

The spatiotemporal nature of market making:

Insights from the favela tourism market in Rocinha



Josiane Fernandes

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is concerned with the spatiotemporal nature of market-making practices. While previous literature on markets has explored the socio-material arrangements that enable the creation and performance of markets, less attention has been granted to the role that spatiality and temporality play in these arrangements and in overcoming barriers to market-making. The market studies literature has indicated that markets have a spatiotemporal dimension through notions such as that of situated practice and markets in the making (Cochoy, 2008; Mason et al., 2015; Palo et al., 2018; Stigzelius et al., 2018) and early works on time (Araujo and Easton, 2012; Easton and Araujo, 1994; Kavanagh and Araujo, 1995). Yet, these matters have not formed a central concern when seeking to understand market formation. Anchored in and combining the markets literature and its theoretical underpinning (e.g., Callon, 1998; Latour, 2005) with ideas from social theory (e.g., Lefebvre, 1991), the present thesis addresses these gaps and contributes to a more nuanced understanding of markets that includes a spatial and temporal dimension to the socio-material arrangements that make them (cf. Araujo, 2007).

The insights contained in this thesis are derived from the research of favela-based local entrepreneurs in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, between 2016 and 2019. It is comprised of three papers, each adopting a different analytical lens. The first paper starts from the concept of stigma (Goffman, 1963; Wacquant, 2007) and, through a market studies approach, unpacks the temporally bounded agencements (Callon, 2016; Cochoy et al., 2016) that enabled the successful making of the favela tourism market. The second paper analyses the practices of favela local entrepreneurs to remake the market agencement after the breakout of a conflict in the favela through the lenses of Lefebvre's (1991) spatial theory. Papers 1 and 2 revealed the importance of digital technologies in the market practices of favela entrepreneurs and spurred the ideas for the third and final paper of this thesis. The third paper is a methodology-oriented discussion where I reflect on my engagement with the technologically enmeshed Rocinha favela during my fieldwork and on the role of digital technologies in research practices and consequently, in knowledge production.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

This thesis has not been submitted in support of an application for another degree at this or any other university. It is the result of my work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated. Part of the ideas in this thesis was the product of discussions with my supervisor Professor Katy Mason.

Excerpts of this thesis have been shared in the outlets specified below.

Peer-Reviewed Journals

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Author Contribution Statement

I confirm that I have gathered all the data for this thesis and conducted the initial data analysis on my own. My supervisor and I then discussed possible angles and I decided which themes to pursue. The first full drafts of all manuscripts were written by me. My supervisor was involved in critical revisions of article 1 (Chapter 2) and so was my then-second supervisor. Professor Katy Mason was involved in critical revisions for article 2 (Chapter 3). She also provided feedback as well as edits for article 3 (Chapter 4) as she might for a monograph thesis, however, she did not make any major revisions to this article.

1. Introduction

This thesis explored and sought to explain the spatiotemporal nature of market-making. This is done through the analysis of the everyday life of local entrepreneurs who live and work in some of the largest favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which has important implications for what market practices these local entrepreneurs deploy and how. Living and working in a favela means locals must navigate extreme constraints that are far removed from entrepreneurs working in ‘the asphalt’. ‘Asphalt’ is how favela residents refer to the formal city of Rio beyond the boundaries of the favela. For instance, tourism entrepreneurs in the asphalt need to do little to attract people to Rio’s famous postcards. Tourists wish to see Copacabana (Figure 1), Ipanema (Figure 2), and the Christ the Redeemer statue (Figure 3). However, to create and sustain a tourism market in favelas, favela entrepreneurs must manage a business offer that draws people to the favela despite threats of armed conflict between gangs and the historical stigmatisation of favelas as places to be avoided and eliminated from the city landscape. These actors, aware of how they and their bounded favela space are perceived and represented in mainstream media, engage in various actions and relationships within and beyond the favela to organise and sustain the favela tourism market.



Figure 1: Copacabana (Catarcione, 2021)



Figure 2: Ipanema (Macieira, 2013)



Figure 3: Christ the Redeemer (Maia, 2013)

This research is set within the market studies literature (Araujo, 2007; Araujo et al., 2010; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007; Mason et al., 2015) and explores the following research questions:

- a) How the elements that make stigma are a barrier to market practices?
- b) How are these elements temporarily broken down by the collective efforts of local entrepreneurs?
- c) How the work of local entrepreneurs (re)produces the favela space as a viable site for tourism amidst the threat of intermittent disruption by armed conflict?

These research questions have been addressed in the two articles presented in Chapters 2 (questions a and b) and 3 (question c). The third article (Chapter 4) is a methodological-oriented discussion. In this paper, I problematize the intermediary role granted to digital technologies in the marketing literature, which is evidenced by the literature's wide adoption of netnography as the methodological approach to studying digital phenomena (Kozinets, 2002; 2015). The arguments in the third paper are a result of reflections done during the processes of crafting papers 1 and 2, in which digital technologies were used and proved to be essential to engage with the favela and its inhabitants. Thus, while articles 1 and 2 explore market-making practices, in article 3 I reflect on various moments lived as a PhD student in the process of crafting this research. The reflections informed my writing about how we, academics, live amidst and have our everyday lives (and work) mediated (cf. Latour, 2005) by digital technologies. Consequently, digital technologies have become an essential tool for market studies research, and their mediation in the research process affects the knowledge we produce. However, as I go on to argue, netnography ignores much of this mediation work by focusing exclusively on the practices that digital technologies enable during data collection. From a performative perspective, when researchers adopt netnography, they are pushed into limiting their view of the involvement of digital technologies in research work to the moment of data collection. This view, as argued in paper 3, is disconnected from how research happens in practice. In practice, the digital is intertwined with our everyday lives and work. Thus, studying contemporary digitally-mediated phenomena requires methodologies that are attuned to the 'digital mundane' (Leszczynski, 2020). Based on these reflections, I present three key steps for researchers

to consider when studying the digital, and to devise more encompassing and holistic methodologies.

This thesis extends understandings in the literature on markets and contributes to conversations about market organisation. Specifically, it explores a market under extreme conditions e.g., intermittent disruption by armed conflict, poverty, and socio-economic exclusion to make contributions to the spatiotemporal nature of market-making practices. I draw on the notions of socio-material *agencements* (Callon, 2008) and the social production of space (Lefebvre, 1991) to explore how local entrepreneurs manage to continuously remake the market despite its precarious nature. In particular, in paper 1 (Chapter 2) I used the notion of socio-material *agencements* (Cochoy et al., 2016) to unpack the elements that make stigma (Goffman, 1963) and its associated issues and how they pose barriers to market-making and engagement. This enabled me to understand how local entrepreneurs manage these elements through temporally bound *agencements* that allow the market to be deployed in a series of felicitous moments. Paper 2 (Chapter 3) draws heavily on Henri Lefebvre's theory of space production (Lefebvre, 1991) to understand the relationship of production between the favela space and the work of entrepreneurs, a theme that became clearer as I talked to locals and they enlighten me about the different treatment given to them and the specific constraints they face for being residents of the favela. Understanding the potential implications of these representations for outside visitors, local entrepreneurs engaged in practices to change them and transform the favela space according to their vision. The problematization of netnography (Kozinets, 2002) in paper 3 provides an alternative view of the role of digital technologies in research practice in which they work as mediators (cf. Latour, 2005). The paper calls for new methodologies to study the digital and offers a set of steps to reconnect marketing researchers' methodologies, and how they write about them, to research practice.

In terms of context, this study engaged with local entrepreneurs who were born and raised in favelas. The first article (Chapter 2) is the result of multiple conversations with several entrepreneurs from across Rio. The second article (Chapter 3) focuses on the work of Rocinha-based entrepreneurs, including A2 (see Appendix 7.1 for a list of all participants) with whom I established a long-lasting relationship. The third article

(Chapter 4) analyses snapshots of my time doing research in Rio for both papers 1 and 2. Favela entrepreneurs engage in various activities e.g., fashion, catering, and tourism, but share a common thread due to their birthplace and the associated historical socio-economic struggle. These entrepreneurs have experienced prejudice and a constant sense of threat to their lives and livelihood, facing barriers unique to their communities and often unimaginable for market actors outside the boundaries of the favela. Favelas are particularly relevant to studying market-making; they are an extreme example of market disruption which sheds light on the work needed to remake markets.

In the following section (Section 1.1) I provide an overview of the research context. Section 1.2 provides an overview of the three research papers that compose this thesis. In the following sections, I provide a brief discussion where I problematise the market studies literature and argue for the benefits of bringing the notion of temporal socio-technical *agencements* (Section 1.3) and spatial theory (section 1.4) to the study of markets. Section 1.5 provides an overview of the third paper. Section 1.6 provides details about the research design and Section 1.7 provides an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Context: Favelas in Rio de Janeiro

Brazil is a country of continental proportions, so large you could fit most of Europe within it. The former Portuguese colony went through a complex process of socio-political change before becoming independent from Portugal and later a Republic. The process was marked by socio-economic challenges and clashes between the wishes of the working population and the aristocracy, the latter established both in Brazil and Europe, that were invested in exploring the rich lands of the country and its subsequent industrialization process.

Brazil became independent from Portugal in 1822 and a republic in 1889, a year after the *Lei Aurea* that made slavery illegal. However, the country never really escaped the colonial logic. Brazil was built on the exploitation of African slaves where their labour was used to drain the fertile land to access gold and high-quality wood. After the abolition, while the rich slave owners were financially compensated for their ‘loss’ of free labour, the now technically free slaves were left with no rights, no support and nowhere to go (de Almeida Abreu, 2003). This explains how Brazil’s development has

been marked, from its colonial days to the present, by stark and rising socio-economic inequality, racism, and spatial segregation in favour of the upper economic classes. Rio de Janeiro, as the first capital of Brazil after independence from Portugal, is a microcosmos of this history.

The transformation of Brazil into a republic, the economic development that followed, and the work opportunities led the population to concentrate in the central part of Rio de Janeiro (de Almeida Abreu, 2003). As a consequence of this movement of people, the city more than doubled the number of inhabitants from 1870 to 1890 (Benchimol, 1992). The number of immigrants – people from the countryside and freed slaves – combined with a rise in house prices eventually led to a crisis since the working class that maintained the city needed affordable options. These came in the form of hovels and simple chalets as collective forms of housing. They were commonly named *cortiços* in allusion to the box made from cork (*cortiça*, in Portuguese) where bees make honey and wax, therefore comparing them to beehives (Vaz, 1994). The most famous *cortiço* in Rio de Janeiro was *Cabeça de Porco* (Pig's Head, my translation) and with four thousand tenants at its peak (de Paula, 2004), *Cabeça de Porco* is considered 'the seed of favelas' (Valladares, 2000).

However, this option of housing soon became the target of campaigns by the upper classes despite the need for the workforce in central Rio de Janeiro. *Cortiços* were an easy target. Due to the number of residents, its reduced spaces and precarious structures, *cortiços* lacked hygiene and were, naturally, a fertile environment for the spread of diseases (de Almeida Abreu, 2003). Additionally, precisely for their affordability, *cortiços* attracted many unemployed people and therefore were labelled as places for vagabonds (Valladares, 2000). The already dramatic housing situation in Rio worsened when, in 1897, soldiers returned from the *Canudos* War in Bahia. Declined pay from the Ministry of War, soldiers moved to *Morro da Providência* – *morro* means 'hill' in Portuguese – which was later renamed *Morro da Favella* after a flower found on the hill where the soldiers originally fought (de Almeida Abreu, 2003; Valladares, 2000). This migration combined with the housing crisis was crucial to the social construction of favelas as not part of but separate from the city. It paved the way for the stigma toward

favelas residents and the city/favela or asphalt/hill divide that marks Rio de Janeiro's landscape (Valladares, 2000).

Attending to the elite's pressure, by 1900, the city administration forbade the construction of chalets in the central area of Rio de Janeiro (Vaz, 1994). It is clear, at this point, the blaming discourse from the city's elites and administration framing the poor as the source of all evil instead of accounting for the overall lack of public infrastructure in the city. Thus, the movement against affordable, working-class housing in the centre of the city had two main voices. On the one side was the government restricting the construction of affordable houses in main locations, imposing sanitary rules on construction that made them unattainable to the working class and demolishing *cortiços* such as *Cabeça de Porco* (de Almeida Abreu, 2003; de Paula, 2004). On the other side was the sanitary discourse of physicians, sanitary engineers, the media and real estate businesses trying to push for a new building standard (de Almeida Abreu, 2003; Vaz, 1994).

In 1937 the term favela was used for the first time in a legal text for the new Building Law (*Código de Obras*, originally) to officially declare favelas an illegal form of building. This treatment of favelas meant that they were excluded from any developmental public policy because technically they were not supposed to exist and should be demolished if constructed (Gonçalves, 2007). Thus, favelas were not included in urban planning and socio-economic development policies, nor had access to the same spaces of consumption as residents of the city. Favelas remained as spaces to be removed from the city and the home of people who were not citizens of Rio, but who threatened citizens. In this context, favela residents had to create mechanisms and forms of organisation to improve their lives. However, it took decades for favela residents to be able to establish strong indigenous organisations. The Central Union of Favelas (CUFA) and AfroReggae, are a case in point, playing important roles in giving voice to favela-dwellers and developing social programmes for the favela youth (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández, 2013). Exemplary of the notoriety of these organisations is the CUFA and Facebook partnership that started in 2016. With the growth of Facebook's usage by favela residents, Facebook started using CUFA's premises in Rio to provide free one-day courses for favela local entrepreneurs on how to use the social media

platform for their businesses. Yet, despite these advances and others in terms of infrastructure and socio-spatial recognition by the city government, the everyday life of favela residents remains largely marked by stigma, violence, and socio-economic and spatial exclusion. Rocinha, the largest favela in Rio, is an exemplary case.

The origin of Rocinha's name is uncertain, but some participants pointed to its original land use. It is said that small farmworkers in the region who sold their produce at a market in Gávea – a wealthy neighbourhood next to Rocinha – used to tell people their crops came from the *rocinha* or 'little plot/plantation' (Ermiro and Quin, 2010). Differently from other large cities across Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro, favelas and wealthy neighbourhoods are part of the same landscape, living literally across the street from each other. The favelas and "their lights up in the hills" as B, one of the participants, described, "left the margins of touristic culture to become a highly disputed and lucrative attraction" (Freire-Medeiros, 2006, p. 6; Freire-Medeiros, 2009b) after ECO 92 in 1992 (United Nations Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development hosted in Rio de Janeiro). Rocinha became one of the most popular favelas among tourists.

Rocinha is known for welcoming some of the largest numbers of tourists looking to experience a form of 'reality tourism' (Freire-Medeiros, 2009a), which gave rise to several indigenous tourism-related businesses in the favela. This is due partly to Rocinha's location in *Zona Sul* (South Zone), one of the wealthiest regions in Rio de Janeiro and home to some of Rio's most famous postcards e.g., Sugar Loaf, Ipanema, and Copacabana, facilitating its visibility and access to tourists. In Rocinha, tourists can find a variety of restaurants, shops, and sightseeing that are unique to Rocinha because of its location and size. Rocinha is also notorious for being a highly desirable territory for cocaine trafficking gangs who have exerted control over these spaces since the 1990s (Lacerda, 2015). Residents have witnessed several armed conflicts and violent police operations over the years, making these episodes a part of everyday life that must always be considered whether residents are just going about with their lives or welcoming tourists. The historical exclusion of favelas combined with the presence of gangs aggravated the stigmatisation of favelas spaces and their residents. The location of their homes makes them second-class citizens who are indistinctly cast as drug

traffickers (Fernandes, 2014), evidencing the complexities of living and making a living in that space. Interestingly, for those who work with tourism and therefore depend on the incoming visitors, the relationship between stigmatisation and its associated elements (violence, gangs, shootings) and the lively community (local culture, food, shops) contributes to the growing interest of tourists in these spaces (cf. Freire-Medeiros, 2006; Freire-Medeiros, 2009a; Freire-Medeiros, 2011). A reflection of the symbiotic relationship between favela and city, to keep the tourism market afloat, local entrepreneurs must carefully work out the elements that make Rocinha attractive for tourists to promote exchange between favela and outsiders within Rocinha's territory. At the same time, the exchange that local entrepreneurs promote and perform contributes to the ongoing re-making of Rocinha as a touristic site. This study explores the efforts of local entrepreneurs as they work to sustain the favela tourism market in Rocinha and provoke change in their community. The extreme version of market disruption present in Rocinha is strongly related to its spatial placement, and the intermittent character of favela tours working around breakouts of conflict provided a rich case to explore the spatiality and temporality of market making.

1.2 Overview of Articles

The previous section introduced the context that originated the questions explored in this thesis. This section introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis by presenting a brief overview of the research questions in each article and the corresponding theoretical lenses. Additionally, the abstracts for each article are included to provide a summary of the studies.

The first paper extends the literature on markets by conceptualizing the temporally bound nature of the felicitous socio-material *agencements* that make markets. Specifically, this paper aimed at answering how market actors manage to make new, powerful, associations between people, devices, infrastructure, rules, practices and roles and competencies, to break down barriers to market-making. Drawing on the notion of *agencement* and, specifically, the role of historical narrative devices in generating *agencements* (Araujo, 2007; Callon, 2008; Cochoy et al., 2016), this paper offers insights into the temporally bound nature of *agencement* in recursively enabling market action. It also 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. While previous literature has done much to explicate the socio-material assemblages that make markets (Geiger and Gross, 2017; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007; Mason et al., 2019; Palo et al., 2020), this is the first study to explicate the temporal nature of market *agencements*.

The second paper explores the process of ‘spatializing’ the favela as a touristic destination and uncovers the work done by local entrepreneurs in Rocinha to remake the market after the breakout of an armed conflict brought it to a halt. Two literatures are problematized. The first is the literature on markets which has indicated but not addressed the implication of the spatiality of markets for their performance (Finch and Geiger, 2010; Palo et al., 2020; Stigzelius et al., 2018). Secondly, the organizations literature is problematized in light of its own “minor spatial turn” (Beyes and Steyaert, 2012, p. 48), which has, in fact, a fragmented approach to processes of space production in organisation practices. Lefebvre’s spatial theory and Merrifield’s (1993) notion of place support the conceptual examination of how the favela gets re-produced as a Market Space through the dialectic relationship between individual embodied experiences in place and the collective processes of the production of space. We make a three-fold contribution to extant conceptualizations of the reproduction of space (Kingma et al., 2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1993) by first, introducing the spatial triad, a new conceptualization and framework that explains the reproduction of Market Space; second, drawing attention to the central role of digital devices in the democratisation of the socio-material practices of spatialization; and third, revealing marketization as a key form of spatializing organizational work.

The third paper argues the marketing literature largely frames digital technologies (DTs) as intermediaries in research practice and methodologies, rather than mediators (cf. Latour, 2005) and co-producers of knowledge. A key issue of treating DTs as such is the resulting design and framing of methodologies that do not reflect the extent to which DTs mediate and shape research practice and knowledge production. From a performative perspective of knowledge production (Callon, 2007), this hinders the

creation of new research designs that are more attuned to the current dynamics of social practice which are largely mediated by the digital. These matters are discussed and problematized through the exemplary case of the wide adoption of netnography (Kozinets, 2002, 2015) by the marketing literature concerned with digital phenomena. Two key misconceptions of netnography are highlighted. First, it acknowledges the presence of DTs exclusively in formal processes of data collection. Second, netnography frames the use of DTs as episodic. In contrast, through illustrative vignettes of my experience researching Brazilian favelas, this paper shows how DTs are part of the digital mundane (Leszczynski, 2020), routinely used in and entangled with researchers' daily life and work toolkit, used for a variety of formal but also mundane practices that support the research process. These findings thus supplant the notion of the episodic and exclusively formal use of DTs in research. Seeing the role of DTs in research in this new light brings to the fore their performative power and paves the way for thinking about new 'cyborg methodologies' (cf. Latour, 2005) and how researchers can draw on this power. To provide a starting point, this paper presents three steps to designing and (re)assembling cyborg methodologies.

Thus, this thesis focuses on the following themes:

- Paper 1: The temporal nature of market *agencements*
- Paper 2: The relationship between place, space and making markets
- Paper 3: The mediating role of digital technologies in marketing research

It is worth noting that while it may seem like a stretch to move from stigma-as-an-*agencement* and market *agencements* to spatial theory, Paper 1 already hinted at the importance of the notion of place and space for understanding how stigma materialises and affects the market in Rocinha (cf. Wacquant's conceptualisations of stigma as transforming a humanized place into an 'othered' space). Paper 2 introduces and dives into the notion that markets are always made out of the relationship between place and space (cf. Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1993). The move to paper 3 is the result of the investigations carried out in Papers 1 and 2. While the process of crafting Papers 1 and 2 revealed that digital technologies play important roles in enabling local entrepreneurs' market actions, by the same token, revealed digital technologies as an important agent in my practices as a researcher and helped me see and reflect on the practice of crafting

research. As such, in Paper 3 I reflected on the intertwining of my practices with digital technologies, and on the multitude of mundane digital practices involved in the process of doing research. Consequently, I problematized the adoption of methodologies to study digitally-related phenomena in marketing that are not encompassing this multiplicity and argue for change. Thus, while papers 1 and 2 extend understandings about how markets are made through temporally bound and spatial market *agencements*, paper 3 reflects on how those insights were produced in the first place with the help of digital technologies. In the following section, the literatures explored in each of the papers are elaborated on in more detail.

1.3 Market agencements

The market studies literature is concerned with understanding markets through “the web of human and non-human entities engaged in any given project or course of action” (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006, p. 3). The term *agencement* (Callon, 2016) is widely employed for capturing the notion of multilateral and distributed agency and recursive action (Callon and Muniesa, 2005). Thus, the markets literature, anchored in Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Callon, 1984; Latour, 1987; Latour, 2005; Law, 1992), provides the means to think about how markets are formed and maintained through the socio-material practices of a multitude of human and non-human actants (Araujo, 2007; Araujo et al., 2010).

The multitude of actors constitutes a market system, with distributed but interconnected market actors, each with different roles and competencies, performing the mediated practices that constitute markets (Geiger et al., 2014; Giesler and Fischer, 2017; Vargo and Lusch, 2016). Thus, 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 and Muniesa, 2005; Mason et al., 2017a). Kjellberg, Azimot and 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 et al., 2015). This approach rejects the separate conceptualisations of society and market and instead proposes an assemblage: an actor-network that continuously acts to reproduce 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 and Mason, 2014).

The concept of agencement is useful to understand how actors work out how to intervene in markets. However, when 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 that are pertinent to the favela setting are likely to be overlooked (Faria and Hemais, 2017; Valladares, 2005). Second, and relatedly, the approach 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, coordinated 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, competencies, and ideas (Cochoy, 2014; Mallard, 2016). The notion of concerned markets is useful in considering market interventions, designed to alter how markets work and whom 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 coordinated, collective action for change. By making something into a concern to a group, a collective can be mobilised to address it

(Chakrabarti and 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 et al., 2017a).

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 (Cholez and Trompette, 2020; Faria and Hemais, 2017). Callon and Muniesa (2005) highlight 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 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 agencements must be made visible and acted upon. Understanding what counts in a process of stigmatisation, and what objects, images and competencies are held in place to generate the stigma of an individual, provide important clues to understanding various forms of stigmatisation (e.g., 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 in a place in such a way that mobility (leaving the place) can attenuate or even annul it. 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 marketing and management studies, stigma is recognised as affecting consumer behaviour and marketplace interaction at the Base of the Pyramid and Subsistence markets (Barinaga, 2017; Hamilton, 2012; Trujillo et al., 2010; Viswanathan et al., 2010). Despite alluding to the barriers and complexities imposed by stigma, these studies take stigma as a 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 a place is held stable.

The notion of agencement (Cochoy et al., 2016) is helpful here. Looking at stigma as an agencement enables us to understand which networks of associations and practices maintain stigma and prevent certain (positive) changes from occurring and why. From an ontological perspective, it presents an alternative to the notion of social 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. In turn, this makes it possible to explore how elements of stigma can be broken down and reassembled to form a new market agencement. By inquiring into these matters, we began to realise there was a temporal nature to the market agencement making the favela tourism market.

1.4 Market spaces

While the market studies literature provides a plethora of studies about the socio-material practices that make marketplaces and spaces (Araujo, 2007; Cochoy et al., 2016; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007; Mason et al., 2017b; Palo et al., 2020), the literature's casual use of the terms indicate that the organization and performance of markets as *places* of market action, and the spatial engendering of markets, is yet to be understood.

In his seminal work, Araujo (2007) exemplifies specific market spaces – supermarkets, shopping malls and electronic markets – to denominate “where calculative agencies” have market performing encounters (p. 214). Building on the work of Callon et al. (2002), Araujo (2007) also points out the importance of constructing these market spaces for (re)making markets. Similarly, Finch and Geiger (2010) briefly mention markets as “social spaces” where “relationships between producers and consumers, buyers and sellers, are enacted or performed” (p. 238). Analysing the kitchen as a space of market encounters, Stigzelius et al. (2018) conceptualize it as “a space where

multiple concerned actors in markets and consumption come to shape and get shaped by, the practices in the kitchen” (p. 347). These studies indicate the spatial nature of market practices – markets must take place *somewhere* and these places, as exemplified above, are important for market-making practices. Yet, places and spaces remain a stage for, but not a protagonist in, the processes and practices of market-making.

Pointing to the performative role of practices in relation to space, Çalışkan and Callon (2010) suggest that markets are the agents that “delimit and construct a space of confrontation and power struggles” (p. 3). From this standpoint, market action helps delimit ‘spaces of/for’ – practices, struggles and negotiation – but these play no role in the organization of markets, rather serving as an organizer and container of practice. Several other works in the markets literature indirectly refer to the spatiality of markets without taking space as a central concern such as those works that explore boundaries (Ellis et al., 2010; Finch and Geiger, 2010) and the situated nature of market actions (Fernandes et al., 2019; Mason and Spring, 2011; Palo et al., 2020). In sum, while the markets literature employs space-related terms and often acknowledges the spatiality of markets and market practices, space as a central concern to understand how markets get organized and performed spatially has been overlooked. We turned to the literature on organizations for inspiration on how to think about the organization of markets as a spatial affair. While the organizations literature has inquired into matters of spatiality, especially through the work of Henri Lefebvre, we found that the organizations of markets from a spatial perspective is yet to be explored.

Lefebvre’s (1991) spatial theory has been timidly introduced in organization studies through a heterogeneous body of work that formed the “minor spatial turn in organization theory” (Beyes and Steyaert, 2012, p. 48). On closer examination, few studies in the organizations literature have their main argument positioned in spatial theory and even fewer resemble a spatial analysis. Authors concerned with socio-material contexts more broadly (e.g., Foucault, De Certeau), are cited in combination with space theorists such as Henri Lefebvre (1991), David Harvey (2006) and Doreen Massey (2005). For instance, Halford and Leonard (2006) mention Lefebvre (1991) in their analysis of discourses and practices in the workplace in which they identify space as part of a set of resources used by actors. However, neither a spatial account nor a

spatially centred analysis is present. Similarly, Kornberger and Clegg (2004) introduced the concept of the ‘generative building’, a social, spatial and material organizational space that has the power to affect practices within the organization. In this, Lefebvre (1991) is cited once and while this study is concerned with the socio-material space where organizing takes place, its focus is within the boundaries of the organization. Core to Lefebvre’s work, the totality of space and its symbiotic relationship with situated embodied actions (Beyes, 2018; Lacerda, 2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Zhang, 2006), are absent from the study. Tyler and Cohen’s (2010, p. 176) analysis of gender performativity “in and through” organizations comprehensively employs Judith Butler’s conceptualization of performativity with a ‘pick-and-choose’ approach to elements of Lefebvre’s work, using the concept of representational spaces to define the symbolic lived experience of the workplace concerning gender (also see Newlands, 2021). Dobers and Strannegård (2004) employed Lefebvre’s spatial triad – alongside other concepts such as Foucault’s heterotopia – to analyse the journey of a piece of furniture. The authors use each element of the triad concerning the piece of furniture as it travelled through different places and people interacted with it. The so-called Cocoon is described in terms of the space it created for people (physical and imaginary) and is an object-space: the space in which it circulates becomes a canvas.

The ‘spatial turn’ in organizations has little spatial theory. A notable exception is Dale (2005) who has consistently used Lefebvre’s (1991) “magnum opus” (Merrifield, 1993, p. 168) to study organizations and advocates the potential of Lefebvre’s ideas in exploring different forms of organizing. Dale (2005) combines an interest in, and a critique of the lack of socio-material organizational analysis that uses the Lefebvrian attention to the space beyond the boundaries of organizations (Beyes, 2018; Burrell and Dale, 2003; Dale and Burrell, 2007). Dale’s (2005) call is for studies that attend to the notion of a wider space – or a totality – as well as to the localised practices in place. In this regard, Beyes (2018) points out that to embrace the notion of totality, studies must “[depart] from given organizational spaces [...] usually formal and thus spatially demarcated organizations” (p. 30). Thus, while plenty of studies in the organization studies literature feature ‘space’ or related terms in the title (Costas, 2013; O’Doherty et al., 2013), the body of work thus far has not, contrary to what Beyes and Steyaert (Beyes and Steyaert, 2012, p. 45) optimistically claim, brought “space back in”, and

certainly not from a Lefebvre-inspired perspective. Spatially sensitive analyses remain a niche effort led by a few scholars (e.g. Beyes, 2018; Beyes and Holt, 2020; Beyes and Michels, 2011; Beyes and Steyaert, 2012; Burrell and Dale, 2003; Dale, 2005; Dale and Burrell, 2007). Lefebvre (1991) still plays a cameo role. As Kingma et al. (2018) and Beyes and Holt (2020) point out, organization scholars have only partially explored Lefebvre's theory of space and by doing so, have produced fragmented analysis – a sacrilege to his 'unifying' intent – and as such, have missed powerful insights.

To more clearly conceptualize how market actors reproduce market spaces, we return to Lefebvre's original work and recent developments in the field of geography, especially the work of Merrifield (1993). Merrifield (1994), closely analysing Lefebvre (1991), provides a useful conceptualisation of place that helps us discuss how localised, embodied action in (market)places engender wider (market) spaces of production. Thus, we use these notions to explore how market spaces are produced and to contribute with a vocabulary and means to understand markets from a spatial perspective and how markets have a spatial dimension.

1.5 Digital mediation

Latour (2005) conceptualised mediators and intermediaries as the two groups of “means to produce the social” (p. 38). For him, “Mediators transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry [...] their input is never an as good predictor of their output [and] their specificity has to be taken into account every time.”. Conversely, intermediaries “[transport] meaning or force without transformation: defining its inputs is enough to define its outputs” (Latour, 2005, p. 39). Intermediaries may be thought of as a unity of a black-boxed nature. The same actant can become a mediator or an intermediary depending on the nature of the entity. For instance, as Latour (2005) exemplifies, a computer can be a mediator or an intermediary depending on how (un)predictable its outputs are. However, Latour (2005) is sceptical about the existence of intermediaries:

“The sociologists of the social believe in one type of social aggregates, few mediators and many intermediaries; for ANT, there is no preferable type of social aggregates, there exist endless numbers of mediators, and

when those are transformed into faithful intermediaries it is not the rule, but a rare exception (p. 39) ”

While Latour (2005) does not see many intermediaries in social phenomena, the broader marketing literature largely confers an intermediary role to contemporary forms of digital technologies, which is revealed by the wide adoption of Netnography (Kozinets, 2002). A form of ethnography especially dedicated to exploring the behaviour of consumers in online settings (Kozinets, 2002; Kozinets, 2015; Lugosi and Quinton, 2018; Reid and Duffy, 2018), netnography has been strongly taken up in marketing scholarship to that end. Studies adopting the technique have explored a variety of contexts, from wine (Thanh and Kirova, 2018), to reality shows (Canavan, 2021), using social media platforms to gather data about various market-related phenomena (Cocker and Cronin, 2017; Nelson and Otnes, 2005; Rollins et al., 2014; Schau et al., 2009).

A closer look at the methods sections of these studies sheds light on the role played by digital technologies in the research process. The researcher observes and tracks actions in online environments (comments and posts) at a given moment, while ‘the others’ (users, consumers, brands) engage in online practices (commenting and writing posts). In this dynamic, digital technologies are limited to platforms for data harvesting constituting ‘peepholes’ through which researchers can observe phenomena.

Kozinets (2002, p. 62) states that netnography allows the researcher to “[unobtrusively] observe naturally situated consumer behaviour”. This view that the researcher can “unobtrusively observe” implies that netnography places researchers and phenomena in different spheres. It follows that digital technologies are in use by and serve a purpose for the researcher when she wishes to engage with the digital sphere. Digital technologies seem to make no difference in the process of knowing except for allowing the production of data by users and access to data by researchers. Additionally, in the netnographic dynamic, the enrolment of digital technologies is pre-designed into the research plan and formally part of the methodology. The insights produced in the process relate directly to the data collected in the data collection period. The research process has a rather linear character.

While the approach may have been useful to generate insights into the online behaviours of market actors, its tenets have important implications for the marketing literature that employs it. Since Netnography frames technologies as an intermediary in the research process, works adopting the methodology are forced into 'seeing' through the same frame. It follows that researchers exploring digital-related phenomena and computer-mediated practices through netnography are pushed to imagine a limited use of digital technologies constrained to momentary data collection and observations of online settings.

Contrary to the netnographic approach, the present discussion borrows ideas from the nascent field of digital geographies (Elwood and Leszczynski, 2018; Hjorth et al., 2018; Leszczynski, 2018) and specifically, the notion of the digital mundane (Leszczynski, 2020) and what this means for research practice and the production of knowledge. This paper maintains that digital technologies are present in research practice and methods in a mundane fashion, proliferating and intertwined with researchers' everyday life and work, rather than limited to a formal and episodic format such as that designed in netnography. For instance, initial contact with potential subjects and sending questionnaires are activities often deployed from a mobile phone or laptop and with the help of a few communications apps and email.

Contemplating the role of the digital mundane in academics' life and work as much as those formally pre-designed into methodologies opens up the possibility that digital technologies are hardly mere intermediaries that do nothing beyond transporting and storing human inputs or allowing data to be harvested. Rather, digital technologies might have a say in how we see phenomena, given the breadth of their involvement in the research process. They are more likely to be mediators than intermediaries (cf. Latour, 2005). I adopt the performative perspective of the market studies literature (Callon, 2007; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006; MacKenzie et al., 2007; Mason et al., 2015; Roscoe and Chillias, 2014) which pushes thinking toward the types of methodologies that would make use and take advantage of DTs' performative powers.

1.6 Research Design

This thesis has, from its conception, explored and aimed at contributing primarily to the market studies literature (Araujo, 2007; Araujo et al., 2008; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007). Positioning this thesis in market studies allowed me newly-discovered freedom of research: I ‘followed the actors’ (cf. Latour, 2005) through various methods while anchored in the theoretical perspective of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Marketography (cf. Roscoe and Loza, 2019) which can be understood as the application of ANT’s key principles to the study of markets. While reading marketing and management methodology books often felt uncomfortable, as if my research was unworthy of the name given the difficulty in committing to a traditional (pre)structuring of research, I found a resort in the market studies literature. Below I detail the theoretical underpinnings that guided this thesis.

1.6.1 Theoretical perspective

This research can be broadly identified under the constructivist approach. More specifically, this thesis can be positioned as a “practical constructivism” (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006, p. 841) according to key discussions by ANT theorists (Callon, 1984; Callon and Latour, 2010; Law, 1994) which “assumes social reality to be constructed” instead of “reality to be socially constructed” (ibid.). A key idea here is not to take ‘society’ or ‘social’ as a source of explanation (cf. Latour, 2005), but rather, to dig into the socio-material associations that make the social and how. This approach differentiates from a notion of social constructionism that “[focuses] on what people, individually and collectively, are thinking and feeling, and attention [is paid] to the ways they communicate with each other, whether verbally or non-verbally” (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008, p. 59). Practical constructivism is more closely aligned with Crotty’s (1998) view of social constructionism as “at once realist and relativist” (p. 63). Realist because to say something is constructed does not mean to say it is not real. As Law and Urry (2004, p. 395) put “while the ‘real’ is indeed ‘real’, it is also *made*, and that it is made within relations”. Relativist because it also considers how “different people may well inhabit quite different worlds” (Crotty, 1998, p. 64). For Latour (2005), ANT work “has to be fully ‘relativist’” to be able to deal with the proliferation of innovations,

multiple entities, and different frames “travelling at very different speeds and acceleration” (p. 12).

In the following subsections, I provide the key ideas that informed my methodological choices, without, however, a strict commitment to classic pairing between ontology, epistemology and methods (e.g. Crotty, 1998; Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). Instead, the methodological choices in this thesis align more closely with the views of Law (2004) and his ‘messy research’ in which phenomena guide methodological choices.

1.6.2 Research approach

Searching for alternatives to the broader marketing literature and seeking to “reconnect marketing to markets”, the field now known as Market Studies has fed from ideas in Practice Theory (Schatzki, 2001), Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Callon, 1984; Latour, 2005; Law, 1992) and the notion of performativity, especially those developed by Butler (2010) and Callon (2007). Note that while my writing here may imply a clear-cut separation between ANT and Practice Theory, this is done to accommodate the various (non-definite) views on their positioning rather than any attempt at settling them as one or the other. As Nicolini (2012) points out, while ANT also considers practices in the making of social worlds, Latour (2005) is a “reluctant practice theorist” (p. 169). I prefer to leave him in his reluctance since, in truth, ANT does not take practice as the primary unit of analysis as does Practice Theory (Schatzki, 2001). At the same time, I recognize the importance of practices for how we understand markets. Practices have been a key concern in the studies presented in this thesis.

ANT has paved the way for at least three important understandings of how markets are made, which are in line with Latour’s three tests (see Latour, 2005, p. 10). First, in stark contrast with social constructionism, when exploring the ‘stuff’ that makes markets, one *must not* start from human agency. Rather, from an ANT perspective, humans and non-humans are symmetric (cf. Latour, 2005) and are both potential actors (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008, p. 58). Second, markets are *always in the making* through socio-material associations that need to be traced through “follow[ing] the actors themselves” (Latour, 2005, p. 12). Here, the “list of what is social in the end” is not “the same limited repertoire that has been used to explain (away) most of the elements” (ibid., p. 10).

Third, understanding markets is about reassembling what is distributed, multiple and made through a recursive process (Law, 1994) rather than deconstructing what is already made. In other words, researching markets is about asking how things are “held together” (cf. Latour, 2005, p. 13).

There is another key understanding in the markets literature that has important implications for methods, and that is the performativity of methods. Figuring in Callon’s (2007) performativity of economics and Law and Urry’s (2004) enactment of the social, this notion emphasises the relation of effects between epistemology (and its methods) and ontology where the latter, “what is”, “is being made different” by the tools that were chosen to see it. Starting from the premise (and problem within social investigation) that different methods produce different results, Law and Urry (2004, p. 397) pose methods are “not innocent” but rather enact the realities they help describe. Methods are a “system of interference” (ibid.). In this important distinction, methods are not simply choices that allow the production of different perspectives over the same reality. Instead, they help enact *different realities*, and as such, research does not aim at producing generalizing truths, but rather, to provide insights and nuanced understandings of phenomena. This thesis aimed at the latter.

1.6.3 Methodology

The mapping and tracing work deployed for this thesis can be called Marketography (Roscoe and Loza, 2019) which comes with a methodological commitment to trace connections and an aim to (re)assemble networks (cf. Latour, 2005) of people and their socio-material (and as I argue in papers 1 and 2, spatiotemporal) practices that bring markets into being.

Several different techniques were employed in each of the papers composing this thesis, according to the needs of the network being traced (cf. Latour, 2005). To “follow the actors themselves” (Latour, 2005, p. 12), it seemed appropriate to explore and design a set of techniques as the research questions emerged. As I delved into the case, “The fleeting, the ephemeral, the geographically distributed, and the suddenly proximate [became] of increasing importance” (Law and Urry, 2004, p. 403) and so asked for a variety of methods “that market studies places at our disposal: interview, observation,

documentary work, [and] historical record” (Roscoe and Loza, 2019, p. 221). Each set of methods produced specific insights about the (re)making or (re)production of the favela tourism market in Rocinha. Taking an ANT approach allowed me to “float on data, not drown in them” (Latour, 2005, p. 24). The following sections provide a more granular view of the methods.

1.6.3.1 Methods

In both empirical papers 1 and 2, short-term immersive, participative ethnography took place (Gold, 1958). Living in the city centre of Rio, I was a short tube ride from Rocinha, which allowed me to visit the favela weekly. This frequency enabled me to interact with participants in various ways. For instance, I went on tours with different local guides. During the walking tours, the usual narrative given by guides to tourists (e.g., the history of Rocinha) overlapped with conversations about their everyday life in Rocinha. I developed an ongoing relationship with a local entrepreneur, A2, whom I visited regularly. During visits, we would have lunch, meet other locals (A2’s friends), and at one point, I was helping A2 polish his business’ Facebook page. Over time, I learned not just about A2’s role as a tourist entrepreneur, but also about his relationships across the favela: whom he partnered with and why, and with whom he had friction. I also met and spent a day shadowing K, an NGO member who set up an improvised office at a church in Rocinha to help local entrepreneurs formalise their businesses. There, I observed their interactions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019), learned about her activities (and the difficulties of working in Rocinha), and we had lunch together at a local’s restaurant with whom she is friends. After lunch, she asked if I would be interested in meeting B, another friend of hers who has a project for children in the favela – a school and library, and a café – and who also happens to be a tour guide. After this introduction, I got to spend time on the project and interact with the exchange students B was hosting. On another occasion, I was invited by A2 to sit at a meeting of local tourism entrepreneurs and contribute to the discussion. Therefore, my time in Rocinha can be classified, according to Gold (1958) as that of a participant-as-observer where the researcher can spend time with participants, engaging formally (e.g., through scheduled interviews) and informally through, for instance, chats and lunches. While this form of interaction raises concerns about over-identification between

researcher and participant, and the possible development of a friendship, I was able to maintain a level of strangeness (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019) (more on this in section 1.6.5).

During the data collection in Rio, data of various types were collected to gather a comprehensive view of the socio-materiality of the favela market. For instance, formal semi-structured interviews were carried out alongside photographs taken during tours and my walks in Rocinha when visiting local entrepreneurs (see Table 1 for a summary of the quanta of data collected). Photographs were a rich form of data as they helped to register and subsequently convey the complexity of the favela space. Entrepreneurs' Facebook business pages were followed to understand how they managed their online presence and to witness entrepreneurs' interactions with and feedback they received from tourists. The first set of data collection included interviews with the entrepreneurs taking Facebook's course where I first met and recruited favela entrepreneurs. The interviews started by exploring their reasons to become an entrepreneur and their professional and personal background (cf. Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019) to progressively focus on the reasons for taking the course and their struggles as favela-based entrepreneurs. These interviews informed the insights in paper 1.

Type	Quantity
News stories	85
Photographs	215
Videos ¹	17
Interviews and chats ²	40h

Table 1: Quanta of data

The second phase of data collection was concentrated in Rocinha where I gained access to various local actors involved in tourism. As in phase 1, this set of data included semi-structured interviews, photographs and following Facebook Fanpages. This set of data

¹ These include videos I recorded during visits, videos produced by or with the involvement of favela residents and entrepreneurs and a video recording of a city council meeting about favela tourism.

² These include formally recorded interviews and an estimate of the number of hours spent in the favela having informal chats with locals and chats over social media.

informed both papers 1 and 2. This set of data also included video recordings made with my phone. As in paper 1, interviews in this phase started from broad themes (e.g., living and working in the favela, their personal histories) to move to the specifics of working with favela tourism. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, coded, and analysed in Portuguese. This was done to avoid what Temple and Young (2004) called “early domestication of research into written English” which may lead to the “ties between language identity/culture” being cut (p. 174). Subsequently, excerpts were translated into English to figure in academic publications in international English-based journals and to illustrate the coding and analytical process. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed room for adaptation and exploration during conversations. As conversations progressed, I made decisions about “which line of questioning [...] to explore further” (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008, p. 143). Additionally, adopting a semi-structured approach to interviews allowed me to find and refine the case over time, as I encountered more favela entrepreneurs. This characterises the process of casing, as conceptualised by Ragin (1992) who poses that “casing often involves sifting through empirical evidence to define cases and thus bring a measure of closure to vaguely formulated theoretical concepts or ideas” (p. 220). As was the case with this thesis, “Cases often must be found because they cannot be specified beforehand” (ibid.). The more I engaged with favela entrepreneurs, the more the case took shape.

Importantly, in phase 2, videos produced by entrepreneurs alone or in partnership with external organisations (i.e., Moreira Salles Institute, Google, the city council recording of a meeting with tourism entrepreneurs) were included in the data set as these became important for entrepreneurs’ work to remake the favela tourism market in the aftermath of the gang conflict. The videos are discussed and analysed in paper 2. As I followed the aftermath of the conflict the dataset for paper 2 also included news stories, and the conversations online posted in the comments section of the news posted on social media. Table 2 below shows a compilation of quotes from conversations between various Facebook users, most from Rio de Janeiro, either condemning or supporting favela tourism.

Pro or against?	Post title	User	Original quote	Translation of key argument
Red	O roteiro de negligências que matou a turista espanhola na Rocinha	HL	Concordo com o comentário do colega que essa mania de visitar favela como se pobre fosse animal de zoológico não é uma boa ideia e, infelizmente, é perigoso sim e quem faz tem que assumir parcela de responsabilidade sobre o risco.	[...] this obsession with visiting favelas as if the poor were zoo animals is not a good idea and unfortunately, it is dangerous indeed [...]
	=	MR	Turista europeia estar ali não pode, mas morador preto e pobre, "acostumado" com essa violência tá tranquilo. Pela lógica aqui, favela não deve ser glamourizada, mas ser um gueto destinado só à pobreza onde policial pode entrar e fazer o que quiser... Tá certo.	European tourist cannot be there, but black and poor residents can, "used to" this violence and it's ok. For the logic here, favela must not be glamourized, but be a ghetto destined only to poverty [...]
Green	=	RA	Até concordo com o lance de glamourização da miséria. Mas sitiar áreas densamente habitadas em uma guerra inútil é segregar a miséria e aumentar a desigualdade.	[...] to isolate densely inhabited areas in a useless war is to segregate misery and increase inequality.
	O dilema do turismo na favela: "Se é errado visitar porque é perigoso, seria errado morar lá?"	PP	Safari humano! "Olha como é um pobre brasileiro"! "Olha aí pobre em jogo de acasalamento, eles fazem esses movimentos que chamam funk para se atraírem"! "Ôh, que lindo, um pobre deu a luz"! Desde quando a vida humana é safari exótico para outros humanos?	Human Safari! "Look how poor a Brazilian is!" "Look poor there in mating game, they make these movements that call funk to attract"! "Oh, how beautiful a poor man gave birth!" Since when is human life an exotic safari for other humans?
Green	=	SM	O turismo em favela é uma forma de se ver como parte significativa da população brasileira vive. Enquanto isso no Brasil muita gente faz um esforço descomunal para convencer as pessoas que essa população não existe.	Tourism in favela is a way of seeing itself as a significant part of the Brazilian population lives. Meanwhile in Brazil a lot of people make a huge effort to convince people that this population does not exist.

Table 2: Facebook conversations about favela tourism after the killing of a Spanish tourist on tour in Rocinha

In an attempt to live by what I preached in Paper 3 I want to make explicit that I consider that the data collection for this thesis started long before I travelled to Rio and continued long after I returned to the UK. This is due, in part, to activities that fall under the (limited) umbrella of netnography (Kozinets, 2002; 2015). For instance, I had been following Facebook conversations and other online content before I met the people behind them, and I continued to follow these after formal interviews took place. Moreover, after meeting entrepreneurs, I was befriended on Facebook and exchanged WhatsApp numbers, which enabled a constant flow of information with participants for years after leaving Rio de Janeiro. It was through the Facebook messenger app that, while still in the UK, after some insistence, I managed to get enrolled in Facebook's course for favela entrepreneurs. Additionally, throughout my encounters with local entrepreneurs, I took several photographs and recorded videos. During tours and chats, with consent, I often recorded informal conversations and took notes. On one occasion, I also used an app to track our path through the uncharted alleys of the favela. Thus, while formal methods were employed (interviews, observations, netnography), with the help of digital technologies (smartphone, social media, apps), several informal interactions took place over time, spanning across space, and were recorded in different ways. These different interactions allowed me to establish and maintain relationships with participants, collect data in various formats to record the socio-materiality of the market and be constantly informed about the developments in the market.

In paper 3, I adopted a structure similar to Roscoe and Loza's (2019) reflection, and thus, the third paper can be classified as a form of autoethnography of my experience conducting and writing research. This paper is not empirical as were its predecessors. Instead of a data analysis section, I provide a compilation of moments I call vignettes lived during the period of data collection in Rio de Janeiro to illustrate my key arguments, which I called vignettes. As a result, the paper has a more personal style of writing (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019).

1.6.3.2 Sampling strategy

I stayed in Rio de Janeiro for 3 months in total, divided into two periods of data collection on-site. The first was in 2016, after collecting preliminary information about favelas in Rio. In line with Hammersley and Atkinson (2019) process for choosing a setting, I analysed documentary evidence about the setting and talked to a colleague who has years of experience researching favelas. Additionally, I interviewed E2, a favela-based NGO member who promptly replied to my emails and was easily contacted through Skype while I was still in the UK. As a resident of a favela, E2 gave me insights into what was happening ‘on the ground’. This allowed me to inquire and compare with the information I was gathering from ‘afar’, in the UK, especially about an internet provision project deployed by the government which was supposed to benefit favelas. In our conversation, I found it was far from achieving its goals. Back in 2016, I started with the aim to inquire into a project (a one-day course for favela entrepreneurs) between Facebook and a local NGO and test the waters to know if the project was working and if people involved in the project would be willing to be interviewed. After exchanging several Facebook messages with D, a teacher and co-organiser of the project, I was allowed to enrol myself in the course and attend. Thus, my sampling strategy was to meet favela entrepreneurs, a category externally determined (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019) by Facebook’s project who identified people living and trading in favelas and called them to enrol in the course. By the end of this first period in Rio, through a mutual friend and researcher, I had established contact with A2, a favela-based tourism entrepreneur with a promising story about that market. In 2017, I returned to inquire more into it.

In 2017, I went to Rio intending to explore the favela tourism market. Having met A2 in the previous year and established a good rapport, I returned to talk to him first. A2 was extremely receptive and enthusiastic about introducing me to people across the favela and sharing his experience. A2’s openness led me to decide to focus on Rocinha. Thus, for the second time in Rio, I concentrated my visits in Rocinha and met people through snowballing sampling (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). For instance, people were recommended because they were community representatives or because they had had a business in the favela. I also had informal conversations with A2’s friends who were not

involved with tourism. While snowballing sampling can create a distorting bias (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019) (e.g., only meeting people who are A2's partners), my other encounters in the favela spanned beyond A2's acquaintances which allowed me to form a comprehensive view fed by different actors across and beyond the favela. In the end, the corpus of data that informed my insights about the activities of local entrepreneurs was composed of entrepreneurs who knew each other professionally, but that were not close friends or working in partnership. However, a willingness to meet and talk to various people without a specific set of questions in mind gave me insights into favela life.

1.6.3.3 Informant profiles

The participants were mostly favela-based entrepreneurs and, except for one, were all born and raised in favelas across Rio. I also interviewed and informally spoke with people working with favela entrepreneurs who were not themselves entrepreneurs (e.g., NGO members). Entrepreneurs were from different generations, aged between 19 and 60 years old, and were involved in various business activities. A few participants who were not involved in tourism (e.g., A3, G and M) had moved out of favelas but lived in areas close to them. This contributed to them having similar struggles to those still residing in favelas (e.g., violence, lack of financial resources) while others were removed (e.g., stigma). For those who must have easy access to tourists, living in the South Zone is imperative and favelas are the only form of affordable housing in the area for the participants interviewed. A table of participants that combines papers 1 and 2 can be found in Appendix 7.1.

1.6.4 Positioning as a Researcher

I am not from Rio de Janeiro but the southern state of Santa Catarina. Locals knew, after hearing me say the first hello, that I was from the South. Sometimes that helped. For instance, in Rocinha, some saw me as a visitor, a tourist perhaps, and wanted to show me around and teach me about the favela. Locals also knew about my role as a researcher from the first meeting. Sometimes, my role as an outsider, taking notes, recording, and photographing, was a barrier (e.g., a local asked not to figure in the

research at all after welcoming me into their home and after I had spent two hours chatting with them about favela life).

Rio de Janeiro is the capital of the state under the same name, located in the Southeast. It takes no more than an hour flight to get to Rio de Janeiro from my home state, but the continental proportions of Brazil and the high prices of flying within the country mean that going to Rio, for me, was quite an event. I had been there as a tourist a handful of times before arriving for data collection. Thus, my previous experience of Rio had been much like that of any foreign tourist visiting Rio: going to the famous beaches and monuments and remaining within the South Zone.

While Santa Catarina is located within the same country and under the same broad overarching narrative that binds us as Brazilians, the truth is that Rio de Janeiro and its dynamics were largely strange to me. I found myself much like foreigners watching films and the news from afar, worrying about safety, the excessive heat, and wondering how I would navigate the city and establish connections that would enable the successful accomplishment of my research knowing a handful of people in the city, most of which had never been in and feared favelas. Therefore, the data collection period was an exploratory journey for me, both personally and professionally, where the line between the researcher and the tourist was often blurred.

However, my strangeness to Rio provided me insights into their testimonials from a different perspective – that of an outsider. For instance, when they reported that the media focused on showing armed conflicts and not on the “good things” happening in favelas, I could confirm that because that was precisely what I saw, living in the South and consuming mainstream media. I would not classify my experience as a ‘culture shock’ (cf. Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019) but there were local rules and dynamics that were simultaneously disconcerting and illuminating for the research. Additionally, as I became more comfortable and acquainted with the setting, conversations with my supervisor provoked my thought and helped minimise a possible taken-for-grantedness analysis of data.

1.6.5 Data Analysis

Empirical papers 1 and 2 followed a similar structure for analysis divided into three phases or stages. Paper 3 followed a different structure due to its theoretical focus, as explained in section 1.6.3.1. In papers 1 and 2, analysis aimed at first identifying the key issues and challenges faced by entrepreneurs and the socio-material manifestations of these challenges. In this sense, in both papers, data was thought about in terms of the stories told, collected “naturally” or purposefully “solicited” during interviews (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, p. 56). For instance, in paper 1, when asked about the barriers or difficulties of being a favela entrepreneur, participants described situations lived by them or friends and family that exemplified how they are discriminated against for being favela residents and how that, in turn, poses a barrier to their access to the formal city’s jobs, and spaces of leisure and consumption. The narratives also made explicit the materiality of these barriers when, for instance, locals were stopped from going to certain beaches when their bus was coming from certain areas. In paper 2, the breakout of a conflict in Rocinha was widely covered in the news while entrepreneurs shared how the conflict was affecting their daily lives. Noteworthy, the narratives were pieced together through an amalgamation of formal interviews and informal chats, but also through visual data (e.g., photos in the news and taken by the researcher). These, in turn, helped reveal the materiality of the narratives. For instance, photos showed the materiality of the conflict in the form of tanks and armed soldiers on the streets. Paper 1 traced the historical narratives that have contributed to the creation and maintenance of the stigmatisation of the favelas (cf. Faria and Hemais, 2017). For paper 1 the software Gephi was also employed to help visualise the connections between people, materials, knowledge, and histories within and beyond favelas as shown Figure 4.

In paper 2, firstly, a narrative that described entrepreneurs’ experiences and challenges created by the favela space and the drugs war was devised. Secondly, the analysis sought to understand the work done by entrepreneurs to overcome the challenges found in phase 1. The last phase of the papers uncovered the specific new associations (paper 1) and patterns of action (paper 2) created and deployed by entrepreneurs.

combination with the interviews. That is, they were not analysed separately with a distinct method of content analysis. Rather, they were analysed with the interviews and other pieces of text (e.g., news) to corroborate and support the key themes that were arising from the interviews and conversations. Thus, for instance, when the theme ‘stigma’ started to surface, pieces in the news with their texts and photos were confronted with the theme. A clear example of this can be seen in Figure 15 where a cartoon depiction published in a newspaper corroborates entrepreneurs’ accounts of how they are perceived by the city administration, the mainstream media, and the wealthy classes of Rio de Janeiro. Noteworthy is the role played by different forms of video in papers 1 and 2. In paper 1, videos were mostly recorded by the researchers to register the richness of the setting and to aid in detailing the socio-materiality of the favela tourism market. In paper 2, the videos were produced by entrepreneurs themselves and were considered in the dataset as a market artefact enrolled in their market remaking strategies. As such, the visual artefacts considered in the data set aided the attention to the socio-material formation of the market in different capacities but helped the researcher in keeping the focus on both the human and non-human actants of the case. While less formal in structure, the analysis for paper 3 followed a logic similar to papers 1 and 2. The arguments were supported by the identification and analysis of key problematic points of contrast between the story of my research experience and those in the marketing literature employing netnography.

The structure and organisation of the analysis followed the ethnographic and grounded theory approach, as explained by Hammersley and Atkinson (2019, p. 167):

“In ethnography the analysis of data is not a distinct stage of the research, even though it comes to dominate towards the end. Analytical thinking begins in the pre-fieldwork phase, in the formulation and clarification of research questions, and continues through to the process of writing reports, articles, theses, books, and other products. Formally, it starts to take shape in analytic notes and memoranda; informally, it is embodied in the ethnographer’s ideas and hunches. And, in these ways, the analysis of data feeds into research design and data collection, just as they feed into it. This iterative process is central to ‘grounded theorizing’,

in which theory is developed out of data analysis, and subsequent data collection is guided strategically by emergent theory.”

Analysis followed a repetitive pattern of open, axial and selective coding (Neuman, 2012), in which every “pass-through” (p. 354) the data allowed for the identification and refinement of themes and concepts. Thus, the process of analysis followed a non-linear, abductive approach in which “the original framework is successively modified, partly as a result of unanticipated empirical findings, but also of theoretical insights gained during the process” (Dubois and Gadde, 2002, p. 559). The abductive approach involves a reflexive and continuous movement between data and theory, constituting a process of “cross-fertilization” (ibid.). Part of the reflexive movement involved writing field notes following visits to Rocinha to reflect on conversations. Figure 5 shows an example of a field note with the name of the participant redacted. This process, in turn, resulted in the adoption of different frameworks adapted according to the emergence of themes and cases throughout data collection.

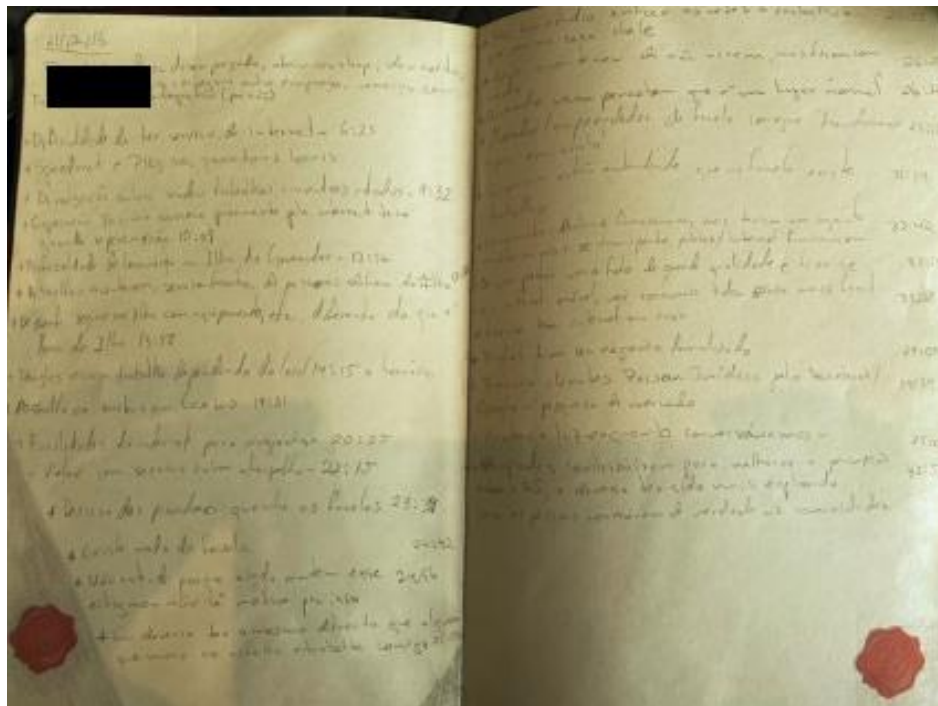


Figure 5: Example of fieldnote about a conversation with a favela entrepreneur conducted in 2016

1.6.6 Research Ethics

The present study underwent analysis by the university's ethics committee (LUMS Ethics Committee) which can be found in Appendix 7.2. Given the nature of the context, the approval process involved consideration of the safety of participants and investigator while in the field, data protection, use and storage considerations. This research complied with the university's guidelines throughout its process of gathering informants' consent and keeping data anonymised unless specified by a participant. For instance, an entrepreneur asked if his business name could feature in the research, to which I agreed. This can be noted in paper 1.

1.7 Thesis outline

The previous sections introduced this thesis and an overview of the three papers that compose it. A glimpse at the research context and the research design was also outlined. In the following sections 2, 3 and 4, the three papers are presented in full, containing the subsections as they do in the published (paper 1), submitted (paper 2), and working paper (paper 3). An overarching discussion is provided in Chapter 5. While each of the papers provides a discussion and conclusion about the specific content of each article, Chapter 5 also provides a summary of the papers, their contributions, implications, limitations, and insights into future research inspired by the content of this thesis. Chapter 6 contains the references for Chapters 1 and 5, while the references for each of the papers are presented immediately after each paper, within their respective chapters.

2. Paper 1: Managing to make market *agencements*: the temporally bound elements of stigma in favelas

2.1 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*.

2.2 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 and Helgesson, 2006; Ramaswamy and Ozcan, 2018; Biraghi, Rossella and 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 and 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 and Billou, 2007; Weidner, Rosa, and Viswanathan, 2010). In Rio's historical development, policymakers 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 and 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 and 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 and Mair, 2007; Viswanathan, Sridharan and 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 and Elliot, 2012). It is necessary to understand the associations they must make both within and beyond the boundaries of favelas 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.

2.3 Literature review

2.3.1 *Agencements* in market settings

The concept of agencement is grounded in Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Cochoy, Trompette and 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 and 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 and Helgesson, 2006, p. 3). These actors constitute a market system, with distributed but interconnected market actors, each with different roles and competencies, performing the mediated practices that constitute markets (Giesler and 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 and Muniesa, 2005; Mason, Chakrabarti and Singh, 2017).

Kjellberg, Azimot and 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 and 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 and Mason, 2014).

The concept of agencement is useful to understand how 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 that are pertinent to the favela setting are likely to be overlooked (Faria and 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, coordinated 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, competencies, and ideas (Cochoy, 2014; Mallard, 2016). The notion of concerned markets is useful in considering market interventions, designed to alter how markets work and whom 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 coordinated, collective action for change. By making something into a concern to a group, a collective can be mobilised to address it (Chakrabarti and 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 and 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 and 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.

2.3.2 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 is 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, and what objects, images and

competencies are held in place to generate the stigma of an individual, provides 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 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 in 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 addresses. 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 which aims at spreading awareness of favelas and their history beyond the community to generate "pride, belonging, social cohesion and dignity". Media reports suggest that for some of Rio's 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 Site, a dump transformed into a park, and Favelagrafia, 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 the Base of Pyramid and Subsistence markets (Trujillo et al., 2010; Viswanathan, Sridharan and 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 on overcoming the barrier of stigmatisation. Despite alluding to the barriers and complexities imposed by stigma, these studies take stigma as a 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 a place is held stable.

The notion of agencement (Cochoy, Trompette and 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 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.

2.3.3 Towards a conceptual framework of market intervention to generate new agencement

Drawing on extant market studies and stigmatisation literature, Figure 6 presents a conceptual framework of the elements that typically constitute an agencement: devices and infrastructures, representations of knowledge, rules, practices and the roles and competencies of actors (Callon and Muniesa, 2005; Kjellberg, Azimot and Reid, 2015) 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 and Mason, 2014; Geiger et al., 2014). That is, what can MEs do to connect a particular marketplace with other objects, ideas, and actions, to re-assemble and re-form a new market agencement (Cochoy, Trompette and Araujo, 2015; Giesler and Fischer, 2017; Vargo et al., 2017).



Figure 6: Conceptual framework of market intervention to generate new market agencement

2.4 Research design

Using the framework presented in Figure 6, a three-phase research design was adopted. Phase 1 aimed to explicate the role of historical narratives and map out the contemporary agencement that holds favelas as stigmatised socio-marketised places (Faria and Hemais, 2017; Cochoy, Trompette and 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 and Atkinson, 2007) and netnography (Kozinets, 2002; 2015). Data were collected from January to August 2016. The details of each phase are presented below.

2.4.1.1 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 3) 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 and Gadde, 2002) to trace the historical formation of favelas, a timeline of key events was generated (Appendix 2.8.1) 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 competencies of actors (Callon and Muniesa, 2005; Kjellberg, Azimot and 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 led to the discovery of the 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 2.8.2). 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 in the role of student-learners. When invited for interviews, MEs appeared flattered and supported the snowball sampling approach by recruiting other MEs for interviews. MEs were interviewed face-to-face and by phone. A discussion guide was used to explore what MEs do, how they created their business and 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 3³ shows participant characteristics.

Micro-entrepreneur		Favela or Neighbourhood	Formal job	Business
E1	Female	City of God	Retirement home	Shop
E2	Female	City of God	Catering	Catering Music
E3	Male	City of God	Coordinator at Sociocultural Polo	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 Customer Service at a car dealership	Jewellery
E7	Male	Vila Valqueire	Teacher	Photographer
E8	Male	Ilha do Governador	Teacher	Photographer Manager at ROT
E9	Male	Rocinha	Manager at ROT	ROT

Table 3: Details of interviewees

³ Note that Table 3 shows a different system to name entrepreneurs than that presented in Appendix 7.1 used for the publication of paper 1. Appendix 7.1 includes all these participants.

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 were analysed. Figure 7 shows the locations of favelas throughout Rio.



Figure 7: Places of data collection

2.4.1.2 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 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 and Muniesa, 2005; Kjellberg, Azimot and Reid, 2015), generating a more nuanced view of how the concerns of MEs were used to frame and bring about new market agencement (Appendix 2.8.3).

2.4.1.3 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 competencies 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 (ROT, 2017), 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, 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*.

2.5 Analysis and findings

In this section, the term “favela” and “community” are used interchangeably to reflect the language of the participants. The section presents a history of the stigmatisation (before using the framework developed in Figure 6) 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. Figure 8 provides a summary of findings in the form of an elaboration of the conceptual framework presented in Figure 6.

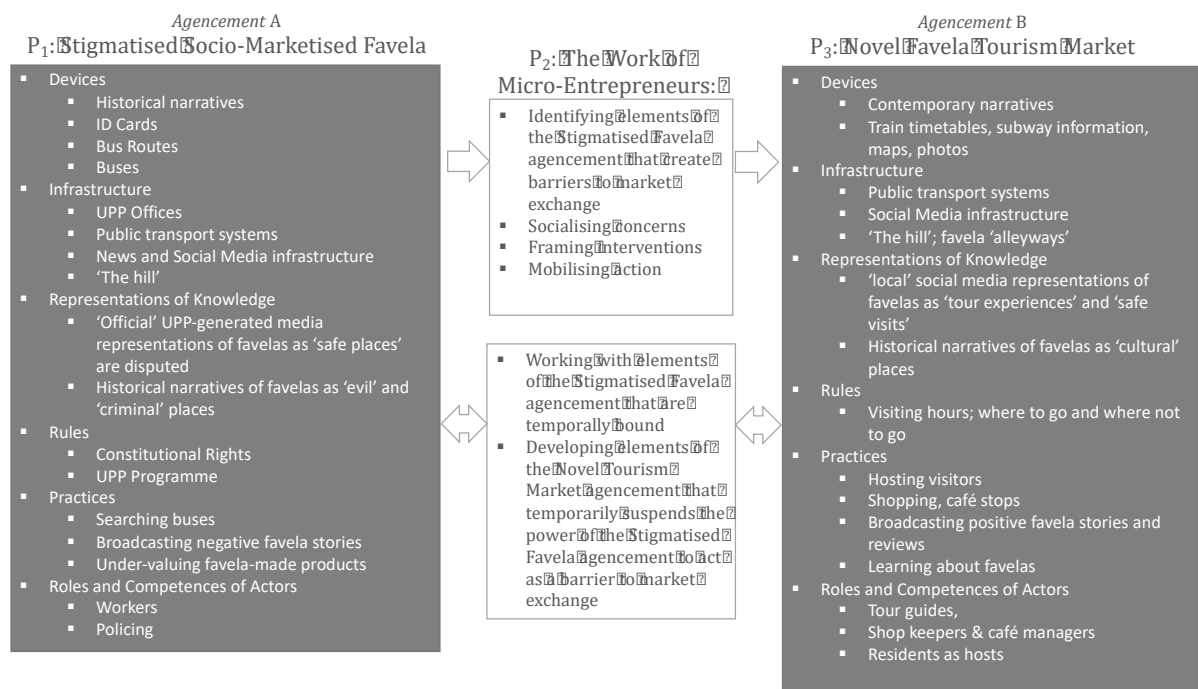


Figure 8: Conceptual framework of the work done by micro-entrepreneurs to generate novel favela tourism market agencement in Rocinha

2.5.1 Agencement A: stigmatised socio-marketised favela

2.5.1.1 *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 Paraíba 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 (Beyond the Map, 2016). 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 potentially 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 associated with and manifested in the present. Favelas remain marginalised and residents struggle to make their voices heard. These historical narratives (Appendix 2.8.1) 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

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 competencies to perform favelas 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.

2.5.1.2 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* (Figure 6), foregrounding the social-materiality – the devices and infrastructure, knowledge, rules, practices, and competencies (cf. Callon and Muniesa 2005; Kjellberg, Azimot and 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 (Heringer and Barros, 2015), reported cases of people (often minors) holding legitimate IDs, 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 preventing the movement of favela residents. If the origin and destinations of the 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 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 competencies 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 the 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 (Reuters, 2017). 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:

P1c: Powerful association between historical narrative devices, infrastructures and actors with their specific roles and competencies (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, blogs by independent journalists and 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 (BBC, 2016). 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 reality of favela life (cf. Callon and 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 and Geiger, 2011). Thus:

P1a: Powerful associations between media infrastructures, historical narratives and other devices and representations of knowledge continually perform and re-produce favelas as stigmatised places.

2.5.2 The work of micro-entrepreneurs to create new market *agencements*

In line with extant studies, the findings suggest that for MEs, stigma acts as a barrier (Mair, Martí and 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 the favela-based MEs' community has 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, 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 (Montagner, 2016): 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 [...] X (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 and 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 customers (E4). Favela residents were not valuing their 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 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” the favela (E9) bring their 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 and 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 imagine 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 by 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 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.

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

E9 is a favela-based ME that 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 about 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 the present and future calculation of 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 competencies 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 competencies of micro-entrepreneurs.

2.5.4 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 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 an [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) (Andrade, 2016). 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 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 a 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 Figure 6. 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 (Figure 8).

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, and 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 can 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 experiences 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.

2.6 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 and 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 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 and Mair, 2007; Viswanathan, Sridharan and 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, and the practices developed to intervene and coordinate 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 and Ryan, 2015; Lawlor and Kavanagh, 2015; Ulkuniemi, Araujo and 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 can 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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2.8 Appendix

2.8.1 Timeline of the history of favelas

Year	Events	Source
1763	Rio de Janeiro becomes the capital and 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 Paraíba 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)

Year	Events	Source
1845	Slave trade declared illegal – Aberdeen (UK) Law	Benchimol (1990)
1850	Denunciation of <i>cortiços</i> 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 <i>estalagens</i> (small houses with rooms “reduced to an extreme”)	Vaz (1994)
	Second Industrial Revolution	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1857	Slaves account for as much as 73% of coffee plantation wealth	Stein (1953)
-58		
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	Number of inhabitants doubles	Benchimol (1990)
-90		
1871	Rio Branco Law – emancipation of slave children born after the law	Stein (1953)
1873	Ordinance of 5 December forbidding the construction of new <i>cortiços</i>	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 <i>Inspetoria Geral de Higiene</i> (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)

Year	Events	Source
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)
1893	<i>Cabeça de Porco</i> 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 <i>Canudos</i> War in Bahia go to Morro da Providencia and Santo Antonio	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1900	Newspaper <i>Jornal do Brasil</i> denounces <i>Morro da Providencia</i> 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	<i>Barracos</i> and <i>casebres</i> in Copacabana	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1909	<i>Barracos</i> and <i>casebres</i> in Salgueiro	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
1910	<i>Barracos</i> and <i>casebres</i> in Mangueira	de Almeida Abreu (2003)
	Favelas shifted from a provisional situation to a serious urban	Gonçalves (2007)

Year	Events	Source
	issue	
	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	
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	Valladares (2000)

Year	Events	Source
	favelas as locales comprising a black population exclusively	
1960	Publication of the first study by sociologists on favelas – “ <i>Aspectos humanos da favela carioca</i> ”; 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	

2.8.2 Figures



Mural in Facebook’s classroom



Facebook's classroom



Mural and break space in Facebook's classroom



Facebook's van used to visit favelas and advertise the course

2.8.3 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	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

Theme	Account	ME
place: framing market interventions	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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] 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.</p>	E9 E8 E3
1. Novel market <i>agencements</i> to temporarily break stigmatisation of	<p>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.</p>	E9

Theme	Account	ME
place	<p data-bbox="573 256 1910 507">My target audience is 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.</p> <p data-bbox="573 533 1910 671">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.</p> <p data-bbox="573 697 1910 895">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.</p> <p data-bbox="573 920 1910 1118">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.</p> <p data-bbox="573 1144 1910 1286">[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.</p>	<p data-bbox="1935 368 1973 395">E9</p> <p data-bbox="1935 587 1973 614">E9</p> <p data-bbox="1935 783 1973 810">E9</p> <p data-bbox="1935 1002 1973 1029">E9</p> <p data-bbox="1935 1198 1973 1225">E9</p>

3. Paper 2: A Lefebvrian exploration of the spatialized organization of markets: remaking Rocinha’s favela tourism market

3.1 Abstract

This paper analyses the Rocinha favela tourism market, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. We uncover the work done by local entrepreneurs to remake the market after the breakout of an armed conflict brought it to a halt. Lefebvre’s spatial theory and Merrifield’s (1993) notion of place support our conceptual examination of how the favela gets reproduced as a Market Space through the dialectic relationship between individual embodied experiences in place and the collective processes of the production of space. We make a three-fold contribution to extant conceptualizations of the reproduction of space (Kingma, Dale, & Wasserman, 2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1993) by first, introducing the spatial triad, a new conceptualization and framework that explains the reproduction of Market Space; second, drawing attention to the central role of digital devices in the democratisation of the socio-material practices of spatialization; and third, revealing marketization as a key form of spatializing organizational work.

3.2 Introduction

This paper contributes to the understanding of how markets are organized, reproduced, and sustained. The starting point is Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) spatial theory and his notion of the inescapable spatial nature of practice.

The literature on markets has developed into a substantial body of work that has done much to explain how marketplaces and spaces are organized, transformed, and sustained through practice (Araujo, 2007; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007). Adopting an Actor-Network Theory approach (Callon, 1998a; Latour, 2005), market scholars understand and analyse markets as socio-material formations resulting from the interaction between human and non-human actors that combine into “felicitous” conditions across time and space (Butler, 2010, p. 152; Geiger and Gross, 2017; Palo, Mason, and Roscoe, 2020). However, although the terms marketplace and space are employed interchangeably to

indicate the *loci* of market action, the relationship between places and spaces and the performance of markets remains largely unexplored.

Organization studies scholars have been more attentive to the close relationship between place, space, and forms of organizing, having their own “minor spatial turn” (Beyes and Steyaert, 2012, p. 48). Kingma et al. (2018) and Beyes and Holt (2020) review organization studies engaged with spatiality and problematize how the spatial dimension of organizing has been taken up and treated in organizational theory, especially in the works that employed Henri Lefebvre’s theory of space.

With a focus on situated and localised everyday life in connection with broader and global systems of production, Lefebvre (1991) is known for articulating how “[social] space is a social product” (p. 26). He does this by presenting two sets of elements in a triad: perceived-conceived-lived, which represents the everyday, embodied experience of subjects and spatial practice-representations of space-representational spaces, which represents how subjects collectively understand, live and (re)produce spaces (Lefebvre, 1991).

The triad presented in Lefebvre’s (1991) *The Production of Space* provides a framework for understanding how spaces get (re)produced. But Kingma et al. (2018) claim that “Lefebvre’s work has been appropriated in a restricted way” (p. 13). For the organization scholars, while the triad is “powerful” for turning organizational space into “an object of social analysis”, there is “a risk of taking the model too literally” and prescriptively (ibid). Beyes and Holt (2020) observe a tendency in organizational theory to “domesticate the challenge of thinking and performing organizations spatially [...] when looking for clear and structured conceptualizations of [...] space” (p. 19). Thus, the literature on both markets and organizations raises more questions than provides answers as to how organizing marketplaces and spaces are brought into being.

Treating Lefebvre’s triad as a structured model is tempting. Often dictated and never revised (Kingma et al., 2018), Lefebvre’s writing is complex and enigmatic, so the seemingly straightforward framework he provides upfront in his book feels like a welcome relief to the reader. However, his triad is vaguely sketched and discussed indirectly in the remainder of the book. As such, Lefebvre provides a tantalisingly

mysterious starting point, so the reader is left not with a “mechanical framework or typology” but an opportunity to “add [their] own flesh” to what is “fluid and alive” (Merrifield, 2000, p. 173). Lefebvre’s theory demands empirical exploration to reveal what kind of ‘flesh’ makes contemporary spaces, while keeping sight of two important scales of analysis: everyday life, and the wider space of capitalist production (Kingma et al., 2018; Merrifield, 2000). For the organizational theory to engage in such an approach would mean to start with what Kingma et al. (2018) call “the bigger picture of the ‘organization of space’” (p. 8) alongside, we pose, a consideration of the relationship between place and space as conceptualized in the geography literature by Merrifield (1993).

Drawing on Lefebvre’s (1991) ideas of embodied lived experience in relation to the capitalist space, Merrifield (1993) separates place from space, conceptualizing the relationship between them as the key to understanding the production of space. For Merrifield, place and space are separate concepts in a dialectic relationship; albeit different, they cannot be detached. Producing spaces from this standpoint is intimately connected with the production of abstractions of space and how these are “then projected back onto the lived level” (Elden, 2004, p. 182) while “grounded and acted out in specific places” (Merrifield, 1993, p. 520). Importantly, places are not mere reflections of space, nor is space a pure abstraction of place. Rather, space is material and is affected by as well as affecting place.

Merrifield (1993) sheds much-needed light on how situated practices relate to the production of wider spaces, but from a Lefebvorean standpoint, this relationship between place and space can only be understood through empirical analysis of everyday practices. For this, we turn to the Rocinha favela tourism market in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Favelas are recognised as a place of intermittent armed conflict and socio-spatial exclusion from the formal city (Lacerda, 2015). Yet this paper reveals how the paired elements of place and space work when local entrepreneurs’ spatializing practices portray Rocinha as a friendly, culturally rich place for tourists to visit, contesting the mainstream representation of favelas as no-go areas. Our analysis reveals the spatializing practices that enable entrepreneurs to conceive alternative and attractive

representations of the marketplace and generate market offerings that enable them to control how tourists perceive favelas and favela tours.

In the remainder of this paper, we first characterise Rocinha's favela, which we later draw on to illustrate a nuanced conceptualization inspired by Lefebvre's spatial theory. We then explore and problematise the use of space in organizational and market studies. After presenting our methods we use data collected from Rocinha's tourism market to explore the (re)production of three core marketization practices that foreground our spatial prism – a conceptualization of market spatializing as an important form of organizational work. The paper concludes by discussing the theoretical implications of the spatial prism, the digital nature of spatialization and the organization of markets as spatializing work.

3.3 Favela tours in Rocinha

Known as “the broken city” (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández, 2013, p. 22), the landscape of Rio de Janeiro consists of a stark spatial division between favelas (also called “the hills”), and the formal city (referred to by favela residents as “the asphalt”) (ibid, p. 167). Fernandes et al. (2019) provide a useful timeline of the formation of favelas.

Despite the historic, territorial and socio-economic divide, local favela entrepreneurs manage to use the contradictory mix of “solidarity and sociability” and “violence, associated with drug dealing ” (Valladares, 2008, p. 2) to provide a touristic experience of “controlled risk combined with a deep sense of adventure, the opportunity of acting as a concerned citizen (by supposedly contributing to the economic development of a poor area) and, no less important, a beautiful view of the city captured from above” (Freire-Medeiros, 2011, p. 22). Guided by residents, favela tours in Rocinha consist of taking tourists up the hill on a “walking tour” (Dyson, 2012; Fernandes et al., 2019; Freire-Medeiros, 2014) that typically last for an hour. Tourists walk through the main street of Rocinha and its alleys, making stops at local shops, art ateliers (Figure 9) and social projects on their way to the top of the hill. At the top, tourists can see famous sights such as the Christ the Redeemer statue and the Rodrigo de Freitas lagoon (Figure 10). Some tours focus on local history, while others will include going to a *laje* (Figure

11) – a rooftop typical of favela houses – for a *feijoada* meal or to see a capoeira presentation – the Brazilian martial art that combines dancing and acrobatics. For each activity, entrepreneurs rely on a network of local market actors – the owner of the *laje*, the cooks for the *feijoada*, the van drivers and *mototáxis* for transportation (Figure 12), the art atelier and the capoeira group – making tourism an important market for the livelihood of local families.



Figure 9: Art atelier in Rocinha depicting favela architecture



Figure 10: View from the top of Rocinha with Christ the Redeemer statue to the left



Figure 11: *Laje* on the top of Rocinha with views of the Vidigal favela



Figure 12: *Mototáxis* standing by

The structure and price of the tours vary according to the different ‘packages’ offered, and tours can be tailored to the individual tourist’s requests. For instance, a tourist might wish to walk by gang members, and it is the guide’s responsibility to ensure safety by complying with local rules (e.g., no photographs). Finally, tourists are dropped off at the Rocinha-Sao Conrado tube station, before making their way back to their hotels. In this market setting, tourists, tour guides, craft sellers, and *mototáxis* riders, continuously interact in their everyday organizing practices. This raises interesting questions as to how the reproduction of market spaces differs from that of other organized places such as firms, or the workplace. To address this question, we turn to the use of spatial theory in organizational and market studies.

3.4 The use of space in organization theory

Lefebvre’s (1991) spatial theory has been timidly introduced in organization studies through a heterogeneous body of work that formed the “minor spatial turn in organization theory” (Beyes and Steyaert, 2012, p. 48). Few studies have their main argument positioned in spatial theory and even fewer resemble a spatial analysis.

Authors concerned with socio-material contexts more broadly (e.g., Foucault, De Certeau), are cited in combination with space theorists such as Henri Lefebvre (1991), David Harvey (2006) and Doreen Massey (2005). For instance, Halford and Leonard (2006) mention Lefebvre (1991) in their analysis of discourses and practices in the workplace in which they identify space as part of a set of resources used by actors. However, neither a spatial account nor a spatially centred analysis is present. Similarly, Kornberger and Clegg (2004) introduced the concept of the ‘generative building’, a social, spatial, and material organizational space that has the power to affect practices within the organization. In this, Lefebvre (1991) is cited once and while this study is concerned with the socio-material space where organizing takes place, its focus is within the boundaries of the organization. Core to Lefebvre’s work, the totality of space and its symbiotic relationship with situated embodied actions (Beyes, 2018; Lacerda, 2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Zhang, 2006), are absent from the study. Tyler and Cohen’s (2010, p. 176) analysis of gender performativity “in and through” organizations comprehensively employ Judith Butler’s conceptualization of performativity with a ‘pick-and-choose’ approach to elements of Lefebvre’s work, using the concept of representational spaces to define the symbolic lived experience of the workplace concerning gender (also see Newlands, 2021). Dobers and Strannegård (2004) employed Lefebvre’s spatial triad – alongside other concepts such as Foucault’s heterotopia – to analyse the journey of a piece of furniture. The authors use each element of the triad in relation to the piece of furniture as it travelled through different places and people interacted with it. The so-called Cocoon is described in terms of the space it created for people (physical and imaginary) and is an object-space: the space in which it circulates becomes a canvas.

The ‘spatial turn’ in organizations has little spatial theory. A notable exception is Dale (2005) who has consistently used Lefebvre’s (1991) “magnum opus” (Merrifield, 1993, p. 168) to study organizations and advocates the potential of Lefebvre’s ideas in exploring different forms of organizing. Dale (2005) combines an interest in, and a critique of the lack of socio-material organizational analysis that uses the Lefebvrian attention to the space beyond the boundaries of organizations (see also Beyes, 2018; Burrell and Dale, 2003; Dale and Burrell, 2007). Dale’s (2005) call is for studies that attend to the notion of a wider space – or a totality – as well as to the localised practices

in place. In this regard, Beyes (2018) points out that to embrace the notion of totality, studies must “[depart] from given organizational spaces [...] usually formal and thus spatially demarcated organizations” (p. 30). Thus, while plenty of studies in the organization studies literature feature ‘space’ or related terms in the title (Costas, 2013; O’Doherty, De Cock, Rehn, and Lee Ashcraft, 2013), the body of work thus far has not, contrary to what Beyes and Steyaert (2012, p. 45) optimistically claim, brought “space back in”, and certainly not from a Lefebvre-inspired perspective. Spatially sensitive analyses remain a niche effort led by a few scholars (e.g., Beyes, 2018; Beyes and Holt, 2020; Beyes and Michels, 2011; Beyes and Steyaert, 2012; Burrell and Dale, 2003; Dale, 2005; Dale and Burrell, 2007). Lefebvre (1991) still plays a cameo role. As Kingma et al. (2018) and Beyes and Holt (2020) point out, organization scholars have only partially explored Lefebvre’s theory of space and by doing so, have produced fragmented analysis – a sacrilege to his ‘unifying’ intent – and as such, have missed powerful insights. To address this critique, we reflect on the use of spatial theory in market studies more specifically, considering markets as a particular form of organizing, before taking a more detailed look at the foundations and developments of spatial theory.

3.5 The use of space in market studies

While the market studies literature provides a plethora of studies about the socio-material practices that make marketplaces and spaces (Araujo, 2007; Cochoy, Trompette, and Araujo, 2016; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006, 2007; Mason, Friesl, and Ford, 2017; Palo et al., 2020), the literature’s casual use of the terms indicate that the organization and performance of markets as *places* of market action, and the spatial engendering of markets, is yet to be understood.

In his seminal work, Araujo (2007) exemplifies specific market spaces – supermarkets, shopping malls and electronic markets – to denominate “where calculative agencies” have market performing encounters (p. 214). Building on the work of Callon et al. (2002), Araujo (2007) also points out the importance of constructing these market spaces for (re)making markets. Similarly, Finch and Geiger (2010) briefly mention markets as “social spaces” where “relationships between producers and consumers, buyers and sellers, are enacted or performed” (p. 238). Analysing the kitchen as a space

of market encounters, Stigzelius, Araujo, Mason, Murto, and Palo (2018) conceptualize it as “a space where multiple concerned actors in markets and consumption come to shape, and get shaped by, the practices in the kitchen” (p. 347). These studies indicate the spatial nature of market practices – markets must take place *somewhere* and these places, as exemplified above, are important for market-making practices. Yet, places and spaces remain a stage for, but not a protagonist in, the processes and practices of market-making.

Pointing to the performative role of practices in relation to space, Çalışkan and Callon (2010) suggest that markets are the agents that “delimit and construct a space of confrontation and power struggles” (p. 3). From this standpoint, market action helps delimit ‘spaces of/for’ – practices, struggles and negotiation – but these play no role in the organization of markets, rather serving as an organizer and container of practice. Several other works in the markets literature indirectly refer to the spatiality of markets without taking space as a central concern such as those works that explore boundaries (Ellis, Jack, Hopkinson, and O'Reilly, 2010; Finch and Geiger, 2010) and the situated nature of market actions (Fernandes et al., 2019; Mason and Spring, 2011; Palo et al., 2020). In sum, while the markets literature employs space-related terms and often acknowledges the spatiality of markets and market practices, space as a central concern to understand how markets get organized and performed spatially has been overlooked.

3.6 Towards a Conceptualization of Market Spatializing

To more clearly conceptualize how market actors reproduce market spaces, we return to Lefebvre’s original work and recent developments in the field of geography, cited by organizational scholars.

To articulate and provide a starting point for exploring how spaces are “the product and the producer of social life”, made out of the everyday practices and the socio-material experiences of subjects (Soja, 2003, p. 271), Lefebvre (1991) developed two sets of elements in a triad (

Figure 13). The first – spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces – is about a multiplicity of actions, practices, and understandings of subjects

(Lefebvre, 1991, p. 40). This triad can be interpreted as the collective amalgamation of subjects' everyday lives (

Figure 13, triangle 1). Mirroring the first set and adding to each element, the second – perceived, conceived and lived – explicitly connects with the body as a means to perceive and sense space. Lefebvre (1991) explains how “social practice presupposes the use of the body: the use of hands, members and sensory organs, and the gestures of work as activity unrelated to work. This is the realm of the perceived” (p. 40, original emphasis). Thus, the second set of elements can be interpreted as the embodied individual experience of subjects (

Figure 13, triangle 2). The connection Lefebvre (1991) makes between perceived space and embodied experience seems to point to a pairing between situated practices in *place* with the perceived-conceived-lived elements, but Lefebvre (1991) does not expand this discussion.

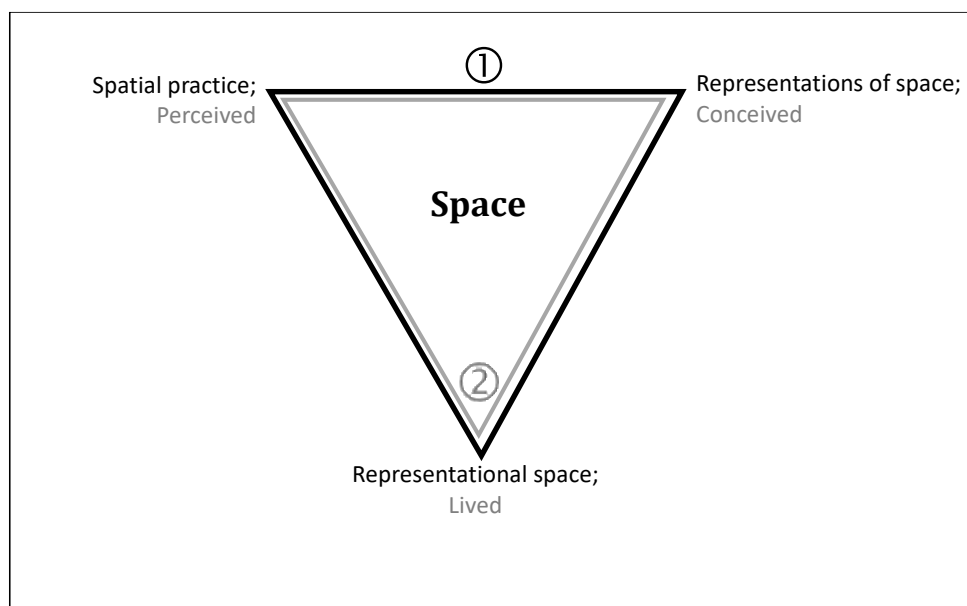


Figure 13: A visual representation of Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualizations of the spatial triad

Merrifield (1993) makes an important separation between place and space, suggesting they are two inseparable concepts in a dialectic relationship (

Figure 14). He provides a useful conceptualization of the role of place in the production of space. For Merrifield (1993), the existence of a totality of space cannot be reproduced and maintained without its situated, concrete, and social experience (Harvey, 2006; Lefebvre, 1991). In other words, individual ideas and mundane socio-material practices engender larger systems of practice. Important here is the processual and temporal nature of place in relation to space. “Both space and place are embodied in material processes, namely, real human activities [...] place can be taken as a specific form emergent from an apparent stopping of, or as one specific moment in, the dynamics of capitalist social space (Merrifield, 1993, p. 520, original emphasis). Thus, while space is “projected back onto the lived level” (Elden, 2004, p. 182), on the level of everyday life, abstractions are “grounded and acted out in specific places” (Merrifield, 1993, p. 520) where “place-specific ingredients” affect these situated practices (ibid., p. 522).

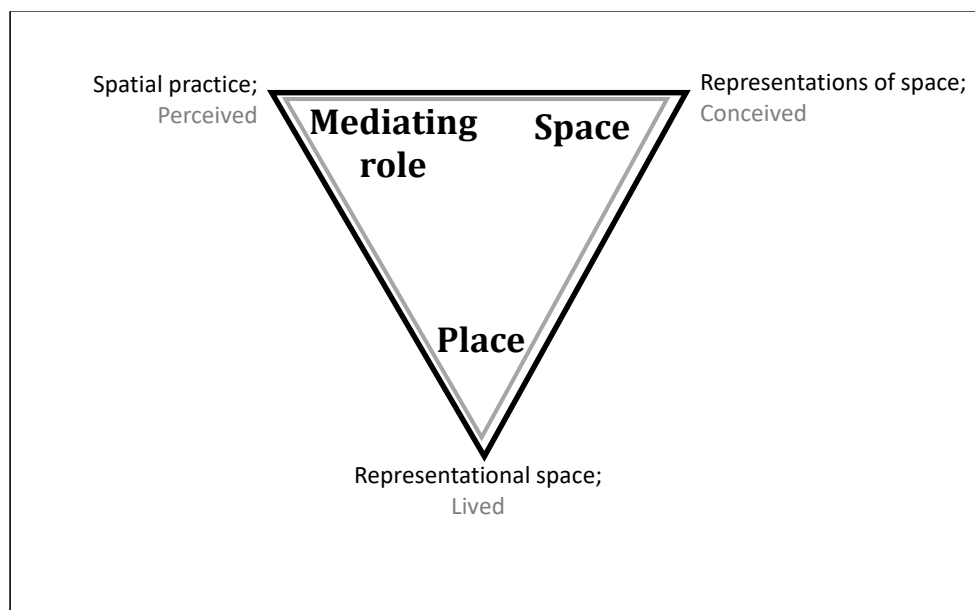


Figure 14: Merrifield’s (1993) conceptualization of place in relation to Lefebvre’s concept of space

In Merrifield’s (1993, p. 525) understanding “spatial practices are dialectally implicated in both conceived space and lived place”. We agree with this claim, though it also suggests a separation between the abstract and the concrete. In Lefebvre’s (1991) triad there are material *and* abstract elements. This is an alternative conceptualization of

market spaces. We argue that if both marketplace and space are made of abstractions *and* socio-material elements, then they must be two dimensions of the same construct.

Merrifield's (1993) alternative view indicates that "place can be taken as [...] one specific moment in [...] space" (p. 521). Concordant with Merrifield (1993), we argue that if space is not a mere abstraction of place, it should not be relegated to an ephemeral existence. Thus, we propose that instead of attributing space to the realm of mental representations, and place to the realm of lived experience, abstractions *and* socio-materiality must be added to both concepts. The production of market spaces is about understanding *how* the socio-material (market)place and space both act as two dimensions of the same 'thing'.

Based on our reading of Lefebvre's (1991) reference to embodied individual experience and Merrifield's (1993) conceptualization of place and space in relation to Lefebvre's spatial theory, we propose that the perceived-conceived-lived triad refers to a place, encompassing notions of situatedness and material specificity and reflecting the embodied individual experience of subjects in everyday market life. Spatial practice-representations of space-representational space refer to space, encompassing notions of multiplicity, multidimensionality, and collectivity. Thus, we start our analysis by considering how (market) place and space are connected through spatializing market practices. We call this *market spatializing*.

3.7 Methods

We adopted qualitative methods to explore how a favela space characterized as violent, was (re)produced as a viable tourism market. Qualitative methods are well suited to the study of dynamic processes and the coordinated practices of multiple actors seeking to organize collective action (Denis, Langley, and Rouleau, 2007; Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, and Van de Ven, 2013). As this type of qualitative study typically follows an object of change (Latour, 1987), it is particularly sensitive to context, presenting a valuable means to focus on the unfolding practices at key junctures where 'bigger picture' organization practices take place (Kingma et al., 2018; Lacerda, 2018).

The present study emerged from the breakout of an armed dispute in Rocinha which disrupted the everyday life of people visiting and living in the favela and threatened the tourism market, on which local entrepreneurs depend. We saw this as an important opportunity for theory elaboration, drawing on and extending important ideas about the making of markets (Finch and Geiger, 2010) and the ‘production’ of space (Lefebvre, 1991) from the extant market and organizational studies. Theory elaboration is critical as these two distinct research streams provide an important foundation for our study of favela market spaces in the making (Finch, 2007), without the need for purely inductive or grounded analysis (Maitlis, 2005).

We conducted a two-phase study of Rocinha. Phase 1 set out to understand how the dispute disrupted market exchange and remade the favela as a violent space. We conducted nine face-to-face semi-structured interviews with favela-based entrepreneurs in Rocinha and other actors that supported them within three months of the drug war breakout (see Table 4⁴). We continued regular, informal interactions with four of the entrepreneurs (A, C, E and F1) using Facebook and WhatsApp after the initial, formal interview. Interviewees were keen to support our study and wanted their experiences to be captured and reported.

Actor	Activity	Social Media Presence
A	Tourism	Facebook, Website, TripAdvisor
B	Tourism; Social project	Facebook
C	Tourism; English and German teacher	Facebook, TripAdvisor
E	Tourism; English teacher	Facebook, TripAdvisor
F1	Tourism; Historian	Facebook and Website
F2	Tourism; Historian	Facebook and Website
F3	Small Businesses Support Organization	Website
K	Favela Business Support Organization	Facebook and Website
M	Capoeira instructor	Facebook
MT	Small business owner (clothing)	Facebook

Table 4: Semi-structured face-to-face interviews with favela-based entrepreneurs

Phase 2 set out to explore the actions of entrepreneurs in the aftermath of the conflict. To achieve the depth of insight required, we focused on the tourism market as it relies

⁴ Note that Table 4 shows a slightly different system to name entrepreneurs than that presented in Appendix 7.1 used at the time of the submission of paper 2. Appendix 7.1 includes all these participants.

on the reproduction of the favela space as a critical component of the market offer (Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Sheller and Urry, 2004), marking it as an appropriate market for our study. Through an eighteen-month, longitudinal analysis of the activities of entrepreneurs' efforts to engage with other market actors, we followed the practices of A, E and C, paying particular attention to how they worked with and through other market actors to (re)produce Rocinha as a viable tourism market.

This two-phase research design offered a strong foundation for theory elaboration: the detailed observation of practices and materials used in those practices (cf. MacKenzie, 2017) allowed for meaningful comparison between the multiple actors involved, while the diversity of spaces and places that make up market engagement and enactment (cf. Finch and Geiger, 2010) and the differences between the multiple actors involved provided a reasonable basis for generalizability.

3.7.1 Research Context

The study was carried out in Rocinha, a context well suited to the study of spacing practices (cf. Beyes and Steyaert, 2012) and the production of marketplaces and spaces, for several reasons. First, local entrepreneurs rely on Rocinha as a single space to live and make a living. The subsistence conditions (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández, 2013) mean living and earning a living are inseparable (Mason, Kjellberg, and Hagberg, 2015).

Second, within favelas, the 'favela tour' market offers an especially powerful site for the study of marketplace and space production. Favela tours represent a particular service offering where understandings about that space are critical to the offer made. These entrepreneurs are forced to practice in an environment that is characterized by: a lack of attention from authority and the state (Lacerda, 2015), gangs and their outbursts of sporadic violence (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernández, 2013) and an ongoing struggle with the depiction of the favela as a place of criminality (Freire-Medeiros, 2009).

Third, the entangled nature of the relationship between our Phase 1 entrepreneurs (tour guides and agents) and other favela-based businesses (photographers, crafts, food

producer-merchants), coordinated into a market offer, represents an opportunity to explore the collective reproduction of space.

3.7.2 Data Collection

Data collection took place intensively over eighteen months and involved interviews; observations of meetings: between entrepreneurs in Rocinha, and entrepreneurs and policymakers; observations of tours; and extensive online representations of favelas by the media and later by entrepreneurs and tourists (on Facebook, Twitter, TripAdvisor, and other social media platforms). In Phase 2, the new, post-conflict practice of producing and sharing videos online was included in the data. The first meeting with a Rocinha entrepreneur was a product of serendipity. After initial contact with A, the first author gained access to other entrepreneurs through snowball introductions which allowed us to identify other interviewees. For example, people were recommended because they were part of organizations supporting local entrepreneurs, were a community representative or because they had had a business in the favela. We also interviewed anyone from the community who expressed an interest in our study so that we could develop a rich understanding of the lived experience of residing and doing business in a favela.

Meeting individuals provided the opportunity to explain our research and our approach. All entrepreneurs understood the first author to be a researcher of markets with concerns for those trying to develop good socio-economic lives within favelas. The data were largely analysed after the study period. We honed our methods during Phase 1 as we began to understand the challenges and concerns of the entrepreneurs. For example, we did not begin by focusing on the tourism market but over the months identified this as a critical one that connected many businesses and entrepreneurs. We responded to the interests of respondents who wanted “the world to hear our story” (A). Fernandes [first author] engaged in multiple reflexive conversations with respondents to understand her role as an engaged researcher; supporting entrepreneurs by sharing her knowledge and understanding of the project as it unfolded but without instructing or directing action. We had to take care with research ethics by ensuring that both researcher and research participants, came to no harm. For instance, visits to the favela were always agreed

upon in advance and involved meeting a local at a pre-determined location, always during the day and only after they had drawn on their real-time intelligence on the favela situation. Local informants also provided key information about the safe navigation of the favela by instructing which streets and areas to navigate when alone. Additionally, all participants signed an agreement that detailed the research aims and assured confidentiality and responsible management of data.

Interviews were semi-structured, and they became increasingly focused over the course of the studies, focusing more on the tourism market by the end of Phase 1 and exclusively on the tourism market in Phase 2. The domains covered in early interviews for Phase 1 included entrepreneurs' lived experience of doing business in the favela, the challenges, and concerns of entrepreneurs due to the drugs 'war', and planned actions for the future. By Phase 2 we were focusing on what actions were being performed by the entrepreneurs to get their stalled activities back on track. As part of Phase 2, Fernandes [first author] attended a local meeting of entrepreneurs and followed an online town hall meeting involving favela entrepreneurs from across Rio with council members, when efforts were made to halt the tourism trade by council members and other authorities. In interviews conducted immediately after significant meetings, we asked questions relating specifically to the discussions of that meeting, before broadening out to follow-up questions.

In addition to recorded and transcribed interviews, we conducted a large number of informal interviews; these often took place on walks, over coffee, or on WhatsApp. Fernandes [first author] was also invited to join Facebook groups and connect with entrepreneurs' personal Facebook profiles where she could follow discussions about what was going on in the favela and what different people thought. While these tools – WhatsApp and social media – were not originally designed into the research, they became important in the process of collecting data due to their wide adoption by favela entrepreneurs and enabled frequent contact between the researcher and subjects. Fernandes [first author] also joined many walking tours provided by locals.

3.7.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis comprised three main stages. In stage one (for study Phases 1 and 2), we first developed a narrative that described our entrepreneurs' experiences, challenges created by the favela space and the drugs war (see Appendix 3.14.1). In stage two (for Phase 2 of the study), we focused on understanding what our entrepreneurs in the tourism market thought they might be able to do to get it working again; we understood this as a form of organizing to reproduce or (re)make the marketplace and space. In stage three we focused on identifying patterns of activity associated with the production of space and the relationships between them (see Appendix 3.14.1).

Data analysis began by listing the experiences of entrepreneurs and the challenges they faced as a result of the outbreak of the conflict in the favela. We did this in Phase 1 and repeated the process at the beginning of Phase 2. We defined a challenge as any organizational issue related to their principal market. For example, if an entrepreneur said they could not afford rent or could not reach an agreement with a supplier, we did not treat this as a conflict-related issue. We then reduced the list of issues to those typically faced by entrepreneurs because of the conflict. This relied on a process of data reduction (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) in which we grouped the issues thematically into broader domains (for instance, we grouped the issue of 'scared to come onto the street', with 'not safe to open store' as a safety issue). The second criterion was that the data that represented an issue should be raised by multiple sources, and for Phase 2, should be gathered as issues unfolded during the study period, rather than retrospectively. The third criterion was that together the domains should cover both practices and material arrangements that had been disrupted and abstract representations or mental models that were being invoked and contested. Fourth, the issue should be of real significance to the re-making of the market. We refined this through discussions with key respondents (Table 1). In Appendix 3.14.1 we present an excerpt of how we conducted our analysis, grouping the quotes that reflected the types of spatializing work done by entrepreneurs. The content of online representations – photos, news pieces, comments on social media and especially for Phase 2, videos – were analysed with attention not only to their themes and words used but also to the practices being represented in them and the connection between the practices represented and the practices enabled in place.

3.8 Conceiving representations of space for control: Spatializing Rocinha as a touristic destination

This section describes how Rocinha is spatialized as a touristic place, focusing on the relationship between conceived market space and the representations of space in a place. The key to understanding Rocinha's tourism market is the portrayal of the favela space in the media. A, one of our participant-entrepreneurs, claims that “the media only shows one thing: bad things”, so favelas are perceived negatively by outsiders. Evidence of this abounds. Figure 15 shows a media depiction from 1907 in which the famous physician Oswaldo Cruz who embodied the hygienist movement in Rio de Janeiro, is depicted cleaning a favela, represented by a sick and dirty-looking head. Sliding drunks and vagabonds are removed from the head by Cruz's comb. Headlined, *Uma limpeza indispensável* (“An indispensable clean”), the cartoon demands residents move out within 10 days. The media campaign led to a series of favela house demolitions. Since 1907, favela territories have been problematized as spaces that need to be removed or destroyed.

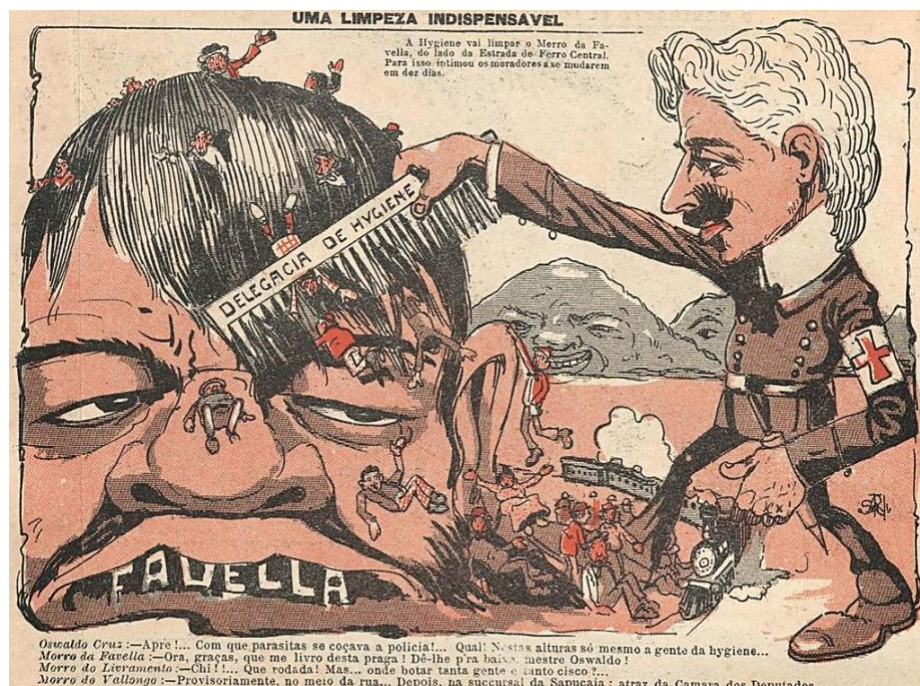


Figure 15: Media cartoon depiction of the physician Oswaldo Cruz cleaning favelas in 1907 (O Malho, 1907)

The historical problematization of favelas as dangerous places of disease and criminal activity and the hygienist rhetoric is based on an understanding of certain groups, such as policymakers, wealthy residents of the South Zone, those living in “apartment buildings facing the ocean [...] on the asphalt” (A). The representational work of these groups is an attempt at “crushing” (cf. Merrifield, 1993, p. 175) the everyday life of favela residents by advocating and creating policies that will control and tame these spaces accordingly. Residents claim that these efforts are not directed at making favelas more South Zone-like, rather they are aimed at removing and extinguishing communities that are not congruent with their idea of ‘the South Zone’. As MT, a favela entrepreneur put it:

Favelas are always seen as something that is ‘in the way’[...] You can see that there [part of a neighbourhood] they call Barra⁵, but it’s actually Curicica⁶ [...] if they put [up] their buildings they call [it] Barra, if it’s our houses [it] is Curicica, it’s favela, it’s ‘less’, understand?

In the 1990s, favelas saw the establishment of organized drug trafficking gangs, exacerbating the hygienist discourse and the apparent need to extinguish incongruent favela communities. Favelas were perceived as violent and dangerous, experiencing recurrent armed conflict. Even though armed conflict is episodic, residents complain that favelas are shown in the mainstream media *only* when conflicts break out, creating perceptions that favelas are continuous war zones. Public policies materialise this understanding and frequent, violent, military operations are deployed across the favela community (Lacerda, 2015).

Local entrepreneurs know the favela is represented as a violent drug den, and live with the consequences of these representations, which play a crucial role in how they organize tours. To attract tourists, they conceive alternative representations of space for control, to convey their favela as a touristic place and so counteract media reports. Working with other locals they craft a unique market offer that hinges on their lived experience of being a favela resident and combine this with tourism-related elements.

⁵ Upper-class neighborhood in the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro

⁶ Neighbourhood in the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro

Locals claim that, unlike outsiders, they know how, when and where tourists will be able to enjoy the authentic Rocinha, safely. A's Facebook Fan Page is exemplary. Employing several references to the material and spatial characteristics of Rocinha as a place, the page explains:

*We are inhabitants, friends, artists, merchants, partners and people in the landscape of the community [... who] can present a Rocinha of **distinct smells, flavours, colours, accents** [...] with its **narrow alleys and steep and sinuous climbs**. Come to get to know Rocinha with those who know it and contribute to local development. (Author's emphasis)*

The description is accompanied by dozens of photos of tourists navigating Rocinha's alleys and shops "like locals" (Figure 16). Tourists often have a meal with A. The photos, published online, are a powerful display of the aforementioned features of Rocinha. A is able to use these representational practices to control the space by assisting potential tourists in visualising a Rocinha that is safe, with quaint touristic attractions. A was able to assemble new representations of space using tourists' images; generating an alternative conceptualization of space to direct the practices of future tourists looking at his Facebook page (cf. Gottdiener, 1993). By materialising and stabilising an abstract tour offering into an online representation of experiences in specific streets, craft shops and other favela places, A takes control of how space is represented: as safe, exciting, culturally rich and worth visiting. The representations of the unique favela architecture and the peaceful walks compose a market offering that is designed, enacted, and experienced by each tourist in place. The media reports of gang warfare are displaced by the friendly sights A shows on his Facebook page. A's representational practices made visible by his social media page, demonstrate *how* entrepreneurs spatialize Rocinha.



Figure 16: A's business page on Facebook

The crafted representations of tourists taking tours, shared online by A and other entrepreneurs add to the plethora of representations of favelas produced by a multitude of actors – mainstream media, public policy reports, and other tourists – contributing to the formation of the favela space. Digital technologies and devices equip A to engage and affect processes of space production that would be otherwise unattainable to him through other media outlets e.g., tourism-related publications. Thus, digital technologies enable entrepreneurs to play an active role in shaping the favela space.

While Lefebvre's conceptualization of the triad suggests that representations are produced by specific groups detached from subjects who live and experience the everyday of spaces, our data show otherwise. A's assemblage of multiple spatial tourist experiences in a specific place, acts as a device for shaping what the tourism space is or could be, how it can be understood as a safe place, and how that space gets reproduced. Neither A's nor the tourists' representations are produced out of thin air, rather they are from a place with history. Thus, representational practices are always and necessarily spatial. They have folded into them the individual conceptions and lived experiences of subjects (tourists and entrepreneurs), of a multiplicity of concrete places (specific streets, shops, rooftops). This feeds the conceiving process that produces the market

space; a shared endeavour that is collectively represented and understood. Our point is that the individual *and* the collective work produce space and anchor that space in specific places. This connection between the experience of place (as an individual) and space (as a collective) is an important one and reveals some of the complexities tied up in representational practices. That is, representations and the practice that produces them are more than “thoughts about space, ideologies and imageries” (Soja, 2014, p. 221); they imply “a very social existence [... objectively expressed] in different buildings, places, activities, and modes of social intercourse over and through space” (Merrifield, 2000, p. 176). Thus, we find support for our first proposition (P₁) that, when working to make markets, tourism entrepreneurs:

P₁: use multiple aspects of place and space to conceive new representations of the latter, to control its production.

3.9 Crafting new perceptions of space: Local entrepreneurs’ spatialization work

Our data revealed the spatialization work local entrepreneurs did to craft new perceptions of their space at a moment when their normalised spatialization work was severely disrupted. In September 2017, the activities of two armed gangs, fighting for territorial control, disrupted Rocinha. The media represented the violent outbreak as *a war*. Particularly damaging to the tourism market were media reports of the death of a Spanish tourist while on a tour in Rocinha, shot in error by a policeman (Figure 17): the BBC’s website focuses on the activities of heavily armed soldiers. The soldiers are pictured in front of public transport displaying the favela’s name. As the tourism market is strongly influenced by online news and social media representations, this widely reported event made tourism “unsafe” (A).



Figure 17: Online piece from BBC about the dispute in Rocinha (BBC News, 2017)

The military was deployed, shops and schools were closed, and transportation and tourism services were interrupted. Residents were commanded to stay home while soldiers and tanks patrolled Rocinha (Figure 18). Not surprisingly, media coverage drew the attention of public agents and the public who, for the first time, started to question the practice of taking tourists to favelas.



Figure 18: Soldiers in Rocinha

With tourism activities completely disrupted, entrepreneur E reported that he had “stopped completely” conducting tours because he was:

[...] worrying about clients. And for worrying about my image and the image of my business. God forbid something like what happened to the Spanish tourist happens.

Entrepreneur C also stopped scheduling tours and reported that she was, “*thinking about what to do, other option*”. TripAdvisor entries commented on media reports of the *war* in Rocinha, discouraging potential customers from visiting favelas:

I just read an article about gunshots between drug dealers last weekend in the favela we intend to visit, with six persons shot! Would you cancel your excursion? (TripAdvisor, 19 September 2017)

Fernandes [first author] was in Rio at the time and followed the media representations of the favela on TV which included images of tanks parked on the main street and helicopters flying over Rocinha’s empty streets. Hordes of reporters gathered just outside the favela. All these practices had important consequences for Rocinha’s space. Rocinha’s “alleys”, “colours” (A), restaurants and sightseeing routes were put into a

state of suspension; they were still *in* the favela, but not available (Figure 19). The multiple spatial elements of restaurants and routes that local entrepreneurs had assembled into a market offer were now backgrounded by the conflict. The collection of representations circulating online was producing the favela as an unsafe space.



Figure 19: Closed shops and empty streets in Rocinha during the gang war period

The conflict itself was short, lasting a couple of days, although, in the week that followed, a few minor exchanges of shots were heard by the community. On the ground, the material manifestation of the conflict had ended, and in less than two weeks, soldiers had left Rocinha. However, online conversations – news posts and comments on social media – said otherwise. They presented Rocinha as a place of continuous war, unsuited for tourism.

The conflict disrupted the spatialization work of entrepreneurs by backgrounding elements essential to the market offer, despite the cessation of the conflict in less than a week. Tourism entrepreneurs needed to act to protect their livelihood and re-produce the favela as a touristic destination. To do so, they engaged in repair work that once again drew on their knowledge of the everyday life of the favela and awareness of the perceptions of outsiders about it.

The repair work involved the crafting of new perceptions of space through video production in addition to their usual work with social media photos and posts. Videos are particularly powerful, as potential tourists can see a culturally rich favela ‘in motion’, where the everyday life of residents is presented alongside Rocinha’s history, with a narrative that traces the historical social struggles of the community. The making of these videos in place is demonstrative of the work done by entrepreneurs as they draw on experiences of walking, talking, shopping, eating, and visiting, to craft a new representation and perception of the favela space. While perceptions are built through lived experiences, by capturing them on film and transporting them to potential tourists, they are crafted through their careful representation to transform others. This work is further evidenced in the next section. Thus, we find support for our second proposition (P₂) that, when working with video production to make markets, tourism entrepreneurs:

P₂: use multiple aspects of place and space to craft new perceptions of space.

3.10 Creating a new market offer: Re-producing Rocinha as a touristic place-space through digital spatialization

The spatializing work of local entrepreneurs had to go beyond developing new conceptualizations and perceptions of Rocinha as a safe place to visit. Additionally, it had to mobilise multiple aspects of place and space to generate new market offerings: re-presenting Rocinha as a safe and exciting tourism experience. We label the specific form of spatializing work done to generate this new market offer as *digital spatialization* because of the digital tools used in its performance.

Pre-conflict, films were not shared or used by tourism entrepreneurs, nor were they purposefully produced as tools to remake the tourism market. In the video (Figure 20), E is the main narrator and, standing in the place where capoeira presentations take place, he describes how tourism helps him change how ‘outsiders’ see the favela:

We try to do it so that [...] the visitor has this experience, which is fun, interactive [...] enjoyable, as if they were spending the day sightseeing [...] so they enjoy the day as in any other place and, you know, capoeira

is included and the visit we make to the house of a local who, hey, receives people really well [...] there's a nice view, so we take more photos and also get to know the other side, we walk through the alleys and streets and we explain to them how the communities, the favelas, came about, and what the dynamics of Rocinha are, the different places [...] trying to give them a good time, leisure, but at the same time, we want people to be a little bit aware of what a favela is and how a community works.



Figure 20: E describing tours

The short film was professionally produced as part of a larger project between Rocinha's local museum and the Institute Moreira Salles (IMS) in Rio. Called *Memórias da Rocinha*, the project aimed to “expand [...] the audio-visual registers about the social memory and the cultural identities” of Rocinha through “the eyes of residents and frequenters” (IMS, 2017). The films presented Rocinha residents sharing personal stories about life in the favela with the aim of:

[...] show[ing] this community, the attractions it has, that the community is not just about violence, you know, [we] show the culture of the community, show the part food plays, this whole thing (AS, director of a favela museum, depicted in the film).

Although it is not part of the tour, the museum is part of the broader market offer; part of the experience of visiting and knowing a place.

Throughout the video, the tour experience is described in Portuguese with subtitles in English to reach a larger audience. The film, which depicts particular moments in the place, is a lively summary of what tourists will find in Rocinha (cf. Merrifield, 1993). Different scenes are combined showing tourists photographing Rocinha from the entrance bridge and walking along alleys; another scene shows a group of tourists gathered around E, listening to stories about Rocinha. Tourists are also shown purchasing crafts from a street vendor (Figure 21).



Figure 21: Tourists buying crafts in Rocinha

The film was shared by E on Facebook, his main business platform. In the following months, other entrepreneurs also made and shared videos on Facebook in which they are featured speaking about how Rocinha is organized to receive tourists. For instance, C shared a video in which she features saying that “*you can’t know Rio de Janeiro without visiting a favela [because] favelas are part of Rio de Janeiro*”. A, on the other hand, opted for filming parts of a group tour he led. In the video, also shared on his business Facebook page, he says, “[*You*] should get to know Rocinha with people who know it”, alluding to the fact that tourists should look for him, a local, for an authentic experience. A uses elements of the place – being born and raised in Rocinha – to stress the authenticity of the market offer.

On the ground, Rocinha’s entrepreneurs picked up some of the same partners and connections, as well as new ones, to organize new tours. They drew on their networks across the favela and using WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger, monitored, and

exchanged information about the ‘climate’ in the favela, to find out if another conflict was about to break out, which tensions were arising, where and when. They checked whether the same routes were safe to walk. Entrepreneurs checked that there had been no sound of fireworks for many consecutive days, no issues reported from friends across the community, or if the territorial dispute had been resolved between the gangs; the arrest of several gang members amounted to a favourable diagnosis of the “climate” (A) in the community. Transportation restarted in the favela and news about the war eventually ceased both in Brazil and abroad. After remaking the connections in place, entrepreneurs could create videos that showed the favela as a touristic destination.

The re-spatialization work deployed post-conflict has much in common with the spatialization of Rocinha pre-conflict: foregrounding tourism-related and everyday life elements and circulating them online. However, because of the severe consequences of this particular conflict, entrepreneurs turned to professionally produced films as a vivid and comprehensive depiction of the favela, making broader representations of place and space related to the favela and its culture. The September 2017 conflict was similar to previous conflicts in terms of its materiality: all conflicts have had shootings and the temporary closing down of local commerce and schools. However, the greater impact of this particular conflict on the market was due, in part, to the killing of the Spanish tourist, as indicated by both C and A who suggested this conflict was different because it was threatening to “get out [of the favela] boundaries”, which it did when the tourist was killed. While indirectly related to the main conflict, as discussed above, the incident rapidly sparked passionate discussions on social media and policy-making directed at the tourism market. That is why the entrepreneurs resorted to a different approach in the production of representations.

In sum, the work of entrepreneurs compresses Rocinha and the complexity of its place-space relations into a short film, resulting in making Rocinha into a *new* market offer that promises more than just a safe touristic destination. Local elements in place such as the favela architecture, the local food served at a *laje*, the typically Brazilian capoeira, and the everyday life of residents *in Rocinha* are combined and represented in connection with the historical socio-spatial development of the city and its spatially separating public policies, the increasing violence in Rio, alongside the strong and

distinctive *carioca* culture of being from Rio and Brazil. In this sense, the spatialization work done through video production – though present before – reveals the inseparability of place and space in creating this new market offer. While the new offer is about the same favela territory, the newness lies in its holistic character in which elements of place mesh with the wider space of the city and the country, where place is understood, explained, and organized in relation to space, and vice-versa. Thus, we find support for our third proposition (P₃) that, when working to make markets, tourism entrepreneurs:

P₃: use multiple aspects of place and space to generate new market offerings.

3.11 Discussion

Our analysis of the reproduction of Rocinha as a tourism marketplace revealed that the favela tourism market is reproduced in a dialectic relationship between place and space: where place is the realm of the individual embodied experience, and space is the realm of the collective amalgamation of distributed action. Our analysis reconceptualizes Merrifield's (1993) place-space relationship by going beyond the conceptualization of spatial practice as mediating the relationship between two separate constructs. Instead, we present place and space as inseparable and entangled: where abstract conceptualizations and representations *and* concrete socio-material elements are tied together, constituting them as dimensions of the same construct. This reconceptualization of space is important as it suggests, a) that there is no space without place, and b) that the holistic nature of space, encompassing and inseparable from place, is central to what Kingma et al. (2018, p. 8) call “bigger picture organization”; the favela tour is more than the particular streets and cafes visited, it is Rocinha, Rio, *and* Brazil that together constitute the tourism market. By making use of Lefebvre's triad, we make visible the spatializing work of entrepreneurs, performed to reproduce what we could call the marketplace-space where individual experiences of entrepreneurs, visitors, the media, locals, and others, collectively reproduce, re-order and organize the bigger picture space. As such, our findings make three key contributions by conceptualizing: the spatial prism; the digital nature of spatialization work; and the organization of markets as spatialization work. We consider each in turn.

3.11.1 Conceptualizing the Spatial Prism

We contribute to extant conceptualizations of the reproduction of space (Kingma et al. 2018, Lefebvre, 1991, Merrifield, 1993) by conceptualizing the spatial prism, in which place and space are two aspects of the same construct, connected by distinct bundles of practice. We claim that Merrifield’s (1993) conceptualization treats place and space as separate constructs and so obfuscates the practices and processes of marketplace (re)production. Our conceptualization makes those practices and processes transparent and enables us to offer a reinterpretation of Lefebvre’s (1991) spatial triad in which each set of elements represents a spatial realm of action connected through the three core marketization practices, identified through our empirical analysis: *conceiving representations for control; crafting new perceptions, and generating new market offers*. Figure 22 represents our conceptualization of the spatial prism, adapting Lefebvre’s original triad (Figure 13) to provide greater clarity of both the relationship between place and space and of the practices and processes performed in the reproduction of space.

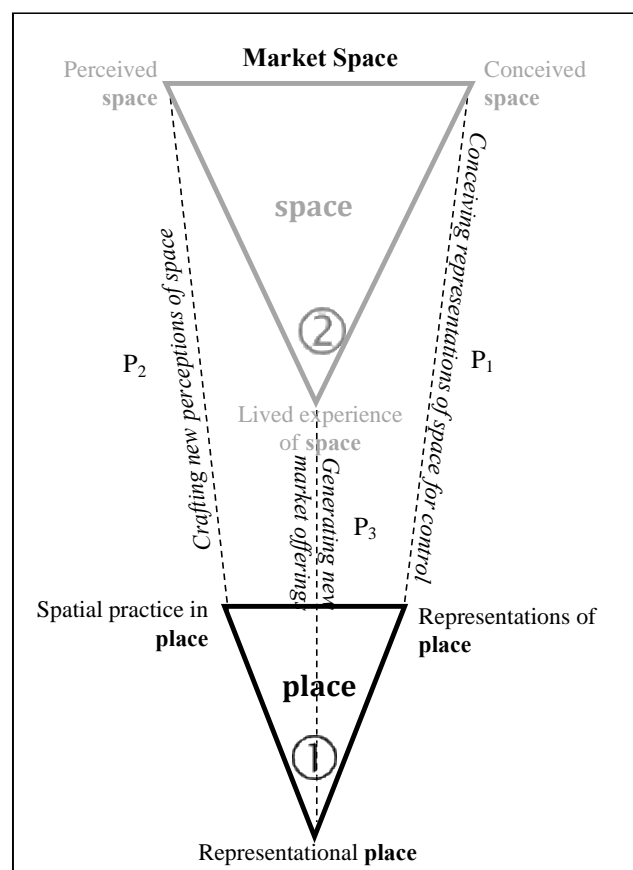


Figure 22: The spatial prism

Two important aspects are of note in our presentation of the spatial prism. First, we distinguish between the realm of place and space by relabelling dimensions of Lefebvre's triad; 'place' and 'space' are added to the original dimensions, i.e., spatial practices in place; representations of place and representational place; and perceived space, conceived space, and the lived experiences of space. A key challenge of Lefebvre's conceptualization of the reproduction of space is his use of the term 'space' to refer to both the specific realm of what we might call small 's' space (perceived-conceived-lived) and the holistic realm of Space with a capital 's' (perceived-conceived-lived + spatial practice-representations-representational place). This duality quickly becomes confusing and the distinction between the two realms is lost (cf. Merrifield, 1993). For example, Lefebvre labels dimensions in the realm of 'place' as 'space' (e.g., representational space). Our changes address this conflation.

Second, the practices we observed that connect the realms of place and space are specific to markets. Our focus in this study is on the organization of markets as a particular kind of space reproduction. Thus, the practices and processes that connect the realms of place and space in the spatial prism (Figure 22), focus attention on market practices. We recognise that the spatial prism could and should be adapted to other organizing settings, for example, healthcare, social care, or environmental care, where the connecting practices between the realms might usefully be articulated differently, particularly in relation to P₃, 'generating new market offerings'.

What is made clear from our analysis, and we argue likely to hold in other settings, is that the performance of each of the three (marketization) practices, is catalysed by connections between two specific aspects of place and space (i.e., perceived space *and* spatial practices in place; conceived space *and* representations of place; the lived experience of space *and* representational place), quickly overflowed across each triad to bring additional aspects of place and space into the practice. This overflowing performs and transforms the holistic or "bigger picture" Space (cf. Kingma et al. 2018, p. 8). For example, when entrepreneurs work to *conceive representations of space (P₁)* to challenge perceptions of the 'favela as a war zone', 'safe' *representational places* were selected based on the *lived experiences* of tour guides and everyday favela life. Then, select experiences were captured on film and circulated to potential customers, re-

presenting the favela as an interesting, exciting, and safe place to visit. The *conceiving* work of entrepreneurs in this practice is concerned with carefully devising representations to change how others *perceive* (P₂) the favela life. This must be done in a way that is more congruent with entrepreneurs' own lived experiences than with the image portrayed in the media. In so doing, entrepreneurs work to attract more tourists and to reproduce the market in concordance with their market image. Thus, while a practice starts with the connection between conceiving and representing space, the performance of this work quickly overflows, enrolling lived experiences of space, perceptions of space and the selection of representational places and spatial practices. This brings into sharp relief the particularities of the socio-material practices performed by those seeking to purposively alter, transform and produce Space in their interest.

Our focus here has been on what entrepreneurs do, but our data also revealed the purposive actions of councillors and key public figures performing the same socio-material practices (e.g., P₁), aimed at reproducing the favela as a dangerous 'no go' Space, rather than a marketplace. A key insight from this observation and consistent with Beyes and Holt (2020) and Kingma et al.'s (2018) claims about Lefebvre's triad, is that the spatial prism should not be seen as a structural model. Rather, it should be used as a framework that focuses attention on the underlying structural aspects and their relations, performed through socio-material practices in the reproduction of Market Space. In this sense, the spatial prism provides a heuristic device to explore and anticipate possible practices that might reproduce Space. We do not claim that it can predict them.

3.11.2 The Digital Nature of Spatialization

We also contribute to extant conceptualizations of the reproduction of space (Kingma et al., 2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1993) by drawing attention to the central role of digital devices in the socio-material practices of spatialization. Our conceptualization of the spatial prism not only provides greater clarity and adds "flesh" to the bones of theories of the reproduction of space (Merrifield, 2000, p. 173), but it also complements extant spatial research on workplace spatiality (Halford and Leonard, 2006), generative building (Kornberger and Clegg, 2004) and symbolic lived experience (Newlands,

2021) of places and spaces with understandings of the specific types of socio-material practices that perform tourism markets (cf. Palo et al. 2019) and market exchange (cf. Araujo, 2007). Two observations are striking.

First, previous Lefebvre-inspired studies have often described the production of representations as a top-down process (Newlands, 2021) originating from dominant groups; *experts*, as Lefebvre (1991) coined them. Our data show something different. We found evidence of digitally mediated bottom-up organizing. Rocinha's resident entrepreneurs performed socio-material practices that enabled them to take control over the production of the favela Market Space through the films they produced; the digital places and spaces they enrolled and created to provide access to their films; and the digitally connected social networks (on WhatsApp, Facebook, and other mobile Apps) they used to share timely, spatialized information to produce "safe routes through" the favela (A). While entrepreneurs employed experts in later efforts to represent Rocinha, the use of homemade films, photos and websites is significant. Once denied access to mainstream media, the new and ubiquitous socio-materialities of social media, mobile phones, internet access and video, act as important democratising tools that enable favela residents and entrepreneurs to act as important agents in the reproduction of Space. Lefebvre (1993) pays no attention to the particularities of the socio-materialities in action, yet we find them of particular interest as they impact *who* can engage in the reproduction of Space and how. This links to our second point, that digital devices are central to spatialization work.

Our data clearly show digital devices are central to spatialization work. Absent from Lefebvre's (1991) triad, but omnipresent in our data, are the socio-digital practices of entrepreneurs in their production of a tourism market. As an analytical tool, the spatial prism foregrounds the role of digital devices in the marketization work of organizing, coordinating, and managing the reproduction of the market. Contemporary forms of digital technologies and devices, especially social media and smartphones, apps and the internet are key actors in the process of spatializing Rocinha, and in the process of its marketization. Following Lefebvre (1991), other organization scholars have called for processual studies of spatialization (Beyes, 2018; Beyes and Holt, 2020; Dale and Burrell, 2007). Our study responds directly to this call. Beyes and Holt (2012)

emphasise that what is done in practice (a process view) is as important as what is made (an outcomes view). For them, space is “processual and performative, open-ended and multiple, practiced and of the everyday” (p. 47). Our findings explain *how* the process of spatialization is purposefully performed in place through numerous interconnected digital devices that form a knowledge infrastructure for Rocinha’s local entrepreneurs, enabling the repair and remaking of the marketplace after the ‘war’. In so doing, we shed new light on the socio-digital practices of the reproduction of a Market Space.

Because the crafting of Rocinha as a touristic place is a recursive and distributed spatial process that is mediated and enabled by the digital, digital technologies can be understood as core tools that enable locals to convey the embodied, everyday life of the favela (P₂; P₃). Digital technologies are used to situate tourism-specific elements of Rocinha as a place of tourism, (e.g., the architecture, the alleys, the food). At the same time, on the ground, entrepreneurs must negotiate and align partners to deliver the market offer for tourists. When tourists arrive in Rocinha, they get to experience the favela they saw online. In this sense, Space is not only condensed and made mobile by the entrepreneurs through their films and websites in the digital world but also situated and enacted by entrepreneurs and tourists in the real world. The coming together of locals and tourists confirms that place is a moment of space (cf. Merrifield, 1993, Beyes and Holt, 2020), and that space gets produced through multiple distributed moments of socio-digital action. In sum, digital devices equip actors in a new and accessible way to control the production of space from the bottom-up, democratising its reproduction and performance and acting as critical socio-digital materiality in the performance of marketization work.

3.11.3 The Organization of Markets as Spatializing Work

Finally, our findings contribute to extant understandings of the (re)production of markets and market theory, by revealing marketization as a key form of spatializing organizational work. As the market studies literature focuses on the materialities (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007) and practices of markets (Callon, 1998b), we claim that research on markets adopts a situated, socio-material practices view (Araujo, 2007; Cochoy et al., 2016) that is more consistent with place than the holistic place-space

conceptualization encompassed in the spatial prism. By drawing on Lefebvre's (1991) spatial theory, we develop a more nuanced and holistic conceptualization of marketplaces and spaces, that foregrounds the spatialized nature of marketization work. Our analysis has revealed how the spatializing work performed by local entrepreneurs in collaboration with the Institute Moreira Salles reconceptualized and re-presented the favela as a safe marketplace and space (P₃). Their marketization work drew on lived experiences and representational places from “now” (E) and from history, from what was immediately present in the favela, and from what was more distant in Rio and Brazil. Thus, extant, and desired images of the market are conceived and mobilised to transform perceptions. Put differently, entrepreneurs are working to make tourism markets use multiple aspects of place *and* space to conceive new representations of place, in their spatializing practices. They do this with purpose, and to control the reproduction of space that conforms to a desired conceptualization or image of the market. Thus, we show how representations of place, are generated and used by entrepreneurs as conceptual models to direct customer practices (cf. Gottdiener, 1993). In conceptualizing marketization work as innately spatial *and* spatializing, we acknowledge the generative interplay of market actors and materialities spanning and connecting market conceptualizations at multiple scales: as a tour in Rocinha, Rio, and Brazil. We have shown how this spatialization work creates a sequence of goal-directed actions, to reproduce a marketplace in the collective interest.

The conceptualizations of markets as the result of place-space processes of production explain the role of places and spaces in market making. While previous research has acknowledged the spatiality of markets (Finch and Geiger, 2011; Geiger and Gross, 2017), it has focused on the recursive assembling of socio-material arrangements while keeping space in the background. We contribute to the markets literature by proposing that, to maintain or intervene in markets, we must conceptualize them as socio-spatial formations and specifically, as a result of the relationship between places and spaces. Our spatial prism framework is a step in this direction. While Rocinha provides an extreme example of market disruption, markets are often on the cusp of disruption and need to be maintained through constant work. Our case revealed the spatial dimension of this work by showing the place-space processes that produce marketplaces and spaces.

3.12 Conclusion

We draw on Lefebvre's unifying theory of space and Merrifield's (1993) notion of place to conceptualize how *market spatializing* is performed. In so doing we theorize how actors re-produce or re-make markets by using aspects of place and space when they engage in spatializing practices. Such practices are performed through both situated, individual, and embodied lived experience in place, and their collective amalgamation that forms space. Our conceptualization of the spatial prism, which accounts for and explains the separate yet undetachable nature of place and space in market making, provides the basis for understanding how markets are made viable, even during times of extreme disruption. The core assertion from this conceptual analysis is that to remake the market, entrepreneurs must engage in spatializing work that uses both place and space elements. In doing so, local entrepreneurs connect with partners and other actors in and beyond the favela through practice and so stand to collectively re-produce the Market Space: Rocinha is re-produced both as safe tourism and living (market)place and space. For favela entrepreneurs, who are often excluded from markets, digital technologies act as a powerful means to establish the necessary felicitous conditions for these new connections. By presenting a framework for how a disrupted market is made viable through spatialization work, we hope to stimulate further inquiry into the relations between the organizing of marketplaces and spaces and the bigger picture organizing role that markets play in society.

3.13 References

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3.14 Appendix

3.14.1 Breaking of the market revealed by Phase 1

Events	Actions in Rocinha ‘on the ground’ (place)	Collective representations of Rocinha (space)	Market challenges for entrepreneurs
Dispute between gangs	<p>Intermittent shootings between gangs on the main streets of Rocinha; Stores and school are shut down and transportation services are interrupted; Residents hide in their homes; For locals, Rocinha is a territory waiting for and in need of one of the gangs to win in order to restore “normality” (A).</p>	<p>The news show Rocinha at war; The media shows videos of shootings between gangs; Rocinha is depicted in the media as a valuable territory for the drug trade and for gangs; “A once-trendy Rio slum is now ‘at war’” (Faiola & Kaiser, 2018); “Arrest of Rio drug kingpin brings fear of power grab – and further violence” (Phillips and Carvalho, 2017)</p>	<p>A sent messages to the first author about “tension” in Rocinha, cancelling an upcoming meeting at his office. Unable to leave their homes or sort out the situation for themselves, everyday life in Rocinha and the tourism market are completely disrupted.</p>
Army interventions	<p>Tanks are parked on the main street of Rocinha, and heavily armed soldiers circulate around the favela; Residents are told to stay home while helicopters begin flying over Rocinha; Rocinha’s air space is closed along with the roads that pass by</p>	<p>The media shows the army around Rocinha and reports an ongoing dispute; In the news, the story behind the conflict is thoroughly unpacked in the news (gang members and leaders involved, their profiles, reasons behind the conflict); On TripAdvisor, tourists are</p>	<p>The intervention of the army is an unwelcomed “spectacle” that “solves nothing” (A); The favela is a territory under siege by state agents and no longer a touristic destination.</p>

Events	Actions in Rocinha ‘on the ground’ (place)	Collective representations of Rocinha (space)	Market challenges for entrepreneurs
	<p>the favela; After a week of the army intervention and with no new shootings, Rocinha’s streets start to be frequented by locals, a few shops reopen and transportation resumes, but a great number of police officers remain; Local tourism entrepreneurs assess daily the number of police agents and their location, the setting from fireworks (a gang’s way of alerting they know police agents are going through alleys), and the sound of gunshots to decide whether to host tours;</p> <p>The tourism market is “slow” with little demand (A, E and C).</p>	<p>worried about scheduled tours after seeing the news about Rocinha; “In Brazil’s Favelas, Caught Between Police and Gangsters” (Gonzalez, 2018); “Brazil army deploys in Rio slum as drug-related violence worsens” (Reuters, 2017).</p>	
Spanish tourist is killed	<p>A Spanish tourist is killed by a police officer while on tour with a tour guide from the city; Entrepreneurs are distraught with the criticism of tourism when a police officer was responsible for the shootings;</p>	<p>The news focuses on stories about the investigation of the death of the Spanish tourist and the “mistakes” made by the tour agent that led to the death and discussions arise on Facebook about the ethics and safety of</p>	<p>The death of the Spanish tourist turned the safety concerns about the drug war to the tourism market. Alongside the representations of Rocinha as a dangerous place for tourists, the pieces in the news and the</p>

Events	Actions in Rocinha ‘on the ground’ (place)	Collective representations of Rocinha (space)	Market challenges for entrepreneurs
	<p>Entrepreneurs reporting Rocinha is “tense” (E and C) and suspend tours completely; A says he is considering taking tourists after careful assessment of the day;</p> <p>The police officers responsible for the killing of the tourist leave their post in Rocinha.</p>	<p>favela tourism; Governor gives a statement saying, “specialists are seeing that at the moment, if we control [tourism] a little”; “Rio police shoot dead Spanish tourist on favela tour” (BBC News, 2017);</p> <p>“Is Brazil safe? British woman shot after straying into favela” (Hamilton, Trend and Elliott, 2017).</p>	<p>comments of the wider population questioned the ethics of tours and of tourists’ morbid curiosity in ‘seeing poverty’ in ‘zoo like experiences’. The comments widely ignore the locals’ experience in place and the importance of the tourism market for socio-economic development.</p>
Councilwoman A proposal	<p>Councillor A presented a proposal to control access to favelas. The project requires local entrepreneurs to provide a list with tourists’ names and IDs to the local police stations, stickers on cars taking tourists and the payment of insurance by entrepreneurs.</p>	<p>The project represents favela tourism as a form of exploitation of poverty. In her text, the councillor deems Rocinha dangerous for other than the locals to frequent; “Questionable Tourism: visits of celebrities and tours by foreigners in favelas raise the debate about the glamouring [sic] of national ills” (Perez, 2017);</p> <p>“Are favela tours ethical?”</p>	<p>Rocinha is represented as a place of misery, exploitation, and risk for visitors. Additionally, the rules in the proposal ignore the fast-paced nature of working in favelas which requires daily safety checks and a sensible temporal organization in moments of safety. Entrepreneurs are concerned that these rules will pose yet another challenge to their work.</p>

Events	Actions in Rocinha ‘on the ground’ (place)	Collective representations of Rocinha (space)	Market challenges for entrepreneurs
Councilwoman B proposal	<p>Local entrepreneurs do not have clear guidelines on how to proceed with tours and decide to restart them until further notice; In response to Councillor A’s proposal, favela entrepreneurs from across Rio organized a meeting with Councillor B in Rio Council to discuss their own ideas for a guideline for favela tourism;</p> <p>A WhatsApp message was sent to various business partners across the favela asking them to “mobilise now” to shift the situation to their favour.</p>	(Draven, 2019)	<p>Entrepreneurs are concerned that there is a deliberate attempt to dismantle the tourism market <i>in favelas</i>.</p>
	<p>In the meeting, favela entrepreneurs carefully argued to represent favela tourism as an important activity for local socio-economic development through employment and education about favelas rather than as an exploitative market; Entrepreneurs claimed that safety-related issues happen when asphalt businesses ignore locals’ knowledge.</p>		

3.14.1 Spatializing work to produce Rocinha as a touristic destination

Conceiving representations of space (Awareness of negative conceptions about favelas)	Crafting new perceptions of space (Working out how to remake the market)	Generating new market offerings (Video production and social media presence)
<p>“Favelas are always seen as something that is ‘in the way’ [...] You can see that there [part of a neighbourhood] they call Barra, but it’s actually Curicica [...] if they put [up] their buildings they call [it] Barra, if it’s our houses [it] is Curicica, it’s favela, it’s ‘less’, understand?” (MT, interview)</p>	<p>“if any kind of accident happens in the city, any fatality, they don’t want to end tourism in the city, but [if it] happens in [a] favela then they want to stop tourism in favelas” (A, interview);</p>	<p>“You can’t know Rio de Janeiro without visiting a favela [...] favelas are part of Rio de Janeiro” (C, short promotional video)</p>
<p>“We are Rio de Janeiro; favelas ARE Rio de Janeiro” (M, interview);</p>	<p>“I stopped [taking tourists] completely. Now [I am] thinking about what to do, other option” (C, interview);</p>	<p>“and, you know, capoeira is included and the visit we make to the house of a local who, hey, receives people really well (E, short film);</p>
<p>“Rocinha is in the middle of two wealthy neighbourhoods [...] you cross the street and you’re in Sao Conrado [...] but here is Rocinha and there is Sao Conrado [...] here is favela and there is <i>Zona Sul</i>, are you understanding me? (South Zone)” (F1, during a tour);</p>	<p>“I wake up [on the day of the tour] and send a Zap [WhatsApp message] to people around the favela to see if there was any movement, anything [...] if it’s ok, I schedule a tour” (A, chat in Rocinha);</p>	<p>“We were really touched by this place; it’s really beautiful, the way of life here is really interesting” (Tourist, short film);</p>
<p>“I started [engaging locals with tourism] with Rocinha’s Tourism Forum organizing meeting to raise awareness [...] lectures in local institutions with breakfasts with the help of local business partners and friends at Via</p>	<p>“I feel the movement [...] talk to people [...] if it’s ok, I offer tours” (E, chat on Facebook);</p>	<p>“We try to do it [...] so they enjoy the day [in the favela] as [they would] in any other place” (E, short film);</p>
<p>“I started [engaging locals with tourism] with Rocinha’s Tourism Forum organizing meeting to raise awareness [...] lectures in local institutions with breakfasts with the help of local business partners and friends at Via</p>	<p>“We, from here, we know [when it is safe to bring tourists] [...] we are aware” (A);</p>	<p>“there’s a nice view [of Rio de Janeiro], so we stop to take more photos” (E, short film);</p>
<p>“I started [engaging locals with tourism] with Rocinha’s Tourism Forum organizing meeting to raise awareness [...] lectures in local institutions with breakfasts with the help of local business partners and friends at Via</p>	<p>“Rocinha has its way [to work out] [...] Rocinha always finds a way [to thrive after</p>	<p>Specific places in the favela depicted in the videos: visits at the home of a local, a capoeira show at a square, tourists buying crafts on streets and tourists walking up and</p>

Conceiving representations of space (Awareness of negative conceptions about favelas)	Crafting new perceptions of space (Working out how to remake the market)	Generating new market offerings (Video production and social media presence)
Apia [main street] to show the importance of organized and sustainable tourism” (A, WhatsApp chat).	conflicts]” (A, interview).	down alleys in Rocinha. “We are inhabitants, friends, artists, merchants, partners, and people in the landscape of the community [... who] can present a Rocinha of distinct smells, flavours, colours, accents [...] with its narrow alleys and steep and sinuous climbs. Come to get to know Rocinha with those who know it and contribute to local development” (A, Facebook page).

4. Paper 3: The mediating role of digital technologies in marketing research

4.1 Abstract

This paper argues the marketing literature largely frames digital technologies (DTs) as intermediaries in research practice and methodologies, rather than mediators (cf. Latour, 2005) and co-producers of knowledge. A key issue of treating DTs as such is the resulting design and framing of methodologies that do not reflect the extent to which DTs mediate and shape research practice and knowledge production. From a performative perspective of knowledge production (Callon, 2007), this hinders the creation of new research designs that are more attuned to the current dynamics of social practice which are largely mediated by the digital. These matters are discussed and problematized through the exemplary case of the wide adoption of netnography (Kozinets, 2002, 2015) by the marketing literature concerned with digital phenomena. Two key misconceptions framed by the methodology are highlighted. First, it acknowledges the presence of DTs exclusively in formal processes of data collection. Second, netnography frames the use of DTs as episodic. In contrast, through illustrative vignettes of my experience researching Brazilian favelas, this paper shows how DTs are part of the digital mundane (Leszczynski, 2020), routinely used in and entangled with researchers' daily life and work toolkit, used for a variety of formal but also mundane practices that support the research process. These findings thus supplant the notion of the episodic and formal use of DTs in research. Seeing the role of DTs in research in this new light brings to the fore their performative power and paves the way for thinking about new '*cyborg methodologies*' (cf. Latour, 2005) and how researchers can draw on this power. To provide a starting point, this paper presents three steps to designing and (re)assembling cyborg methodologies.

4.1 Introduction

For Latour (2005), mediators and intermediaries are the two types of actants that make up the social 'stuff'. Intermediaries are uneventful carriers of meaning, helping actors deploy their actions without intervening. Mediators, on the other hand, are

unpredictable and change the meanings they carry. Thus, mediators affect the actions in which they are enrolled (ibid).

In the marketing literature, digital technologies have often been treated as intermediaries. An example of this treatment is the wide adoption of netnography (Kozinets, 2002) as the methodology to study digitally mediated phenomena in marketing.

In the words of its proposer, netnography “adapts ethnographic research techniques to study the cultures and communities that are emerging through computer-mediated communications” (Kozinets, 2002, p. 62). In comparison to traditional ethnography, netnography is claimed to be less “intrusive” and easier (ibid.). However, the tenets of netnography obscure much of the roles that digital technologies play in research practice and the production of knowledge. Two key misconceptions stand out.

First, in netnography, digital technologies are used by researchers exclusively when they are needed for specific ‘formal’ methodological purposes. For instance, Cocker and Cronin (2017) described how, to inform their discussion on charisma, they accessed YouTube videos to collect comments posted on the platform. In this dynamic, the researcher is the expert who enters and leaves digital spaces at specific times with a specific research-oriented aim. These specific moments are when the researcher encounters and uses digital technologies for harvesting data in specific ways pre-designed into the research plan.

Second, and relatedly, the role of digital technologies in research is episodic. As far as netnography goes, researchers and digital technologies do not cross paths until, nor after, the first is used to collect data. Canavan’s (2021) analysis of reality tv show fans’ comments is a good example in which the author carried out an observation of online posts to inform the analysis. In this dynamic, the sole job of digital technologies was to aid the researcher in observing online behaviours for that particular time.

To date, few studies have analysed what the use of the approach means for marketing scholarship. Among these, studies were limited to expanding netnography’s focus and application, corroborating rather than critically analysing the perspective (Costello et

al., 2017; Lugosi and Quinton, 2018; Reid and Duffy, 2018). Alternatively, the present paper takes a performative stand (Callon, 2007) to discuss the role of digital technologies in research practice.

The performative approach starts from the perspective that when scholars set out to explore phenomena, they help shape and transform it through the specific socio-material framings and orderings through which they make sense of the world (Roscoe & Loza, 2019). In turn, researchers are also shaped and transformed by that world. Adopting this viewpoint, the present discussion considers that researchers interested in studying digitally-mediated practices also engage in these practices, working and living with the ‘digital mundane’ (Elwood & Leszczynski, 2018; Leszczynski, 2020). These are “the on-the-surface, taken-for-granted, seemingly ordinary and routine sites, objects, data productions, and networked practices of everyday life” which include “ordinary devices with network connectivity that participate on the internet of things (IoT), the intimate spatialities of the smart home, [and] the banal landscapes of digital infrastructures and data” (Leszczynski, 2020, p. 1151). In this dynamic, researchers’ practices intertwine with DTs to co-produce knowledge. The performative perspective helps to conceptualise research practice in a more holistic way that is sensitive to the multitude of socio-material practices that enable knowledge production, and how, by being intertwined with and enabled by digital technologies, research practices and knowledge production are affected and shaped by them. This way, the present discussion contemplates digital technologies as mediators in the process of doing research, rather than intermediaries (cf. Latour, 2005). In turn, this contemplation supports the argument for methodologies that are more attuned to the digital mundane.

Two vignettes from my experience living in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and in the UK while researching the Rocinha favela, illustrate the key arguments. The widespread use of digital technologies in the Rocinha tourism market is an extreme example of dependence on these technologies. In the favela, they are important means through which locals keep safe, trade, communicate and engage with other actors within and beyond the favela boundaries. As an extreme case, Rocinha exposes the mediating role digital technologies played in my research practices and their enabling powers as I engaged with the favela.

In the following sections, I first problematize the intermediary (cf. Latour, 2005) role granted to digital technologies in the marketing literature employing netnography and follow with an alternative perspective anchored in the notion of performative market scholarship (Callon, 2007; Roscoe & Loza, 2019) that repositions digital technologies as mediators (cf. Latour, 2005). Finally, I discuss the contributions and their implications for marketing scholarship and methodologies.

4.2 The intermediary role of digital technologies in marketing scholarship

“The simple fact of the matter is that software, in the shape of embedded systems, is now so widespread that we are no longer able to be sure to which extent” (Thrift and French, 2002, p. 320)

Latour (2005) conceptualised mediators and intermediaries as the two groups of “means to produce the social” (p. 38). For him, “Mediators transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry [...] their input is never an as good predictor of their output [and] their specificity has to be taken into account every time.”. Conversely, intermediaries “[transport] meaning or force without transformation: defining its inputs is enough to define its outputs” (Latour, 2005, p. 39). Intermediaries may be thought of as a unity of a black-boxed nature. The same actant can become a mediator or an intermediary depending on the nature of the entity. For instance, as Latour (2005) exemplifies, a computer can be a mediator or an intermediary depending on how (un)predictable its outputs are. However, Latour (2005) is sceptical about the existence of intermediaries:

“The sociologists of the social believe in one type of social aggregates, few mediators and many intermediaries; for ANT, there is no preferable type of social aggregates, there exist endless numbers of mediators, and when those are transformed into faithful intermediaries it is not the rule, but a rare exception (p. 39)”

While Latour (2005) does not see many intermediaries in social phenomena, the broader marketing literature largely confers an intermediary role to contemporary forms of digital

technologies, which is exemplified by the wide adoption of Netnography (Kozinets, 2002). A form of ethnography especially dedicated to exploring the behaviour of consumers in online settings (Kozinets, 2002; Kozinets, 2015; Lugosi and Quinton, 2018; Reid and Duffy, 2018), netnography has been strongly taken up in marketing scholarship to that end. Studies adopting the technique have explored a variety of contexts, from wine (Thanh and Kirova, 2018), to ‘reality shows’ (Canavan, 2021), using social media platforms to gather data about various market-related phenomena (Cocker and Cronin, 2017; Nelson and Otnes, 2005; Rollins et al., 2014; Schau et al., 2009). For instance, to explore contestations of market logic underpinning the US yoga market, Ertimur and Coskunner-Balli (2015, p. 45) tracked “forums, blogs, newspapers, and trade journals” to observe discussions and gather comments “generated by different actors within [them]”. Similarly, Shau, Muñoz Jr and Arnould (2009, p. 32) “observed forums for all the brands included and downloaded thousands of messages posted by brand users” to explore processes of value creation in brand communities.

A closer look at the methods sections of these studies sheds light on the role played by digital technologies in the research process. In them, the researcher observes and tracks actions in online environments (comments and posts) at a given moment, while ‘the others’ (users, consumers, brands) engage in online practices (commenting and writing posts). In this dynamic, digital technologies are limited to platforms for data harvesting constituting ‘peepholes’ through which researchers can observe phenomena. The role of digital technologies is further evidenced by extensive literature such as Lamberton and Stephen’s (2016). The authors identified that in five years, the main themes emerging frame digital, social media, and mobile medias (DSMM) as a) facilitators of individual expression, b) decision support tools, and c) a source of market intelligence. In a similar revision, Yadav and Pavlov (2014) found four key themes: 1) consumer–firm interactions; 2) firm–consumer interactions; 3) consumer–consumer interactions, and 4) firm–firm interactions. Both revisions reveal how digital technologies are merely tools employed by specific market actors in specific market relationships. That is, the marketing literature has not, to date, turned the analytical lenses on itself to reflect on how digital technologies relate to and affect their practices. In a clear example of this omission, Lamberton and Stephen (2016, p. 147) pose that “methodological work is important as a means of identifying new ways to mine or model new types of online data such as data from Twitter”. Thus, from this perspective, digital

technologies are passive intermediaries for researchers to use for specific purposes and brief moments.

Kozinets (2002, p. 62) states that netnography allows the researcher to “[unobtrusively] observe naturally situated consumer behaviour”. This view that the researcher can “unobtrusively observe” implies that netnography places researchers and phenomena in different spheres. It follows that digital technologies are in use by and serve a purpose for the researcher when she wishes to engage with the digital sphere. Digital technologies seem to play no role in the process of knowing except for allowing the production of data by users and access to data by researchers. Additionally, in the netnographic dynamic, the enrolment of digital technologies is pre-designed into the research plan and formally part of the methodology. The insights produced in the process relate directly to the data collected in the data collection period and the research process has a rather linear character.

While the approach may have been useful to generate insights into the online behaviours of market actors, its tenets have important implications for the marketing literature that employs it. Since Netnography frames technologies as an intermediary in the research process, works adopting the methodology are forced into 'seeing' through the same frame. It follows that researchers exploring digital-related phenomena and computer-mediated practices through netnography are pushed to imagine a limited use of digital technologies constrained to momentary data collection and observations of online settings. This view shows how the wide proliferation of software, here analysed in the form of social media and other apps and devices, tends to become increasingly invisible, inversely proportional to their spread (cf. Thrift and French, 2002).

Contrary to the netnographic approach, the present discussion borrows ideas from the nascent field of digital geographies (Elwood & Leszczynski, 2018; Hjorth, Pink, & Horst, 2018; Leszczynski, 2018) and specifically, the notion of the digital mundane (Leszczynski, 2020) and what this means for research practice and the production of knowledge. This paper maintains that digital technologies are present in research practice and methods in a mundane fashion, proliferating and intertwined with researchers' everyday life and work, rather than limited to a formal and episodic format such as that designed in netnography. For instance, initial contact with potential subjects and sending questionnaires are activities often deployed from a mobile phone or laptop and with the help of a few communications apps and email.

Navigating a city previously unknown, replying to emails, and making calls in a foreign country are all activities researchers might need to perform in the course of a given project. Journals are read mostly online, and messages, calls and even conferences are delivered, especially in a post-Covid world, mostly online or in a hybrid online-offline format. While some of these activities could be done without digital mediation i.e., through telephones, posts, city maps, and printed journal issues, the fact is that they no longer are.

Contemplating the role of the digital mundane in academics' life and work as much as those formally pre-designed into methodologies opens the possibility that digital technologies are hardly mere intermediaries that do nothing beyond transporting and storing human inputs or allowing data to be harvested. Rather, digital technologies might have a say in how we see phenomena, given the breadth of their involvement in the research process. They are more likely to be mediators than intermediaries (cf. Latour, 2005). This perspective pushes thinking towards the types of methodologies that would make use and take advantage of DTs' performative powers. The next section discusses this further in light of the notion of performativity.

4.3 A performative perspective on the role of digital technologies in research practice

The body of work known as market studies provides a springboard to think about the role of digital technologies in research practice from a performative perspective (Chimenti & Kjellberg, 2022; Duffy, Reid, & Finch, 2020; Fuentes, Bäckström, & Svingstedt, 2017; Fuentes, Hagberg, & Kjellberg, 2019; Hagberg, Sundstrom, & Egels-Zandén, 2016; Hein, O'Donohoe, & Ryan, 2011)(Duffy et al., 2020; Fuentes et al., 2017; Fuentes et al., 2019; Hagberg et al., 2016; Hein et al., 2011). The performativity position of this stream of studies (Mason et al., 2015) implies two important considerations in the present discussion. The first is about the role of digital technologies in shaping the practices they help deploy. In these studies, digital technologies are somewhat active in actors' practices. This can be observed for instance in Cochoy's (2015) revisit of the co-production debate which puts in check the labour input of consumers in light of a new device – a code to be scanned. The introduction of this new device 'acted' by imposing barriers to practices while enabling others. Similarly, Duffy et al.'s (2020) analysis of the secondary digital ticket market shows how the “intermixing of humans and technology [is] transforming markets and market actors” (p.

174). In this case, the digitization of an object of exchange – concert tickets – resulted in contestations and clashes between actors when the digital ticket is purchased and circulates at different scales, creating new encounters that its predecessor – the printed ticket – had not. Seen in this light, digital technologies 'act' in the practice. Rather than passive things used by market (human) actors, these technologies enable and disrupt practices, sometimes unexpectedly, and alter outcomes. They are mediators (cf. Latour, 2005).

The second consideration is about how theorizing relates to practices. In Market Studies this notion derives strongly from Callon (1998a; 1998b; 2007) who asked important questions about the nature of the relationship between theory-producing academics and phenomena, and critiqued approaches that placed them in separate spheres. In this position, academics take part in “enacting the realities that they describe” (Callon, 2007; Law and Urry, 2004). The performative perspective does not "place [theory] within the object that it is supposed to be studying from the outside" (Callon, 2007, p. 315). Rather, it starts by admitting that theory is bound to change the very ‘thing’ it is trying to give order and meaning to. Thus, adopting a performative approach to research practice means starting from the standpoint that there is no ‘pure’ marketing scholarship separate from markets but rather, that market scholars help perform the markets they study (Roscoe and Loza, 2019). For example, MacKenzie and Millo (2003), distilling Callon’s notion of performative theories, showed how the creation of a formula on a piece of paper changed its role from supposing a world – theorizing that something will happen in a certain way – to bringing that world into being when the formula was subjected to use and moved through sequences of actions deployed by different actors. MacKenzie and Millo (2003) showed how theorization work is part of the making of the social world. As the main actors in theorization, this work shows that scholars, as beings-in-the-world, participate in the enactment of the realities. The same can be thought of in the work done by researchers when they set out to understand digitization.

The previous section called attention to how netnography frames digital technologies as intermediaries and how this framing ‘forces’ researchers adopting the methodology into a limited view of them. From a performative perspective, this means that when the researcher sets out to explore digitization phenomena, and adopt netnography to do so, the researcher is then bound to remain oblivious to how they are shaping and could shape research and the knowledge they do or could produce. It follows that the research design follows the same

logic and keeps researchers stuck rather than provoking them into exploring new modes of inquiry. Conversely, adopting a performative view of the role of digital technologies in research practice, and being attuned to the theorization work produced with and through them, pushes researchers to rethink what it means to research increasingly digitized societies. In turn, this provides a starting point to think about how to expand our methods repertoire and the methodological toolkit of marketing scholars in exploring digitization-related phenomena.

4.4 Context: The Rocinha favela

When it comes to the widespread use of digital technologies, favelas, the urban shantytowns populating capitals such as Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Brazil, are a case in point. Favelas are part of the urban landscape near some of the world's most famous touristic sights and next to some of the most expensive postcodes in the country. While most favelas lack basic infrastructure, many have access to WiFi through either local providers or from large corporations who provide internet across Rio, often through illegal connections. Despite living in precarious housing conditions and lacking access to basic services, in favelas, 74% of residents access the internet at least once a week (Guimaraes, 2016). Once difficult to use and access (de Souza e Silva et al., 2011; e Silva et al., 2011), smartphones, WiFi and social media have become widespread and essential in favelas, especially for business and trading purposes (Fernandes et al., 2019). Evidence of such importance is Facebook's partnership with an indigenous favela organisation in Rio de Janeiro – CUFA (Central Union of Favelas) – in creating a project in Brazilian favelas designed to educate local entrepreneurs in the use of social media to support small business activities. The project started in 2015 and still successfully runs in Rio de Janeiro (Hallal, 2020).

Brazilians overall spend more time on Facebook than Argentina and Mexico audiences combined (ComScore, 2015) and 89% of internet users in favelas believe it can help them increase income while 57% say it already has (Gandra, 2015). When visiting the largest favela of Rio de Janeiro – Rocinha – it was common practice for locals to whom I was being introduced to befriend me on Facebook, assuming I use the social media platform. To exchange contacts meant to exchange WhatsApp numbers and it was again often assumed that I, as it seemed to be the case with all locals I met in the favela, used the App as the main mean of communication.

My time in Rocinha revealed that social media – especially Facebook and WhatsApp – plays a central role in how people engage in business activities and relate to each other across and beyond the favela. Rocinha is estimated to have over two hundred thousand inhabitants spread across narrow and unmapped alleys up the hill (Tabak, 2011). Money is scarce and armed conflict is intermittent (Fernandes et al., 2019). In this context, social media Apps are even more useful for instant communication. In the favela, these tools play important roles in keeping locals and visitors safe – Rocinha has one of the largest numbers of tourist incomes among Rio’s favelas. Because of the intermittent cases of armed disputes between drug gangs, it is through these social media tools that local tourism entrepreneurs exchange information about ‘the climate’ in the favela i.e. if someone heard conversations or saw a suspicious movement by gangs or the police, which is crucial for them to determine whether a conflict is imminent and if they can carry on with tourism-related activities. As such, in the favela, digital technologies mediate important and mundane practices of the favela every day and business life.

4.5 Vignettes

This section presents two vignettes from my fieldwork researching the favela entrepreneurs in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil that showcase how digital technologies intertwine with research practice, what they enable and how they shape the research process and outcomes.

4.5.1 Performing mundane research practices with digital technologies

The only effective means to contact A2, a key entrepreneur for my research, was through WhatsApp or Facebook messenger. Being a one-man business, A2 was often away from his office so there was little chance of catching him next to the landline telephone. Additionally, while landlines are expensive and there is little infrastructure for them in the myriad of alleys around the favela, data usage plans are much cheaper and readily available around most of the favela territory.

As is the case with many favelas in Rio, intermittent armed conflict between gangs and violent police operations are part of everyday life. This means that for local entrepreneurs to schedule tours and keep themselves and others safe, they must make sure the ‘climate’ in the

favela is favourable. The same logic applied to my scheduled visits to Rocinha. Whenever I wished to meet, A2 needed to ‘read’ the favela. A police operation the previous day or the sound of fireworks were both signs of possible instability between gangs, or between gangs and the police and I should refrain from going to Rocinha. Thus, whenever I wished to visit Rocinha, I would send A2 messages through WhatsApp or Facebook messenger to discuss when and where I could visit Rocinha. Figure 23 **Error! Reference source not found.** shows tourists walking in Rocinha through the same main street I used to arrive at M’s office (research archive).



Figure 23: Tourists in Rocinha

When I first met M, he asked for my ‘zap’ – how Brazilians refer to one’s WhatsApp number. In our initial conversation, he also referred me to his Facebook business page and his business website. These were essential tools for him to be able to advertise his business, trade and organise collective action. Thus, following his business and personal Facebook profiles was a means to understand the work with which he had been engaging in the past two decades to enable a tourism market in Rocinha. The wide coverage of WiFi and the spread of smartphones among residents turned WhatsApp and Facebook into the main means of communication for locals. Since social media communication apps and smartphones serve

multiple purposes in favela life, they became increasingly important as I sought to engage and spend time with Rocinha's locals.

Digital tools accompanied me daily during my time living in Rio de Janeiro while I was researching Rocinha's entrepreneurs. Being from an entirely different region in Brazil, they helped me navigate and live daily life in a largely unknown city. For instance, it was through Google searches and Google maps that I found information about the nearest grocery shop, bakery (hours, location, distance, products sold) and park where I could go for runs. I saved the rented accommodation's address on my Uber app to ensure I always knew where to return. Every time I went to Rocinha, I checked the times for the tube and buses online first and double-checked the stations through which I would pass. While on the bus, I would have my Google maps on for the duration of the trip to follow the path and make sure I knew where to hop off. On my weekends alone in Rio, I turned to Google searches to find things to do – places to visit that people recommended on TripAdvisor, the best-rated cafes, events, and the hours for museums. And again, for each of these, I would resort to online maps and tube schedules, and Uber searches.

A closer look at the practices in which I engaged to establish a routine in Rio casts light on the mundane practices that are needed to accomplish a research project and the extent to which digital technologies enable and mediate them (cf. Latour, 2005). Contrary to the netnographic approach (Kozinets, 2002) that focuses on the use of digital technologies in the moment of data collection, my experience in Rio reveals the 'untold tales' of what happens before the 'formal' steps of research can be taken. It shows how digital technologies were routinely part of my toolkit both when collecting data and when performing activities that support more formal processes of research (e.g., navigating the city). The role of the digital stretches beyond purposeful and momentary uses pre-designed into the methodology. Apps and my mobile phone allowed me to engage with the research setting and its residents, to know whom to follow, what other work actors were involved beyond Facebook, and to get to know Rocinha and Rio de Janeiro 'on the ground', giving me insights into the socio-spatial relationship between favela and city. By doing so, digital technologies enabled me to deploy the 'formal' research practices (e.g., record interviews, take photographs, follow entrepreneurs' social media webpages) but also to accomplish several actions that support and are key to the success of the research (e.g., finding the nearest grocery store, taking the

right tube route to the favela, exchanging messages with potential and actual participants in real-time). While netnography's concerns lie in the design and deployment of the first set of activities, the case of favelas showcases how digital technologies were involved throughout the process, mediating the groundwork that enabled the research project.

Notably, the digitally mediated groundwork that precludes more 'formal' research work is often obfuscated when researchers write their accounts in the methods section of papers as can be noted in studies that adopt Netnography. Methods sections typically describe steps that take place when the research has a more defined body: number of participants, duration of encounters, platforms of data collection, number of entries analysed, methods of analysis and so on. Recounting my steps in Rio reveals how the frame of what constitutes research can be expanded to include more of the digital mundane (Leszczynski, 2020). Doing so means expanding the methodological repertoire and toolkit to study digitization-related phenomena.

4.5.2 The performative power of digital technologies in research

Facebook and WhatsApp became my direct connection with Rocinha before, during and after my fieldwork. For instance, before visiting and staying in Rio de Janeiro, Rocinha's local entrepreneurs' Facebook pages became an essential part of bringing me up to speed with their work in the favela. After leaving Rio, in the aftermath of a large dispute between gangs in Rocinha, social media platforms were key means to follow debates around the future of the tourism market and the actions entrepreneurs were deploying to remake the market. For instance, I learned on social media they were engaging in a petition with the city council to push a policy favourable to the local tourism market. I also used social media apps to cross-check with local entrepreneurs the news I read about Rocinha and got their perspectives. I learned local entrepreneurs had started a project to produce short films about the favela, an action to show a culturally rich and historical Rocinha to counterpose the often violent and drug-dominated Rocinha portrayed in mainstream media. Learning about this project generated an important chapter in my thesis. Additionally, I could text A2 to ask for more details about previous conversations and interviews and could still follow his business activities from afar, back in England. A2 is very active on social media and posts frequently about tours with photos and videos to show tourists having a fun and safe experience in Rocinha. In turn, A2 would send me messages with updates about his business activities: the

new events he was organising, new partnerships, and conversations he was having with the city council.

The ongoing relationship I managed to maintain with Rocinha's locals allowed me to become increasingly knowledgeable about the tourism market in Rocinha, before arriving and long after my visits had ended, and I was back in the UK. While netnography's design frames specific moments of digital data collection, and limited engagement between the researcher and the digital (Canavan, 2021; Nelson and Otnes, 2005; Thanh and Kirova, 2018), my experience shows a much closer and ongoing exchange throughout the research process, before and after the fieldwork in place was done. This reveals how digital technologies enable a more fluid nature to research practice, contrary to netnography, which confers an episodic character to the role of digital technologies in research. This ongoing relationship with participants and the case allowed a regular flow of data and new knowledge and insights. Additionally, digital technologies enabled a constant shift in agency in the relationship between researcher and participants, when not only I would reach out and inquire, but participants also had an 'open channel' to contact and share whatever they thought was pertinent. These instances are exemplary of how digital technologies are performative in the research process, shaping outcomes and insights.

4.6 Discussion

The present paper problematized the intermediary role granted to digital technologies in the marketing literature. This problematization is evidenced by and done about the wide use of netnography (Kozinets, 2002; Kozinets, 2015) in studies concerned with the digitization of markets and market practices. In this sense, I problematized the ontological positions of the marketing scholarship in which digital technologies are the stuff 'out there' that users, consumers, and practitioners use while researchers observe that use during defined periods. This problematization is done considering the epistemological choice of netnography as the methodology to study digitized market practices. I argued that the current position lacks sensitivity to what the digital already does (but remains obscured) in research and poses barriers rather than encourages methodological creativity.

This paper started from the standpoint that crucial steps of research are accomplished with and through digital technologies and that this intertwining, differently from the dominant

view in the marketing literature, does not happen exclusively when a purposeful method of investigation using digital technologies is employed, as is the case with netnography. Rather, this paper considers that the digital ubiquity of contemporary societies means that digital technologies shape, are involved and enrolled in research practices in their most mundane forms. Considering the digital mundane part of research practices and analysing the role of digital technologies in this way provides two main insights about what is being missed in the current netnographic format.

First, while research is accomplished through ‘formal’ practices of data collection and analysis – those that do figure in traditional methodologies and get described in length in the methods sections in papers – its success is also dependent on other less visible activities – the digital mundane practices – as shown in vignettes. Second, the ubiquitous presence and mundane use of digital technologies in research practice have the power to shape research and the knowledge that is produced as a result. In the case of Rocinha, digital technologies enabled the research to continue to develop, granting it an ongoing character. That is, years after leaving Rocinha, it is through Facebook that I can still follow their activities both at a personal level, but also on their business pages, and cross-check news about the favela, and it is through the platform that I send them pieces I write about the research they helped me carry. Thus, digital technologies enable me to continuously communicate and exchange with key contacts and follow stories long after the ‘formal’ data collection was done. This allowed for a sustained flow of information that fed into new reflections and new research outputs. As such, digital technologies fed into new knowledge and insights. This process reveals how, even when digital technologies are not purposefully pre-designed into the research, they nonetheless enable a relationship between researcher and case. In a way, the researcher is ever-becoming acquainted with the field and learning about phenomena thanks to the digital. These insights provide the underpinnings for arguing for a) more holistic methodologies to understand phenomena in contemporary societies which are intertwined with the digital mundane, and b) the role of digital technologies and devices from a performative stand (Callon, 1998b; Callon, 2007) in which they shape the practices they help actors – marketing researchers – deploy. Thus, this paper argues that digital technologies should be considered as mediators in research practices rather than intermediaries (cf. Latour, 2005) and that this shift in thinking calls for the development and expansion of the current methodological repertoire and toolkit to study markets.

In the studies that have adopted Netnography, the reader is led to take much for granted. The process behind the insight is concealed by the citation of the methodology. In other words, admitting to having employed Netnography seems to be sufficient for the reader to understand what underpins the process of knowing which eclipses how digital technologies help us know, and the practices involved in knowing. In the methodology section of the paper that employs netnography, the role of digital technologies is obscured and diminished.

Thus, this paper argues for two slight, yet incisive changes in the design of methodologies exploring contemporary and digitally-mediated markets. First, methodologies should adopt a more holistic instance to include the digital mundane. Second, we should start from the position that the digital mundane is performative and that this power to act can be put to good use in imagining new research questions and innovative ways to explore them.

Rather than a black box in which to bury the plethora of practices, materials, and encounters that make research, methodologies need to be expanded to embrace the complexity of the digital mundane and reveal the cyborg methodologies which underpin contemporary research practices. This should be done empirically where researchers can uncover the many shapes that the digital mundane takes. However, this paper provides a modest contribution on where to start through three key steps (also see Figure 24):

S1: *Expand the frame*: this paper argues that the frame around what practices constitute research needs to be expanded to include digital mundane practices, revealing the (re)assembling work of creating and deploying cyborg methodologies. In other words, research practice needs to be seen in a new way which includes admitting the importance of digital mundane practices in accomplishing research and how they inform insights and shape research outcomes. This is key because that which underpins and explains results gets written in methodologies and passed on as valid research designs. Those are the stories that get told and validated. To be included in the methodological stories, mundane practices must be first seen as part of – and a crucial part – of doing and publishing a piece of research. Methodologies that include mundane research practices are a new way of seeing the research, understanding what constitutes research and how insights and knowledge are produced.

S2: *Reconnect methods and practice*: asking new questions and answering them is hard work, which is made unnecessarily harder by methodologies that are detached from the everyday

reality of doing research. Thus, it is key that we reconnect practice with methods in a reflexive, mutually shaping relationship, where methods inform practice and practice informs research design. The case of Rocinha provides an example of the differences that can exist between methodologies and research practice ‘on the ground’. A disconnection between practice and methodology limits rather than encourages researchers to pull unexpected threads that often arise in research. This reconnection starts with the previous step, but to create a virtuous cycle of methodological creativity and materialise this process of reconnection, the new cyborg methods and methodologies need to be written in papers and get published. This leads to step 3.

S₃: *Write about (and be encouraged to) ‘your’ cyborg methodology:* Academia revolves around writing. Through writing, we share findings, help change thinking, and tell and learn about how insights were produced and can be produced. Methods sections play a key role in informing researchers about practices that produce knowledge and in short, it is in them that one learns how to ‘get there’. Telling stories that include the digital mundane becomes important when we consider that methods sections play a role in the dissemination, evaluation, and validation of knowledge, and thus in the creation of methodological traditions. A reconnection between the practice and the description of the practice of doing research is needed. This does not necessarily mean longer methodological sections (although this could also be the case), but more encompassing ones where researchers share their toolkit, however varied and unorthodox. While maintaining a commitment to methodological rigour, more holistic methodologies would mean considering the various forms rigour can have and which it can be achieved and expanding the frame of what counts as method and methodology. But this requires journals to follow and allow space for it (publish it). Thus, instead of compressing stories to fit the word count of journals, these stories could be made available in their entirety. As they currently stand, the plethora of mundane practices upon which research relies and the ongoing and messy character of research are unfit for most current editorial requirements of journals, but it is time to rethink why that is still the case. This is particularly pertinent if we consider that journals are mostly published and read online and thus, no longer bound by the limits of printing and distribution costs. Allowing researchers to write more bespoke methodological accounts that reflect practice has the potential to inspire new practices for knowing. Confronted with the socio-material richness of the social world can be overwhelming, and thus, to make sense of it, the researcher must

choose what to engage with and where to devote attention. Here, methodological accounts can be powerful allies. This validation of practices comes with writing. Encouraging other scholars to engage in methodological imagining starts with validating creativity and changing how research is evaluated (publishing these accounts). A good example of a similar discontent is DORA, the San Francisco Declaration of Research Assessment, which calls for an acknowledgement of how “The outputs from scientific research are many and varied” and for “the need to assess research on its own merits” (DORA, 2013). When faced with the complexity of the social world, the researcher needs more freedom to explore, try and tinker with methods and the hope that there is space in the publication sun for this kind of account that help other researchers in their inquiries. Opening space in papers to new ways of seeing and describing research (meaning, publishing them or allowing space for sharing mundane stories) is part of a recursive performative process of fostering new ways of doing research. The three steps outlined provide a starting point for how the process can be facilitated.

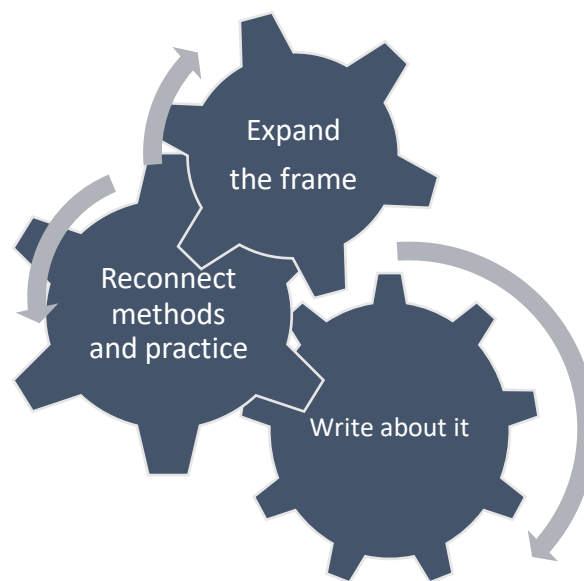


Figure 24: A performative view of research practice

4.7 Conclusion

The mediating role of digital technologies was revealed by considering the mundane research practices that were enabled and shaped by digital ubiquity. While the broader marketing literature has framed data collection as a point in time, and the knowledge produced as a

derivation from this point, the present discussion revealed how, through digital technologies, knowing becomes an ongoing process, continuously fed by contact and exchange between the researcher and the field. In this sense, research outputs are not produced based on snapshots of formally organised encounters. Rather, with the help of the digital, encounters do not end once researchers leave places, and reflections do not cease. As such, my experience with Rocinha sheds light on mundane digital practices involved in research and the mediating role digital technologies play in it. Revealing the mediating role of digital technologies cast a new light on the disconnection between research practice and methodologies employed to research with the digital. As such, this paper provided three steps to rethink the prevailing view and format, and how change can be brought about.

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5. Discussion

Following the presentation of the three papers that make up this thesis, this section provides the final and concluding chapter of the present work. It is organised as follows. First, it presents the findings from each paper, followed by the contributions and implications. Third, the themes in the papers are discussed in combination to provide an integrative overview of the thesis. Third, it reflects on the limitations of this study. Fourth, it suggests future research avenues based on the findings of each paper. Finally, it provides a short conclusion for the thesis.

5.1 Findings

The following subsections outline the propositions that drove the inquiry in each paper and the key findings.

5.1.1 Paper 1: The temporal *agencement* paper

Paper 1 set out to explain how stigmatised favela agencements are broken down by the collective efforts of MEs and the other market actors they mobilise. Specifically, it aimed at answering how 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. Drawing on the notion of *agencement*, the analysis revealed the role of history, and more specifically historical narrative devices, in performing favelas as stigmatised places. Historical narratives of Rio de Janeiro's financial elites, associated with media publications and the hygienist discourse of health professionals have helped create and support the long-standing stigmatisation of favelas as places to be avoided and removed from the city, which in turn, can act as a powerful calculative device. This finding led to the formulation of the first set of propositions in the paper (P₁) which traces how stigma manifests in place and imposes barriers to favela entrepreneurs' engagement with market practices. The first proposition and its related propositions are:

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

P1a: 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.

P1b: 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.

P1c: Powerful association between historical narrative devices, infrastructures and actors with their specific roles and competencies (e.g., police, media, residents, gang leaders) make it difficult, in practice, to perform policy changes designed to break down stigma.

P1d: Powerful associations between media infrastructures, historical narratives and other devices and representations of knowledge continually perform and re-produce favelas as stigmatised places.

The second proposition (P₂) refers to how favela entrepreneurs start the process of managing stigma. This finding showed that, by identifying how stigma manifests and drawing on their knowledge and relationships across the favela, entrepreneurs start re-imagining the favela market agencement. Specifically:

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 mobilise the new market *agencement*.

The third proposition (P₃) shows how entrepreneurs work out what ‘outsiders’ need to start engaging with the favela: first as a tourist and later, hopefully, for themselves. The exchange between city and favela and the crossing of boundaries by ‘outsiders’, in their perspective, is a form of breaking the barriers of stigma. By visiting the favela people might associate the favela with elements other than those associated with its stigma (e.g., violence, drug trafficking, danger). To do so, entrepreneurs create an *agencement* by assembling devices that allow the present and future calculation of safe navigation and engagement with favelas. Thus:

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 competencies of micro-entrepreneurs.

In the fourth and final proposition, the findings revealed how favela entrepreneurs manage the challenging elements that make stigma in favelas. It is not within their control, for instance, to sort out the armed conflict between gangs and police. However, by working in temporal ‘felicitous’ windows of action, Rocinha’s locals reassemble elements that make the favela tour attractive – the threat of violence, but not the realisation of it, local food, and cultural events. 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 a novel favela tourism *agencement* that *agence* market engagement and exchange within specific temporal parameters.

5.1.2 Paper 2: The space paper

This paper uncovers the work done by local entrepreneurs to remake the market after the breakout of an armed conflict brought it to a halt. Lefebvre’s spatial theory and Merrifield’s (1993) notion of place support the conceptual examination of how the favela gets re-produced as a Market Space through the dialectic relationship between individual embodied experiences in place and the collective processes of the production of space. From this examination, this paper presents three main findings. Like paper 1, the findings in paper 2 followed the development of propositions.

The first finding refers to how Rocinha entrepreneurs spatialize the favela. To counterpose negative media representations of the favela, locals craft representations of Rocinha – photos and videos of tours to post on social media. These representations draw on and showcase multiple spatial aspects of Rocinha as a place: the narrow alleys, the steep climbs, the type of housing, and the local food served on a resident’s rooftop. Thus, when working to make markets, tourism entrepreneurs:

P1: use multiple aspects of place and space to conceive new representations of the latter, to control its production.

At a moment when their normalised spatialization work – posting photos of tours and feeding social media – was severely disrupted by the breakout of an armed conflict, Rocinha entrepreneurs engaged in the production of videos and short films in an attempt to repair the market. While perceptions are built through lived experiences, by capturing them on film and sharing them online, potential tourists can see a culturally rich favela ‘in motion’, where the everyday life of residents is presented alongside Rocinha’s history, with a narrative that traces the historical social struggles of the community. This is done to change outsiders’ perceptions of the favela. Therefore, it was found that tourism entrepreneurs:

P2: use multiple aspects of place and space to craft new perceptions of space.

The re-spatialization work deployed post-conflict had much in common with the spatialization of Rocinha pre-conflict: foregrounding tourism-related and everyday life elements and circulating them online. However, because of the severe consequences of this particular conflict, entrepreneurs turned to professionally produced films as a vivid and comprehensive depiction of the favela in which Rocinha and the complexity of its place-space relations were, in a way, compressed into a short film. The film, in turn, conveys a promise of more than just a safe touristic destination, but a new offer: a holistic understanding of the historical interconnectedness between the formation of favelas, of Rio de Janeiro, and Brazil. Thus, tourism entrepreneurs:

P3: use multiple aspects of place and space to generate new market offerings.

5.1.3 Paper 3: The digital mediation paper

This paper reflected on the everyday practices that underlie research insights: those practices that do not typically feature in methodological descriptions but are needed to accomplish a research project and the role of digital technologies in them. By doing so, the extent to which digital technologies enable and mediate research (cf. Latour, 2005) – the digital mundane – was revealed. The main finding of this paper refers to how, contrary to the netnographic approach to the digital (Kozinets, 2002), digital technologies are routinely part of the toolkit

used by market researchers. Thus, their role extends far beyond playing a purposeful and momentary part pre-designed into the methodology, but rather, they figure at various moments throughout the research process e.g., Navigating a city previously unknown, replying to emails, establishing, and maintaining contacts with subjects and making calls in a foreign country are all activities researchers might need to perform in the course of a given project that is enabled by these technologies. Moreover, digital technologies allowed me to become increasingly knowledgeable about the tourism market in Rocinha. This is because, thanks to digital technologies, the exchange with subjects was not limited to the time I was staying in Rio. Instead, the contact began long before I arrived in Rio, and continued after I left. While digitally mediated methods in the marketing literature often frame specific moments of data collection and engagement between the researcher and case (Canavan, 2021; Nelson and Otnes, 2005; Thanh and Kirova, 2018), my experience shows that this is not the case in practice. These insights raised questions about the disconnections between the methodologies often employed to study digital phenomena and how research happens in practice. Given the importance and performative relationship between methodologies and knowledge production and practice (Law, 2004), this paper argues for more encompassing and holistic methodologies, attuned to the intertwinement of digital technologies and research practice. Borrowing Latour's (2005) term, this paper calls them *cyborg methodologies*. It contributes with three steps to help researchers in (re)assembling cyborg methodologies. Thus:

S₁: Expand the frame

Second, it is key that we reconnect practice with methods in a reflexive, mutually shaping relationship, where methods inform practice and practice informs research design. This reconnection starts with the previous step where researchers are attuned to the various digital mundane practices that make up research and continues with the tinkering, experimentation, and creation of methods that reflect the practice of doing research. Thus, step two is:

S₂: Reconnect methods and practice

Finally, telling stories that include the digital mundane becomes important when we consider that methods sections play a role in the dissemination, evaluation, and validation of knowledge, and thus in the creation of methodological traditions. A reconnection between the practice and the description of the practice of doing research is needed. As such, step three calls researchers to (and to be allowed to):

S₃: Write about (and be encouraged to) ‘your’ cyborg methodology

5.2 Contributions and implications

Each paper in this thesis provided theoretical contributions and practical implications. This section summarizes them.

5.2.1 Paper 1: The temporal *agencement* paper

This paper set out to understand how MEs working at the base of the economic pyramid (BoP) manage to make new, powerful associations between people and places, to temporarily break down the barriers of stigma. In this paper, stigma was analysed as an *agencement* to pinpoint the elements that constitute it. The analysis generates three key contributions. First, this paper offers a more nuanced conceptualisation of BoP markets (Prahalad, 2009) as stigmatised marketplaces. In contrast to extant studies, stigma here is not taken as given (cf. Barinaga, 2017), but 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 et al., 2013).

Second, the findings contribute to extant understandings of micro-entrepreneurs (MEs) in BoP markets (DeBerry-Spence, 2010; DeBerry-Spence and Elliot, 2012) by foregrounding the importance of place in relation to the work done by them. 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 and Mair, 2007; Viswanathan et al., 2010), this paper draws on the notion of *agencement* to reveal how new kinds of market engagement are

configured. This revelation, in turn, explains *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 (Lawlor and Kavanagh, 2015; Onyas and Ryan, 2015; Ulkuniemi et al., 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.

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 and mobilise new forms of market action.

5.2.2 Paper 2: The space paper

The analysis of the reproduction of Rocinha as a tourism marketplace revealed that the favela tourism market is reproduced in a dialectic relationship between place and space. Specifically, this paper makes three contributions by conceptualizing: the spatial prism; the digital nature of spatialization work; and the organization of markets as spatialization work. We consider each in turn.

This paper contributes to extant conceptualizations of the reproduction of space (Kingma et al., 2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1993) by conceptualizing the spatial prism, in which place and space are two aspects of the same construct, connected by distinct bundles of practice. Merrifield's (1993) conceptualization treats place and space as separate constructs and so obfuscates the practices and processes of marketplace (re)production. Our

conceptualization makes those practices and processes transparent and enables us to offer a reinterpretation of Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad in which each set of elements represents a spatial realm of action connected through the three core marketization practices, identified through our empirical analysis: *conceiving representations for control; crafting new perceptions, and generating new market offers*.

This paper also contributes to extant conceptualizations of the reproduction of space (Kingma et al., 2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1993) by drawing attention to the central role of digital devices in the socio-material practices of spatialization. While previous Lefebvre-inspired studies have often described the production of representations as a top-down process (Newlands, 2021) originating from dominant groups – “*experts*” (cf. Lefebvre, 1991) – our data shows evidence of digitally mediated bottom-up organizing. Once denied access to mainstream media, the new and ubiquitous socio-materialities of social media, mobile phones, internet access and video, act as important democratising tools that enable favela residents and entrepreneurs to act as important agents in the reproduction of Space. Our findings explain *how* the process of spatialization is purposefully performed in place through numerous interconnected digital devices that form a knowledge infrastructure for Rocinha's local entrepreneurs, enabling the repair and remaking of the marketplace.

Finally, the findings contribute to extant understandings of the (re)production of markets and market theory, by revealing marketization as a key form of spatializing organizational work. As the market studies literature focuses on the materialities (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007) and practices of markets (Callon, 1998), this paper claims that research on markets adopts a situated, socio-material practices view (Araujo, 2007; Cochoy et al., 2016) that is more consistent with place than the holistic place-space conceptualization encompassed in the spatial prism. Additionally, previous research has acknowledged the spatiality of markets (Finch and Geiger, 2011; Geiger and Gross, 2017) focused on the recursive assembling of socio-material arrangements while keeping space in the background. By drawing on Lefebvre's (1991) spatial theory, we develop a more nuanced and holistic conceptualization of marketplaces and spaces, that foregrounds the spatialized nature of marketization work. From this standpoint, markets should be conceptualized as socio-spatial formations and specifically, as a result of the relationship between places and spaces.

5.2.3 Paper 3: The digital mediation paper

This paper problematizes the marketing literature's wide adoption of netnography and its consequential treatment of digital technologies as intermediaries (cf. Latour, 2005). Conversely, it argued that digital technologies should be considered as *mediators* in research practices rather than intermediaries (cf. Latour, 2005). This paper started from the standpoint that crucial steps of research are accomplished with and through digital technologies and that this intertwinement, differently from the dominant view in the marketing literature, does not happen exclusively when a purposeful method of investigation using digital technologies is employed, as is the case with netnography. Rather, this paper considers the digital mundane (Leszczynski, 2020) and how digital technologies are involved in research practices in a much more ubiquitous way, enabling, mediating, and shaping the research process and outcomes. An analysis of my research practices during the crafting of this study provided two key insights that underpin the contribution of this paper.

First, while research is accomplished through 'formal' practices of data collection and analysis – those that do figure in traditional methodologies and get described in length in the methods sections in papers – its success is also dependent on other less visible activities – the mundane practices – as shown in the vignettes. Secondly, the ubiquitous presence and mundane use of digital technologies in research practice shape research into acquiring an ongoing character. Thus, considering the mediating role of digital technologies in contemporary research practice revealed that the digital shapes two key features of research: a) research is made of formal but also (digital) mundane practices and b) research has an ongoing character. These insights shed light on how knowledge gets produced in contemporary digitally enmeshed societies and raise questions about the extent to which current methodologies to study digitally-related phenomena are attuned to these dynamics.

In this paper, Netnography is presented as an exemplary case of these issues. An alternative, this paper argues, is to adopt three key steps outlined below to develop methodologies that are more encompassing and holistic, and that better reflect how research happens in practice (also see Figure 24). The steps are as follows.

S₁: Expand the frame: this paper argues that the frame around what practices constitute research needs to be expanded to include digital mundane practices, revealing the

(re)assembling work of creating and deploying cyborg methodologies. In other words, research practice needs to be seen in a new way which includes admitting the importance of digital mundane practices in accomplishing research and how they inform insights and shape research outcomes. This is key because that which underpins and explains results gets written in methodologies and passed on as valid research designs. Those are the stories that get told and validated. To be included in the methodological stories, mundane practices must be first seen as part of – and a crucial part – of doing and publishing a piece of research. Methodologies that include mundane research practices are a new way of seeing the research, understanding what constitutes research and how insights and knowledge are produced.

S₂: Reconnect methods and practice: asking new questions and answering them is hard work, which is made unnecessarily harder by methodologies that are detached from the everyday reality of doing research. Thus, it is key that we reconnect practice with methods in a reflexive, mutually shaping relationship, where methods inform practice and practice informs research design. The case of Rocinha provides an example of the differences that can exist between methodologies and research practice ‘on the ground’. A disconnection between practice and methodology limits rather than encourages researchers to pull unexpected threads that often arise in research. This reconnection starts with the previous step, but to create a virtuous cycle of methodological creativity and materialise this process of reconnection, the new cyborg methods and methodologies need to be written in papers and get published. This leads to step 3.

S₃: Write about (and be encouraged to) ‘your’ cyborg methodology: Academia revolves around writing. Through writing, we share findings, help change thinking, and tell and learn about how insights were produced and can be produced. Methods sections play a key role in informing researchers about practices that produce knowledge and in short, it is in them that one learns how to ‘get there’. Telling stories that include the digital mundane becomes important when we consider that methods sections play a role in the dissemination, evaluation, and validation of knowledge, and thus in the creation of methodological traditions. A reconnection between the practice and the description of the practice of doing research is needed. This does not necessarily mean longer methodological sections (although this could also be the case), but more encompassing ones where researchers share their toolkit, however varied and unorthodox. While maintaining a commitment to methodological

rigour, more holistic methodologies would mean considering the various ways in which rigour can be achieved and expanding its frame of what counts as method and methodology. But this requires journals to follow and allow space for it (publish it). Thus, instead of compressing stories to fit the word count of journals, these stories could be made available in their entirety. As they currently stand, the plethora of mundane practices upon which research relies and the ongoing and messy character of research are unfit for most current editorial requirements of journals, but it is time to rethink why that is still the case. This is particularly pertinent if we consider that journals are mostly published and read online and thus, no longer bound by the limits of printing and distribution costs. Allowing researchers to write more bespoke methodological accounts that reflect practice has the potential to inspire new practices for knowing. Confronted with the socio-material richness of the social world can be overwhelming, and thus, to make sense of it, the researcher must choose what to engage with and where to devote attention. Here, methodological accounts can be powerful allies. This validation of practices comes with writing. Encouraging other scholars to engage in methodological imagining starts with validating creativity and changing how research is evaluated (publishing these accounts). A good example of a similar discontent is DORA, the San Francisco Declaration of Research Assessment, which calls for an acknowledgement of how “The outputs from scientific research are many and varied” and for “the need to assess research on its own merits”. When faced with the complexity of the social world, the researcher needs more freedom to explore, try and tinker with methods and the hope that there is space in the publication sun for this kind of account that help other researchers in their inquiries. Opening space in papers to new ways of seeing and describing research (meaning, publishing them or allowing space for sharing mundane stories) is part of a recursive performative process of fostering new ways of doing research. The three steps outlined provide a starting point for how the process can be facilitated.

5.2.4 Integrating papers 1 and 2: What it means to say market making has a spatiotemporal nature

Through the analysis of the everyday life and market practices of favela entrepreneurs in Rio de Janeiro, the papers in this thesis explored how a market is (re)made, even when facing extreme barriers to market-making as those of stigma and outbreaks of violent armed conflicts. Specifically, this research revealed the spatiotemporal nature of market-making,

explaining the purposeful socio-material and spatiotemporal assembling work done by market actors – favela entrepreneurs – to overcome barriers, hold the market in place, and assure its continuation.

This thesis aimed at contributing first to the market studies literature, which has done much to explain how markets are organised and maintained (Finch and Geiger, 2011; Palo et al., 2020; Stigzelius et al., 2018). However, as discussed in more detail in the papers, research efforts in this literature have: a) explored the socio-technical *agencements* that make markets, but have yet to use its theoretical vocabulary to unpack the materiality and the everyday manifestation of constructs that impact market practices such as stigma; b) indicated the existence of marketplaces and spaces as *loci* for exchange and calculation, but not explained how spatiality is implicated in the making of markets and c) hinted at the precarious nature of markets, and therefore its temporary nature, but has not taken temporality to the centre of analysis to explore how barriers are overcome by market actors through a work of reimagining and reassembling through constant and temporally-bound actions and agencements. Considering these matters, papers 1 and 2 provided the following insights.

First, by considering stigma as an agencement, this research brings to the market studies literature precisely one of the greatest insights an ANT approach to markets enables: that of giving a material ‘body’ to a social construct, rejecting the notion that it is purely social. In doing so, this thesis provides a (modest) counterargument to the alleged ‘lack of criticality’ in ANT in engaging with such social constructs (Whittle and Spicer, 2008) and an exemplary case of the power of ANT in extending our understanding of market phenomena critically. From this, market actors can reimagine markets in different ways and devise strategies to create and shape them. This shows how, by employing an ANT approach to study markets, market scholars denaturalise, rather than naturalise (Whittle and Spicer, 2008), social orderings, and produce knowledge into how market change can be brought about.

Second, in tracing the materiality of stigma, paper 1 unravelled the power of historical narratives in performing markets. So far, studies in this literature have explored much of the material devices and socio-technical assemblages that make and shape markets, but less has been explored in terms of the importance of stories that contribute to calculations in markets and that have the power to shape how they are organised them (for an exception, see Palo et al., 2020). Here, the case of favelas showed how the past of the place – the history of the

formation of favelas and social struggle - is employed in shaping the market offer, and in engaging multiple actors in market action in that particular place. These stories are powerful also in the sense that, as they are shared across space through digital devices, travelling to other countries to be consumed by people in different places, they make the exchange more likely to happen in the future. As such, historical narratives play important roles in the performance of markets in place before, during, and after the specific moment of exchange, and help stabilise the market by constantly acting on the agencement.

Third, unpacking the materiality of stigma revealed the temporal nature of market agencements and, by the same token, of market making. The market studies literature has long recognised the precarious nature of markets (Araujo, 2007; Araujo et al., 2010; Kjellberg et al., 2012). Rather than ‘things out there’ that remain ecstatic, markets are brought into being and sustained through a constant flow, ordering and combination of socio-material (and as I have argued, spatial) practices. However, less has been explored to date in terms of the temporality of market actions and how it relates market formation and performance (for exceptions see Araujo and Easton, 2012; Easton and Araujo, 1994; Finch et al., 2010; Kavanagh and Araujo, 1995; Palo and Tähtinen, 2013). Aiming at contributing to this discussion, paper 1 revealed how temporality is key in the assembling of market agencements as they hinge on the successful collision of people, ideas, infrastructure, and knowledge at the right time and the right place, and that the maintenance of markets depends on a constant work of reassembling “felicitous” (cf. Butler, 2010, p. 148) temporally-bound agencements.

Fourth, this thesis employed spatial theory to put spatiality at the core of the study of markets to show how spatiality relates to the formation and performance of markets. In truth, in the course of writing this thesis, the notion of spatiality has been gaining traction in the broader marketing literature (Castilhos and Dolbec, 2018; Castilhos et al., 2017; Lloveras et al., 2018; O’Leary et al., 2019), and more recently is the market studies literature (Chimenti and Kjellberg, 2022). While providing valuable contributions towards a better understanding of how market formation and performance may relate to space and increasing the debate in marketing, these studies have kept spatiality somewhat backgrounded, where space still plays more the role of a canvas for market actions rather than an active role in it. For instance, for Chimenti and Kjellberg’s (2022) space is “framed as a relevant quality” in market exchange

and the “qualification process itself is spatially situated” (p. 1). The questions of these spaces are, what is their role in markets and what it means for market performance to say markets are ‘situated’ remain unexplored. The need for explicit discussions around conceptualisations of space and place, and on how market practices are related to the organisation and production of spaces and vice versa remains. The present research is more aligned with the movement in the geographies of marketization literature (Berndt and Boeckler, 2009; Berndt and Boeckler, 2011; Berndt and Boeckler, 2012; Boeckler and Berndt, 2013) which takes spatiality as a central concern, starting inquiries with spatially-sensitive concerns. However, these works have a particular stand on the spatiality of markets in two main ways. First, they are more concerned with how representations of space are enacted than with the everyday socio-material practices that perform markets. Secondly, their focus is more strongly placed on macro socio-political issues of capitalist spatial production, and less on the everyday practices of market making. Thus, in comparison, the present study, centred on socio-materiality and everyday practices provides yet a different take on spatiality when it comes to markets. For instance, it articulates the difference between places and spaces, and their relationship to the performance of markets. In doing so, this paper also gives some of the key ideas discussed in Holmes et al. (2021) an empirical body. In this conceptual paper, Holmes et al. (2021), Lefebvre’s (1991) spatial theory informs the proposition of the notion of ‘spatio-market practices’, that is, the notion that “*all* market practices [...] that contribute to the enactment of markets [...] are spatial” (p. 319). The notion is premised on three propositions: “1) market actors are always engaged in and responding to the production of, exchange in, and consumption of tangible and imagined market contexts; 2) the production, exchange and consumption of such contexts are emanations of the performance and wider ordering of market practices; 3) and, such performances and the wider ordering of markets and thus patterns of production, exchange and consumption, hinge on the mobilisation of various conceptualisations of space” (Holmes et al., 2021, p. 317). The present thesis embraces these propositions, and through the analysis of the favela tourism market in Rio de Janeiro, unpacks the process of spatialization in which market actors engage to create and maintain the market when they act in place, but mobilise various conceptualisation of space to create the market. As a result, the spatial prism was devised as a framework to help the visualisation of the making of markets as a spatial process, and of how practices in place are related to the wider formation of market spaces. The framework serves as a springboard for further empirical inquiry into market formation as a spatial process. Market practices happen

somewhere in material places – companies, homes, cities –, and calculations are made in relation to space – distance, proximity, available infrastructure, and borders. Paying particular attention to these matters reveals ‘what else’ makes markets and as such, places market studies scholars on new paths of inquiry. Thus, taken in combination, these two key papers provided a conceptualisation of markets as temporal and spatial formations and unpacked and explicated the notions of situated and precarious markets. While these notions have been central to the market studies literature’s understanding of markets (Araujo et al., 2010; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006; Mason et al., 2017b; Mason and Spring, 2011; Palo et al., 2020; Stigzelius et al., 2018), their meaning in relation to the time and space of market making remained implicit rather than explicit.

Finally, paper 3 was born out of the experience with its predecessors, and a sensitivity to everyday, situated practices of doing research. While the title of this thesis indicates a greater emphasis on the work done in papers 1 and 2, because of its methodological focus and its theoretical underpinnings, the contributions of paper 3 run alongside them. This paper problematized the methodological choices of the broader marketing literature concerned with digital phenomena. Specifically, it argues that netnography (Kozinets, 2002; 2015) pushes into obscurity the various practices scholars deploy and the digital technologies they enrol in the course of a given research. While a number of studies have found a resort in the netnographic approach to explore digital practices in online platforms, this paper discussed how netnography pushes scholars into overlooking how research *about* the digital is carried out *with* the digital, and how digital devices enable, mediate and shape knowledge production. This overlook hinders, in turn, the development of new methods. The closer analysis of the ‘digital mundane’ provided in paper 3 revealed the multitude of roles played by the digital in research and its effects, and how methodologies so far have been rather limited in accounting for these. As a result, this paper argues for more encompassing methodologies and devised three steps for change.

5.3 Limitations

The first limitation of this thesis is the sampling strategy. While measures were taken to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the tourism market, snowballing led me to focus more strongly, especially in the second paper, on Rocinha and its residents. This is a limitation because Rocinha, as a South Zone favela, differs from favelas in the West or North

Zone in terms of its advantages in the favela tourism market. For instance, by being in the South Zone, Rocinha is where Copacabana and Ipanema are also located. Thus, Rocinha is well-positioned to be accessed by tourists visiting Rio and its world-famous beaches. Its South Zone location also means that, differently from the City of God in the West, Rocinha has a tube station by its entrance. Additionally, while the City of God is a flat favela, Rocinha's position on a hill means the favela has a privileged view from Rio's sightseeing – and therefore can use that in the crafting of their market offer. Another advantage of Rocinha's steep landscape is that favelas are typically imagined and portrayed in hills (e.g., the 'hill' and 'asphalt' divide discussed in section 1.1) and thus, make up for an 'authentic' favela experience for tourists. Favelas in the South Zone also tend to attract more attention from policymakers. Favela residents attribute this attention to the government's interest in protecting the wealthy favela neighbours and "showcasing" actions to tourists who mostly see the South Zone. Regardless of the underlying motivation, Rocinha does hold a privileged position in terms of market infrastructure. Favelas in the South Zone also tend to be of most interest to drug gangs since they represent more business and more power. Researching favelas in other locations, with different topography, and with different importance to public policy and gang activity is likely to show different barriers and spatiotemporal practices to cope with them necessary to the organisation of favela markets (tourism or otherwise). Likewise, researching entrepreneurs in similarly deprived areas around the world can reveal new issues and innovative ways in which markets are brought into being.

Secondly, the papers in this thesis did not seek generalisations in a positivist sense, but they do contribute with insights into the making of markets abstracted from the particularities of the favela market (Tsoukas, 2017; Tsoukas and Chia, 2002). Instead, they aimed at tracing and revealing the organisation and functioning of a particular market – the favela tourism market – to derive insights about market-making. Thus, the practices observed are specific to markets and the focus of papers 1 and 2 was on the organization of markets as particular kinds of temporal and spatial market (re)production. However, I recognise that the insights produced in the studies can and should be applied to other organising settings where the connecting practices that form markets might usefully be articulated differently than the frameworks presented in papers 1 and 2.

Finally, it is important to point out that as a Brazilian from Southern Brazil, my views of Rio de Janeiro and its favelas were loaded with a level of strangeness (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019), which, to a certain extent, worked in favour of the research (see the point in section 1.6.3.1). However, this level of strangeness was accompanied by a level of familiarity with the broader socio-historical context of Brazil which is intimately linked to the socio-spatial formation of favelas and their present issues and dynamics. While a conscious effort towards a commitment to critical analysis was made throughout this research, a researcher from a different context might be awake to different issues and notice that which my Brazilian eyes take for granted.

5.4 Future research

The research presented in this thesis has an underlying interest in market change. This interest was not built in the initial project, but rather, was developed and refined throughout its crafting. The extreme version of market disruption and barriers present in Rocinha provided a strong foundation for such reflections to arise.

The papers in this thesis provide insights into the formation or (re)production of markets and thus, provide a springboard for action. For instance, the notion that markets have a spatiotemporal nature provides a starting point for exploring how socio-material practices, distributed across space and time, coalesce into ‘successful’ or ‘felicitous’ (Butler, 2010) formations. That is, it provides a springboard to inquiries into how markets become what they are, and how they are stabilised and maintained. This knowledge, in turn, has the power to inform how to devise market intervention, and therefore how market change can be brought about.

Specifically, the notion of spatiotemporal markets raises questions for future research about, for instance, the rhythms (e.g., *rythmanalysis* in Lefebvre, 2004) that bring actors and practices together, and how they are held together in place as stable and often institutionalised forms of organisation.

Promising enquiries also lie in the role of the socio-material spatiality of markets in their making. For instance, starting from the standpoint that markets are made of practices that are always spatial, and that, spatial considerations are central in the organisation of markets sheds

new light on and provides a vocabulary for the analysis and tracing of market agencements. An example of the use of this approach is by Holmes et al., (2021) which provides an alternative analysis of market formation that had previously been done through a discursive analysis. This is a starting point that has the potential to produce new insights into the markets literature.

Another avenue for research springing from the ideas explored in this thesis is concerning methodologies to inform the study of markets as spatiotemporal formations. While the market studies literature has provided much of the vocabulary necessary to understand and explain market formation, tracing spatiotemporal arrangements and practices asks for and will likely foster the expansion of the research toolkit of market scholars. This could involve, for instance, employing digital technologies and the increased ease of use of video and imagery, and bringing the cartography of markets (Roscoe and Loza, 2019) to its most literal form.

In sum, this thesis explored an extreme version of market disruption and (re)production, which shed light on the temporal and spatial dimensions of markets and market practice. In doing so, it (hopefully) provides a fertile starting point for research into market change and intervention. Additionally, this thesis considered new methodological avenues to help researchers explore and understand complex contemporary social phenomena such as digitization. At a moment of grand challenges – climate change, global pandemic, rising inequality – the marketing scholarship, which has been historically successful in shaping and fomenting market growth has the tools to connect with and contribute to these critical contemporary debates. In this sense, fresh theoretical lenses and modes of inquiry have the power to raise new questions and create new insights into how markets can be reshaped to tackle these grand challenges. By drawing on various theoretical frameworks to explain markets, this thesis provides exemplary cases of how social theory can help market scholars develop frameworks, understand, and reimagine markets, potentially placing the marketing scholarship at the centre of meaningful and impactful research for social change. This thesis is a (very small) step in this direction and, hopes to foster more conversations about change.

5.5 Concluding remarks

This thesis explored market-making in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and contributed to an understanding of market-making as having a spatiotemporal nature. This was done through

the analysis of the everyday life of local entrepreneurs who live and work in some of the largest favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which directly impacts what market practices these local entrepreneurs deploy and how change can be brought about. The insights in this thesis were produced by exploring the notion of *agencements* (Cochoy et al., 2016) and the spatial theory of Henry Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991), the latter providing a vocabulary largely unexplored in the marketing literature. A note is worth concerning the use of spatial theory in the present work.

Lefebvre (1991) was a Marxist, a position of his work that has been extensively examined by others (Elden, 2004; Gottdiener, 1993; Merrifield, 1993; Merrifield, 2000). The underlying Marxism of his work translates in Lefebvre showing a strong concern with the capitalist mode of production and how it enrolls and seeks to control space in the process. This underlying concern was taken aboard in the crafting of Paper 2, and retrospectively, in Paper 1, through careful consideration of the socio-political and spatial construction of favelas. However, it has not gone unnoticed that an analysis of the spatial appropriation of capitalism in favelas could be done and would provide valuable insights into the production of the favela space (e.g., Lacerda, 2018), such work would require an entire paper. Thus, a choice was made to focus on and primarily contribute to the markets literature. Consequently, Lefebvre (1991) helps to conceptualise how markets happen as a result of place-space dynamics but does not engulf the argument.

Overall, this thesis showed a more nuanced understanding of markets in that they can be conceptualised and explored as spatiotemporal formations, where the situated and temporally bound practices and actors that make them must be considered (Chapters 2 and 3). Additionally, this thesis also argued for a new way of conceptualising and describing the practice of doing research as a path to foreground research methods and methodologies that helps researchers in their work. It called for methods and methodologies that are attuned to the digitally-enmeshed nature of doing research in contemporary societies that will help researchers in their inquiries (Chapter 4). This thesis is placed in the Market Studies literature and meets its interest in and concern with market change and the reshaping of market practices for 'better markets'.

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7. Appendices

7.1 Compilation of participants

Number	Participant	Favela or Neighbourhood of residence	Jobs and Business Activities	Motivation for becoming an entrepreneur
1	A1	Cidade de Deus	Retirement home worker; Shop owner	Born and living in the favela, A1 main goal was to afford to put daughter through medical school, in which she succeeded.
2	A2	Rocinha	Tourism	A2 decided to engage with tourism to make a living of tourism “just like outsiders” had been doing and to change perceptions about the favela.
3	A3	Rocha Miranda	Car insurance broker; DJ	Born in a favela, but moved to the nearby neighbourhood of Rocha Miranda, A3 is an insurance broker by day and a DJ by night and weekends to explore the passion for music and complement income.
4	B	Rocinha	Tourism; Social project	Started out of curiosity for the favela for being a foreigner and developed into creating an organisation to provoke change in the community.
5	C	Rocinha	Tourism; English and German teacher	Having had the chance to spend her school years in a prestigious boarding school, C went on to study at a top university in Rio de Janeiro and travel abroad. She learned German and English, and currently makes a living by combining her expertise and passions: languages, knowledge of Rocinha and tourism.
6	D	Ilha do Governador	Teacher; Photographer	D also joining two passions to make a living: teaching and photography. His photographs have made to national TV and high-profile events in Brazil and abroad.
7	E1	Rocinha	Tourism; English teacher	Being one of the few people in the community who speaks fluent English, E1 saw an opportunity for making a living in own community

Number	Participant	Favela or Neighbourhood of residence	Jobs and Business Activities	Motivation for becoming an entrepreneur
8	E2	Complexo do Alemão	Coordinator at NGO to support favelas	with two jobs. E2 is indigenous to the community and the main driver is to provoke social change in Complexo do Alemão.
9	F1	Rocinha	Tourism; Historian	Indigenous to the favela and dissatisfied with how the community is perceived, the two historians joined forces with F3 to create a local museum and to perform a historic tour. F1 has also run for local council.
10	F2	Rocinha	Tourism; Historian	
11	F3	City	Small Businesses Support Organization	Not applicable
12	F4	Cidade de Deus	NGO Coordinator; music producer	Interested in music from an early age, F4 saw the opportunity to get involved with social projects related to music (festivals, local parties, etc) and art in general.
13	G	Rocha Miranda;	Hairdresser; Small business owner (jewellery)	G decided to complement her income as a hairdresser in the family business through jewellery making as it relates to her passion for fashion. She has been steadily growing her business selling her products online through Instagram, and in parties and festival, whose producers she is well-connected.
14	K	City and Rocinha	Favela Business Support Organization	Not applicable
15	L	Cidade de Deus	Caterer	Born and raised in Cidade de Deus, L lived many years in Italy where she acquired experience in catering and as a pastry chef. Missing her family and friends, L returned to Brazil to open her own business, while working in hotels on the side to gather the initial capital.
16	M1	Vila Valqueire	Customer Service at a car	M1 works at a car dealership to make a living and to afford going to the university in the evenings, and while the photography job is growing.

Number	Participant	Favela or Neighbourhood of residence	Jobs and Business Activities	Motivation for becoming an entrepreneur
17	M2	Cidade de Deus	dealership; Photographer Small business owner (clothing)	The plan is to make a career out of photography. M2 is passionate about fashion and has been working with indigenous organisations for a few years. The designs are African inspired, which also aim at having a positive social impact by reframing negative perceptions around African culture in Rio.
18	M3	Rocinha	Capoeira instructor	M3 is born and raised in the favela and has been involved with capoeira since a young age. M3 attributes ‘live changing’ powers to children in poor communities who get involved with capoeira. As such, over the years, M3 has developed social programmes with the help of the community to attract children to his capoeira classes (e.g., by providing free lunch to the children).
19	T	Penha	NGO member; dancer	T is indigenous to the favela and like M3, sees in dance a force for social change, especially with youth. As such, T works for an NGO in dance-related projects and events.

7.2 Ethics approval

Subject: Ethics Approval UREC reference: S2015-255
Date: Wednesday, 22 June 2016 at 10:59:37 British Summer Time
From: FST Ethics
To: Fernandes, Josiane
CC: Ethics (RSO) Enquiries
Attachments: image001.png, image002.jpg, image003.png

Dear Josiane,

Thank you for submitting your completed stage 1 self assessment form and additional information for **The role of technology in supporting business: perspectives from Brazilian favelas**. The Part B information has been reviewed by members of the University Research Ethics Committee and I can confirm that approval has been granted for this project subject to the following:

- Please complete a risk assessment and send a copy to fst-ethics@lancaster.ac.uk.

As principal investigator your responsibilities include:

- ensuring that (where applicable) all the necessary legal and regulatory requirements in order to conduct the research are met, and the necessary licenses and approvals have been obtained;
- reporting any ethics-related issues that occur during the course of the research or arising from the research (e.g. unforeseen ethical issues, complaints about the conduct of the research, adverse reactions such as extreme distress) to the Research Ethics Officer;
- submitting details of proposed substantive amendments to the protocol to the Research Ethics Officer for approval.

Please contact the Research Ethics Officer, Becky Case (fst-ethics@lancaster.ac.uk, tel: 01524 593987) if you have any queries or require further information.


Kind regards,

Becky.

Becky Case

Research Ethics Officer
Faculty of Science and Technology
Lancaster University
Lancaster
LA1 4YR

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Subject: RE: Ethics Approval UREC reference: S2015-255
Date: Wednesday, 22 June 2016 at 13:04:13 British Summer Time
From: FST Ethics
To: Fernandes, Josiane
Attachments: image001.png, image002.jpg, image003.png

Hi Josiane,

Many thanks, and all the best with your research,

Becky.

From: Fernandes, Josiane
Sent: 22 June 2016 12:20
To: FST Ethics
Subject: RE: Ethics Approval UREC reference: S2015-255

Hello Becky

Please find it attached.

Josiane Fernandes

Department of Marketing
Lancaster University Management School
Charles Carter Building - D44

From: FST Ethics
Sent: Wednesday, June 22, 2016 11:56 AM
To: Fernandes, Josiane
Subject: RE: Ethics Approval UREC reference: S2015-255

Hi Josi,

I will check with the reviewers but please assume everything is OK unless you hear otherwise.

My apologies for missing this from my last e-mail – could you please complete the attached pFACT form and return a signed copy to me? I had not realised we didn't have one with your original application. The research cannot commence until we receive this please.

Best wishes,
Becky.

From: Fernandes, Josiane
Sent: 22 June 2016 11:30
To: FST Ethics
Subject: RE: Ethics Approval UREC reference: S2015-255

Hello Becky

I am not sure I am doing this properly as I haven't seen any sample from anyone in my department so far. Would you please let me know if there is a problem and if I should include other information.

Many thanks,
Josi

Josiane Fernandes