Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Economic Management and Green Development
DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

Healing Content as Commercial Culture: A Business Anthropology Analysis of Female Identity Construction on Social Media

Jing Luo

The Hill School, Pottstown, USA
chloeluo_1123@outlook.com

Abstract. Healing-oriented content circulates very widely on Chinese social media; commercial interest, however, is fixed on conversion and profit, and the shaping of female identity by this content has received little discussion. Business anthropology is combined here with symbolic interaction theory for a conceptual analysis of the commercial healing content of yoga and healing bloggers; this content is a marketing strategy and a resource for female identity construction at the same time. The analysis shows that two connected symbolic systems underlie healing content: through narrative symbols, anxiety, emotional vulnerability and burnout appear as ordinary parts of women's lives; through visual aesthetic symbols, minimalist interiors, natural lighting and low-saturation palettes build a symbolic safe spiritual space. Two monetization strategies grow out of these systems. In the first, emotional resonance and community bonding, plants, yoga products, journals and candles and similar everyday objects become purchasable symbols of slow living and self-care. In the second, knowledge payment and tiered spiritual service monetization, emotional support itself is put up for sale as meditation audios, recorded courses, membership-based healing programs and emotional counseling. The bloggers hold two roles at once, commercial actor and cultural producer, and their self-branding goes on off camera in their daily routines. On the audience side, passive viewers turn into content makers; this shifts public understanding of female emotion, and commercial messages become easier to accept.

Keywords: business anthropology, symbolic interaction, healing content, female identity, self-branding

1. Introduction

Healing-oriented videos on social media give viewers a way to relax and to leave everyday pressure behind for a short time. Personal reflections, self-care routines, study vlogs and slow-living videos all produce a feeling of comfort and emotional support. This everyday connection makes people ask why women are so fond of such content and how creators and brands use it to build communities and sell products. Career expectations, social pressure and academic pressure keep growing, so many women feel anxiety, uncertainty about their identity and their future, and emotional fatigue. Healing-oriented content has appeared in answer to these problems, with encouragement, a sense of

© 2026 The Authors. This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

belonging and emotional comfort on offer. At the same time, self-care and wellness have grown into an expanding field of consumption on their own [1].

With fast urban growth and a quicker pace of life, women are under social pressure of several kinds at once, for instance competition in study or at work, and the expectations of others about success and relationships. Daily life is full of this pressure, and emotional exhaustion and spiritual anxiety are therefore widespread. A clear sense of self is often missing, and emotional support, self-understanding and a feeling of belonging are sought as a result. Therefore, female consumption has moved gradually from material satisfaction to emotional experience and psychological comfort. Healing-related content has turned into an important channel for these feelings, and comfort and encouragement are found in it.

In the past, marketing aimed at women relied on a direct hard sell and emphasized product features and appearance. However, consumer expectations are different now, and brands increasingly tell emotional stories about personal growth, self-care and identity. Selling goods is no longer the whole aim of companies; they also want an emotional bond with female customers, and they form it by addressing personal experience and ways of life. This belongs to a postfeminist media culture more generally, one in which self-monitoring, self-improvement and control of one's own feelings are treated as female empowerment [2]. Yoga and healing bloggers have appeared as a result of this change, and today they form an important trend in the industry. For these bloggers healing content is a commercial platform, and on it emotional support and marketing opportunities exist side by side. By talking with the audience and displaying their own lifestyle, they build personal brands and at the same time promote products, services and values acceptable to their customers [3]. Thus healing content does two things at once, expression and commerce, and by means of it creators and businesses reach female consumers in a more personalized manner. As a result, female branding strategies and marketing content on social media have drawn more research attention, and researchers now look at how these brands form relationships by emotional appeals and identity based marketing. Conversion and profit, however, are still the aim of commercial practice, and there the role of healing content in shaping female identity has so far been given relatively little attention.

Culture and its effect on consumer behavior have already been studied in business anthropology [4], but few studies have gone into the inner mechanism by which female identity is shaped by commercial healing content through symbolic interaction. Specifically, business anthropology uses anthropological theory to study how social values, culture and human behaviors affect business practice and consumer decisions [4]. Business anthropology is applied here to the question of how healing-oriented content serves as a marketing strategy and shapes, at the same time, emotional needs, consumer relationships and female identity. The cultural meanings carried by healing content are analyzed, and on that basis the paper investigates how emotional narratives are used by businesses to communicate with female consumers today. Symbolic interaction tells how people make meaning in social contact and through shared symbols. Healing related content here is not merely something practical; it also stands for symbols of personal growth, identity and self care.

The paper goes on in the following order. Section 2 will review studies of consumption viewed as cultural practice, of symbolic interaction, and of self-branding and female identity on the internet. Section 3 describes the analytical approach. Section 4 discusses the two symbolic systems that support healing content. Section 5 then analyses two commercial strategies built on them. How bloggers and their audiences construct identity is treated in Section 6, and Section 7 concludes.

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

2. Literature review

2.1. Business anthropology and consumption as symbolic practice

It has long been argued by anthropologists that goods are more than functional objects, since they also carry meaning. Douglas and Isherwood put forward the view that consumption is a cultural activity which makes social categories visible and keeps them stable, and a purchase therefore communicates something about social relationships and does not only satisfy needs [5]. Price and function alone, on this view, cannot explain why something is bought.

McCracken took this position further and gave an account of the movement of cultural meaning. Its origin lies in the culturally constituted world, from which it is carried to consumer goods by advertising together with the fashion system; rituals of grooming, exchange, divestment and possession then carry it again from the goods to individual consumers [6]. For healing content the model is immediately applicable, since it shows how an ordinary object, a cushion or a candle, may come to stand for calm and self-restoration.

Consumer culture theory has since made these concerns into a research tradition, in which consumption counts as a place that produces social distinctions, meanings and identities and does not merely express them [7]. In addition, business anthropology carries the same commitments into commercial practice and gives ethnographic attention to cultural meaning, so as to understand how markets and consumers really work [4]. Taken together, this work shows that the cultural logic of consumption should be studied in its own right, not only as a route to commercial ends.

2.2. Symbolic interaction and the making of shared meaning

The second component originates in symbolic interaction. Mead held that the self is not given in advance; it appears in social interaction, and individuals there learn to take the attitude others hold towards them [8]. Thus identity is an outcome of communication and not a condition that comes before it.

Blumer stated the premises of this position: the behavior of people towards things depends on the meanings the things hold for them, these meanings come out of social interaction, and an interpretive process handles and modifies them [9]. Meaning is therefore not located in the object, nor is it purely private; it is negotiated.

Goffman brought the analysis to the presentation of the self and set out how individuals handle the impressions given to an audience; front region and back region are separated, so that certain things are displayed and others stay hidden [10]. From these three positions comes the vocabulary for describing how a tone of voice, a shared comment thread or a colour palette can carry social meaning that participants recognize and respond to.

2.3. Healing content, self-branding and female identity online

The rise of the micro-celebrity has been recorded in research on social media; this is a mode of self-presentation in which ordinary users handle themselves as a brand requiring management and an audience to keep [11]. Khamis, Ang and Welling follow the way self-branding practices moved out of celebrity culture and became ordinary among social media influencers, for whom perceived authenticity counts as much as expertise [12].

Another line of work deals with the connection between performer and viewer. Para-social interaction was described by Horton and Wohl as a relationship that seems face-to-face to the

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

audience, but the performer gives nothing back, and intimacy is felt at a distance [13]. The concept gives one way to approach that feeling of company which healing content sets out to produce.

Duffy and Hund show that these processes take a gendered form among female bloggers: entrepreneurial femininity treats creative work as passion and not as labour, and self-branding becomes a matter of personal authenticity [3]. Together with accounts of postfeminist media culture [2] and of wellness as a moral and commercial field [1], this literature shows that the marketing of self-care and female self-branding have already become recognized objects of study. The internal mechanism by which commercial healing content turns symbolic material into revenue and into identity has been given comparatively little attention.

3. Analytical approach

The analysis carried out here is conceptual and interpretive, and it is not an empirical investigation. No primary data are collected for it, and none of its claims rest on interview transcripts, a sampled corpus of videos, platform metrics or survey responses. Its aim is to put business anthropology and symbolic interaction in contact with a genre of content which up to now has been discussed mainly in commercial terms, and to describe exactly how that genre functions.

The material used for the analysis is of two kinds. The descriptive features discussed below belong to the genre as it circulates on Chinese social media platforms; that is, its monetization practices, its recognizable visual register of natural light and low-saturation colour, and its narrative conventions of vulnerability and recovery. These are taken as characteristics of the genre that can generally be observed, and not as findings from a sampled corpus; no time period, set of accounts or set of videos is defined, and no primary data are collected. For those features the interpretive framework comes from the literature on influencer self-branding, symbolic interaction and consumption. Each of these features is then put to three questions: what meaning it carries, how interaction produces that meaning, and how the meaning is turned into commercial value.

Two limitations come with this approach. First, the argument offers a plausible mechanism and yet says nothing about its size or its distribution, so how many viewers actually understand healing content in the manner described here is unknown. Second, Chinese platform practice is the basis of the account, and whether it applies in other cultural settings has to be left to later empirical research.

4. The symbolic construction of healing content

Traditional marketing measures success in profit, clicks and sales. However, for business anthropology money is not the whole story, and the cultural meaning behind each purchase counts [5, 7]. Therefore the creators of healing-focused content are selling more than essential oils, candles or yoga mats. They are also selling "female self-healing" as an idea, with self-care, emotions and personal growth attached to the goods [6].

4.1. Narrative symbols: vulnerability as an ordinary experience

Healing-oriented bloggers rely a great deal on telling their own stories, and women in the audience who have had similar emotional struggles respond to them. Worry about the future, pressure from work or from study, and burnout are the usual themes. A blogger describes her own recovery and her own weak moments, and viewers then recognize their own experiences in the account. Thus healing content turns from lifestyle sharing into an emotional environment where women look for encouragement, recognition and comfort.

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

The narration in healing-oriented content is, as a rule, supportive, empathetic and gentle in tone. Emotional struggles are not labelled failures; bloggers speak of uncertainty and stress as ordinary experiences many women have. Women have traditionally been expected to look emotionally controlled, independent and strong at all times, and this expectation is put in doubt [2]. The compassionate storytelling thus carries a cultural message: women can admit their emotions, ask for support and give priority to self-care.

Two kinds of symbolic meaning are at work here; social expectations of femininity are called into question, and new symbols of emotional well-being are set up. In the traditional view the "strong woman" stands for resilience and independence, and for coping with hardship without any negative emotion on display. Women who live under such a social symbol are expected to remain emotionally stable, successful and productive at all times, personal struggles included. Healing-oriented content moves away from this traditional understanding, however, and treats emotional expression, rest and vulnerability as normal and valuable parts of women's experience.

Healing bloggers use personal storytelling to set up a new cultural symbol, "it is acceptable for women to seek healing." Emotional struggles are no longer taken as failure or weakness; they have become experiences that deserve the care and recognition of others. To ask for emotional support, to take a break and to reflect on oneself are now symbols of personal growth and self-respect, not signs of inadequacy. In Blumer's terms, the act of resting carries no meaning on its own; meaning is made in interaction, and through this rest is understood as care and not as failure [9].

4.2. Visual aesthetic symbols: the low-saturation palette as a safe space

In addition, healing-oriented content leans a lot on visual aesthetics; these work as a sensory symbolic system for communicating emotion. The visual elements are not there to be attractive; they are to be used as cultural symbols standing for emotional recovery, self-care and relaxation. The natural palette is one important symbol, with colors such as faint sage green tones, warm off-white, beige and cream. Typical advertisements stand out by the use of bright colors, but these warm, low-saturation hues give a sense of emotional comfort and calmness. For female viewers, a symbolic "safe spiritual space" is built by this consistent visual style, and it offers an escape from the heavy pressures of urban life. The gentle color scheme stands for a temporary separation, so that viewers can recover their moments of emotional repair and tranquillity. Thus the palette works as the sort of transfer device McCracken describes; meanings of restoration and calm are brought from the culturally constituted world to the goods that appear in the frame [6].

5. Bloggers' commercial discourse and targeted marketing strategies

These two symbolic systems, the narrative and the visual, do more than express. Commercial strategies are also built out of them. Two are looked at here. The first, dealt with in the two subsections below, works by way of community bonding and emotional resonance, and by turning healing aesthetics into goods that can be bought. In the second, emotional support is itself monetized.

5.1. The first strategy: emotional resonance and community bonding

Healing bloggers do not simply sell products; they build a cultural and commercial narrative which links consumption to personal growth, emotional recovery and female self-care.

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

The first major strategy is emotional resonance and community bonding, built up among followers on social media. In business anthropology social media is a space of symbolic interaction; the audience receives marketing messages there and also helps to make meaning [9]. Followers write about their personal experiences in comment sections and online discussions, and a sense of belonging grows out of this. Such two-way communication lets bloggers gather communities around the lifestyle values, struggles and emotions that members have in common. Female emotional topics are brought in by way of visual environments that have been designed with care. For example, their videos are made up of quiet or natural scenes, green plants indoors, or simply a yoga mat in good light. Traditional advertisements are bright and stimulating, but these videos work instead with a soft and peaceful aesthetic, and a feeling of peace comes from it. Natural light replaces harsh artificial light, and clean, uncluttered interiors become symbols in themselves. Such spaces tell women that they are entitled to a private area of their own, a place away from social expectations, household responsibilities and workplace pressure.

In addition, cultural symbols are made out of everyday objects, journals, yoga products, plants and candles among them. These are more than goods; they represent emotional healing, self-care and slow living [5, 6]. Bloggers present self-care as a daily necessity, and they thus encourage audiences to see consumption as investing in their own well-being [1]. The emotional meanings attached to these objects are therefore the source of the effect. Through symbolic interaction and community building, bloggers make cultural experiences of commercial value out of personal healing narratives.

5.2. The first strategy: symbolic capital and the aestheticized commodity

Emotional connection is only one part; female healing bloggers also make use of visual symbols, and through these symbolic capital is accumulated and their online identities acquire commercial value. How one form of capital can be turned into another is the main question in Bourdieu's account of the forms of capital [14]. Yoga influencers and autonomous sensory meridian response influencers have personal brands that their viewers recognize; healing bloggers achieve the same result with aesthetic elements that recur, such as minimalist interiors, natural lighting, candlelight and green plants. Women under the pressure of modern life want emotional comfort and stress relief, and these visual symbols answer to that wish. The viewing experience that results is calming; audiences resist less, views and comments increase, and followers become more loyal. Once audience attention is stable in this way, commercial opportunities follow, for example product promotions, livestream sales and brand partnerships.

Apart from the symbolic capital and the recognizable personal brand, female healing bloggers also make a lifestyle for sale out of the abstract ideas of self-care and emotional recovery. Every element of a scene in their content has its counterpart among products on the market. Diffusers and scented candles, for instance, are behind the candlelight; the minimalist yoga space calls for cushions, neutral home decorations and yoga mats; natural window light comes from warm lamps and sheer curtains; the green plants are indoor foliage. Practical function is only one reason such objects are promoted; balance, peace and personal renewal, the emotional meanings behind them, count as well.

5.3. The second strategy: knowledge payment and tiered spiritual services

The second business strategy of female healing bloggers is knowledge payment and tiered spiritual service monetization, in which emotional support and self-care knowledge themselves become the

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

paid service. In addition, intangible services are added to the physical products, such as emotional counseling, meditation audios, recorded courses and membership-based healing programs. A follower who pays for them obtains the blogger's experiences, advice and methods at first hand and can use these for her own emotional well-being.

The strategy takes symbolic capital from the previous subsection one step further: consistent narrative and visual work builds it up, and it may then go to direct payment and not only to brand partnerships [14]. In this way self-care comes as goods that a follower purchases, and also as a service which can be entered into and renewed.

6. Female identity construction among bloggers and audiences

6.1. The dual identity of healing bloggers

Seen from business anthropology, yoga and healing bloggers hold two identities at once. In traditional marketing they are seen mainly as sales channels for goods such as home decorations, yoga equipment and other products. For business anthropology, however, they are cultural producers and symbolic carriers, and through daily rituals, aesthetics and narratives they create a complete healing lifestyle. Their commercial identity and their personal identity are at the same time in tension. Bloggers use these cultural symbols to bring in female audiences, raise traffic and earn income, and their own identities are shaped in turn by the lifestyle they promote. The concept of emotional labour gives one way to read this tension: feeling itself is managed for commercial purposes, and the line between induced and genuine emotion is hard to hold [15]. For example, daily routines and home decorations may be changed by bloggers in order to project the styles associated with the "calm healing woman" image shown in their videos. Therefore their commercial work and their personal identity come close together, since they promote the healing lifestyle and also practice and shape it themselves.

6.2. Self-branding and the internalization of the healing persona

Bloggers who are cultural producers and symbolic carriers at once must turn this into a recognizable and marketable personal identity [11, 12]. This is done by consistent vocal, narrative and visual self-presentation. In visual terms, a soft color palette is often used, such as faint sage green, warm white, beige and cream; these give a calm and peaceful atmosphere and make the content easy to recognize. The visual style is therefore more than decoration, since it works as a symbol of the blogger's identity and helps audiences connect them instantly with emotional healing and relaxation.

Bloggers give the same attention to their narrative identity; they put it together from stories, told over and over, about self-doubt, workplace burnout, relationship problems, anxiety and loneliness. They do not pose as emotionally strong or perfect; their vulnerability is allowed to show, as a normal part of women's lives. The stories therefore come across as more personal and easier to relate to, and followers meet their own experiences in the blogger's posts. The blogger sounds like a friend who is sharing personal experiences, an effect produced by first-person expressions such as "I used to feel the same way", by a slow speaking rhythm and by a soft tone. With time these repeated ways of telling and communicating turn into the blogger's own emotional identity. In Goffman's terms this is disclosure in the front region; everything the audience sees there has been chosen and managed [10].

However, self-branding does not stop once the camera is off. Bloggers may also change their everyday lives so that these fit the identity they present online. For example, they may keep a regular sleep schedule, make yoga or meditation a routine, put plants and candles around the home,

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

and speak to others in a calmer manner. As these behaviors are repeated, the bloggers gradually take in the values they promote and turn into living examples of the healing lifestyle.

In addition, it is important to accumulate symbolic capital and to build a personal brand that differs from others. Extensive product knowledge gives ordinary product reviewers their value; this is not the case for healing bloggers. Their main source of value is the symbolic identity they construct around themselves, for instance a gentle and calming female blogger who helps women deal with emotional pressure, stress and anxiety [12]. Over a long period the speaking style, the storytelling and the visual style stay the same, and a strong connection with the audience is thus maintained. In the end, audiences expect a certain feeling of comfort and calmness as soon as they see the name or account of the blogger. Followers, therefore, are attracted by the personal identity of the blogger and not just by the products.

Symbolic capital and a recognizable personal brand also help bloggers to be noticed in a crowded social media market. With the "healing woman" image, bloggers target one specific group of female audiences, that is, women who care about self-care, emotional comfort and reducing stress. Bloggers make no attempt to appeal to everyone; instead they gather a narrower audience whose interests and emotional needs are alike. In time, this may produce a highly loyal group of followers who are more willing to buy products or services linked to the healing lifestyle, to trust the blogger and to interact with the content. Therefore the personal identity of the blogger has itself become an important form of symbolic capital and commercial value.

6.3. From audiences to secondary creators

Bloggers also use user-generated content (UGC) as a means of moving their female audiences from passive viewing to active content creation. In their social media interaction, emotional healing, self-care and stress come up as topics, and followers who want to make similar content receive simple templates. A follower whose post gets a like, a comment or a repost feels recognized and feels part of the group, and this encourages more women to share their own experiences. The shared healing styles, emotional storytelling, calm spaces and soft visuals among them, are passed on at the same time, so healing content can be made by ordinary users without professional skills. Followers thus become secondary creators and spreaders of healing culture, and not merely its consumers.

6.4. Mass participation and the reshaping of public female identity

Female UGC on social media is now large in amount, and it does not only spread individual healing stories. It also creates a wider cultural influence on the way women understand themselves and their own identity. Women view, comment, share and answer one another, and out of this comes a shared space in which similar feelings and experiences find recognition. Traditional ideas about women and emotions are changed in this way too. Healing content does not hold that women must always look strong and hide negative emotions; the idea it spreads is that women have a right to feel vulnerable and to look for emotional healing. The more women join these conversations, the more normal and accepted the idea becomes. Around shared values of personal growth, emotional openness and self-care, a stronger female community takes shape. All of this is closely connected with the commercial side of healing culture. Emotional healing and self-care come to be seen by more women as important parts of who they are, and the market for related products and services grows accordingly. Mass UGC therefore widens the reach of commercial healing discourse and helps to reshape contemporary female identity. At the same time, new ideas about women are created with the help of female audiences and their content, and the shared healing identity leaves them more open to

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

commercial messages from bloggers. Once a product is connected with values women already identify with, emotional comfort and self-care among them, commercial marketing is easier to accept.

7. Conclusion

This research shows, overall, that female healing content is more than entertainment or a form of product marketing. Section 4 shows that healing content is built on two symbolic systems that are connected: the narrative symbols and the visual aesthetic ones. Stories about emotional vulnerability, stress, anxiety and burnout are used by bloggers to present such experiences as an ordinary part of women's lives. At the same time, a peaceful visual environment comes from slow camera movements, minimalist interiors, natural lighting and soft colors. These symbols as a whole challenge the traditional idea that a woman must always look strong and hide negative feelings. A new cultural meaning takes its place: women are entitled to look for healing and to care for themselves. In the two monetization strategies, healing consumption covers more than the purchase of products or services; it also expresses identity, practices self-care and creates a sense of group belonging. Female identity is shaped by healing content at the blogger level and the fan level, and a cycle follows: cultural meanings are produced by bloggers, reproduced by fans, and spread commercially by both.

Business anthropology and symbolic interaction theory have been used here to close the gap identified in Section 2, and to show how commercial healing content shapes female identity and how identity construction and commercial profit support each other. The study, however, is conceptual and interpretive, not empirical. A mechanism is stated here, but not how widely it holds; the study does not draw on audience data, platform metrics or a sampled corpus of content, and the results may therefore not carry over to other platforms or cultural settings. Later studies may use interviews and surveys to investigate how female audiences really accept, interpret or resist the healing identities presented in commercial content. Healing content on different platforms and in different cultures may also be compared, and its long-term effects on female audiences explored.

References

[1] Cederström, C., & Spicer, A. (2015). *The wellness syndrome*. Polity Press.
[2] Gill, R. (2007). Postfeminist media culture. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 10*(2), 147–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549407075898
[3] Duffy, B. E., & Hund, E. (2015). "Having it all" on social media: Entrepreneurial femininity and self-branding among fashion bloggers. *Social Media + Society, 1*(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115604337
[4] Sunderland, P. L., & Denny, R. M. (2007). *Doing anthropology in consumer research*. Left Coast Press.
[5] Douglas, M., & Isherwood, B. (1979). *The world of goods*. Basic Books.
[6] McCracken, G. (1986). Culture and consumption: A theoretical account of the structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods. *Journal of Consumer Research, 13*(1), 71–84. https://doi.org/10.1086/209048
[7] Arnould, E. J., & Thompson, C. J. (2005). Consumer culture theory (CCT): Twenty years of research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 31*(4), 868–882. https://doi.org/10.1086/426626
[8] Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society*. University of Chicago Press.
[9] Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Prentice-Hall.
[10] Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Doubleday.
[11] Marwick, A. E. (2013). *Status update: Celebrity, publicity, and branding in the social media age*. Yale University Press.
[12] Khamis, S., Ang, L., & Welling, R. (2017). Self-branding, 'micro-celebrity' and the rise of social media influencers. *Celebrity Studies, 8*(2), 191–208. https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2016.1218292

DOI: 10.54254/2754-1169/2026.38062

[13] Horton, D., & Wohl, R. R. (1956). Mass communication and para-social interaction. *Psychiatry, 19*(3), 215–229. https://doi.org/10.1080/00332747.1956.11023049
[14] Bourdieu, P. (2018). The forms of capital. In *The sociology of economic life* (pp. 78–92). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429494338-6
[15] Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. University of California Press.