

# The Difference of Conspicuous Consumption between Gym and Home Workouts – A Netnography based on Instagram Posts

Katja Döbel <sup>1</sup>, Paula Gerlach <sup>2</sup>, Line Ingwersen <sup>3</sup>, and Christoph Reinhardt <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kiel University; stu100333@mail.uni-kiel.de

<sup>2</sup> Kiel University; stu222938@mail.uni-kiel.de

<sup>3</sup> Kiel University; stu203207@mail.uni-kiel.de

<sup>4</sup> Kiel University; stu229429@mail.uni-kiel.de

## Abstract

This study examines current developments of conspicuous consumption in the fitness community on social media. During the Covid-19-pandemic digital communities had to change as in-person events were canceled. This paper investigates the differences in conspicuous consumption for fitness content creators, depending on their workout location (gym vs. home workout). Through a netnography based on Instagram, posts and videos were qualitatively analyzed. While conspicuous consumption was present in both workout styles, it differed in its manifestation. Posts about gym workouts focused more unilaterally on the status of the content creator by using measurable goals, lighting, posing, and hashtags about their body parts. In contrast, home workouts focused on the status achieved through community building by showing training instructions for the followers and engaging in the comments. Social media users seem to be able to engage in conspicuous consumption with the fitness community through following content creators.

**Keywords:** Conspicuous Consumption; Instagram; Netnography; Home Workout; Gym

## 1. Introduction

Thanks to social media, it is easier than ever to find like-minded people and build communities. Tribalization has become deeply rooted in our society (Cova & Cova, 2002). The recent Covid-19-pandemic and its subsequent lockdowns have perpetuated this trend with more screen time and fewer in-person contacts (Pandya & Lodha, 2021). Hence, groups with mutual interests gathered increasingly on social media, where they began sharing their lives and lifestyles (Glucksman, 2017). So, the process to build status and identity became more technology-based. Kozinets et. al (2017) state that technology can increase the desire to consume. So, an increase in social media use could impact status-related consumerism concepts like conspicuous consumption (Efendioğlu, 2019).

In the context of status among peers, the concept of conspicuous consumption was first described by Veblen (Veblen & Mills, 1992) as a form of consumption in which consumers receive more from a good than its 'serviceability', the use, but also an 'honorific' aspect, which would provide them with status (Phillips, 2014). Conspicuous consumption, therefore, is linked to social connections, as it focuses on the comparison with others, rather than the singular consumer (Duesenberry, 1949). Trigg (2001) stated that the original theory lacked the inclusion of the concept of lifestyle as one such honorific aspect. French sociologist Bordieu addressed this gap and argued that a person can have an impact on their status and even influence the social structure surrounding them. O'cass and McEwen (2004) differentiated conspicuous consumption from status consumption in that it is only used in the context of enhancing the consumer's image in communication with others. Even when incorporating this narrower definition, the connection to social media and the sharing of lifestyle remains applicable.

While social media consumption lacks the actual good to consume, Siepmann et. al (2021) found, that seeing an experience on Instagram was perceived as a means of status building and self-actualization comparable to the actual use of a good. So, having such an experience and linking it to one's identity would build status and could present a form of conspicuous consumption (Bronner & de Hoog, 2018). Following others on social media might show connections to conspicuous consumption some of its antecedents are 'identity-incompleteness' and 'commitment to identity' (Braun & Wicklund, 1989). These lead to conspicuous consumption as people try to compensate for their felt identity-incompleteness. Following content creators on social media could provide a person with this compensation, especially when they cannot fulfill this need otherwise (see lockdowns). As found by Stollfuß (2020), social media, as a means of community building (and self-representing) can provide in-group feelings, as the consumption of posts provides a sense of belonging. Following a person on social media can even have para-social tendencies, where the social media user feels a strong connection to the content creator, leading them to believe that they belong to the same group, for example, degree of fitness, although they do not exercise as much as them or at all (Sokolova & Perez, 2021).

To explain the connection to conspicuous consumption, Gonzales and Hancock (2011) found, that social networking can increase the user's self-esteem, while simultaneously lowering their self-control, possibly leading to more impulse behavior (Wilcox & Stephen, 2013) and more conspicuous consumption. This process was stronger for longer use of social media (Thoumrungrroje, 2014). So, posting on social media could present to be a form of conspicuous consumption as well. The networking effect on self-esteem could work for both the content creator and the follower.

The identity-building of conspicuous consumption is something many online tribes could have in common but is especially vital for the fitness community. Status, in-groups, and the will to present only the best of oneself links their identity closely to their social media presence (Bronner & de Hoog, 2018). The connection between users and content creators becomes a way to prove their fitness to others and themselves (Lamb & Hillman, 2015). So, a large part of the research on the connection between conspicuous consumption and social media has focused on fitness. But many studies focus on differences between genders (e.g., Mujic & Frijters, 2015; Siepmann, et al., 2021) or the progress of tribalization (Lamb & Hillman, 2015; Stollfuß, 2020). However, during the recent Covid-19-pandemic, another important factor emerged: the location. During lockdowns, gyms were closed. So, fitness content creators had to adapt, and consequently, home workouts became a trend (Sandig, 2021). Research on this major change in the fitness community, its consequences for their content creation, as well as their followers' behavior, and its implications for conspicuous consumption is scarce. Therefore, this paper wants to explore the current development of conspicuous consumption in the fitness world on social media, focusing on the recent changes in workout styles.

## 2. Materials and Methods

For the exploration of our research question, the method of netnography was the most suitable. Through a netnography, many different parameters can be observed, analyzed, and compared with each other. In addition, it offers the possibility to study a large database efficiently.

The procedure of this method followed Bowler Jr. (2010) to perform the six steps of a netnography: research planning, entrée, data collection, interpretation, ensuring ethical standards, and research representation. After determining the research question, data collection was performed on the social media platform Instagram. It met the criteria for an online community worthy of study by providing a platform for individuals with similar interests and allowing members to build relationships and learn from one another. All researchers had access to this social network.

Data about posts and the interaction with the community were included. The selection of the posts was done manually using terms such as 'Fitnessstudio' or 'Homeworkout' via the search function. To maintain objectivity and comparability only posts from German content creators were examined to avoid cultural influences. Additionally, the profiles had to have a minimum of 100 followers, so the content creators represent a sufficient part of the community. Also, the posts had to

fulfill the following criteria: A person has to be visible, the background connects to their sports style and the post has a direct connection to a workout.

The sample included a total of 55 posts from each of the sports styles. The posts consisted of images, videos, story content, and reels. For gym posts, 29 posts from male and 26 posts from female content creators were included. Home workout posts included 10 male and 45 female content creators, as fewer male content creators could be found sharing their home workouts. Data collection was conducted through direct transcription of the studied characteristics in a table (Appendix I, II) to create a comprehensive database.

For the interpretation of the data, the characteristics not directly contributing to the research question were eliminated, such as numbers of likes, age of the content creator, and views of reels (Appendix III). Then, the interpretation was performed first by individual researchers and finally collectively as a group. All categories in the qualitative analysis were created inductively.

To evaluate the image and video footage of the Instagram posts, image elements and other salient features, such as the pose of the person, were noted. The collected findings were then compiled and grouped by topics. For example, fairy lights, plants, and sofas formed the category 'Furnishing'. It was then possible to determine which topics appeared particularly frequent in the data collection. To compare the results, three different categories were formed. These were 'Picture elements', 'Atmosphere and light', and 'The representation of the people in the post'.

When comparing the text contents, three categories formed: 'Training instructions', 'Interaction', and 'Progress/goals'. A post could contain multiple categories. The category 'Training instructions' described texts with a list of exercises. The 'Interaction' category included texts in which questions or challenges were used to address the followers. The use of the word 'you' was not sufficient to warrant this category, as it was also found in quotes that not actively involved followers and therefore did not represent interaction. The third category, 'Progress/goals', described concrete numbers related to body shape, such as weight, body fat percentage, or training form, such as the number of repetitions and weights used. The category included descriptions of the current shape as well as a desired shape in the future.

To analyze the content of the comments, different types of comments were determined and categorized. Comments with spam content were not considered in the data collection, as their meaningfulness did not contain any value to answer the research question. Distinctions between categories were defined, so that, 'compliments' express a positive reference to the post itself, while 'support' expresses a supportive and motivating attitude, and 'agreement' had to reference the text of the respective post. After recording the data, categories with little relevance to the research question were excluded from interpretation.

The used hashtags were compiled and sorted by frequency with the online tool 'Pooq' (<http://www.pooq.org/wortzahl/>). For the subsequent ranking, only hashtags used more than once were incorporated. The exclusion of singular hashtags ensured explanatory power and comparability. To better determine the differences between the two workout styles, the remaining hashtags were then sorted which culminated in 15 categories (Appendix IV). Whenever a hashtag fit multiple categories, its literal meaning was used to sort it into the most specific category possible (e.g., #fitfam refers to fitness, but was sorted into the more specific category 'Fitfam'). During the analysis, the percentages of used hashtags, as well as their differences, were compared.

### 3. Results

The results on picture elements were quite similar for home workouts and gym posts. Fitness items were most frequent. In the home workouts, fitness equipment such as yoga mats, hula hoops, or even medicine balls and dumbbells were present. In the gym posts dumbbells, weight benches, and larger fitness equipment appeared most often. In the home workout posts, furnishing such as plants or fairy lights were particularly frequently in the picture. Gym posts used headphones very often as an element of the post.

In terms of light and atmosphere, it was noticeable that many gym posts were heavily and recognizably processed with filters. The contrasts were often intensified, and the light and atmosphere were altered to be darker and more dramatic.

For the representation of the person in the posts, the results were similar. Both styles used many mirror selfies and people showing themselves during workout sessions. In addition, the intentional and conspicuous posing of people was particularly frequent. However, there were differences in posing. In the gym, people posed so that their defined muscles were accentuated, while in the home workout, the people posed to present the whole shape of their body.

Table 1. Content of text captions in categories.

Categories	Gym		Home Workout	
	Number of Posts	Percentage	Number of Posts	Percentage
Quotes	13	23.64%	7	12.73%
Content				
Topic "(Own) Motivation and selflove"	18	32.73%	4	7.27%
Topic „Motivation of follower“	7	12.73%	7	12.73%
Progress/Goals	10	18.18%	0	0.00%
Training instructions	4	7.27%	19	34.55%
Fun	0	0.00%	8	14.55%
Challenges (Request for interaction)	3	5.45%	10	18.18%

In the image captions were noticeable differences. 7.27% of the gym posts contained training instructions contrasting with 34.55% for the home workout posts (Table 1). In addition to the high percentage difference, there were also differences in the scope of training instructions. The instructions in gym posts were more general and did not list exact numbers of repetitions, while the training instructions in the home workout posts included such details.

The interaction was part of 5.45% of the gym texts' content and 18.18% of the home workouts' content (Table 1). In the gym posts, questions sometimes were used as a decision-making aid for the person posting, such as @leonie\_bmhe who asked, whether she should rather train her legs or her back (Appendix I). In the home workout posts, the content was more about the followers. For example, @justbecyy gave her followers a stretching challenge, asked when they last stretched, as well as challenging them to do their exercises regularly (Appendix II).

The third category, progress/goals, was found in 18.18% of gym posts and none of the home workout posts (Table 1).

Beyond the three main categories, there were two other noticeable differences in the content of the texts. In 14.55% of the home workout posts the word 'fun' was used, but not in any of the gym posts. Furthermore, quotations were frequently found in both groups but were not interpretable due to their varying content.

When comparing the contents of comments on gym posts and home workout posts, relatively similar results could be found. For both styles of sport, 'compliments' (gym - 81.82% of posts/ home workout - 67.27% of posts) were the most frequently used type (Table 2). For gym posts, the second-largest category was 'questions' (12.73% of posts), followed by 'approval' (10.91% of posts). For the home workout posts, in addition to the 'Compliments' category, the 'Interaction' category (29.09% of posts) was particularly notable, which did not occur for the gym posts. Other more significant categories for the home workout posts were 'support' (10.91% of posts), 'approval' (9.09% of posts), and 'gratitude' (9.09% of posts). Additionally, it was found that the 'Criticism' category was found in

the comments for 5.45% of the home workout posts, while gym posts' were not critically commented on (Table 2).

Table 2. Proportions of comments according to content

Categories	Gym		Home Workout	
	Number of Posts with content	Percentage	Number of Posts with content	Percentage
Compliments	45	81.82%	37	67.27%
Questions	7	12.73%	4	7.27%
Answers	2	3.64%	2	3.64%
Approval	6	10.91%	5	9.09%
Gratitude	1	1.82%	5	9.09%
Interaction	0	0.00%	16	29.09%
Opinion	2	3.64%	1	1.82%
Tips	2	3.64%	0	0.00%
Joy	1	1.82%	0	0.00%
Support	1	1.82%	6	10.91%
Greetings	1	1.82%	1	1.82%
Advertisement	0	0.00%	1	1.82%
Criticism	0	0.00%	3	5.45%
Joke	0	0.00%	2	3.64%
Requests	3	5.45%	2	3.64%
Other	0	0.00%	1	1.82%

The analysis of the hashtags found for home workouts 794 hashtags (554 different), leading to an average of 14.43 hashtags per post. Gym workouts used 1009 hashtags (565 different) leading on average to 18.35 hashtags per post.

The most used hashtags for home workouts were #fitnessmotivation (16x), #homeworkout (12x) and #fitness (11x) while gym content creators used #fitness (27x), #gym (23x) and #bodybuilding (22x) most often. 481 different hashtags in the context of home workouts and 436 for gym workouts were only used once and therefore retracted from further analysis.

The largest category by far for both gym and home workouts was 'Fitness' (Table 3) with 24.27% and 21.67% respectively. For the gym, it was followed by the categories 'Motivation' (10.6%), 'Fitfam' (9.06%), and 'Home workout/Gym' (8.38%). For home workouts, the second-largest category is 'Home workout/Gym' (14.86%), followed by 'Motivation' (13.00%) and 'Exercise/Equipment' (8.67%). The greatest difference between the two styles presented the category 'Home workout/Gym' with a difference of 6.48%. The next largest differences were the categories 'Strength' (5.43% diff.), 'Exercise/Equipment' (5.08% diff.), and 'Body parts' (4.77% diff.). The smallest differences occurred in the categories 'Other' (0.66% diff.), 'Gender' (0.89% diff.), and 'Location' (0.97% diff.).

A distinction between positive and negative mental health was found, with 2.91% of hashtags for gym workouts referencing 'Negative mental health' (e.g., '#gymrat', '#gymfreak', '#gymjunkie'), whereas home workouts contained none. For 'Health' and 'Positive mental health', it was reversed. Home workouts used 3.92 % more positive-mental-health-related and 3.94% more physical-health-related hashtags.

Table 3. Results of the hashtag analysis.

Categories	Gym		Home Workout		Differences between categories (ranking)
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	
Fitness	142	24.27%	70	21.67%	2.6% (8.)
FitFam	53	9.06%	25	7.74%	1.32% (11.)
Gender	31	5.30%	20	6.19%	-0.89% (14.)
Home workout/ Gym	49	8.38%	48	14.86%	-6.48% (1.)
Location	22	3.76%	9	2.79%	0.97% (13.)
Motivation	62	10.60%	42	13.00%	-2.4% (9.)
Strength	39	6.67%	4	1.24%	5.43% (2.)
Advertisement	24	4.10%	10	3.10%	1.00% (12.)
Quotes	30	5.13%	10	3.10%	2.03% (10.)
Exercise/ Equipment	21	3.59%	28	8.67%	-5.08% (3.)
Health	15	2.56%	21	6.50%	-3.94% (5.)
Positive mental health	6	1.03%	16	4.95%	-3.92% (6.)
Negative mental health	17	2.91%	0	0.00%	2.91% (7.)
Body parts	37	6.32%	5	1.55%	4.77% (4.)
Other	31	5.30%	15	4.64%	0.66% (15.)
Sum	585	100%	323	100%	

#### 4. Discussion

Despite similarities, the general manifestation of conspicuous consumption differs between the two workout styles. The analysis provides enough differences in the workout types to indicate an impact on conspicuous consumption. Image elements for both styles were very similar, and the deviations present could be circumstantial, as, for example, plants are everyday household objects. Also, motivation seems to be an important factor in general, as all content creators use motivational quotes in their texts and comments to encourage their followers.

However, the differences were prevalent. For example, the success, goal setting, and achievements of the content creator had great relevance in the posts from the gym. Posing, dramatic lighting, and filters are used to emphasize the visually visible successes of the sport, such as defined muscles. The results of the text and hashtag evaluation confirmed this notion. In texts, goals were numerically depicted and hashtags including body parts, measurable goals, or specifically strength-related terms were used, again focusing on a status above the competition. Lamb and Hillmann (2015) describe that such personal branding is created through the 'transformation of the body into a seductive expression of personal empowerment, attractiveness, and strength' (p.94). So, it is likely that gym content creators use this focus on power, strength, and progress as a means of identity creation to define themselves by setting them apart from others.

In contrast, home workout posts focused more on the individualization and the quality of the sport. Especially the results of the evaluation of the texts show this. The captions contain more exercise instructions and interaction with the community, so the sport itself and its' quality are in focus. This applies also to comments. More community interaction and criticism can be found among the posts about home workouts. So, the respective community pays more attention to the exercises and the quality of the sport. The hashtags support this, as it is focused on exercises and less on their outcome. Moreover, among the home workout posts, hashtags were used less repeatedly, suggesting that posts are more individualized and cater to their specific community.

Differences can also be seen in the individual mindset, motivational factors, and fun. Fun is not mentioned in any post texts about the gym but is a relevant part of the posts about home workouts. Home workouts use hashtags that promote the idea of fun while working out (#sportmachtspaß). Also, many of the hashtags of home workout posts include motivational quotes and words associated with mental health, giving support and possibly motivation to their followers to emulate the fitness

behavior. Gym posts, in contrast, used fewer health-related hashtags and even included ones associated with negative mental health. Although negative motivation has been proven to be an ineffective means of motivation, this could, again, represent a mindset based on surpassing others (Sekendiz, 2014). The reason for this could lie in the self-esteem- and identity-building that extreme behavior can evoke. The demonstration of one's strength and success was similarly observed in Tough Mudder events by Lamb and Hillmann in 2015. They found that participants in such events believed to prove their fitness and commitment to self-improvement by partaking. Additionally, in accordance with our interpretations of the negative hashtags, the authors emphasize that the danger to bodies and the physical risk are a pivotal part of these hypercompetitive events and the identity of their participants (Lamb & Hillmann, 2015). A reason to expose one's own body to such a risk is that 'the endangered body in extreme sports becomes a source of identification' (Stahl, 2010, pp. 61-63). As part of this identity, the feeling of superiority becomes identity-establishing. Gym content creators could try to evoke this feeling of risk and danger, so they (or others) perceive them as of high status by using dramatic lighting and hashtags like #gymfreak.

For home workouts, there was an overall focus on physical as well as mental health and well-being, which could present their identification and building of social status through health, similarly discussed by Mujcic and Fritjers (2015). According to them, conspicuous health denotes individuals that seek identity from their health status and compare it to others. The authors found that women are more sensitive to health comparisons. This matches the observation of more women doing home workouts and posting content with stronger connections to health. The focus on the whole body when posing and the use of health-related hashtags (#healthylifestyle) supports this. Also, it could give an insight into the use of plants as picture elements. They could be a way to associate the content creator with vitality and therefore health. Additionally, the use of fewer filters could appeal to a desired naturalness and add another source of identity (Smith et al., 2022). Interestingly, this gives more reason to believe that the locations are the cause for differences in conspicuous consumption rather than gender. Home workout posts had a larger female percentage but as half of gym content creators were female, it seems unreasonable to determine gender as the only cause for partaking in conspicuous health.

In Summary, conspicuous consumption shows different manifestations in the two styles of Instagram posts. For gym workouts, conspicuous consumption manifests with a focus on the content creator. They seem to gain unilateral superiority through self-presentation of their success and strength. The focus is here more on achieving definable goals. Fewer references are made to health and fun which provides insight into the mentality, that hard work and overcoming obstacles define their identity. By staging themselves and their successes they give incentive for their follower to admire their status and fitness. For the followers, this style would be only able to provide status through association and para-social identification. In contrast, posts about home workouts focus on the community. Here, conspicuous consumption occurs through networking, by feeling connected and being part of a community. The content creators build their community by involving them and letting them remotely partake in the fitness behavior. The positive motivation and interaction could improve the content creators' as well as the followers' self-esteem as the posts enable (at least seemingly) a bilateral, more equal, interaction (Gonzales & Hancock, 2011). Still, followers might only gain a feeling of status by associating themselves with the content creator, like in the gym posts. The involvement of conspicuous health possibly indicates that home workout content creators also partake in a status competition, although not as intense as gym content creators.

*Limitations.* The prime limitation of this paper is the subjectivity of the process. The selection of the Instagram posts was done in the context of the seminar it was conducted for. Therefore, while it was an inductive approach, the prescribed topics of conspicuous consumption and tribalism could have led to a selection and sample bias. Also, the uneven distribution of gender in home workouts could lead to biases. Furthermore, the interpretation, categorization, and comparisons were done by different members of the team. Despite guidelines, an interpretation bias cannot be ruled out. Moreover, the analysis was done with Instagram and consequently is subjected to its algorithm.

While it was ensured, that every researched aspect had reached saturation, the sample size

of 110 posts is not large enough to ensure a reflection of reality. Furthermore, the raised connections and interpretations are highly subjective and prone to personal biases. Lastly, it remains questionable, if the ethical standards were kept, without contacting the content creators used for this analysis.

*Theoretical and Practical Implications.* To overcome some of the limitations of this study and verify its result quantitative research is needed. Also, in-depth interviews could help gain a deeper insight into the antecedents of conspicuous consumption and understanding of the reasoning of content creators. Also, other social media platforms need to be investigated to distinguish whether the properties are unique to Instagram.

In practice, this study shows, the importance of distinguishing different forms of status building and causes of conspicuous consumption. This could be especially interesting for fitness companies that advertise their products and services on social media and can utilize the differences in status. While home workout content creators might be better suited for products that motivate and focus on the fun aspect, gym content creators might be more fit to promote products that are aimed at directly enhancing goals.

*Conclusion.* To conclude, it can be determined that both styles show a demonstration of status but differ in the manifestation of conspicuous consumption. Content creators posting gym images seem to intend to create an identity through their unilateral superiority and idolization by their followers. Meanwhile, the content creators posting home workouts identify more through their health and the sense of community. While followers of both styles partake in a status building through association, the ones following home workouts are more included and have more possibilities to be an active part of the fitness community rather than just associating with it.

## References

- Braun, O. L., & Wicklund, R. A. (1989). Psychological antecedents of conspicuous consumption. *Journal of Economic psychology*, 10(2), 161-187.
- Bronner, F., & de Hoog, R. (2018). Conspicuous consumption and the rising importance of Experiential purchases. *International Journal of Market Research*, 60(1), 88-103.
- Bowler, G. M. (2010). Netnography: A Method Specifically Designed to Study Cultures and Communities Online. *The Qualitative Report*, 15(5), 1270-1275.
- Cova, B. & Cova, V. (2002). Tribal marketing: The tribalisation of society and its impact on the conduct of marketing. *European Journal of Marketing*. 36. 5959-620.
- Duesenberry, James S. (1949), *Income, Saving and the Theory of Consumer Behavior*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Efendioğlu, İ. H. (2019). The impact of conspicuous consumption in social media on purchasing intentions. *İşletme Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 11(3), 2176-2190.
- Glucksman, M. (2017). The rise of social media influencer marketing on lifestyle branding: A case study of Lucie Fink. *Elon Journal of undergraduate research in communications*, 8(2), 77-87.
- Gonzalez, A. L. & Hancock, J. T. (2011). Mirror, mirror on my Facebook wall: Effects of Facebook exposure on self-esteem. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior and Social Networking*, 14(1), 79-83.
- Kozinets, R., Patterson A. & Ashman, R. (2017). Networks of Desire: How Technology Increases our Passion to Consume. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 43. 659-682.
- Lamb, M. D., & Hillman, C. (2015). Whiners go home: Tough Mudder, conspicuous consumption, And the rhetorical proof of "fitness". *Communication & sport*, 3(1), 81-99.
- Mujcic, R., & Frijters, P. (2015). Conspicuous consumption, conspicuous health, and optimal taxation. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 111, 59-70.
- O'cass, A., & McEwen, H. (2004). Exploring consumer status and conspicuous consumption. *Journal of consumer behaviour: an international research review*, 4(1), 25-39.
- Pandya, A., & Lodha, P. (2021). Social connectedness, excessive screen time during COVID-19 and mental health: a review of current evidence. *Frontiers in Human Dynamics*, 45.
- Phillips, R. J. (2014). Conspicuous consumption. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/conspicuous-consumption>.



- Sandig, M. (2021). Home-Workout: So hat sich Sport in Corona-Zeiten verändert. <https://www.kreiszeitung.de/lokales/niedersachsen/home-fitness-statt-verein-so-hat-sich-sport-mit-corona-veraendert-90479438.html> (last accessed: 04.03.2022).
- Sekendiz, B. (2014). Personal fitness trainers giving tough love: Risks and consequences. *ACSM's Health & Fitness Journal*, 18(3), 8-11.
- Siepmann, C., Holthoff, L. C., & Kowalczyk, P. (2021). Conspicuous consumption of luxury experiences: an experimental investigation of status perceptions on social media. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*.
- Smith, R. K., Yazdani, E., Wang, P., Soleymani, S., & Ton, L. A. N. (2022). The cost of looking natural: Why the no-makeup movement may fail to discourage cosmetic use. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 50(2), 324-337.
- Sokolova, K., & Perez, C. (2021). You follow fitness influencers on YouTube. But do you actually exercise? How parasocial relationships, and watching fitness influencers, relate to intentions to exercise. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 58, 102276.
- Stahl, R. (2010). *Militainment, Inc.: War, media, and popular culture*. NY: Routledge, 61-63.
- Stollfuß, S. (2020). Communitainment on Instagram: Fitness content and community-driven communication as social media entertainment. *SAGE Open*, 10(2), 2158244020919535.
- Thoumrungroje, A. (2014). The influence of social media intensity and EWOM on conspicuous consumption. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 148, 7-15.
- Trigg, Andrew B. (2001). Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 35(1), 99-115.
- Veblen, T., & Mills, C.W. (1992). *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315135373>.
- Wilcox, K., Kramer, T. & Sen, S. (2011). Indulgence or self-control: A dual process model of the effect of incidental pride on indulgent choice. *Journal of Consumer Research*. 38(1), 151-163.