

Consumerism and Wellness Culture: Commodifying Women's Health in the Contemporary Health Industry

syaza Yasmin¹, Annisa Anindya², Novi Elian³, Yayuk Lestari⁴
Communication Studies Universitas Andalas^{1, 2, 3, 4}
Correspondence email: syaza@soc.unand.ac.id

Abstract

The study of health communication is currently undergoing rapid development, particularly with the advancement of digitalization. This is changing the way health is understood, communicated, and practiced. This research examines how consumerism in the healthcare industry is created, interpreted, and reproduced. This research is situated within the field of contemporary health communication studies that focuses on women's experiences. This study employed a qualitative design and conducted in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with women aged 18-30 who actively use social media. The findings illustrate that health is no longer understood universally and uniformly. Health is no longer simply defined as a body free from disease. It is now also defined and associated with appearance, lifestyle, aesthetics, productivity, and participation in health trends. Social media plays a crucial role in this process, blurring the lines between health education and information and commercial promotion. Health messages are now presented in the form of personal experiences, tutorials, and content that lead to sustainable consumption, ranging from supplements and skincare products to joining sports clubs and more. This research also explains that consumerism in wellness culture is influenced by gender. Women often experience more pressure than men to adhere to health-related standards and values. Women are expected to maintain ideal bodies, maintain their physical appearance, and remain productive through continuous consumption. This research demonstrates how wellness culture works to commodify health in everyday life.

Keywords: wellness culture, consumerism, health communication, health industry, women

INTRODUCTION

Health is now understood as a lifestyle, not just about being free from disease. Health is now defined as an ideal standard of living that should be displayed. Social media plays a role in this process of defining health. In this context, health has undergone a significant shift in meaning. This shift in the meaning of health is directed towards lifestyle choices, self-identity, and social practices. Health is now continuously pursued but also produced and

displayed in public spaces, particularly on social media. Platforms such as TikTok, YouTube, and Instagram play a significant role in the changing meaning of health in today's era. Individuals now have different understandings and interpretations of a healthy body (Wood & Watson, 2023). This shift in meaning can be seen in the health narratives found in various content on social media platforms. These narratives not only convey health information but also emphasize daily health routines that can be implemented by consuming certain foods, and individuals are encouraged to present themselves as proof of a healthy lifestyle.

Based on this, it can be seen that current health communication studies are not only concerned with interactions between healthcare professionals and patients, health promotion campaigns, health culture, or direct healthcare implementation. Contemporary health communication studies are now expanding to include popular culture and how health communication operates in digital culture. Health messages circulating widely on social media platforms are no longer neutral (Willoughby & Couto, 2025). These messages relate to information about self-care, exercise routines, and diet, packaged alongside narratives about beauty, productivity, and self-improvement. These messages appear in the form of experiences, tutorials, and product recommendations (Cavusoglu & Demirbag-Kaplan, 2017).

This all leads to health being portrayed as something that must be demonstrated, measurable, and evaluated through specific social standards. This shift in the meaning and purpose of health messages demonstrates the ongoing commodification of health. Health is framed as something that can be pursued, optimized, and improved through the consumption of certain products or services. These efforts to improve health through consuming certain products or services enable individuals to achieve health goals that meet certain social standards, which become trends or are shared on social media. The practice of taking supplements or using certain brands of personal care products, joining a sports club, or participating in certain sporting events becomes an important pathway to achieving an ideal healthy lifestyle.

These health messages are packaged through digital persuasive communication strategies that demonstrate that health is the result of everything an individual consumes. When individuals successfully follow social trends and standards regarding health, they are considered healthy. Individuals are seen as having a healthy lifestyle when they display or demonstrate these health practices on social media platforms. This supports the health industry operating within the wellness industry.

The healthcare industry often targets women using health narratives. Women are encouraged to utilize health products or services to enhance and maintain their overall well-being. This narrative indirectly encourages women to engage in sustainable consumption due to the pressure to keep up with evolving health trends and standards. Women are encouraged to take care of themselves and optimize their sustainable well-being through consumption in the healthcare industry. As a result, many women subconsciously view the consumption of health products or services as a personal choice, often unaware of the pressures imposed by socially constructed standards through

health narratives on social media.

Furthermore, studies on health and consumerism have developed extensively in other disciplines such as psychology, public health, and marketing. However, there are still few health studies in Indonesia within the realm of critical health communication that also focus on gender and its role in shaping consumerism. Based on this, this research was conducted within the realm of health communication to analyze how consumerism in the health industry is shaped, maintained, and reproduced through health messages consumed by women. This research seeks to understand the mechanisms that drive consumption practices and women's subjective experiences with health narratives within wellness culture on social media. These findings are expected to contribute to contemporary health communication research by explaining how wellness messages not only seek to provide health education and information but also potentially create burdens for women through the commodification of health.

Many similar studies focus more on changes in individual behavior or consumer motivation and attitudes. However, limited studies emphasize critical health communication, particularly how health messages operate as texts that shape meaning, power relations, and consumption practices. Furthermore, there is a need for increased research examining health communication and its relationship to gender, particularly in relation to how women experience, interpret, and critique consumer-oriented health narratives.

This study seeks to address this gap by providing a critical analysis of health communication within the current wellness culture and how consumerism has emerged within the healthcare industry. It also provides new insights into how health communication functions not only as a means of conveying information but also as a role in constructing norms, standards, and identities through the commodification of everyday health.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Wellness Culture

"Wellness culture" is a term used to describe how a healthy lifestyle represents not only physical and mental well-being or freedom from disease but also a means of constructing social identity. Wellness culture emerges as a new term in contemporary health. Health is seen as something that can be produced, promoted, and consumed through digital media. This arises from specific standards regarding the body, behavior, and lifestyle that emphasize aesthetics, consumption, and power. This definition emphasizes that wellness culture is a culture or an individual's habit of striving to improve well-being through healthy lifestyle practices. However, health is not the sole goal. Other goals include projecting a healthy body, with visual representations of the body, self-care routines, and self-assessment and evaluation that must conform to certain standards (Brathwaite & DeAndrea, 2022).

As a result, health is no longer understood as a physical or mental state

free from disease and able to function optimally, but also as something to be displayed, valued, and conformed to social standards. Wellness culture constructs a healthy lifestyle as a sign of moral and social value. This means that individuals, especially women, are considered more responsible when they are able to adapt to healthy lifestyle standards that exist in social media trends. These standards include following certain exercise trends or using certain beauty products, having an ideal body according to social media trends, and so on. In this regard, wellness culture is closely related to consumerism and power practices because it often targets and places demands on women. Although wellness culture also has a positive impact, as more and more individuals try to adopt a healthy lifestyle, individuals often fail to recognize and criticize the actions taken to live a healthy life that are starting to turn into consumerism.

Commodification Theory

Commodification theory is one of the theories used to analyze the findings in this study. Commodification theory was developed by Mosco, focusing on communication and political economy. This theory explains the use of media in a capitalist system and is related to the transformation of use value into exchange value (Muslikhin et al., 2021).

This process of transforming use value into exchange value explains that goods or activities that were initially used in everyday life to fulfill needs are then produced and traded. Therefore, the existence of a product or service is no longer solely seen in terms of its benefits, but also in how it is packaged, produced, and then traded.

This concept of commodification also exists in wellness culture, where "health" is presented as a certain lifestyle that individuals, especially women, must adopt by consuming certain health products or services. For example, exercise has now become a commodity or product to be bought and sold. Exercise can be anything, but the existence of sports clubs with premium memberships, exclusive exercise classes, and premium exercise apps all require individuals to pay or purchase them. Another example is the concept of eating healthy food as a way to maintain health, which is now being constructed as a commodity. This is evident in the numerous health narratives, products, and restaurants offering real food products packaged in a way to attract buyers, as well as branded supplements and diet programs marketed as health solutions.

Health messages are packaged in visually appealing formats, intended to promote specific health products or services. These messages are numerous and circulated through social media. Commodification theory analyzes these messages. This theory also explains how health messages work to promote commodities and normalize consumption as an effort to pursue a healthy lifestyle. It also explains how these messages are framed so that individuals, especially women, perceive them as their responsibility to consume health products and services

Feminist Health Communication Theory

Another theory used in analyzing this research is feminist health communication theory. This theory stems from critical feminist thinking, explaining how health messages are not neutral and are linked to unequal power. This theory questions and critiques how health messages often ignore women's experiences and often objectify them (Burns & Basnyat, 2022). Based on this theory, social constructs such as gender norms, unequal judgments, and demands between genders influence health standards (Welsh, 2020).

Martínez-Jiménez (2023) and Welsh (2020) explain that this theory demonstrates that health communication is conceptualized as a practice that can reinforce or critique gender inequality. In the contemporary realm, many health messages are produced based on certain standards of the ideal body, especially for women. This includes health messages that reproduce certain standards of a healthy body, coupled with an ideal body image and the responsibility to conform to these standards for social acceptance. This theory not only helps explain women as passive consumers but also recognizes that women can be active subjects who can critique health messages within wellness culture. Women are also understood as individuals with lived experiences, capable of reflecting on them, and having the space to interpret and critique things.

METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted using qualitative methods to explain how wellness culture and commodification operate within consumerist health communications. Wellness culture is understood as a phenomenon constructed through media and everyday practices. Therefore, this study used qualitative methods to capture these narratives and analyze informants' understanding and interpretation of the mechanisms of wellness culture and its commodification. This also aligns with the explanation that qualitative methods guide researchers in exploring individual meanings, interpretations, and experiences (Creswell & Creswell, 2023).

Data collection techniques used interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) to gain a deeper understanding of how information is interpreted. Semi-structured interviews and FGDs were conducted with five women aged 18-30 years residing in Padang, West Sumatra, Indonesia. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, with the criteria being women who actively use social media, have experienced or are aware of wellness culture content on social media, and have experience purchasing or using health-related products and services. Furthermore, women in this age range are often the primary target of the health industry.

The data were analyzed thematically, following Creswell & Creswell (2023), with thematic analysis focusing on recurring patterns and interpretive frameworks based on interview and FGD transcripts. The analysis began with transcribing the interviews and FGDs and then grouping them to capture key ideas or themes related to health communication, consumption practices,

power relations, and gender in wellness culture messages. These themes were then analyzed in conjunction with theory and previous similar research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Reduction of Health to Aesthetics and Productivity

The first finding in this study is that the meaning of health has shifted. The meaning of health is no longer universal and singular. It is no longer understood solely as being free from disease, but is now reduced to an indicator of aesthetics and productivity. All informants stated that health is not only about illness, but also about having an ideal physical body. This assessment is based on healthy living trends that are based on certain standards and moral values.

In an interview, one informant explained:

"For me, health is not just about not being physically or mentally ill, or not just feeling fit or not tired. It also has to do with productivity and appearance. If you want to appear healthy, you have to demonstrate a healthy lifestyle, participating in various sports, eating healthy foods, and having an ideal body." (Interview 1, October 2025).

This statement aligns with the discussions conducted. FGD participants agreed that nowadays, a person's health is judged by what is visible, such as body shape, skin condition, and daily routine:

"An ideal body, healthy and clean skin, and remaining productive are signs of a healthy life" (FGD Participant 2)

Informants' statements during interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) revealed that health is not only defined as an internal condition of the body, but also as a judgment and evaluation of health based on social standards and a focus on aesthetics and productivity.

This results in individuals relying on products and services that can produce a healthy body based on certain social standards. This is where the wellness industry works, providing a platform for introducing commodities for individual consumption. However, this situation has led to a shift in priorities and the primary goal of health, namely to be displayed and valued. This situation is supported by constantly changing trends and standards, resulting in a recurring cycle of consumption.

One informant stated that health, now associated with aesthetics and productivity, has significantly influenced his consumption practices.

"I'm part of a tennis club facilitated by my office. As staff, we are indirectly required to be members. Almost all club members use a particular brand of racket. I didn't initially use that brand, but to socialize and get closer to the other club members, I decided to buy and use a racket from that brand. I also started following several tennis-related accounts to see what products I could use to support my tennis activities." (Interview 2, October 2025).

This informant's statement confirms that wellness culture not only shapes consumption patterns but also creates pressures and demands on individuals, although often without their awareness.

Health as a Commodity within Wellness Culture

The second finding in this study concerns the relationship between health and commodities in wellness culture. Health is a lifestyle that is continuously displayed and improved. A healthy lifestyle is associated with visual and symbolic achievements, such as through body appearance and daily routines.

Based on interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs), many participants emphasized that the changing meaning of health and the shifting healthy lifestyles indirectly demanded by their environment encourage them to consume various things to appear to follow a healthy lifestyle. Consequently, being healthy is not only about avoiding illness, but also about adapting to certain standards and trends.

Several informants stated that these trends and standards develop and are spread through social media and are implemented in their surroundings.

"Yes, as I said before, I end up buying the same brand of exercise equipment as other club members. If it's not the same, I feel less confident, to be honest. As for showing off, I do that too. I upload photos or content of myself exercising on social media so people know I'm living a healthy lifestyle through exercise." (Interview 2, October 2025).

The informant's statement shows that consuming commodities for a healthy lifestyle is related to self-acceptance within a group. Consumption of commodities becomes a lifestyle marker.

"Nowadays, people will judge whether you are healthy and have a healthy lifestyle based on what you wear or what you do. You wear certain brands, participate in certain sports, join a sports club, use a yoga mat, and display your routine so others know you live a healthy lifestyle." (FGD Participant 3)

A similar statement was made by an informant in an interview:

"So, people judge your health based on what you show. For example, your body, whether it's ideal, slim, or not. Your face, whether it's fair or acne-free. Likewise, with food, do you show that you consume healthy drinks and foods, real food or not? Then there's your routine, whether you join a sports club or participate in a trending sport on social media? All of that is displayed and judged by others to ensure you meet healthy standards." (Interview 2, October 2025).

Wellness has created an industry and undergone a significant commodification process. Initially, health and a healthy lifestyle were basic

human needs. But now, everything has become an object and commodity that is produced, marketed, and consumed (Cavusoglu & Demirbag-Kaplan, 2017). Wellness products and services serve as tools to support healthy living and also as symbols of identity, one of which is a symbol of an individual's consistency in living a healthy life. Marks et al. (2020) and Muslikhin et al. (2021) explain that this demonstrates a shift in the value of health, from utility to symbolic and exchange value. Consuming certain wellness products and services provides a signal and social legitimacy that the individual has made an effort to live a healthy life.

The commodification of the wellness industry is reinforced by the role of social media. Social media platforms help promote messages related to wellness products and services. Furthermore, social media plays a role in constructing aesthetic standards and the meaning of a healthy lifestyle today, as something that must be displayed and socially valued (Cavusoglu & Demirbag-Kaplan, 2017; Brathwaite & DeAndrea, 2022).

This process confirms that the wellness industry also influences the shift in meaning through the packaging of health messages on social media. These messages are packaged in an engaging way through carefully crafted stories of experiences, testimonials, or tutorials. These messages are also packaged to encourage audiences to consume the commodity sustainably and consistently.

Furthermore, critical considerations are needed regarding commodification within the health industry, which often ignores structural factors such as social class, access to healthcare, and working conditions (Eger et al., 2024). Commodification within the health and wellness industry often frames health as the result of discipline, responsibility, and rational choice.

This neglect of structural factors leads to the perception that failure to meet health standards is often interpreted as a lack of individual effort, rather than a result of social inequality (Marks et al., 2020; Wood & Watson, 2023). Upon closer examination, this inequality occurs due to economic disparities that limit access to healthcare products or services, or simply because individuals lack the ability to consume healthcare commodities. However, this phenomenon is often interpreted as a lack of effort by individuals to maintain a healthy appearance.

This phenomenon is also related to the gender inequality that persists, particularly among women. In their daily lives, women already face various burdens and demands, such as domestic responsibilities and work. This situation makes maintaining a consistent healthy lifestyle challenging. The allocation of time, energy, and finances are factors that women must consider amidst these various demands and burdens. Furthermore, access to quality healthcare varies greatly between individuals living in urban and rural areas.

Differences related to access to healthcare services and products, the ability to manage time, energy, and finances, and the diverse roles and burdens of women are often overlooked. Furthermore, these limitations and disabilities are often interpreted as a lack of commitment. Consequently, much of the dominant health discourse promotes uniform health standards, as if all

individuals, especially women, have the same living conditions and resources (Willoughby & Couto, 2025).

Consumerism and Media Industry

Wellness culture and the commodification of health are inextricably linked to consumerism. Consumerism in wellness culture emerged from the healthcare industry and is further amplified by digital media. The healthcare industry creates new categories of needs that encourage individuals to consume and consider health products or services essential to daily life. Social media plays an active role in creating these new categories of needs and disseminating them through health-themed messages. This is especially true today, as information sources shift from conventional media to digital. Platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube serve as primary sources of health information, perceived as more relevant, practical, and presented in an engaging manner, making it easier for audiences exposed to health information on social media to understand the message. Furthermore, health information shared on social media is more accessible than formal medical sources.

However, the line between information intended for health education and commercial promotion in health narratives shared on social media is often blurred. Health messages on social media are not solely intended to educate but are often designed to subtly promote health products or services and direct audiences to consume them (Wood & Watson, 2023). This is evident in the numerous health messages promoting self-care trends, which initially convey health messages wrapped in stories of experiences, but also involve various beauty products. In such health messages, the beauty products featured are promoted either overtly or subtly, so that audiences are often unaware that the messages are commercial (Picazo-Sánchez et al., 2022).

This was also conveyed by several informants in interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs):

"I thought it was all just stories of experiences, and or a sharing information with education. But then I realized that the health content or messages had more than one purpose. Their purpose wasn't just to provide information or educate; it turned out there was another purpose. The influencers delivering these messages were also promoting a certain lifestyle and encouraging us as audiences to try the lifestyle they described by consuming certain products or services or following certain health routines." (Interview 3, October 2025).

Several informants also stated that they frequently purchased sports and skincare products after being exposed to content from social media influencers sharing their experiences and testimonials. Social media platform algorithms also contribute to individuals being exposed to similar content more frequently. Furthermore, platform algorithms tend to prioritize visually appealing content, especially if it's produced by prominent influencers (Picazo-Sánchez et al., 2022). As a result, commercial health messages become

more dominant and easily accessible.

Health messages presented in the form of testimonials, tutorials, or tips that appear informative and personal, along with engaging narratives, make commercial health messages seem more authentic and make it difficult for audiences to recognize them as advertising. In this case, personal experiences are used as a marketing tool, leading to the commodification of health experiences. This demonstrates the blurring of the line between health messages aimed at education and those aimed more commercially. This is because current health messages are strategically framed to encourage commodity consumption rather than simply providing information.

Furthermore, circulating health messages construct health as a continuous and never-ending process. Individuals are encouraged to continue consuming health commodities to stay and maintain their health. Trends to improve and maintain a healthy body are always accompanied by the introduction of new products, services, or methods claimed to be faster, more effective, or tailored to individual needs. Thus, current health messages internalize the idea that health is something that must be improved through the continuous purchase of commodities. Based on commodification theory, this demonstrates how the need for health does not arise naturally and out of individual need, but is created through discourses and representations created and disseminated by social media. These health messages encourage individuals to consume continuously and follow the latest health trends.

Gendered Consumer Pressure

The final finding of this study is the pressure exerted by wellness culture on women. This pressure is not applied equally to women and men. Women experience more pressure, particularly from social expectations regarding their bodies and appearance. Certain standards, such as the ideal body, clear skin, an acne-free face, or productivity, are indicators of health and aesthetics that are heavily weighted toward women.

Based on feminist health communication theory, this situation illustrates how health messages reproduce gender-based power relations (Kuhlmann & Babitsch, 2002; Welsh, 2020). These standards and pressures place demands on women without considering the structural and social factors they face (Eger et al., 2024). These standards are perpetuated by health messages on social media, so that health messages serve not only as sources of information or commercial health messages but also as mechanisms for establishing values and norms regarding women. These values and norms relate to how women should appear, behave, and care for themselves.

These demands drive women to consume health products to meet social expectations and keep up with social media trends (Lim et al., 2022; Wood & Watson, 2023). Women not only face the burden of work and domestic work, but also face greater emotional, social, and financial pressures, especially when complying with social expectations regarding self-care practices. This

demonstrates how wellness culture fosters unequal pressures for women and men.

Feminist health communication theory also explains that, in current practice, health communication has become a social, political, and economic arena that determines who holds the authority to define health, how the meaning of health is constructed, and how health should be practiced (Basnyat et al., 2025; Martínez-Jiménez, 2023). Furthermore, health messages are often packaged using empowering, empathetic language that represents experiences, often obscuring the power relationships behind the messages. Health messages in the wellness industry exploit this to normalize certain health norms and standards for women. Based on this, it can be concluded that health communication in wellness culture forms a new understanding and meaning for health and also contributes to reproducing gender inequality.

CONCLUSION

This research explains a significant transformation in the meaning of health within wellness culture. This shift in meaning is also related to how commodification occurs within the health industry and the power relations behind health messages. Health is no longer defined solely as freedom from disease and illness. Health is now interpreted in diverse ways, linked to a lifestyle that emphasizes aesthetic appearance, ideal body image, productivity, and individual efforts to maintain a healthy appearance based on certain social standards. This shift directs individuals' consumption practices to maintain a healthy lifestyle.

The following findings explain that social media plays a role in the commodification of health within wellness culture. The commodification of health creates consumption routines for individuals, particularly women, to meet new needs. Social media serves as a source of health information and an instrument for promoting health products and services, as well as healthy lifestyles. Social media also plays a role in spreading healthy living trends and standards.

Health narratives, now widely circulated on social media, are packaged attractively by showcasing personal experiences, tutorials, and testimonials, all of which lead to the promotion of commodities. Thus, health messages are no longer solely intended to provide educational information, but have also become commercial health messages.

Promotion in health messages also reproduces and constructs gender-based power relations. Women are often the primary targets of health discourse, demanding a healthy appearance, especially in physical aspects. Women are placed greater pressure to appear healthy and fit, have ideal bodies, clear skin, and remain productive. However, this pressure often overlooks the burdens women themselves face.

This research is expected to increase knowledge and introduce contemporary health communication that is more critical of health

phenomena. Furthermore, further research is needed with a more critical approach to health messages in today's digital media.

REFERENCES

- Basnyat, I., de Souza, R. T., Team, V., & Wilkin, H. A. (2025). Editorial: Centering women, health, and health equity in health communication. *Frontiers in Communication*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2025.1513715>
- Brathwaite, K. N., & DeAndrea, D. C. (2022). BoPopriation: How self-promotion and corporate commodification can undermine the body positivity (BoPo) movement on Instagram. *Communication Monographs*, 89(1), 25–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2021.1925939>
- Burns, J. R., & Basnyat, I. (2022). Feminist Approaches to Health Communication. In *The International Encyclopedia of Health Communication* (pp. 1–6). Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119678816.iehc0779>
- Cavusoglu, L., & Demirbag-Kaplan, M. (2017). Health commodified, health communified: navigating digital consumptionscapes of well-being. *European Journal of Marketing*, 51(11/12), 2054–2079. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EJM-01-2017-0015>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2023). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Sixth Edit). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Eger, H., Chacko, S., El-Gamal, S., Gerlinger, T., Kaasch, A., Meudec, M., Munshi, S., Naghipour, A., Rhule, E., Sandhya, Y. K., & Uribe, O. L. (2024). Towards a Feminist Global Health Policy: Power, intersectionality, and transformation. *PLOS Global Public Health*, 4(3), e0002959. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pgph.0002959>
- Kuhlmann, E., & Babitsch, B. (2002). Bodies, health, gender—bridging feminist theories and women's health. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 25(4), 433–442. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395\(02\)00280-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395(02)00280-7)
- Lim, M. S. C., Molenaar, A., Brennan, L., Reid, M., & McCaffrey, T. (2022). Young Adults' Use of Different Social Media Platforms for Health Information: Insights From Web-Based Conversations. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 24(1), e23656. <https://doi.org/10.2196/23656>
- Marks, R. J., De Foe, A., & Collett, J. (2020). The pursuit of wellness: Social media, body image and eating disorders. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 119, 105659. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.105659>
- Martínez-Jiménez, L. (2023). Postfeminist neoliberalization of self-care: a critical discourse analysis of its representation in Vogue, Cosmopolitan and Elle. *Feminist Media Studies*, 23(6), 2814–2830. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2022.2093936>
- Muslikhin, M., Mulyana, D., Hidayat, D. R., & Utari, P. (2021). The Commodification, Spatialization and Structuration of Social Media in the Indonesian Cyber Media News. *Media and Communication*, 9(2), 110–118. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v9i2.3752>
- Picazo-Sánchez, L., Domínguez-Martín, R., & García-Marín, D. (2022). Health Promotion on Instagram: Descriptive–Correlational Study and Predictive Factors of Influencers' Content. *International Journal of Environmental*

Research and Public Health, 19(23), 15817.
<https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph192315817>

Welsh, T. (2020). The Affirmative Culture of Healthy Self-Care: A Feminist Critique of the Good Health Imperative. *International Journal of Feminist Approaches to Bioethics*, 13(1), 27–44. <https://doi.org/10.3138/ijfab.13.1.02>

Willoughby, J. F., & Couto, L. (2025). Assessing Fitspiration Content: A Mixed Methods Study on the Effects of an Ecological Momentary Assessment on Body Appreciation, Social Comparison, and Media Literacy Among Young Women. *Health Communication*, 40(12), 2758–2767. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2025.2480685>

Wood, H. C., & Watson, P. M. (2023). Critical consumers: How do young women with high autonomous motivation for exercise navigate fitness social media? *Computers in Human Behavior*, 148, 107893. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2023.107893>