

HEALTHY EATING: A VIEW BASED ON ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY, ELITES CONSUMPTION PRACTICES AND FRENCH INFLUENCERS BIFURCATIONAL PRACTICES

ALIMENTAÇÃO SAUDÁVEL: UM OLHAR COM BASE NA SOCIOLOGIA ECONÔMICA, NAS PRÁTICAS DE CONSUMO DE ELITES E DE EM PRÁTICAS BIFURCACIONAIS DE INFLUENCERS FRANCESAS

ALIMENTACIÓN SALUDABLE: UNA VISIÓN BASADA EN LA SOCIOLOGÍA ECONÓMICA, LAS PRÁCTICAS DE CONSUMO DE LAS ÉLITE Y LAS PRÁCTICAS BIFURCACIONALES DE LOS INFLUENCERS FRANCESES

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ABSTRACT: The presented paper relies on inspiration from Economic Sociology and seek to analyze the theme of healthy eating in France. For this, we will analyze the discourses of French bloggers and influencers adept to this type of eating on the social network Instagram. Our goal is to work with three theoretical propositions: to unveil some representational and symbolic strategies of the studied agents beyond *homo economicus*; to verify elitized properties conveyed based on a luxury market; to ascertain the evidence of the agents' tastes and dispositions, as well as, of fragments of trajectories and eventual and occasional motivations to direct this type of consumption. The method used will be the analysis of the social network contents in a qualitative way. Our analysis evidences the verification and affirmation of the three aforementioned research propositions.

KEYWORDS: Economic sociology. Elites. Healthy eating. Digital influencers.

RESUMO: O artigo apresentado conta com inspiração da Sociologia Econômica e buscará analisar o tema da alimentação saudável na França. Para isso, analisaremos discursos de blogueiras e influencers francesas adeptas deste tipo de alimentação na rede social do Instagram. Nosso objetivo é trabalhar com três proposições teóricas: desvendar algumas estratégias representacionais e simbólicas das agentes estudadas para além do *homo economicus*; verificar propriedades elitizadas veiculadas com base em um mercado de luxo; averiguar a evidência dos gostos e disposições dos agentes, bem como, de fragmentos de trajetórias e motivações eventuais e ocasionais para direcionar esse tipo de consumo. O método utilizado será a análise dos conteúdos da rede social de forma qualitativa. Nossa análise evidencia a averiguação e a afirmação das três proposições de pesquisa supracitadas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Sociologia econômica. Elites. Alimentação saudável. Influencers digitais.

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RESUMEN: El artículo presentado está inspirado en la Sociología Económica y buscará analizar el tema de la alimentación saludable en Francia. Para ello analizaremos los discursos de bloggers e influencers franceses adeptos a este tipo de comida en la red social de Instagram. Nuestro objetivo es trabajar con tres proposiciones teóricas: develar algunas estrategias representativas y simbólicas de los agentes estudiados más allá del *homo economicus*; verificar las propiedades de élite atendidas en base a un mercado de lujo; investigar la evidencia de los gustos y disposiciones de los agentes, así como fragmentos de trayectorias y motivaciones ocasionales y ocasionales para orientar este tipo de consumos. El método utilizado será el análisis de los contenidos de la red social de forma cualitativa. Nuestro análisis evidencia la investigación y afirmación de las tres propuestas de investigación mencionadas anteriormente.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Sociología económica. Élites. Alimentación saludable. Influencers digitales.

Introducción

One of the fundamental roles of Economic Sociology is to seek to understand how agents influence the configuration and reconfiguration of markets, or to visualize how institutions - in this case, invisible institutions, from the diffusers or delegates of the online market - reproduce strategies of control as dominant agents, through a space of interactions that is economic, but also political and social. It is observed that these “militants of healthy eating” can use instruments, such as social movements, extremely precise social constructions such as those of law, jurisprudence, ethics, and social justice (STEINER; VATIN, 2009). Therefore, our first move will be to invoke Economic Sociology for the present article and overcome the battle between *homo rationalis* versus *homo culturalis*. In other words, it is necessary to see the multiple rationalities and understand interest as an arbitrary data, that is, to visualize the possibility of the existence of multiple interests always determined by social construction, in a specific time and space, as Wacquant and Calhoun (1989) point out.

We evidence, therefore, the emergence of a group of players and digital influencers, who mobilize social networks, mediating and influencing the expansion of this type of niche or market and we observe ethnographically that most of these "delegates" are middle and upper class women, guided by an *eco-habitus* and a healthy lifestyle. For this reason, the second movement of this article will be towards the analysis of these different lifestyles from their posts on Instagram.

In a third moment of the article, we will verify based on theoretical reflections and analysis of the field that these practices would not only be linked to dispositional mechanisms of distinction, rather, these attitudes, actions or choices would be formatted based on events,

processes, happenings and bifurcational moments in their trajectory. These facts show us how the market and the historical changes in financial capitalism could also intervene, mobilizing changes in tastes and lifestyles. Therefore, we will work in this text with elaborations and reflections based on these three aforementioned moments.

Economic/financial sociology and food

It is observed that some authors share a rationalizing and calculating logic of homo economicus to explain the functioning of food choices. Marvin Harris (1986) with his work *Good to eat: riddles of food and culture* questions Lévi-Strauss' analysis of the existence of a symbolic load, of thought and belief behind social choices and actions. Following Merton's functionalist stance, he proceeds thinking that actions take place as a function of material and ecological conditions, and not symbolic ones. Namely, the motivations that affect the diet so that Jews do not eat pork, and Indians cows, are understood for material, sanitary, ecological and not by religious-symbolic² reasons. In this sense, the author helps us to think about our research topic, as we ask – from the reflection of the interdiction and taboos, what should or should not be eaten – with the auspices of the instrumentalization of healthy eating, about which would be the real motivations of eaters for healthy, fair, sustainable, ethical and ecological food, and how did this type of market develop intensely after the 2010s in France?³

Morin (1973) will help us to build our proposition that is based on social actions represented by symbols and values within a social *construct*. In this sense, the movement that Morin (1973) makes in the 1970s will allow us to reflect on a sociology of the eater, since our biological activities such as eating, defecating, drinking, are closely linked to interdictions, values, symbols, myths, rites, that is, what is more specifically cultural. In 1985, the work *Antropo-sociologie de la cuisine et des manières de tables*, directed by Morin, inaugurated a

² For the author, the motivation of Indians not to eat beef is linked to the fact that cows are more useful in India to use their movement power than to be used as food. In the case of the prohibition of eating pork for the Jews, the author justifies it because the ecological conditions of the Middle East do not allow the creation of pigs to be carried out. Breeding would also cost time, energy and an omnivorous diet, and in addition, the fact that the pig needs to be raised in an environment away from the sun (to conserve body temperature) increases breeding costs, as it must be done indoors. The author also cites the case of Aztec cannibalism, stating that it also occurs for “economic-nutritional” reasons, since these people were not used to raising large herbivorous animals and had little access to meat, with the exception of the turkey and the dog, which, however, had little meat (FISCHLER, 1990).

³ As of 2010, the product of *terroir* in France is seen as sustainable, mainly due to the debates that took place at the conference on sustainability in Rio de Janeiro. At the same time, the origin, the issue of consumer safety in relation to the products, and the food crises, are transformed and open space for the connotation of the “local” product. In other words, the valued commodity will no longer be the exotic, the exceptional, but the everyday, the banal. From this moment onwards, the possibility of thinking of the local, regional, rural product, which does not undergo intense industrialization processes, as a good product for health opens up.

series heir to Lévi-Strauss's structuralism and the anthropology of the imaginary, which brings us theoretical apparatus to convey our propositions (DURAND, 1960).

Despite Harris' (1986) materialist explanations, the process of transforming natural objects into food and nutrients is not reduced to utilitarian or availability logics (SALHINS, 1976), rather, it is inscribed within the classification system (DOUGLAS, 1971)⁴. Food presents a logic of rationality that is registered through representations, the imaginary and culture, that is, the biological need to eat is also inserted within a system of values that would be articulated on totemic (LÉVI-STRAUSS, 1962), sacrificial (GRODZYNSKI; DÉTIENNE; VERNANT, 1980), hygienist, rationalist, aesthetic logics, or combining various forms of rationality, which classify foods into vegetables and animals, consumables and non-consumables (classification logics).

In addition to the discussion on the utilitarian logic of availability or symbolic food, we can cite a sociological thesis that has been followed by scholars that combines reflection on consumption and taste. Authors such as Moulin (1975), Elias (1973) and Lambert (1987) advocate the thesis that the world is becoming “bourgeois” in terms of food consumption. In other words, this means that the bourgeois taste and lifestyle have spread around the world, contaminating other social classes and becoming legitimate. When we think about healthy or ecologically viable food, we can ask ourselves if this would not be the case, since we see that this type of food, typically valued by the upper or elite classes, has begun to spread across all supermarkets, fairs, shops, restaurants, bistros, both French and Brazilian. The perception we have is the occurrence of a process of massification of healthy products or isomorphization (organic⁵, *terroir*⁶, slow food, local, sustainable products, short circuit) (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 1991). The question that arises regarding the sociology of tastes and the study of

⁴ The symbolic explanation given by Douglas (1971) for the prohibition of the consumption of pork for Jews is quite illustrative: the Hebrew prohibitions are explained by a “taxonomic anomaly”, that is, the pig does not find space within the categories used by the Hebrews to explain the world. The prohibitions connect to Genesis when they refer to heaven, earth and water. Therefore, to each of these categories, there are animals that are unique to them. In the case of the pig, it is not a consumable animal like the ones described in the text of Leviticus XI "All the beasts that have the feet with hooves, cloven hooves and that chew the cud you will eat". Now the pig has hooves, cloven hooves, but it does not chew the cud. Therefore, it is a taxonomic anomaly for ancient Jews..

⁵ About the standardization process for organic products in France, read Garcia Parget, Leroux e Jas (2017), *La agriculture biologique et ses produits: entre institutionnalisation marchande et repositionnements éthiques*.

⁶ About *Terroir* and local products see: *La france et ses terroirs: Un siècle de débats sur les produits et leurs liens à l'espace*, Delfosse (2012); about slow food see: *Patrimonialização de produtos alimentícios na França: construções simbólicas e reinvenção do passado*, Garcia Parget (2016); on short circuit see the work of Claire Lamine and Yuna Chiffolleau (2012).

classes is whether this type of consumption spreads to all social classes and cleavages, or is it restricted to an elite minority?⁷

Another outstanding work on the subject is that of Séverine Gojard, Sophie Dubbuisson-Quellier and Bérangère Veron (2016) called *Logiques de consommation autour de l'alimentation durable*, which in turn brings us important information about the taste and consumption of sustainable and healthy food in France

The authors work with the hypothesis about the biographical trajectory, (social class and taste), or rather, with properties such as the capitals addressed by Pierre Bourdieu, which would direct the behaviors towards a consumption of healthier and more balanced products, on the part of higher social classes. In other words, “responsible consumption can be seen as an expression of a specific “eco-habitus” for consumers with high cultural capital” (CARFAGNA *et al.*, 2014 *apud* GOJARD *et al.*, 2016, p. 26, our translation).

However, the authors realize that in addition to the properties inscribed within the trajectories of individuals, there are other elements that must be taken into account throughout the consumption process, namely, the social changes that occur around individuals and life styles. In other words, the authors' clues are circumscribed behind daily actions, or daily eating practices and how they change with circumstances and unforeseen events, modifying the eating routine, even within a prescribed biographical trajectory marked by certain properties and capitals. Therefore, the authors reflect on a redefinition of the idea of “disposition” or social dispositions, since the sociology of tastes reflects on the dispositions built by family, friends and does not count on the fact that dispositions can be modified according to the mechanisms of market mediation, or other social factors that are inscribed on the basis of more specific interactional processes, or what we can indicate as the interpretivist paradigm, discussed by Burrell and Morgan (1979).

⁷ We believe that further analysis needs to be done for this verification. However, we follow the lead that different groups and strata have incorporated this type of healthy eating in France, in their own way. They often cannot access products from more expensive stores, however, they find other means of accessing these foods on large supermarket platforms, through short circuit and neighborhood associations. We do not believe that this logic is widespread among popular groups, but it begins to be valued by these groups little by little. These statements are based on the ethnographic study that we carried out in the city of Paris in 2019 and 2020 in our postdoctoral studies.

Problems and propositions analyzed

After carrying out the aforementioned theoretical reflection, we list three propositions that can be analyzed from the profiles of French bloggers and digital influencers. Such as: *Proposition 1*: there is not only a self-centered pursuit of interest for the best cost-benefit for the purchase of healthy food, rather, there are symbolic and representational strategies directed by the agents; *Proposition 2*: a possible social innovation in healthy eating comes from elite groups that evoke narratives (traditional, rural, return to nature); *Proposition 3*: the consumption motivations for healthy eating can be multiple and not only dispositional (namely, reasons for health, well-being, concern for the body, collective and ecological claims).

Bloggers and digital influencers within the platform economy and the financialized economy

Before discussing the data on the performance of French bloggers and influencers in social networks, it is important that we contextually situate them in the face of the changes of current capitalism and its new ways of acting. One of the important elements that mark the performance of these agents today is the entry into the so-called platform economy, which marks the passage from a new economy of the 1990s to a digital economy from the 2000s onwards. Therefore, the platform can be formatted as a new form of business organization that presents itself as a new business model.

In this sense, in the case of the digital world, unlike a fair in the Middle Ages, market makers coordinate and manage the market through digital platforms such as Airbnb, Uber, iFood, Gympass, Arco Educação, 99, Nubank, among others. It is worth mentioning that some platforms manifest themselves as a social network (as is the case of facebook) and others are articulated through social media (SILVA NETO; BONACELLI; PACHECO, 2019).

In the case of the intervention of bloggers and influencers, we visualize them through a kind of intermediary action of the market process, insofar as these economic agents receive incentives to move some type of market. We believe that the idea of distributed innovation (YOO *et al.*, 2012) fits the present case, as these agents cooperate for the dynamics of markets and create systems of trust in relation to consumers (PARKER *et al.*, 2016).

Another important aspect is related to the financialization process, bringing to light a change in relation to traditional markets that takes place through the allocation of idle resources, the reduction of transaction costs (through the approximation of supply and demand) and the reduction of of direct costs, namely, research, negotiation and implementation of indirect costs,

such as the manifestation of informational asymmetries (TRINDADE, 2020). We can cite other transformations mobilized by the financialization of the economy, namely, the metamorphosis of products into services; the reintermediation process, or replacement of idle agents by digital platforms and greater market liquidity (SILVA NETO; BONACELI; PACHECO, 2019).

Description and analysis of data

The choice of profilers was based on the search for hashtags such as, *healthy food; equilibrealimentaire; veganfood; foodblogger; bienêtre; wellness; reequilibragealimentaire* among others and that were aligned with the theme of healthy eating. The second important element for choosing the agents was the screening of profiles who lived in the city of Paris.

We started analyzing French Instagram profile posts as soon as we arrived in Paris. So we spent three months looking at posts and photos from profiles of French health food stores, personal profiles of French people who ate healthily, healthy eating bloggers and influencers, nutritionists, diet experts and naturopaths. We observed that most of these profiles were open and that almost none of them had access restrictions, so we were able to follow all the profiles to analyze the posts and take notes. We decided to work only with the analysis of some profiles that were observed during three months through digital ethnography. We therefore analyzed nine profiles. Below is a table with the description of each of the influencers:

Table 1 – Influencer profiles on Instagram⁸

Pseudonym	Profile	Impact on the social network
Lara	Does not use sugar, wheat and milk and is interested in foods with a low glycemic index. Lara is an author, has a blog and is interested in photography. At the same time she is a mother and is breastfeeding.	31.3 thousand followers
Laure	Laure, who is a mother, cares about healthy eating, posts simple recipes and is also a blogger. She shows that her concern for healthy eating changed when she becomes a mother.	69.2 thousand followers
Anaïs	Healthy food; holistic life; sportive	3,130 thousand followers
Anabelle	Mother of two children; food rebalance; muscle strengthening; running.	3,800 thousand followers
Elisa	Likes good cuisine and values zero waste of leftovers; blogger.	20.4 thousand followers

⁸ It should be noted that most influencers analyzed are nano and micro influencers. When we observe less than 10 thousand followers, influencers are called nano influencers, whereas those with more than 10 thousand followers are micro influencers (in a group they can reach a significant audience). After these numbers hierarchically we have the intermediate influencer (100 to 500 thousand followers) the macro influencer (500 to 1 million followers) and who has influence in specific segments, and finally, the mega influencer (more than one million), whose stars and celebrities are highlights. It is important to complement that marketing managers do not rely only on the number of followers to determine whether an influencer has legitimacy (influencer marketing) and delegation within a group, but other pillars are analyzed, such as reach, relevance and resonance (POLITI, 2013).

Alexia and Alice	The first brand of vegetable-based sweets. (Natural and local)	4,390 thousand followers
Armelle	Blogger: healthy food; green beauty.	9,684 thousand followers
Charlotte	Blogger: healthy and colorful bowls; easy to do; vegetarians; running enthusiast.	3,156 thousand followers
Isabel	Food lover, culinary content creator, freelancer, mother of two.	10.6 thousand followers

Source: Data collected by the author on Instagram

Analysis of proposition 1: There is not only a self-centered pursuit of interest for the best cost benefit for the purchase of healthy food, rather, there are symbolic and representational strategies directed by agents

We first incurred in analyzing the first ten posts and profile photos of each of the chosen ones. We noticed that in the analyzes carried out with Instagram profiles there is a complex game between the symbolic, axiological and moral representations of the actors and the rationalized actions based on a representation of homo economicus. In other words, we can sometimes perceive the rational and calculating representation, sometimes the one that would represent a homo culturalis. We can see below, these two types of behaviors within the same profile, depending on the moment or circumstance, a different social representation can be triggered. Namely, in another post and photo of a salad with very appetizing pasta, Lara encourages not only healthy eating, but the purchase of the products she used in the recipe on another IG:

Lara: Tuesday: This afternoon on my low GI (glycemic index) meal plan it's "Sweet Bowl" and tonight it's this @marcadomacarrao coral lentil penne salad with pesto, broccoli, arugula, sun-dried tomato, feta cheese (or parmesan). As it is a #MealPlanning 2.0, the @lojasaudável team added a button where you can order the ingredients kit for this recipe by clicking the link in my bio! And soon it will be delivered! Practical, right? (Our translation).

That is, in addition to the central focus of the profile, which would be to expand and explore the idea of a balanced and healthy diet, the profile encourages the purchase of products that the influencer uses in the healthy recipe, in stores that are suggested by the profiled. Therefore, the idea of defending and propagating adequate food for health goes together, and at the same time, the logic of selling and buying this food within a model, or a type of capitalism that fits to the digital universe.

The possible morality and asceticism of the cultivation of the body, of well-being, of balance, of the Aristotelian fair measure, of the acclaimed balance between body and spirit,

between essence and form, of the applauded idea of Foucaultian care of the self⁹ is present from the invocations pictorial, iconographic and graphic messages. But at the same time, the idea of profitability, gain, sale, purchase, financialized exchange goes hand in hand with this axiological and moral complex.

Most profiles make constant posts in partnership with some brands. We can see this fact in recipe posts and in the indications of the products used in the recipes in your photos, such as:

Laure: I'm sharing some products from @cheesebrand that I'm discovering: the super soft creamy, the goat camembert and the goat tablet accompanied by honey, oilseeds, dried fruits and grapes. I wish you all a happy new year. (Our translation).

Anaïs: For a quick, balanced and delicious dinner: nothing like @organicstorename lamb lettuce, @storename vegetal chili, @storename fake cheese (like blue, but much better) and smoked paprika @storename to flavor everything. (Our translation).

In previous posts and in other ethnographed ones, we observed the indications of stores to buy products for “self-cultivation”, that is, stores that sell natural, organic, gluten-free, lactose-free products, which advocate sales of products from the season (that is, who do not condone the purchase of exotic and out-of-season products, which have harmful implications for the environment)¹⁰, who work with products such as oilseeds, dried fruits and roots - products often cited by interviewees from the middle classes and high vegans and vegetarians in Paris –, there is also the apologia for buying products of plant origin; the indication of healthy eating blogs; and the suggestion and recommendation of a good vegan restaurant.

The examples found in the field show posts from five analyzed profiles, but which have in common the logic of living a healthy lifestyle, be it vegan, vegetarian, with products whose nutritional characteristics do not harm health (gluten and lactose free), vegetables and seasonal vegetables (so-called short or organic circuits). In other words, we can see in the examples of

⁹ The term care of the self used by Foucault goes beyond the logic of (egoism\ narcissism). It implies seeking the Subjectivation of the Greeks and not subjection to oneself and others. In other words, one takes care of oneself through the arts of living; of the aesthetics of existence; to become temperate, not to seek passions – apatheia. The search for ethics, the passage from folly to wisdom, knowing yourself and being faithful to your own truth is to put self-care into operation. In the sense of the present text, Caring for the Self would be inscribed in: becoming beautiful; make you a work of art; in asceticism for the Greeks, or based on rituals, diets, physical exercises, retreat strategies, to take distance so as not to be affected by negative thoughts. For more on the previous idea, see: GROS, F. O cuidado de si em Michel Foucault. In: RAGO, M.; VEIGANETO, A. (org.). **Figuras de Foucault**. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2006, p. 127-138.

¹⁰ In France, there is a practice of responsible consumption that is frequently mentioned in everyday life, which is not to buy exotic products (which come from far away) or outside the season in which we are. These practices are carried out in order not to spend a very large amount of CO₂ in the production process and in the transport of these food items from one region to another, or from one country to another. It is therefore an apologia for the purchase of local and seasonal products.

previous posts a confluence of different patterns and food groups finding their convergence, namely, the ode for health and well-being, the ode for a market whose food is of the wellness type. Another very common fact in French healthy eating profiles are contests to compete for products from healthy stores. Below we can see an example that is repeated in almost all the healthy IGs that we analyzed:

Charlotte: I don't do many contests (2 or 3 a year haha), but this Christmas period I couldn't help it. It is also especially the opportunity to make you discover and test the small company that makes healthy cookies with no added sugar @cookiebrand, this cookie requirement is quite rare and it is a technological feat. So I agreed to collaborate with them in this gourmet contest! You'll find them in supermarkets (not all, but I hope they start selling) in some organic stores and on their websites. If not, contact them to find out, they are adorable! The proposal is to win a box consisting of 3 boxes of cookies (chocolate with hazelnut/vanilla and ginger with lemon), a spice tea and a mug. (Swipe the photos to see the box in the images). To participate: 1. Follow my account and @anotherrecommendedaccount. 2. Choose your favorite flavor among the 3 in the comments, it's interesting to know your taste! 3. Tag at least 1 friend. (Our translation).

We were able to locate this type of post about contests on most healthy eating profiles regardless of food group¹¹. The purpose of the contests is to make the stores get more followers and, consequently, increase their clientele, and at the same time, you can make a good marketing strategy by collecting data about the taste of customers. Again, we observe a direction towards the consumption of products in some stores and, most of the time, bloggers or partners of these commercial networks earn in exchange a financial compensation, items sold in stores to complement their recipes or a good symbolic repercussion on social networks. In this sense, we can observe again how exchange relations are consolidated, and that they are not restricted to monetary exchanges, namely, products can be exchanged for marketing favors, or the financial counterpart can be exchanged for prestige, legitimacy, increase in the number of followers on social networks.

In this sense Steiner (2016, p. 14, our translation) points out that it:

[...] gives way to a vast set of transactions that escape the principles of exchange regulated according to the information provided by prices, either because the price is not accounted for (by altruism and gift), or because the rules of exchange are based on principles other than that of the best cost-benefit ratio, as is the case of symbolic goods sought for their effect of distinction, for their “uniqueness”.

¹¹ We observed in the post above that a cookie in which no sugar is added becomes a healthy product or item (even if it is an industrialized item that contains other chemicals);

Another logic that follows within the profiles that have the most followers is not to address only one topic, but to touch on aspects of their personal trajectory. In this way, the profiles become more dynamic and add more followers who increasingly seek to follow profiles of real people and not profiles that only show products and brands. The passage below demonstrates this fact, in which the profiled woman shows us that she is a cook, a mother, healthy and cares about the environment:

Lara: For my part, it starts right away with a good resolution: keep the little one several hours to rest today (after 8 and a half months of full custody without separation). It is difficult, but it was also a great necessity. She is at her grandmother's house for a day. (Our translation).

Lara: For this year, I also want to dedicate more time to myself and my work, as I dedicate myself to taking care of my daughter full time, finishing my move and not procrastinating (we know, there are boxes we never open, mirrors we never hang, etc.), organize myself to make more ecological gestures (I wanted a compost bin on the balcony, more selective collection, etc.), put less barriers in my life, find the balance between wife and mother... (our translation).

The one profiled in the previous quote reports that she spent a lot of time taking care of her baby in its first months of life and needs to have more time for work, not to procrastinate, and above all, to develop more ecological gestures, such as composting, finding fewer barriers and have a balance between being a woman and a mother. In other words, we see, therefore, an outburst of a woman who has just been immersed in the tasks of a mother and who needs to resume her life, beyond the delivery of herself and taking care of the “other”.¹²

We observe that many bloggers already use the Digital Marketing strategy, to show themselves human and “flesh and blood” to gain a greater number of followers and greater stability on social networks. At the same time, we observed that other smaller profiles of “ordinary” people who like to post pictures about their lifestyle begin to adopt the same Digital Marketing strategies in an isomorphic way (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 1991).

However, in addition to Digital Marketing, we can observe, through the analysis of Economic Sociology, elements of an exchange between follower and profiled, which is not only monetary and financial. We observed an exchange composed of elements such as the search for empathy, solidarity with the other (through incentives and suggestions in the comments), elements of sharing, association of tastes, namely the ecological lifestyle, healthy eating style,

¹² Within the great strategies of Digital Marketing such as those of Ícaro de Carvalho, in Brazil, among other marketing experts, we seek to emphasize the importance of merging professional profiles with personal trajectory data, since people of “flesh and bone” don't just want to see products, but “real life”, real problems, everyday dilemmas. To see Agência RS. Quem é Ícaro de Carvalho? A História do Criador do ‘O Novo Mercado’! Available: <https://agenciars.com.br/blog/icaro-de-carvalho/>.

etc. In this sense, Steiner (2016) cites Durkheim, noting that it is not only interests that perform the buying and selling relationship, namely, there are other intricate passions even in the midst of a selfish commercial relationship. Therefore, we can understand that there is a connection between elements, such as “group and morality” that is consolidated from the market exchange relations. Therefore, we can reflect on the healthy food market based on relationships and exchanges that go beyond selfish commercial exchange, rather, they move towards building relationships with altruistic and solidary potentials.

Analysis of proposition 2: A possible social innovation in healthy eating comes from elite groups that evoke traditional, rural narratives of return to nature

We can attest that most of the profiles that are aligned with a healthy diet, start from the invocation and delegation of a specific type of consumption, namely, the defense of the healthy, the organic, the seasonal product (non-polluting), from purchase to from the small farmer and local production (called short circuit). However, as much as the short circuit in France (something similar to agroecology in Brazil) seeks to be an alternative to the dominant market model, it is still an elite project, insofar as decision-making, in large part sometimes, it is not part of the small farmer, but an elitist Top-down imposition, arising from the initiative of large corporations (CHIFFOLEAU; PREVOST, 2012).

However, beyond the discussion of cannibalization or not of small producers through the dictates of a dynamic production and elitist food (which is not the central object of this article), we will seek to relate the performance of the agents studied to a consumption that is markedly bourgeois, downright luxurious, fundamentally expensive (BOLTANSKI; ESGUERRE, 2017) and corroborates the thesis of the expansion of a global bourgeoisie from this lifestyle and consumption.

Soon, we will work with a series of illustrations of collected data that can reinforce our proposition. Namely, we understand the pursuit of luxury when we incur the pursuit of #healthydessert. We found the following post on a French profile that invites followers: make an organic apple pie, sweet almond pastry and Queen Claudia's jelly compote (Daughter of Louis XII and wife of François I, whose favorite fruits were round plums, with a fine and sweet taste).

Hello everyone: What could be better than a good homemade pie with good organic apples and homemade jam, sweet almond pastry with micro grain flour, Queen Claudia jelly topping. Have a nice day and see you soon. (Our translation).



Other posts using the same hashtag show us that the ingredients in healthy recipes are not what we usually buy at the supermarket, whose prices are more affordable. Rather, they are products found in emporiums and elite natural stores in Paris, such as bitter orange marmalade, sugar-free apple sauce, soy vegetable cream and agar agar:

Also, you can modify it with what you have in your closets. Let's go to the recipe. For 8 parts: Hot mix: 440 g fruit (I took what I had on hand: frozen raspberries + a little bitter orange marmalade + 1 apple sauce with no added sugar) option 30g sweetener (to taste and if necessary, sweetener, for me it was not necessary). Cold mix: 200g vegetable cream (soy for me) with 2g (1/2 tsp) agar agar. Add to hot fruit compote and bring to a boil. Stop at the first boil and pour into a mold and after cooling, freeze for 3 hours if necessary if not in the fridge. (Our translation).

We can still see a profile of two young women who set up a company that makes sweet cakes based on vegetables. We recall that according to Bourdieu (2008) a diet based on vegetables is directly associated with the higher classes in France:

The taste in food matters also depends on the idea that each class has of the body and the effects of food on the body, that is, on its shape, health and beauty, as well as the categories it uses to evaluate such effects – in fact, some may be adopted for one class and ignored by another, so that different classes can establish quite different hierarchies between different effects [...] members of the liberal professions will show their preference for tasty, healthy, light and non-fattening products. (BOURDIEU, 2008, p. 177, our translation).

Alexia and Alice: How we miss you! After two weeks of absence due to a “disintegration” of the US promotion based on hamburgers and pumpkin-free doughnuts, we are back more motivated than ever to conquer all French stomachs! And to make a resounding comeback, we have some great news for you... PATISSON goes SMALL SIDE Why? Patisson was a common name and was also too reminiscent of the bakery, so it was too generic to adequately protect our identity. We were obviously a little sad to have to drop that name, but it was just to find a better one! Here is Petit Côté. Our new brand of cakes made with good vegetables. (Our translation).

Others like the one profiled below try to cheer up their followers by ensuring that it's easy to eat healthy and just put the foods you like in your bowl. When the influencer cites the foods contained in her plate, we realize that the foods mentioned are extremely elaborate, exotic and accessible in Parisian emporiums at high cost. The second speech demonstrates the same, reports a tone of simplicity, but mentions sophisticated foods in France, such as gourmet lettuce, shrimp, grapefruit and lemon juice vinegar.

Charlotte: What I like most about bowls is that, apart from being pretty and healthy, we don't have time to compose them. We added what we liked: Half



an avocado with sesame seeds and chia; Red bean and beet hummus; Mango, stuffed Falafel; black rice; a grilled corn on the cob; carrots; purple radish; cilantro; a small edible flower. (Our translation).

Laure: I can't wait for spring!!! Here, a sweet and savory salad with lamb's lettuce, shrimp, avocado, grapefruit, cilantro and a lemon juice vinaigrette. Simple and too good! Good week. (Our translation).

We noticed that the aforementioned speeches portray a food taste of a French elite, which possibly has high financial means to maintain this type of purchase and lifestyle. We remind you that the word “quality” is most often heard in terms of “good food” and “healthy food” in our ethnographic field in France. There is a debate about the term “quality”, since Fischler (1990) states that the word “quality” defines a higher-class diet, that is, this word appeared a lot in French polls in 1985 (INSEE, 2020), based on the speeches of mothers who sought a more balanced diet.

Analysis of proposition 3: The consumption motivations for healthy eating can be multiple and not only dispositional (reasons for health, well-being, concern for the body, collective and ecological claims)

Another profile like that of Laure, who is a mother, cares about healthy eating, posts simple recipes, and is also a blogger, shows that her concern for healthy eating changes when she becomes a mother. At the same time, we can't help but see the blogger's engagement with the brand of the organic products cooperative that she recommends:

Laure: Since launching this account, I've been more sensitive to the products I consume, and even more so since I became a mother. Consuming organic is becoming aware to protect our planet, take care of nature. The cooperative @cooperativename has been developing its agricultural practices for several years to be part of a more respectful approach to nature and men. If the production is not 100% organic, the cooperative's farmers will be able to choose the organic route. This takes 2 or even 3 years, depending on the type of crop, and the cooperative supports its farmers in the agricultural transition on a daily basis. Also, for those who are interested, I will talk in an upcoming post about the brand's concrete actions to help its farmers go organic. And you, do you pay attention to what you consume? (Our translation).

The previous speech is important, as it shows us again how we can observe the existence of a motivation to promote a cooperative of local producers, in order to effect a monetary exchange, but at the same time, it shows that motherhood opened possibilities for it to change your food lifestyle. At the same time, it opens the possibility to sensitize other followers so that they start to reflect on the protection of the planet and the environment. Finally, she still poses questions to her followers, so that they can reflect on their way of consumption. The non-



monetary exchange inscribed from the cooperation with the small farmer, the awareness with the planet, and the openness that comes from motherhood are traits that are directly linked to our Proposition 1, that “There is not only a self-centered pursuit of interest for the best cost-benefit in the purchase, there are symbolic and representational strategies”.

In addition to the previous argument, some elements of Laure’s post refer us to another proposition, namely, proposition 3: “The consumption motivations for healthy eating can be multiple and not only dispositional (reasons for health, well-being, concern for body, collective claims; ecological invocations take a back seat)”. This is one of the propositions that is based on the work of Gojard, Dubuisson-Quellier and Veron, (2016) and their interviews on food consumption in France. According to the authors, the environment would not activate any counter-gift on the part of the social groups to which we belong. On the other hand, the elements linked to the discourses of good health and good nutrition would be inscribed within the policy of counter-gift returned by social groups. Therefore, the perspective of concern for the environment would only be activated to the extent that some circumstances and unforeseen circumstances of everyday life could modify the food routine and even the lifestyle.

It is in the sense of the previous argument that the aforementioned speech of the profiled is limited, since it was precisely the situation of becoming a mother, of taking care of another being, that makes Laure change her eating routine and expand her reflection to self sensitize about the environment. It should be noted that Gojard, Dubuisson-Quellier and Veron (2016) cite this situation, the fact of becoming a mother, as one of the circumstances of change in the routine of their interviewees.

This internalization process that takes place based on events and occurrences of everyday life, makes the profiled start to collectively sensitize her followers. Therefore, our proposition is consistent with this specific case, as we observe that it was the “maternity” event that aroused this type of sensitivity in the profiled, a situation that is confirmed by her in her posts.

We can use another situation that connects with the previous analysis, namely, another one profiled with the “common” IG, and nothing commercial, like Anaïs, shows us that healthy eating is often associated with practices to improve health, such as is the case mentioned below:

Anaïs: Back in Paris, let's go for a new day of no-waste (no fiber) food. However, tomorrow I will FINALLY learn more about all my digestive concerns thanks to the #breathtest I'll be doing elsewhere, thanks to @testplace for making me discover this breath test that will finally put a name on all my symptoms. While impatiently waiting for this test, I'm enjoying

pancakes without lactose or gluten, super fluffy and very simple to prepare as you just need to mix. (Our translation).

The above example shows us again how, based on an occurrence, an everyday event, or occasional data, such as the discovery of a disease, lifestyle and food routines change. This implication makes the profiled start making her healthy food posts. This time, gluten-free and lactose-free products will be highlighted. Her posts, in turn, mobilize a wide range of followers, and we noticed that Anais also seeks to isomorphize her profile in relation to other IGs that have more followers. Another profiled like Lara mentions the change in food due to motivation to have more body health on her blog:

Lara: After several books and documentation to understand how our bodies work (including videos of 1-hour lectures by independent American scientists on the harms of sugar – untranslated), I decided to ban white sugar, wheat and allprocessed and industrial foods that are the source of the vast majority of diseases today. (Our translation).

On the other hand, some of the profiles have a “green life” and are more ecological, as is the case of Claire's profile, which shows many photos of green spaces, and vegetable plantations. We can see in her profile that she points out that she always stays in places and farms, in order to buy her natural products, and considers to have a green life, consuming local products and zero waste. She is a health food cook and cooks to order for people who require gluten-free and lactose-free food. Other profiles like those interviewed below, in addition to having a “green life”, invoke their followers to have a more responsible and ecological consumption:

Armelle: Today, more than ever, I realize how much we have to take care of our planet. And, on our scale, we can all make efforts in our consumption and consume more responsibly, adopting some gestures daily and limiting our waste. Here are some easy tips to get started...

Alexia and Alice: It's Earth Day, little pumpkins. Our way of contributing to this is to write these few lines about a subject that is at the heart of our approach: the carbon impact of your food. Each food product has a carbon impact associated with 3 elements: production, transport and packaging. The carbon impact is the number of grams of CO₂ emitted into the atmosphere per 100g of the product you consume. Butter is an animal product and therefore is one of the foods with the highest carbon release, more precisely 910g CO₂ / 100g. (Our translation).

We observed, therefore, that the practices of some individuals may be associated with situations of concern for the environment, (not discarding food, using natural foods, consuming seasonal products) but they subscribe to other objectives, such as economy, health, taste and do

not necessarily trigger environmental concern in the first place. The last one appears as a result of other more remarkable motivations (GOJARD; DUBUISSON-QUELLIER; VERON, 2016). Therefore, we can observe that through the analysis of consumption practices within the sectorial instances highlighted above, the nuances and specificities of the profiles of the profiles can lead us to conclusions that go beyond the logic of the constitutive or dispositional properties of professional groups and social classes. The authors point out that there may be breaks in routine and bifurcation practices in the trajectories of individuals. (BESSIN; BIDART; GROSSETTI, 2010).

Namely, everyday constructions such as the origin of a couple, health problems, the advent of children in the family, the absence of children at home, can change the rules and norms regarding food consumption, the ways of behaving regarding food and concern or not with environmental issues. Therefore, routine breaks are fundamental elements to reflect on the dynamics of food consumption. The notes of microsociological practices on food consumption direct us to important reflections regarding a macrosociology and the relationship between individual and structure. The reorientations of the trajectories show us the existence of a more fluid and dynamic social space, in which everyday events can shape and modify some social actions, habits and routines, in the specific case of a study on food options and consumption.

Final considerations

We seek in this article to present the idea that for Economic Sociology, the idea of the market goes beyond the logic of the orthodox regulatory market. The latter, in turn, manages to verify social, political, cultural constructions that are configured behind the monothematic idea of maximizing interests and calculation. We believe that the study of healthy eating - in France, specifically in the present work, - opens doors to study the motivations related to the consumption of "eaters", which in turn, go beyond the logic of search and demand, insofar as they trigger symbolic elements, based on healthy, fair, sustainable, ethical and ecological food. We realized in our reflections and analyzes that the purchased product, in the case of healthy food, is not a real product, it acquires value and focuses on the idea of taste (BOURDIEU, 2008), cultural specificities (MORIN, 1973), categories and rules (FISCHLER, 1990) that go beyond the logic of utilitarian consumption or availability.

We noticed that most of the citations from digital influencers referred to local foods, organic products, slow food, short circuit, sustainable and even patrimonialized (*Terroir*). We reflect that this market for healthy products is directed based on a luxury taste (BOLTANSKI;



ESGUERRE, 2017) on the part of strata of French elites. These, in turn, drive dynamics based on lifestyles that are isomorphized by different social classes (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 1991).

However, from the studies of Gojard, Dubbuisson-Quellier and Veron (2016), we found that in addition to healthy eating being based on representations and implying an isomorphization of a lifestyle and elite dispositions, the motivations for obtain daily social practices of a healthy and sustainable diet, can be shaped by the groups that consume this type of food, based on events, processes, daily happenings that promote bifurcative trajectories. Therefore, in addition to taste, there are other everyday elements that can trigger healthy eating practices, configuring practices motivated by health, the body, motherhood, for ecological reasons, among others.

To feed the aforementioned theoretical discussion, we work with speeches by bloggers and influencers from the Instagram social network, to investigate three important propositions highlighted above. The first, the existence of symbolic and representational strategies that surround the new “professionals” and diffusers of this type of market. The second refers to the elite narratives evoked by these groups, and the third addresses the multiple motivations that imply a healthy eating lifestyle, which can, in turn, go beyond the dispositional game and the orchestration of *habitus*.

We note, therefore, that there are exchange, sharing, solidarity and symbolic strategies behind the discourses of the broadcasters and the new “professionals” of healthy eating, in addition to the calculating and maximizing actions of *homo economicus*. These discourses and narratives come from a French elite that has the material means to sustain this market and disseminate it through a luxury and bourgeois lifestyle. Finally, we found that healthy eating is not limited to a *habitus* and class dispositions, since many of its adherents opt for this lifestyle due to micro-events and multiple daily processes, as well as the transformations of historical cycles of capital that modify the market, and that in turn, drive the profiled to feed themselves in this way.

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