

The Self-Presentation of Popular Fitspiration Experts on Instagram

Ellie Bohjalian

Strategic Communications
Elon University

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Abstract

"Fitspiration" is a popular buzzword used to describe the promotion of a healthy lifestyle through fitness and diet. This broad category has grown significantly in recent years, particularly on the social media platform Instagram, where fitspiration experts publish images of themselves to encourage or inspire others to attain their fitness goals. This study examined fitspiration experts on Instagram to determine how they present themselves through photographic content. The researcher selected six popular fitspiration users and utilized content analysis to obtain quantitative data. The results indicated that most posts did not relate to fitness but rather featured non-workout related content, which many times showcased the poster's bodies.

I. Introduction

At 25 years old, Kayla Itsines has 5.6 million Instagram followers and a group of about 150,000 women who claim allegiance to "Kayla's Army," proving their dedication to the social media and fitness mogul (Suddath, 2016). She has grown her popularity through posting on social media, creating a fitness program and app, and traveling the world inspiring men and women to live healthy lifestyles. She has achieved widespread popularity, and she isn't the only one. "Fitspiration," an enormous trend on Instagram, has grown significantly over the years. This encompasses the broad category of men and women posting images of themselves on social media platforms to inspire others to live a healthier lifestyle, and in turn have more fit bodies. Fitspiration is often described in hashtag form on Instagram. Hashtags enable users to locate content by words or phrases and allow photos to be grouped together when a user searches for a specific subject. The search of #fitspiration on Instagram results in over 9 million posts (Instagram). It has become a phenomenon with sponsorships, ads, and compensations. Additionally, when users hit a high level of fame through their accounts, it often becomes a career choice. Many fitspiration Instagram users utilize their social media accounts as a platform to further create fitness applications and workout programs that allow them to receive a large profit originating from their social media activity. Although the hashtag and general idea of fitspiration can be found on Twitter, Facebook, and Pinterest, it is most relevant on Instagram and has grown most significantly on this platform.

Although both men and women lead fitspiration accounts, there are more well-known women than men; women who have received substantial fame for creating these accounts with millions of followers. Fitspiration Instagram account owners not only offer tips for exercise and healthy eating, but also enjoy the opportunity to brand themselves and gain fame and fortune through social media. However, more research is necessary to determine if the true purpose of these accounts is to further the general population's health and wellness, or rather to advance the branding and reputation of the account owner. How do these fitspiration women with Instagram accounts portray themselves through the images they post? By selecting six Instagram fitspiration

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Email: ebohjalian@elon.edu

account owners with over 1 million followers and analyzing five photos from each user, it can be determined whether these women are posting images that further their brand, looks, and fame, or if their sole purpose is to give meaningful tips that create a society of healthier people.

II. Literature Review

Since the creation of fitspiration on social media, it has become a prominent topic of discussion among scholars, media, and participants. As society becomes increasingly interested in health trends, the relevance of social media to health has increased steadily and gained recognition and attention. This review concentrated on three aspects that significantly pertain to fitspiration on Instagram: health trends on social media, the use of Instagram as a social media platform, and self-presentation on social media.

Health Trends on Social Media

Over the years, social media has become an integral part of today's society, with a wide number of platforms that have shown significant growth in both usage and range of reach. Recently there has been a push for healthier lifestyles, including increased exercise and natural food intake, which can be noticed in both advertising and on social media platforms. For women, specifically, social media has reflected the push for a "toned" type of body, dieting, losing weight, and now exercising to gain muscle (Yiannakis & Melnick, 2001). On a variety of social media platforms, including but not limited to Instagram, people have created accounts solely for the purpose of portraying themselves as fitness "gurus" or "experts" in order to show off their personal fitness progress while also inspiring others to become more physically fit. These accounts gain followers and prominence through giving tips, motivating, sharing their stories, and simply posting images of their bodies or regimens. Social media has allowed anyone with a mobile device or computer to access these motivational people who urge them to take control of their bodies through working out and eating healthier, and in recent years, it has become an unstoppable phenomenon (Reade, 2016).

Advertising in the United States has also taken note of this trend, and many companies have capitalized on the health craze when promoting their brands and products. Today, when deciding how to best frame themselves and their products, many companies create campaigns or advertisements that incorporate healthy or organic trends. Marketing products, specifically foods, as a way to better one's health and wellness is a popular movement that helps to increase success by appealing to a wide variety of audiences (Gilbert, 2000). For example, Chipotle focuses on the "natural ingredients" aspect of its brand in order to appeal to the health and wellness trend and the idea of putting only beneficial ingredients into your body. In recent years, fast food restaurants like McDonald's and Subway have focused on the healthier options they offer in commercials and print ads. This differs from how these food chains have marketed themselves in the past, which included focusing on the trends of indulgence and pleasure in order to appeal to what the popular ways of thinking were at that time. Past trends aligned more with the idea of treating yourself rather than treating your body in a healthy way (Divine & Lepisto, 2005).

Both fitspiration, standing for fitness inspiration, and thinspiration, standing for thin inspiration, are popular hashtags and trending topics on Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and Pinterest. The social media platforms themselves, including Instagram, Tumblr and Pinterest, have become aware of trends, such as fitspiration and thinspiration, and have created pop-up warnings to inform their users about the potential dangers of taking these health trends too far. Facebook has addressed this matter on its site, saying that they "prohibit content that promotes or encourages eating disorders." It is difficult to filter all of the content posted on these social media sites, but the different platforms are able to warn any user that searches for the specific terms of fitspiration or thinspiration that this content can lead to harmful psychological and physical issues (Carrotte, 2015). The term fitspiration was created after thinspiration, and is seen as a more inspiring and healthy version of the original thinspiration because it focuses more on tips to be healthy and fit rather than as thin. Although thinspiration can still be found on social media, it has become far less relevant. During the height of its popularity, it was linked to the triggering of eating disorders and unhealthy, self-harmful habits (Reade, 2016). This led to the creation of fitspiration, which has only become increasingly prominent since its inception years ago.

Scholars have recognized the appearance of a "fit body" as "one that engages in bodywork practices,

such as exercise and diet control, to attain a lean, tight, compact body” (Reade, 2016, p.1). On social media, it is easy to find a wide selection of fitness posts featuring women with what would be described as a fit body. Health and wellness accounts on social media are designed to inspire, and 76% of women surveyed in a study have reported that being exposed to fitspiration images would move them toward working or attempting to work to alter their fitness practices and lifestyle (Chasler, 2016). The images posted on fitness Instagram accounts are typically women with toned abs, arms, and legs, wearing the newest trends in workout attire, posing in a way that highlights the most toned parts of their bodies in order to push others to join them in the fitness journey. For most true “fitspiration” or health and wellness accounts, the main purpose of the posting is said to be this motivation.

The Use of Instagram as a Social Media Platform

Since its founding in 2010, Instagram has become increasingly popular and well known (Heffernan, 2013). With over 500 million active Instagram users, there is a tremendously wide range of audience and communities among the Instagram application (Statista, 2016). Instagram was the chosen platform for this specific study on fitspiration. The fitspiration account owners with the greatest recognition and highest follower count in this virtual community utilize Instagram as their number one source of releasing content. However, some of these users simultaneously utilize platforms like Facebook and Twitter to gain additional viewership and drive users back to their Instagram page. The overall phenomenon of fitspiration has an exceptionally large presence on Instagram because it is one of the primary virtual places that the health and fitness community both posts and views content. Today, the search of the term fitspiration on Instagram creates 9 million results.

On social media, users create a network of followers and contacts with an “imagined audience,” which creates different norms and sets of behavioral guidelines (Teodoro & Naaman, 2013). Communities have been formed on social media consisting of a wide variety of people that would not have met otherwise. People can have a passive approach in a health and fitness social media community through reading and observing posts or they can have a more active approach by posting, commenting, liking, and contacting other users (Teodoro & Naaman, 2013). This creates a setting where users don’t feel pressure to communicate with others or actively participate; they can even remain anonymous behind their username if they choose. However, on the contrary, they can also be extremely involved and create their own world that is separated from reality and features any aspect that they are inclined to post or share. Social networking sites have highly increased the ability to communicate instant feedback and created a constant channel of communication, which includes health discussion (Jong & Drummond, 2016). There are never any off hours for social media, which allows users to feel a constant connection and a community that they can always turn to, no matter where they are or what time of the day it is.

Instagram, like Twitter, uses hashtags to organize photos and allow for a content search to yield more accurate and quick responses (Heffernan, 2013). By creating hashtags, like fitspiration, communities are created and searches are narrowed, allowing people to find the exact content that they are looking for more quickly (Heffernan, 2013). It also allows picture and video publishers to pinpoint the audience that they wish to view their content (Heffernan, 2013). This enables the fitspiration account holders to direct their content to the audience that they deem most appropriate, while still infiltrating the homepages and search pages of users that may not follow them yet. Instagram allows for the posting of both pictures and videos, with the ability to give a response by either “liking” or commenting. Since Instagram has been created, people have cultivated large followings and gained both sponsorships and monetary compensation due to the popularity of their account.

Social media platforms, like Instagram, are viewed as both information and communication media as they are simultaneously “a form of cultural production and a form of public engagement and exchange” (Marshall, 2010, p. 6). Instagram account holders are not only able to engage in their own content creation, but can also communicate with a number of other users with both similar and dissimilar content, thus creating an exchange of information and the showcasing of photos and video (Marshall, 2010). Since its creation, Instagram has grown into a virtual community. Through user communication, people feel as if they are truly friends with the account owners they follow, and through constant posting, liking, and commenting, users are able to stay up to date with people they may have never even met.

As a whole, the category of health and fitness posts on Instagram is almost unavoidable. Instagram users often view fitspiration-related content even when they were not searching for it. Users will simply

stumble upon one or two posts and then, if they wish to see other similar photos, will become introduced to the entire community. On Instagram, users' newsfeeds will often show posts that their friends have liked, allowing them to see content uploaded by people they didn't originally follow or know of, but may gain interest once the users see the various images (Carrotte, 2015). There is so much content that has infiltrated the Instagram community that it is nearly impossible to only view the content that users view as their "preference," which can lead to many people stumbling upon posts that sparks their interest and creates a new follower of the trend. There are pages on Instagram that recommend users view a variety of posts they may like as well as the posts that the people they follow like, both of which lead to ample opportunity for someone to stumble upon the fitspiration trend and become interested and hooked.

Self-Presentation and the Motivation of Showcasing Oneself on Social Media

Social media is not only a way to connect with others, but also a way to connect to people that you may not have met previously. Many times these individuals will never meet face to face. This means that the user can choose how they wish to show themselves, and the depicted image may or may not be the same as who they are in real life. Some individuals see social media as a form of self-presentation, a form where they can hide certain aspects of themselves while emphasizing others (Seidman, 2013). The choices that users make when showcasing themselves or their bodies may deceive the viewer of the post. Computer-mediated communication (CMC) allows individuals to present themselves in a distorted way for there is less immediate accountability for deceptions (Teodoro & Naaman, 2013). There is a sense of freedom the owners of social media accounts feel in terms of self-presentation and their choice in revealing information about themselves, their identity, their looks, and their lives. Due to the selective self-presentation nature of Instagram and other platforms, computer-mediated communication users feel less pressure because they can create the self that they wish to be through selective presentation (Teodoro & Naaman, 2013). When Instagram account users view photos and videos of another user they follow or have stumbled upon, it is nearly impossible to decipher if this is selective self-presentation, or a more accurate portrayal of the user. In many cases, especially in the fitspiration community, it is likely that when someone follows a popular account they will never actually see the account owner in person but rather always on a digital screen. This can produce misleading self-presentation, or the viewer seeing an image in a manner that the original post publisher did not intend. To many, this is both an appeal and a drawback to computer-mediated communication.

This current study aimed to investigate how users with a significant number of followers on the platform of Instagram have achieved their social media fame and success by analyzing the posts that they have published. Analyzing the posts published by fitspiration users on Instagram who have a large number of both followers and posts allowed for a deeper look into what qualities and features are common among users that have gained success through fitspiration. By utilizing past literature regarding fitspiration on social media, this study expanded upon the previous research and dove deeper into the idea of self-presentation on Instagram, specifically looking at the way that people frame themselves in photographic posts. Past literature allowed the researcher of this study to analyze posts based on original coding categories that are relevant to the fitspiration community. The coding categories created by the researcher reflected the different aspects of fitspiration as a whole by utilizing the stereotypes that have been created in terms of a "perfect" body as well as the types of posts that are common among fitspiration users. The current researcher utilized past literature that has indicated the most relevant and prominent qualities of the fitspiration community. For this study, the researcher asked one overarching research question: What types of photographic content do these well-known fitspiration users post on their accounts?

III. Methods

This study used quantitative analysis to code data into eight categories. Instagram was the chosen platform because fitspiration is most prominent on the medium. The study targeted Instagram accounts that were solely made to share their fitspiration rather than occasionally "hashtagging" or posting a fitness image. The researcher chose to focus only on women because there are a high number of women fitspiration Instagram users and many of the most well-known accounts belong to women. Also, much of the prior literature on this topic has focused on the effects on women.

Instagram Accounts Analyzed

Next, the specific Instagram fitspiration user accounts were selected. Kayla Itsines, Anna Victoria, Jen Selter, Katy Hearn, Lyzabeth Lopez, and Emily Skye were picked based on a set of criteria. First, they all have over 1 million Instagram followers, which both proved their popularity and success and put them on a relatively equal playing field when comparing the number of likes per post. Also, all of the chosen experts can be found on different lists on the internet that describe the best fitspiration accounts to follow on Instagram. All six of these experts appear in one or more articles that label them as having accounts that deserve recognition, including “Inspiring Fitness Girls on Instagram,” “Fit Couple Accounts on Instagram We’re Obsessed With,” or “Instagram Girls to Follow for Fitness Motivation” (Fisher, 2016; Rose, 2016; Top.Me, n.d.). Also, all have used their Instagram account to further their success by creating fitness workout apps and programs. Not only does this serve as a commonality among all six users, but it also shows the way that the fitspiration account owners have grown from social media and transitioned to other means of fitness success, including fitness world tours, fitness books, iPhone applications, programs, and more.

Based on these criteria, the five most liked posts published by these six Instagram accounts between October 15 and October 31, 2016, were selected. This time period was chosen because it provides the researcher with the most recent data at the time of the study. Additionally, responses on Instagram are mostly completed within about two weeks of the photo being published, making the number of likes on these chosen photos stagnant at their maximum height of popularity and engagement. The researcher considered the highest number of likes when choosing posts for analysis because it reflects the popularity of posts among the viewers of the image. On Instagram, users “like” a post if they enjoy or agree with the content being published; therefore, if a post gets a large number of likes, it is deemed successful. Because the pictures chosen for this study were the most liked images during the given time period, the researcher was able to assume these were the most popular among the viewers. Table 1 displays the number of followers that each account had on the last day of the selected publication period.

Table 1. Number of Followers by User

Account Owner	Follower Count
Kayla Itsines	5.9 million
Anna Victoria	1.1 million
Jen Selter	10.3 million
Katy Hearn	1.5 million
Lyzabeth Lopez	2.1 million
Emily Skye	1.8 million

Kayla Itsines – The 25-year-old has been a personal trainer since 2008. She joined social media in order to share healthier lifestyle tips and has since created an app, a book, and completes world tours to spread her message (Itsines, n.d.).

Anna Victoria - She started her Instagram account when she began her own fitness journey in 2012 to post the content that helped to motivate her. Since then, she has become a certified personal trainer and created her current 12-week guides (Gilbert, 2015).

Jen Selter - The 23-years-old started posting images of herself in relation to fitness on Instagram and noticed the growing popularity. Her social media presence grew sufficiently, which led to the expansion of her fitness challenge (Short-Biography).

Katy Hearn - Hearn created an Instagram account in January 2013 to showcase the transformation she had experienced since beginning her lifestyle change. After giving out tips on her account from her own knowledge, she decided to become a certified personal trainer, and now offers all of her training strictly online (Auerbach, 2015).

Lyzabeth Lopez - Lopez experienced body dysmorphia and anorexia, which led to her interest in nutrition and fitness. She has earned many fitness and nutrition certifications and has created a training

method called the Hourglass Workout. Since beginning her fitness journey, her social media presence has grown (Narins, 2014).

Emily Skye - Skye endured depression, bullying, and anxiety which had led her social media accounts to focus heavily on the inspiration aspect of fitness. She earned her followers through posting fitness workouts and nutrition tips, and since then has created an entire fitness and nutrition program that can be purchased online (Saul, 2016).

Eight Categories for Analysis

After choosing the posts to be analyzed, the author created eight coding categories to see what qualities were portrayed through the photographic content based on fitspiration literature and the common themes among fitspiration users. When each image has the following element, it was assigned 1 point. Otherwise, it scored 0 points. Only the photographic content was analyzed, not the caption.

1) *Presence of before and after comparison.* For this category, each image was coded as “1” if there was an image displaying a comparison of the same body before and after a fitness journey, and “0” otherwise.

2) *A workout image.* If an image displayed someone in the photo actively engaging in any type of working out, the image was coded with a “1”.

3) *Workout with equipment.*

4) *More than one person in the image.*

5) *A body with no relation to exercise.* If the image showed the account owner who posted the content showing their body in no relation to exercise (i.e. working out or engaging in physical activity) the image was coded with a “1”. These non-exercise related images were further divided into two categories: whole body or specific body part.

6) *Sponsored posts.* Each photo received a “1” if it was sponsored.

7) *Inspiring quote or words.* Although the written caption correlating to the post was not analyzed in this study, inspirational quotes or words were included if they were part of the photographic post displayed in the image format rather than the caption.

8) *Wearing workout clothes.* Photos received a “1” in this category if the person in the photo was wearing clothing made for exercise, and a “0” if they were wearing regular, everyday clothing.

IV. Results

Content analysis showed no sponsored posts, so all images are the result of genuine self-presentation, as shown in Table 2. Among these 30 self-presentation images, only one image was related to working out, while the others displayed a variety of non-workout content. For example, body images that are not related to workout, images about user’s personal life (significant others, landscape images, etc.), and things popular in today’s pop culture or news.

Table 2. Number of Posts for Each Category

Category	Number of Posts	Percentage
1) Workout Image	1	3%
2) Before/After Image	2	7%
3) More than 1 Person in Image	3	10%
4) Quote/Inspiring Words	1	3%
5) Body Shown with No Relation to Exercise	18	60%
6) Sponsored Post	0	0%
7) Wearing Workout Clothes	10	33%
8) Working Out with Equipment	1	3%

The majority of the non-workout images were pictures of the user's body posing. Most of these poses included the whole body; however, a few focused on a specific body part. Table 3 shows the breakdown of images under the category of "Body shown with no relation to exercise."

Table 3. Number of Posts by Body Section

Whole Body	15	83%
Back/Buttocks	2	11%
Upper Body Emphasis	1	6%

These users model their whole bodies or zoom in on specific body parts to evoke the impression of being "fit" by showing off large amounts of skin and a slender body with defined abdominals, a muscular back, buttocks, and thin but defined legs.

Figure 1 displays an example of one of the images posted by a fitspiration user, Emily Skye, that displays her whole body with no relation to exercise, but wearing workout clothing (Skye, 2016). Throughout all of the whole body images the body shape was similar. The entire body was slim but also featured prominent muscular definition.

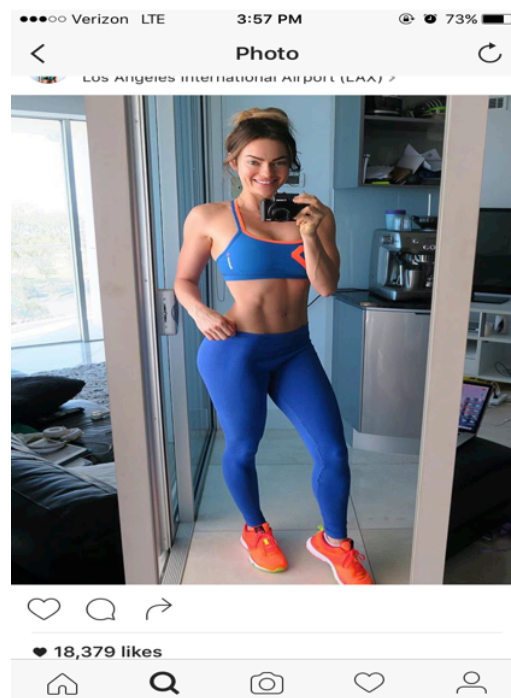


Figure 1. An example of whole body image unrelated to exercise

In addition, this study used Reade's (2016) body type scale to assess the body presented by these Instagram account owners, if there was any. Based on this scale (*Figure 2*) the body types of the users examined in this study most closely resemble the thin body types of images 1-4. The posted photos that displayed their bodies, either relating or not relating to fitness, portrayed them only as toned and slim. They did not publish any photos that showed body types 5-10. Their chosen photographic content portrays only fit, toned, skinny bodies, which symbolizes the common body type of the fitspiration community. Although there is some slight variation among the fitspiration users, all are slender and toned. Some have more muscular legs or buttocks than others; however, all resemble the same slender body type.

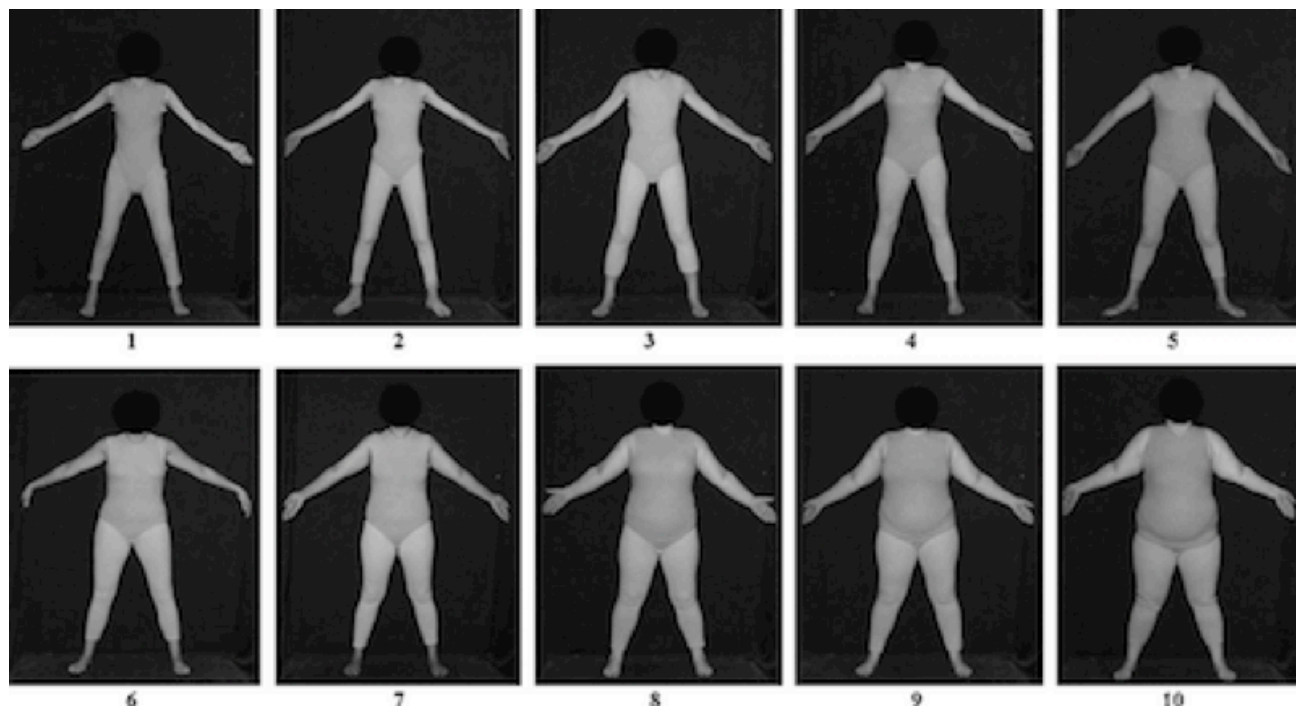


Figure 2. Body type scale (Reade, 2016)

When these fitspiration Instagram account owners posted photos of their whole body, only 33% of these posts showed them wearing what would be described as workout clothes. The other photos of themselves showed off their entire body wearing normal clothes or minimal attire, such as a bathing suit. Additionally, the majority of these photos displayed only one person, usually the account owner. Only three of the photos featured two people, one of which was a male.

Sometimes, the images have no relation at all to human bodies. *Figure 3* shows an example of a non-workout image. This post has no relation with fitspiration, yet still was one of Anna Victoria's most liked images from the time period examined in this study.



Figure 3. An example of non-workout image.

Both before and after images and quotations were parts of the coding set, as they are commonly looked at as forms of inspiration among the fitspiration community. Many times fitspiration users will create an image post that displays a popular quote rather than writing this content in the description or caption. In the photo posts chosen for this study there were two before and after images, and one inspirational quotation post that read, “So many years of education yet nobody ever taught us how to love ourselves and why it’s so important.”

V. Discussion

After reviewing all of the image posts chosen from the selected fitspiration users, it was found that most of the users post pictures of their body, either whole or part, rather than showing themselves actually performing workout moves.

The presence of women displaying their bodies in order to gain followers and likes was significantly more noticeable than the presentation of tips about working out and eating healthy. Previously, popular forms of inspiration for these accounts included quotations, tips, and testimonials. However, the photos looked at in this study indicated that fitspiration accounts post more photos of their bodies, which can be looked at as the end goal rather than the work that was completed along the way.

Nowadays, the images of women posing with skinny, fit, toned bodies may be the new form of inspiration. Seeing images of the perfect body that fitspiration followers want to obtain may be what inspires people, more than transformations, testimonials, quotations, or tips. Although the previous forms of inspiration are still present on the current fitspiration accounts, they are found noticeably less than the images of posing, fit bodies.

When deciding which Instagram fitspiration users to study, the author chose account owners who all had over 1 million followers and had created some type of workout program, including but not limited to a phone application, website, meal plan guide, and workout guide. These fitspiration Instagram account owners have achieved such a high level of popularity from their account that they now have the ability to utilize their followers as a platform to grow their brand. Because of this, these accounts have transformed from solely fitspiration (fitness and nutrition) to more of a lifestyle account. The accounts originally created as fitness inspiration pages now post pictures of pets, significant others, landscape, home life, or anything the user wishes to publish. These users still frame themselves as fitspiration experts because they still post fitness-

related photos, although not as frequently. However, their fame now allows them to post any picture that they want and still receive the same number of likes and an increase of followers. Additionally, because these users have worked over the years to become known as fitspiration women, even when they post pictures of their body in a modeling pose, it is still viewed as fitspiration because the connotation of their account as well as the slim and toned nature of their bodies.

The general idea of fitspiration has transformed over the years and has grown in recognition and popularity. Although it is a healthier alternative to its predecessor thinspiration, it still can convey the wrong idea and has been criticized for causing eating disorders and unhealthy obsessions with working out. Although the specific Instagram fitspiration accounts chosen for this study do not attempt to promote unhealthy habits or any type of obsession, they may do so unknowingly. Many of their posts are unrelated to fitness as a whole; however, the ones that display their whole body or parts of their body may be setting unrealistic standards for people. The bodies shown in the photos are all slender and toned as displayed in *Figure 2*.

Although this can be seen as their form of inspiration, it can also be seen as an unreachable body type for the common person, which may be viewed as unethical. The type of bodies portrayed is that of a model seen in a magazine or on TV, not that of the average person who owns an Instagram account for the enjoyment of looking at and posting pictures. Through their increased fame and followers, and their creation of workout programs outside of Instagram, these women have transformed from normal Instagram users to actual brands. Although their success has proven to steadily increase, this may simultaneously make them less relatable to other Instagram users searching for fitness inspiration. Because they have already achieved what are perceived as perfect bodies and now post an abundance of images that showcase their physiques, they no longer demonstrate the same journey and struggle as they may have at first. They are now more like celebrities than regular people.

VI. Conclusion

This study aimed to pick Instagram users and photos that allowed a fair comparison and an accurate depiction of the well-known fitspiration account owners. However, there were various limitations to the study that, if corrected, could have produced even more accurate results. First, the researcher was unable to use video posts, only choosing from still-photo posts. In order to maintain equality in the choosing of photos with the most likes, it was impossible to choose videos for they are ranked by view count rather than likes, creating a different measure for comparison. However, many of the videos on fitspiration accounts display the user performing various types of workouts, which could have added valuable data to the research. Potentially, these videos could have shown the users posting more true fitness-related material. Future studies may focus more on the video content rather than the photographic content, as this aspect of Instagram is relatively new.

Additionally, the selected Instagram users all had over 1 million followers proving they are well known not only in the fitspiration community but on the entire Instagram platform. This creates two limitations. First, the posts examined in this study were recent, meaning they had over a million followers when they posted it. The posts that these users published at the beginning of their fitspiration careers when they had fewer followers and were attempting to achieve fame may have been different, including the way the account owners presented themselves. Also, since these account owners are now “famous,” the images they post may not be an accurate depiction of the entire fitspiration community. Finally, the lesser-known fitspiration account owners with fewer than 1 million followers may post more fitness-related images because they are not yet an established brand and may be more focused on the fitness aspect of their account rather than lifestyle.

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