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FITFLUENCERS' PERCEPTIONS OF CONTENT CREATION AND AUDIENCES

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Abstract: The fitness industry has transformed with technological advancements, leading to the rise of fitspiration on social media, where users share motivational fitness content. This phenomenon fosters a community but also raises concerns related to body image, particularly for women, as per the objectification theory. This study examines how fitness influencers, or fitfluencers, perceive their impact on their audiences. While they aim to promote healthy lifestyles and counter misinformation, they face challenges from negative online interactions and the pressure to present idealized body types. Their content can inspire or intimidate followers, depending on its framing. N = 5 Romanian fitfluencers were interviewed, revealing that their main motivation is to combat misinformation in the fitness realm. They emphasize promoting realistic health standards over unattainable ideals. Most reported encountering negative feedback but highlighted that positive interactions drive their continued engagement.

The findings suggest that while fitfluencers strive to guide their followers toward healthier lifestyles, social media can yield both beneficial and harmful effects. The study calls for further research on how fitness content influences audience behavior and well-being, underscoring the complexity of fitfluencers' roles in shaping perceptions of health and fitness.

Keywords: fitfluencers, social media, health behaviors, fitness, body image

PERCEPȚIILE FITFLUENCER-ILOR DESPRE CREAREA DE CONȚINUT ȘI AUDIENȚE

Rezumat: Industria de fitness s-a transformat odată cu avansul tehnologic, generând o amploare a fenomenului de *fitspiration* în social media, unde utilizatorii împărtășesc conținut motivational despre fitness. Acest fenomen dezvoltă o comunitate, însă generează și preocupări privind imaginea corporală, în special a femeilor, conform teoriei obiectivării. Acest studiu examinează modul în care *influencer*-ii de fitness sau *fitfluencer*-ii percep propriul impact asupra audiențelor. În timp ce țin să promoveze stiluri de viață sănătoase și să combată dezinformarea, se confruntă cu provocări precum interacțiuni negative online și presiunea de a prezenta tipuri de corpuri idealizate. Conținutul lor poate inspira sau intimida urmăritorii, în funcție de cadrajele utilizate. Au fost intervievați N = 5 fitfluenceri români, care au dezvăluit că motivația lor principală e aceea de a combate dezinformarea din domeniul fitnessului. Promovarea standardelor de sănătate realiste în detrimentul idealurilor intangibile este unul dintre scopurile lor principale. Majoritatea au raportat experiențe de feedback negative, dar au scos în evidență că interacțiunile pozitive sunt cele ce stau la baza angajamentului lor de a continua. Rezultatele indică că, în timp ce fitfluencerii se străduiesc să își ghideze urmăritorii înspre stiluri de viață mai sănătoase, rețelele sociale pot genera efecte atât benefice, cât și dăunătoare. Studiul pune accentul pe nevoia unor cercetări viitoare pentru a ilustra modul în care conținutul despre fitness influențează comportamentul și starea de bine a publicului, accentuând complexitatea rolurilor fitfluencer-ilor în formarea percepțiilor despre sănătate și fitness.

Cuvinte-cheie: *fitfluenceri*, rețele sociale, comportamente de sănătate, fitness, imagine corporală.

1. Introduction

Due to technological advancement, the fitness industry has evolved both socially and technologically in recent years; now some apps allow you to track your sleep, steps, and calories burned. This data can be shared with friends on social platforms, and it is even possible to compare your statistics to that of other people's¹. The term that defines this fitness activity on social media is called *fitspiration* and combines *fit*, which stands for sport, health, and wellness, and *inspiration*, translating the mental motivation for people to give their best². These posts usually feature pictures, videos, and descriptions from the gym, but can also appear in other circumstances, with the hashtag *#fitspiration* at the end. This creates a community and a network, and people who are interested in the same thing can follow each other via this hashtag. This community has grown so much in recent years that every person, whether interested in sports, sees these posts in their feed because the content creators have become very famous³.

However, the *objectification theory* explains why these fitness activities on social media can be problematic for both women and men. At its core, this theory states that women are more likely to be seen as objects to be criticized or coveted by others on social media, especially when they post pictures of themselves at the gym or working out⁴. In addition, social media has become a search engine for information on sport, health and healthy eating, and in 2016 there were over 7.8 million fitness-related posts on Instagram⁵. *Fitinspo* or *#Fitspiration* is seen more as a trend generally used by young women to share their ideas, meals, workouts and body on social media. This is done to get validation, compete with other people and body shapes, get admiration, or even advise other women and people on what they need to do to achieve a perfect body⁶.

This paper aims to identify fitness content creators' perception of their activity concerning how it influences their audience and

clients; thus, we aim to illustrate how fitfluencers communicate and build their communities. The research questions the present study seeks to address are **RQ1: How do fitness influencers perceive their social media activity in relation to their audiences?** and **RQ2: How do fitfluencers perceive the effects of social media upon their clients?**

2. Theoretical Background

Fitfluencers are online content creators who motivate followers to lead an active and balanced lifestyle. However, they are sometimes accused of playing a negative role on social media and in the lives of their followers by making them feel inferior and insufficiently good or attractive. Fitfluencers' posts combine images, videos, and motivational messages, whose impact may depend on what the content expresses or the social media used⁷. Studies have shown that posts in the *fitspiration* category negatively push women to idealize a certain body type, which can lead to mood swings or low self-esteem⁸. Posts that include a slim body type tend to lower self-esteem even more than posts that show normal or muscular body types⁹.

Fitfluencers positive influence on followers' motivation works only if they feel connected to the content creator and can identify with them. The *self-determination theory* supports this by explaining people's motivation and behavior; intrinsic motives are based on internal feelings, such as the desire to be healthy, happy, and in a good mood through exercise, while extrinsic motives are based on external factors, such as validation from other people¹⁰. People, but especially women, who exercise solely for extrinsic reasons suffer from the negative effects of fitness, such as dissatisfaction with themselves, frustration, comparison with other women, and even bulimia, anxiety and depression. On the other hand, women who exercise for intrinsic reasons are happy and satisfied with their bodies and lead a balanced and healthy lifestyle¹¹.

Fitfluencer posts can have negative and positive effects on people, depending on how the images, videos, and descriptions are

framed. A positive image with a positive description can motivate women to work out, but an image that objectifies and sexualizes the influencer, even if it has a positive description, can be interpreted as negative. This shows that the description attached to an image or video does not influence the followers' perception, only the audio-video content disseminated¹².

One study showed that images featuring the physical appearance of content creators increased followers' self-esteem and motivation to exercise, as opposed to posts in which the fitfluencers were fully clothed or from non-fitness backgrounds. An important aspect is that fitfluencers tend to demotivate people by showing off their physical condition rather than motivating them; showing off a fit body does not encourage women to change their lives, but rather intimidates them¹³.

One disadvantage that fitfluencers face is *cyberbullying*, defined by negative comments, aggression, and even verbal harassment on social media¹⁴. Influencers on social media are exposed to a large and direct network of people and networking, thus enhancing the likelihood of being offended due to their online activities or appearance. Looking at the impact of offensive messages on influencers, among whom some were fitfluencers, they are most likely to receive multiple offensive messages about their activities or appearance, with a percentage of over 76% of participants, followed by sexual harassment. Less than 1 in 10 participants stated they never received offensive or insulting messages. Men reported receiving more negative messages than females. Influencers cited feelings of anxiety, depression, nervousness, and even the cessation of their online activities as effects of these messages. Over 80% of participants said they had turned down offers to work with well-known companies for fear of being judged by their followers or non-followers. Due to negatively connotated messages, they reported suffering from body dysmorphia, low self-esteem, the desire to edit their photos to look unrealistically good, as well as objectification, namely feeling like they are viewed as a product, especially by companies¹⁵.

The positive impact influencers have on social media is the reason why they are in this profession. Fitfluencers can build their network where they can motivate and provide valuable information

on topics such as health, sport, and balance. The activity provides freedom of expression, creative freedom, and flexible scheduling. People have different reasons why they follow certain influencers, including liking the content creator, appreciating their work, valuing the information or behavior, and the way they present themselves on social media. There are a few main motivations for people to follow online influencers: authenticity, consumption, inspiration and motivation, but also envy¹⁶. An important factor in the relationship between influencers and audience consists of trust and credibility, and the need for human social presence can explain the level of trust placed in influencers by their followers¹⁷.

A study conducted in Romania with users of various ages showed a positive influence of online content creators, as participants stated that they believe them, find them relevant and up-to-date, and that they provide useful information that contributes to long-term relationships¹⁸. Therefore, content that is relevant, trustworthy and appealing to the audience is valued by followers. The high trustworthiness of the influencer strengthens this relationship and contributes to long-term relationships between influencers and their subscribers¹⁹.

3. Method

The interview method is a valuable research approach because it enables qualitative data to be collected on various topics as it can be linked directly to a source. The expert interview approach was employed to serve the purpose of this study. This type of interview enables qualitative data collection and is a valuable information source. Another advantage of this type of research is the possibility of finding direct answers to various topics that are more or less taboo or unconventional. Expert interviews can be conducted on any topic, with the interviewee and interviewer playing the main role, and an open discussion²⁰.

Therefore, the interview method for this study was conducted in

spring 2024 with five fitfluencers in Romania, ranging from micro-influencers with less than 10,000 followers to macro-influencers with more than 100,000 followers online, who voluntarily agreed to contribute their perspectives about fitness on social media. The interview consisted of open-ended questions about their online activity, and each interviewee shared their personal experience and perspective. The perspective they offer on the topic is valuable for this study, as it supports previous findings and helps shape an image of the relationship influencers develop with their audiences. The interview was structured based on previous research, tackling issues such as their motivation to create content, their own online behavior, and positive and negative effects of social media upon themselves and reported by their clients.

For the data analysis of the interview outputs, a thematic analysis²¹ was employed. In chronological order of carrying out the interviews, the N = 5 influencers are Ovidiu Buzea, Mihai Bogorin, Sarah Zadeh, Teodora Briceanu, and Marius Mitrache. A short narrative description of their background and social media presence precedes the data analysis, based on their own accounts in the opening of the interviews. Ovidiu Buzea is a personal trainer from Brasov. He started his business online out of a desire to motivate other people and provide relevant information. At the time of the interview, he had a total of 3,000 followers on Instagram, 60% of whom were female. In terms of age, 42% of his followers were between 18 and 24 years old and 47% were between 25 and 34 years old. Mihai Bogorin is a personal trainer, also from Braşov, but also active in bodybuilding; he claimed, at the time of the interview, that his online activities were born out of a desire to promote himself and disseminate accurate and helpful information. At the time of the interview, he had a total of 12,000 followers on Instagram, of which over 52% were female. In terms of age category, Mihai Bogorin tends to target people in the 25-34 age group, and he also belongs to this group with a share of around 40% of his followers.

To gain more diverse insights into fitfluencer communication, as well as to identify differences between genders, interviews were also conducted with women. Sarah Zadeh is a personal trainer from

Bucharest who is also an influencer on TikTok and Instagram. She stated in the interview that social media is the best platform for promotion and advertising as all her collaborations are earned from there. At the time of the interview, she had over 35,000 followers on Instagram and over 100,000 likes on TikTok. Sarah Zadeh stated that she only targets women and only collaborates with women, which is evident from her Instagram shares. Also, most of her followers are represented by women, with 62% of the total, but in terms of age, the two interest categories are the same as in the case of her male counterparts, so in total 80% of people who follow her are in the 18-34 age category. Teodora Briceanu works in Sibiu, both online and as a personal trainer, and has a community on TikTok and Instagram. She focuses on funny content from the gym, but also on posting various healthy recipes or promoting veganism. Teodora Briceanu, like Sarah Zadeh, mainly targets women and claims to create content specifically for her gender, which is also reflected in the *Tools for Creators* option on Instagram. Among 77,000 followers on Instagram at the time of the interview, around 73% were female. She particularly targets the 24 to 34-year-old generation, holding a 41% share of their total followers.

The last interview was conducted with Marius Mitrache, a professional bodybuilder who also lives in Sibiu. He was also a personal trainer, but he declared to have given up this activity a long time ago to devote himself entirely to the online networks that he successfully owns and nurtures. Marius Mitrache is active on Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and Facebook. What makes him distinctive is that he promotes bodybuilding with a vegan approach, offers information from specific sources on each product, and maintains many partnerships. At the time of the interview, his Instagram page had over 100,000 followers, of which 73% were men. In terms of age category, Marius Mitrache is 35 years old, and his target audience roughly matches his age, as over 45% of his followers are in the 25 to 34-year-old age group. Each of the five fitfluencers answered the questions posed both via phone and email, according to their preferred way of contributing to this study.

4. Findings and Discussion

In terms of what motivated them to become influencers on Instagram and TikTok, all five interviewees emphasized that their main goal was not to create content. However, as the market was flooded with misinformation and supposedly magical solutions for losing weight, they felt the need to provide more accurate information and help their followers who wanted to change their lifestyle to set realistic goals and motivate them to develop a healthy lifestyle instead of following unhealthy or ineffective diets. Marius Mitrache expressed his educational purpose this way: *"fitness was a pretty big area with a lot of misinformation when I started out in 2016. Since I am a person with extensive knowledge and this is my profession, I wanted to educate people."*

Regarding editing the photos posted on social media, the fitfluencers interviewed said that they would only edit the saturation of their photos to improve image quality. Sarah Zadeh was the only one who admitted that she had used filters to edit her body shape and still edited her face: *"I used to work on my body shape before I went to the gym for the perfect physique in women. I also slimmed my waist and so on. Now I only work on my face."*

To show the results of their work and post photos with their clients, most of them explained that they did not agree to publish their clients' body shapes as they did not see this as their merit as personal trainers, but as the clients' drive to change. The only fitfluencer who accepted and used this type of content was Teodora Briceanu, claiming that she posted content on her clients daily with their consent because they liked to be filmed and because she found this type of content motivating.

The study also investigated whether the fitfluencers only promoted ideal body figures and the perfect figure trend or realistic figures as well. The perfect figure is an active trend on social networks that promotes slimmer bodies for women and more muscular bodies for men. However, these body types do not support physical and mental health, only a desirable physique²². The perfect appearance of

people was therefore an important point in the discussion. All five fitfluencers emphasized in their answers that there was no such thing as a perfect physique and that they advocated that people should strive for their best shape and look the way they want, while staying healthy and living a healthy lifestyle. Mihai Bogorin stated it so: *"I don't promote a certain silhouette, I promote wellness and health, which generally goes hand in hand with a 'fit' silhouette, but it's not mandatory. Every person is different."*

The interview also explored whether the fitness content creators only promoted tested and trusted products or whether they also promoted lower-quality products based on commercial contracts. All five stated that they only promoted high-quality companies and products and worked with products or brands that they used daily and were part of their lives. Some examples of companies are Vitabolic, MyProtein, Gymbeam as well as Alpro and Aivea, as far as Marius Mitrache and Teodora Briceanu are concerned, who mentioned that they were vegans and promoted products without animal origins. Regarding untested products and their promotion, only Mihai Bogorin and Marius Mitrache declared having done so, with skincare products or applications, but both claimed that they could not remember the names of the said companies or products.

Explaining the phenomenon of body positivity, the fitfluencers said they advocated for everyone to feel comfortable in their skin, to have self-confidence, and to live a healthy life and that they would never advocate for an unhealthy lifestyle or obesity.

The social movement on Instagram and TikTok known as #bodypositivity aims to support every body type and person, regardless of physical aspects such as skin color, height or weight²³. The only person who disagreed with this movement was Mihai Bogorin, who expressed his opinion that this movement could be very harmful and negatively motivate people not to be active and not to take care of their bodies: *"In my opinion, this social movement does nothing but encourage obese people not to exercise, not to take care of themselves and to live the same unhealthy lifestyle as before. I cannot support that."*

One question that was asked to all but Marius Mitrache, as he was

the only one of the interviewees who does no longer work as a personal trainer since becoming a fitfluencer, was whether social media had helped them attract clients to the gym. The four fitfluencers answered positively to this question, but Sarah Zadeh and Teodora Briceanu stated that they attracted their clients exclusively online, as it was an excellent platform for advertising, and not through other channels.

In recent years, influencers have become a powerful subject of study, both psychologically and in terms of the quality and quantity of their posts. Just as content creators can have positive and negative effects on their followers, the latter can have the same effects on influencers' activities in the online world. For this reason, the following questions focused solely on the relationship with their followers and whether they ever received offensive messages about their online image, the products they promoted, or the information they posted. Their answers substantiated that people who create content are also affected by negative messages. All respondents received many such messages from people they did not know, judging their physique, appearance, and even what they advertised and endorsed. When asked how they reacted to such messages, there were different answers. Ovidiu Buzea, for example, said that he deleted all negative messages, Sarah Zadeh said that she blocked people who offended her, and Marius Mitrache said that over time he learned not to read these kinds of messages, saying that *"on TikTok I never read messages, and on Instagram very rarely. It doesn't affect me anymore because I know who I am, how much I've learned and how hard I've worked for my experience."*

As for the balance between good and bad reactions or online interactions, the next question aimed to find out whether the positive messages they received motivated them. They stated that positive news was the reason why they continued to work online. Sarah Zadeh confirmed, saying that *"yes, it makes me very emotional and that's the reason why I keep posting."*

The slimming ideal, or #Thinspiration on Instagram and TikTok, encourages women in general to lose as much weight as possible and become as thin as possible, leading to anorexia. This effect, which is

promoted in the modelling industry, in magazines, on television and especially on social media, has serious and dangerous negative effects on women's self-confidence²⁴. Over the years, numerous studies on this topic have shown the negative impact this effect can have on women, from minor effects such as on their self-esteem to more dangerous effects on health, such as anorexia, bulimia, and even suicide²⁵. These negative effects on people are becoming increasingly visible and dangerous online. Therefore, the following questions focused on this topic to find whether personal fitfluencers faced such issues or if they were contacted by followers to ask them for help with such problems. As for Teodora and Sarah Zadeh, answers were positive, but in the case of Marius Mitrache, Ovidiu Buzea and Mihai Bogorin, they had not experienced such thoughts but had been contacted by clients with eating problems and self-confidence issues. As for Sarah, she explained that she had suffered from both body dysmorphia and eating disorders. Marius Mitrache, on the other hand, confessed not to be an expert in this field; if a client were to come to him with such problems, he would further refer them to specialized help. Furthermore, all five influencers repeatedly raised the issue of misinformation online, a common phenomenon that endangers followers' physical and mental health. Teodora Briceanu said that *"the reason I started posting online was in hopes of providing valid and accurate information in the midst of so many lies and misinformation."*

This study aimed to also find out whether people with higher education are seen as more prone to eating disorders, an unhealthy lifestyle, or very low self-confidence. The experts explained seeing no connection in this respect, as people with no higher education but who work in toxic environments can be just as affected by these symptoms as people with a degree. The last question of the interview aimed to find out what the key to success was for fitfluencers. The answers pointed to the idea that to be successful online, one needs will, ambition, honesty, naturalness, truth, documentation, and a lot of ambition. The interviewees declared spending between one and three hours preparing online material.

5. Conclusions

The interview data analysis combined with previous findings allowed us to understand *how fitness influencers perceive their social media activity in relation to their audiences and how fitfluencers perceive the effects of social media upon their clients*. None of the interviewees started out aiming to become a fitfluencer, but rather from a desire to provide more accurate information online and help people lead a healthier lifestyle; in terms of their online content, the use of editing techniques by influencers to change the way they look is scarce, and they are not in favor of showing their clients online as a form of advertising. No fitfluencer stated to be in favor of advertising ideal bodies or unreliable or untested products, showing an ethical approach to their online influencer activity. Moreover, social media was found to generate negative experiences among fitfluencers and their audiences yet could not attest a connection between their clients' level of education and actual health behaviors. More research is needed to elucidate how content promoted by fitness influencers affects behavior among their communities, but this case study furthers knowledge and provides new avenues for future research.

Notes:

¹ Guanxiong Huang & Yuchen Ren, 2020, "Linking technological functions of fitness mobile apps with continuance usage among Chinese users: Moderating role of exercise self-efficacy" in *Computers in Human Behavior*, 103: 151-160.

² Leah Boepple & J. Kevin Thompson, 2016, "A content analytic comparison of fitspiration and thinspiration websites" in *International journal of eating disorders*, 49, 1: 98-101.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Rachel M. Calogero, Stacey Ed Tantleff-Dunn & J. Thompson, 2011, "Objectification theory: An introduction" in Rachel M. Calogero, Stacey Ed Tantleff-Dunn & J. Thompson, *Self objectification in women: Causes,*

consequences, and counteractions (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association): 3-21.

⁵ Leah Boepple & J. Kevin Thompson, *op. cit.*

⁶ Stephanie T. Jong & Murray J. N. Drummond, 2016, "Hurry up and like me: immediate feedback on social networking sites and the impact on adolescent girls" in *Asia-Pacific journal of health, sport and physical education*, 7, 3: 251-267.

⁷ Sophie C. Boerman & Dian A. de Vries, 2023, "If you have it, do not flaunt it: Effects of fitfluencer images and captions on exercise intention" in *Tijdschrift voor Communicatiewetenschap*, 51, 3: 261-283.

⁸ As found by Ivanka Prichard, Annabel C. McLachlan, Tiffany Lavis & Marika Tiggemann, 2018, "The impact of different forms of #fitspiration imagery on body image, mood, and self-objectification among young women", in *Sex roles*, 78: 789-798 and Marika Tiggemann & Mia Zaccardo, 2015, "'Exercise to be fit, not skinny': The effect of fitspiration imagery on women's body image", in *Body image*, 15: 61-67.

⁹ Catherine Benton & Bryan T. Karazsia, 2015, "The effect of thin and muscular images on women's body satisfaction", in *Body image*, 13: 22-27.

¹⁰ Pedro J. Teixeira, Eliana V. Carraça, David Markland, Marlene N. Silva & Richard M. Ryan, 2012, "Exercise, physical activity, and self-determination theory: a systematic review" in *International journal of behavioral nutrition and physical activity*, 9: 1-30.

¹¹ Shannon O'Hara, Anne E. Cox & Anthony J. Amorose, 2014, "Emphasizing appearance versus health outcomes in exercise: The influence of the instructor and participants' reasons for exercise" in *Body image*, 11, 2: 109-118.

¹² Marika Tiggemann, Isabella Anderberg & Zoe Brown, 2020, "#Loveyourbody: The effect of body positive Instagram captions on women's body image" in *Body image*, 33: 129-136.

¹³ Sophie C. Boerman & Dian A. de Vries, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Yolande Robinson & Wayne Petherick, 2017, "Circumscribing cyberbullying: Toward a mutual definition and characterizations of aggression, assault, and recklessness via telecommunications technology" in Wayne Petherick & Grant Sinnamon, *The psychology of criminal and antisocial behavior* (London: Academic Press): 321-342.

¹⁵ Noelia Valenzuela-García, Diego J. Maldonado-Guzmán, Andrea García-Pérez & Cristina Del-Real, 2023, "Too lucky to be a victim? An exploratory study of online harassment and hate messages faced by social media

influencers", in *European journal on criminal policy and research*, 29, 3: 397-421.

¹⁶ Jung Ah Lee, Sabitha Sudarshan, Kristen L. Sussman, Laura F. Bright & Matthew S. Eastin, 2022, "Why are consumers following social media influencers on Instagram? Exploration of consumers' motives for following influencers and the role of materialism" in *International Journal of Advertising*, 41, 1: 78-100.

¹⁷ Kuan-Ju Chen, Jhih-Syuan Lin & Yan Shan, 2021, "Influencer marketing in China: The roles of parasocial identification, consumer engagement, and inferences of manipulative intent" in *Journal of consumer behaviour* 20, 6: 1436-1448.

¹⁸ Delia Balaban, Ioana Iancu, Maria Mustăţea, Anișoara Pavelea & Lorina Culic, 2020, "What determines young people to follow influencers? The role of perceived information quality and trustworthiness on users' following intentions" in *Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations*, 22, 3: 5-19.

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²⁰ Alexander Bogner, Beate Littig & Wolfgang Menz, 2009, *Interviewing experts* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

²¹ Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke, 2012, "Thematic analysis" in Harris Cooper, Paul M. Camic, Debra L. Long, Abigail T. Panter, David Rindkkopf & Kenneth J. Sher, *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol. 2. Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association): 57-71.

²² Shari L. Dworkin & Faye Linda Wachs, 2009, *Body panic: Gender, health, and the selling of fitness* (New York: NYU Press).

²³ Rachel Cohen, Lauren Irwin, Toby Newton-John & Amy Slater, 2019, "#bodypositivity: A content analysis of body positive accounts on Instagram" in *Body image*, 29: 47-57.

²⁴ As shown in Nicole Hawkins, P. Scott Richards, H. Mac Granley & David M. Stein, 2004, "The impact of exposure to the thin-ideal image on women" in *Eating disorders*, 12, 1: 35-50 and Brit Harper & Marika Tiggemann, 2008, "The effect of thin ideal media images on women's self-objectification, mood, and body image" in *Sex roles*, 58: 649-657.

²⁵ Rachel F. Rodgers, Siân A. McLean & Susan J. Paxton, 2015, "Longitudinal relationships among internationalization of the media ideal, peer social

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