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Josiane Fernandes
PhD Candidate

Katy Mason
Chair of Markets and Management

Ronika Chakrabarti
Senior Lecturer
Lancaster University Management School
Lancaster, LA1 4YX

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Managing to make market *agencements*: the temporally bound elements of stigma in favelas

Abstract

How do entrepreneurs working at the bottom of the pyramid (BoP) manage to make new, powerful, associations between people and places to break down the barriers of Rio's stigmatised markets? Drawing on the notion of *agencement* and, specifically, the role of historical narrative devices in generating *agencements*, this paper offers a nuanced conceptualisation of BoP markets as *stigmatised marketplaces*, a deeper understanding of the work done by micro-entrepreneurs (MEs) to make market engagement possible, and insights into the temporally bound nature of *agencement* in recursively enabling safe times to visit a novel favela tourism market at the BoP. This is the first study to explicate the temporal nature of a market *agencement*.

Key words: *Agencement*. Actor-network theory. Stigma. Concerned markets. Digital technologies. Favelas.

Managing to make market *agencements*: the temporally bound elements of stigma in favelas

1. Introduction

How do entrepreneurs working at the bottom of the pyramid (BoP) manage to make new, powerful, associations that break down the barriers of Rio's stigmatised favela markets? Powerful associations between market actors – referred to here as *agencement* (Callon, 2015) – are known to organise certain types of market action. *Agencements* are constituted by assemblages of people, institutions, ideas, objects of exchange and infrastructure, (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006; Ramaswamy & Ozcan, 2018; Biraghi, Rossella & Pace, 2018; Vargo et al., 2017). However, when market *agencements* are absent, Rio's entrepreneurs still seek out opportunities for action. Adopting a market studies approach, this study follows the work that micro-entrepreneurs (MEs) do to create a favela's market *agencement*: mobilising actors beyond the boundaries of the favela to reassemble infrastructures, media stories and practices. This study explains how new market *agencements* are created and old *agencements* are broken-down (Müller, 2015) to reconfigure market engagement (cf. Araujo, 2007; Mason & Spring, 2011). The analysis reveals that Rio's MEs are disassembling and reassembling *agencements* to create novel favela markets in specific, temporally bounded ways.

Brazil's famous favelas – the slums and shantytowns within large cities – are rarely visited or enjoyed. Favelas have been referred to as BoP markets – where people live on less than US$2 a day (Prahalad, 2009). Characterised by limited means and strong social relationships, these communities manage local supply and demand (Anderson & Billou, 2007; Weidner, Rosa & Viswanathan, 2010). In Rio's historical development, policy-makers have neglected and segregated favela populations, leading to the stigmatisation of favelas as unsafe and undesirable places, and constituting Rio as a "divided" or "broken" city (Valladares, 2005; Lacerda, 2015; Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2013). Stigma has been described as a

negative belief attributed to people and places that results in discriminatory actions (Goffman, 1963; Wacquant, 2007). Stigma affects consumer behaviour and marketplace interaction (Trujillo et al., 2010; Viswanathan, Sridharan & Ritchie, 2010; Hamilton, 2012) and acts as a barrier to market engagement (Blocker et al., 2013).

In the literature of sociology, the historical stigmatisation of place, and particularly the stigma of Brazilian favelas, has been widely recognised (Lacerda, 2015; Fernandes, 2014). In Rio de Janeiro, favelas suffer from what Wacquant (2007, p. 67) calls territorial stigmatisation – marking a shift from the notion of favelas as fixed, human, and culturally familiar *places* to be feared, lawless *spaces*, devoid of stability and safety. However, in marketing, such sites of entrepreneurial practice are rarely explored through the situated concerns, beliefs or practices of market actors, but rather through a resource-based perspective (Seelos & Mair, 2007; Viswanathan, Sridharan & Ritchie, 2010). Beliefs (and practices configured by those beliefs) are given minimal attention in comparison with actors' capabilities, and financial, social or other market resources. While generating valuable insights in its own right, the resource-based view does little to explain the everyday lives of entrepreneurs working in stigmatised markets to *agence* market action. It is necessary to know *how* entrepreneurs, living within these communities, manage to organise themselves as legitimate, credible market actors (DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012). It is necessary to understand the associations they must make both within and beyond the boundaries of favelas in order to create new, powerful *agencements* that break down barriers and *agence* market action.

This paper sets out to explain how stigmatised favela *agencements* are broken down by the collective efforts of MEs and the other market actors they mobilise. Beginning with a review of the market *agencement* literature and considering the implications for stigmatised marketplaces at the BoP, an analytical framework is developed. A three-phase study is presented, encompassing a review of the socio-cultural history of the favela, interviews with

favela-based MEs and an exemplary case of the development of a new favela market *agencement* in Rocinha, the largest favela of Rio de Janeiro. The analysis uncovers temporally bounded *agencements* that *agence* a specific form of tourism market engagement.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Agencement in market settings

The concept of *agencement* is grounded in Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Cochoy, Trompette & Araujo, 2015). ANT derives from Science and Technology Studies and assumes a flat ontology in which objects (epistemic, technical or natural), are recognised as having the same potential for agency as humans to configure action (Latour, 1987). When powerful associations are created between objects, ideas and human actors, certain activities are configured and held together in recursive patterns of action, such as those that constitute markets (Callon & Muniesa, 2005).

Market studies literature draws heavily on ANT to explore "the web of human and non-human entities engaged in any given project or course of action" (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006, p. 3). These actors constitute a market system, with distributed but interconnected market actors, each with differing roles and competences, performing the mediated practices that constitute markets (Giesler & Fischer, 2017; Geiger et al., 2014; Vargo et al., 2017). Government agents, indexes, technological devices, laws, consumers, entrepreneurs, and ideas (including attitudes and beliefs) interact through entangled practices to perform markets. From this performative perspective, market devices such as market rules and conventions, scientific and market knowledge (and its representation) and other technical and epistemic objects, are understood as helping actors work out or calculate the value of their actions and so mediate how markets are performed (Callon & Muniesa, 2005; Mason, Chakrabarti & Singh, 2017). Kjellberg, Azimot & Reid (2015) argue that marketing is the ongoing process of stabilising and altering norms and rules, market devices and technical infrastructures, disseminating

images, models and representations and enacting practices, routines and habits. Thus, networks of subjects and their relations perform the production of market offerings, pricing, and brand positioning in a sequence of activities organised to generate conditions "felicitous" (Butler, 2010, p. 148) to market exchange (Mason, Kjellberg & Hagberg, 2015). This approach rejects the separate conceptualisations of society and market and instead proposes an assemblage: an actor-network that continuously acts to reproduce or reform a marketised society (Cochoy, 2014). By analysing the world as collective assemblages, interesting questions emerge regarding the types of *agencement* that hold a collective together and how it might be possible to extend or hold together new worlds that *agence* wider market enrolment and action (Chakrabarti & Mason, 2014).

The concept of *agencement* is useful to understand the means by which actors work out how to intervene in markets. In focusing attention on uncovering and making visible the actor-network, three key challenges are presented. First, by adopting an ANT approach and following the powerful associations that constitute markets, deeper insights into the types of markets configured are missed. For example, the particular histories of stigmatised places which are pertinent to the favela setting are likely to be overlooked (Faria & Hemais, 2017; Valladares, 2005). Second, it does not reveal the boundaries of, or barriers to, enrolment in the socio-marketised worlds that are preventing market action. Third, the notion of *agencement* alone does not reveal the objective or concern behind the distributed, co-ordinated action required to build new *agencement* and so create the felicitous conditions for market action.

A recent market studies debate has raised the question of market typologies (Geiger et al., 2014), proposing concerned markets as specific market forms where socio-political unease is invoked by multiple market actors to contest extant market practices, images, competences and ideas (Cochoy, 2014; Mallard, 2016). The notion of concerned markets is useful in considering market interventions, designed to alter how markets work and who they engage

and enrol as they draw attention to the effects of existing market configurations. An important implication in accounting for concerns is the intent to bring about some form of co-ordinated, collective action for change. By making something into a concern to a group, a collective can be mobilised to address it (Chakrabarti & Mason, 2014). As Cochoy (2014) puts it, this is to question what markets are and what they do, enabling a move to what they should be, should do and how they could be shaped to do it (Mason, Chakrabarti & Singh, 2017).

Concerned markets recognise the entangled relationship of the "scientific, political, social and economic realms in and around markets" (Geiger et al., 2014, p. 3) and to some extent the socio-cultural histories that travel into markets through the actors they enrol and the places where they are performed (Faria & Hemais, 2017). Callon (2015) highlights the inherent uncertainty associated with such markets, and the complexity and multiplicity of their configuration. However, where marketplaces have become stigmatised, the social histories of beliefs and the dynamic nature of socio-marketised practices of favela life are both active in shaping and obstructing market engagement. As Faria and Hemais (2017, p. 2) point out, for concerns to be considered, "forgotten" histories that comprise stigmatised *agencements* must be made visible and acted upon. To understand what these stigmatised *agencements* might be, the literature on stigma must be considered.

2.2. Stigma

Stigma is more often associated with people than places and has been defined as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman, 1963, p. 12-13). Goffman (1963, p. 15) considers the "normal" – us, society, the dominant group – as representations of ideal and stereotypical individuals. To consider someone as "normal" is to assume that an individual complies with an ideal type constituted from understandings of patterned attributes and actions associated with a given context. When certain attributes arise in conflict with an ideal type, they can become prioritised over others and the individual reduced "in our minds from a whole

and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman, 1963, p. 12-13). For Goffman (1963), stigma is the difference between the virtual and the actual social identity. This distinction is relevant to the concern with the way favelas are portrayed on social media and in myths, stories and the news. Further, understanding what counts in a process of stigmatisation, what objects, images and competences are held in place to generate the stigma of an individual, provide important clues to understanding the stigmatisation of place.

Goffman (1963) lists three main types of stigma, namely, abominations of the body (physical deformities), blemishes of individual character (addiction, unemployment), and tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion, and it is to the latter that Wacquant's (2007) work on territorial stigma contributes. Wacquant (2007) extends the notion of stigma to places believed to be the "eponym of all the evils" (p. 67). For Wacquant (2007) stigma is rooted to a place in such a way that mobility (leaving the place) can attenuate or even annul it. Wacquant (2007) drew on Smith's (1987) notion of place and space to explain the noxious effects of stigma in territories.

Places are conceptualised as "familiar", "culturally charged", "fixed" and "human", while stigmatised places cease to be – becoming *spaces* conceptualised as "social voids", a "lawless zone" (Smith, 1987, p. 297). In his work on the transformation from places to spaces of French *banlieue* and North American ghettos, Wacquant (2007) describes how residents try to detach themselves using various artifices, such as lying about their address. However, recent accounts of Rio de Janeiro's favelas suggest possibilities of alternative actions. While favela residents readily offer accounts of favelas as stigmatised places, such accounts are accompanied by celebrations of belonging. One example is the Museum of Favela project that aims at spreading awareness of favelas and their history beyond the community to generate "pride, belonging, social cohesion and dignity"[1]. Media reports suggest that for some of Rio's

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[1] http://br.rfi.fr/brasil/20170127-rfi-convida-mario-chagas

favela residents at least, the objective is to change "normal" beliefs and re-situate favelas as safe places through specific forms of market intervention brought about through collective, coordinated action. Good examples of these are the Ecologic Park Sitie[2], a dump transformed into a park, and Favelagrafia[3], an Instagram profile comprising photos of favelas taken by residents. These initiatives involve the development of powerful associations between favela residents, companies, experts, investors, and devices such as iPhones, to show the value and beauty of favelas.

In marketing and management studies, stigma is recognised as affecting consumer behaviour and marketplace interaction in Base of Pyramid and Subsistence markets (Trujillo et al., 2010; Viswanathan, Sridharan & Ritchie, 2010; Hamilton, 2012). Barinaga's (2016) observations of a social enterprise working towards "requalifying space" (p. 5) in an impoverished Swedish suburb is a case in point. Efforts to reshape "geographical imaginaries" (Barinaga, 2016, p. 5) associated with that suburb through a public community mural succeeded in engaging both community and organisations and secured funds for its continuation. The mural created a focus for overcoming the barrier of stigmatisation. Despite alluding to the barriers and complexities imposed by stigma, these studies take stigma as given, and therefore as a starting point. However, to study the process of the socio-marketised change of a given location, it is necessary to first understand how the stigmatisation of place is held stable.

The notion of *agencement* (Cochoy, Trompette & Araujo, 2015) is helpful here. Looking at stigma as an *agencement*, it is possible to understand which networks of associations and practices maintain stigma and prevent certain (positive) changes from occurring. From an ontological perspective, it presents an alternative to the notion of social

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[2] http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=4229
[3] https://www.instagram.com/favelagrafia/

structures from above pouring into human vessels and affecting behaviour (cf. Bourdieu, 1990). Instead, the network of objects, practices, and people that constitute the socio-marketised system is unpacked to see what shapes and performs reality. If, instead of seeing markets as separate entities that simply exist out there, they are understood as constituted through the socio-marketised place and its situated practices, then it becomes crucial to understand how stigma is held stable, and in turn makes it possible to explore how elements of stigma can be broken down and reassembled to form a new market *agencement*.

2.3. Towards a conceptual framework of market intervention to generate new agencement

Drawing on extant market studies and stigmatisation literature, Fig. 1 presents a conceptual frame of the elements that typically constitute an *agencement*: devices and infrastructures, representations of knowledge, rules, practices and the roles and competences of actors (Callon & Muniesa, 2005; Kjellberg, Azimot & Reid, 2015) in order to ask 1) what forms of *agencement* perform a favela as a stigmatised marketplace, 2) how do MEs concern themselves with the stigmatisation of place, and 3) how do MEs frame interventions that might generate new market *agencement* within their socio-marketised favela communities (Chakrabarti & Mason, 2014; Geiger et al., 2014). That is, what can MEs do to connect a particular market-place with other objects, ideas and action, to re-assemble and re-form a new market *agencement* (Cochoy, Trompette & Araujo, 2015; Giesler & Fischer, 2017; Vargo et al., 2017).

FIGURE 1

Fig. 1. Conceptual framework of market intervention to generate new market *agencement*

3. Research design

Using the framework presented in Fig. 1, a three-phase research design was adopted. Phase 1 aimed to explicate the role of historical narratives and map out the contemporary *agencement* that hold favelas as stigmatised socio-marketised places (Faria & Hemais, 2017; Cochoy, Trompette & Araujo, 2015). Phase 2 sought to understand the work of favela-based MEs as they concerned themselves with the stigmatisation of place, and framed market interventions to break down barriers to market engagement. Phase 3 focused on uncovering the new associations and assemblages created to enable market engagement. A variety of ethnographic methods were adopted across the three phases, including short-term immersive, participative ethnography (Gold, 1958), interviews, observations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) and netnography (Kozinets, 2002; 2015). Data were collected from January to August 2016. The details of each phase are presented below.

3.1. Phase 1: mapping the agencement of a stigmatised socio-marketised favela

To understand how these histories informed contemporary representations and images associated with favelas, data were collected from two key sources: 1) interviews with favela-based MEs (Table 1) and 2) the reading of historical accounts of favela development, including those reported in academic articles (e.g., Valladares, 2005; Valladares, 2000; Vaz, 1994; de Almeida Abreu, 2003). Adopting a non-linear, abductive approach, moving constantly between the data and literature (Dubois & Gadde, 2002) to trace the historical formation of favelas, a timeline of key events was generated (Appendix A) making it possible to see how elements originating in the past act in the present (Latour, 2005). Thus, the historical narratives generated by favela-based MEs guided the reading of the literature, while a deeper understanding of the historical literature enabled the identification of the origins of present concerns in the contemporary accounts of participants. Accounts were analysed to identify associations between the different elements of the stigmatised favela *agencement* (Latour, 1986; 1987):

devices and infrastructure, representations of knowledge, rules, practices and the roles and competences of actors (Callon & Muniesa, 2005; Kjellberg, Azimot & Reid, 2015).

Two projects, widely discussed in the media, identified potential participants for this study. A well-publicised government initiative for the free provision of WiFi to favela residents[4] led to the discovery of *Maratona Facebook de Empreendedorismo* (The Facebook Marathon of Entrepreneurship) project. This project was set up to support MEs interested in starting or growing a business, helping them develop an online presence.

Facebook is the most popular online platform in Brazil, with over 85 million active users (ComScore, 2015) and is an important resource for MEs. The Facebook Marathon of Entrepreneurship project offers a free, one-day course to favela dwellers on creating and managing FanPages and Facebook profiles for business purposes. Teachers drive a FaceKombi van, with a graffiti-art Facebook logo spray-painted on the side, to favelas, inviting people to enrol (Appendix B). Knowledge of the courses spreads through word-of-mouth and sponsored online Facebook ads. The courses are delivered by Facebook in classrooms belonging to the Central Union of Favelas (CUFA). Students are provided with materials: laptops, desks, a themed decoration, a free lunch and PowerPoint slides to take away. Facebook teachers (who are favela residents themselves) cover a range of content from the use of Facebook tools, engagement with FanPages, knowledge of ad-based segmentation and selection of visual materials, i.e., photographs to showcase product features more attractively.

Facebook provided a safe introduction to favela-based MEs during the exploratory phase. The first author enrolled in the Facebook course. By engaging in an immersive ethnography (Gold, 1958) and attending Facebook's class, contact was made. A benefit of enrolment was that it allowed both the researcher and MEs to feel comfortable with one another

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[4]http://www.sitec.ufpa.br/arquivos/Apresentacao_SITEC%202010_Rio_Estado_Digital%20Dr%20Silva%20Me lo.pdf

in the role of student-learners. When invited for interviews, MEs appeared flattered and supported the snowball sampling approach by recruiting other MEs for interview. MEs were interviewed face-to-face and by phone. A discussion guide was used to explore what MEs do, how they created their business, their concerns as both favela-based residents and business actors. Many informal conversations followed class sessions, fostering a more trusting relationship with participants to generate a deeper understanding of the struggles of daily life.

Table 1

TABLE 1

A total of 9 MEs from 5 different favelas in Rio de Janeiro were recruited, approximately 50 photographs were taken and 46 articles from news portals and newspapers analysed. Table 1 shows a detailed account of participant characteristics. Fig. 2 shows the locations of favelas throughout Rio.

FIGURE 2

Fig. 2. Places of data collection *(to be shown in colour)*

3.2. Phase 2: uncovering the practices of micro-entrepreneurs

The second phase sought to understand the working practices of favela-based MEs. Ethnography (Gold, 1958) and netnography (Kozinets, 2002; 2015) were used to explore how, through their working practices, MEs concerned themselves with the stigmatisation of place, and framed market interventions to break down the barriers of stigma. The Facebook Marathon of Entrepreneurship generated opportunities to follow posts on Facebook Fanpages. Thus, entrepreneurial activities and market-making efforts could be traced through online chats which described how activities were being organised, and often foregrounded the concerns and problems faced by the incumbents. Post-interview communications were continued using social media. Numerous messages were exchanged via WhatsApp and Facebook messenger to address follow-up questions, clarify data from interviews and to verify current news on mass

media. Facebook pages, user profiles, and news portals formed a compendium of detailed information about problems with violence as well as community reaction to it, in real time.

A content analysis explicated the three overarching themes: 1) stigma manifested in place (and space) as prejudice towards and misrepresentations of the people living in favelas (cf. Goffman, 1963; Wacquant, 2007); 2) stigma hindering market engagement (cf. Trujillo et al., 2010; Hamilton, 2012); and 3) associations or new market *agencements* that temporarily break down key elements of the stigma *agencement* (cf. Callon & Muniesa, 2005; Kjellberg, Azimot & Reid, 2015), generating a more nuanced view of how the concerns of MEs were used to frame and bring about new market *agencement* (Appendix C).

3.3. Phase 3: building a new marketplace agencement to temporarily break stigma

Phase 3 sought to uncover the powerful associations created to break down the barriers of favelas as stigmatised marketplaces and enable market engagement. An in-depth case study design was adopted by following a specific market intervention (Latour, 2005) framed to develop a novel favela tourism market. By tracing the emergence of concerns around stigma and how these triggered the framing of market interventions, it was possible to see how new associations connecting devices and infrastructure, representations of knowledge, rules, practices and the roles and competences of actors were being created. This intervention was guided by locals and founded by resident ME E9 through his tour business, ROT.

Data were collected through ethnographic means with the first author taking the favela tour. Netnography was used to follow ROT's website,[5] E9's Facebook FanPage, Instagram and Peixe Urbano (a local e-commerce platform used to advertise and sell products). ROT's activities with associated MEs, favela residents and other market actors could be traced, and efforts to enrol or break down different elements of the extant stigmatised marketplace *agencement* were recorded. Informal conversations about E9's life and struggles in Rocinha,

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[5] http://rocinhaoriginaltour.com.br/index.html

and discussions about the network of associations he was building through his working practices, were collected. Narrative and visual analysis using the network analysis software Gephi generated a deeper understanding of both the form and the nature of the *agencement* being built. By mapping out the multiple associations of each *actant* at different points in time, it was possible to generate a deeper understanding of the temporal aspects of the nascent *agencement*.

4. Analysis and findings

In this section, the term "favela" and "community" are used interchangeably to reflect the language of participants. The section presents a history of the stigmatisation (before using the framework developed in Fig. 1) to explicate the *agencement* that performs favelas as stigmatised places today. An explanation of how stigma acts as a barrier to business activities and market *agencement* is uncovered, and the work done to temporarily break these barriers is explored. Lastly, an in-depth analysis of an exemplary case is presented and the *agencement* created to recursively enable the performance of a temporally bound *novel favela market* for tourism in Rocinha is revealed. Fig. 3 provides a summary of findings in the form of an elaboration of the conceptual framework presented in Fig. 1.

FIGURE 3

Fig. 3. Conceptual framework of the work done by micro-entrepreneurs to generate novel favela tourism market *agencement* in Rocinha

4.1. Agencement A: stigmatised socio-marketised favela

4.1.1. A history of favelas

The data revealed the role of history, and more specifically historical narrative devices, in performing favelas as stigmatised places. A brief history of favelas is presented before considering how these narratives are invoked as part of the *agencement* that holds stigma in place today. Historical narratives of favelas have a long-standing association with stigma and can act as powerful calculative devices. These histories are well documented in the academic

literature. Their formation can be traced back to 1763, when Rio de Janeiro became the capital of Brazil and a combination of economic development, foreign investment, the abolition of slavery and growing work opportunities resulted in the accumulation of an unsupported, casual workforce (de Almeida Abreu, 2003). This, together with soldiers returning from the Canudos War in Bahia, created a housing crisis (de Almeida Abreu, 2003, Valladares, 2000). *Cortiços*, named after the Portuguese word for cork-box beehives, emerged as a housing solution (Vaz, 1994). With growing numbers of residents, reduced space, and precarious structures, the affordable, high-density *cortiços* lacked hygiene and spread disease (de Almeida Abreu, 2003). The narratives of elites described the poor as the "source of all-evil" (de Paula, 2004, p. 52). Physicians, engineers, the media and real estate businesses argued for new building standards (Vaz, 1994; de Almeida Abreu, 2003). The location of *cortiços* uphill, now stigmatised as a place for vagabonds and outcasts, became known as *favelas* (Valladares, 2000), dividing "the hill" from "the asphalt" (p. 143).

Urbanisation policies entangled the narratives of elites and professionals, shaping Rio's socio-spatial landscape. For instance, the decadent coffee aristocracy from Paraiba Valley migrated to government offices. Their concern with the harm of abolition to their businesses influenced upper-class attitudes to favela policies (Stein, 1953). During the administration of mayor Pereira Passos (1902-1906), urban planning separated places of work from places of consumption, forbidding popular, commercial street activities and creating construction regulations that made it unaffordable for favela communities. However, the favela workforce was desperately needed in the city (de Almeida Abreu, 2003; Benchimol, 1990). In 1937, the term *favela* was used for the first time in the Building Law (*Código de Obras*), constituting them as illegal constructions. Decades of public policy to exclude favelas followed (Gonçalves, 2007).

From the 1940s to the turn of the century, favelas were not included in urban planning or social policy. Residents had no access to services of the formal city. Social segregation and limited access to public services are still a reality in favelas. In the 1980s, these issues contributed to the spread of criminal gangs and drug trafficking (Lacerda, 2016). Despite evidence of drug trafficking in other areas of the city, favela residents are labelled "criminals" and viewed as "second-class citizens" (Fernandes, 2014, p. 57), managing life with the "parallel state authority" of gangs (*comandos*), disputing control over favelas (Lacerda, 2016, p. 4).

The 2014 World Cup brought change. For the first time in decades, a public policy known as the UPP – Pacifying Police Units Programme – focused on favelas (Lacerda, 2015). Although the purpose of this programme was to make favelas safe places, residents experienced violence and prejudice from the police. At the same time, new technologies brought greater transparency to the area. Google addressed the long-criticised omission of favelas from its Maps by collaborating with a local NGO to create Beyond the Map, which featured a website and video proclaiming the misrepresentation of favelas[6]. In 2016 (as Rio hosted the Olympics), the city government opened a new subway line passing in front of Rocinha, Rio's largest favela. It marked a potential significant change in urban mobility for favela residents (Valladares, 2005), yet the high prices of subway tickets proved prohibitive. The city administration named the subway station after a formal neighbourhood: the favela's residents petitioned to rename the station Rocinha, and won (E9). The social segregation of the past is clearly associated with and manifested in the present. Favelas remain marginalised and residents struggle to make their voices heard. These historical narratives (Appendix A) uncover what Valladares (2000, p. 6) calls "the social construction of favelas". Historical narratives are a particular representation of knowledge – of knowing what favelas are and why – associating them with modern

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[6] https://beyondthemap.withgoogle.com/en-us/beyond-the-map

infrastructures, rules, policies and practices to perform today's favelas as stigmatised places. Thus:

P₁: Historical narratives act as powerful calculative devices that hold stigma in association with contemporary devices and infrastructures, representations of knowledge, rules, practices and competences to perform favela as stigmatised places.

The following section explicates this proposition through contemporary examples of the performance of favelas as stigmatised places gathered from the participants of this study.

4.1.2. Contemporary agencements of favelas as stigmatised places

In what follows, data show how elements of these historical narratives (e.g., criminality, safety, depravity) are invoked today to perform the stigma *agencement*. The analysis maps out *Agencement A* (Fig. 1), foregrounding the social-materiality – the devices and infrastructure, knowledge, rules, practices and competences (cf. Callon & Muniesa 2005; Kjellberg, Azimot & Reid, 2015) – to explicate the powerful associations that hold stigma in place.

In 2015, a series of police roadblocks stopped buses from the North and West Zones from going to the South Zone of Rio: the rich zone of Copacabana and Ipanema. Police selected buses en route to the South and sent favela residents without an ID card back to their neighbourhoods, invoking historical narratives of criminality. Online news[7] reported cases of people (often minors) holding legitimate ID, with no evidence of criminal activity, being sent back, a clear violation of their constitutional rights. The bus routes became the device for selecting where to search for "people without ID" (E7) and to prevent the movement of favela residents. If the origin and destinations of bus were other than North/West towards the South, police did not search buses and residents could pass freely. Because particular devices (specific buses on specific bus routes) become associated with stigmatised places, the police changed their practices and disregarded constitutional rights. They conducted searches based on

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[7] https://extra.globo.com/noticias/rio/pm-aborda-onibus-recolhe-adolescentes-caminho-das-praias-da-zona-sul-do-rio-17279753.html

stigmatised associations made with a certain place. Thus, historical narratives, ID cards, bus routes and buses were used by police to calculate who should be stopped, searched and sent back. Thus:

> **P_{1a}:** Historical narrative devices are used by actors to identify and bundle a variety of contemporary devices to calculate who the stigmatised are and the treatment accorded, in the performance of favelas as the stigmatised places.

> **P_{1b}:** Historical narrative devices are bundled with other calculative devices (such as timetables, bus routes, buses, ID cards), practices (police searches; the use of bus routes) and key infrastructures (public transport systems) to perform favelas as the stigmatised places.

Powerful associations between historical narrative devices, infrastructures and actors with their specific roles and competences and institutionalised norms and practices can prevent well intended policy initiatives, designed to break down stigma, from being put into practice. In 2014, as part of the UPP Programme, the state government built offices in favelas. In Vidigal, the UPP building catches your attention as soon as you arrive. Using mainstream media propaganda, the government portrayed favelas as state-occupied territories, making an association between favelas and safe places, the UPP police and their offices (E1). Office buildings were to be places where the community could access services and assistance, and engage with officials. However, four years later, respondents appear disappointed: "The UPP office remains at the same address, but the news ceased" (E9). The UPP office is not welcoming. Rather, it represents another armed group engaged in violent episodes of shooting. Mainstream media now report an increase in violence and drug gang power; without assistance, "[Rocinha] finds its own way" of handling violence (E9).

In City of God, E1 reports hearing shootings daily, despite the presence of the UPP. The current public safety crisis, often in the news, has exposed concerns about the Rio police and re-created strong associations between favelas and violence. Reports show underpaid police trained on an archaic military model. Widespread corruption is reported, with police

trading weapons with drug gangs[8]. The media acts as a key device for showcasing the public safety crisis to both city and favela residents, but favelas – as stigmatised places – are consistently associated with these causes. For favela residents, the UPP office, once a building associated with a promise of social development, has become another reminder of the long history of a lack of state commitment to favelas and the power of drug traffickers. For city residents, the takeover of UPP units by drug gangs, broadcast on media, is a reinforcement of the associations of favelas with violence. Thus:

> **P$_{1c}$:** Powerful association between historical narrative devices, infrastructures and actors with their specific roles and competences (e.g., police, media, residents, gang leaders) make it difficult, in practice, to perform policy changes designed to break down stigma.

The infrastructure, devices, representations of knowledge and practices of the media play a significant role in performing stigma. Stories of police violence in favelas appear on Facebook FanPages, on blogs by independent journalists and on websites such as RioOnWatch. In Brazilian cinema, the notorious 2007 hit movie *Elite Squad* depicts extremely violent police operations in a favela war. The movie briefly raised public debate about the levels of police violence "allowed" (E1), drawing attention to the imagery of favelas as lawless zones: areas filled with people to be feared. Participants complained about the image portrayed in the movie and of the limited media coverage of City of God "stars" (E3), for example, the Olympic Judo Champion, Rafaela Silva[9]. Depicted as extreme territories that require extreme measures (cf. Wacquant, 2007), the drug war remains overemphasised in media narratives: "The media only shows one thing, bad things" (E4). Mainstream media acts as a central calculative device, generating many negative associations for favelas. E4 recalled a conversation with a friend who is afraid of passing by the City of God: "she says that favelas are the cancer of society". People who do not frequent favelas depend on media reports to make calculations about the

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[8] http://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-violence-idUSKBN19K36U
[9] http://www.bbc.com/sport/olympics/37024492

reality of favela life (cf. Callon & Muniesa, 2005). The fearful narrative circulated by information technologies holds stigma in place, and the occasional but real outburst of violence, together with the tightly packed houses along narrow alleyways, configure an inaccessible marketplace for city residents (Finch & Geiger, 2011). Thus:

> **P1$_d$:** Powerful associations between media infrastructures, historical narratives and other devices and representations of knowledge continually perform and re-produce favelas as stigmatised places.

4.2. The work of micro-entrepreneurs to create new market agencements

In line with extant studies, the findings suggest that for MEs, stigma acts a barrier (Mair, Martí & Ventresca, 2012; Viswanathan et al., 2014), blocking access to resources and socio-material structures that organise and enable market exchange. Additionally, findings suggest that once MEs identify elements of the stigma *agencement* that are acting as a barrier, they work with others to change the *agencement* or create new, connecting *agencements* to mobilise market interaction. Favela-based MEs live with a failed state presence (Lacerda, 2016). Drug gangs increasingly control the routines of favela residents, as favela-based MEs' community have no recourse to state security (e.g., no public security or authorised legislative authority). Two weeks after being interviewed, E1 sent messages on WhatsApp reporting a shooting outside her shop in the City of God. For her safety, she closed the shop. E1 recalled a day when a family member of a drug trafficker was killed, and all shops were told to close for 3 days. Such problems are far removed from the realities of shop owners in the city's South Zone. Unassisted, favela MEs have no choice but to comply with the demands of drug gangs. In such moments, stigma is much more than a narrative. It is a reality that directly impacts entrepreneurial activity.

While the violence is not ever-present, the risk or threat of it is. Stigmatised favelas are associated with risk[10], which in turn restricts access to resources. This claim is evidenced by the public policies designed to contain rather than include favela residents in mainstream economic life (Lacerda, 2016). An initiative developed by the navigation app Waze for the 2016 Olympic Games resulted in the creation of a feature that showed the highest crime risk areas across the city[11]: favelas were always included in these representations of risk. Thus, Waze acts as both a technical and epistemic device that equips potential market actors to calculate who or what should be excluded from market infrastructures and why. This classification of risk affects the provision of a critical business infrastructure (e.g., the internet). E8 is a photographer who uses social media to advertise his work. The lack of reliable internet service prevents him from attracting new clients and communicating with existing ones:

> *I think the view of these companies (internet providers) is a bit distorted, [...] If you go there on the asphalt you will see [...] XX (internet provider) [...] works [...] only here where I live there is no internet access, on the street that only goes up into the community. Then there is a certain disregard, a certain fear... Because when we talk about taking a service like this up [the hill] there is the issue of maintenance and they are afraid because it is considered an area of risk, but where I live is not an area of risk, there is no problem at all.* (E8)

While in any extreme market context this sort of everyday challenge creates barriers for already resource-constrained MEs (DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012), in favelas MEs face additional stigma-related barriers that not only restrict access to resources but additionally impact how favela-based MEs calculate their marketing activities (Rist, 1970).

E4 describes his experience working with fashion. "Black Trend" clothing is produced in the Mangueira favela and uses prints, clothing styles and accessories alluding to Black culture. This high-quality merchandise was not worn by the producers but sold "to South Zone, high street stores", where they were sold "under-priced" to shops and at "high prices" to

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[10] http://noticias.terra.com.br/brasil/noticias/0,,OI1374736-EI316,00-
Nem+Correios+chegam+a+areas+de+risco+do+Rio.html
[11] http://outracidade.uol.com.br/waze-cria-alerta-para-avisar-sobre-areas-que-considera-perigosas/

customers (E4). Favela residents were not valuing their own work in the same way that fashionistas from the South Zone did. As Black Trend became established as a popular style in the South Zone, clothing became more appealing to the favela-resident-producers. Here, stigma was so heavily associated with place, that the South Zone validation was necessary before producers could see value in their own products. E4 argues that it is necessary to "make the population [of favelas] feel proud" of what they are and what they produce.

Participants also identified stigma barriers that impact the ideas and organising activities of those who might otherwise engage with favela-based MEs. Tour businesses were important to the micro-entrepreneur communities because they bring customers who might buy goods from many favela-based businesses during their visit. However, tour businesses from "outside" (E9) the favela bring their own guides, partner with hotels from the outside and offer walking and jeep tours along the main roads, creating a "zoo-like tour" (E7) that hinders market exchange opportunities and community engagement. There are no "stops" and so no "returns" for local shops or businesses (E9). Visitors do not learn how to get to the favela, or how to navigate the favela safely on their own, preventing future, independent engagement. The findings show that MEs identify key barriers to market engagement and socialise these as concerns in their communities.

While extant studies suggest that despite the lack of financial resources, rich, social networks help actors engage in market exchange (Viswanathan, Sridharan & Ritchie, 2010), the findings presented here additionally show that MEs use their social networks to socialise their concerns. Concerns about stigma are discussed as actors work out how they could act, individually and collectively, to effect changes that enable market engagement. For example, concerns about favela tours treating favelas as "zoos" (E7) led MEs to imagining tours engaged with other local MEs. E9 provided an example of socialised concerns that helped favela-based MEs develop an alternative tour business model that increased market engagement within

favelas. Only 20% of Rocinha (a favela in the South Zone of Rio), is accessible by road, while 80% are alleys and trails only accessible on foot. Working with the ME community, E9 set up walking tours to provide customers with a very different experience from that offered by the "external tour businesses" (E9). Walking tours were designed to enable visitors to engage with locals, making stops at shops and art ateliers, chatting with residents and introducing the visitors. By organising and coordinating these activities with the community, market exchange was collectively re-imaged and a new *agencement* was gradually assembled. Thus:

> **P2:** Micro-entrepreneurs identify elements of the stigma *agencement* that act as barriers to market engagement, socialise these as concerns in their communities and use them to frame their coordinated intervention and to mobilise the new market *agencement*.

The following sections further unpack a particular market intervention through an in-depth analysis of a single case, where MEs worked together to create a new *agencement* for a novel tourism market.

4.3. Reassembling elements of a stigmatised place to create a novel favela tourism market

E9 is a favela-based ME who set up a walking tour business called ROT in the favela of Rocinha. The *agencements* that support his business are the following. Visitors access either the website or Facebook FanPage and Instagram to learn about the tours. By using Google Maps, a visitor can see photos of Rocinha and navigate the main roads in the favela. Visitors can check bars, shops, public transportation schedules and hostels on Facebook, on Google or on specialised apps such as Yelp. These tools allow any visitor, without having ever visited Rio de Janeiro, to anticipate what they will see, which helps them navigate this unfamiliar and sometimes dangerous world safely:

> *[…] we show them that they can come, […] that they can come safely, that [Rocinha] has entertainment, it has curiosities […] the shops, the gastronomy, hard-working people.* (E9)

Visitors can book one of the three experiences and pay online or in person upon arrival. E9 meets visitors at the Rocinha subway station at a specified time; subway, train schedules

and maps can be found online. Google Maps provides details about routes, stops and costs, and instructions on the train are provided in both Portuguese and English. Once at the station, visitors can either walk uphill or hire *mototáxis*, Rocinha's motorcycles, and van services. Tours incorporate visits to shops and cafes, stopping at the houses of some residents for a friendly hello and an opportunity to buy food, apparel, arts and crafts and to learn something of the area's history and what it is like to live in Rocinha today. Visitors are delivered back to the station at the end of the tour.

The work done collectively by MEs to create the *agencement* that performs a novel tourism market in Rocinha is notable. E9 works with other MEs to create a digital presence that shows "Rocinha as more than a place of violence and poverty" (E9).

> *[...] that's the idea. I'm trying to make it so community-based tourism is not just a curiosity, it's to show that Rocinha, the favelas, have good things.* (E9)

E9 wants to develop a market offering that enables visitors to return to Rocinha on their own after the tour to frequent the community's commercial area. To assemble a new *agencement* it matters *how* the tour is conducted: it matters where the visitors come from, what kind of information they receive and the forms of engagement E9 promotes with visitors. Because E9 felt that local visitors valued knowing how to get to and negotiate their safe passage around Rocinha, he worked with others to equip visitors to do this, providing internet links and local knowledge to help them, "work it out for themselves". If visitors are not equipped to calculate or are from outside Rio, there is a minimal chance that they will return. Thus, MEs create *agencement* by assembling devices that allow present and future calculation of the safe navigation and engagement with favelas. This assemblage forged powerful associations with extant infrastructures (internet and websites, trains, mototáxis, the alleyways of Rocinha), representations of knowledge (maps, timetables, photos, historical and contemporary favela narratives), rules (web details of how to engage with the tour), practices (tour collection,

conduct and drop-off, shopping, café stops), and the specific roles and competences of MEs (as tour guides, shop keepers, café managers, residents). In sum:

> **P3:** Micro-entrepreneurs work to create novel favela tourism *agencement* by assembling devices that allow present and future calculation of the safe navigation and engagement with favelas, forging powerful associations with extant infrastructures, representations of knowledge, rules, practices, and the specific roles and competences of micro-entrepreneurs.

4.4. The temporally bound nature of the novel favela tourism market agencement

A deeper analysis of the novel tourism market *agencement* revealed the temporally bound nature of some of its elements. Findings showed how micro-entrepreneurs (MEs) work the stigma *agencement* to break down some elements – albeit temporarily – to prevent them from acting as a barrier to market engagement. By reassembling and breaking down the ever-present threat of violence, MEs manage to create a powerful, novel favela tourism *agencement* that *agences* market engagement within specific temporal parameters. Consider the complex and somewhat paradoxical *agencing* work required to support overseas visitors, compared with asphalt visitors: "a lot of people have prejudice, are afraid […] the biggest prejudice [against favelas] comes from the Brazilian himself" (E9). Local visitors do not typically engage with tours because the favelas are so stigmatised, while overseas tourists are attracted, because stigmatised favelas become associated with exotic, sometimes dangerous holiday places to visit. TripAdvisor reviews make such associations explicit, describing favelas as both "dangerous places" and "safe places to visit on supervised tours" within certain temporally bound parameters (V3):

> *Rocinha… I knew had a certain reputation… at no time did I feel in any danger, and the tour guide was always giving a really good and clear insight into how things really are in the Favela.* (V1)

Another overseas visitor explained:

> *Our day trip to Rocinha and Vila Canoas was incredible. I was initially nervous, but [the tour guide] quickly showed us that while, yes, drug traffickers live in the favelas, the majority of the population are kind, hardworking people. There's so much more to the*

place than conflict. We got to meet some local artists, a man running his own cafe (with excellent coxinhas and cold beer), and a school for young children. One of the most eye-opening things I've ever done. (V2)

To mark out the favela as different from other [market]places, it appears that certain elements of the stigmatised *agencement* must remain in place, so while the threat of violence remains, MEs use temporalities to break down windows of time within which tours can be safely managed. When novelty becomes strongly associated with the danger and the violence of favelas, and when it is additionally held in association with practices and devices that calculate and navigate a "safe passage" (E9), it appears that stigma can work to draw in visitors. Adkins and Ozanne (2005, p. 94) note that "Stigmatised individuals may accept the stigma, or they can rail against the stigma and the potentially debilitating negative social evaluation […]; we must consider how the individual manages stigma."

In the present case, it is the MEs that are managing the expectations and experiences of overseas visitors to temporally bound key elements of the *agencement*, so that violence is avoided, even though stigma and the threat of violence remain.

For MEs the stigmatisation of place is a paradox; a "double-edged sword" (E9) that works for overseas visitors but against the interests of asphalt visitors. E9 explained the additional elements necessary *agence* asphalt visitors. E9 worked with the city government and universities of Rio de Janeiro to identify and engage asphalt residents as potential visitors:

Rocinha is a brand, a lab. People are very […] curious to know Rocinha. So you imagine a [tourism] agency […] in the heart of Rocinha, that can attract students who wish to know and at the same time study a little of what Rocinha is, this potential, this paraphernalia […].

One *agencement* element that E9 wants to put in place is a tourist information kiosk at the subway station. He negotiates his support for city council candidates in exchange for project support: "If the competitors have cars and jeeps, we will have the subway" (E9). Community members must mobilise the city government. This approach has succeeded in the past (e.g.,

renaming the new Rocinha/São Conrado stations[12]). The subway and the kiosk both represent the temporally bound nature of *agencement*: the timing of the kiosk being open, the subway train arriving and the safe times for tours are all central to an *agencement* that actively mobilises market exchange.

A particular *agencement* that foregrounds the temporal nature of the novel tourism market *agencement* is the one created for a recent group visit of 70 students from São Paulo. E9 worked in partnership with a university in Rio professor who introduced him to a professor from the University of São Paulo. E9 then organised the visit: caterers in Rocinha prepared a rooftop dinner, *feijoada* – a famous Brazilian dish – and a *capoeira* show. The rooftops – *laje* – are an attraction, providing the best views. Local vans transported students up the hill and freelance guides provided a walking tour. The visit employed fifteen independent workers from Rocinha and introduced 70 asphalt residents to favela life as an entrepreneurial, marketised community. Student feedback suggested that E9 had equipped them to calculate for themselves how and when to visit the favela safely. By inviting university members to Rocinha and asking people to engage others through word-of-mouth, E9 is connecting contrasting social worlds: bridging the hill and the asphalt to enable future engagement. Timing is central to the success of these visits: *when* visits happen is as important as *how* they happen (cf. Stark, 1996).

E9's coordination efforts are continuous, but the agency that enables market exchange is temporally bounded. The stigma *agencement* is performed by the interplay of multiple actors (professors, cooks, residents and other MEs), but key elements are foregrounded (entrepreneurial life in favelas) and others temporarily broken down (danger and violence), thus limiting their power to act as market barriers. This happens through the connections E9 makes. E9 enables exchange between tourists and the favela community, at specific moments

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[12] https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/ultimas-noticias/2016/07/12/moradores-cobram-inclusao-do-nome-rocinha-em-futura-estacao-de-metro.htm

in time through the re-assemblage of new elements: the architecture, the history, online stories with photos of positive experiences and reviews (e.g., on TripAdvisor, Google and Yelp). These new arrangements create a novel favela tourism *agencement* that *agences* market engagement and market exchange within specific temporal parameters. Thus:

> **P4:** Micro-entrepreneurs work with temporally bound elements of the stigmatisation *agencement* to limit their power to act as a barrier to market engagement, and by reassembling other elements, to create novel favela tourism *agencement* that *agence* market engagement and exchange within specific temporal parameters.

In sum, the above findings and propositions explicate the conceptual framework presented in Fig. 1. The analysis offers a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the nature of favelas as stigmatised socio-marketised places, and the work that MEs do to collectively reassemble temporally bound elements: breaking down barriers to market engagement and generating the "felicitous" (Butler, 2010, p. 148) conditions that *agence* market action (Fig. 3).

The data shows how historical and contemporary narratives become digitised and reassembled by MEs, so that calculations of favelas as stigmatised places can be mediated and re-made. While initially calculations made by potential customers watching the news continuously report (and so place) stories of violence in favelas, creating barriers to market engagement, the data also reveal how new devices are put in place by the coordinated actions of MEs and other actors with whom they associate, equipping potential customers to work out how to engage with these unfamiliar and sometimes intimidating, stigmatised favela marketplaces. MEs post photos of visitors taking a tour around Rocinha, connect to virtual tours in the streets of favelas via Google, provide transportation information and positive reviews on Facebook and TripAdvisor. These digital devices are used to make new and powerful associations that enable new forms of market action in temporally bound *agencement*, i.e., safe forms of navigation at certain times of the day are combined with specific forms of local knowledge. By equipping potential market actors (visitors/customers) to calculate, they work out when and where to go when visiting favelas through real-time internet access on

smartphones. Digital images and materials, key infrastructures and devices are reassembled to make accessible what was once judged inaccessible.

By creating these new *agencements* in digital worlds, actors are able to make new judgements about how and when to engage in new forms of action in the physical world of the favela. It is noteworthy that the same photo showing the architecture of favelas has been associated with positive market experience as well as narratives of the extreme poverty and constraints of favelas. Thus, reframing the meaning of a favela's architecture depends on the associations made with other materials. In turn, new associations generate new modes of calculations. While the devices and infrastructure are largely the same, calculations and judgements are transformed as new associations are made by MEs. Photos illustrating good experiences and good reviews become explicitly associated with an available and safe transport system to and from the favela. They shift calculations towards an alternative narrative of favelas as novel markets, triggering new associations that enable market engagement.

5. Conclusion and implications

This paper set out to understand how MEs working at the BoP manage to make new, powerful associations between people and places, to temporarily break down the barriers of Rio's stigmatised marketplaces. The analysis generates three key contributions. First, drawing on extant studies of stigmatisation (Goffman, 1963; Smith, 1987; Wacquant, 2007), this paper extends current understanding by offering a more nuanced conceptualisation of BoP markets (Prahalad, 2006) as stigmatised marketplaces. In contrast to extant studies, stigma here is not taken as given (cf. Barinaga, 2016). Rather, the powerful associations between things and people that perform favelas as stigmatised places are mapped out and made visible. The role of historical narratives as devices that calculate places as stigmatised are found to be powerful elements of the *agencement*. By conceptualising favelas in this way, barriers to market engagement can be more easily identified (Mason, Chakrabarti & Singh, 2013).

Second, the findings presented here contribute to extant understandings of MEs in BoP markets (DeBerry-Spence and Elliot, 2012; Benét, 2010) by foregrounding the importance of place in relation to the work done by them to make market engagement possible. By revealing *how* MEs identify barriers, socialise concerns, frame interventions and mobilise collective action, it is possible to see how MEs work with elements of the stigmatised favela *agencement* to create a novel favela tourism market *agencement*. In contrast to the extant BoP and subsistence markets research, which generally adopts a resource-based view of markets (Seelos & Mair, 2007; Viswanathan, Sridharan & Ritchie, 2010), this paper draws on the notion of *agencement* to reveal how the collective assemblage of people, technologies, knowledge and places act to configure new kinds of market engagement. By mapping out the actors performing the stigmatised favela market, the practices developed to intervene and co-ordinate market action, it is possible to explain *how* new, powerful market *agencements* are generated to enable wider market engagement.

Lastly, the paper contributes to the broader market studies literature by foregrounding the temporal nature of *agencement*. While the extant market studies literature has done much to explain the ways *agencements* are brought about, maintained and transformed through different forms of intervention (Onyas & Ryan, 2015; Lawlor & Kavanagh, 2015; Ulkuniemi, Araujo & Tähtinen, 2015), the findings reveal how temporal aspects of *agencements* are embedded through information technologies and digital devices, thus mediating relations. By considering the temporal aspect of *agencements*, it is possible to explain how multiple *agencements* become connected to recursively enable and disable temporally bound market engagement. In revealing the stigmatised and novel favela *agencement*, the relations that are performed and the devices used to do so were identified.

These findings have important implications for the understanding of the *agencements* that perform marketplaces. The results suggest that if managers and MEs are able to map out

the powerful associations that collectively make up and hold key elements such as stigma in place, then they are well positioned to work out the targeted action necessary to intervene. Managers and MEs can imagine and place new associations that, albeit temporary, limit the power elements that a stigma *agencement* has to act as a barrier to market exchange. They can mobilise new forms of market action and engagement.

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Appendix A

Table A.1
History of favelas

Year	Events	Source
1763	Rio de Janeiro becomes the capital – requires urban improvement	Benchimol (1990)
1808	Arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family – Rise of population from 15k to 45k	Benchimol (1990)
1822	Brazil Independence – 100k inhabitants	Benchimol (1990)
1826	Age of Coffee Barons in Paraiba Valley (eastern estate of São Paulo and western state of Rio de Janeiro)	Benchimol (1990)
1843	Epidemic of scarlet fever – Imperial Academy of Medicine suggests avoiding overpopulating collective habitations	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1845	Slave trade declared illegal – Aberdeen (UK) Law	Benchimol (1990)
1850	Denunciation of *cortiços* as source of diseases (yellow fever, cholera)	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
	Eusebio de Queiroz Law (Br) forbids importing slaves	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
	Construction of *estalagens* (small houses with rooms "reduced to an extreme")	Vaz (1994)
	Second Industrial Revolution	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1857 -58	Slaves account for as much as 73% of coffee plantation wealth	Stein (1953)
1861	Beginning of donkey-drawn trams in public transportation – still limited influence on mobility of the poorest	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1868	Beginning of suburban traffic through D. Pedro II Railway – still limited influence on mobility of the poorest	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1870	Soil exhaustion, ageing of coffee plantations and of slaves – 200k inhabitants	Stein (1953)
1870 -90	Number of inhabitants doubles	Benchimol (1990)
1871	Rio Branco Law – emancipation of slave children born after the law	Stein (1953)
1873	Ordinance of 5 December forbidding the construction of new *cortiços*	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1875	End of the Coffee Age	Stein (1953)
1880	More rigid control over collective habitations and closure of several by the *Inspetoria Geral de Higiene* (General Inspector of Hygiene)	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
	New water supply system in Rio de Janeiro	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
	Transportation linking the city centre to suburbs made the latter a housing option for workers	Vaz (1994)
1880 -90	New railways: Leopoldina, Rio D'Ouro and Melhoramentos do Brasil	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1888	Slave Emancipation Decree	
1889	Brazil becomes a republic – period known as the First Republic	
1890	Rio de Janeiro reaches 500k inhabitants	Benchimol (1990)

Table A.1 *(continued)*

Year	Events	Source
1893	*Cabeça de Porco* is demolished – Mayor Barata – 4k residents at its peak	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1894	Second Period of the First Republic – Coffee elites migrate from plantation to government and commerce	Stein (1953)
	Attribution of woes exclusively to the liberation of their slaves	Stein (1953)
1897	Soldiers returning from *Canudos* War in Bahia go to Morro da Providencia and Santo Antonio	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1900	Newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* denounces *Morro da Providencia* as "infested with vagabonds and criminals"	Valladares (2000)
	City administration forbids the construction of chalets in central Rio de Janeiro	Vaz (1994)
1902	Mayor Pereira Passos – Beginning of term – Remodelling of Rio de Janeiro – forbids popular trading on street, kiosks that were important meeting places for population	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1903	Regulations through decree n. 391 raises costs for construction and workers move from suburbs to hills	Benchimol (1990), Vaz (1994)
1906	Mayor Pereira Passos – End of term – Division of classes through the remodelling of public spaces	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1907	*Barracos* and *casebres* in Copacabana	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1909	*Barracos* and *casebres* in Salgueiro	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1910	*Barracos* and *casebres* in Mangueira	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
	Favelas shifted from a provisional situation to a serious urban issue	Gonçalves (2007)
	Morro da Providencia starts to be called Morro da Favella	Vaz (1994)
1920	"Favela" is used in the press as a noun	Vaz (1994)
	Favelas' growth becomes "uncontrollable and multidirectional"	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1930	"Vertiginous growth" of favelas around Rio de Janeiro	Vaz (1994)
	President Vargas – Age Vargas – social work stops being exclusive of religious and private institutions but also a responsibility of the state	Valladares (2000)
1937	"Favela" is used for the first time in a legal text for the new Building Law. Favelas officially considered illegal, and a problem to be managed by the city administration	Valladares (2000)
1941	First Brazilian Congress of Urbanism calls for a complete study of favelas "to know generalities and particulars of the problem" – notion of knowing in order to control	Valladares (2000)
1942	Publication of the thesis of social worker Maria Hortencia do Nascimento e Silva – importance of data about favelas to accomplish "effective" work	Valladares (2000)
1943	Report of the physician Victor Tavares de Moura shows "the complexity of favelas for the first time"	Valladares (2000)
1945	End of President Vargas's administration	

Table A.1 *(continued)*

Year	Events	Source
1949	Publication of the first census of favelas with data – 119 conglomerates and 280k inhabitants	Valladares (2000)
1950	Publication of a federal census; now city and federation can be compared and data such as gender and age per favela are available	Valladares (2000)
1957	Book "Favelas do Distrito Federal" uses data from the 1950 census to oppose decades of misconceptions about favela residents as vagabonds by showing the heterogeneity and the various economic activities in which they are engaged. The book also shows that 28% are white, contradicting the notion of favelas as locales comprising a black population exclusively	Valladares (2000)
1960	Publication of the first study by sociologists on favelas – "Aspectos humanos da favela carioca"; a milestone for social science research on favelas	Valladares (2000)
1980 -90	Criminal gangs spread through favelas	Lacerda (2015)
2014	Brazil World Cup Pacifying Police Units Programme – UPPs	Lacerda (2015)
2016	Brazil Olympic Games Google adds favelas do its maps #StopFavelaStigma	

Appendix B *(photos to be shown in colour)*

Fig. B.1
Mural in Facebook's classroom

Fig. B.2
Facebook's classroom

Fig. B.3
Mural and break space in Facebook's classroom

Fig. B.4
Facebook's van

Appendix C

Table C.1
Thematic structure of micro-entrepreneurs' accounts

Theme	Account	ME
Stigmatisation of socio-marketised place	[…] people say: do not go there, that is dangerous. It creates this awareness in you. I, for example, I swear, I'm not afraid, I walk on the hill of Camará. […] it's a lot of "the favela and the asphalt", people look as if to say "there, it's a favela". You're creating that awareness, and that's what it takes, you understand? He is a "favelado", it creates this.	E7
	there are a lot of people that sees favela as what? As a nest of criminals, of problems […]	E9
	we [in the City of God] will always be seen as those people that are there, hampering something	E2
	There is no exchange [between favela and city] […] The Madureira Park was [created] with the idea of "don't come to the South Zone because you have yours", it wasn't to benefit the population, it was to isolate it.	E4
Concerns of micro-entrepreneurs with the stigmatisation of place: framing market interventions	We have tried sometimes to make partnerships [with tourism business from the city], but they have no interest; Their interest is only commercial, to sell what they want, to get what they want. They are from the outside, we cannot stop [their entrance]. Any problems they have, they come down [on us] in the press saying "ah, it's the favela, it's the [drug] traffic problem", anyway. They always, when something goes wrong they blame it on the community.	E9
	No, it [The Olympic Games] was not good for us. Because the Olympics were very concentrated in arenas and in sports, in the news: Olympic Boulevard, Olympic Park, Deodoro and such. And on the other hand, what I told you before, the foreign consulates have advised their tourists not to visit the favela. If they visited, it was on their own account, that they would not take responsibility. That is, they already… right? […] I already knew it.	E9
	I do not have a studio, but when people need, [when] they like the kind of work I do similar to studio [work], it would have to be in my home and because it's in a favela, sometimes it happens the "ah ok, I'm going", but like, [...] that fear remains of like... because it's a favela. And after people arrive they realize that like, ah, "it's nonsense, I should not be afraid", they realize it's a normal place.	E8
	The public power will never say that it is not interested [in our projects]. There is no such thing. Now, take a "straight" project to see if the public power will deal with you. It will not. [...] It will always say "no, we are interested in articulating", now when you face them in a room, they will not close [the deal]	E3

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Table C.1 *(continued)*

Theme	Account	ME
	with you [...] unless they see some gap to do well and turn what you have into something else. [...] This is what happens all the time. [...] The City of God was supposed to be off the map a long time ago.	E3
Novel market *agencements* to temporarily break stigmatisation of place	80%, 90% [of people] are curious to know a favela, especially Rocinha, but did not have the opportunity or do not have that impulse, but if the government was a government, if the politicians made a more serious policy for community-based tourism, well, to encourage ... that's the idea. I'm trying to make it so that community-based tourism is not just curiosity, it's to show that Rocinha, the favelas, have good things.	E9
	My target audience are Brazilians like you: from the south, from São Paulo, even from Rio. A lot of people have prejudices, are afraid. So when we show them that they can come, that we have a group of locals that have a local tourist agency, that they can come safely, can see that it has entertainment, it has curiosities, of course it will have its everyday life, they will also see the problems, but they will also see what's new, because Rocinha has its glamour.	E9
	What will happen, for me, […] in my vision the Olympics will serve to open doors. That is, the guy who came to the Olympics, liked it, will recommend Rio a lot: "Rio was good". So when I get this result, then yes.	E9
	We're claiming the tourist information kiosk down there on the subway. That is, the guy wants to meet Rocinha, he takes the subway, stops at its door. If the big operators have cars, vans and jeeps, we'll have the subway. […] [We are pleading with] city hall and the state government, the subway, the metro company itself.	E9
	Now I'm doing the 2nd Academic Tour, I did the first as an experiment, which was cool, a few people came […] I'm doing the 2nd Academic Tour that is for students, professors of tourism, of engineering, whoever wants to come […] [for them] to know the projects and get to know Rocinha with those who know [Rocinha]. So this is our marketing.	E9
	[The online tools] It's Peixe-Urbano, it's via Face, the website where I'm changing my tools here. Today I'm with an intern and I'm with a consultant here to develop a unified language; right now I have a lot of things spread out and I have to standardize the language.	E9

Figures and tables to be included in text
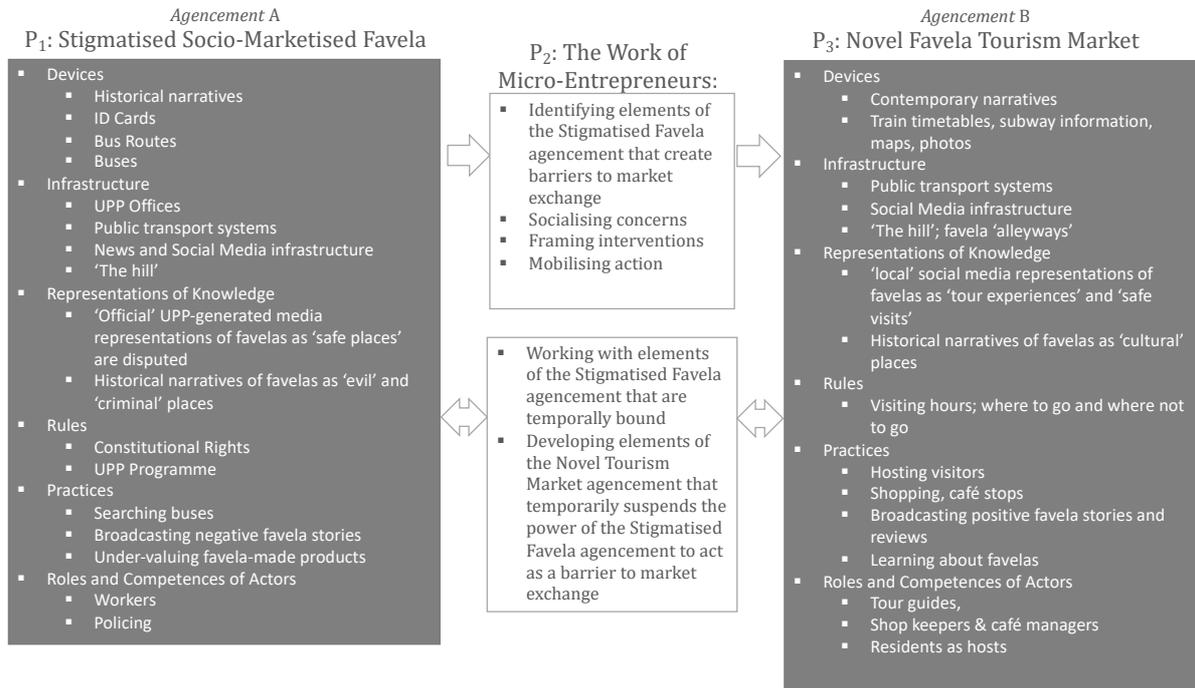
Figure 1 (p. 9)

Fig. 1. Conceptual framework of market intervention to generate new market *agencement*

Figure 2 (p. 12)

Fig. 2. Places of data collection *(to be shown in colour)*

Figure 3 (p. 14)

Agencement A
P₁: Stigmatised Socio-Marketised Favela

P₂: The Work of Micro-Entrepreneurs:

Agencement B
P₃: Novel Favela Tourism Market

- Devices
  - Historical narratives
  - ID Cards
  - Bus Routes
  - Buses
- Infrastructure
  - UPP Offices
  - Public transport systems
  - News and Social Media infrastructure
  - 'The hill'
- Representations of Knowledge
  - 'Official' UPP-generated media representations of favelas as 'safe places' are disputed
  - Historical narratives of favelas as 'evil' and 'criminal' places
- Rules
  - Constitutional Rights
  - UPP Programme
- Practices
  - Searching buses
  - Broadcasting negative favela stories
  - Under-valuing favela-made products
- Roles and Competences of Actors
  - Workers
  - Policing

- Identifying elements of the Stigmatised Favela agencement that create barriers to market exchange
- Socialising concerns
- Framing interventions
- Mobilising action

- Working with elements of the Stigmatised Favela agencement that are temporally bound
- Developing elements of the Novel Tourism Market agencement that temporarily suspends the power of the Stigmatised Favela agencement to act as a barrier to market exchange

- Devices
  - Contemporary narratives
  - Train timetables, subway information, maps, photos
- Infrastructure
  - Public transport systems
  - Social Media infrastructure
  - 'The hill'; favela 'alleyways'
- Representations of Knowledge
  - 'local' social media representations of favelas as 'tour experiences' and 'safe visits'
  - Historical narratives of favelas as 'cultural' places
- Rules
  - Visiting hours; where to go and where not to go
- Practices
  - Hosting visitors
  - Shopping, café stops
  - Broadcasting positive favela stories and reviews
  - Learning about favelas
- Roles and Competences of Actors
  - Tour guides,
  - Shop keepers & café managers
  - Residents as hosts

Fig. 3. Conceptual framework of the work done by micro-entrepreneurs to generate novel favela tourism market *agencement* in Rocinha

Table 1 (p. 12)

Details of interviewees

Micro-entrepreneur		Favela or Neighbourhood	Formal job	Business
E1	Female	City of God	Retirement home	Shop
E2	Female	City of God	Catering	Catering
E3	Male	City of God	Coordinator at Sociocultural Polo	Music Producer
E4	Male	City of God	NGO focused on youth and the elderly	Fashion
E5	Male	Rocha Miranda	Car insurance broker	DJ
E6	Female	Rocha Miranda	Hairdresser	Jewellery
E7	Male	Vila Valqueire	Customer Service at a car dealership	Photographer
E8	Male	Ilha do Governador	Teacher	Photographer
E9	Male	Rocinha	Manager at ROT	Manager at ROT