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Ableist and Non-Ableist Meaning Making of Internet Memes from the Lens of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

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Abstract

This study examines the meaning-making role of speech functions, through the lens of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), in constructing ableist and non-ableist representations in disability-related internet memes. While memes can act as a powerful social and cultural communication medium, most research focuses on memes in general, with little attention to the representation of specific issues, particularly concerning disability. Using a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach, this study analyzed 173 clauses from 90 memes. This study aims to answer how meaning-making is realized in memes about disability and the extent to which the memes attend to the social model of disability and ableism. The findings reveal a predominance of the speech role for giving information, 77%, primarily through declarative statements. However, a closer look within these statements shows 49% clauses containing ableist content, while 51% clauses are non-ableist or neutral. Moreover, the speech role for demanding goods and services appears less frequently, around 13% which indicates a gap between critique and real advocacy. This contrastive representation, coupled with the scarcity of action-oriented discourse, suggests that while memes can raise awareness and challenge some ableist narratives, a significant portion of memes still reinforces harmful stereotypes. Consequently, the current meme medium is insufficient to support and contribute to an inclusive society, as ableist content reflects persistent societal discrimination, and can make it harder for attitudes to change.

Keywords: *Disability, Memes, Ableism, Systemic Functional Linguistics*

Introduction

This study examines ableist and non-ableist meaning making of internet memes from the lens of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Within this overarching framework, this study investigates the role of speech functions in constructing ableist and non-ableist representations in disability-related internet memes. Memes have hitherto become a complex digital communication that goes beyond mere light entertainment. Instead, memes are a powerful form of social and cultural communication by showing us what society believes and how it tells stories, often using humor to talk about serious topics, and by helping groups of people feel like they belong and have a shared identity (Noor & Arshad, 2024). Memes are also used as political commentary and cultural reflection, as argued by (Rahardi & Amalia, 2019) that memes communicate people's disappointment over the political condition of a given country, and on the other hand, and can highlight societal issues that provide a way for people to express their feelings.

Furthermore, Zakem et al. (2018) argue that memes can be influential and effective in communication because they contain perceptual information. In other words, they communicate information that extends beyond the image itself. This intuited, or connotatively transmitted, knowledge implies that images use less time than text and allow us to communicate complicated ideas quickly. Thus, memes contain meanings that need further study, especially regarding how those meanings associated with the disability issue are negotiated.

Disability is a condition that limits daily activities and social participation created by societal obstacles, including negative perceptions, inadequate physical structures, and a widespread lack of understanding, which result in curtailing the ability of people with disabilities to engage fully and access essential services (Khanal, 2023). Furthermore, according to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA, 2018), the disabled community is often marginalized, in terms of access to digital technology. In the 14 countries surveyed, internet usage among people with disabilities stands at just 19%, starkly contrasting with 36% for those without disabilities.

This disparity arises because individuals with physical disabilities may struggle to operate standard internet navigation devices (like a mouse, keyboard, or screen) and often require specialized adaptive tools. Conversely, people with visual, reading, cognitive, or other disabilities typically face barriers from inaccessible digital content (such as web pages and documents), necessitating more accessible formatting or assistive software (UNDESA, 2018) Therefore, there is a need to examine how the disabled community is portrayed in memes in digital spaces in which more access is open to typical people,

This study uses the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach as a theoretical basis because SFL provides a comprehensive framework for analyzing how meaning is negotiated, built on the interpersonal metafunction because it

helps us create meaning by using language to build social connections and express our feelings or opinions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Speech function, as a key component of the Interpersonal metafunction, is used to analyze social relationships and how meaning is negotiated between participants in communication. This involves examining speech roles (e.g., giving or demanding) and commodity exchange (e.g., exchanging goods and services, or information) (Matthiessen & Teruya, 2023).

Table 1 Giving or demanding, goods & service or information

Role in exchange	Commodity exchange	
	(a) goods & services	(b)information
(i) giving	'offer' would you like this teapot	'statement' he is giving her the teapot
(ii) demanding	'command' give me that teapot	'question' what is he giving her?

Previous studies have explored memes from various perspectives, from Dawkins (2016) concept of a 'meme' as a unit of cultural transmission, internet memes have evolved into complex multimodal texts that combine humor, satire, and social commentary. Noor & Arshad (2024) highlights how memes have become a powerful communication tool in the digital age, while Rezeki et al. (2024) emphasizes how humor in memes is used to criticize social and political issues. Additionally, memes forge distinct meanings by merging their visual elements with specific local cultural contexts. This blend enables a wide array of interpretations, all while consistently upholding a defiant tone across different combinations of signs and symbols. However, most research focuses on memes in general, with little attention to the representation of specific issues.

We believe that despite efforts to reduce inequality in society, Internet memes constitute a contestation of ableist and non-ableist views. By filling this gap, this study aims to provide valuable insight into how meanings are expressed in disability memes. Specifically, this study investigates how speech functions are realized in internet memes about disability, which is later discussed against the notions of the social model of disability, and ableism. the social model of disability provided an important lens for understanding disability as a socially constructed phenomenon. Viewing disability as a social construct highlighted how societal attitudes and biases shaped our understanding (Babik & Gardner, 2021). Building on this, study done by Buzaribah & Badr (2024) found that the challenges disabled individuals face are largely due to stigma and insufficient emotional support, which overshadow their individual impairments. These issues deeply impact their social

interactions and overall well-being. Thus, by applying this model, we could determine to what extent the memes attended to efforts towards a sustainable and inclusive society.

Method

The data collection process involved several key steps, including identifying memes, applying inclusion and exclusion criteria, and systematically extracting and organizing the data for analysis. To collect data on memes about disabilities, several meme databases were chosen, including 9gag, Reddit, and Imgflip. 9gag and Reddit were chosen because they were social media sites where people shared memes almost every day. It offered a wide range of memes, including memes related to disabilities, ensuring the data collected was authentic. Meanwhile, Imgflip was chosen because it is an internet meme-generating website that allows users to create and share their memes, and it offers a wide range of authentic memes. The memes were selected based on criteria such as relevance to the topic of disabilities context.

The data were collected first by following Wiggins & Bowers (2015) definition of internet memes as "spreadable media that have been remixed or parodied as emergent memes which are then iterated and spread online as memes "(p.7). Second, the datum was collected from 9gag, Reddit, and Imgflip. Particularly for Reddit, the research for the memes was conducted using a VPN because Reddit was being blocked in Indonesia by the Ministry of Information as of June 2025. Using keywords such as "disability", "neurodivergent", "ableist", and "autism". Keywords such as "disability", "neurodivergent", "ableist", and "autism" were used. And last, the data were selected according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria in Table 2.

Table 2. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Inclusion	Exclusion
English Language	Non-English Languange
Memes that contain disability elements that fit Khanal's (2023) disability description (i.e. health loss, status loss, and social loss)	Memes that contain disabilities that fit Khanal's (2023) disability description (i.e. health loss, status loss, and social loss)
Memes that fit the definition of Wiggins & Bowers (2015) (i.e. spreadable media that has been remixed)	Memes that do not fit the definition of Wiggins & Bowers (2015) (i.e. spreadable media that has been remixed)

Memes written in the English language were investigated because English is a lingua franca on the Internet which reflect it transcend geographical boundaries (Christiansen, 2016), besides English is a powerful tool for social media communication for facilitating understanding and collaboration among diverse individual (Atasheva, 2024). In addition, all the aspects of disability were based on khanal's (2023), description which mention that disability includes health loss, status loss, and social loss. Additionally, disability is not something that happens to an individual alone, it is influenced by the bigger social, cultural, political, and economic conditions of a country. This description is not only comprehensive, but also inclusive of any disability conditions. As for the memes, the parameters follow the nature of memes as defined by Wiggins & Bowers (2015) that memes are a viral media that has been remix and reiterated.

Based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria, the research identified approximately 90 total samples.   These selected memes were saved in JPEG or PNG format on a laptop, and afterward organized into a folder on Google Drive for further analysis. The unit of analysis for this study was the clauses within the memes, which had a complete meaning and indicated either giving/demanding information or giving/demanding goods and services, in accordance with the principles of SFL.

The data was first analyzed using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as the primary analytical framework. This approach enabled a comprehensive interpretation of how language within each meme constructed meaning, focusing specifically on speech functions: 'giving information' (statements), 'demanding goods and services' (commands), 'demanding information' (questions), and 'giving goods and services' (offers) (Matthiessen & Teruya, 2023). While each clause was analyzed to determine its dominant speech function, this study also incorporated the concepts of ableism and the social model of disability and by examining the memes with the ableism concept we could determine to what extent the memes attended to ableism.

Following the qualitative analysis, the data were then subjected to quantitative descriptive statistics. The identified speech functions and ableist/non-ableist categorizations were systematically counted, and their frequencies and percentages were calculated. These quantitative results, including the distribution of speech functions and the proportion of ableist versus non-ableist content, were then organized. By integrating these concepts of SFL, ableism, and the social model of disability, we aimed to better understand how disability-related internet memes negotiate meaning through speech functions in constructing ableist and non-ableist discourse. Then, the data results based on the analysis criteria were presented in the analysis result table, Table 2 (see Appendix).

Results

The findings of this study revealed the complex meaning-making within disability-related internet memes, analyzed through the lens of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).
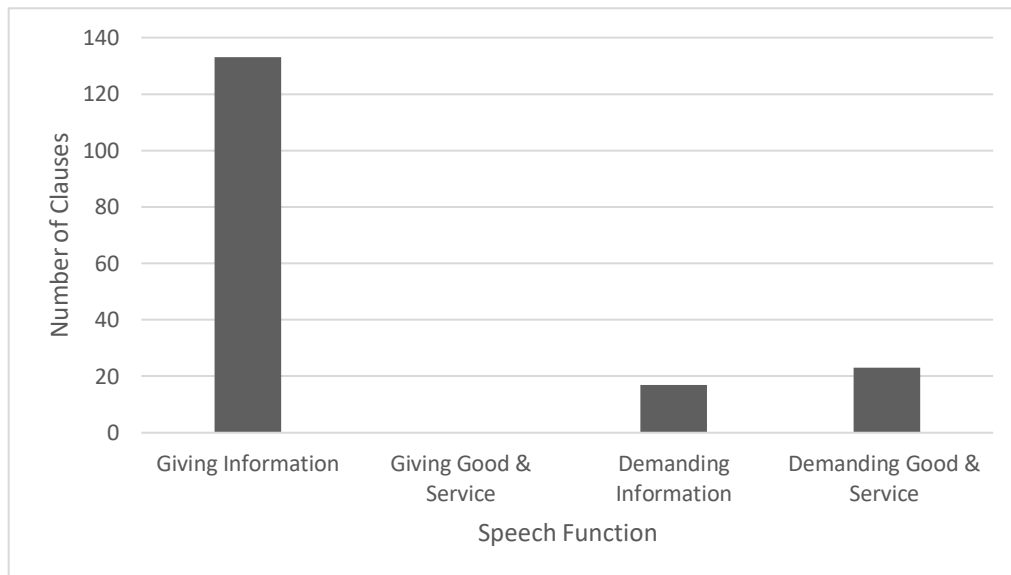
Diagram 1: Speech Functions

Diagram 1 presented the analysis of clauses based on their speech functions. Out of the total 173 clauses analyzed, the majority functioned as giving information (statements), accounting for 133 clauses. As shown in Diagram 1, the speech function of 'giving information' (statement) dominated the findings, appearing in 133 out of 173 clauses (77%). A recurring example of this pattern was observed in meme #068, which contained the contrasting statement "don't tell people that I'm autistic and receive no help" versus "tell people that I'm autistic and be infantilized." Furthermore, this pattern was also found in meme #052, "having autism is like living in a world where everyone can read minds accept you in particular."

Upon closer analysis, among the 133 clauses functioning as statements, several statements directly or indirectly related to ableism were identified. These findings were systematically presented in Table 3, which categorized statements based on their ableist content.

Table 3. Table content of the statement

Category	Number of Clauses	Percentage	Example Clause
Non- Ableist/ Neutral Content	68	51	You want to hear my opinion
			I don't need pity
			I define me
			There is no elevator to success, you have to take the stairs
Ableist	65	49%	Its all so very interdasting When you press "disabled flash" on your camera
			Everyone calls me ugly because im disabled
			Special olympics (because the regular olympics aren't special enough)

Additionally, Diagram 1 showed 23 clauses that were categorized as demanding goods and services (commands). This speech function appeared in 23 clauses (13%), often as calls to action. An example of this was seen in meme #002, which demanded that people with poor parking skills should stay in their home due to the limitation their actions imposed on wheelchair users.

Diagram 1 also presented demanding information (questions), found in 17 clauses. The 'demanding information' (Question) speech function appeared in 17 clauses (10%). Meme #018 illustrated the use of this speech function, which questioned the insistence of able-bodied people to know disabled individuals' medical history, thus implying a violation of privacy through the question "Is this my business? Lastly, according to Diagram 1, there was a notable finding: no clauses functioned as giving goods and services (offers).

Discussion
Speech functions realized in memes about disability

Based on the findings, the majority of clauses are realized primarily through declarative statements. So, why do memes predominantly use information-giving speech functions? we should remember that memes predominantly use giving-information when discussing disability because its challenge the historical framing of disability as an individual problem as stated by Barnes (2018) the medical model operates on the core belief that disabled individuals have inherently flawed bodies

and brains and are therefore accountable for any difficulties stemming from their perceived or actual limitations. In other words, memes act as a form of online social commentary in which memes use humor and visuals to convey subtle messages about societal issues, shaping public opinion, encouraging civic discourse, and sparking discussions on social and political topics (Javed et al., 2022). For instance, meme #067 uses blunt, factual statements to expose systemic ableism.

However, it's possible that memes mostly use simple, factual statements because social media platforms encourage content that's direct and easy to share, which helps it go viral and get more engagement. As Jacobsen & Beer (2021) stated, metrics like "likes" influence memory attachments and emotional associations with past content, potentially encouraging users to create more definitive, shareable content to accumulate engagement.

While present demanding speech roles appear significantly less frequently than giving roles. These demands primarily take two forms: commands for changes and questions demanding information. This low frequency of demanding memes could indicate that disability activism is, at times, reduced to superficial gestures. These gestures often don't tackle the core problems disabled individuals face (O'Neill et al., 2018). This is especially true when we compare how few demanding memes there are to the many that just share information. Despite their infrequent use, demanding memes have the power to create real policy change. They can significantly influence the effectiveness of online activism campaigns by shaping discourse as by stated Imran & Raza (2023) activists use emotional language and collective identities to enhance the effectiveness of online activism campaigns. Moreover, the lack of questions in these memes means a missed chance for people to think deeply about their own biases regarding ableism. As Fox (2021) explains, this kind of self-reflection can uncover hidden assumptions about ability and disability, leading to more inclusive ways of thinking.

The total absence of giving goods-and-services clauses represents a significant limitation in meme-based disability discourse. A major weakness in how memes talk about disability is that they never actually offer solutions or show real acts of help or support. While some memes do ask for changes to disability policy, none of them model what Fians (2022) calls "prefigurative politics." This means they don't show how the desired changes or a more inclusive society could look in practice right now. This lack of memes demonstrating solutions is quite striking because highlighting alternatives to common ableist practices is crucial for fostering a truly inclusive and equitable environment, particularly within health professions education and healthcare.

This approach directly challenges systemic barriers and the devaluation of individuals with disabilities, recognizing disability as a fundamental aspect of human diversity. By promoting diverse perspectives and ensuring equitable access and opportunities for all from learners to patients it ultimately enhances culturally

competent care and transforms overall educational and healthcare settings (Brown & Finn, 2024; Carroll & Shaw, 2023)

To enhance their political success, disability memes could rise to more transformative approaches. For example, future meme creation might use more demanding goods and services so that there is a real change in policy regarding disabilities, or future memes might use more giving goods and services so that there are real-life examples that many people can use as inspiration. Furthermore, as stated by (Sharma, 2023), future meme creation could also empower people with disabilities by providing platforms for their voices, enabling them to share their experiences, seek public support, and advocate for their rights, thus creating opportunities for a better life.

The extent to which the memes attend to the social model of disability

The fact that most memes simply give information suggests they focus on sharing experiences. This fits well with the Social Model of Disability, which emphasizes that society needs big, systemic changes to fully include disabled people and recognize them as active, valuable contributors, thereby promoting values such as inclusion and dialogue (Hutchinson et al., 2017). Furthermore, the focus on 'information' indicates a shift towards educating society about the social barriers that exist in society, and this shift towards informing society suggests an attempt to dismantle barriers and address the social, political, and economic consequences faced by individuals with disabilities. The prevalence of information-giving also reflects how digital media can provide unique opportunities for people with disabilities to engage in virtual self-representation (Mack et al., 2023).

Additionally, the analysis reveals that memes align with Shakespeare (2010) first key component of the Social Model of Disability, which is separating impairment (biological condition) from disability (social exclusion). For example, in meme #020, successfully make this distinction. However, not every meme in the analysis align with this principal, for instance meme #077 blend together the two concept of impairment and disability, which reinforcing ableism perception and treatment of individual with disability that often leading to discrimination and exclusion as found by study on the influence of perceptions on healthcare experiences, with individuals identifying as disabled reporting more unfair treatment from clinicians (Salinger et al., 2023).

The relatively limited appearance of demanding speech roles tells us a crucial function of meme as a platform for activism. This limited engagement in demanding speech roles within memes highlights a significant gap in the potential for advocacy and activism in digital platforms. While disability memes can serve as a medium for spreading information about disability, they may fall short in mobilizing collective action that challenges the systemic injustices of disabled people. Furthermore, some of the memes analyzed reveal an alignment with Shakespeare (2010) second key component of the Social Model of Disability, which

is challenging Medical-Model narratives. This attempt to challenge stigmatization of disability, as stated by Little (2010), can be done by strategically deploying identities to transform cultural representations, gain institutional access, and redefine concepts like compulsory able-bodiedness through collective identity formation and mobilization. For instance, memes #004 and #015 directly challenge the notion that disability is individual pathology and reject the 'pity feeling' that often appears when abled-bodied people look at disabled people.

However, some of the memes in the analysis also directly normalize the Medical Model-narrative, which tends to emphasize impairment and individual limitations, which can lead to negative societal attitudes toward people with disabilities. For example, in meme #036 We can see how the kid's reaction to seeing disabled people is one with amusement as if disabled people are extraordinary and not normal which align with Sofokleous & Stylianou (2023) study that found exposure to medical model stimuli did not produce significant positive changes in attitudes toward disabled people, indicating that such narratives may reinforce stereotypes and stigmas. In contrast, the social model, which focuses on societal barriers and inclusion, resulted in a mild positive shift in attitude toward disabled people. Lastly, Shakespeare (2010) third key component, which is distinguishing disabled people from non-disabled people, also appears in the analysis. For example, meme #064 tells us the perspective of disabled people living among the non-disabled people.

The complete lack of clauses offering goods and services represents a significant limitation in meme-based disability discourse. While memes are very good at raising awareness and critiquing problems that disabled people face, it appears, based on the result analysis, that memes rarely demonstrate real movement in helping disabled people.   This gap in actionable content raises important questions about the role of digital activism in effecting real-world change for disabled individuals. While memes can serve as a powerful tool for social commentary, their short nature may often limit sustained engagement with the complexities of disability rights. For instance, a meme that highlights the absurdity of inaccessible public spaces, like in meme #019, may garner quick laughs, yet it does little to mobilize collective action or policy reform that could lead to tangible improvements in accessibility.

Furthermore, from the analysis of the predominant statement speech function, it was found that 49% of the clauses were associated with ableist views, while 51% of the clauses showed non-ableist or neutral representations. This almost even division indicates a growing awareness and active effort from some meme creators to present more positive views towards disabled people, aligning with the principles of the social model. This can be seen in statements that aim to highlight social barriers rather than individual limitations, or that promote inclusion and appreciation for diversity. The potential of memes as a medium to

create a more inclusive and educational digital environment regarding disability is substantial, considering their widespread reach and the ability of social media to shape public perception.

However, these findings also mean that efforts to promote understanding based on the social model of disability face significant challenges from competing ableist narratives. The substantial proportion of ableist representations (47.8%) confirms that discriminatory attitudes and the devaluation of disability which stem from the belief that typical abilities are superior, remain deeply embedded in online discourse, even in forms often considered lighthearted like memes. The considerable presence of ableist content highlights that while there has been progress in challenging ableism, the struggle for fully inclusive narratives still requires continuous effort in shifting public perceptions.

The extent to which the memes attend to ableism

Memes can significantly shape public discourse around disability. As such, the influence of memes needs to be studied, especially about the extent to which memes attend ableism because these memes can serve as a double-edged sword while they can perpetuate ableist narratives, but they also provide a platform for marginalized voices to reclaim their narratives and educate wider audiences about the nuances of ableism. Based on the finding, the analysis clauses employ a 'giving' speech role, predominantly through declarative statements that expose ableist norms. This aligns with Scholz (2020) study, which found that such norms promote social exclusion by disregarding the unique barriers faced by individuals with disabilities, ultimately limiting their opportunities and reinforcing marginalization. The memes in the analysis expose these ableist structures in several ways; for example, memes #013 and #027 challenge ableist norms by offering new perspectives on disabled people in society.

Meanwhile, others use memes as a tool to challenge the existing narrative that is often associated with disabled people. For instance in meme #004 depicting the phenomenon of "inspiration porn" which reduces disabled individuals to mere symbols of motivation for non-disabled audiences or in meme #006 which tell us the reality and the perception that society have on disabled people and all of this memes highlight what Ippolito (2020) called the misrepresented of disability narratives in media which reinforce negative stereotypes and exclude authentic voices from the disability community that lead to discrimination and oppression.

Additionally, some memes also challenge ableist narratives by promoting a genuine portrayal of disability by using the opinions of disabled people themselves. As stated by Samuel J. (2024), historical stereotypes in media influence disability representation, so there is a need for an authentic portrayal of disability to challenge social norms. For instance, we can see this authentic representation in meme #039, which shows how disabled people also joke with each other with disability as a punchline.

However, not all of the analyzed memes are created to challenge ableist norm. Some of the memes can be seen normalizing ableist norm, such as in memes #075 and #076. This meme not only normalizes harmful stereotypes on disabled people, but also this meme is actively using disability as some sort of punchline, which reflects how they feel toward disabled people. Furthermore, as studied by Hadley (2016), disability-based memes often represent people with disabilities in problematic ways, in which they often use the inspiration meme to objectify disabled people.

For instance, we can see this objectifying meme in meme #004, which objectifies disabled people as a source of motivation. More worrisome beyond using disability as a joke in meme #088, we can see how disabled people are equated to an animal. This normalization of ableism by using memes not only reflects ableist tendencies in society but also poses significant implications for public perception regarding disability. As memes circulate widely, this meme can shape the beliefs and behaviors of its audience and therefore reinforce harmful stereotypes that contribute to discrimination against disability (Hadley, 2016).

Notably, some of the memes that normalize ableist norms in the analyzed meme can be interpreted as internalized ableist memes. For example, the memes #037 and #065 show a meme with an internalized ableism aspect. So why do people with disability see themself as less capable and inferior? this internalized ableism could happen because the social factor that influenced disabled people which include lack of family support, limited access to safer spaces, and negative peer interactions (Jóhannsdóttir et al., 2022)

Moreover, with the limited adoption of 'demanding' role clauses, there are just 23 focused on goods and services, and 17 focused on information. This small number indicates a missed opportunity for memes to actively challenge societal norms and advocate for systemic change, rather than merely reflecting existing prejudices. For example, in meme #018, directly challenging societal norms that exist in society by questioning the non-disabled people's entitlement to know everything about disabled people's private lives. Furthermore, the absence of 'giving goods and services' clauses reveals a gap in real action and advocacy by using memes that could empower disabled individuals and foster a more inclusive dialogue within digital spaces.

Furthermore, while memes demonstrate potential as a communication medium, the divided nature of their representation, 49% being ableist, 51% being non-ableist/neutral in statement speech functions, indicates that this medium is not sufficient on its own to realize inclusive education or an inclusive society. The high proportion of ableist content potentially hinders progress towards inclusion (Brown & Finn, 2024). For inclusive education, repeated exposure to memes containing ableist narratives can seriously reinforce existing prejudices among students, teachers, and parents. These risks could undermine efforts to create a

fundamentally inclusive learning environment, as achieving truly inclusive education requires significant changes in people's attitudes. However, this progress can be hindered by the continuous spread of ableism, which perpetuates prejudice against disabled individuals (Leigh et al., 2022). Similarly, on a broader societal scale, if nearly half of public communication, often conveyed through viral platforms like memes, still overtly reflects ableism, this suggests that the roots of discrimination remain very strong and have not yet been overcome. Thus, it is hard to achieve an inclusive society.

Conclusion

In conclusion, based on the comprehensive analysis of 173 clauses across disability-related internet memes, this study has explained the nuanced ways in which meaning is constructed through speech functions, particularly concerning ableist and non-ableist representations. The predominance of 'giving' speech roles, particularly in the form of information exchange, underscores a critical engagement with the social model of disability, challenging traditional narratives that frame disability as an individual issue. By focusing on the spreading of information, these memes serve not only to educate but also to critique systemic ableism, thereby fostering a more inclusive narrative surrounding disability.

However, while internet memes show considerable promise as a medium for social commentary and for challenging medical-model narratives, their current mixed representational landscape and limited capacity for action-oriented discourse significantly impede the realization of truly inclusive society in educational or non-educational settings. The persistent circulation of ableist content reinforces prejudices and reflects deeply ingrained discriminatory attitudes, suggesting that the roots of discrimination remain strong, denoting a contestation between ableist and non-ableist meaning making. For memes to move beyond merely reflecting societal attitudes to actively shaping a more inclusive future, future meme creation could benefit from a more deliberate integration of demanding and offering speech functions to drive real policy change and foster a culture of active support and genuine self-representation.

Although this study provides valuable insights, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations. First, the data collection was limited to specific meme databases (9gag, Reddit, Imgflip), which may not represent the entire spectrum of disability-related memes across all digital platforms. Second, the qualitative nature of SFL analysis, while deep, relied on the researcher's interpretation. Building on these findings and acknowledging the study's limitations, future research could explore the prevalence of demanding speech functions on a broader range of platforms or given the total absence of 'giving goods-and-services' clauses, future studies could investigate whether alternative digital formats are more conducive to depicting active solutions and support for people with disabilities.

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