered by digital networks and how people use them to bond, create new groups, and recompose social groups that were fragmented by life changes. In the disability field, digital social networks can be especially useful for the activism of individuals and collectives commonly excluded (Criado et al., 2018; Bonilla-DelRío et al., 2021; Gomiz Pascual, 2021). Thus, the activisms we analyzed here in digital social networks as an opportunity to struggle for people with disabilities in Chile and Latin America.

The analysis shows that these women perform a disability activism that we can identify as a hybrid, as it mixes different formats and very diverse objectives regarding disability issues, with a predominance of educational, informative, and denunciation activities, and to a lesser extent they act as influencers in their relationship with brands and the market. Ideally, the media outreach of the activisms analyzed should not be limited to influencers with disabilities, and this analysis reveals that activists move indeed towards other totally different topics, or take disability to other discussion spheres, such as gender or capitalism, which has also been studied theoretically in the field of critical disability studies (López Radrigán, 2020; Maldonado Ramírez, 2020). If we wish to break with the ableist structure, it is necessary to avoid separatist activisms that prevent the establishment of a dialogue between equals, and to create relationships between different oppressed groups that generate a social project that transits to inclusion.

The research showed that a weak aspect of the activism analyzed is the partial use of accessible formats for blind and deaf people, considering that among their followers there are many people with disabilities. This can be complex, since the activists do not have a community manager and they are the ones who produce, edit, and publish their content. However, this action would indeed represent a type of activism and not just a methodological or formatting aspect. Debo (2021) has shown how the use of native language in the publications of indigenous activists in Latin America is an objective and a method, and if we relate it to inclusion, we can also understand it as accessibility. Thus, the use of accessible formats for the blind, the deaf, or easy reading can become both a universally accessible method and an activist practice. To accomplish this goal, it is advisable to have specialized support from the social network itself, the State, or organizations of people with disabilities who see digital social networks as a space in dispute.

We can describe the three activisms analyzed as anti/counter-ableism practices, since they rebel against the ableist system as an ideological system responsible for the privileges held by people without disabilities. Ableism as a sociopolitical structure and daily reality in a neoliberal world is often imperceptible and concealed. However, its opposite is counter-ableism, understood as a conscious, active, and vindicative action in resistance to ableism, expressed through individual and collective practices of re-existences. For Vite (2020), "disability confronts the ableist ideal not only from the body itself, but also in practice" (p. 24). These digital activisms are part of a network of counter-ableist activisms that make ableism visible as a system of oppression, and can generate digital activisms of wide reception and transformative power. The activists explicitly allude to ableism as a discriminatory system that requires resistance actions.

This concept is very much incorporated in all three activists' actions. Vite (2020) points out that "using counter-ableism gives me a wider range of amplitude, since it is not only about evidencing the phenomenon, but also about creating relationships, practices, and discourses that materialize and are opposed to ableist oppression" (p. 25). The activists analyzed are congruent with the analyses of researchers in the region regarding the development of anti/counter-ableism that promotes "the person with disabilities as a political, autonomous, judicially responsible, and socially organized subject" (Lapierre Acevedo, 2022, p. 2174).

From another point of view, women with disabilities, far from being exempt from the effects of patriarchy, are often victims of intersectional violence. The three activists can thus also be considered activists of the intersection between disability, gender, and feminisms, a relationship that has already been studied in Chile (Pino & Rodríguez, 2017; Lapierre Acevedo, 2021). Being women with disabilities positions them from a situated knowledge and a propitious place to build an activism that can raise a coalition against multiple oppressions (Lugones, 2021), as proposed by Latin American decolonial feminism; in this context, digital ecosystems contribute to achieve this goal (Bonilla et al., 2021; Orbegozo et al., 2022).

CONCLUSIONS

Ethnography can be a useful method for studying digital disability activisms, understanding them as diverse and changing. While social and community organizing is a crucial cornerstone for the success of the disability movement, which advocates for self-determination and human rights, so is the digitalization of activisms. This movement is growing strongly in recent years in Latin America, although some female authors consider that digital activisms unfairly have a minor category within it (Vite, 2022). This may be due to the relevance that the use and struggle for public space has for any social movement (Bustos & Opazo, 2013); however, the same physical, mental, or sensory conditions of disability may hinder greater participation, so many activisms can be highly ableist by assuming that all people can be physically on the street (Vite, 2022). This, along with the growth of digital social networks as a place to express opinions, create trends and mobilize masses, reveals the importance that this type of activism can have, as well as the need to rethink and conceptualize the division between public and private on account of social movements.

Digital ecosystems are an inevitable reality and also a possibility of inclusion, not only thinking about connecting people, but also digitalizing some conventional practices and creating new ones. Thus, it is suggested to study digital disability activisms not as something separate from other activisms but considering technology as "an integral part of social activity and as a cultural process and product" (Ardèvol & Lanzeni, 2014, p. 13).

One of the possible areas of interest derived from the results is the relationship between activism and advertising, although in this article it has only been identified as a practice linked to activism. It is especially relevant, regarding the development of advertising, to investigate monetization, the market and user audiences, the discourses that circulate, the potential it has for activism, as well as whether it can also affect it. It is also necessary to put raise the question of whether digital activism is also paid work, in the context of the practice of extractivism and the precariousness of work, which is a reality for many people with disabilities. It is also of interest to investigate how disability activism challenges the division between public and private, or political participation in the street versus digital ecosystems. Another contribution is the one that can be generated with the use of methods that use co-research and action-participation on activism.

This study is part of a doctoral research on disability activisms in Chile, which initially did not consider digital activisms which, precisely because of their hybrid character, became visible during the process and gained their place, demonstrating that both spaces of activism are necessary to build a counter-ableist social project.

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