The Making of Us
How affects shape collective bodies resisting gentrification

Maíra Magalhães Lopes

Academic dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Business Administration at Stockholm University to be publicly defended on Friday 30 November 2018 at 13.00 in Gröjersalen, hus 3, Kräftriket, Roslagsvägen 101.

Abstract
This thesis explores how we can think of collective bodies as amalgamations of interplaying affects (i.e., multiplicities), rather than compositions of individuals. Using ethnography as my main method, I study urban activism collectives resisting gentrification in the city center of São Paulo, Brazil. Following affect-based theorizing, I focus on the collective body as a composition of affective intensities. I explore disgust, fear, (dis)comfort, and hope as affective intensities that travel with different orientations, directions, and potencies. I take the position that, through such travelings, bodily surfaces become felt and unfelt. That is, I explore the surfacing of the collective body as a continuous process through the circulation and accumulation of such affects. I also explore how collective bodies become organized as packs and crowds, whilst disputing spaces for consumption within a gentrification process. Whereas packs are seen as a condensed form of multiplicities, crowds are expanded forms of multiplicities. The findings of this thesis then contribute to the marketplace culture literature by exploring how the formation of the collective body is a continuous affective process that unfolds into different forms of multiplicities (i.e., packs and crowds). This study proposes viewing the collective body as a continuous process of affective amalgamation. This study also contributes to extant CCT studies regarding affect and emotions. The findings of this study interlink felt experiences with surfacing effects. That is, I focus the analysis on how affects work in delineating the relation between and of bodies and, thereby, marking what we understand as I, you, us, and them. Thirdly, this study also contributes to discussions regarding space and place in marketing. This study extends the discussion regarding spatial injustices and neoliberal cities, which are driven by wider consumption ideology.

Keywords: collective bodies, multiplicities, packs, crowds, gentrification, affect, spatial injustice, wider consumption ideology.
THE MAKING OF US

Maíra Magalhães Lopes
The Making of Us
How affects shape collective bodies resisting gentrification

Maíra Magalhães Lopes
To my father
On Wednesday August 28th 2013, I walked to the kick-off of the Marketing Section. It was my first day at Stockholm Business School, and my first week in Sweden. I was excited and afraid. I was nervous and hopeful. I could never imagine what was ahead of me. Since then there have been many laughs, hugs, tears, inspiring seminars, fikas, questions, doubts, and afterworks. When I think about that day in the autumn of 2013, it seems it was only a year ago and a lifetime ago, at the same time. These last five years were more difficult than I imagined, but they were also much more fun and stimulating that I could ever have expected. House 7 of Kräftriket became my home and the people with whom I crossed path in that beautiful house became my family. I am grateful for all the support, advice, and care I have received throughout these years.

Firstly, I would like to thank my beloved supervisors: Jacob Östberg and Joel Hietanen. Without you, this thesis would not exist. Not only because I cannot imagine having survived the last five years without all your support, but also because I also see this thesis as a collective body. In this collective body, you guys have a special chapter focused on generosity, love, care, support, kindness, intelligence, and encouragement. Thank you for being such generous human beings! It has been a pleasure and honour to have your support throughout this project.

Secondly, I would like to thank all my colleagues at House 7. I appreciate the support and inspiration of the whole Marketing Section throughout the program. To name a few, thank you: Hans Rämö, Håkan Preiholt, Natalia Tolstikova, Patrick L’Esper Decosta, Anders Parment, Ian Richardson, Claudia Rademaker, Fredrik Nordin, Johanna Fernholm, Amos Thomas Owen, Solveig Wikström, Susanna Molander, Hanna Hjalmarsson, Emmanouel Parasiris, Ali Yakhlef, Astrid Moreno, Christian Persson, Martin Svendsen, Nishant Kumar, Sten Söderman, and Tony Apéria. Yet, one person in that
house has a special role: Helena Flinck, the mother of the house. Your homemade cookies and cakes have given me extra motivation, as well as some extra kilos. Thank you so much for your love and care!

I would also like to thank Maria Frostling Henningsson, Usva (Anska) Seregina, Torkild Thanem, and Sofia Ulver for your dedicated reading and insightful comments on this study in its earlier stages. I am immensely grateful for the fruitful feedback I received from you at my milestone seminars. I would also like to thank P.O. Berg who invited me to enrol in the doctoral program at SBS. There are also two scholars who I would like to thank immensely for having introduced me to the marvellous world of research during my bachelor program at FGV-EAESP in the early 2000s. Mário Aquino Alves and Thomaz Wood Jr., thank you for introducing me to the research world.

I would also like to thank my very own pack, my PhD multiplicity. On the first two days of the program I met a bunch of ‘older’ and wiser PhD students who along these years have showed me the way, have given me sage advice, and shared some struggles as well as several glasses of wine: Mikael Andéhn, Andrea Lucarelli, Sara Öhlin, Emma Björner, Elia Giovacchini, Markus Walz, Liesel Marie Klemcke, Christopher Laurell, Luigi Servadio, Alisa Minina, Janet Johansson, and Sabina Du Rietz, I will always look up to you! I am also very grateful to have shared this process along with Peter Markowski and Emma Stendahl. Later on, some other lovely PhD students joined our doktorand pack: Anna Ehnhage, Emelie Adamsson, Karin Setréus, Johan Klaassen, Ester Feléz Viñas, Ian Khrashchevskiy, Petter Dahlstrom, Reema Akhtar, Fatemeh Aramian, Anton Hasselgren, Aylin Cakanlar, Gulnara Nussipova, David Fridner, and many others. Thank you all so much!

I am also very grateful to my other colleagues at Stockholm Business School. I am immensely grateful for the support of Linnéa Shore, Kicki Wennersten, Kaisa Vähä, and Fidan Hansen. Thank you also to Lasse, Stefan Ljungdahl, Alf Friberg, Helena Olofsson, Calle Cunelius, Vanessa Parker, and all the administrative staff of SBS who have been always generous and helpful, making sure the daily life of SBS is as enjoyable as it can be! My gratitude also goes to ‘Handelsbankens forskningsstiftelser (Jan Wallanders och Tom Hedelius stiftelse)’ who funded my visiting time at FGV-EAESP in 2016.
I am also grateful for having met so many passionate and inspiring academic colleagues around the world at multiple symposiums, courses, and conferences. Many of them have become dear friends: Aurélie Broeckerhoff, Liesbet Van den Driessche, Alexander Henkel, Andrea Geissinger, all the Nordic Juniors, Isabela Morais, and many amazing CCT PhD students and seniors who have inspired me. I cannot forget my beloved Chinafam: Anna Ehnhage, Massimo Giovanardi, and Mikael Andén. Chinafam is forever and eeeever! I am also greatful for Eliane Britto and colleagues of FGV-EAESP during my visiting time in São Paulo. Some of the FGV-EAESP colleagues deserve an extra thank you: Carla Abdalla and Morgana Martins Krieger, not to mention Lara Simielli, Mari Nicolletti, and China (também conhecido como Poeira!).

I would also like to thank my friends outside academia who have given me great support and made my life so much more fun. Thank you all! Some friends deserve a honourable mention here for extra support and fun: Fabi, Éricão, Anilda, Fabiola, the whole gang of Olha a curva!, Fabica (minha psiquiatra-psicanalista de plantão), my adored and cherished group Heartbreak Hotel, my very own Swedish-Brazilian family called Quero vocês (mais Carolzinha), my ‘sambo’ Caio, my partner in crime Guto, my twin brother Thiago (and Harley), my former co-workers who became more than friends Paulinha, Amy, Fernando, Gabé, Mayara, Jorgeta, Marcela, Flavinha, and many others. I would also like to give praise for Aurélie and Martine for being there for me whether in São Paulo, Milan, Paris, Amsterdam, Lisbon, or Rotterdam. I would like to express my deep admiration for all the activists who I have read, seen, met, and talked with.

Finally, I would like to thank my two amazing mothers, Darlene and Darly, for showing me what unconditional love is every single day. I would like to thank my beloved sister Tainá, my brother in law Filipe, and my adorable niece Elisa for filling our family with joy. Thank you, cousins, aunts and uncles. I would also like to thank my adopted Italian family: Vincenzo, Michela, and Lisa. Last but certainly not least, thank you dad. I will always love you.

Stockholm, October 2018
Maíra Magalhães Lopes
Table of Contents

1. Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1
   1.1. The individual consumer: whose body are we talking about? ................... 1
   1.2. Collective bodies: how are they covered in the literature? .............. 6
   1.3. Research focus: how affect shapes collective bodies? ................. 8
   1.4. Gentrification: a phenomenon of spatial injustice ...................... 10
   1.5. Urban activism collectives: starting from Baixo Centro .......... 12
   1.6. Contribution of the study: collective bodies and affects ............ 13
   1.7. Some demarcations of the study ......................................................... 14

2. Literature Review ........................................................................................................... 17
   2.1. Conceptualizing collective bodies in social sciences ................. 17
   2.2. Conceptualizing collective bodies in CCT ....................... 20
   2.3. Reviewing collective bodies as a sum of individuals with agency .... 23
       2.3.1. Brand communities ................................................................. 24
       2.3.2. Subcultures of consumption ................................................. 26
       2.3.3. Consumer tribes ................................................................. 27
       2.3.4. Consumer movements ......................................................... 30
       2.3.5. Brand publics ................................................................. 33
   2.4. Reviewing collective bodies as a sum of humans and non-humans ... 36
       2.4.1. Consumption assemblages ................................................. 37
   2.5. Summing up collective bodies in CCT ........................................ 38
   2.6. Proposing collective bodies as a sum of affective flows .......... 43

3. Theoretical Framework ............................................................................................... 51
   3.1. Presenting flows: a horizontal mode of socializing ................. 52
       3.1.1. Gabriel Tarde, an avuncular theorist .................................. 54
       3.1.2. Imitation and contagion ......................................................... 57
       3.1.3. Packs, crowds and affective synchronization in cities ......... 59
   3.2. Presenting affect: driving force of socializing ....................... 62
       3.2.1. Affect ................................................................................. 63
       3.2.2. The affective turn and its crossroad ...................................... 65
       3.2.3. A new turn, or a middle way? ............................................. 67
       3.2.4. Ahmed’s affect ................................................................. 69
4. Research Design, Methods, and Data .................................................. 73
   4.1. Academic background ..................................................................... 73
      4.1.1. Predominant paradigms of consumer research ............................ 74
      4.1.2. Pushing philosophical boundaries within CCT .......................... 76
   4.2. Research design .............................................................................. 80
      4.2.1. Unit of analysis ........................................................................ 80
      4.2.2. Methods .................................................................................. 83
      4.2.3. Data Production ...................................................................... 91
      4.2.4. Data Analysis ......................................................................... 99
   4.3. Methodological positions ............................................................... 99
      4.3.1. My position as an ethnographic researcher ............................... 99
      4.3.2. The position of the participants .............................................. 101

5. The Urban Activism Collectives ......................................................... 103
   5.0. Baixo Centro (BxC) ...................................................................... 104
   5.1. Casa da Cultura Digital (CCD) ..................................................... 106
   5.2. Ônibus Hacker (OH) ...................................................................... 106
   5.3. Casa do Povo (CP) ....................................................................... 107
   5.4. Voodoohop .................................................................................. 108
   5.5. Festa Junina no Minhocão (FJM) .................................................. 109
   5.6. A Batata Precisa de Você (BPV) .................................................... 110
   5.7. BijaRi (BR) ................................................................................. 110
   5.8. Other collectives .......................................................................... 111

6. Findings .................................................................................................. 113
   6.1. The making of affects: the forces in effect ..................................... 114
      6.1.1. Disgust ................................................................................... 114
      6.1.2. (Dis)Comfort ......................................................................... 132
      6.1.3. Fear ....................................................................................... 154
      6.1.4. Hope ..................................................................................... 175
   6.2. The making of packs: aligning and misaligning affects .................. 187
      6.2.1. The making of collectives: from them to us ............................ 188
      6.2.2. The making of collectives of collectives: from us to us .......... 192
   6.3. The making of crowds: synchronizing affect .................................. 198
      6.3.1. The making of protests: from I to us ..................................... 199
      6.3.2. The making of multiplicities: from them to us ....................... 203

7. Discussion ............................................................................................... 209
   7.1. So, how do affects shape collective bodies? ................................. 210
   7.2. Contributions to conversations in CCT .......................................... 214
      7.2.1. Marketplace cultures ............................................................. 214
      7.2.2. Affects & Emotions ............................................................... 219
      7.2.3. Space & Place ...................................................................... 222
7.2.4. Alternative methods .............................................................. 224

8. Concluding Remarks ................................................................. 227
  8.1. Final reflections ................................................................. 227
  8.2. Limitations of the study ..................................................... 229
  8.3. Practical implications ......................................................... 230
  8.4. Further research ............................................................... 231

9. References ............................................................................. 235
1. Introduction

1.1. The individual consumer: whose body are we talking about?

Consumer culture is often portrayed in the literature to be a culture of the individual consumer, who through the promise of freedom of choice can exercise his/her own identity (Campbell, 1987; Slater, 1997; Bauman, 2013). In consumer research literature, the consumer is portrayed as an individual working on his/her identity project through consumption choices (e.g., Belk, 1988; Holt, 2002). Many studies have then explored how consumers can work on their own identities in order to distinguish them. In such studies, consumers are frequently presented reinforcing their notions of individual boundaries: how people dress, eat, commute, and spend their leisure time are often portrayed as ways of underlining consumers’ identity (e.g., Sandikci & Ger, 2009; Arsel & Thompson, 2010). In other words, through consumption people have been acculturated into reinforcing their own boundaries, whether by getting a tattoo (Patterson & Schroeder, 2010) or by using certain brands (Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001). For Bauman (2000, 2013), consumer culture entails a growing inherent disconnectedness through the primacy of individuality and fleeting identity-projects, which unfold into the loss of our capacity to bond. For him, consumer culture has broken down the community, leaving the individual craving communal bonding. For him, the incessant search of the individual for the community is a symptom that the community is lost in consumer culture.

Consumer culture scholars, in contrast, have frequently shown how “consumers’ identity work is directed toward transforming marketplace structures in ways that serve their collective interests” (Thompson, 2014, p. iii). Many studies tend to focus on the overlapping of personal identity projects with collective identities. Hence, in the consumer research literature, the postmodern idea of individual choice is often paired with the modern idea of the community because modernity and its manifestation as consumer culture is generally understood from the perspective of the individual. The individual is often seen as the natural locus of inquiry (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011; Thompson et al., 2013; Earley, 2014). But might there be other possibilities for understanding
formations that do not stem from this predominant pairing (i.e., individual-community)? Some scholars and I believe so and this thesis explores one of these possibilities. This study explores how can we think of collective bodies as amalgamations of interplaying affects (i.e., multiplicities), rather than a composition of individual consumers working on their identity projects.

For this endeavor, I leverage the work of some scholars that have already questioned the status of the individual as a natural being (e.g., Brighenti, 2010a; Brennan, 2004). For them, the notion of the individual can be seen more as an exception rather than a rule, in both historical and geographical terms. They argue that it is a contemporary Western position: social scholars and, more specifically, consumption scholars have typically framed the individual as the one fundamental living body and the community as its subsequent social composition of many bodies together (Borch, 2010; see also Arvidsson, Bradshaw, Hulme, & Canniford, 2018). In other words, they challenge the predominant idea of the individual body of the consumer being portrayed as the elementary being of consumer culture while the community has been presented as a sine-qua-non-condition for the sociality of the individual within consumer culture. Some scholars have also explored other possibilities for exploring social beings that do not stem from the individual. I will work with one of these: the idea of the multiplicity.

According to Brighenti (2010a), three scholars (i.e., Tarde, Canetti and Deleuze) have explored the multiplicity as a collective body that does not originate from the individual body. He argues that, for such scholars, we could think of packs and crowds as two forms of multiplicities. In both packs and crowds, the individual body becomes occluded. Since the emergence of the social sciences in the late 19th and early 20th century, scholars have been fascinated by crowds precisely for their capacity to annul the idea of the individual as a social being that is self-contained and governed by reason (Borch, 2012). The fascination of how the boundaries of the individual human body were concealed in the crowd, as the fear of being touched vanishes and faces merge, was fervent at the turn of the 20th century. For some scholars interested in crowds (like Gustave Le Bon, Gabriel Tarde, and Georg Simmel, to name a few), the individual disappeared in the crowd. For them, there was a force that could drag rational men into the crowd and, once inside the crowd, men would be willing to commit crimes that they would not do outside of a crowd. The crowd was then often portrayed as a collective force capable of annulling rationality and individuality. Le Bon, who was one of the most conservative
of crowd theorists, even argued that only *rational men* with strong will (that is, rational agency) would be able to resist the seducing force of the crowd. In contrast, the crowd was often associated with women and their hysterical tendencies, alcoholics, and other such ‘primitive’ and ‘susceptible’ creatures and lower qualities (Barrows, 1981; Blackman, 2012; Borch, 2012).

Hence, the individual body that becomes occluded in the crowd is not any particular type of body. As pointed out by Blackman (2012; see also Brennan, 2004) the individual in social theory does not have a neutral body. Blackman argues that, for crowd theorists of the early 20th century, *some* people were more inclined to be swept up by the crowd. *These* people were more inclined to the hypnotic suggestibility of the crowd because *they* were driven more by emotions than rationality; *they* had less will.

The person swayed by the crowd was to become a prototypical being who embodied the attributes which connected the human with the animal. (…) The working classes, colonial subjects, women and children became the bearers of this fear of the primitive and its potential irruption into the smooth running of the social order. (Blackman, 2012, p. 36)

In contrast, the *normal subject* would be the one able to exercise certain psychological capacities, such as will and inhibition, that could resist social influence and thus keep its *mind* intact. The normal subject is the one able to sustain the integrity of its personality: that is, its individuality. Even though Le Bon was more outspoken about how these normal individuals should be seen as ‘more human types’ whereas the others should be seen as ‘less human types’, other social scientists of the turn of the 20th century (including Gabriel Tarde) would follow an analogous hierarchy of ‘human types’. The fear of the crowd was then linked to the idea of the individual white male’s rational body becoming occluded by the crowd, whereas ‘less human types’ were seen as typical types composing the threatening crowd since they were more susceptible. Thereby, the notion of the individual, as a *normal subject*, has not been a neutral one since the emergence of social sciences. The notion of the individual has not only been a given idea, but it has also been a biased idea (Hemmings, 2005; Gorton, 2007; Schmitz & Ahmed, 2014; Blackman, 2015; Jackson, 2015; Pedweel & Whitehead, 2015), and, consequently, the idea of the community as a collective formation has become similarly partial.

Hence, the crowd has already been presented as a social being that is something other than many rational individual men bundled together. So, could we
think of the crowd not as a problem but instead as an opportunity to understand the collective body as ‘something else than individuals gathering together by rational choice’? This is my hope with this study. The main idea here is to explore both the crowds and the packs, as two modes of multiplicities. The crowd, as well as the pack, can be seen as collective bodies of affective intensity with an incredible potential for transformation. By following affect-based theorizing, rather than focusing on the collective body as a composition of individuals, I focus on the collective body as a composition of affective intensities. These intensities travel with different orientations, directions, and potencies. As such, the collective body can be seen in continuous transformation, unlike the idea of the individual body that seals the human body in one format with its biological skin. Here, in contrast, I explore collective bodies as bodies in continuous expansion and condensation. I assume that collective bodies can merge, split, and merge again. They can connect as well as they can disconnect; they can continue, transform, and vanish. Through the dynamics of our relations, the surfaces of collective bodies are felt. Thereby, I assume that (a) the surfacing of bodies can be explored by felt surfaces and (b) this process of feeling surfaces is continuous. On a daily basis, we feel our biological skin as our personal surface many times, but this surface of biological skin becomes unfelt many other times. In such moments, enabled by certain encounters, there are instants of embodied intensification. In such moments, the feeling of other surfaces can be felt intensively. For example, in the findings I discuss an autoethnographic moment when I was attending a protest march, where I started to feel the limits of the crowd as my surface rather than feeling my own body being limited by my biological skin. My focus here is to explore this continuous process of felt surfaces. More specifically, my focus is to explore the surfacing of the collective body as a continuous process through the circulation and accumulation of affect.

Whereas I try to work with a collective body that does not subsume to the individual as the normal human type, I do not follow the assumption that the collective body can be seen as posthuman or more than human (Latour, 2005; Law, 2009). Before beginning to discuss gentrification as the context of this study, I wish to draw attention to this theoretical caveat: what I want to explore here is a different way of seeing the human in the us – that is, how our idea of us can invoke other notions of living bodies. My focus is not to distinguish the human and non-human in the us. Nevertheless, for this endeavor, I work with the bodies of urban activists resisting gentrification in the city center of São Paulo (Brazil) in order to explore notions of living formation in collective
bodies. The context of gentrification is enlightening here as it encompasses a set of social, cultural, and economic transformations of a space which seems to head towards a white, straight, middle-class normativity, which is the predominant normativity within consumption studies. The gentrification process can be seen as a process of orientation towards the predominant normativity within consumption studies, which then configures an impression of straight line (Ahmed, 2006). This straight line is presented as a line of ‘progress’ led by a wider consumption ideology. In the gentrification process, the development trajectory of the space is tied to consumerism and thereby follows a very specific orientation, which is ideologically driven.

Gentrification encompasses a spatial process of becoming straight (in Sara Ahmed’s words), where some bodies (i.e., poor bodies, black bodies, queer bodies, and colonial bodies) lose space for other bodies that are considered straight (i.e., white-middle-class-straight bodies). Gentrification then encompasses a process of spatial reorganization of bodies towards a straight orientation, which is manifested through a transformation towards a white-straight-middle-class aesthetic. Resisting this spatial transformation process entails resisting this straight orientation and, consequently, being open to different orientations. It is in these different orientations that affective encounters and, consequently, affective intensities are magnified and manifested in social relations within the gentrification process. By being open to different orientations, following different directions, and facing such affective encounters, the urban activists form a multiplicity of collectives – or to be more precise, multiplicities of collective bodies. I argue here that these urban activism collectives are the packs, which in expansion become crowds, and vice-versa. The collective bodies of these urban activists are then intrinsically linked to ideological forces of mainstream consumer culture. They are the people who Arvidsson and colleagues (2018) argue should be listened to by the CCT literature precisely because “they do not care about brands” (p. 8). They affect and are affected by consumer culture even though they are not oriented towards mainstream ideology of consumption and consumerism. By studying these urban activists, I try to explore a different way to see the collective formation in Consumer Culture Theory (CCT). Thus, before I discuss the development of this research project further, I introduce below how collective bodies are covered in social sciences and, more specifically, in CCT.
1.2. Collective bodies: how are they covered in the literature?

Crowds used to be a central concept with which to understand collective bodies within instances of social transformation at the turn of the 20th century (Borch, 2012). Renowned scholars of the late 19th century studied the crowd as a form of social formation of the collective body (e.g., Simmel). Such scholars were often interested in the dualism of the individual body and the collective body, as the individual was dissolved whenever in the crowd. For example, scholars used to highlight the destructive power of crowds, which still resonated with the transformative remnants of the French Revolution throughout the 19th century. However, throughout the 20th century, the concept of crowds has been replaced with other terms in social sciences (Borch, 2012). To name a few, subcultures, tribes, social movements, and community emerged in the literature and became more predominant concepts to describe collective formations (e.g., Kozinets & Handelman, 2004; Schouten, Martin, & McAlester, 2007; Goulding, Shankar, & Canniford, 2013). More specifically, community became the prevailing notion with which to describe collective bodies in the place of the crowd (Borch, 2012).

The dualism of the individual and the community came to replace the dualism of the one and the many of the crowd. Borch also argues that this replacement is not a naïve incident. It is the result of a conservative and ideological inclination of social scholars to frame collective bodies, mirroring the individual body, as a bounded, rational, and stable social formation. That is, the community. Since then, community has often been used to describe a collective body of organizing associated with a given geographical area, whether it is neighborhood, village, town, or a whole country. The concept of community has thus been linked to the idea of sharing a sense of place (Anderson, 2006a). More recently, the idea of community has expanded beyond the physical-geographical realm, from brand communities to online communities (e.g., Kozinets, 1999; Kozinets, 2001; Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001). Still, it supports a boundary condition. For example, scholars have been studying communal formations of consumption in which members are bounded through consciousness of kind (Muniz and O’Guinn 2001; McAlester, Schouten, and Koenig 2002; Schau, Muñiz, & Arnould 2009). Or, they are bounded by identity projects in resistance to mainstream ideological structures (e.g., Schouten & McAlester, 1995; Kates, 2002; Schouten, Martin, & McAlester, 2007). In such studies, the implicit assumption of the collective body as a composition of rational individuals choosing to gather together prevails.
This assumption, and consequently, the form of community is “dialectically intertwined with the form of the economy” (Arvidsson et al., 2018, p. 2). Community has been a central concept with which to unravel how individuals relate to one another within capitalism, whether as a social amalgamation of resistance or a social amalgamation for its reinforcement. For Joseph (2002), the community has become a hegemonic concept precisely due to its ambivalent nature. It has become a pervasive concept used to understand collective forms of organizing and, consequently, to describe collective bodies within capitalism. It has been a central notion in urban studies and related fields, as well as consumption studies and, more specifically, in CCT (e.g., Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). Following the social sciences, consumer research has focused on the individual liberating possibilities of partaking in collective consumption. The collective body is often seen as a tool for the individual body. The conceptualization of consumption communities in CCT blends individuality, identity, and collectivity simultaneously (Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001; McAlexander, Schouten, & Koenig, 2002; Schau, Muniz, & Arnould, 2009). Adjacent conceptualizations to collective bodies of consumption, such as consumption subcultures (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Schouten, Martin, & McAlexander, 2007), consumer tribes (Canniford, 2011; Goulding et al., 2013; Cova & Cova, 2002), consumer movements (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004), and brand publics (Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015), also focus on how individuals, possessed with goal-directed rationality and agentic powers, build more or less dense networks of interpersonal interactions. Thereby, in such conceptualizations the individual body is still intertwined with the collective body. It is never dissolved. It safeguards itself. As Askegaard and Linnet (2011) argue, “consumption research has not moved far from an individually focused paradigm: communities of consumption remain distinctly that, an epistemological exotica” (p. 383). The proposal to explore crowds and packs as multiplicities for an alternative conceptualization of collective bodies within consumer culture is then a response to this call – a conceptualization of a collective body that does not stem from the consumer as an agentic individual.

In crowds, the three central conceits of the modernist project — individualization, rationalization, and stabilization — become occluded. Historically, crowds have been generally portrayed as terrifying social compositions, where the rational and stable individual is dissolved and absorbed into the irrational and destructive crowd (Le Bon, 2001; Mazzarella, 2010; Tarde,
Crowd phenomena have also been characterized as unstable surges of affective intensity. In the crowd, the fear to be touched vanishes (Canetti, 1995) as the individual is engulfed and subsumed into a collective tendency (Borch & Knudsen, 2013). The affect becomes transversal, crossing the biological skin. Affective participation becomes shared and the boundaries between the individual and the collective become blurred (Canetti, 1995; Walker, 2013; Le Bon, 2001). The crowd, as a mode of multiplicity, is a formation of affective intensities that flow. It is produced in its continuity instead of its boundaries. The multiplicity is then constantly emerging, and this “multiplicity is neither an individual nor a group, yet it is to be regarded as a social formation” (Brighenti, 2010a, p. 292). Therefore, by exploring both crowds and packs, this study challenges the predominant idea in CCT research that agentic individuals, as units of agency and goal-directed rationality, form collective bodies through the exercise of choice. In contrast, I follow affective intensities as flows. Affective intensities have different orientations, directions, and potencies. They travel; they work as flows even when they get stuck. They add up. In sum, this study proposes an alternative understanding of collective bodies that is formed through affective flows. In the next section, I will present how this proposition is operationalized through two research questions. I then discuss how they will be answered using affective flows as both theoretical framework and unit of analysis.

1.3. Research focus: how affect shapes collective bodies?

The focus of this research is to explore how affect shapes collective bodies within consumer culture. More specifically, the main question of this study is to understand how collective bodies are formed through affective intensities in a context of social transformation driven by mainstream consumer culture (i.e., gentrification). This main question can be broken down into two complementary questions, which I highlight below:

- How does affect organize the formation and transformation of collective bodies amongst residents and urban activists within a gentrification process?
- How do collective bodies become organized whilst disputing spaces for consumption within a gentrification process?
In order to answer these questions, I have drawn on the work of Tarde (1903) and Canetti (1995) to show how collective bodies can be viewed as open and fluid formations of affective flows rather than bounded and stable social formations of individuals. In addition, I adopt Ahmed’s conceptualization of affect. For Ahmed (2004a), affect is “what moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives as a dwelling place” (p. 27). Through continuous movements and attachments, bodies are aligned together and misaligned with others. Following this conceptualization of affect entails that the distinction between the inside and the outside of bodies, whether individual or collective ones, is the result of movements and attachments produced in response to other bodies (Ahmed 2004a). Through affect, the boundaries of what I, you, we, and they are come to surface. Ahmed’s approach fleshes out the organizing process of affect in the surfacing of both individual and collective bodies (Ahmed, 2004; 2004a). For her, through affect, we establish the boundaries of individual and collective bodies and, consequently, we also delineate the dynamics of our socialization. In other words, by delineating boundaries of individual and collective bodies, affect also delineates our relations. Through different ways in which affect works, which can be named as disgust, fear, comfort, and hope, bodies are shaped through a surfacing effect. Surfaces become felt and unfelt, they are felt closer or further away, depending on whether ‘us’ is a collective body in contraction or expansion.

My argument here then focuses on understanding the surfacing of collective bodies as a result of multiple affective flows bundling in a continuous process, rather than seeing collective bodies as a derivative of rational individuals gathering together. My object of study is then the continuous process of formation of collective bodies and, consequently, their dynamics. Using ethnography as my main method of enquiry, I studied multiple urban activism collectives raising the gentrification process currently occurring in the city center of São Paulo. Gentrification, which I discuss further in the next section, encompasses a myriad of processes of social dispute and transformation within consumer culture. By studying the urban activism collectives resisting gentrification and adopting autoethnographic and affective techniques, I was able to follow continuous affective orientations, directions, and encounters (i.e., affective flows)

---

1 I adopt the term urban activism collective in reference to the several forms of organizing of urban activism groupings that encompass this study. Many groupings adopt the term collective, whereas other groupings criticize the term. There are many other nomenclatures, such as groups, movements, platforms. Nonetheless, I adopt the term collective in order to equate the different nomenclatures used.
throughout the process and, consequently, flesh out the formation process of such collective bodies. Below, I argue that gentrification can be seen as a contemporary phenomenon of consumer culture. That is, the processes of gentrification are social processes that produce the built environment and they are rooted in social transformations linked to consumer culture.

1.4. Gentrification: a phenomenon of spatial injustice

Whereas the term gentrification was initially defined merely as ‘residential rehabilitation’, the conceptualization of gentrification has expanded and proliferated in various disciplines and perspectives (Slater, 2011). According to Sassen (1991), “in the late 1970s a broader conceptualization of the process began to emerge, and by the early 1980s new scholarship had developed a far broader meaning of gentrification, linking it with processes of spatial, economic and social restructuring” (p. 255). The consequential entanglement and intensification of spatial, economic, social, and cultural transformation have been one of the reasons why gentrification has been a phenomenon explored in many fields, from urban geography to cultural studies. It became a term that encompasses many tensions related to social transformation, from class struggles to urban issues. Gentrification has then become an immense body of scholarship on its own.

Here, I adopt the definition of gentrification as: a transition that inner-city neighborhoods with a status of relative poverty and prior disinvestment in the urban infrastructure go through when reinvestment and resettlement takes place, which results in economic, social, cultural, and aesthetic restructuring of a place. Throughout the process of gentrification, business and policy elites find themselves in conflict with the interests of rooted urban residents, who generally face work instability, unemployment, and stigmatization (Slater, 2011). Commonly, it is an urban phenomenon that fleshes out the “class inequalities and injustices created by capitalist urban land markets and policies” (p. 572). Smith (2002) argues that the circuits of global capital and cultural circulation are densely connected to gentrification processes, which contributes to their current pervasiveness. Rather than a local phenomenon, gentrification is now as ubiquitous as the underpinning dynamics of gentrification. It is no longer restricted to urban areas of developed countries; gentrification is happening in many developing countries as well: such as, for example, in the
case of the city-center of São Paulo, the biggest city of Brazil. The city center of São Paulo is also considered to be a place of dispute between the interest of business and policy elites and the interest of extant urban residents, many of whom are in a vulnerable situation whether due to poverty, gender, and/or substance addiction issues.

Thereby, the processes of gentrification in place are socio-spatial processes that are producing the built environment (Warde, 1991), whether in the city center of São Paulo, in Brooklyn in New York, or and in southern areas of Stockholm, such as Hornstull. For Warde (1991) and Marcuse (2009), the aesthetic changes in gentrifying neighborhoods are just one of the manifestations of a broader economic, social, and cultural transformation process. According to Warde (1991), gentrification raises issues of group lifestyles and consumption patterns, in addition to the right of space use, property, profit, and production. For him, gentrification is an ideal instance to study social transformations mediated by the organizing of consumption and production. Gentrification can be seen as a contemporary phenomenon of consumer culture, where there is a spatial reorganization of consuming bodies (e.g., Ilkucan & Sandikci, 2005; see also Miles, 2012). It can be seen as a phenomenon that displays spatial (in)justices (Soja, 2009, Marcuse 2009). Still, spatial injustices are not to be seen here as derivatives of broader social injustices, as Marcuse (2009) has argued. Spatial injustices are to be seen here “as both outcome and process, as geographies or distributional patterns that are in themselves just/unjust and as the processes that produce these outcomes” (Soja, 2009, p. 3; see also Iveson 2011). It is about some bodies losing spaces for other bodies to occupy that space. The relation of body and space is crucial since the notion of body is a matter of how we inhabit the world (Ahmed, 2004; Ahmed, 2006). For Ahmed, the capacity of the body to extend in space is informative, as this capacity is related to the potential of the body to consume that space. I then argue here that gentrification is a relevant instance to study the continuous formation of collective bodies throughout their process of consuming space, in resonance with (but not derivative of) broader processes of social transformation within consumer culture and ideology of consumption.

In the gentrification process of the city center of São Paulo, I have been able to observe, explore, affect and be affected, analyze, and discuss how urban activists and residents occupy the space in question and how their occupation intertwines with how they inhabit that space as bodies (collective bodies, to be more precise). In the next section, I present the urban activism collectives...
that are resisting this process of gentrification in the center of São Paulo. I argue here that, as collective bodies, they are in a constant process of making, unmaking, and remaking within that space. In order to trace this continuous process, one collective is placed in the center: Baixo Centro (BxC, “Low Center”). BxC serves as a starting point for the tracing of these processes of occupying – that is, consuming – the city space. Below, I present BxC as a collective body that expands and contracts, changes and returns, and breaks and resonates with many other collective bodies within the city center of São Paulo.

1.5. Urban activism collectives: starting from Baixo Centro

In the city-center of São Paulo, there is a myriad of urban activism collectives fighting against various urban issues. Some of them are focused directly on gentrification processes while others are focused on urban mobility problems. Some of them are trying to foster green spaces, whereas others are focused on working with unprivileged groups in the area (e.g., women, drug addicts, homeless people). Even though I have traced many of these collectives, I have selected only a few to be highlighted in this study. In addition, I have selected one urban activism collective as the starting point of this study: Baixo Centro. BxC emerged in 2011, when some residents of São Paulo felt that the city was ‘closing down’ and started to advocate for ‘more humane’ public policies. Many of these residents were living and/or socializing in the BxC area, which encompasses five neighborhoods of the city of São Paulo. They are: Vila Buarque, Santa Cecília, Campos Elísios, Barra Funda, and Luz. Due to the attractiveness of its central location, the area had increasingly become a target for real estate speculation. In 2012, the ongoing ‘requalification processes’ included the eviction of poor-drug-user-residents, under the discursive guise of Operação Cracolândia (“Operation Crackland”). In order to resist these forms of policy enforcement and pro-market public policy, BxC Festival came into being.

BxC has emerged as an initiative to foster cultural activities in public spaces in response to a privatization of artistic expression in São Paulo. However, at the beginning of the process of conceptualizing the festival, housing access became an important topic of concern and debate among the participants. In turn, the municipality intensified its efforts at real estate development. BxC
then emerged as a result of participants discussing and engaging with issues regarding housing and cultural living in that area of the city. The participants became increasingly oriented towards such housing and gentrification issues. BxC emerged as a collective which was concerned with the consumption of spaces in the city center (to be more precise, the distribution of these spaces) and the changes in consumption patterns of those spaces. Through actions of resistance, these urban activists have been gathering, celebrating, crying, dancing, fighting, cycling, and planting together with many other urban activists from multiple collectives. They have been fighting for a city they envision, whether it is a green, bike-friendly, or less socially-segregated city. They want to occupy and consume the city in different ways than have been proposed by forthcoming investment and public policies. These activists have been forming, shaping, splitting, and morphing into different collectives, constantly. At many times, it is hard to cross the line between where one ends and the other begins. For example, BxC has emerged from and incorporated other collectives whilst in turn other collectives have themselves emerged from the BxC movement. Many of the participants have participated in other collectives, have joined forces with BxC, and have later turned into other collectives. It is at these intersections, collaborations, mergers, and ruptures that I have focused my attention and bodily attuning throughout the research process. I have traced their directions, orientations, and disorientations: their routes, turns, dead ends, and openings. It is their roaming story that I will discuss throughout this manuscript. It is through their story that I contribute to the literature. In the next section, I will discuss how their story contributes to a different way with which to understand collective formations than has typically been the case in consumption studies.

1.6. Contribution of the study: collective bodies and affects

The findings of this thesis resonate with four on-going conversations in consumer research literature. In the first place, this study contributes to the marketplace culture literature and the formation of collective bodies by exploring how the formation of the collective body is a continuous affective process that unfolds into different forms of multiplicities: crowds and packs. This study then proposes to see the collective body as a continuous process of affective amalgamation. Secondly, this study adds to extant discussions regarding affect and emotions. The findings of this study interlink felt experiences with
surfacing effects. That is, I focus my analysis on how affects work delineating the relation between and of bodies and, thereby, marking what we understand as *me*, *you*, *us*, and *them*. Thirdly, this study also contributes to discussions regarding space and place in marketing. This study extends the discussion regarding spatial injustices and neoliberal cities, which are driven by wider consumption ideology. Lastly, the forth conversation this study contributes to regards methods. More specifically, it regards methodological approaches of affect-oriented research. In this study, I have adopted affective attuning techniques to understand aspects that are hard to capture with conventional methods. By using autoethnographic and affective techniques, this study responds to the call for the adoption of methodological alternatives that have potential to foreground affective processes.

1.7. Some demarcations of the study

In this section, I will point out some demarcations and overlooked points of this study in order to align expectations and delineate what this thesis is not about. In the process of producing this thesis, many voices had to remain unheard and many nuances and even affects were excluded from the argumentation. I would like to highlight some of the demarcations below. Firstly, this thesis is not about the gentrification process itself. Even though the gentrification process encompasses the changing of production and consumption practices, my focus is how some affects mediate the social bonding processes within the gentrification process. The thesis leverages the spatial perspective that the gentrification process goes through; it foregrounds the space-body relationship. In the words of Soja (2009), it foregrounds spatial injustices.

The second demarcation refers to modes of affect. Please note, I say ‘some affects’ above because I focus the analysis on four affects, but there are many others. Nevertheless, a focused discussion on four affects allows me to describe how affects work in the surfacing process of bodies and, consequently, how they function in constructing what we recognize to be *me*, *you*, *us*, and *them*. Thirdly, the standpoint of the affective flows discussed here is inclined towards the urban activists and the urban activism collectives they are engaged with. This study does not follow the real estate developers or new middle-upper-class residents of the city center. I did not encounter any of them. I did not join any of their events. This account can be perceived as partial for that reason. In the interest of highlighting the political dimensions of affect
throughout the gentrification process, this partiality was intentional in order to focus in telling one specific side of the story. Fourthly and lastly, this ethnographic study also tells very little about the most vulnerable people in the context: the very poor people living in the area, the *crackers*, the women in Crackland trying to resist violence and deprivation every day, or the residents of the outskirts of São Paulo. As many of them have pointed out in many encounters, they are still silent voices. For example, the outlying neighborhoods are kept out of discussion since the city center is the place of dispute of consumption (and production). The municipal government shows little interest in investing and ‘requalifying’ those areas. The private sector also shows little interest in the area towards real estate development. The neighborhoods at the periphery of the city are not in dispute. The urban residents there face other issues, as they still face lack of interest and investment. This thesis operates within the realm of these biased circumstances and privileges the central area of the city, which has already been the object of public interest and scrutiny.

In sum, this precautionary addendum wants to point out some of the important demarcations and limitations of this study. I have left out many perspectives, voices, nuances, and affects. For many of them, I apologize. For others, which have been covered in the literature of other fields, I highlight my appreciation as I have leveraged them. Some of the demarcations were theoretical whereas others were methodological. Some of them were made due to convenience of the research process whereas others were defined by resource constraints. Nonetheless, I hope that these demarcations have helped to shed light on the focus of the study and that they have hereby helped to uncover the minutiae of the working of affects in shaping bodies.
2. Literature Review

In this chapter, I review how different concepts regarding collective bodies are operationalized in the literature. Before I start to review the CCT literature, I take a step backwards and contextualize how these concepts emerged in the social sciences. Most of the concepts were developed in sociological studies and CCT scholars have used them as enabling concepts to understand consumers and their consumer behavior. Secondly, I discuss how CCT has mirrored social sciences and adopted specific concepts from other fields and applied them in contexts of collective consumption. Thirdly, I discuss further how the main concepts were operationalized in the CCT literature in order to conceptualize collective bodies in contexts of consumption. Fourthly and lastly, I propose an alternative avenue to conceptualize collective bodies in CCT. This alternative conceptualization mirrors the affective turn, which is a prominent avenue of social sciences that proposes another way to see the individual, the collective, and the social. Thus, I conclude this chapter with a proposal to understand collective bodies as a sum of affective flows. Now, I start the literature review by discussing the conceptualization of collective bodies in the broad array of social sciences.

2.1. Conceptualizing collective bodies in social sciences

Collectivity is defined, in the Collins Dictionary, as (1) the quality or state of being collective and (2) a collective whole or aggregate. Through this dictionary definition, we can grasp the core assumptions of collectivity in colloquial language. But, what exactly do we mean by ‘being collective’? Primarily, it can describe a condition – whether permanent (quality) or temporary (state) – of being collective. Being collective also assumes a form to describe a gathering of units. We thus use the word to describe an entity formed by a collection of beings: that is, a collective body. However, the conceptualization of a gathering of units forming a collective body can vary significantly. For example, “those people watching a football match are termed as a crowd, but those
gathered in the Albert Hall are referred to as an audience. Skinheads are said
to roam in gangs, company directors assemble in groups. A large number of
pickets behaving in a threatening manner may be termed a mob, but a large
number of policemen charging with batons will almost never be so described”
(McClelland, 1989, p. 5). These semantic variations of these collective bodies
are not naïve (Borch, 2012). The semantic variations resonate with social and
cultural assumptions as well as their transformations.

For Borch (2012), the different conceptualizations of collective bodies have
varied since the emergence of the social sciences. For him, many of the con-
cepts that have emerged throughout the development of social science to dis-
cuss the process of collective bodies subscribe to the modern ideals of indi-
vidualization, stabilization, and rationalization. Still, he notes how the theo-
rizing of collective bodies has been bounded to their social, economic, politi-
cal, and cultural context. From community to social movement, from
subculture to multitude, these concepts echo in different ways the ideals of
modernity, and at the same time, they mirror their own particular context. In
alignment with Borch, Vargas (2000) alerts us to the fact that the debates re-
arding what constituted the social, the individual, and the collective in late
1800 and early 1900 helped to shape our understanding and assumptions about
these concepts until the present day. It was in this period, marked by the con-
servatism of the French Republic, that sociology was emerging as a discipline
and social science, concerned with society and the relationships among indi-
viduals within a society, was emerging as a major category of academic dis-
cipline. Since then, the contraposition of sociality, collectivity, and individu-
ality has been one of the intermittent and fundamental debates in the field.
The predominant assumption situates the individual as the constituting part of
the collective and, consequently, the integrative unit of the social. Therefore,
the collective and the individual have been mutual references to each other
since the emergence of the social sciences. Throughout the development of
the social sciences, many conceptualizations of collective bodies have
sprouted and their boundaries have been challenged. To name a few of the
concepts, I highlight: the community, the subculture, the mass, the social
movement, the (neo)tribe, and the multitude. However, the main underlying
assumption remains the same for them; the individual is placed as the stem of
the collective. In other words, it is assumed that regardless of the conceptual-
ization of the collective, the units that form the social composition are indi-
viduals.
However, more recently there is a stream of scholarship within the social sciences that is challenging the primacy of the individual as the unit that composes the social. This stream has received the moniker of ‘affective turn’ (Blackman & Venn, 2010; Seigworth & Gregg, 2010; Leys, 2011). In varied fields, from sociology to cultural studies, from political sciences to urban studies, affect scholars have challenged the primacy of entities as the elementary social unit and expanded our notions of the social. The moniker ‘affective turn’ derives from this focus on how entities affect each other. The focus turns to the relations between the entities. For affect scholars, the relations between entities are ontologically more important than the entities themselves. That is, they assume a relational ontology.

These affect scholars have then developed theories that focus on the relations between entities rather than the entities themselves. Many of them have questioned the role of non-humans in social sciences. For such scholars, collective bodies are not only composed of humans, but also of non-humans that have an important role in such collective formations (i.e., networks, assemblages). Thereby, the focus of their studies shifts to how humans and non-humans interact in continuously forming social compositions. This contrasts to the previous focus on how individuals, as the elementary entities with agency, arrange their social relations. This affective turn then questions the primacy of the individual in sociality. In the affective turn, both humans and non-humans are ‘flattened’ and given distributed agency. For example, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) treats “everything in the social and natural worlds as a continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located” (Law, 2009, p. 141). Predominantly, affect scholars have studied how humans and non-humans affect each other in order to foreground the dynamics between them. The social here is then discussed as something that is ‘more-than-human’ (Whatmore, 2004) or ‘posthuman’ (Castree & Nash, 2004; see also Gane, 2006; Braidotti, 2013). Some scholars of CCT have already adopted this relational ontological perspective to understand consumers, their sociality, and material culture (Hill et al., 2014). These scholars have proposed an alternative perspective to the predominant perspective in CCT which departs from the individual. They have thus contributed to the literature with a relational perspective (Canniford & Bajde, 2015).

The relational turn in the CCT literature then equates itself to a posthuman, more than human, or non-representational turn (Hill et al., 2014). But, again,
this equivalence does not need to overlap completely. There are affect scholars, especially feminists, queer, and postcolonial scholars, that reject the "fascination with affect as outside social meaning, as providing a break in both the social and in critics’ engagements with the nature of the social" (Hemmings, 2005, p. 565). Still, they call for a relational onto-epistemological perspective to the social. For them, the relational turn can encompass not only the ‘posthuman’, rather, they advocate for a reorientation of/for the human (Jackson, 2015). In sum, there is an additional sub-stream of the relational-affective turn that can be interesting to explore in addition to the posthuman as non-representational or non-cognitive (see further discussion below, on section 4.1.2 about pushing philosophical boundaries within CCT). It is exactly in this bifurcation of the affective turn that this thesis is leveraged. But, before I further discuss this bifurcation in affective turn and how I will draw on such studies, I will discuss below how these two different streams of social sciences – the individual and the relational perspective – resonate with the CCT literature.

2.2. Conceptualizing collective bodies in CCT

The conceptualization of collective bodies in CCT mirrors the conceptualization in the social sciences. This is not unexpected as CCT uses theories from other streams of social science (e.g., sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, and philosophy) as enabling theories to understand consumers, their embedded culture, and their behavior (e.g., Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Thereby, the concepts used to describe collective formations in CCT are borrowed from other fields within social sciences. The main concepts used as enabling concepts for our understanding of collective bodies in CCT are: (1) community, (2) subculture, (3) tribe, (4) social movement, (5) public, and (6) assemblage. Initially and predominantly, scholars have built upon the notions of community to understand collective bodies mediated by consumption. The notion of community matches the individual perspective that CCT has explored in consumer research. Within consumer research, the CCT literature has focused in bringing about the individual standpoint as a way to foreground the embedded culture (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Askegaard & Linnet, 2011; Thompson et al., 2013). In the individual perspective, through the conceptualization of community, the individual subject is situated as the protagonist within con-
sumer culture. In CCT studies, the presentation of the individual often foregrounds his/her ability to develop and maintain social bonds through his/her constant employment of agency via consumption practices and choices. Thereby, there is an implicit assumption that the individual consumer has control of his/her social relations. The consumer as individual is placed as the central figure in the extant literature (Belk, 1988; Slater, 1997). Gabriel and Lang (2006) argue that the consumer has become not simply an object of theorizing, it became almost invariably a central character from a story:

now a hero or a heroine, now a victim, now a villain, now a fool, but always central. In some stories, consumers feature as sovereign, deciding the fate of products and corporations at a whim, in others they feature as duped victims, manipulated by producers, advertisers and image-makers (p. 2).

According to Gabriel and Lang (2006), some of these roles have been more predominant in some fields of study than others. In the case of CCT, there seems to be a predominance of the idea of the hero or heroine. Many studies in CCT seem to follow the hero’s journey (e.g., Kates, 2002; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013). Plus, the concept of community has been instrumental in building the narrative of the consumer as protagonist, since it follows the primacy of the individual. The context and the context of the context are presented more as a landscape for consumers to navigate and exercise their agency, than a performative territory. By performative territory, I adopt Brighenti’s (2010) territoriological perspective to see the context as the resulting trajectories “from encounters and from the affects developed during those encounters” (p. 57; see also Cheetham, McEachern & Warnarby, 2018). In this way, the performative and expressive aspects of context come to the fore, instead of being taken as given space-time.

Then, in the CCT literature, the departure point is often the individual consumer, whose accounts are frequently presented in a rationalized thread that follows a subject-object hierarchy. To be more specific, the consumer tends to follow the thread subject-object-subject, which implicitly or explicitly confers agency over his/her own sociality. This thread permeates the different conceptualizations of consumption communities. In brand communities (Fournier & Lee 2009; Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001; Schau et al., 2009), subcultures of consumption (Kates 2004; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Schouten et al., 2007), consumer tribes (Canniford, 2011; Goulding et al., 2013), consumer movements (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004), and brand publics
(Arvidsson and Caliandro, 2015), the individual consumer is able to build more or less stable networks of social connections through consumption choices and practices. Consumption objects are typically seen as tools for connection. Scholars have then focused on how bonds are formed and sustained by individuals using consumption objects and practices. Many studies have explored how individuals use objects and adopt practices mediated by the marketplace to organize their identities and navigate through different collective formations (e.g., Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). Such studies have then explored how consumers align to each other through identity projects whereby the marketplace is regarded as a wellspring of resources for their identity-work (e.g., Holt, 2002; Sandikci & Ger, 2009; Arsel & Thompson, 2010). The individual is frequently portrayed as an agentic consumer who works in his/her own identity project formation and maintenance of bonds.

Mirroring other fields in the social sciences, the individual perspective in the construction of the collective and the social has also been challenged in multiple CCT studies. Influenced by the affective turn of social sciences (which overlaps with a relational onto-epistemological perspective), CCT scholars have started to rethink the conceptualization of collective bodies by highlighting the role of other actors in addition to the individual consumer (Canniford & Bajde, 2015). That is, the notions of collective formation have expanded and the collective body began to encompass more than consumers: the role of producers, objects, and spaces came to the fore (Martin & Schouten, 2013; Thomas, Price & Schau, 2012; Canniford & Shankar, 2013). Scholars of this relational stream have then been using notions of assemblage and similar concepts to rethink the composition of the collective formations in CCT and foreground the material aspects of consumption. By expanding the role of other actors, both humans and non-human actors, these studies have expanded our notions of collective bodies as consuming assemblages (Canniford & Bajde, 2015). Scholars have then highlighted the extant tensions in the dynamics of the relations between different entities, both humans and non-humans. Such studies aim to offer an exploration that is non-representational and goes beyond human (Hill et al., 2014). In the next section, I further discuss these two streams – the individual and the relational – within CCT. I detail how scholars have used concepts and operationalized them in the literature and summarize their description with a typology of collective formations in CCT. I begin this discussion with the predominant stream in CCT that conceptualizes collective bodies as a sum of individuals with agency.
2.3. Reviewing collective bodies as a sum of individuals with agency

CCT scholars have a number of concepts with which to describe collective bodies as a sum of individuals with agency. The concept of community has been the most predominant one, since the conceptualization of consumption communities encompasses not only the concept of brand community, but also covers other two adjacent concepts: subcultures of consumption and consumer tribes. Whereas some scholars have used the three concepts as synonyms (Arvidsson and Caliandro, 2015), others have emphasized the differences between them (Cova, Pace and Park, 2007; Canniford, 2011). Here, I adopt the latter strategy to show how these three adjacent concepts, despite their differences, subscribe to the pillars of modernity – stabilization, rationalization, and individualization (Borch, 2012). The individual perspective of consumption communities is only one pervasive aspect of these ideals of modernity. I start this subsection discussing brand community and I continue with the other adjacent concepts of consumption communities. In the end of this subsection, I also discuss two additional conceptualizations of the collective formation of CCT: consumer movements and brand publics. These two alternative concepts are also used by CCT scholars to describe types of collective bodies formed by individuals that reclaim their actions as conscious choices. However, their boundaries with consumption communities are more distinct (Canniford, 2011).

The literature has emphasized consumer accounts as individual cohesive lines of self-transformation stemming from rationalization processes of such consumers (see Carrington, Neville, & Canniford, 2015). Consequently, it has also emphasized control over consumers’ social relations through conscious consumption behaviors. Scholars have then presented a way to see consumption as a solution by which individuals can establish collective formations, whether they are permanent or temporary formations. Through the conceptualization of consumption communities, for example, scholars have melded the emergence of consumer culture and its growing inherent disconnectedness with the possibility of losing the sense of community (Bauman, 2013; Slater, 1997). The conceptualization of consumption communities can be seen as a compromise between the ideals of modernity and the moral ideal of belonging to a community (Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001). The conceptualization of community is historically situated in the critiques of modernity, with early sociologists seeing the advancing of 19th century modernity as not just challenging
communal bonds, but destroying them. However, by attaching consumption to the notion of community, scholars have rehabilitated this paradoxical position of community within consumer culture. In CCT literature, many studies have done that by sewing together the notion of community with the notion of brands.

2.3.1. Brand communities

The conceptualization of a brand community highlights the mending capacity of forming a collective body through consumption, rather than despite consumer culture. Muniz and O’Guinn (2001) have proposed a concept for brand community in which the growing materialistic desires of the individual consumer are considered to be part of the creation of the community, instead of part of its loss (see also Muniz & Schau, 2005; Schau, Muniz, & Arnould, 2009). In a brand community, social relationships are structured among admirers of a branded good or service. For such scholars, a brand community manifests three markers of the conceptualization of community: shared consciousness, rituals and traditions, and a sense of moral responsibility. “Each of these qualities is, however, situated within a commercial and mass-mediated ethos, and has its own particular expression” (Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001, p. 412). In the conceptualization of a brand community, the brand offers identity signs and, consequently, the centrality of the brand allows cohesion around its signs. This cohesion is sustained through dedication, rituals, and traditions. Like other communities, the dedication of the members towards a brand is then rewarded by a hierarchical structure. The membership structure is established by the shared use of the products and services of a certain brand, and this hierarchical structure preserves the cohesion and the stability of the brand community at the same time as it creates value for the brand.

In a brand community, the distinctions between members and non-members and among members are based on competition in relation to a brand (e.g., McAlexander, Schouten, & Koenig, 2002). The individual differentiation is thus key to the configuration of the brand community. Individual differentiation depends on the skillful performance of the consumer in relation to the brand. Through rituals and traditions, consumers share the experience of the brand and differentiate themselves. By adopting and repeating rituals and traditions, consumers advance their engagement with the brand. As pointed out
by members of the Warhammer community in the study of Cova and colleagues (2007),

there is a community of equals but with a hierarchy. You start out with the older players, who have been doing tournaments for at least 3 years. Locally we all know each other, we’re all friends. And there is a hierarchy with the younger players who are just beginning to show up and dream about capturing the scalp of one of the older ones (Reynald), (...) At the beginning, we helped each other a lot but now we're getting a little bit more competitive (Michael) (p. 138).

Through engagement with the brand, members develop enduring interpersonal connections among themselves (Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001; Schau et al., 2009). They connect and acquire status at the same time. Through rituals and traditions, the meanings of the brand community are reproduced. They function to maintain the culture of both the brand and the brand community. This engagement with the brand and brand community is then presented as a rational and agentic choice for socializing. As Fournier and Lee (2009) pointed out, “people are more interested in the social links that come from brand affiliations than in the brand themselves” (p. 106-107). At the same time, for Fournier and Lee (2009), consumers are also able to evaluate their affiliations to the brand community and adjust their membership status accordingly. For them, brand communities are recognized as strong when members stay involved over time and can play a variety of roles, according to their current situations throughout time (Fournier and Lee, 2009).

Scholars argue that through brand communities, individuals create and negotiate the meaning of the brand resources being shared, wished, needed, pursued, or even discarded (McAlexander et al., 2002). The role of consumer within the brand community is one that creates value for the brand whereby he/she engages with the brand (Cova and Pace, 2006). Possessed with agency and driven towards meaningful experiences, consumers can engage with brand products and services. Through brands, individuals are able to aggregate themselves with other ‘like-minded’ individuals on the basis of devotion, lifestyle differentiation, and even patriotic meanings associated with a particular brand (Luedicke, Thompson, & Giesler, 2010). Therefore, in brand communities, the notion of collectivity is an individual one. The notion of community is also one of homogeneity, as the hierarchical structure leads to cohesion and value creation for the brand (Canniford, 2011). Summing up, the
notion of brand community emphasizes (a) homogeneity as a source of stability of the community and brand, (b) differentiation as a form to preserve individualization within the collective formation, and (c) compensation of consumer investment with status, which safeguards the rationality of the individual. The brand, as a marketplace offering, is then presented as a resource for individuals to exercise individual agency in their search for connection and identity (Cova & Pace, 2006; Cova et al., 2007; Fournier & Lee, 2009; McAlexander et al., 2002; Schouten et al., 2004). The brand community is presented as a win-win situation in consumer culture.

2.3.2. Subcultures of consumption

The conceptualization of subcultures of consumption is very similar to brand communities. Here, the notion of the collective departing from individuals that share objects in order to connect with other subjects also prevails. Subcultures of consumption also rely on the engagement of individuals towards a branded product or service. This engagement is also manifested through shared rituals and traditions, which reinforce a hierarchical structure between members. However, in a subculture of consumption, individuals organize their consumer practices and consequently shape their identities and social interactions in response to coercing ideological structures (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995), rather than in compliance with them. The consumers here can be seen as identity seekers in rebels’ clothing, as Gabriel and Lang (2006) have argued. Consumers, as individuals, use consumption objects and practices for the transformation of the self in relation to socially dominant life values (e.g., Belk & Costa, 1998; Kozinets, 2002; Beverland, Farrelly, & Quester, 2010). Even though they follow deviant lifestyles, they find an accommodating structure in the collective body of subcultures. Thereby, the conceptualization of subculture is also presented as a solution for individuals to shape their own identity and their social relations.

This proposal of the collective body was borrowed from Robert Park and his contemporaries of the Chicago School, who developed the conceptualization of subcultures as marginalized and divergent urban groups of society. Such deviant groups, in their search for responses to their unfavorable and alienating living conditions, develop a new set of rules, norms, values, social strata, and ties. Within the CCT literature, the members of a subculture of consumption develop alternative circuits of values through consumption. In a similar
fashion to brand communities, the combination of consumption and collective formation is presented as an enabler of emancipation for the individual. Here, individuals also use consumption to organize alternative resources, meanings, and practices, from which a circuit of value is formed. Through this alternative circuit, consumption organizes the bonding process between its members. For example, in his work focused on gay subculture, Kates (2004) noticed that brand consumption “served as a symbolic arena in which the struggle between oppression and human rights were fought and legitimate meanings ritually confirmed” (p. 462). Brands, such as Levi’s, The Body Shop, and Absolut Vodka, were used as symbolic sources and attained legitimacy (i.e., social fitness) within the gay subculture.

Similarly, for Harley-Davidson bikers, the brand Harley-Davidson is a meaning resource of liberation (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). The bikers are presented as rebels against a feeling of confinement derived from their various work and family situations. They share a sensation of confinement in their daily lives, from which they can break free by driving a Harley-Davidson bike. Plus, related “symbols such as the tattoos, long hair, and bushy beards of many bikers, especially working-class members of the baby-boom cohort, signify liberation from mainstream values and social structures” (p. 52). Thereby, for them, being a member of the subculture is an attempt to break from such confined situations in this life. One participant comments that in the next life he would like to be reincarnated as an eagle “for the freedom. It would be great to be able to take off any time I wanted and just soar above the earth anywhere I pleased” (p. 52). Thereby, brands such as Harley-Davidson are presented as resources available in the marketplace for both socialization and legitimization of subcultures, whereas they are resources mostly for socialization in brand communities. The most significant difference here is that the value circuit is an alternative one. It resists alienating social structures.

2.3.3. Consumer tribes

In addition to brand community and subculture of consumption, some CCT scholars also use the notion of consumer tribes to conceptualize consumption communities. Consumer tribes appear in CCT literature as collective formations of diffusely agentic consumers who, through hedonist consumption practices, develop networks of social bonds in constant flux. The collective formation of consumer tribes is marked by a symbiotic interplay with market
offerings, an entrepreneurial potential, and a democratic structure (Canniford, 2011; Goulding et al., 2013). In consumer tribes, as in brand communities, individuals also exercise their agency using products and services as linkage resources with other individuals (Cova, 1997). However, the hierarchical structure of membership is not as significant for the collective body and its maintenance as in the previous concepts. After all, they are ephemeral formations. Membership is not exclusive; consumer tribes are multiple and democratic (Canniford, 2011). They have a flexible structure since individuals here engage in consumption practices for hedonistic instances of fleeting escape and emotional discharge.

With a hedonistic ethos (rather than moral responsibility), consumers engage in active play with marketplace resources. They only create value for branded products and services in the pursuit of reinvigorating their passions and building social bonds. In consumer tribes, individuals deconstruct and resemble these marketplace offerings in manners that assign little reverence to the brands (in contrast to a brand community or subculture of consumption). They can also engage in the production or customization of market offerings (Kozinets, 2007; Goulding et al., 2013), showing an entrepreneurial potential. In consumer tribes, individuals are seen as double agents of consumption: there is an oscillation between manipulation and emancipation (Cova et al., 2007). Once again, there is a heroic aspect to their journeys. Through active play with marketplace resources, individuals are able to exercise agency and are praised for their entrepreneurial potential. In many studies, consumer tribes seem to be comfortable with expressing anti-market values through the consumption of products and services offered by the marketplace (Kozinets, 2002; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007). The assumption of the agentic consumer then still prevails.

In consumer tribes, like in subcultures of consumption, there is also an urge to escape from alienating structures. However, the collective body here is ephemeral and driven by affect. In consumer tribes, the manifestations of affect (Cova & Cova, 2002) are seen as emancipatory instances doomed to vanish over the weekend (Goulding et al., 2013; Kozinets, 2002). Individuals are moved by their hedonistic manifestations (Goulding et al., 2013; Kozinets, 2002), but these manifestations are only adjacent to the daily life (Canniford, 2011b). “What we have is a playful humanity that disobeys, but does not rebel. Instead of confronting things, it bypasses and plungers them. It lacks any illusion of utopia” (Cova, Kozinets & Shankar, 2007, p. 15). Drawing from
Maffesoli’s concepts of neotribes, CCT scholars investigating consumer tribes propose the most postmodern and postpolitical conceptualization of the collective body. As Maffesoli (2007) points out, “the specificity of a postmodern tribe is clearly its aesthetic. In the same way that politics were the sign of modernity, aesthetics may be the sign of postmodern society” (p. 27). He alerts that aesthetics here should be understood in the etymological sense of people feeling and sharing emotions. These studies thus emphasize the feeling of emotions through the consumption of experiences of pleasure.

The hedonistic tendency of consumers in tribal formations derives from a pragmatic position of the individual accepting life as it is, which leads him/her to exercise his/her agency through alienating and playful consumption practices. For example, Canniford (2012) discusses how surfers use surfing as an individual escape from life’s daily struggles. Surfing is then presented as a consumption practice that rejects mundane life and exercises deviance at the same time. In the same line, Goulding and colleagues (2009) argue that “the excesses and illicit practices of the clubbing experience are not oppositional or reactionary (…) they provide for the possibility of agency, excitement, and creativity through the containment of the illicit” (p. 769). Whether by surfing or clubbing, the individuals here gather together in consumption practices because it feels good. In the tribal configuration, individuals “are barely if at all concerned with the consequences of their acts” (Maffesoli, 2007, p. 28). The deviance is felt as indulgence. The collective formation is presented as a platform for individual hedonism and alienation. The individual is not able to subvert opposing structures, but is able to circumvent them with indulgent and ephemeral gatherings.

Still, the affective potential does not dominate the everyday life of the individual. Consumer tribes are presented as contained instances: they emerge and disappear due to the constant changing of people and resources. “This generates unpredictable and emergent processes of consumption that may be critical and liberatory at one moment, yet at the next moment mean little beyond sensory intensity and pleasure” (Goulding et al., 2013, p. 816). The affective and unstable features of consumer tribes are then presented in a contained form. Affect and instability are presented as a break in a temporary leakage of hedonistic recharge. They do not permeate daily life and they do not last long (Kozinets, 2002). They are not integrative or primary components of socializing; they are presented merely as a license for superfluous socializing.
2.3.4. Consumer movements

Consumer movements are particular kinds of (new) social movements that are focused on transforming aspects of consumer culture (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004). “New Social Movements (NSM) are conscious, resolute, and persistent efforts by organized groups of ordinary citizens that strive for societal change outside conventional institutions and means” (Weijo, Martin, & Arnould, 2018). They are focused on contemporary issues-based struggles (e.g., identity, quality of life, consumption) rather than traditional class-based political struggles (Jasper, 2008). Then, in the case of consumer movements, the participants’ purpose is to challenge and transform conventional traits of consumption. Consumer movements are then collective bodies in resistance to aspects of consumer culture. Kozinets and Handelman (2004)’s exploration of how consumer activists aimed to resist the pervasiveness of consumerism in the United States in the early 2000s has become a staple study on consumer movements in CCT. The scholars have linked the activists’ resistance against overconsumption in the United States with a puritan position regarding consuming habits. In contrast, the consumer movement studied by Weijo and colleagues (2018) has pinpointed the emergence of the consumer movement in resistance to government overregulation as an inhibitor for their consumer choices in Helsinki. More specifically, regarding their choices for eating out.

The conceptualization of consumer movements in CCT has presented the collective body as individual-driven conscious efforts to promote collective transformation. In line with the conceptualization of community, scholars have also observed how participants were able to achieve personal distinctions within consumer movement events (Weijo et al., 2018; see also Kozinets, 2002). In the case of the Restaurant Day (RD) movement in Helsinki, the movement provided a platform for multiple individuals to adhere to individual projects in alignment with a compatible collective project. Consumers were then able to calibrate their participation in the RD movement according to their individual identity projects (see also Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013). The personal differentiation of participants of the consumer movement is even more pronounced in Kozinets and Handelman’s (2004) study, as many of the participants suggest a certain superiority over ‘conventional consumers’:

---

2 This article works with both consumer movements and consumption assemblages as enabling concepts. It combines NSM and assemblage theories together. I will discuss it then in both classifications, rather than trying to fit it in only one category.
Filled with overtones of supremacy, the epiphanies and spiritual linkages of these activists could be interpreted as strategies of social distinction intended to enhance their personal status (Bourdieu, 1984). Inspired by deep convictions, premonitions of doom, heartfelt human connections, and sudden realizations of sinful consumption, these consumer activists have, in their own eyes, become elevated above the multitude of duped consumers (p. 696).

Conventional consumers are then presented as unreflective individuals, whereas the participants of the consumer movement see themselves as enlightened, reflective, and selfless beings striving for consciousness raising and mobilization against consumerism. Consumer movements are not only centered on changing aspects of consumer culture, but also on proposing changes in consumer culture through conscious efforts. Here then, the formation of the collective body is an effect of the rational capacity of individual participants and their potential to act accordingly, as exposed by one of the founding members of RD:

I just saw a lot of potential there. (...) I’m supporting a society where people take initiative and become self-organized, which then starts to work around the institutional restrictions that hinder these innovative, new ways of doing. (...) Then we set up a page and named it Restaurant Day. We went out and spread the word. We articulated the idea. In articulating the idea, Antti and Timo had a big role there. (...) All this was in a matter of a few days. (Weijo et al., 2018, p. 258)

Rationality is then praised in consumer movements, whether for its potential to differentiate members (“Leave the thinking to the activists”, as an activist argues in Kozinets & Handelman, 2004, p. 700) and to mobilize members (“Your calling people idiots does not make it so. Present your case rationally, and maybe people who like to draw their own conclusions would start paying attention to you”, ibid.). Being based on rational accounts, the social bonding between members is presented as secondary. The bonding to the cause of the activism is presented as primary, which reinforces the individualistic feature of consumer movements.

In Kozinets and Handelman’s (2004) study, consumer activists see themselves as superior beings due to their rationality and reflexivity, whereas conventional consumers are seen as inferior for being ‘weak’ and irrational. Thereby, the markers of membership for consumer movements are also markers of the modern individual: a high level of consciousness and a strong will. This hierarchical feature of the formation of consumer movements resonates with the
predominant analysis of the formation of NSM in general. Studies regarding NSM have also privileged accounts of resistance as the ideological efforts of conscious and strong-willed individuals. The absence of emotional or affective features in the conceptualization of social movements reflected a concern of scholars to present activists as rational and reflective individuals in contrast to irrational crowd protesters. Jasper (2011) recognized this orientation towards rationality even in culturally oriented studies of NSM, with scholars concentrating their focus “more on cognitive codes than on felt experiences” (p. 285). The role of emotions in NSM started to be incorporated after the 1990s. Since then, some studies have explored emotional and affective states to social movements. However, such accounts in consumer movements are still somewhat timid.

For example, Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) present a consumer movement that has sprouted with frustrated ‘fatshionistas’ not finding fashion product choices for their individual bodies. In the same line, frustration for not being able to enjoy a cultural atmosphere in Helsinki comparable to other European cities is pointed out by Weijo and colleagues (2018) as a key motivating cause for residents to create and join the consumer movement. Still, neither account elaborates on how frustration as a feeling operated specifically in the formation of the consumer movement as a collective body. In such accounts, the scholars were focused on the how participants engage through a collective identity that seeks to promote social change in consumer culture. In other words, the scholars have focused on how participants have proposed an alternative regarding one specific problem of consumer culture and tried to materialize a change regarding that specific problem. The accounts then privilege cohesive collective identities for the movements, which allow individual identification and alignment. The membership of consumer movements then also resonates with individual identity projects (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004). It is presented as a rational and voluntary choice, whereas some feelings, emotions, and affects are mentioned in the background. The dynamics of their workings in the formation of the consumer movements have not yet been elaborated on in CCT literature.
2.3.5. Brand publics

Brand public is defined as a collective body where individuals with different perspectives regarding a brand, driven by individual or collective affects, publicize their perspectives through the mediation of a media device (Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015). An emergent concept in CCT, brand public proposes a framework with which to understand how social bonding can become a source of value through a less structured and more fleeting and ephemeral collective formation in a consumption setting. Arvidsson and Caliandro (2015) argue that socializing can be even more individualistic and fleeting whenever mediated by social media. As they introduce the concept of brand public, the scholars argue that the contemporary ubiquity of social media and new technologies asks for an additional concept that summarizes emergent forms of collective formation. Brand public then is presented as a conceptual tool that facilitates the understanding of collective formations that (a) do not subscribe to a communitarian ethos and (b) are orientated towards visibility and publicity. For the scholars, both features permeate social media communication and, consequently, resonate better with a collective body embedded in social media-based participatory culture.

This concept also has pronounced differences to consumption communities. For example, in contrast to consumption communities, there is no sustained form of interaction, no deliberation, or any consistent collective identity in brand publics. The connection derives from a mediated space that enables individuals to share simultaneously private and collective affects. The desire for publicity is pointed at as the most important private affect in brand publics. According to Arvidsson and Caliandro (2015), the private affect of desire for publicity, through the mediation of social media devices, triggers waves of imitation and builds a collective affective ambience. Brand publics are thus presented as manifestations of affective intensities, whose emergence and connection is based on the mediation of social media devices instead of the sustained interaction between members. By not requiring interaction between members, the concept of brand public points to a socializing that subscribes to the noncommunitarian nature of social media communication. The communitarian nature of consumption communities is based on the interaction of the members, whether their engagement is prolonged or sporadic. It is the interaction of the members that configures the sense of belonging. Here, in contrast, the collective body is presented as “structured by collective affective intensities” (Arvidsson & Caliandro 2015, p. 731), with private affects being
organized collectively through mediation rather than interaction. Still, the scholars do not flesh out how these affects work, or how they are organized privately or collectively. The social media device, Twitter, is placed as the mediator (and organizer) of affective intensities without getting into details of how this process happens.

The role of the mediation of the media device is then central to brand publics. It is through the media device that sociality is organized, as brand admirers express a diversity of identities and experiences. Here, individuals form an “aggregation of diverse perspectives on the brand where the heterogeneity remains unresolved” (Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015, p. 744), which complements the myriad complex exchanges that make up everyday life. With the heterogeneity of different perspectives remaining unresolved, the social bonding is presented as loose. This presentation of social bonds as weak can be seen as an implicit assumption of instability of the collective formation in brand publics. Here again, like consumer tribes, affect and instability are presented in association. The instability of social bonding is thus presented as a collateral effect of affect, as the driven substance of sociality. Also like consumer tribes, the individual exercises his/her agency through manifestations of affective intensity. However, in brand publics, the individual desire for publicity prevails over the desire for alienation.

Before I move the discussion from the individual perspective to the relational one, I would like to point out that, for the conceptualization of brand publics, Arvidsson and Caliandro (2015) combine Tarde’s concepts of publics and crowds. For Tarde, “a public is formed when a crowd is given a lasting direction or focus as it is aggregated around a media device, such as a newspaper, or a mediated event like a public affair or a celebrity” (Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015, p. 730). In contrast, crowds are “physical aggregations that were energized by affectively driven waves of imitation” (ibid.). For Tarde, publics were superior formations to crowds. However, in their conceptualization of brand publics, Arvidsson and Caliandro (2015) point out that the distinction between publics and crowds becomes blurred in social media. Through the mediation of social media, these two modes of collective formations can overlap or blur as mediated crowds (Stage, 2013). I will return to the discussion of crowds in the next chapter, as I argue that a focus on crowds and their affectively driven waves of imitation can also provide a relevant framework with which to understand collective bodies. By focusing on the affectively driven
waves of imitation of crowds, I flesh out how affects work in the formation of the collective body.

Even though consumer tribes and brand publics have already pointed out the occurrence of affect intensities in the formation of collective bodies, they have not explored how these affective intensities actually work in the process of collective formation. For such an endeavor, the ontological and epistemological foundation of Tarde’s conceptualization of crowds and publics needs to be highlighted: for him, the collective body is seen as a sum of affective flows rather than a sum of individuals (Brighenti, 2010a). Thereby, in Tarde’s conceptualization of collective formations, he adopts a relational perspective rather than an individual one. In contrast, this relational perspective has been underplayed in favor of the individual one in the conceptualization of brand publics in CCT.

Conversely, some scholars have been pushing for a relational perspective in CCT in addition to the individual one. In order to shed light on different features of consumer culture, this relational perspective assumes that the nature of the relationships of beings are ontologically and epistemologically different. This stream of research explores the collective body as a heterogeneous arrangement, where both humans and non-humans have agency and affect each other. Consumer scholars have been inspired by assemblage theories in this call for a relational perspective. The relational stream in CCT literature can then be positioned as a posthuman stream. The core idea is to understand collective bodies not only as a sum of humans but as a sum of humans, non-humans, and hybrids. The main goal is to explore capacities that are more-than-human (Hill et al., 2014). The assumption here is that we can go beyond human; thereby, we can go posthuman. Their focus has been to explore what is beyond what we acknowledge as human (i.e., a conscious being) and explore capacities that go beyond conscious processes. Since scholars in this stream are interested in processes that go beyond cognition, the body comes to the fore in their studies. The relational analysis explored in CCT has been mainly an ecological one so far. Such studies in CCT have been fruitful in expanding many notions regarding consumer culture, especially regarding collective bodies (Canniford & Shankar, 2013; Martin & Schouten, 2013; Thomas et al., 2012; Hill et al., 2014; Parmentier & Fischer, 2014). However, I argue below that the relational turn also has another sub-stream that does not equate relationality with going beyond human capacities (see section 2.6). But before I discuss this bifurcation in the relational turn, I present below how
CCT scholars have been studying collective bodies as a sum of human and non-humans. In this next section, I also stress how this relational stream in the CCT literature still seems to hold notions of the stability of social bonds and, consequently, also subscribes sociality to the ideals of modernity.

2.4. Reviewing collective bodies as a sum of humans and non-humans

I now start the review of studies that adopt a relational perspective to understand collective bodies within consumer culture. Some CCT scholars, by following a relational ontology, have been exploring the relations between entities as ontologically more fundamental than the entities themselves. For this relational perspective, CCT scholars have found inspiration in assemblage theories, such as Actor-Network Theory (ANT). Inspired by assemblage theories, this stream of scholarship has broadened the spectrum of how we can see collective bodies within consumer culture. They have highlighted the material components and their effect on the formation, negotiation, and weakening of such collective bodies. Here, the attention is expanded to the connections within the networks enacted and re-enacted by actors, whether they are subjects, objects, or institutions. It follows an onto-epistemology proposal to see all actors – humans and non-humans – as having agency since they affect the actions of other actors (Latour, 2005). The different actors are then flattened into networks in order to focus on the dynamics of the connections between the actors (Canniford & Shankar, 2013; Martin & Schouten, 2013), rather than the actors themselves. The core construct becomes the network, which is understood as a heterogeneous assemblage of human, non-human, and hybrid actors (Law, 2009).

This relational stream has been fleshing out the role of non-humans in the collective formation of consumption settings (Hill et al., 2014). It has also expanded the role of other humans: the role of producers is not relegated to a secondary position in the collective body, as happens in consumption communities. Consumption assemblages are presented as more than a series of dyads composing the subject-object-subject thread. They are defined as an “interconnected network of heterogeneous actors whose experiences are shaped by the interplay between actors and informed by marketplace dynamics” (Thomas et al., 2012, p. 1011). The scholars explore how actors affect
each other. Affect is thus understood as the potential to affect and be affected. It involves forces that go beyond human cognition. For example, Martin and Schouten (2013), in their study of market-emergence of adult minimotos, trace how the miminoto emerged from the interplay of non-human actors (minibikes designed and built for children and the tools and materials associated with these), and human actors (consumers with particular motivations, skills, and circumstances). Through this interplay, the figure of the minimoto rider emerges and early riders evoke waves of imitation. Once riding minimotos is translated into consuming fun and performing fun for others, it entices desire around riding minimotos, fosters sociality among riders, and functions as a catalyst for the formation of the collective. The social boundaries of the collective body are thus expanded beyond the human, since both humans and non-humans affect each other and, consequently, enable the collective formation. Below, I discuss the predominant concept of this relational stream in CCT: consumption assemblages.

2.4.1. Consumption assemblages

Consumption assemblages focus on the dynamic processes underlying a network of actors. In consumption assemblages, the collective formation is structured through a dynamic process of constant definition and redefinition that results in continuously evolving social forms that respond and adapt to tensions and changes, which can be internal (Parmentier & Fischer, 2014) or external (Canniford & Shankar, 2014). Consumption assemblages are then presented as a proposal with which to disclose the tensions, changes, and inconsistencies within collective formations. Rather than focusing on the homogeneity of collective bodies (i.e., individuals with agency and identity projects in alignment), the heterogeneity of the collective bodies comes to the fore. Many studies have then focused on the effects of this heterogeneity on the collective bodies – more specifically, on the effect of heterogeneity for its stability. Scholars have then explored how consumers mend incoherencies of the network and restore the coherence of assemblages (Canniford & Shankar 2013), how different human actors use frame alignment practices to surpass their differences and preserve its continuity (Thomas et al., 2012), or how both consumers and producers contribute to the instability of the assemblage by adding inconsistent materials and discourses into the network leading to the end of the value cycle (Parmentier & Fischer, 2014).
In consumption assemblages, scholars have then explored heterogeneity as a destabilizing force (Thomas et al., 2012). Even though heterogeneity is emphasized, it is presented as a collateral effect rather than an inherent condition of sociality. Whereas stability is granted as an imperative feature of the collective formation, instability still encompasses a connotation of inadequacy. Instability is thus presented as a common threat to overcome, otherwise it dissolves the collective formation. For example, Parmentier and Fischer (2014) argue that instability in the assemblage erodes the value within the network “as the associational linkages within that assemblage fray over time and assemblage ‘betrayal’ escalates” (p. 1247). Once these inconsistencies in the assemblage escalate, the heterogeneous network is not able to sustain itself. Unlike the cases of Canniford and Shankar’s (2013) surfers or the runners of Thomas and colleagues (2012), the followers of the TV show America’s Next Top Model (ANTM) contribute to the instability of the network rather than finding ways to restore its stability. Instability is thus presented as an ingredient for the breakdown of the collective body. Thereby, the conceptualization of consumption assemblages still subscribes to the modern ideal of stabilization. The collective body is seen as a composition of humans and non-humans, but the analyses have privileged how humans and non-humans work together towards a coherent body. “Assemblages cohere from heterogeneous entities such as physical objects, events, signs, ideas, and utterances” (Weijo et al., 2018, p. 254). The collective body is still seen as a coherent and stable body. Incoherencies when not mended make the collective body fall apart (Parmentier & Fischer, 2014).

2.5. Summing up collective bodies in CCT

In this section, I summarize how different studies have covered different conceptualizations of collective bodies in CCT. I summarize the six main concepts discussed above: (1) brand communities, (2) subcultures of consumption, (3) consumer tribes, (4) consumer movements, (5) brand publics, and (6) consuming assemblages. To start, I combine the first five concepts in one category – collective bodies as a sum of individuals with agency and from which the first three concepts can also be covered by the umbrella concept of consumption communities. Whereas some scholars have emphasized the differences between these three concepts (Canniford, 2011), other scholars have
underplayed them (Arvidsson and Caliandro, 2015). Nevertheless, consumption communities have been a central notion in multiple studies since the emergence of CCT. In other words, consumption communities have been a predominant concept in CCT precisely because they offered a model of socialization that stems from individual humans building connections through the symbolic interlinkage of products and services.

CCT scholars have privileged the sociological concepts of communities (Cova, 1997; McAlexander, Schouten, & Koenig, 2002; Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001), subcultures (Kates, 2004; Schouten, Martin, & McAlexander, 2007; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995), and consumer movements (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004) as enabling concepts for particular reasons: they offer a sense of rationality, stability, controllability, and the idea of borders. By adopting such concepts, scholars have subscribed to at least one of the three ideals of modernity: individualization, rationalization, and stabilization. In contrast, the adoption of the sociological concepts of tribes and publics have enabled scholars to explain instability as a feature of the collective formation. In these two conceptualizations, scholars have emphasized the role of instability in the formation of the collective – or to be more specific, in its dissolution. Here, individuals get together – physically or virtually – to manifest affective intensities simultaneously and temporarily. The collective body is thus manifested by affective intensities through ephemeral experiences or instantaneous practices of self-presentation. In both cases, the formation of the collective body is seen as short-lived and unstable precisely because of its affective features. As the collective body holds affective intensities, it cannot hold a coherent and long-standing form. The collective body is then presented as a transient composition. The instability of the collective body is again linked to its affective features. Nevertheless, affective intensities are presented as emotional forces, although they have not been developed thoroughly in such studies.

Predominantly, CCT scholars have then explored in different ways how individuals build and sustain (or not) social bonds through consumption. The literature has then reinforced the belief that autonomous individuals happen to socialize forming somewhat stable collectives and gatherings. The accounts, more often than not then, present a consumer able to calculate and exercise agency even when CCT scholars are exploring structuring forces within consumer culture. The consumer has been covered by the literature as a chooser, a communicator, an identity-seeker, a rebel, or an activist (Gabriel & Lang,
2006). Regardless of the chosen archetype, the consumer has been predominantly portrayed as the mythological character of the hero that faces, copes with, and overcomes many problems and challenges throughout his/her journey. In many studies then, the storyline presents the consumer following a ‘hero’s journey’ dueling with a ‘dictating force’ (e.g., ideology, social class, etc.).

In this duel, the consumer – with agency and based on meaning making processes – finds ways to cope with, defeat, or neutralize such dictating forces. For example, Kates (2002) explores how gay consumers are able to negotiate their identity and form a subculture of (gay) consumption through consumer choices regarding brands. Gay consumers then find ways to cope with and overcome alienating ideological structures using a particular array of brands and rejecting other arrays of brands. Another example is Goulding and colleagues’ (2009) study on clubbing. In their study, consumers ‘choose’ to alienate themselves with indulgent experiences in clubs. The scholars show “how the shared experience of music and dance, the organization of space, and the effects of the drug ecstasy combine to produce a highly sought-after, calculated suspension of the rules and norms of everyday life” (p. 759, emphasis added by author). Here, the consumers are presented coping in a calculated way with constraining forces. The presentation of consumers is then as being able to calculate the suspension of the rules and norms of everyday life. This presentation reflects the prevalent constructed discourse in CCT as one that emphasizes “consumer culture as a kind of symbolic supermarket in which autonomous consumers made selections, chose identities, and extend their core selves through the ownership and use of material goods” (Thompson et al., 2013, p. 156).

In order to position themselves in contrast to the mainstream positivistic research, CCT scholars have privileged the individualistic point of view (see further discussion in the section 4.1 about the academic background of this research). By interviewing consumers, scholars were able to explore another perspective on consumption studies. As pointed out by Thompson, Arnould and Giesler (2013), CCT discourses have then been predominantly humanistic/experientialist. More recently, in order to diversify this over individualistic response of CCT studies, scholars have been including participant observations (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007; Goulding et al., 2009; Podoshen, Andrzejewski, Wallin, & Venkatesh, 2017) and other methodological techniques in their methods (Parmentier & Fischer, 2014). Scholars have then
privileged ethnographic techniques in order to reinforce the cultural context in the accounts (see Visconti, Sherry, Borghini, & Anderson, 2010; Canniford & Shankar, 2013; Saatcioglu & Ozanne, 2013; Weijo et al., 2018). Still, the accounts seem to privilege a framing that highlights alignment over misalignment.

For example, Carrington and colleagues (2015) have noted how consumers as individuals can develop a “meta life project that involves the integration of a single dominant life theme into self and life to re-unify moral self in the midst of modern heterogeneous life” (p. 1318). For the authors, the end goal of this meta life project encompasses a perspective through which the consumer can see many life projects and then select situational role identities in alignment with an ideal vision of a coherent moral self. Then, for consumers, a meta life project offers a dynamic alignment around a singular ideal life theme. The authors then fleshed out the mechanisms through which a complex and layered collection of supporting life projects and identities are balanced, negotiated, and directed into a cohesive line of self-transformation (ibid.). Once again, alignment and coherence is emphasized. The cost is to overshadow how “the very fragmentations and contradictions that characterize our actions as consumers enable us from time to time, in devious, creative and unpredictable ways to dodge management devices and evade apparatuses of monitoring and control” (Gabriel & Lang, 2006, p. 5). Alignments are then often privileged over misalignments, whereas the ontological stance of the individual is preserved.

Consumption assemblages, the sixth concept covered in this literature review, is part of an emerging stream in CCT that aims to provide a non-individualistic approach to consumption studies. Scholars of this stream have been exploring the notion of collectivity as a sum of humans and non-humans in order to go beyond cognitive (as individual) processes in the formation of the collective body. Such scholars then try to underplay the role of meaning-making processes in the overall process of socializing. They have been exploring capacities that go beyond consciousness, that are then seen as non-human or more-than-human (Hill et al., 2014). They have adopted a relational perspective, which challenges the centrality of the individual in the theorizing. Consumer scholars have then expanded the notions of collectivity and explored the effects of heterogeneous actors in the dynamics of collective formations (Thomas et al., 2012). By focusing on how one actor affects the other, the consumer scholars have brought affect to the fore. They have adopted affect...
as a preconscious substance that has effect on others in order to highlight the dynamism of the process of the collective formation. They work with affect as a kind of vitality that escapes organic skin and is not captured by cognitive processes. Affect composes a body that goes beyond human. The application of relational perspectives that goes beyond human, through assemblage theories, has revealed “a lot about the construction of things, but less about the construction of the people who use those things” (Hill et al., 2014, p. 383). CCT scholars have then been advocating for the possibility of expanding our notions towards more than human approaches. Instead of the humanistic CCT discourses celebrating consumer agency (as meaning makers), consumer scholars have been heading towards novel and fruitful accounts that privilege the agency of materiality in the social formation (see Thompson et al., 2013). The goal of such scholars is to balance out the emphasis on consumer agency and meaning making processes.

However, I highlight here the argument of scholars who also criticize humanistic approaches but who, rather than calling scholars to go beyond human, call for scholars to challenge how the human has been conceptualized in the first place and ask for other ways in which we can investigate humanness and bodies. Some queer, feminist, and post-colonial scholars advocate for a reorientation of what we count as human, and its equivalence as individual and primary unit of analysis. These scholars then call for yet another bifurcation in the social science discourse (I discuss further these two streams of the affective turn in the section 3.2.3). I follow scholars positioned in this bifurcation within the affective turn. In this study, I explore how affects and signs work together in the surfacing of collective bodies. Whereas collective bodies do not stem from the figure of the individual, they do not go beyond human either. Rather than underscoring the difference between conscious or pre-conscious (as beyond human), this study explores how their working together delineates what is inside and what is outside collective bodies. Here, emotion is not seen as an encapsulated version of affect that is disorienting, as it resonates an affect that goes beyond the self. Rather, I explore how affects orient us and give us directions. By exploring the orientations and directions of affect (i.e., affective flows), the process of surfacing of bodies comes to the fore. Thus, my focus is on these surfacing processes of collective bodies by following how affect flows. Also, I work with the concept of multiplicities, along with crowds and packs: the conceptualization of collective bodies as a continuous process. In the next section, I discuss further the implications of this additional
approach to affect in contrast to consuming assemblages. Below, I also consider other implications of adopting multiplicities, crowds, and packs as interwoven concepts with which to explore collective bodies.

2.6. Proposing collective bodies as a sum of affective flows

In this section, I start to discuss how we can understand the collective body as a sum of affective flows through the conceptualization of multiplicities. Within more traditional conceptualisations, many scholars assume affects to be prepersonal intensities, emotions to be social expressions of affect, and feelings to be personal and biographical manifestations of affect (Shouse, 2005; see also Massumi, 1995; Blackman & Venn, 2010; Seigworth & Gregg, 2010). Here, these distinctions are not explored further. In contrast, I take the position that affects shape bodies. Here, affect is an intensity that connects and disconnects bodies by traveling in different directions with different orientations. Affect is an intensity that travels through bodies as well as accumulating upon certain bodies. It orients bodies towards certain bodies and against other bodies. It also gives them a direction. Thereby, it does encompass an ability to affect and be affected, but here this ability is not considered to be autonomous (cf. Massumi, 1995; see also Thrift, 2004). Here, the orientations and directions of affect are instructive for the surfacing process of bodies. Affects here are not open potentialities, nor are emotions closed forms of affect. Here, the distinction between them is relegated to the background in order to focus on the orientations that their working together entails.

Affects are intensities that mark what we count as bodies and space between bodies. As described by Seigworth and Gregg (2010), affect encompasses intensities that move bodies and move between bodies (human, nonhuman, part-body, and otherwise). For them, affects can be found in “resonances that circulate about, between, and sometimes stick to bodies and worlds, and in the very passages or variations between these intensities and resonances themselves” (p. 1). But, in contrast to Seigworth & Gregg’s (2010) conceptualization, I assume that these intensities are not removed from consciousness, as they encompass a judgment and, consequently, an orientation and direction regarding related bodies. They, as forces of encounters, are not adrift because the bodies of such encounters are not uniform nor amorphous. Affects are in-
tentional forces of encounters since they have orientations and directions. Rather than being non-conscious experiences of intensities or moments of unruly potential (Shouse, 2005), affects are seen here as forces of encounters that orient us, direct us, and enable us to delineate bodies within social space. I follow Ahmed (2004), who explains,

To be affected by something, such that we move toward or away from that thing, is an orientation toward something. It is in the intensity of bodily responses to worlds that we make judgements about worlds; that those judgments are directive even if they do not follow narrative rules of sequence, or cause and effect. Those judgements are enacted: they do not lead to actions; they are actions. (…) Emotions involve different movements towards and away from others, such that they shape the contour of the social as well as bodily space (p. 209, emphasis in original).

Affects then encompass a plethora of movements that distribute bodily space in the social space. They are embodied intensities in response to judgements, which might not entail a conscious awareness, but a direct feeling of the body. For Ahmed, the body has memory and emotions are “a kind of thinking of the body (…) To hate or to fear is to have a judgment about a thing as it approaches” (Schmitz & Ahmed, 2014, p. 99). Ahmed then focuses on the junction of judgments and bodily/corporeal/visceral reactions. For her, affects encompass oriented-movements and affect is culturally laden, as it encompasses an accumulative judgment regarding bodies. She is interested in the process of surfacing of bodies, which is about how the skin becomes a surface that feels. That is, she explores the connections between feeling bodies and making surfaces (Schmitz & Ahmed, 2014, p. 99).

Ahmed (2004) has been interested in how affects, emotions, and feelings work together without assuming the subject as the origin of their coherence (p. 210). She explores how affects, that once experienced, identified, and named as specific emotions (e.g., love, hate, pain), involve different orientations towards objects and others. For her the distinction of affects and emotions can be compared to the separation of yolk and white by breaking an egg. They indeed can be separated into different parts. However, she argues that affects and emotions are contiguous and this contiguity can be instructive (Ahmed 2004, see also Schmitz & Ahmed, 2014). Whereas their separation can be fruitful for some kinds of descriptions, it can also entail a loss for other descriptions as their separation modifies their existing relations. Following her analogy, what
we do with eggs, or whites and yolks separately, differs because it was modified in how they exist in relation to each other. The ability to separate them does not convey they are separate. She argues it is an analytical choice. Here, I follow Ahmed in her stance that the world we are describing is messy, just as the experiences (whether human or beyond human), and our descriptions might also entail this messiness. By establishing clear distinctions, scholars might produce descriptions that leave out important connections. Thereby, I also choose not to separate them.

My focus is more on how affects and emotions work together in shaping collective bodies than what the role of each in that shaping is. I assume that (a) they work together, (b) their working together entails different orientations and directions, and (c) that these different orientations and directions are informative (in contrast to the difference of affect and emotion). How affects flow matters here, not only regarding their orientation, but also regarding their directions and potency. Such nuances in their orientations, directions, and potencies have effects on the shaping of bodies. Here then, my focus is on exploring the effects of the interplay of multiple affective flows, rather than understanding affects and emotions as different ingredients. My focus is on the continuous making of felt surfaces, resultant of the heterogeneous alignments and misalignments of affective flows. I propose here to explore the shaping of collective bodies through felt surfaces. I assume that the collective body can be seen as a continuous process of making, unmaking, and remaking surfaces of the collective body. It follows the call for a relocation of the unit of analysis from an autonomous and agentic individual to a focus on relations. Here, I argue that we can understand collective bodies in a different way by exploring how affective flows work in shaping collective bodies. This proposal is then an attempt to complement the literature that has focused on the collective formation as a stable aggregation of individual bodies.

But how, exactly, is this proposal different from the extant CCT literature that adopts a relational perspective? The key difference lies precisely in the gap between affect and emotion. CCT scholars have already explored the relation of entities in the socialization process, with a focus on the potential to affect and be affected, differentiating affect and emotion, cognition and precognition, mind and body. They have challenged the predominance of the conscious individual and explored collectivity without the hierarchy of the subject and object (Hill et al., 2014). Instead, they have worked with the collective body formed by humans and non-humans. They have explored their
relations as affective forces removed from cognitive processes. Mainly influenced by assemblage theorists and posthuman perspectives, CCT has expanded our notions of what constitutes the social by exploring the agency of the non-human within consumption. The social being here is expanded to a composition of humans and non-humans. CCT scholars have then already started to explore and expand our notions of the social by exploring not only the human but also the non-human (or more than human). For example, I discussed above how Martin and Schouten (2013) explored the human and non-human components of an assemblage of minimotos. The authors highlight how the non-human components were key for the market emergence of minimotos. The market emergence here is presented as consumption-driven, but not only by consumers and producers – that is, humans. The scholars have explored how non-humans were crucial to the formation of that consumption assemblage. Hence, materiality comes to the fore in such studies.

The relational turn in the CCT literature equates itself to an affective turn that is posthuman. But, this equivalence does not need to overlap completely. There are affect scholars, specifically feminists, queer, and postcolonial scholars that call for a relational onto-epistemological perspective on the social, but for them, the relational turn can encompass not only the posthuman. They advocate for a reorientation of/for the human (Jackson, 2015). For them, the differentiation between affects and emotions resonates with an assumption that centers cognition on a self-contained body as human. It resonates with the implicit idea that ‘the human’ – “that is to say, the implicit assumptions about what constitutes the basic unit of reference for the knowing subject - has historically been the image of Man as a rational animal endowed with language” (Braidotti, 2013, p. 1). For some scholars, the conceptualization of human has mirrored the notion of the rational man (that is, an individual with cognitive capacities and strong will), whereas the body and its non-cognitive capacities mirrored the notion of lesser bodies (i.e., the female body, colonial body, etc.) that have been regarded as irrational and weak willed. For them, the split of mind and body mirrors a hierarchy in what we count as human (Blackman, 2008; Jackson, 2015). Hence, some scholars argue that the focus on affect as intensities that go beyond human can overlook some assumptions regarding what we have regarded as an individual human body in the first place. They argue that the political dimensions of these assumptions have been relegated to the background.
Thereby, by calling for a conceptualization that encompasses a relational epistemology in other respects than individuals and groups (Brighenti, 2010a), I do not hope to stress differences between cognitive processes and non-cognitive potential. I do not assume that our humanity resides on cognitive processes or non-cognitive potential. Instead, I try to stress how they work together in shaping what we count as human, more precisely in what we count as a ‘human collective body’. More precisely, I focus on the shaping of the collective body that is formed by affective flows: that is, the multiplicities. In multiplicities, the elementary unit is the affective flow rather than the individual. In multiplicities, affective flows shape bodies whether they can be classified as individual or collective bodies. They do that by traveling with different orientations, directions, and potencies, which then delineates what is inside or outside. By focusing on this delineation of what is inside and outside, I elaborate on the process of the surfacing of collective bodies. This process of surfacing collective bodies – that is, multiplicities – is seen as continuous and not comprising an exclusive format (like the individual body). The human here is not reconstituted into a self-contained model of the individual (Brennan, 2004; see also Thrift, 2004). Rather, the collective body of the multiplicity is open: it expands and condenses. It assumes the form of crowds and packs. The multiplicity, as a collective body, is not about going beyond human. Rather, it is about reorienting our assumptions of humanness.

The “multiplicity is neither an individual nor a group, yet it is to be regarded as a social formation” (Brighenti, 2010a, p. 292). It can be manifested in an expanded form (the crowd) or in a condensed form (the pack). The packs and crowds are open; the former becomes the latter when affective flows synchronize in a contagious process. That is, when imitative processes become contagious and affective flows are synchronized becoming more potent as macro-flows. The formation of the crowds can then be seen as the synchronization of affective flows which potentialize them as intensities. For example, one can see how affect is not only shared but is also synchronized in a crowd, whether in a wave of supporters in a Manchester United match right after a goal or in the Gezi Park Protests. When the orientations and/or directions of affective flows become synchronized they become potentialized. However, the affective synchronization does not hold for a long period, as affective flows start following different orientations and directions.
In other words, through the synchronization of affective flows, a crowd can emerge but such an arrangement is doomed to disappear once the synchronization fades out. Through different affects, which give them different directions, they condense into packs again. It is then through the effects of different affective flows, their synchronization and de-synchronization, that crowds and packs emerge. Thereby, how affects flow is key to the formation of the collective body, whether in its condensed format or its expanded format. This process of condensation and expansion, enabled by the continuous amalgamation of affective flows, can elucidate our knowledge about collective bodies in a different manner than the current CCT literature has explored. In the conceptualization of community, for example, scholars have already pointed out how affects pull people together and tighten their bonds. In the excerpt below, Muniz & O’Guinn (2001) highlight how fear has been an affect that aligns people together, forming a collective body at the same time as it misaligns them in opposition to a threatening body (that is, a dominating institution):

Communities unite to oppose threats, real or perceived. Many communities pull together and experience their tightest bonds during periods of distress or threat (Bensman and Vidich 1995; Hunter and Suttles 1972; Jannowitz 1952; Kephart and Zellner 1994). In Bensman and Vidich’s (1995) study of neighborhoods, the authors note that the dominance of a neighborhood by reason for existence is its opposition to the dominating institution. This effect may be more pronounced when there is another powerful community to oppose. Thus, a community may form simply to oppose another strong community, regardless of any real threat it may or may not actually pose. (p. 421)

Fear has then already been acknowledged as an affect that enables the condensation process of the collective formation. In the extant literature, affects (as emotions) have already been regarded as crucial for the formation of the collective body. In the example above, fear is presented as an affective intensity that enables the formation of the community. In other studies, scholars have already recognized (explicitly or implicitly) the roles of comfort (Allen, 2002), pain (Scott, Cayla & Cova, 2017) and pleasure (Goulding et al., 2009) in the process of collective formation. Even though they recognize the role of such affects as fundamental in the socializing process, they do not elaborate further on how they actually work. For example, in the case of Weijo and colleagues’ (2018) study, the authors mention the role of affective and semiotic forces in the composition of assemblages. Yet, the role of affective forces is not developed further and is seen as supplementary rather than crucial. The authors mention that the event is infused with hope with the transformations
of the city space, large crowds, and the enthusiastic participation. Hope is then emphasized as present in the collective formation; however, the scholars do not elaborate on how they work in the formation process of the collective body.

To explore how they work is key to this study. I then adopt Ahmed’s conceptualization of affect to build a framework that helps with this exploration. Using her conceptualization, which does not disconnect affect and emotion, I focus on how affective flows work in the process of the surfacing of collective bodies. I explore how affect and emotion work together in the making of bodies. Hence, this view of socializing adds to the CCT literature by exploring how affects and signs work together in shaping collective bodies as they are mediated by consumer culture. In the next chapter, I present the theoretical framework I use for this exploration. Firstly, I discuss how I draw on the work of Tarde (1903) and Canetti (1995) to show how collective bodies can be viewed as open and fluid formations of affective flows rather than bounded and stable social formations of individuals. Secondly, I deepen the discussion on affect. Here, I present the affective turn in social sciences and justify why I adopt Ahmed’s conceptualization of affect instead of other options. I argue that her conceptualization not only complements Tarde (1903) and Canetti (1995)’s focus on affect as key components of socializing but also stresses how affects and signs work together in the process that results in what we mark as I, you, we, and they. That is, it explores the effects of affects as they make, unmake, and remake surfaces of bodies.
3. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I present the theoretical framework, which is a combination of two theoretical arguments: first, flows are presented as the horizontal mode of socializing and, second, affects are presented as the driving substance of socializing that emphasizes the political dimensions in consumer culture. Here, I discuss not only the enabling theories of flows and affect that I have adopted to understand collective bodies as multiplicities, but I also discuss the background of these enabling theories. I discuss their background in order to disclose why I have adopted them. What makes them fit together in this theoretical framework is also what makes them different from other enabling theories already adopted in the extant literature of consumer culture. Firstly, they propose another way to see the collective body that is not a stable aggregation of the individual body. By following Gabriel Tarde, the process of collective formation can be seen through an ecological perspective. The relations between beings come to the fore. However, Tarde underplays how these relations are not neutral. Even though he does elaborate on how social interplay is dynamic and cannot be split into conscious and unconscious acts, he does not explore further why the relations are not neutral. That is, why the connections between bodies are different. This is where Sara Ahmed comes in. By exploring politics of race and queerness, she explores how our relations work as affective economies (Ahmed, 2004b). For example, she argues that bodies become racialized. For her, “racialization is a process that takes place in time and space: ‘race’ is an effect of this process, rather than its origin or cause” (Ahmed, 2002, p. 46). She also argues that racialization processes encompass the marking out of bodies as sites of racialization themselves. Furthermore, she proposes a critique to phenomenology, without a quest to go beyond signification (see Ahmed, 2006). Instead, Ahmed’s work focuses on how affects work together with signs in the making of our relations. Hence, I also leverage on Sara Ahmed’s work on the political dimensions of affect in order to flesh out the dynamic processes between affects, signs, and bodies.

By combining both scholarships, one that focuses on flows with one that focuses on affect, I explore a conceptualization of the collective body that is not
subsumed into stable modernist ideals nor individualist postmodernist theories. This alternative conceptualization resonates with the critique that the postmodern frame of consumption is saturated (Cova, Maclaran, & Bradshaw, 2013; Thompson et al., 2013). In this critique, scholars highlight that a diversion from individualist and postmodernist theories could entail a more politically reflexive instance for CCT. In the excerpt below, this call for a less postmodern and more political frame of consumer culture is highlighted:

We have traced postmodernism from its appearance to its disappearance with the establishment of CCT, and argued that, in its quest for mainstream legitimacy, CCT subsumed postmodernism into its consumer identity projects and market-based formations. Noting the current post-postmodern critique, we have then highlighted a group of more radical theorists, who we believe have much to say to consumer culture researchers, especially if we want to build a wider critique of ‘context of contexts’ (see Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). These theorists have the potential to enable us to hold a mirror to ourselves and become a much more politically reflexive community of scholars, who once again critique the macrostructures in which our work is located. (Cova et al., 2013, p. 222)

In order to resonate with this call, this theoretical framework is composed of theories that (a) stress the political instances of consumer culture and (b) decentralize the notion of individuals along with their identity projects from the socializing process. Here, in the place of individuals, the socializing process derives from affective flows. In this study, I assume that affect travels through affective encounters and the travelings of affect can be broken down into affective flows. Affective flows can thus have different orientations, directions, and potencies. Hence, I do not assume affect is undifferentiated. In contrast, I elaborate on different travelings of multiple affects. The theoretical framework is thus presented as a composition of multiple affects and flows. In the next section, I introduce the first part of the theoretical combination: the flows.

### 3.1. Presenting flows: a horizontal mode of socializing

I now focus on flows and I argue that socializing (and culture) happens through flows. In order to explore flows as a key mode of socializing, the concept of imitative flows (along with inventive and opposing imitative flows) comes into play. I have adopted Tarde’s concept of imitation and con-
tagion because it stresses a horizontal mode of socializing rather than a vertical one based on the dichotomy of individual and structure (Brighenti, 2010a). His model emphasizes the in-between. It focuses on the dynamic process of alignment and misalignment of every encounter. It stresses that our relations entail different directions, orientations, and potencies. The social is thus seen as a process itself, whereas the collective is seen as a mode of expression of this process (like the individual). For Tarde, collective bodies as multiplicities “are nothing in themselves but the process and result of given encounters” (ibid., p. 299). In each encounter, there is a flow whether in alignment or in misalignment. In Tarde’s words, there is an imitation – whether in accordance or in opposition. Yet, a counter-imitation is an imitation. The collective body, as multiplicity, is then retrieved in the continuity of alignments and misalignments. Through a continuous process of alignments and misalignments, the body can grow or condense. It can be manifested as a crowd or as a pack.

Thereby, the unit of the social is the flow. The individual body is a composition of flows as much as the crowd and the pack. Both multiplicities – packs and crowds – are a composition of imitative flows. The process of socializing is a continuous horizontal process which spreads between bodies. This positioning of socializing is aligned with theories that assume that “culture exists between actors” (Crossley, 2015, p. 68). Culture encompasses everyday practices, principles, values, and norms shared by people. Inherently relational, this view argues that culture is not in people. It happens “between actors” rather than “in the actors”. In the extant CCT literature, influenced by assemblage theories, scholars have explored the in-betweenness of networks. Even though assemblage theories have also been inspired by Tarde’s discussions of imitation and contagion, many theories of assemblage have disregarded the political and emotional dimensions of affect and have focused primarily on the dynamics of the network as the capacity to affect and be affected. Again, these studies differentiate affects as preconscious intensities from emotions as social conscious intensities. However, Tarde disregards the split of conscious and nonconscious. For Tarde, as well as for Ahmed, the split between conscious and nonconscious is not interesting. Quite on the contrary, they argue it is how they work together without distinction between body and mind that can be insightful in understanding the betweenness within the social. In the next section I will discuss Tarde’s argument further and present his theory of imitation and contagion. But before I start the discussion regarding Tarde’s arguments on imitation and contagion, I introduce Tarde himself and his legacy to social science as the opponent to Durkheim. The objective for Tarde’s
introduction is threefold: (1) to place Tarde in a fundamental academic discussion for the construction of the social and the establishment of social sciences, (2) to connect his theories with their deployment in current literature, and (3) to disclose how I place Tarde’s arguments as enabling notions in this study.

3.1.1. Gabriel Tarde, an avuncular theorist

Together with Durkheim, Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904) is recognized as one of the most prominent nineteenth-century French sociologists. Tarde is mostly recognized for his criticism of Durkheim and his criminological work. From 1894 until his death in 1904 he was the director of the criminal statistics section of the Ministry of Justice in Paris. He also held the chair of modern philosophy at the Collège de France from 1900 until his death in 1904. However, his academic antagonism to Durkheim is perhaps the reason why, in present days, he is both known and unknown in mainstream sociology (Candea, 2014). Whereas Tarde was highly influential at the time of the emergence of the social sciences in France at the end of the 18th century and beginning of 19th century, it was Durkheim who established himself as one of the founding fathers of sociology. According to Vargas (2000), Durkheim attracted the endorsement of the Republican establishment in his advocacy for sociology as a school of reason in the emergence of social science. In contrast, Tarde rejected this idea and advocated for a social science that evoked feelings rather than cold rationality. Tarde then pushed for a social science that was more aligned to literature than natural sciences. However, backed by the Republican establishment, Durkheim’s position prevailed and guaranteed him a prominent position in the emergence of social science.

In their emergence, the social sciences sought to assure scientific relevance by imitating the natural sciences, reinforcing the narrative of the scientific production of knowledge by means of rationality, method, rigor, objectivity, specialization, and article production (Vargas, 2000). The development of social sciences was thus distanced from literature, along with its culture of emotions, introspection, and rhetoric freedom. This distance became one of the fundamental elements of the institutional recognition of social sciences as a science, even though Tarde criticized this positioning of social science throughout fundamental debates regarding the conception of the social. The social is thus not a natural object. The social is a result of an articulation of
the epistemological emancipation of social sciences and the implementation of new power disposition during the 19th century (ibid.). The interest in the social and the emergence of sociology resonate with a French Republic facing intense moral concerns. Social science has then encompassed intense moral concerns since its inception. In other words, the study of the social has thus embraced a stabilizing morality of the French Republic, a morality that has praised social order and refuted crowd behavior since its origin (that is, in a period when France was still trying to recover from the turmoil of the Revolution of 1789). Whereas Durkheim embraces this moral dilemma, Tarde refutes it. Instead he advocates infinitesimal differences. His fear of the crowd is ambivalent; his conservative account of the crowd recognizes both its fury and its potential. He refutes the morality of modernity along with the ideal of rationality and scientific purism.

He argues that socializing is based on communication. For him, socializing encompasses an intermental process that does not split the conscious and the nonconscious (Tarde, 1903). Tarde refutes this distinction. The hierarchy of mind and body does not resonate with Tarde’s conceptualization of social amalgamation through imitative process. This perspective on social amalgamation opposes Durkheim’s conceptualization, which privileges the mind over the body and conceives communication as a social fact, coercive and external, from the society to the individual (Antunes, 2008). Whereas the former sees the socializing process as horizontal, the latter sees it as vertical. It is in this conceptual difference of social formation that this study finds resonance. It is also in this last fundamental difference that Tarde has been an inspiration for many scholars – from Alliez to Deleuze, from Latour to Thrift. Thus, the Tarde we read now is a Tarde in direct opposition to Durkheim (Candea, 2014). He offers a horizontal view of socializing by focusing on social relations and practices, in contrast to Durkheim’s vertical view that relates social wholes and individuals. Tarde has proposed a relational ontology in the emergence of social sciences.

Now, scholars have brought back this relational perspective to the research agenda for understanding the social. This relational perspective has been translated in consumer literature through the conceptualization of consumption assemblages (Thomas et al., 2012; Canniford & Shankar, 2013; Parmentier & Fischer, 2014). In such assemblages, the attention is expanded to the bonds, to the connections within the networks enacted and re-enacted by actors whether they are subjects, objects, or institutions. They can be traced back
to Tarde’s (2012) *Monadology and Sociology*. They are an ontological epistemology proposal to see all actors – humans and non-humans – as possessing agency since they affect the actions of other actors (Latour, 2005). However, they disregard the role of emotion in the process of affecting. For Tarde, affecting is imitating and imitating is about both beliefs and desires. In my reading, he suggests that imitation and the possibility to affect and be affected interlinks non-conscious processes with conscious ones. Their differences are not central for the imitation process. For him, imitation is a process that interlinks body and mind in the figure of the somnambulist. For example, in his words, “both the somnambulist and the social man are possessed by the illusion that their ideas, all of which have been suggested to them, are spontaneous” (Tarde, 1903, p. 77). With the figure of the somnambulist, he claims that instinctive choices are an illusion and proposes that our socializing is imitative. He argues that ideas are developed through an imitative process that entails the interplay of corporal intensities and signs. Like Ahmed, he believes in bodily memories.

In the following section, I discuss Gabriel Tarde’s debates on imitation and contagion. I adopt these debates as enabling notions. Still, I do not adopt Tarde’s conceptualizations as frameworks to follow in a ‘conservative’ way. As suggested by Candea (2014), Tarde is at his best as an avuncular theorist. Tarde’s potential resonates with an inspiring uncle that challenges and plays with assumptions and norms, rather than providing a parental affiliation that provides guidance and rules. According to Candea (2010), Tarde’s theories are not about delivering a whole theory. They can be seen as fragments which we are free to both use and destroy: with which we can, play, interact, and relate. This is what I attempt in this study: I use, play with, destroy, interact with, and relate his concepts to Ahmed’s conceptualization of affect. Thus, his concepts have been instrumental in raising some questions and challenging some assumptions in the extant CCT literature. I adopt his concepts of imitation and contagion as they highlight how affects travel in reverberation between bodies through imitative (and contagious) processes. His imitation model resonates with Ahmed’s work on affect, as both elaborate on how our relations encompasses different directions, orientations, and potencies.
3.1.2. Imitation and contagion

The concept of imitation is central to Tarde’s work. Tarde (1903) argues that imitation is the elementary social fact. As my focus is on socializing processes, the concept of imitation is also central to this study. According to Tarde, imitation is the bonding process between living beings. It is “every impression of an inter-psychical photography, so to speak, willed or not, passive or active” (Tarde, 1903, p. XIV). For him, imitation always occurs whether it happens in accordance or in opposition to the prior model. In his words, “society is a group of people who display many resemblances produced by either imitation or by counter-imitation” (ibid., p. XVII). That is, one imitates in accordance or in opposition to each other, respectively. Imitation is both an action and a reaction. In imitation, action and reaction are an indivisible occurrence. Intention is dissolved in both action and reaction; it entails a direction from somewhere towards somewhere else, and vice-versa. They are streams of interaction. The concept of imitation allows us stop thinking about where action comes from, or where and how it originated. It happens across individuals. Thus, the concept of imitation does not conform to the ordinary use of the word. In the excerpt below, Tarde’s own definition of imitation is presented:

Now I am well aware that I am not conforming to ordinary usage [of the word imitation] when I say that when a man unconsciously and involuntarily reflects the opinion of the others, or allows an action of others to be suggested to him, he imitates this idea or act. And yet, if he knowingly and deliberately borrows some trick of thought or action from his neighbor, people agree that in this case the use of the word in question is legitimate. Nothing, however, is less scientific that the establishment of this absolute separation, of this abrupt break, between voluntary and involuntary, between the conscious and the unconscious. (…) By imitation, I mean every impression of an inter-psychical photography, so to speak, willed or not willed, passive or active. If we observe that wherever there is a social relation between two living beings, there we have imitation in this sense of the word (either of one by the other or of others by both, when, for example, a man converses with another in a common language, making new verbal proofs from very old negatives). (p. XIII–XIV)

Imitation is thus presented as a way to see the interlocks of conscious and nonconscious processes working together in every social encounter, which then produces the social in its unfolding. In his definition of imitation, Tarde
emphasizes his position against the separation of the conscious and the unconscious in the socializing process. He also emphasizes that imitation is the stem of the social. For him, the social is the collection of imitations which are driven by affect. Imitations can have multiple directions, depending on if they are in accordance or opposition. Imitation can be adaptive, opposite, and inventive. Imitation, opposition, and innovation became Tarde’s core concepts. For him, they were the three social laws that governed social formations. Still, among the three laws, imitation is presented as the primary law. Tarde argues that “we ourselves are infinitely more imitative than inventive” (p. 98). In imitation, there is adaptation, which is different from invention. Even though this differentiation is clear to Tarde, he believes that both imitation and invention are inseparable. He also points out that the substance and the force that drives imitation, whether in accordance or in opposition, is a composition of belief and desire. That is, it is a composition of forces that encompasses both conscious and nonconscious processes. In a similar manner to Ahmed’s position regarding affects and emotions, Tarde also prefers not to split conscious and nonconscious processes. For him, affects, as a combination of conscious and nonconscious processes, are the forces driving imitation as well as invention and opposition. Affects are manifested in sensational qualities through bodies.

For Tarde, affect thus plays a fundamental role in imitation. Affect organizes the imitative processes through their different travelings. Affect gives direction to imitation as adaptive, opposite, or innovative imitations. Hence, Tarde too believes that affect is nomadic, but not autonomous. Every imitation, through affect, is distinct. It takes a singular routing. An imitation is never exact or identical. It is an affective response. It connects as it disconnects. Imitations then can be seen as flows of affect. The alignment and misalignment of such flows are driven by affect. It is affect that gives them different directions. Hence, through imitative flows of affect, social bodies (whether individual or collective bodies) are formed. Bodies merge and split, depending on their direction and the potency of the affective flows. The interplay of affective flows then enables the shaping of social bodies. These imitative flows are then the basis of the society, as Deleuze and Guattari describe in the excerpt below:

[Micro]imitation does seem to occur between two individuals. But at the same time, and at a deeper level, it has to do not with an individual but with a flow or a wave. Imitation is the propagation of a flow; op-
position is binarization, the making binary of flows; invention is a conjugation or connection of different flows. What, according to Tarde, is a flow? It is belief or desire (the two aspects of every assemblage); a flow is always of belief and desire. Beliefs and desires are the basis of every society, because they are flows (...) that are created, exhausted, or transformed, added to one another, subtracted or combined. (Deleuze & Guattari, 2013, p. 255–56, italics in original).

The social formation can then be seen as the result of imitative and affective flows being created, exhausted, transformed, added to one another, subtracted, or combined. The socializing process is a dynamic process of the organizing and spreading of flows. In this dynamic process, affects not only give direction but they also give speed to imitative flows. When the imitative process spreads rapidly, imitation is converted into contagion. Contagion (which is manifested in crowds, in general, more visually than in other social manifestations) is the ultimate social goal. As the imitative process engulfs rapidly, flows quickly align, making bodies merge and grow. In the process of contagion, affect enables the self-propagation of imitative flows. The imitative flows are then in an expansion mode. Tarde believes that cities, especially heavily populated cities, were the places where imitation processes occurred faster and with greater potency. Thereby, in cities, the propensity of crowds to imitate would be greater. For him, in cities, the imitative processes are magnified due to a higher concentration of people. In cities, the social amalgamation of collective bodies, whether through imitation or contagion, is facilitated. In the next section, I discuss further the formation of packs and crowds. I also present the concept of affective synchronization.

3.1.3. Packs, crowds and affective synchronization in cities

For Tarde, “society is imitation and imitation is a kind of somnambulism” (Tarde, 1903, p. 87), whilst crowds are a “sudden eruption of contagious deindividualizing suggestions” (Borch, 2012, p. 122). For him, crowds are contagious manifestations derived from imitation processes. He notes that the imitation processes, as well as their contagious manifestations, happen most often in cities. The urban scenario allows people to imitate more easily because of social condensation. The urban condensation thus facilitates imitative flows, which can progressively turn into contagious manifestations, that is, crowds. This urban condensation facilitates the formation of both packs and crowds as it facilitates the imitative process between beings. Crowds then, do
not erupt from nowhere. Crowds manifest from other emergent manifestations of imitative processes, that is, packs. Packs are the embryos of crowds (Canetti, 1995).

This differentiation in the format of social formation is fundamental for this thesis because it emphasizes the dynamic processes of the social amalgamation of the collective body. The expansion and contraction of the collective body is here seen as an inherent process rather than a threat to its stability. According to Canetti (1995), the first and most important characteristic of the crowd is its eagerness to grow. However, its high capacity to devour and grow also implies a high capacity to disintegrate and shrink. The crowd is a delicate formation since its openness enables both its expansion and contraction. The crowd is naturally open, without solid borders. The surface of the collective body is thus presented as mutable. The conversions from packs to crowds and vice-versa are presented as part of a dynamic process. The transmutability of the multiplicity is seen as a crucial feature of the socialization process. The instability of the collective body is not presented as collateral. Quite the contrary, it is seen as an inherent feature of the formation of social bodies.

For Canetti, the crowd has four important features and its eagerness to grow is only the first one. He points out three other fundamental characteristics of the crowd: there is equality within the crowd; the crowd loves density; and the crowd needs a direction. Even though the four characteristics above resonate with Tarde’s elaboration of the crowd, they do not encompass the same conservative position. Below, I discuss further the three remaining characteristics of crowds according to Canetti. I now start discussing the second feature: there is equality within the crowd. One head is one head in the crowd. Age, gender, or race does not matter. In the crowd, everyone is equal. Everyone feels equal. Any difference becomes unfelt. No one can tell anyone what to do. Or, everyone can give orders to everyone. For Canetti, it is precisely because of this equality that people are drawn into crowds and feel liberated within a crowd. In the crowd, who is next to you is no longer important. It is in the crowd that the fear of being touched disappears. Those next to us are felt as equal to us, are felt as us. The equality and the density of the crowd is interwoven, since the crowd is felt like one single body.

Love for density is the third feature of the crowd. Rather than seeking distance, people become attracted to each other within the crowd. People look for closeness in crowds. The individual body disappears as people feel free of
the fear of being touched. Proximity becomes welcomed. Distances cannot be seen or felt any longer. In crowds then, there is a discharge of the burden of the (individual) distance. People feel relieved with the closeness and density. They merge together. Together, they become denser. The fourth and last characteristic of the crowd is its need for direction. In the crowd, bodies are attracted to each other and this attraction gives density to the crowd at the same time as it makes the crowd grow. Let us now return to the conversion from packs to crowds. For both Tarde and Canetti, the eruption of crowds from packs happens when the propagation of affective flows is magnified (in Tarde’s words, when imitation is converted into contagion). As affects are the substance driving crowds, affective intensities can then be related to the direction of the crowds. For example, Canetti proposes a typology of crowds according to their dominant affect: baiting crowds, flight crowds, prohibition crowds, reversal crowds, and feast crowds. In this classification, each crowd has different dynamics because they are driven predominantly by different affects. Their classification then depends on their dominant affect. However, he does not explicitly discuss what the predominant affect in each type of crowd is, or how they work. He does argue that in every crowd there is a multiplicity of affects, but what characterizes the type of crowd depends on one affect that emerges and prevails. Thereby, he seems to imply that an affective synchronization happens in the outbreak from packs to crowds.

Affective synchronization is the concept Nunes (2013; 2014) uses to describe how the Brazilian protests of 2013 erupted from urban collectives, NGOs, and other organizations already in reverberation with the struggles of the urban life. For Nunes (2013, 2014), the Brazilian protests of 2013 are outbreaks of a long process of affective intensities interplaying through urban collectives, NGOs, and organizations. Through a synchronization process, the affective flows became aligned. This alignment turned them into macro-flows of affect. Whereas there were still multiple and divergent micro-flows of affect, the alignment of the macro-flows bypassed the other multiple affective flows. Hence, affective synchronization gave direction to the crowds at the same time as it enabled their eruption.

---

3 Tarde and Canetti differentiate regarding the connection of directions and crowds. Canetti argues that the crowd happens when it is given a direction. Tarde has a more conservative position regarding the crowd; instead he articulates that crowds have a direction only when they become publics through the mediation of a media. Regardless of their different position, the direction of the crowd remains a key issue. The manifestation of the crowd (as its conversion to audience) depends on the directions of the travelings of affect.
In sum, affect has then been a key notion in Tarde and Canetti’s explorations of collective bodies. Still, the scholars have not elaborated further on how affects actually work in shaping the collective bodies. This is where Ahmed’s work on affects complements their work on multiplicities. Ahmed (2006) emphasizes the interplay of affects, their orientations, and surfacing effects. In the following section, I focus the discussion on affect. I also discuss the emergence of the affective turn and how different streams within this affective turn take different positions regarding the relationship of mind and body. This overview of the affective turn situates Ahmed’s position in a third stream of affect, which is aligned with Tarde and Canetti’s take on affect. Ahmed’s work on the political dimensions of affect is not only aligned to their work, but it complements them. Tarde and Canetti’s theories explore how socializing is an imitative and dynamic process driven by affect. For them, socializing can be explored as an interplay of flows (of affect). Ahmed’s conceptualization of affect complements Tarde and Canetti’s work, as it focuses on the surfacing effects of affects. It explores how affects work and how these workings mark the relations of and between social bodies. It emphasizes how their workings are not neutral because their travelings are not autonomous or without resistance. Her conceptualization of affect emphasizes the cultural and political dimensions of their workings (i.e., effects).

3.2. Presenting affect: driving force of socializing

In this section, I focus on the second part of the theoretical combination of flows of affect: the affect part. Firstly, I present affect as a research stream that emerged in social sciences. Secondly, I discuss further the affective turn by classifying two sub-streams of the affective turn. Here, I emphasize how scholars addressed the relationship of mind and body in affect in two different ways. Thirdly, I discuss an emergent third stream that proposes a middle ground between body and mind. I see Ahmed’s work on affect situated in this third stream. I argue that this stream resonates with Tarde and Canetti’s position of conscious and nonconscious processes together shaping collective bodies. It is in this resonance that I justify why I have predominantly adopted Ahmed’s conceptualization of affect. Fourthly and finally, I focus on Ahmed’s work on affect. I now start the discussion of affect theory by contextualizing its emergence.
3.2.1. Affect

In reaction to the linguistic turn, some scholars have started to wonder about the role of affect in our behavior. Rather than paying attention to words and meanings, they have begun to question whether we could decentralize the meaning making processes in theory. By paying more attention to the body and bodily reactions, they challenged the centralization of the mind in theorization. Through this reaction, affect theory has spread over different fields – from history to architecture, from political theory to cultural studies. Affect theory can be seen as an approach to culture, history, politics, and the social that is stimulated by affect, or non-linguistic forces (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010; Leys, 2011; Blackman & Venn, 2010). The affective turn shifts its attention away from reason, thought, mind, and language (mostly). Regardless of the differences between theorists of affect, their focus shifts to the body. Thereby, the affective turn is considered to be a reactive turn against the predominance of the mind and rationality. The aim of the affective turn is to understand how affects make us what we are. The focus is turned to the potential of the body and its actions, rather than exploring the potential of thoughts, ideas, and words. Affect is seen as forces of encounters (Anderson, 2006; Thrift, 2004; Ahmed, 2004; Gregg & Seigworth, 2010). In bodily encounters, there is an intensity that moves, connects, and disconnects (Ahmed, 2004). In other words, an intensity that affects as it is affected (Thrift, 2004). Affect is found in the intensities that go from body to body, whether this body is individual or collective, human, non-human, part-body, or otherwise (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010). In this turn, the conceptualization of body as potential is reviewed. “Affect marks a body’s belonging to a world of encounters or; a world’s belonging to a body of encounters but also, in non-belonging, through all those far sadder (de)compositions of mutual in-compossibilities” (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p. 2).

In this turn, the supremacy of the individual body is challenged. Affect becomes crucial to our sense of self and, simultaneously, for questioning it. It also becomes crucial to our understanding of our relations, our sense of our own bodies and other bodies, as well as our sense of place and worlds. Thereby, we become relational beings through affect. Our relations through affective encounters and intensities compose us. These intensities resonate as they circulate and can stick to bodies and worlds. That is, affect lays ‘in-between’ bodies and “resides as accumulative beside-ness” (ibid.). The body,
which transcends the biological skin, is understood through its affective intensities (Blackman & Venn, 2010). However, the relationship between affect, body and mind is a controversial one among affect theorists (Leys, 2011; Wetherell, 2015). In the section below, I highlight the three main avenues of the affective turn according to their instance on the affect-body-mind triad. Even though the boundaries between them (especially between the second and the third stream) are porous and they could be seen as a continuum, I here emphasize their differences. Rather than focusing on their overlapping ideas, I highlight their particularities.

Before I begin the discussion about the emergence and the development of the affective turn, I would like to acknowledge that the theoretical work on emotion and affect has a much longer history. Some scholars trace the discussions interlinking the social with affective features back to eighteenth-and nineteenth-century culture (Gorton, 2007). Most discussions can be traced back in two main genealogies: the neurobiological approach and the cognitive approach (Lutz & White, 1986; Leys, 2011; Low, 2016). The neurobiological approach, which is traced back to Darwin, sees emotions as a set of adaptive instincts and unmediated bodily processes. The cognitive approach, instead, sees emotions as cognitive assessments of neurobiological phenomena. These assessments then structure and organize our experiences. Whereas “in anthropology, biological versus cognitive theories have been abandoned as new ways of thinking have redirected the theoretical arguments in productive ways” (Low, 2016, p. 134). In such studies, “concepts of emotion emerge as a kind of language of the self—a code for statements about intentions, actions, and social relation” (Lutz & White, 1986, p. 417). In this way, the role of culture in perception and interpretation has also been explored by many scholars interested in studying the processes of the social construction of emotion. Nevertheless, Low (2016) notes that the affective turn of the 1990s “has displaced much of the earlier thinking on emotion, and it offers a number of avenues for theorizing the space/emotion/affect interface, even though proponents continue to struggle with the same mind-body dualism of psychological theories” (p. 137). For her, such avenues opened up possibilities for scholars to explore how feelings influence and structure everyday life, as well as politics, space, and place.
3.2.2. The affective turn and its crossroad

The starting point of the contemporary affective turn is credited to the year of 1995, when two essays were published: (1) Eve Sedgwick and Adam Frank’s “Shame in the Cybernetic Fold” and (2) Brian Massumi’s “The Autonomy of Affect”. These two essays, in different ways, proposed a displacement of the centrality of theorization from cognition to affect. This proposal of displacement can be seen as a response to the supremacy of the discussion of structuralism and poststructuralism in theory. From these two essays, the affective turn developed into two streams: one that stems from Tomkins’s psychobiological categories of affects and another that is aligned with Deleuze and Spinoza’s exploration of bodily capacities (Leys, 2011; Seigworth & Gregg, 2010; Blackman & Venn, 2010).

The first stream, stemming from Sedgwick and Frank’s essay, proposes that there are a number of basic emotions that specify, define, and organize the range of affective response. This stream stems from the neurobiological approach. Following Darwin, this stream sees emotions as biological types (e.g., fear, anger, disgust, joy). For Silvan Tomkins and one of his most prominent students, Paul Ekman, emotions are pre-given human universals. They are innate and genetically determinate. This stream follows an inside-out perspective; emotions are internal and they are manifested to the outside through facial and bodily expressions. In this case, “social research as a consequence boils down to investigating how the natural infrastructure of pre-specified emotions is deployed, manifested, exhibited or performed” (Wetherell, 2015, p. 145).

The second stream, stemming from Massumi’s essay, can be traced back in the works of Deleuze and Spinoza. This stream opposes language as a structure, and instead proposes an exploration through the potentiality of the body. This stream can be seen as a spin-off of some debates in poststructuralism. As a further matter, some of prominent scholars labeled as affect theorists within this stream are also labeled as poststructuralists (e.g., Deleuze and Guattari). In this second stream, following Spinoza, scholars are enticed by the open potentiality of what the body can do. Massumi then proposes affect as a non-signifying, non-conscious intensity disconnected from the subjective, signifying, functional-meaning axis. This stream rejects individualized notions and categories of emotions and privileges approaches that posit broader tendencies of affect as lines of forces. In this sub-stream, affect escapes confinement
in one particular body and spills over. In this spilled over excess lies the po-
tentiality for affecting and being affected – the ‘in-betweeness’. For scholars
in this stream, affect is a non-conscious experience of intensity and thereby
cannot be fully realized in language (Hill et al., 2014). Thereby, affect is as-
sumed to be prior to and/or outside consciousness (Leys, 2011; Knudsen &
Stage, 2015). This stream then follows an outside-in perspective: affect is seen
“as an outside stimulation, somehow hitting first the body and then reaching
the cognitive apparatus” (Knudsen & Stage, 2015, p. 4). Affects, as (outside)
‘in-between’ intensities, move bodies. They transform and translate under or
beyond any simply fixed system (i.e., meanings, cognitions). For them, once
the process of movement and transformation of affect is articulated and so-
cialized, it becomes emotions. Here, I highlight Shouse’s (2005) conceptual
distinctions: affects are pre-personal, emotions are social, and feelings are per-
sonal and biographical. In this stream, emotions and affects are conceptual-
Emotions are perceived to be an expression of the captured, qualified, signi-
fied, and closed form of affect – they come as an afterthought that is cut away
from the effervescence of affective experiencing. In contrast, affects are non-
categorized, non-semantic, non-quantifiable, and non-linear. In Thrift’s
words, emotions are representational and affects are non-representational. For
him, affect resists its categorization into representational categories and po-
tentially forms a multiplicity of connections. Affect, by refusing to be set into
categories, is nomadic and always outside the ‘given’ directions we use to
make experience into an idea. For him, affect is autonomous.

The assumption thus is that affect and cognition follow different logics and
pertain to different systems (Leys, 2011). Even though some theorists have
proposed affect and cognition as a continuum, this difference seems to prevail
in their polarity. For the affect theorists of this second sub-stream, affect is
autonomous and the body is presumed to have an intelligence of its own. For
them, affect is independent of signification, meaning, and intention. Whereas
representation is about reducing down towards stability, the non-representa-
tional is about the opening up of all possibilities. In their analysis, scholars of
this stream prioritize bodily reactions to environments as a way of exploring
what has not been captured by language and structure. Through the tracing of
affect through bodily sensations, this stream focuses on exploring the me-
chanic dimensions of our relations – in other words, our capacity to affect and
be affected. Studies of this sub-stream explore the dynamics between humans
and non-humans. They explore materiality. They go beyond human. This second stream has been a fertile ground for new understandings of the relationship between the living and non-living in different fields, from humanities to social sciences. For example, Anderson (2006) discusses the relationship between people and music through hope. In CCT, Canniford and Shankar (2013) have underscored the relationship between surfers and nature.

However, some scholars have started to question if the reactionary position against language and mind has also prevented scholars from understanding the political dimensions of affect. For some scholars, predominantly in the fields of feminism, queer, and cultural studies (see Gorton, 2007), the separation of affect and cognition can be counter-productive. To cite a few, I highlight the works of Leys (2011), Blackman (2012), Barrett (2017), Wetherell (2015), and Nussbaum (2013). These scholars are opposed to the split of body and mind as defended by ‘non-representational’ scholars. For them, body and mind are intrinsically connected. Affect is not autonomous. Scholars in this third sub-stream prefer to see mind and body as one system. In other words, they do not focus on the fragmentation of conscious and nonconscious processes. For them, the rejection of representation on behalf of non-representation is throwing the baby out with the bath water. This new stream can then also be seen as a middle ground in the continuum stream of the affective turn. Below, I discuss this emergent stream within the affective turn.

3.2.3. A new turn, or a middle way?

Versions of ‘affect theory’ that posit affect as a pre-personal extra-discursive force hitting and shaping bodies prior to sense making are simply unsustainable. It is so obvious that semiosis and affect are inextricably intertwined, not just in the production of ‘atmospheres’, spaces and relations but in their effects and in subsequent patterns of engagement. It has been seriously unhelpful to posit a generic category of autonomous affect (applied to relations between all bodies human and non-human) (Wetherell & Beer, 2014, para. 2).

As declared by Wetherell above (in an interview with Beer), some scholars have tried to understand the effects of the immediate entanglement of affect and human capacities for making meaning, rather than trying to understand affect as a not-yet-colonized space of language. The scholars of this stream are interested in understanding the political dynamics in which affect articu-
lates and travels. In this stream, body and mind are not seen as separate systems. Here emotion and affect are thereby mostly treated interchangeably. The meaning making process is an integrative process of the capacity to affect and be affected, and vice-versa.

Scholars of this sub-stream do not disregard the role of language in the affective circulation and its political implications. They also do not see politics as merely a set of ideas. At the same time, these scholars challenge that power is primarily conducted by thoughts and language. For them, meaning making cannot be separated from our affective dispositions. Leys (2011) points out that the division of the representational and the non-representational presumes an idealized notion of the mind and thought. Somewhere in the middle ground between the linguistic turn and the most reactionary affective scholars, there are scholars like Leys, Blackman and Ahmed, who are opposed to the idea that feelings are merely physiological conditions. They “criticize the inherent dichotomies of mind and matter, body and cognition, biology and culture, the physical and psychological” (Knudsen & Stage, 2015, p. 4). For them, our senses are activated through meaning making-processes. Emotions are not seen as a minor, encapsulated form of affect. For them, through language, we are able to express affects, “as there would be no inherent contradiction between the categories of language and the categories taking part in the social shaping of bodies, so they become emotionally sensitive to certain stimulations” (ibid.). Wetherell (2015) underlines that “the context as well as past and current practices, and complex acts of meaning-making and representation are involved in the spreading of affect, no matter how random and viral it appears” (p. 154).

Therefore, affect is not perceived as independent of signification, meaning and intention. Instead, the collapse of affect and meaning (which equates affects as emotions) is embraced by their theorizing in order to uncover the political connections between affect and ideology. For them, behavior does not come first and explanation comes (half second) later (see Leys, 2011). In contrast to the second sub-stream of affect theorists (see above), which fleshes out the dynamics of humans and non-humans, this third sub-stream takes a more anthropomorphic position towards affect. As I have discussed above, it aims to explore a relational perspective without the goal of going beyond human. Nonetheless, what scholars of these two sub-streams of affect theory seem to agree on is: (1) affect is nomadic as it travels between bodies, (2) this
traveling through bodies is experienced subjectively, (3) they are often per-
ceived as somehow beyond conscious recognition of the affected body. 
Throughout the development of this doctoral project, affect theorists of these 
two streams have influenced me. Still, I have prioritized the approaches and 
concepts of theorists of the third sub-stream due to its political potential. More 
specifically, I have adopted Ahmed’s approach to affect (2004), which aims 
to uncover the political dimensions of affect. Her research explores how bod-
ies and worlds take shape. Below, I discuss further her approach to affect and 
its political dimensions.

3.2.4. Ahmed’s affect

For Ahmed (2004a), affect moves us. It encompasses movements and attach-
ments: “what moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in 
place, or gives as a dwelling place” (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 27). Therefore, being 
moved by some can be what precisely attaches us to others. Through contin-
uous movements and attachments, bodies are aligned together and misaligned 
with others. Following her conceptualization of affect entails that the distinc-
tion between the inside and the outside of bodies, whether individual or col-
lective ones, is the result of movements and attachments produced in response 
to others and objects (Ahmed, 2004, 2004a, 2004b). Through affect, the 
boundaries of what I, you, we, and they are come to surface. Thereby, Ah-
med’s approach to affect fleshes out the process of mediation of affect in the 
‘surfacing’ of both individual and collective bodies. The individual and the 
collective body are then social amalgamations whose densities and intermit-
tences are constantly mediated by affect. For her, through affect, we establish 
the boundaries of individual and collective bodies and, consequently, we also 
delineate the dynamics of our socialization. In other words, affects delineate 
the boundaries of individual and collective bodies as they delineate our rela-
tions.

In this model, located in the third sub-stream of affect theory (see above), the 
delineation of our relations is mediated through the different orientations and 
directions of the affective intensities. Ahmed explores both the directionality 
and performativity of affect by naming and differentiating affects (i.e., hate, 
disgust, shame, love, comfort). Unlike the second stream of affect, which re-
futes categories of affect, Ahmed names affect into categories depending on 
their orientation and direction. She argues that affects “are intentional in the
sense that they are ‘about’ something: they involve a direction or orientation towards an object” (Parkinson, 1995, p. 8, as cited by Ahmed, 2004, p. 7). Consequently, affect is not deprived of intention as it involves “a stance on the world, or a way of apprehending the world” (ibid.). She then treats affects and emotions as synonyms. Still, the assumption is that emotions “do not have a referent, but the naming of emotions works to establish boundaries that come to have a referential function” (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 39). The naming of affects as emotions works through bodies since they can take different directions and orientations through different names (e.g., love and hate). This categorization of affects contrasts with scholars of the second sub-stream such as Massumi and Thrift. Ahmed (2004) points out that, by distinguishing affect and emotion, they work with a model that “creates a distinction between conscious recognition and ‘direct’ feeling, which negates how what is not consciously experienced may still be mediated by past experiences” (p. 40). Instead, in Ahmed’s conceptualization, the assumption is that direct experiences, which Thrift and Massumi would call pre-cognitive experiences, still evoke our past histories and previous impressions. Sensations and feelings may not be about conscious recognition, but this does not mean they are pre-cognitive either. Her model refutes the notion that emotions are from within and then move outwards towards others whereas affects come from outside to inwards. For her, affects (and emotions) involve sensations and impressions, which may not go through conscious recognition, but still they are mediated by past experiences. For her, this process bypasses consciousness through bodily memories. In other words, the body has memory rather than an intelligence of its own. For her, the dichotomies of affect and emotions, body and mind, non-conscious and conscious are seen as secondary for theorizing affect. “The analytical distinction between affect and emotion risks cutting emotions off from the lived experiences of being and having a body” (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 39).

For Ahmed, whose work is located at the intersection of feminist, queer, and race studies, ignoring the meaning-making role in the circulation of affect obscures the political load of affect. Meaning-making is then seen as an intrinsic process of the making of affect. For her, through constant and continuous interaction, we exchange impressions of signs, which can stick to surfaces. Surfaces and boundaries emerge as dependent on past impressions and thus interpretations. That is, what makes us tremble or laugh is dependent on that which we already know and our bodies are already signified and felt. We need to recognize fear in order to feel fear. This recognition is culturally based. Affect
is cultural. Affect does not reside in bodies or minds, it does not have a location. Affect is neither inside nor outside subjects and objects. It is also not a property of subjects or objects. Affect is a matter of shared impressions across time and space. Through experiences, such as fear, “we have a sense of our skin as bodily surface, as something that keeps us apart from others, but as something that also ‘mediates’ the relationship between the internal and external, or inside and outside” (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 29). In other words, her model of the socializing of affect suggests that affects circulate and the effects of their circulation shape the objects of affects (Ahmed, 2004).

Through the circulation of affects and their effects, Ahmed highlights the political dimensions of affective encounters in her work. She is interested in waves of public affectivity. She focuses her studies on how affective patterns intensify and sediment across time through performativity and reiteration. She follows Butler’s (2011) conceptualization of performativity. According to Butler (2011), a signifier can work to produce that which it apparently names. Performativity relates to the way in which the signifier works in this production process, which goes beyond just naming something that already exists. It recalls and, at the same time, it projects. The temporal dimension is thus a key aspect of performativity. At the same time, it produces effects in the future and it is produced by a reiteration produced in the past. Also, according to Ahmed, this process is linked to power and privilege. For Ahmed, affect works as economies. One of her key concepts is affective economy. Through circulation and evaluation of signs and impressions, affect mediates the relations of subjects and objects. More precisely, in her economic model of emotions, the accumulation of affective value shapes the surfaces of bodies and worlds. In this model of affective economy, the political effects of affect come to the fore. In her own words (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 119):

In such affective economies, emotions do things. They align bodily space with social space—through the very intensity of their attachments. Rather than seeing emotions as psychological dispositions, we need to consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective. (…) My economic model of emotions suggests that while emotions do not positively reside in a subject or figure, they still work to bind subjects together. Indeed, to put it more strongly, the nonresidence of emotions is what makes them “binding”.

71
Her model of affective economy proposes that affect does things: it binds and separates social beings; it shapes our bodies, lives, and worlds. It has surfacing effects (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b, 2006). In this study, I adopt her affective economic model to understand how affects and signs travel in a context of contestation of a wider consumption ideology (i.e., gentrification), and how collective bodies are continuously shaped through circulation and attachment of different affects. I use her conceptualization of affect to complement Tarde’s ideas on imitation and contagion, Canetti’s characterizing notions of crowds and Nunes’ concept of affective synchronization. These concepts together compose the theoretical framework, which can be recapitulated as flows of affect.

Finally, I conclude this chapter reviewing how the proposed theoretical framework resonates with the CCT literature. I argue that the adoption of the proposed theoretical framework can offer a more relational and political alternative to rethinking collective bodies in CCT literature. This theoretical framework also resonates with the critique about individuality, rationality, and stability as assumed conditions for the configuration of our socializing (Cova et al., 2013; Thompson et al., 2013). By focusing on the surfacing effects of affects, the collective body can be explored as both stable and unstable. The focus then shifts to the interplay and organization of affective flows through different directions, orientations, and potencies. It is through their interplay and organization that bodily surfaces are felt and unfelt, social bodies expand and condense, packs become crowds, and crowds become packs. I then adopted this framework to explore how affects mediated the making of collective bodies of urban activists in the city center of São Paulo, whether as packs or crowds. Through an ethnographic account, I explored how these multiplicities were constantly in the making. In the next chapter, I discuss further how I conducted this research. In other words, I present the research design and methodology.
4. Research Design, Methods, and Data

In this fourth chapter I discuss the research design, methods, and data corpus. But before I begin the discussion of the research design *per se*, I discuss the academic background of this doctoral research. In the first part I discuss the academic context within which I seek to position my research. In the second part I discuss the methods I used. In the third part I disclose how I see my own position as an ethnographic researcher and the position of the participants as researched people. These three parts together cover the methodological choices and positions of this study.

4.1. Academic background

This first part of the chapter is focused on presenting the academic background and pointing out the positioning of this research in said context. Firstly, I start by discussing the two predominant research paradigms in consumer research in order to present the interpretivist paradigm of consumer research which receives the moniker of CCT. I place my research within this paradigm. Here, I start to disclose the motivation behind some of the methodological options that this study encompasses in relation to consumer research in general. Secondly, I discuss how some scholars have been pushing the boundaries of CCT and calling for a relational and political position within CCT research. Here, I introduce some of the motivations behind methodological options that this study encompasses in relation to CCT more specifically. Now, I start the discussion about the two predominant paradigms of consumer research. In this discussion, I emphasize the ontological, epistemological, and methodological differences between these two main paradigms.
4.1.1. Predominant paradigms of consumer research

There are two predominant paradigms within which scholars position themselves in their production of knowledge of consumer behavior: the positivist and interpretive paradigms (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). These two predominant streams follow the division in social sciences, which does not fall far from the Durkheim and Tarde debate (see section 3.1.1). Within consumer research, the debate was propagated by Hunt and Anderson (Anderson, 1986; Hunt, 1993, 2014; Tadajewski, 2008, 2014). Whereas Hunt defended positivism in an alignment with natural science and the pursuit of a single truth, Anderson called for an expansion of the boundaries of science that could encompass diverse views and truths. Anderson has pushed for a relativist approach as an alternative approach to the study of consumer behavior (Anderson, 1986; Hudson & Ozanne, 1988; Tadajewski, 2004, 2008, 2014). The debate around the two research paradigms encompasses different underlying assumptions and consequently different theories and methods. These underlying philosophical assumptions stem from beliefs regarding the nature of reality, of social beings, and of what constitutes knowledge (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988).

Positivism is the most predominant stream of inquiry in consumer research (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). It takes a realist position as it assumes that there is an objective, single, and independent reality. In this paradigm, reality is assumed to be independent of our perception. The social world is perceived as an extension of the natural world, so social sciences are also seen as an extension of natural sciences. The social world is assumed to be as real and concrete as the physical world. This reality encompasses an unchanging structure which can be fragmented, observed, and measured. In this stream of inquiry, it is assumed that parts of reality can be separated from their usual context and placed in controlled settings for observation (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988; Burell & Morgan, 1979). Following this stream of inquiry, consumer behavior can be broken down into specificities (e.g., preferences and self-control) that can be measured, analyzed, and predicted in the laboratory through, for example, experiments. Through experiments, researchers are able to sanitize the context and isolate the information of the consumer. In this way, researchers may be able to measure consumers’ behavioral or attitudinal responses to one specific input. In other words, the researcher is able to trace the cause and action of consumer behavior. The assumption here is that consumer behavior will be the same in the laboratory as in the daily life. Knowledge about consumer behavior can thus be produced
independent of the context since a real cause exists for each specific behavior. In consumer research, positivism, as an epistemological assumption, is aligned to a realist ontological assumption and a nomothetic methodological approach (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988).

In response to the hegemony of positivism in the consumer behavior field, some scholars have started to question the notion of reality as one immutable unity, as well as the detachment of consumer behavior from the context of consumption. Anderson was one of the predominant voices of this emergent call for interpretivism that challenged the hegemony of the positivist approach. He called for a relativist perspective on consumer research. This movement started to gain momentum in the 1980s when some scholars started pushing for understanding consumption and the consumer, rather than explaining the link between the causes and consequences of consumer behavior. By assuming that social reality is fundamentally mental and perceived, these scholars questioned the possibility of a single immutable reality. Instead, according to them, we have multiple realities and these realities change as the social world is socially constructed. In this stream of consumer research, researchers should thus observe an individual reality holistically rather than taking it as just the sum of its parts. Thereby, for them, it is critical for a researcher to understand the context of consumer behavior since consumers construct reality and give it meanings based on their contexts (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988; Tadajewski, 2004, 2014). In this stream, a blink is not seen as just a blink (Geertz, 1983). For CCT interpretivist scholars, the meaning of a blink can uncover structures of signification of a culture. Openly, this stream assumes that theoretical accounts encompass the interpretation of the researcher interlaced with the interpretations of the participants of the phenomena.

The Consumer Behavior Odyssey became the epitome of the emergence of this alternative approach to understanding consumer behavior in particular contexts. The Odyssey was a three-month journey from Los Angeles to Boston that enabled a group of scholars to interview, observe, and record consumer behavior in the “real world” during the summer of 1986. It became renowned as the foundational moment of the interpretivist stream of consumer research which is now established as Consumer Culture Theory (Belk, 2014; Bradshaw & Brown, 2008). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) “became a reputational marker to be used to signal an affiliation to the broader marketing field” (Bode & Ostergaard, 2013, p. 184). Prior to the establishment of the
CCT brand, there have been other tentative names and acronyms for this alternative stream. To name a few: Heretical Consumer Researchers (HCR), Critical Consumer Researchers (CCR), Interpretive Consumer Researchers (ICR), and Radical Consumer Researchers (RCR).

However, in 2005, Arnould and Thompson carved out CCT as the predominant brand when they published the article “Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research” in the Journal of Consumer Research (JCR). This publication became the second milestone of this alternative interpretivist stream in consumer research. Even though CCT still has a marginal position within the marketing discipline, it is now a legitimized sub-field of marketing that addresses the “sociocultural, experiential, symbolic, and ideological aspects of consumption” (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p. 868). Due to its marginal position, this research stream seems to encompass most of the research that does not fit into the predominant positivist paradigm. CCT has become the presumed brand for researchers that subscribe to the interpretivist paradigm despite other differences they might have (e.g., critical marketing). This marginal status and almost-all-encompassing (interpretivist) borders have allowed researchers to abnegate a single theoretical or methodological focus. Its inherent heterogeneity is permeated with a relatively high degree of openness to pursue a diversity of research interests. By encompassing diverse research interests, scholars of the CCT field seem to be constantly negotiating the boundaries of the field. In the following section, I discuss the evolving forces within CCT and their related debates.

4.1.2. Pushing philosophical boundaries within CCT

For Denzin (2001), the interpretative turn of social sciences represents a momentum of ferment and great expansion of possibilities. CCT scholars have followed this fermenting momentum of social sciences by also pushing for a critical, cultural, and interpretative perspective of consumption as well as challenging objective epistemologies (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). The emergence and legitimization of CCT is intrinsically related to a call for a more contextualized, more holistic, and more critical research. Its inherent concern with the context enables research to uncover political, social, and cultural influences for consumers and engage in critical conversations. For example, under the CCT brand this interpretative stream of consumer research is credited as having the potential to engage in “critical conversations about
democracy, race, gender, class, nation, freedom, and community” (Denzin, 2001, p. 324). Through this turn, Denzin (2001) advocates for an opportunity to uncover previously silent voices, performance texts, and a concern with moral discourse.

However, some of these potentialities have not yet fully flourished. Some scholars have been pushing to revive the potential of CCT to provide a contextualized and critical account of consumption behavior. In addition, there have recently been debates questioning the ontological and epistemological boundaries of CCT. Some scholars have challenged the central position of the individual consumer as well as the conceptualization of the individual. In the interpretivist stream, the consumer has typically been viewed as the original stem of reality and production of knowledge. That is, the individual consumer has been the foundational perspective for the interpretivist stream. Predominantly, scholars have focused on understanding consumers as individuals in possession of agency and meaning-making proficiency (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011; Thompson et al., 2013). Recently though, some scholars in consumption studies (following scholars in social science) have been discussing the naturalization and centrality of the individual subject in social sciences. Rather than perceiving the consumer as a hermetic sealed unity (alike to how external reality can be perceived by positivists) gifted with agency, there has been a call for the de-naturalization of the concept of individual “as the intentional social unit par excellence” (Brighenti, 2010a, p. 295). There have been calls for a relational turn (Hill et al., 2014). That is, scholars have been calling for shifting the focus to relations within consumption.

This relational turn within CCT calling for understanding can be divided into two sub-streams: ontological and epistemological. CCT scholars have adopted relational ontology inspired by assemblage theories (Canniford & Shankar, 2013; Canniford & Bajde, 2015; Hill et al., 2014; Parmentier & Fischer, 2014). For example, by adopting ANT as an enabling theory, scholars explore consumption as a sum of relations of subjects and objects, assuming both are agentic units. Rather than focusing on reality as a product of the mental processes of individuals or an independent entity, the relational turn calls for understanding reality as a relational entity (Crossley, 2015; Borgerson, 2005). In this relational perspective, the consumer as individual is no longer the center; the individual is part of the relation but not the foundational stance. As argued by Crossley (2015), here the individual is not perceived as an immaculate social conception anymore; the individual becomes the outcome of
our relations – physically and socially. Relational stances do not adopt entities such as one consumer or one institution as a point of departure. They assume relations as the foundational stem. The underlying assumption is that knowledge exists in our minds as a result of continuous relations and memories, without denying that cognition exists in people’s heads. In other words, it fleshes out that knowledge did not just appear in our minds from nowhere. Knowledge is created through our relations. Meaning is created through relations, through bodies. In other words, this stream argues that even though it is intuitive to believe meanings and emotions are internal properties of the individual, they can be seen as relational stances. This stream challenges the belief that individuals are endowed with rationality and free-will, in line with Barnes (2001), who argues that we should recognize “that social life is actually constituted as interacting, non-independent, mutually susceptible human beings” (p. 348).

This doctoral research resonates with this latter perspective. It assumes both the individual and collective bodies can be seen as relational entities. In addition, it sympathizes with a proposal for radical epistemological pluralism, which suggests a type of social entity that can be called a ‘multiplicity’ in supplement to the individual and group entities (Brighenti, 2010a). Following this proposal, the individual is perceived as an island of homogeneity that transiently takes shape inside a sphere of multiple heterogeneous configurations. The individual and the collective are seen as modes of interactions. “Rather than subjects and objects, in multiplicities we have encounters, and encounters occur in series; they are chains of interlinkages, each of which can be settled and unsettled” (Brighenti, 2010a, p. 300). This proposal then differs from adopting both an inside-out perspective (Watkins, 1957) or outside-in (Durkheim, 1938) perspective of the observation of social reality. It focuses on ‘the between’.

Some CCT scholars have also been pushing the epistemological boundaries of our understanding of consumption. These scholars center their critique on the phenomenological account without its contextualization (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011; Thompson et al., 2013). Currently many phenomenological accounts in CCT seem to follow an inside-out approach, in alignment to the first stream of affect theory (e.g., Scott et al., 2017). Cultural and political constraints have often been overlooked since the contextual account is downplayed in the research. Epistemologically, the study of consumer behavior still
has an unfulfilled potential to highlight social-political consequences of consumption by exploring the relations of consumers and their contexts (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011; Cova et al., 2013; Earley, 2014). That is, the epistemological sub-stream of the relational turn calls for a more contextual and critical consumer research.

This study resonates with both relational calls in consumer research. Ontologically, it assumes that the individual, as well as collective bodies, can be seen as relational entities. Epistemologically, it aims to underscore the relations of meanings and emotions in shaping what we perceive as I, you, we, and they. It is also aligned to a social epistemology that refutes both methodological individualism and methodological holism. It is aligned to a proposal for radical epistemological pluralism, which proposes a type of social entity that can be called a ‘multiplicity’ and which can take the shape of packs and crowds (Brighenti, 2010a). Here, every instance and interaction composes our relations and the multiplicities. This is why the unit of analysis of this study is the interaction. More precisely, it is the flow of affect between beings. Through flows of affect, I follow interactions between participants in order to trace their affective alignments and misalignments.

Before I start discussing the research design, I would like to underscore that although I align this research to the call for a relational onto-epistemological perspective, I do not equate the relational turn with the posthuman turn. I believe there is an overlap between them, but there is also a bifurcation in the relational perspective that does not overlap with the posthuman call. This bifurcation (aligned to some feminist-queer-postcolonial theorists) is not acknowledged in the CCT literature, and this is key to my argument. I follow affect scholars that are calling for a relational onto-epistemological perspective to the social that can encompass a reorientation of/for the human (Jackson, 2015). According to Hemmings (2005), Sedgwick and Massumi in their call for a view of affect that goes outside signification could not fail to be aware of the myriad ways that affect manifests precisely not as difference, but as a central mechanism of social reproduction in the most glaring ways. The delights of consumerism, feelings of belonging attending fundamentalism or fascism, to suggest just several contexts, are affective responses that strengthen rather than challenge a dominant social order (Berlant, 1997). Sedgwick and Massumi do both acknowledge this characteristic of affect in their work, but do not pursue it, interested instead as they both are in that ‘other affect’, the good affect that undoes the bad. (p. 550-551).
Hemmings argues that this ‘expansive view of affect’ can throw out the baby together with the bathwater. For some scholars, like Hemmings, Blackman, and Ahmed, the unceasing movement that constitutes the process of becoming (as advocated by Massumi) does not necessarily need to reject meaning. For example, following Ahmed, the process of becoming as the feeling of bodies resonates with signs attached to bodies. The feeling of bodies can be seen as the life experience of the process of becoming, which is dependent on signs attached to bodies – whether as mine, ours, yours, or theirs. The possibility here is to focus more on what affects can do and how we count bodies than what affects are and what bodies can do. Thereby, there is an additional stream within the relational onto-epistemology that can be further explored in CCT.

4.2. Research design

In this second part of the chapter, I continue the discussion by pointing out the methodological choices, which resonate with both the theoretical framework and the research paradigm I place myself in as a researcher. Firstly, I start the discussion by presenting flows of affect as the unit of analysis. In the next section I discuss the methods I used. Here, I present three methodologies: ethnography, autoethnography, and affective methodologies. I also explain why and how I have adopted them in the study. Following this discussion, I present the data production process and the resulting data corpus. Finally, I discuss how I analyzed the data. Now, I start the discussion of the research design by presenting the unit of analysis.

4.2.1. Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis of this research is flows of affect. This methodological choice resonates with the theoretical framework I also adopted. Rather than conceptualizing collective bodies as a sum of individuals, Tarde, Canetti and Deleuze interpret collective bodies as a composition of intermental flows in reverberation with condensed and expanded occurrences (Brighenti, 2010a). As mentioned previously, here collective bodies, whether as crowds or packs, are seen neither as subjects nor objects. They are seen as multiplicities. But, what exactly does that mean? Brighenti suggests that we adopt multiplicities as alternative types of social entity which entail plurality whilst at the same
time they are “not based on a mere aggregation of units” (p. 299). They are ‘becoming bodies’. In order to research multiplicities, I then assume that sociality is composed by flows of affect in constant reverberation that can synchronize, dissipate, and oppose. That is, it entails a continuous process of alignment and misalignment of affective flows.

By adopting flows of affect as unit of analysis, I focus on the ‘electricity’ that flows from individuals to individuals, from collectives to collectives. Brighenti recalls that Durkheim recognized a kind of electricity that flows across individuals without resistance. However, Brighenti also points out that the methodological debate between holists and individualists has disregarded this electricity across individuals that Durkheim talks about. This is where I want to step back methodologically and theoretically, by drawing on Tarde’s concept of imitation and assuming intention and reaction as an indivisible occurrence. Thus, the aim is to break down ‘the electricity’ as a continuum into smaller occurrences. Here, every interaction can be seen as an imitative flow of affect. Every imitative occurrence can be seen as a flow of affect. Affective flows are then imitative encounters that travel through bodies, whether in the form of electronic text (e.g., e-mail, post in social media), physical meeting (e.g., interview), or other forms of encounter.

For example, every e-mail throughout the BxC exchange of e-mails is seen as an imitative encounter and, consequently, an affective flow. Throughout their long exchange of e-mails, there have been occasions of ‘high electricity’. In many of those occasions the escalating messages with a variety of tones, tensions, and sentiments can be seen as events of circulation and intensification of multiple affects. These instances can be seen here as a combination of affective flows. Yet, instead of understanding one exchange of e-mails in a topic of a BxC Google Group as an exchange between participants X, Y and Z, the exchange of emails was seen as a stream of flows of affect. By following these flows of affect it became irrelevant to separate emails according to senders⁴. Instead, the reading was focused on the unfurling of imitative flows of affect. The unfurling of affective intensities is thus traced by alignments and misalignments, by accelerations and decelerations, by synchronizations and dissipations, by leaps, splits, and reconnections. Each encounter, whether via e-mail or during events, was then read as a flow of affect that devoured one

---

⁴ This is why, in the analysis, the excerpts of e-mails are signed by only one random letter rather than using the names of participants.
another in a crescendo, or split and evaded in different directions. By reading the e-mails as unfolding affective flows, I could see and follow their interactions as a continuum. In other words, I could follow the travelings of affects as intensities that flow between bodies.

Yet, following Ahmed, I do not assume that affects are intensities that flow between bodies without resistance. The directions and orientations of every interaction, as affective flows, show the multiple travelings of affects as intensities. Sometimes there is no resistance, sometimes there is resistance. The possibility of resistance depends on the circulation and accumulation of signs attached to bodies. Thereby, the interplay of affective flows shows not only how affects change direction and orientation, but that they can also change speed and potency. Seeing flows of affect as the unit of analysis might then provide another understanding of how collective bodies are formed.

In studies that take the individual as the unit of analysis, the individual is shown as having conflicting affective experiences and the account can be perceived as more nuanced. However, the nuances here are presented in a different way. As the focus is on affect, I present the account from a different departure point and frame. For example, in the study that Scott and colleagues (2017) developed on pain, the scholars explore the puzzle of consumers who embark on painful and extraordinary experiences to attain personal growth and self-transformation (Arnould & Price, 1993). The scholars show “how pain provides a temporary relief from the burdens of self-awareness” (Scott et al., 2017, p. 22) through an overload of distress in consciousness. In their phenomenological approach, the individual feels rejuvenated through extraordinary painful experiences. These painful experiences are then presented as complex, as they also provide a certain pleasure and pride. The individual is thus presented not only with multiple feelings, but it is shown that these feelings are paradoxical. The scholars then explored the subscribed meanings of pain in connection to a complex sociocultural matrix. Still, pain is presented fundamentally as an individual and intimate experience. From the individual perspective, the focus is then to understand what an emotion (e.g., pain) means to individuals whilst taking into consideration social, cultural, and personal background.

In contrast, I explore how affect flows and works in relation to cultural meanings attached to bodies and how they shape what we come to delineate as me,
you, us, and them. For example, in the sixth chapter, where I present the findings of this study, I explore how four different affects works differently in this shaping of bodies. I do not assume the body can contain, manifest, and make sense of one or many affects. Following Ahmed (2004, 2004a, 2004b), I take the position that affect works through bodies and I focus on how people, through felt surfaces, make sense of (collective) bodies. This focus contrasts with the literature that has focused on how people make sense of affects within a pre-established individual body. There is a twist in the framing and the point of departure. In this study, the body is the result of a surfacing process that is mediated through affect. It is the finish line, rather than the predominant departure point. The departure point is every encounter as an affective flow. This change in framing and point of departure implies many challenges for the study design. In the next section, I discuss the methods I used in order to overcome some of these challenges and explore how imitative flows of affect shape collective bodies.

4.2.2. Methods

To research affective intensities as embodied emotions already encompasses many challenges and requires unconventional methods of data production and analysis (Canniford, 2012; Sherry & Schouten, 2002; Hill, 2016; Scott et al., 2017). To adopt affective flows as a unit of analysis only adds more complexity to the challenges of producing and analyzing the resulting data of affective intensities. So, what research methods could I use to follow these flows of affect and understand these affective intensities throughout their process of traveling and shaping bodies? Firstly, I adopted the ethnographic approach in order to foreground the sensemaking processes between culture and its manifestations. Since I assume here that affect is both relational and culturally laden, the ethnographic approach enabled me to interpret the social amalgamations being observed (Van Maanen, 2011) as affective manifestations within that culture. In addition, I adopted techniques of autoethnography (Minowa, Visconti, & Maclaran, 2012). They helped me to sensitize how I make sense of the surfaces of my own body as they are mediated by affect. They also helped me sensitize myself as both a Brazilian and a Swedish PhD student studying a Brazilian context that is linked to a global phenomenon. It helped me to make the familiar unfamiliar, and vice-versa. The autoethnographic techniques helped me to reflect, compare, and understand how my body acts and reacts in São Paulo and Stockholm. By comparing and reflecting on their
similarities and differences, I was able to understand some particularities of how I read bodies differently in São Paulo. Finally, I also adopted techniques of affective methodologies. They also helped me to be more reflexive about my bodily surfaces and be more sensitive to embodied affective reactions of others and mine. Consequently, they also helped me to have insights about how affect can travel differently according to different bodily readings. Below, I discuss these methods separately and their role in the design of this study.

Ethnography

This research is an ethnographic account. I focus the account on the story of urban collectives that are facing and resisting gentrification in the city center of São Paulo, Brazil. The adoption of ethnography finds resonance with Van Maanen’s definition of ethnography: “an ethnography is a written representation of a culture (or selected aspects of a culture)” (2011, p. 1). Ethnography is an approach to the sensemaking of linkages of manifestations and culture. It anchors itself in the understanding of the culture of the context being investigated to interpret the social arrangements being observed (Van Maanen, 1979). “Ethnography is about telling social stories” (Murthy, 2008, p. 838). It communicates a social story, as it draws the reader into the daily lives of the participants of that story (ibid.). Ethnographic methods are also considered a proficient approach to depict the minutiae of consumption (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994; Allen, 2002; Kozinets, 2002, Canniford & Shankar 2013, Woermann & Rokka, 2015).

Here, to tell the stories of the urban activists and construct the ethnography field of this study (Murthy, 2008), I favored my focus on their imitations. I have privileged data that encompasses encounters, actions, and reactions of the participants. Since most of their encounters happened through the exchange of e-mails via GoogleGroups, following their affective flows meant following their interactions online, in addition to offline. Thus, the ethnographic field was not delimited by traditional physical configurations (Kozinets, 1998; Murthy, 2008). The ethnographic field was thus constructed by taking into consideration their digital interaction as well as their physical interaction. Regarding their digital interaction, I produced data mainly from early 2014 until late 2016. Throughout these three years, I followed conversations, media, events, and social networks related to these urban collectives.
In addition, I produced data whilst physically present in São Paulo in 2014/2015 and 2015/2016 for short periods (around two to three weeks each time). In the second semester of 2016, I spent 4 months in the city of São Paulo in order to produce additional data. Thus, this ethnographic account is both a compilation and a combination of intertwined online and offline interactions and stories. It is also a collaboration between researcher and researched group. My presence in the field, whether online or offline, has been a continuous negotiation.

In addition, prolonged prior engagement in the context chosen has assured an understanding of and sensitivity to cultures and dynamics that surround the collectives (Martin & Schouten, 2013). I moved to São Paulo in 2000 to an apartment that was located near to the area this research is concerned with. I lived in that same area for more than 10 years (between early 2000 until late 2013). In September 2012, I became aware of BxC together with neighboring initiatives at an event during which they were discussing the role of the city for people in São Paulo. Since 2013, I had already been following BxC out of curiosity. They became the central collective of this doctoral research in early 2015. By then, I was already embedded in the empirical context enough to understand the minutiae of many cultural meanings of that time and space (Darton, 1983). For example, it was already ‘natural’ for me to understand and laugh at their jokes, to remember some stories they cite as past accounts, to share the indignation of other stories they tell via e-mails or during interviews.

By adopting ethnography as my main method, I tried to (a) tell the stories of these urban collectives as collective bodies and (b) emphasize how cultural signs attached to bodies, in that context, also enable the shaping of those bodies. The cultural signs attached to bodies resonate with the directions and orientations of affective flows. The directions and orientations of affective flows are then not seen as personal impasses. They are seen as culturally-laden, since they depend on past experiences and impressions (Ahmed, 2004). For example, throughout the process of this research, I realized how I do not read the Brazilian police bodies as safety, whereas I do read Swedish police bodies as safety. In Brazil, my body ‘automatically’ freezes when I see a policeman. In the Brazilian film of City of God, the opening scene illustrates this ‘freezing of the body’ interlinked with the complex reading of bodies of policemen and outlaws, as both are read as unsafe. In the opening scene of the movie, two characters find themselves between policemen and outlaws. Then, one of the
two explains that, in the City of God, it is common to find yourself in between the police and the outlaws. In such cases, there is no escape. The character then uses a popular quote: *Se correr o bicho pega, se ficar o bicho come* (“If you run away they get you. If you stay, they get you too”). This quote is generally used when there are no good alternatives: all reactions are doomed. In this case, there is no ‘safe direction’ between those bodies: both policemen and outlaws are read as unsafe. The dilemma about where to run, in case you find yourself between the police and outlaws, is almost a Brazilian folk tale. In informal circles, sometimes we laugh as we state that we do not know which side is better to run towards whenever we find ourselves in similar circumstances.

This scene shows how embodied affective intensities depend on cultural signs already circulating and being impressed on bodies. Whereas a Brazilian can freeze in such situation, a Swedish person would probably run towards the police. In Sweden, the police body is impressed with more signs of security and protection than Brazil. Throughout the process of this research, I focused on how these processes of readings of bodies are interlinked with the perception of bodies. In understanding the nuances of these processes, I have also been influenced by autoethnographic methods. They helped me to raise my sensitivity to the contrasting positions in which I currently find myself – being a Brazilian woman and being a Swedish doctoral researcher. Living in Sweden for five years allowed me to look at my own culture with other eyes, and this change also influenced the way I look at the urban collectives in São Paulo and the way I live when I am in São Paulo. Below, I further discuss autoethnography as a method.

**Autoethnography**

Autoethnography is a research method that refutes the detachment of the researcher with the people being researched. Instead, it embraces intimate involvement, engagement and embodied participation. The aim is to make the familiar more familiar to others. It is a form of impressionist ethnography (Van Maanen, 2011) that takes us into lived experiences in a sensitive and embodied way (Denshire, 2014). It is both an evocative and intimate account that draws upon the own experience of researcher with the aim to extend sociological understandings (Denshire, 2014). Ellis and Bochner (2006) summarize autoethnography in the passage below. In the passage, they emphasize
the method as a way to show bodies affecting and being affected, and a way to affect and be affected:

Autoethnography shows struggle, passion, embodied life, and the collaborative creation of sense-making in situations in which people have to cope with dire circumstances and loss of meaning. Autoethnography wants the reader to care, to feel, to empathize, and to do something, to act. It needs the researcher to be vulnerable and intimate. Intimacy is a way of being, a mode of caring, and it shouldn’t be used as a vehicle to produce distanced theorizing. (…) Our enthusiasm for autoethnography was instigated by a desire to move ethnography away from the gaze of the distanced and detached observer toward the embrace of intimate involvement, engagement, and embodied participation. (ibid., p. 433-434)

Autoethnography has then enabled me be reflexive about my own experiences of affecting and being affected, to think of these experiences as relational encounters within that specific culture. For example, in the findings section, I discuss how I felt comfort in some of the events throughout my participatory observations, how I felt hope when I was flying home before discovering my dad had already died, and how I got excited when I was in the middle of a crowd. Still, I do not share these stories merely to relate my life (I assure you!). Here, I write about others and myself in a larger story. The boundaries between me as a researcher, them as participants of this study, and our culture are presented as porous (see section 5.3 for further discussion about my position and the position of the participants researched). This is because autoethnography emphasizes zones of contact.

The autoethnographic method assumes that “our stories are not our own. In the process of writing about ourselves, we also write about others” (Sparkes, 2013, p. 207), and vice-versa. Here, the personal experiences of the researcher come to the fore in order to understand the self as a cultural-social amalgamation. The researcher’s own physical sensations and feelings, as well as thoughts, are central to the data corpus. By working with the researcher’s own intimacy and vulnerability, the subtleties of the cultural fabric come to the fore. Autoethnography helped me to make sense of myself and my own bodily surfaces, as well as my directions and orientations. It made me more sensitive to how and when I perceive ‘my’ surfaces to be ‘mine’ and ‘ours’, or when I create distances in relation to ‘you’ or ‘them’. Autoethnography then offers intimate and detailed evocations of life, of ways of life. The assumption is that by exploring a particular life, we can understand a way of life. For that matter,
it is also considered a good approach to emphasize the political dimensions of different ways of living. This approach then helped me to understand the ways of life of many participants: a way of living in which they evoke a different way of life in São Paulo at the same time as they resist a way of living that is approaching through the gentrification of the city center.

In addition to autoethnographic techniques, I also adopted techniques of affective methodologies. These two methodologies overlap (To, 2015). For example, Ferdinand’s (2015) autoethnographic account of her experiences as an African American woman in Bukina Faso resonates with affective methodologies (Knudsen & Stage, 2015). Her exceedingly intimate autoethnographic accounts overlap with affective methodologies. In the study, she recalls two experiences of her time in Burkina Faso that had a very profound effect on her and helped her to understand her position and herself as a sociocultural amalgam with both African and American backgrounds. In the study, she shares two experiences: one about the day she dressed and felt easy in her own African skin in comparison to her ‘usual’ dressing in the United States and the other about a conversation with her host father about her African name. She shares these two experiences in a very personal tone. Through these two intimate experiences, she reveals her own vulnerabilities and reviews her own sensemaking of what home used to mean and became. The two personal experiences she recounts were moments that ‘glowed’ during her research process. That is, they are the moments that Knudsen and Stage (2015) describe as ‘glowing data’. Below, I further discuss glowing data, affective methodologies, and how I used them in this study.

**Affective Methodologies**

I adopted affective methodologies for similar reasons to why I also adopted autoethnographic techniques. I adopted them as a way to pay more attention to and reflect on where and how affect can be traced, approached, and understood – both in terms of others and myself (Knudsen & Stage, 2015). I adopted affective methodologies in order to be more reflexive about embodied instances of affect and be more sensitive about my own body, my bodily reactions, and my perception of bodily surfaces. Here then “affect is disclosed in atmospheres, fleeting fragments and traces, gut feelings and embodied reactions and in felt intensities and sensations” (Blackman, 2015, p. 25). Nevertheless, I do not see affective methodologies as an alternative approach or a
different collection of methods for researching affect. Instead, I see them as practical tips on how to research affect. Since researching affect encompasses many challenges for being bodily, for fleeting and immaterial instances situated in between entities and amalgams, I followed a series of tips that Knudsen and Stage (2015) collected along with affective scholars that have already faced these challenges of trying to come up with innovative ways to research affect. By following their thoughts and practices, their accounts have also helped me to reflect upon the position of my body with a capacity to affect and be affected, as well as my position as a researcher (see section 4.3.1). In other words, they helped me to increase my ‘methodological sensitivity’ in Blackman’s words (2015, p. 27), or ‘affective attuning’ in Trivelli’s words (2015, p. 120).

Blackman (2015) and Trivelli (2015) suggest research practices of ‘affective attuning’ constitute crucial forms of listening to and analyzing data in an unconventional way. Their method of researching data searches for presences in absences, whether in contexts of hearing voices or remembering ghosts from the past. Both scholars try to produce data and make sense of what is not seen, but is nevertheless still present and producing effects. By tracing the blanks, gaps, and absences, they are able to defy spatial and temporal containment. Whereas Blackman brings ‘haunted data’ to the present, Trivelli embraces absences as hermeneutical voids. In her ethnography about remembering the initial work of the psychiatrist Basaglia in the city of Gorizia and the impact his reallocation to Trieste had in the collective memory of the city, the “lack of textual sources became a productive element in the analysis of data around a remembering crisis” (Trivelli, 2015, p. 124). For example, the decreasing number of BxC e-mails became louder and louder to my ears. Trivelli points out that the more data are missing, “the heavier their weight for their haunting potential is produced by their having been erased, hidden, removed, and rewritten many times across the decades” (p. 124). Even though it was not a matter of decades, it was in the absence of e-mails that I could start tracing the presence of the participants through others configurations.

Thereby, I follow Blackman and Trivelli’s advice that the data should not encompass only what can be visible and audible, it should also be extended to the undocumented, obscured, and irrational. It should “encompass gaps, erasures, emoting bodies, collective fantasies, objects, and anxieties” (Trivelli 2015, p. 133). It should also encompass the researcher’s own affective states throughout the research. For example, as in her reading the letters of patients
of Basaglia, my own bodily reactions reading the e-mails of BxC became a productive element in the analysis of the data. By reading their e-mails, I could feel my body trembling in excitement, relaxing in comfort, tensing in concern. Throughout the production and analysis of the data, I then realized how I became anxious and euphoric when I was following some conversations, or how sometimes I became frustrated. I became frustrated because something had happened. Sometimes I also became frustrated just because I was not in São Paulo at that moment. Or, how I felt guilty realizing that I had been living in São Paulo on occasions that they mention, but that I had not gone to the events. Throughout the reading of their e-mails, I felt very guilty at having mostly joined in the crowd moments only, the joyful moments of some parties, ‘the easy moments’. Other times, I was shocked and surprised at some of the directions in which the discussion went. I got upset when some topics disappeared without resolution. I was astonished with some of the escalations of affective intensities as the e-mails spiraled and took many directions, that I could only think “this is so much better than any telenovela”. I now remember this time of reading and analyzing the e-mails as my favorite time during the whole research process. It was a time I also became excited and hopeful about my own research project. As they became motivated with some initiatives, I also became motivated with my own research. My own responses can thus be seen as enactments of ‘affective attuning’ between them and me.

Lastly, I highlight five summarizing analytical strategies proposed by Knudsen and Stage (2015) for producing affective data and identifying traces of affective processes in empirical material:

1. formal or stylistic characteristics of communication in affect (e.g. outburst, broken language, hyperbole, redundancy)
2. the intense building of assemblages (consisting of, for example, texts, actions, images, bodies, and technologies)
3. non-verbal language and gestures of affected bodies
4. communicative content about experienced or attributed affect (made by, for example, informants, the researcher him-/herself or in existing texts)
5. the rhythmic intensification, entrainment (through a common pulse) or destabilization of affective energy in relation to specific spaces and (online) sites. (p. 9)

I have then tried to identify these traces of affective processes throughout the data corpus. For example, through the e-mails, videos, events, and interviews, I tried to be attentive to outbursts, broken language, hyperboles, redundancies
of the participants and myself. I also tried to be attentive to their bodily reactions, whether by punching the table in an interview, by having other conversations during the interview, or by their (and my own) bodily placing in events. I also tried to be attentive to the rhythm of their digital and physical interactions, through intensifications, dissipations, deviations, breaks, reconnections, and reintensifications. I have tried to produce the data using these five analytical strategies in order to trace the affective processes throughout the research process. Below, I discuss further the research data and data production process. I focus the discussion on: (a) how affect resonates with the data corpus and (b) the description of the data corpus.

4.2.3. Data Production

In this subsection, I discuss the data production process through the description of the data corpus. But before I start to describe the corpus data, I discuss how affect resonates with the data corpus. The data corpus here works through affect, instead of containing affect. As Ahmed (2004) points out, “we need to avoid assuming that emotions are ‘in’ the materials we assemble (which would transform emotions into a property)” (p. 19). In order to produce data through affect, Ahmed (2004) chooses not to produce texts with her intervention, assuming that the researcher is able to induce and capture emotional accounts. She then privileges texts already produced. Like Ahmed, a great part of the data produced in this study was already available as scattered information. They are e-mails, documents, videos, and social media discussions. However, unlike her, I also produced additional data through interviews and encounters. Still, I did not interview people in a way that foregrounded them relating their emotions to me. In traditional interviews about affect, the interviewee discusses emotions in the form of speech that is translated and then produced into another text (ibid).

---

5 Data is produced rather than collected within the stream of affective scholars I follow. The researcher produces data since the selection of sources is a decision of the researcher as well as the criteria for the selection. The emphasis of what is relevant to the iterative process of analysis of the data is also part of the production of the researcher. This position challenges the predominant methodological notion of data collection, which assumes that data is ‘out there’ to be collected by the researcher. Nonetheless, this debate is beyond the scope of this research. In this study, I adopt the nomenclature of data production since it is often used by affective scholars even though the term ‘data collection’ is the discursive norm within CCT.
Rather, the interviews of this study were adopted to further understand some affective flows and directions. They are seen as an additional way to understand some dispositions, frequencies, and rhythms. I observed onomatopoeias, punches in the air, laughs, seriousness, and gestures of excitement (Hill et al., 2014). In our encounters (whether in public events or in interviews), I tried to be sensitive to the affective dispositions and frequencies of the participants. During our physical interactions, I could not only identify some affective dispositions, but they also helped me to confirm affective dispositions that I had traced previously through their e-mails. I then complemented affective data already produced by participants and media (e.g., documents, e-mails, online streaming of events, recorded videos) with producing other affective data (e.g., interviews, participant observation). Below, I describe further the data corpus. I start the description with the BxC Google Group, which contains the emails the group exchanged from the beginning of 2011 until 2018. This online group is a communicative space centered on fast and instant interaction about multiple and non-consensus issues, which makes it an ideal place for producing affective data (Knudsen & Stage, 2015). It is “characterized by ruptures and redundancy, which may be read as signs of the presence of affective force” (ibid., p. 20).

**BxC Google Group / Emails**

Google Groups was the predominant media of communication of BxC, and many other collectives also used this platform to facilitate their discussions. Google Groups is an online platform for creating email-based groups, which facilitates the discussion of the participants by sharing e-mails. Besides BxC, the groups CCD, Folk Parties, and Hacker Bus also used the platform. Nevertheless, I have focused the data production on the BxC group. As soon as I selected BxC as part of my empirical context (early 2015), I presented myself in the Google Group of BxC. I then expressed my interest in researching them for the doctoral project and asked their permission to follow the group and their activities. When I visited São Paulo for a few months in late 2016, I sent another e-mail mentioning the evolution of the study and the position of BxC in this updated version. Thereby, I disclosed myself as a doctoral researcher for the group and I was granted permission to study them and their activities. Their exchange in the platform comprises of 3560 topics⁶; and each topic can

---

⁶ This number was updated in January 22nd, 2018.
encompass between 1-150 emails. I have read and interpreted every e-mail exchanged. I also saved their exchange of e-mails in PDF format. I discarded some of the e-mails that I did not consider relevant as affective occurrences. They were irrelevant advertisements and spam, and specific bureaucratic e-mails (e.g., to book a meeting, including the selection of a place and the time for the encounter). Still, I saved most of the e-mails.

In these e-mails, I gave privileged focus to the interactions of tension and relief, the emphatic responses to intimate accounts of events and personal struggles, the sharing of reflections of their situation. In these e-mails the participants shared a lot of personal dilemmas, anxieties, reflections, and emotions. Nevertheless, the e-mails were read as entangled. I did not read them linking the testimonials to this participant or other. I read them as cascades of flows of affect. I was attentive to the intensifications of e-mails, the pauses and re-takes of previous conversations, the exchanges with different urban collectives, the absences and silences, the outbursts, the multiple directions. In this way, I also tried to crisscross the different temporalities and spatialities that Internet entanglements can make visible (Blackman, 2015). The texts of those e-mails then became “traces of affective moments and unification processes” (Knudsen & Stage, 2015, p. 18). To be more specific, they became traces of affective moments, of continuous alignments and misalignments of affective intensities, of continuous affective synchronization, desynchronization, and resynchronization. In sum, this collection of e-mails was my main source in the data production process, as I assumed here that:

Texts linked closely to social practices seem to be privileged material because of their ability to (through either content and form) track bodily rhythms and automatisms as well as cognitive responses to affective forces. Following this, the textually productive immediacy of social media (e.g., internet forums, YouTube, Twitter) and mobile media (e.g., digital video cams, smartphones, iPads) make these media particularly interesting resources for affect research” (Knudsen & Stage, 2015, p. 13).

**Interviews**

I also conducted 20 interviews with 16 participants. Two participants were interviewed three times. These two participants had been active participants since the beginning of BxC and they were interviewed across the duration of
the research. Most of the interviews lasted around one hour. The shortest interview lasted 30 minutes, whereas the longest interview lasted two hours. The interviews were open discussions about understanding how the participants got involved in the collectives, how they related to other participants of that collective as well as other collectives, and how they related to the city center. Below, I present a descriptive list of the interviewees according to the urban collective or organization that I mainly associate them with:

**Table 1 – List of interviews**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Collective / Organization</th>
<th>Type of connection</th>
<th>Number of interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Thiago</td>
<td>Baixo Centro</td>
<td>Participant of BxC</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Lucas</td>
<td>Baixo Centro</td>
<td>Participant of BxC</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Rafael</td>
<td>Baixo Centro</td>
<td>Participant of BxC</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Fernanda</td>
<td>Baixo Centro</td>
<td>Donator of BxC crowdfunding campaign of BxC</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Daiane</td>
<td>Festa Junina Minhocão</td>
<td>Donator of crowdfunding campaign of FJM</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Miguel</td>
<td>Catarse</td>
<td>Founder of crowdfunding platform (used by BxC Festival)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Jorge</td>
<td>Barulhinho.org</td>
<td>Participant of events of urban activism collects</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Aurora</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Participant of events of BxC and neighboring collectives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Rodrigo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Participant of events of BxC and neighboring collectives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Ricardo</td>
<td>BzJari</td>
<td>Participant of urban activism collectives and BxC festival</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Laura</td>
<td>BPV</td>
<td>Participant of urban activism collective</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Aline</td>
<td>o Ganguorra</td>
<td>Participant of urban activism collective</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Ingrid</td>
<td>Las Magrelas</td>
<td>Participant of urban activism collective</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Benjamin</td>
<td>Lanchonete</td>
<td>Founding participant of neighboring collective</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Margarida</td>
<td>Pimp My Carroça</td>
<td>Team member of urban activism collective</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Guilherme</td>
<td>FAU-USP</td>
<td>Scholar and activist of urban issues in São Paulo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A description of the general structure of the interviews now follows. In the beginning of each interview I briefly introduced myself. I then explained that I would like to first talk about them and how their story started with the ‘X’ collective and then after our discussion I could talk about my research specifically and they could ask me any questions. With that opening line, our conversation in general developed with almost no problems. They spontaneously talked about BxC (and their ‘own’ main collective when that was the case), other urban activism collectives in the city, moments of excitement and the frustration and changes that occurred within the collectives, their feelings about it, and so on. Then, after they already talked about themselves and the interview was heading towards its end, I explained my research on that stage.

---

*Some of the names of the participants are pseudonyms and some of the names presented above are their real names. I requested permission from all the interviewees to use their names in this table. Most participants replied and agreed to having their real names used. However, some participants did not reply or were not able to be reached for a variety of reasons. I have used pseudonyms for these participants.*
how I was seeing the collectives, which theories I was thinking about using, and I asked for their opinion about it. From all interviews, there were two exceptions that did not follow this progression. In one interview, the rhythm of the interview felt to me a bit broken in comparison to the other interviews. The participant asked many questions about my research from the start and it did not seem that the participant was talking freely. S/he seemed suspicious towards research. In another interview, the participant talked and seemed comfortable but also seemed very distracted. The end of the interview was abrupt, as the participant had another engagement directly afterwards. Nonetheless, the interviews in general had an ‘easy atmosphere’.

Most of the interviews were conducted in places around the city center of São Paulo in Brazil. Six interviews were conducted via Skype when I was in Stockholm and the interviewees were in São Paulo. Three of these interviewees (via Skype) are friends of mine so I already had a relationship with them. All interviews were conducted in Portuguese. Even though I recorded all interviews, I only transcribed the first five interviews since I realized that by listening to them I could grasp, remember, feel, and analyze them in a more ‘embodied’ way. I then opted to listen to them instead of reading them on a piece of paper. This way, I could be more attentive and reflexive to the sound of the punches in the table, the cars and urban noise in the background, the silent moments. By listening to the interviews repeatedly, it also became easier to visualize and feel the interviews again. I could then remember gestures, the position of the participants, the place we were seated. During the interviews and when I was then listening to them, I was attentive to changes in voices, in pauses, in laughs as well as any other affective expressions.

*Participant observation*

I did not participate in any BxC event *per se*, as BxC was already fairly inactive by the time I was visiting São Paulo in 2016 as a doctoral researcher. However, I went to many places, parties, and events shared by BxC and other collectives, such as Voodooohop and Santo Forte before starting my doctoral studies. For example, I was a frequent attendee at the Voodooohop events from 2010 until 2013. Still, in 2016, I participated physically in events that were happening in São Paulo during that period. Below, I present a list of the eleven events in which I participated:
In addition to these eleven events that I attended physically, I have followed a series of two events online via streaming. The two events, which were called *Inquietudes urbanas - Ativismos na cidade: fricções entre o público e o privado* (“Urban Restlessness - Activism in the city: friction between the public and the private”), happened in August 17th and 24th, 2015. I also recorded the streaming of these two events, and tried to be attentive to the affective dynamics and dispositions of the participants during the events. In some interviews, I also talked about these two events as they gathered many participants of the urban collectives. I also watched many videos of other events that happened throughout 2012 and 2016, but here I consider them audiovisual documents (see below) rather than participant observation.

I also visited *Cracolândia* (“Crackland”) once with a team of psychiatric care givers from the municipal health program called *Braços Abertos* (“Open Arms”). This program was active from January 2014 until December 2016, during the administration of Fernando Haddad in São Paulo. With the team, I could walk inside the ‘flux’, which is a tented area where addicts buy drugs from dealers⁸. Even though I have walked around Crackland many times, as one of my favorite restaurants is nearby, the ‘flux’ is considered a no-go area unless you go there to buy crack or you get permission to enter (via official authorization or by following an insider). Even though Crackland is not exactly my focus, the area is often discussed in the gentrification process of the city center. It became an emblematic area of the social dispute that underlies the gentrification process. In this visit, I could relate to many of the accounts that were shared by the participants throughout their affective processes.

---

⁸ The Guardian has organized a collection of articles about São Paulo and the social urban issues the city is dealing. One of the articles focuses on Crackland and ‘the flux’: (https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/nov/27/inside-crackland-open-air-crack-market-sao-paulo).
Finally, I have also attended a number of political protests that happened in São Paulo in 2013 and 2016. My attendance in the protests of 2016 is part of the data production process, whereas my attendance in 2013 is seen here as part of my prolonged engagement with the empirical context. In both periods, I was living in the surroundings of Paulista Avenue, which is one of the main places for protests in São Paulo. In both cases, I also had an advantageous view of the protests from the apartment window. They became a part of my quotidian life. I joined some of them, I passed by others, and I observed a few from my window. I also followed these events by seeing them as a cascade of affective flows. I tried to be attentive in how they intensified, how they spread, and how they dissipated. I tried to be attentive to my own bodily reactions and dispositions throughout these protests. I also tried to trace these protests with the collectives, as many participants of the collectives were also activists in many protests in 2013 and 2016.

**Documents**

In addition to the e-mails that they exchanged, I have selected, watched, read, and analyzed many other documents that had already been produced. There are pictures and videos of events, media articles, blog articles, books, governmental reports, think tank reports, and guidelines. I have selected many media articles about the gentrification process in the city center of São Paulo, the context of São Paulo throughout the process, the protests that happened in 2013 and 2016, and other related themes. Still, I produced the majority of the documents via e-mails and interviews. Through the e-mail exchange, I could access many documents that had also been accessed by the participants, such as governmental reports, think tank reports, news, and guidelines. I tried to trace the connections of these documents not only with the e-mails, but also with other documents, interviews, and observations. I have also selected many documents through interviews. As I shared my ideas about the research, the participants also shared books, brochures, and documents that they thought

---

could help me. Thus, many of these documents have either been found or produced by the participants. From this collection of documents, I highlight the audiovisual material that they recorded during their own encounters. Many encounters and events of the collectives have been recorded and made available online\textsuperscript{10}. Here I adopted the same approach I did with the rest of data: I have watched many of them repeatedly, made notes about them and included my own affective dispositions, and tried to trace affective connections, disconnections, and reconnections.

**Summing up**

Summing up, the data corpus of this study is composed through the exchange of e-mails of participants, interviews, participant observation, audiovisual materials, and written documents. Most of them are in Portuguese, which is my mother-tongue. The main data source was the BxC Google Group. Thereby, the main source of data is emic accounts of participants and my own emic accounts when I was producing and analyzing them. In the CCT field, the presentation of emic data is predominant. Through emic data, CCT scholars have presented consumers as active agents reworking commercial meanings to operate their identity projects. The voice of the consumer is presented as central, since the individual consumer is perceived as the epicenter of the phenomenon. In this study, by working with emic accounts, I present such accounts as intertwined flows of affect. In other words, I present them as evoking instances of affecting and being affected. Below, I discuss briefly the data analysis. Since I have already discussed it through the methods I used and the data production process (see above), I highlight the analytical process as an integrative process of reading theories, selecting, reading, listening and watching data, and writing about the research.

\textsuperscript{10} I highlight the following material for English speakers to grasp the kind of videos I am describing above. For Baixo Centro: https://vimeo.com/61051210. For Festa Junina do Minhocão: https://goo.gl/T5mLq7. For Queer City: https://vimeo.com/215957802. Please note that, in this specific video, my presence during the data production process is documented by the participants.
4.2.4. Data Analysis

The analysis of the data has involved a reflective and even surprising learning process concerning my own body, my bodily surfaces, my affective dispositions in relation to São Paulo and Stockholm, my perception of Brazil as my culture, my memories of living in São Paulo. The analysis of the data has also involved a more typical iterative process of interpreting and refining the research problem, sharpening new research questions, producing additional data, and refuting theoretical concepts as well as finding more suitable theoretical concepts. Through an on-going process, I could continuously confirm, refute, and refine emerging interpretations (Parmentier & Fischer, 2014). The data analysis process was then integrated with the processes of theoretical refinement, data production (Trivelli, 2015), and the writing of the study (Gibbs, 2015). These all happened in concert. Thereby, I have complemented the more traditional type of analytical process in the hermeneutic tradition in consumer research (Arnold & Fischer, 1994) with auto/affective methodological analyses. Below, I disclose further how I see my own position in this research as well as that of the participants.

4.3. Methodological positions

In this third and last part of the chapter, I disclose my reflection on my own position as a researcher as well as how I see the position of the participants in the study. I can anticipate that I see them as active participants throughout the research. They are not seen only as part of the data, but some of them were also participants during the analytical process of this research. I now share reflections regarding my own position as a researcher writing an ethnography.

4.3.1. My position as an ethnographic researcher

In ethnographic studies, in order to understand the culture a researcher should aim to understand the norms and practices of that culture. The researcher should be part of the culture, or become part of it. This belonging, even if there are different degrees, allows for an understanding of the culture and thereby enables the researcher to produce a thick description. Facing these methodological recommendations, I kept asking myself: do I belong to these
collectives? Or even, do I belong to any of them? Can I consider myself part of it? Am I equipped to provide a thick description of these collectives? This on-going questioning was derived from a quest for understanding within boundaries. But, what is left for me as a researcher when I want to believe that the boundaries are porous and changing all the time? If I am questioning the boundaries of the collectives, how could I belong when there is no belonging? I found peace in resonance rather than belonging. Or rather, we found connection in resonance.

Resonance and transit are two words that better translate my position as a researcher. In this study, we were transiting in flows, crossings, bifurcations, and nodes. In some of these flows, I had already been in reverberation since early 2000, but only later realized. During the research process the empirical context emerged. Nonetheless, I realized later in the process how much I had already been immersed in many of the arenas of transit of the collectives. For example, some of the stories that participants discussed at one of the events in which I participated during the Queer City program in September 2016 overlap with the stories of my transit in São Paulo when I moved there in 2000. In this event series, there was a city walk tour to discuss the patrimonial heritage of LGBT community. It was only then that I realized that many of the descriptions resonated with what I had experienced there in early 2000. We were hanging out in the same places, we had similar narratives about those places. Also, in all events I participated in during this doctoral research (with one exception), there was always a previous acquaintance. These encounters were not coincidental. São Paulo is not a small city where you are always bumping into acquaintances. It is a city of 18 million people. Still, there we were: same places, multiple affects, different names, overlapping surfaces. Our paths were intertwined more than I had previously assumed.

Hence, my presence was never in the core of these collectives, but in their flows. Some flows were more central, some flows more peripheral. Some flows were dislocated in time and space. In some flows, we were closer and active. In other flows, I was more distant and passive, like other ‘voyeurs’ (as some active participants of the BxC group call the less engaged or unknown participants). Does that mean that we are not part of the same ‘crowd’? No, it does not. We were part of the same crowd. We shared the radiation rather than boundaries. We shared transient surfaces. My transits resonated with several of their transits. Some of these transits have been going on since the early 2000s. Some of these transits emerged only in late 2016. Throughout this time
frame, there have been multiple crossings, alignments, and misalignments. My position in this study, therefore, was not still. Together, we flew.

In the next section, I continue the reflection on how I see and position the participants in this research. I focus the reflection on how their role is not restricted to providing an emic perspective. Their interest and familiarity to social theories enables them to also contribute with an etic perspective. Thus, the division of emic and etic data is blurry here.

4.3.2. The position of the participants

In this study, the affective emic data can be seen as contaminated with affective etic data. Most of the participants can be described as intellectuals since academic literacy permeates many of their interactions. For example, in a tour that I participated in the city center, one participant was holding (and probably reading) a book by Bataille. The theme of another event was (re)sentiment, based on the reflections of Brazilian scholars influenced by Claudine Haroche. In the exchange of BxC e-mails, participants often used the names of prominent social theorists in their discussions to reinforce a point. One of BijaRi’s experiments was inspired by Foucault’s biopolitics. In BxC’s own description of the group on their website they cite Rosalyn Deutsche and Chantal Mouffe. Many of them attended an event with David Harvey when he launched a book in Brazil. In a debate promoted with many collectives, social theorists were cited often. One participant also read two pages of a class given by Roland Barthes. The continuous academic presence in the interactions always both impressed and intrigued me. Why did they keep turning to theories? Why do these theories seem to permeate their interactions? Why did theories seem to comfort them? The participants also seem to engage with emic and etic interpretations, interlacing these viewpoints into their daily lives in order to understand their own contexts as well as the context of the context. They are concerned with understanding the complex cultural systems and power relations that permeate their relations, actions and struggles. Their affective daily experiences are permeated with academic understanding and reflexivity. They are constantly discussing their actions and struggles using social theories.

In many interviews, the participants seemed open to and comfortable with discussing BxC, their feelings, the problems, and the glories. Yet, they seemed worried about theories. They have shown a lot of curiosity in the theories I am
using and how I connect the themes with the theories. At the end of interviews, we generally discussed how I was relating BxC, gentrification, and theories. For example, in one interview, I was explaining how I wanted to understand collective bodies not as a sum of individuals but as a sum of flows, and the interviewee then instinctively asked: “Oh, like Deleuze?” I agreed and we started to discuss it further. At the ends of two other distinct interviews, we had been discussing the differences between adopting Tarde instead of the multitude of Hardt and Negri. In both cases, the participants were enthusiasts of the multitude. Therefore, the emic affective accounts of the participants are contaminated with etic affective accounts. Both the researcher and the participants are engaged with often-intertwined emic and etic interpretations. The separation of emic and etic has thus become problematic. However, I do not have the intention of resolving this contamination. Instead, I have tried to leverage this contamination throughout the data production and analysis process.

Nevertheless, their story is much more exciting than I portray here. In this study, I did transform their story into another language: the language of analysis. I did lose some of the very qualities that make a story a story (Ellis & Bochner, 2006). Still, I hope I was able to find a middle ground between the activism in the streets and the academic style. In the next chapter I focus on a description of the participants. To be more precise, I focus on their description as packs – that is, the urban collectives resisting gentrification. Even though their description as empirical context can also be considered part of the research design, I believe that they deserve a chapter of their own.
In this fifth chapter, I present the urban activism collectives resisting gentrification in São Paulo. I center the study on BxC, but only to unfold the discussion into a broader reach of urban collectives. The centrality of BxC is both a methodological recourse and a writing resource. This choice aims to facilitate the elucidation of the empirical context: the gentrification process in São Paulo, Brazil. São Paulo is the 5th biggest city in the world according to population size (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2018). The high concentration of people in this urban context emphasizes both the imitation and counter-imitation processes. Whereas the high urban concentration highlights the imitative flows, the disputes happening over that central territory during the gentrification process highlight opposing imitative flows. In the context of the gentrification process in São Paulo, or more specifically in the context of resistance to gentrification, I could follow both the alignments and misalignments of affective flows and interpret how the collectives, as packs and as crowds, are made and unmade through felt surfaces.

The figure below (Figure 1) illustrates some of these multiple urban activism collectives and the dynamics between them. The image does not have the aim of offering a precise visual description. Still, it exemplifies how many collectives together compose the empirical context. In the following section, I highlight and describe eight of the urban activism collectives presented in the figure. I start by presenting BxC and then continue with the other selected collectives. They are: (1) Casa da Cultura Digital (CCD, “House of Digital Culture”), (2) Ônibus Hacker (OH, “Hacker Bus”), (3) Casa do Povo (CP, “House of People”), (4) Voodoohop (VDH), (5) Festa Junina no Minhocão (FJM, “Folk Parties of June in the Big Worm”), (6) A Batata Precisa de Você (BPV, “The Potato Needs You”), and (7) BijaRi.
5.0. Baixo Centro (BxC)

This study takes its starting point in late 2011, when some residents of these central neighborhoods of São Paulo formed gatherings to prove that the region was “alive” and not in need of the aforementioned policy-based restructuring. Many of those residents were working, or have worked, at CCD (1). Moved by various movements of public street occupation, this public activism organized to become BxC, or a “collaborative, horizontal, independent and auto-managed street festival conducted by an open network of producers interested in reframing that region of São Paulo downtown area, around the Minhocão viaduct mostly known as “Big Worm”” (Baixo Centro, 2014). As part of the movement, the BxC Festival was also organized with the aim of attracting local residents to its public spaces and reclaiming the city center as a place of enjoyment, instead of a passageway.
The first edition of the festival in 2012 involved about 100 cultural events in the BxC region over the course of one week. There were music concerts, theater performances, visual arts exhibitions, parties, workshops, urban interventions, and street performances. With a budget of R$ 13,440 (approximately USD 5,160), they were able to raise R$ 17,103 (around USD 6,568) through the main Brazilian crowdfunding platform called Catarse. For the second event in 2013, they also used the same platform and raised R$ 72,750 (around USD 27,938) with 1,920 participants. By the 2014 event, the potency had started to fade away. The organizers decided not to crowdfund that year. They would allow people to use the production material already available, instead of purchasing new material specifically for that year’s event. Very few activities were registered. Throughout 2014, BxC as a collective was in an intensive reshaping process whereas BxC as a brand was becoming renowned.

In 2015, many changes to BxC were already evident. Some participants had left the collective or were not very active. Many participants were cautious about the possibility of their activities being coopted. Some participants had joined adjacent causes or started new and related projects. As BxC, the collective has been fairly inactive since early 2016. Rather than suggesting its dissolution, I would like to argue that BxC has reconfigured through different transmutations. Many participants of BxC have become part of other forms of collective action with numerous overlapping causes, from popular housing to public gardens. These collectives seem to be emergent: they overlap, collaborate, oppose, and criticize each other. They are simultaneously and continuously connecting, disconnecting, and reconnecting with each other.

There seems to be a shared and alternating feeling of latency and potency. There have been numerous shifts to other collectives. There have also been instances of disorientation across different collectives, as well as instances of re-orientation towards a common cause. Nevertheless, they seem to manifest in flows of affect that are in constant reverberation. Even though some participants have dispersed on completely different paths, some participants are still trailing around and crossing with each other. Some participants are still trailing paths in constant reverberation. Below, I present the other seven selected collectives. In this section, they can be presented as distinct collectives that trail separate paths. Yet, there are moments where their separation can be very thin and even nonexistent. In the analysis, I hope to be able to sew back these collectives in a way that they can be seen in a continuum, rather than as a selection of fragmented groups and individuals.
5.1. Casa da Cultura Digital (CCD)

*Casa de Cultura Digital* (“House of Digital Culture”) is now an inactive initiative. The members used to define themselves as a connector of the counterculture from the 60s and 70s to the cyber culture of the 21st century. The association with the Brazilian artistic counterculture movement *Tropicália* was not only metaphorical. Claudio Prado and Gilberto Gil, key figures of the *Tropicália* movement were supporting members of the initiative. The project had many journalists, filmmakers, and programmers as members. The participants were engaged with hackerspaces, independent journalism, and public policies for digital culture. Many of the participants of CCD engaged in the inception of BxC. Even though the initial conversations between the participants were focused on cultural occupation, other issues regarding the city space came to the fore as their conversations evolved. Ultimately, BxC emerged as an artistic movement against gentrification and occupation of the (public) streets. Issues of housing, use of public space, transportation, and discriminative police treatment were some of the subjects that permeated their conversations and interactions.

Hence, BxC and CCD overlapped. The two collectives shared many participants as well as many interactions. CCD, which was located in a villa in the *Santa Cecília* neighborhood, was the space where most of the first BxC gatherings happened. Even though both collectives have different Google Groups, the discussion groups were constantly intertwined. Many discussion topics were shared since many issues were shared, from celebrations to complaints. For example, many e-mails from CCD were forwarded, discussed, and answered in the BxC Group. The reverberation between these two collectives was close. It can be argued that BxC emerged from CCD even if such emergence was not exclusive.

5.2. Ônibus Hacker (OH)

The Ônibus Hacker (“Hacker Bus”) follows a parallel trajectory of CCD, even though OH is still active. The project emerged from the Brazilian online community *Transparência Hacker* (TH, “Hacker Transparency”) in 2009. In September 2018 the group’s discussion list counted 215 members, whereas pre-
viously it has counted over 700 members. The shared focus of OH is the promotion of (h)activism in favor of public transparency and open data. According to Pedro Belasco, a software developer and one of the earliest members of the initiative, the OH project was incubated for some time before it came into being. “The idea was that by bringing people together physically, the group’s lobbying would be more efficient” (Heim, 2011). When the participants of OH heard a band was selling its tour bus, they started to think about ways to obtain the financial resources to buy the bus.

In that same year (2011) the first crowdfunding platforms were launched in Brazil. The participants chose the crowdfunding platform Catarse, which had been launched six months previously, to crowdfund the resources to buy the bus and finally make manifest the idea of having a Hacker Bus. Since then, the bus has been active in (h)activism. This initiative was a reference for BxC inception. They seem to have a fraternal relationship with BxC. They raised money around the same time in Catarse. They shared some members, and they still do. The solidarity between them remains. For example, from 2013 to 2015, they also participated in the Festa Junina do Minhocão (FJM, “June Folk Party of Big Worm”) (5), together with BxC and other collectives.

5.3. Casa do Povo (CP)

Casa do Povo (“House of People”) is a cultural non-profit association composed of around a hundred members. It conducts various artistic, cultural, and social initiatives in the neighborhood of Bom Retiro, where it is located and has a story of immigration. The neighborhood of Bom Retiro embraced a large Jewish community at the beginning of the 20th century, during and after the Second World War. A progressive Jewish community living in the neighborhood in the post-war period proposed the creation of a house where they could use a space to interact. They organized a crowdfunding campaign to raise the money and founded the space to first honor those who died during the war and, second, create a space to gather the most avant-garde ideas of the time. The CP opened its doors in 1953 and was an active place for many years. The newspaper Nossa Voz (“Our Voice”) was produced by the CP for many years until it was closed during the era of dictatorship due to its political content. The CP fell into disuse, mirroring the decay and the abandonment of the city center of São Paulo. In 2011, some members decided to renovate it in order
to give continuity to the ideals that permeated its establishment. Since then, the house has been reintegrated to the city’s cultural agenda. The house also hosts groups and collective movements working and developing their processes and activities. Some of them happen in the form of residences, as in the case of *Lote Osso* ("Bone Lot") and *Grupo Maior que Eu* ("Group bigger than me"). Some other collectives also utilize the space for gatherings since it has an open-door policy.

BxC and CP also present some overlaps. Many meetings of BxC took place in the CP. After CCD was deactivated, the possessions that BxC group had bought through the crowdfunding projects for the organization of the festivals were transferred to a room in CP. For a few years, BxC’s material possessions have been stored in the CP in order to be used by other projects. The participants of BxC maintained a control sheet, but there was no formal control. Since the start, the loan scheme was based on trust with representatives recording loans on the sheet. When someone needed an item that was missing, they talked through the discussion forum. From 2016 up to 2018, the sparse communication that remained in the group discussion list relates mostly to such materials and the possibility of them being loaned. To sum up, BxC and CP also seemed to overlap. They shared some spaces, some participants and some materials.

5.4. Voodoohop

Voodoohop defines itself as a hedonistic, contagious, and exuberant art collective. It emerged from a series of underground parties in São Paulo, which started in 2009, when a group of artists from different backgrounds and origins started to use an old squat in the center of São Paulo as a playground for hedonistic experimentation. After a few years of organizing their parties (i.e., Voodoohop and *Gente Que Transa*, "People Who Fuck"), the organizers came to realize that they had become an artistic movement and regarded themselves as a movement. They have developed a network of DJs, performers, video artists, and dancers, with the aim of creating a synesthetic tropical cabaret, whether such happenings take place in abandoned buildings in the middle of the city or in remote idyllic scenes such as waterfalls. Voodoohop hosted some gatherings with the BxC festival. As a collective, the desire of Voodoohop was to promote a glittery explosion to the sounds of Tropical Psychedelia.
Their desire aligned with the desire of BxC to promote dancing in the streets of São Paulo. Whereas one wanted to play music, the other wanted to dance. In some occasions they synchronized some playing and dancing around the city center of São Paulo.

5.5. Festa Junina no Minhocão (FJM)

_Festa Junina no Minhocão_ (FJM; “June Folk Party in the Big Worm”) is a folk party originating in the North East of Brazil that celebrates the nativity of Saint John the Baptist (June 24th). This folk party occurs throughout the entire country from late May to July. Some participants of BxC decided to use the Big Worm viaduct as the space for this traditional folk party. The FJM emerged as a ramification of BxC. Many participants of BxC and FJM were involved in the organization and crowdfunding of the 2015 event, as had also happened in previous years. By 2016, as with BxC, they have also manifested latency. They seem to reverberate closely. For example, the following quotes were retrieved from a statement about FJM written and signed by BxC:

_Baixo Centro is contamination_

A crowd gathered around CCD that kept growing and adding more people, which resulted in the first big event of Baixo Centro, the Festival, emerging through a public call organized by caretorship\(^{11}\).

The articulation of people through a CreativeCommons online platform generously worked for opening up possibilities of collaboration, whether on the wall with the tag #baixocentro or in the program mapping, discussion group list, event planning and production, crowdfunding campaign, etc. Indeed, (it was) a live organism that grew.

In the sequence, even more people who enjoyed the Baixo Centro Festival, counting with an already schemed basis, blazed the trail for the articulation of Saint John [June Parties] of the Big Worm (…)

In a network that authorizes or denies the entry of members, it is easy to control and extirpate those who do not acculturate or think the same way. But this way the learning is not generous, it is a little pot that only exists through its differentiation from the rest. There is no truly collective gain and the result is institutionalization. This is not the idea. (…)

\(^{11}\) This concept of caretorship is discussed further in the subsection 6.1.2 about dis(comfort) - _discomfort as a pushing force_. See page 142.
From this point of view, the caretorship proposed by the movement in the first festival is highly important in counterbalance to the extant “curatorship” of any event, which is a structuring cut with the aim to select and, automatically, to hierarchize. The curatorship, therefore, does not fit in a movement that embraces horizontality. The curatorship calls into question the very exercise of otherness.

5.6. A Batata Precisa de Você (BPV)

A *Batata Precisa de Você* (BPV; “The Potato Square Needs You”) is an initiative supported by many people who live and socialize around the region of *Largo da Batata* (“Potato Square”). The Potato Square is located in the West zone of the city. It has been an important transport hub for the metropolitan area as well as an area of leisure and culture for immigrants from the Northeast of Brazil. However, the area has been undergoing a redevelopment initiative that desertified what used to be a lively (poor) area of the town. It was one of the last spaces in the West Zone to be sanitized and gentrified. BPV is a related initiative; an initiative that can be traced to BxC and which emerged in another area of the town.

*Basurama* from Spain also influenced BPV. BPV then came into being through the interlacing of many influences, including BxC. It came into being with focus on public gardens and public furniture in a public square. Some people then decided to try to occupy the area permanently. As described by them, this collective emerged in 2014 with the goal strengthening the affective relationship of the population with the area, stressing the potential of the space as a place of coexistence, and testing prototypical infrastructure that had the potential to enhance the quality of the square as a public space. The group began the occupation by going to the square every Friday at 6 p.m. and promoting cultural and leisure activities.

5.7. BijaRi (BR)

In 1996, a group of architects and artists founded BijaRi, a center for visual arts and multimedia creation in São Paulo. The collective focuses on develop-
ing projects of artistic experimentation using multiple resources and technologies, from analog to digital media. From its inception, BR “sought ways of taking a critical and innovative stance toward urban issues through actions that in principle have no bearing on formal art” (Araujo, 2008, para. 1). They have discussed gentrification and created installations in the area of Largo da Batata (“Potato Square”) since their inception. For example, in 2002, they proposed an urban action called Galinha: Elemento Analizador (“Chicken: Analyzing Element”). For this experimental work, inspired by Foucault, they used a chicken to explore urban bio-political issues. They released a chicken in two different areas of the city: Potato Square and Iguatemi Shopping Center. According to them, the proximity of those two spaces was geographic, but not sociological. Whereas the former is a transportation terminal permeated by an informal market and a space that was frequented by the poorest population groups of the city, the latter was the most exclusive and posh shopping mall of the city. They let a chicken loose in both places, and filmed the reaction of the people with the unexpected situation. In 2005, they also conceptualized an art exhibit in an emblematic occupation building of the city center called Prestes Maia, together with other collectives and the biggest popular housing movement in Brazil.

The collective has been developing similar artistic and activist experimentation since then. Gentrification and the friction between public and private spheres has underpinned the movements of BijaRi as an art collective. However, unlike the above collectives BijaRi is a commercial institution. It is a design company. Their projects vary from artistic, like Intel’s Creators Project, to more commercial ones, such as stage projections for Pepsi during music festivals. Rodrigo Araújo, one of the founders of BijaRi, says that this apparent paradoxical assortment of projects does not bother the group. Rather, he believes one feeds the other, and consequently they feed the collective. Rather than a paradox, he sees this combination as a symbiotic process that has allowed them to continue acting for more than 20 years. It was in this way that the collective became a political outlet for its participants.

5.8. Other collectives

The collectives described above can be seen as a selection of examples taken from a complex arrangement of collectives and organizations that are active
in the center of São Paulo. There are many other collectives, as presented in the picture above. Still, in their plurality, they can be seen as collectives of collectives in constant formation and reverberation. They manifest stability and instability in tandem. In some instances, their limits were very delimited. In other instances, their limits become unfelt. Across these collectives of collectives, participants seem to gather, bond, re-bond, and disengage. In the following section, where I present the findings of this study, I discuss further how this process of connecting and disconnecting is constant. I start the following chapter by discussing how this process works in different ways through different affects.
6. Findings

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of this study. They are divided into three parts: (1) the making of affects, (2) the making of packs, (3) the making of crowds. In the first part of the chapter, I discuss how affects work on the surfacing of what we perceive to be me, you, us, and them. I discuss four affects: disgust, (dis)comfort, fear, and hope. These four affects are produced through the relations between beings. The focus here is to underscore how these affects are made as they work in the making of collective bodies, and thereby underpin the dynamics of our socializing. In other words, I discuss how the constant making of these affects are related to the constant making of our social relations. In this first part of the chapter, I try to provide a meticulous account of affects and their dynamics in order to provide a solid base for the following two parts. Hence, I was able to develop these following parts in a more succinct way. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss the making of the packs. I focus the discussion on the dynamics between the urban collectives as packs. I describe how these collectives have emerged, changed, dissipated, merged, and morphed into other collectives. I use Gabriel Tarde’s theoretical concepts of imitation and contagion to understand the social dynamics in place. Such dynamics allow stability and instability in tandem. Here, I also argue that it is in the differentiation of directions that Tarde’s imitation meets with Ahmed’s affect. For Tarde, the directions of the flows are important in the configuration of our socialization. For Ahmed, the differentiation, the designation of different affects resonates with the different orientations affect can present. Through a plethora of movements and attachments of affective flows, with different orientations, what is inside and what is outside is delineated. In other words, these multiple affective flows work concurrently on the surfacing of bodies. The constant surfacing of collective bodies, and more specifically the transition from packs to crowds is the focus of the third and final part of this chapter. Elias Canetti’s discussions about packs and crowds are instrumental in making the connection between different forms of collective bodies. Thereby, in the third part of this chapter, I discuss how the collectives (as
packs) are constantly changing and becoming crowds through affective synchronization. Now, I start the presentation of the four affects I focus in this study.

6.1. The making of affects: the forces in effect

In this ethnographic study, a diversity of affects was in place. I have chosen to focus on four affects; they are: disgust, (dis)comfort, fear, and hope. I chose these four affects because they have glowed during the research process. These four affects, along with their movements and attachments, have been salient in the process of forming packs and crowds in the context of the chosen collectives of activists in São Paulo. However, I do not mean that these four affects are sequential steps in the process of the making of crowds. Even though I am interested in how these affects enable the formation of collective bodies, the focus here was not to map them as a progression. For rhetorical reasons, they will be presented in a way that could resemble a progression. Nonetheless, these four affects have been chosen for their affective intensity rather than coherence in this story of collective bodies, from packs to crowds. They are intensities that evoke movements and attachments of bodies, as well as felt surfaces. Below, I start with the affect of disgust, an affect through which distances and surfaces are created.

6.1.1. Disgust

Disgust is an affect that entails the splitting of bodies. “Disgust works to produce ‘the disgusting’, as the bodies that must be ejected from the community” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 15, highlighted by the author12). When you feel disgust, you

12 Sara Ahmed uses the concept of community in her discussion of affects shaping collective bodies in the book *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Whereas in the book *Queer Phenomenology*, she points out the importance of fleshing out the processes trailing back to how subjects and objects arrive in moments of encounters, rather than taking them as given. She argues that such trailings can show the positions and consequently the perspectives of bodies, from which their relations are established. For her, the relations are dependent on the position of body. Depending on the position, the orientation of the relation will emerge in relation to other bodies. However, Ahmed does not elaborate how the individual body or the collective body as community has emerged in such moments of encounters. Here, I try to flesh out the surfacing of the collective bodies being made and the unfolding process through encounters. In other words, I trail back to how such bodies emerged in moments of encounters.
‘automatically’ feel the need to get away from what is disgusting. In this moment, the boundaries of the body are felt intensively. The separation of body is felt intensively. In this process, there might be even some preliminary attraction before the distance is created. What ‘is disgusting’ first needs to drag some attraction. It needs to catch the attention. First, it becomes the focus of attention in order to, in response, move the body away. The body then goes in a different direction, creating distance and surfaces. The process then encompasses the surfacing of different bodies: the split of I from you or us and them. In this way, the body away from the disgusting object is felt distant and safe again. However, no body is disgusting per se. We read bodies as disgusting. Signs that evoke disgust circulate and attach to bodies. These bodies are then read as disgusting ones, as containing disgust. Like in the case of fear, they are read as bodies to be avoided. As Ahmed points out, the ‘gut feeling’ seems automatic since the body seems to automatically repulse the ‘disgusting body’. The work of disgust, misaligning and splitting bodies, is not an automatic one though. Ahmed argues that we need to read signs of repulsion in bodies in order to feel repelled by them. We learn to read signs of disgust, danger, and fear in order to protect ourselves. Disgust and fear are not in the objects themselves, but in our relation to them. These relations depend on how we read and understand those bodies.

**Reading bodies**

For example, my hometown in Brazil, Goiânia had one of the most serious radiological accidents to have occurred to date, after an old radiotherapy capsule was stolen from an abandoned hospital site (International Atomic Energy Agency, 1988). On September 13, 1987, two garbage collectors entered an abandoned hospital site and disassembled a radiotherapy unit. They collected part of the material, which contained a capsule of caesium-137. They took the material home in order to sell it later to the owner of a junkyard. In the reconstruction of the case, it was shown how the ‘glowing blue powder’ (the caesium) amazed their relatives and acquaintances. The material amused their families, neighbors, and buyers. One girl was so fascinated by the blue glow of the powder, that she applied it to her body and showed it off to her mother. These people were attracted to the radioactive material, not repulsed or threatened. The ‘glowing powder’ was not read as bad by them. It did not have any sign of ‘badness’ attached to it, quite the contrary it was read as amusing. Only later, when it was discovered the material was dangerous, did the relation of
repulsion with the capsule and their bodies start. Due to the accident, four people died and 249 were found to have significant levels of radioactive material in or on their bodies. The accident had major repercussions and media coverage. To this date, more than 30 years after the accident, the (living) bodies of the people who were contaminated by the caesium are perceived as dangerous themselves (even though they were treated and decontaminated). However, their bodies are still read as caesium bodies. These people still suffer discrimination as their bodies have become attached to radioactive signs. To this date, they are perceived as contaminated and contaminating. The signs of caesium contamination became attached not only to their bodies, but also to the bodies of people living in my hometown. There are testimonials of people losing their jobs and getting kicked out of taxis when they were in other Brazilian cities, due to the perception that the caesium 137 contaminated everyone in my hometown (G1, 2017). People living in Goiânia in 1987-1988 became read as contaminated and contaminating bodies. The adherence of the sign of caesium contamination in bodies from Goiânia was fast. In a matter of days, the circulation and attachment of signs to the bodies of those people (and people from my hometown) changed the relation of those bodies with bodies from other places in Brazil. Goiânia became a city to be ejected. Neither disgust nor danger was a property of those bodies before. However, through corporeal intensities and speech acts, they became bodies to be repelled and avoided. They promoted the recoil and rejection of other bodies.

I use this example here because disgust is an affect related to fear of contamination of the body. Ahmed uses the example of food to point out how disgust is not simply a ‘gut feeling’. It “is mediated by ideas that are already implicated in the very impressions we make of others and the way those impressions surface as bodies” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 83). In the example above, I emphasize how signs and former impressions mediate affect. “Disgust is about an object, such that one’s feeling of sickness become attributed to the object” (p. 85). Through disgust, the body moves away from the disgusting body. The body responds, moving in the opposite direction. Through disgust, there is also an intensification of this movement of moving away. The disgusted body pulls away from the disgusting body. Disgust, as an affect, produces the effect of rejecting, of expelling, of creating distances. In the case above, the process of reading bodies as bodies to keep distance happened in a matter of days and since then those signs have stuck to them. The stickiness of the signs depends on histories of contact that have been impressed upon the surface of bodies (Ahmed, 2004). They are not contained in the bodies. I now go back to the
case of the urban activists in São Paulo to illustrate how their bodies also got contaminated with ‘signs of badness’ and became bodies that evoke disgust. Below, I discuss how the ‘gut feeling’ of disgust encompasses reading bodies as bodies to be away from in the context of the gentrification. I also elaborate further how signs stick to bodies and stickiness is about what bodies do to other bodies.

**Signs of badness**

One day in spring 2017, when I was scrolling through my Instagram account, I saw a picture of a flypost with the picture of a dog with the saying “Tourism. It’s worst [sic] than Trump. No Gentrification”. I laughed with sympathy until I read its comment: “This is the citizen who thinks he is progressive, but s/he defends the state of poverty”. I felt a small punch in the stomach. I felt a small repulse as I felt attacked by the comment. The statement seemed to offend me, to hurt me. But, why? According to the comment, resisting gentrification is equivalent to defending a state of poverty. Poverty and gentrification are then presented as inversely enclosed. Gentrification is the process of transition that inner-city neighborhoods with a status of relative poverty and prior disinvestment in the urban infrastructure go through when reinvestment and resettlement takes place. It then unfolds into economic, social, cultural and aesthetic restructuring of a place. In the gentrification process of the city center of São Paulo, poor people are being expelled from the central area they have been living in so as to give space to a more privileged social class. Throughout the gentrification process, the cleansing of traces of poverty needs to happen for the restructuring of those central neighborhoods. Through the economic, social, cultural, and aesthetic restructuring of the central area, there is a removal of traces of poverty. The Instagram post reinforces the binding of gentrification with the removal of poverty. Still, in the Instagram post mentioned above, the binding of gentrification with the removal of poverty not only encompasses the poor people of the city center but it also reaches people who support the permanence of the poor people in the area and therefore resist gentrification. The people who resist gentrification have also become objects of disgust, as they are presented as supporters of poverty. They have become objects of loathing themselves. In that statement, I have become an object of loathing since I align myself to the urban activists resisting gentrification. The small punch in the stomach I felt while I was reading the post in Instagram about gentrification resonates with the pushing away movement that disgust evokes.
against bodies of loathing. The force of the punch can be seen as the force trying to push me away.

The signs of poverty then slide and stick not only to the city center, but they also reach everyone who resists gentrification, as they are resisting the removal of traces of poverty that happens through the gentrification process. In an opinion piece published in *The Guardian*, Susanne Moore talks about how “instead of being disgusted by poverty, we are disgusted by poor people themselves” and “this disgust is a growth industry” (Moore, 2012, para. 10). Poverty is a critical issue in Brazil. Brazil is listed as one of the most socioeconomically unequal countries in the world, despite being one of largest economies in the world (Oxfam, n.d.). The high inequality of the country, leading to high rates of poverty, is considered the most critical social issue of the country (Neri, 2004). For example, in a report by Fundação Getulio Vargas concerning misery in Brazil, high inequality is named as the main *chaga* (“disease”) of the country, due to its consequences of poverty in Brazil. Poverty in Brazil is linked to the high inequality rates, unlike in India that presents extreme poverty and a lower inequality rate (ibid.). “Brazil’s six richest men have the same wealth as poorest 50 percent of the population; around 100 million people” (Oxfam, n.d.). Even in comparison to neighboring countries, the contrast of rich and poor is severe. At the current rate of inequality reduction, it will take 35 years for Brazil to reach Uruguay’s current level of income equality and 30 years to meet Argentinian standards (ibid.). In Brazil, the clash of classes is extreme. Poverty is one of the signs that most carry the designation of badness in Brazil, due to these high inequality rates (Neri, 2004). These extreme inequality rates have been traced back to the country’s history of slavery. Brazil once had the largest slave population in the world. For example, it is estimated 5,848,266 slaves were taken from Africa to Brazil between 1501 to 1866 (Voyages Database, 2010). For the same period, the estimated number for the United States is 305,326 and worldwide is 12,521,337. Slavery was a central aspect of the country’s colonization process and its traces can still be seen upon many bodies as sticky signs. Inequality in Brazil is then also a racialization issue.

---

13 According to the first census of the country conducted in 1872, more than half of population were descendants of African slaves (58%). The population was divided into: white (38.1%), black (19.7%), *pardos* which can be roughly translated as brown (38.3%), and indigenous (3.9%). In 2010, the number accounting the black and *pardo* population went from 57.97% to 50.74% (of 190,755,799 people) (IBGE, 2010).
Sticky signs have been impressed upon the bodies of non-white (i.e., black and indigenous descendants) people as well as upon certain spaces throughout the colonization process. During colonial slavery, the spaces for black bodies were called *senzalas* (quarters). After slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, *favelas* (slums) emerged in many cities as many former enslaved Africans started moving to urban areas and built low-income informal settlements. Since then, *favelas* and other forms of informal housing (e.g., occupations) have become customary in the configuration of Brazilian cities because of the high inequality rates, which is historically interrelated to the colonial process and ending of slavery. For example, it was estimated that 70% of the population of favelas in São Paulo identified themselves as *negros*, a classification that encompasses both black and *pardo* (brown) people (Carmo, 2017).

Thereby, the designation of badness in localized poor urban areas with a large population of *negros* has been part of the urbanization process in Brazil. For example, to call someone *favelado*, which can be translated as ‘someone from *favela*’, is generally considered highly pejorative. The designation of badness around the city center of São Paulo does not fall far from this process.

*The stickiness of Crackland, as a sign of badness*

In the gentrification process of the city center of São Paulo, the city center can be seen as a territory composed of the space of central neighborhoods, its material elements, and the bodies of poor people living in the area as well as the bodies of activists trying to resist gentrification as a process of cleansing. The specific area of Crackland has become an emblem of the tensions in the city center and its gentrification process, whether to expose the need for cleansing the area or to expose the threat of this cleansing. It is not only the spatial area of Crackland that becomes read as a disgusting body, but also the bodies of the *crackers* who inhabit the space. Ahmed (2004) argues that “disgust reads the objects that are felt to be disgusting: it is not just about bad objects that we are afraid to incorporate, but the very designation of ‘badness’ as a quality we assume inherent in those objects” (p. 82). The making of disgust then merges Crackland with the city center, as well as their residents and activists. The activists and lower-middle class residents resisting gentrification also become bodies read as disgusting, as they are supporters of such badness. This merged body, a social amalgamation with an expanded surface, then causes repulsion and this reaction is linked to the designation of badness that becomes impressed upon the amalgamation. The designation of the badness of Crackland
sticks. Crackland has then become a sticky sign. “The stickiness of the sign is also about the relation and contact between signs. (…) To use a sticky sign is to evoke other words, which have become intrinsic to the sign through past forms of association” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 92). The word Crackland sticks to other words that are not spoken, such as city center, poverty, violence, blackness, deviance, dirtiness, and gentrification. By binding these words together, both the city center and Crackland, become attached meanings that evoke disgust. They, in a composition, encompass designations of badness (Ahmed, 2004).

But how have these designations of badness surfaced in the city center of São Paulo? Until the 60s, the city center of São Paulo used to be occupied by upper-middle and upper-class apartments, sumptuous movie theaters and galleries, fancy restaurants, and the buildings of banks and companies. However, the construction of the Big Worm viaduct in the late 1960s prompted an evacuation of wealthier families and businesses. After the construction of the Big Worm viaduct, the city center was abandoned by upper-middle and upper-class residents and became unseen. This vacancy and invisibility allowed different bodies that carried signs of badness – the poor, the drug addict, the queer, and the artist – to occupy the area. These signs of badness are connected to their failure to follow the predominant normativity, which is called (hetero)normativity by Ahmed (2004). I will discuss further the concept of (hetero)normativity in the next section, which focuses on (dis)comfort. For now, my focus is on how signs of badness stick to bodies. The bodies that occupied the city center area, by deviating the normativity, then shared signs of badness and found a place of relative acceptance in the ‘emptied and degraded’ area of the city center. Since then, the city center has become an area riddled with poverty, addiction, and violence. It has become an area impressed with signs of ‘deviance’, but such deviance relates to an ideal rather than normalcy since poverty and violence are two predominant features in the daily life of the majority of the Brazilian population.

*Gentrification as the removal of sticky signs*

Nevertheless, with gentrification a cleansing process has started in the area and started to reenact certain norms of aesthetics and order. Under such norms, the bodies that carry sticky signs of badness have to be ejected as part
of the cleansing process. Before the gentrification, the residents, the frequenters, and the activists were bodies in extension with the space. Their bodies were sewn to the spatial body, forming a performative territory (Cheetham et al., 2018). The gentrification process then encompasses the ejection of multiple bodies away from the city center for the remaking of that space as a new territory. Only then can different practices of consumption emerge in the composition of a new territory that is felt as reachable for middle-class bodies. The crackers, together with the poorest residents and frequenters of the city center, need to be transferred to another place that is out of sight, out of any contact zone for the people who feel disgusted. The bodies with any sign of badness need to be removed from the city center and go to another place, as the city center needs to be cleaned in order to be ‘touched’ again by other bodies. The gentrification process in the city center of São Paulo is named as a requalification of the space, as marking who is qualified to consume that space and who is not. The cleansing process of gentrification is directed to the space, as a contact zone. Constantly and progressively traces of sticky signs are eliminated. This removal process was felt consistently by the activists. The news of such removals was constantly shared through the Google Groups. Sometimes the news was shared by other collectives in search of support to resist eviction, sometimes the removal was already in progress. The activists constantly followed the frequent evictions of occupations, cultural organizations and social initiatives, the closure of bars due to rising rents, the multiple constructions of new condos. Every episode of removal marked an affective encounter which evoked a movement of pushing away. The sharing of e-mails in the group generally came with subject titles suggesting an accumulation of movement against them (e.g., “another one”). The sharing of e-mails alerting members to forced evictions of artistic spaces or residential occupations was a recurrent practice that reinforced this affective orientation of being moved away from the city center. A passage of one of these e-mails is presented below. Throughout the exchange of e-mails, the participant of another collective explains that:

The case of Parque Dom Pedro (Don Peter Park) is an example of how a “requalification” project (of the municipality) managed to promote the removal of hundreds of families and transform a ZEIS (Special Zones of Social Interest14) into a parking lot – justified because it is a

---

14 ZEIS is the acronym for Special Zones of Social Interest, which can be defined as areas of the urban territory destined, predominantly, for decent housing for the low-income population through urban improvements, environmental recovery and land regularization of precarious and irregular settlements.
As the participant asks for whom the function of the public space has been
 directed to, s/he implies that the change from a social housing project to a
 parking lot was justified because the space was public. Rather than private
 housing for poor people, the space became a public space for parking cars.
 The requalification of the municipality framed other people as ‘public’, but
 not them. The requalification of the city center was not directed towards them.
 Instead, the direction of the changes in the city center is felt as one that is
 pushing away the current dwellers and activists. Once they are pushed away,
 the bodies of drivers and cars are able to occupy that area and extend them-
 selves in that space after the bodies of poor families were away. The stickiness
 of signs upon the bodies of poor residents are crucial here. Their bodies have
 sticky signs, which slide to the city center. Their presence causes the city cen-
 ter to be read as poor and disgusting. Due to the stickiness of signs already
 attached to some bodies, the circulation of disgust as an affective flow de-
 pends on signs attached to bodies. Signs stick and accumulate to certain bod-
 ies: they are not the property of such bodies (Ahmed, 2004a; Ahmed, 2004b).
 Here, affective intensities do not travel independently. Their orientation is
 crucial (Ahmed, 2006) and they are dependent on signs attached to bodies. I
 will now go back to the discussion of stickiness of signs in order to consider
 how the movements and directions of affect are linked to certain bodies and
 not others. Speech acts have a crucial role in the process of circulation and
 accumulation of sticky signs upon certain bodies.

*The workings of speech acts and sticky signs*

The designation of badness in the bodies of residents and frequenters of the
 city center has been reinforced through speech acts, and such speech acts are
 constantly in the making: those bodies are called disgusting, which then turns
 the city center into a disgusting place. The removal of those bodies becomes
 a crucial step for the cleansing process of the city center. Speech acts then
 reinforce the stickiness of signs of badness upon certain bodies, thus evoking
 an affective orientation in the opposite direction. Such bodies are marked as
 bodies to be avoided or removed. Such a speech act is presented in the selected
 passage below, which was retrieved from an interview with the elected mayor
 João Dória in a television program two days after the municipal elections,
which occurred on October 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2016 (Brasil Urgente, 2016). João Doria is a multimillionaire businessman who comes from a wealthy family and became the host of Brazil’s version of The Apprentice. In the autumn of 2016, he won the municipal election over the leftist Workers’ party that had run the city for the previous four years (Phillips, 2017). He served as mayor of São Paulo from January 1\textsuperscript{st} 2017 until April 6\textsuperscript{th} 2018. In this television interview, the (recently elected) mayor reinforces how the city center area causes him a great disgust and needs to be cleaned; he also states how he intends to change the area the area towards ‘requalification’:

TV Anchor: Every mayor elected in São Paulo says that the center of São Paulo will be the most beautiful thing in the world. Look at Crackland now: these are live images. (The TV presenter says pointing to the screen.) What do you intend to do with Crackland?

Elected Mayor: That is a shame. (…) That is a shame, really. Look at that situation; I do not know if it is a drone or helicopter showing it (…) Elected Mayor: It is sadness. It is no man’s land. How can the city (referring to the then incumbent administration) defend a program - it makes me upset and annoyed - defend a program called ‘Open Arms’? It is ‘Open Arms’ to death, what you are seeing there. What you are seeing there are people condemned to death, living in a situation of a ghetto. This is a ghetto in the city and it will end! This causes me a great disgust. (He gesticulates with his hands, closing the wrist in a strong bodily reaction of opposition. The conversation follows on to criticize the current ‘Open Arms’ program, particularly because of full hospitalization being optional.)

(…) TV Anchor: Of course, this contributes a lot to the center of São Paulo also being a pigsty.

Elected Mayor: Deteriorated.

TV Anchor: Around the world in major world cities, usually the center of the city, downtown [said in English, rather than Portuguese], is a beautiful place, protected, preserved.

Elected Mayor: A historical place.

TV Anchor: Everyone who is elected as mayor of the city of São Paulo says that will make the city center a beautiful place. It does not even need to be beautiful: just clean and safe would be good enough.

Elected Mayor: Something that it is not today, right?
TV Anchor: It is not, and it has never been.

Elected Mayor: Not clean, or safe.

TV Anchor: It is not, and it has never been. Or, maybe it was in the times of the Priest Anxieta (who was a Jesuit priest and one of the founders of the Brazilian city of São Paulo in January 25, 1554). What will you do to improve the situation in the center of São Paulo beyond Crackland?

Elected Mayor: (...) In relation to the city center, we will work on the requalification of the city center. First thing: to clean, to clean, and to clean. Cleaning, maintenance, and surveillance. (We will have) electronic surveillance, police surveillance, and urban janitors. The person in charge of the regional office will be answerable to me, the mayor, to keep the center of the city shining! Clean, organized, no graffiti, no violations of the rules and the municipal structure.

The city center, which is presented as Crackland in the live broadcast at the moment of the interview, is labeled as a pigsty as well as a deteriorated area. Visiting the city center of São Paulo and especially Crackland can be an intense experience. Some areas can be extremely dirty. The smell of urine can be strong in certain passages. One can see trash in many places, as well as homeless people. Some of them build little homes, some of them just sleep on the ground without any ‘house decoration’. Even though these situations are common in many places of São Paulo, they are highly predominant in the city center. Even if one is used to seeing such people and situations in the whole city of São Paulo, the city center concentrates many signs of badness. Still, the city center of São Paulo is a lively area with many parties, bars, and meeting places. It is also a place for entertainment and gatherings. It has become a place of affordable leisure for the lower and middle class. As one walks around the area, it is common to hear loud music and loud laughs echoing from several bars and restaurants. It has also become an area for many types of indulgent consumption, from prostitution to drug addiction. Through such indulgent consumption practices, the city center has then encompassed a designation of badness. At the same time, it has become a place of entertainment for middle class people in search of accursed consumption practices.

Crackland, more specifically, has become the epitome of such accursed designation. Even though I have walked regularly around Crackland, I only went inside once in late 2016. In this visit, during which I followed a team working with the municipal program called “Open Arms”, I could see the crackers in
their territory. Even though they cannot use drugs in the area that was supported by the municipal government located inside Crackland, still there is a large gap between their situation and what is considered a ‘normal’ standard of living. Most of them do not have regular access to food, shower facilities, or beds. When we arrived inside a warehouse that serves as a governmental care center, there were dozens of crackers sleeping in the patio. Most of them seem numb, ignoring strangers passing by. However, some of them demonstrated strangeness in our encounter, as if they were already expecting to be rejected. For example, one woman entered the place screaming. She kept screaming and complaining even though it was hard to understand what the problem was. My friend, who was part of the local psychiatry team and took me there, started to talk to her. She then sat at a big table and started to talk to other crackers. After some time, she suspiciously asked my friend who I was. He told her I was his friend, so I reached her for a kiss, as it is the common way to greet people in Brazil. From that moment on, she decided she liked me. She stated that loudly. That kiss seemed to have changed her impression of me, as she did not feel any rejection. It was as if she was testing me and I passed the test. My friend moved on with the conversation and started to talk to her about some of her improvements and misconducts. It seems she had not complied with some of the rules of the place. She agreed and they continued to talk about the next steps for her. In that encounter, it seemed she was already expecting the repulsion followed by disgust. Most of them seem to be aware that they are the bodies felt to be disgusting, as people are constantly deviating from them in the streets.

Disgust then evokes the split of bodies, as affective flows become oriented against disgusting bodies. In the making of disgusting bodies, the orientation of the affective flow is the opposite to such bodies. Disgust then creates distances as the circulation of affective flows are directed away from ‘disgusting bodies’ precisely because they are ‘sticky’. Disgust encompasses a repulsion between bodies as it travels in the opposite direction. Surfaces then become felt. Crackland has an invisible surface that is constantly felt by pedestrians of the city center, which can extend to what Cheetham and colleagues (2018) called invisible walls in the making of a territory. In their study, the scholars noticed how two fishermen fishing in the park (Cheetham et al., 2018) created an invisible wall. The scholars argued that the bodies of the two fishermen along with material elements of the fishing practice created an invisible wall, from which other goers of the park were deviating. In the case of the fishermen, their silence along with many signs attached to their bodies as well as
materials related to their fishing activity became sensorial elements in the amalgamation of the collective body and formation of the invisible wall. As they created a bubble of silence and fishing practice, their territory became respected by other goers of the park. The collective body formed by the fishing activity was read as a body to be respected: a surface became felt and a distance was maintained. Differently, in the case of the crackers and other bodies in the city center, disgust means more than just creating distance; it creates abjection. Disgust travels as a flow that ejects.

_Ejection as the effect of disgust_

Crackers carry sticky signs upon their bodies, which are read as bodies to be avoided and repelled. The regular illustration of Crackland as the city center is instrumental in the making of disgust. The exemplification of the city center as a land of crackers sticks the sign of crack (and related signs of badness) to the whole city center even though the area represents only a small perimeter of many neighborhoods. Yet, it spreads the designation of badness to the entire city center and frames it as a place to be recovered. The city center is designated as disgusting; it is presented as far from an ideal city center. Through their conversation, which was presented above, the mayor and the interviewer highlight the failure to comply with the ideal of a city center. This ideal is composed by the centers of “major world cities”, as stated by the TV presenter. This ideal is said in English (“downtown”) rather than Portuguese (centro da cidade) as it does not resonate to the current situation of the city center of the largest city of Brazil. The ideal city center is presented as a beautiful, protected, and preserved place. In the elected mayor’s words, the ideal city center is a historical place. In contrast, the city center of São Paulo is said to be a pigsty. There is a failure of the city center in being the ideal beautiful, preserved, and historical place. The current history of the place is thus presented as a failure, as a deficiency. To him, the city center is not “a historical place” and the current situation needs to end. The current history of the place needs to be erased, as it symbolizes a history he refutes. He then stresses and justifies that the city center needs to be cleaned.

Here, disgust does things. Disgust produces effects, as speech acts of disgust involve abjection. During the interview, the mayor shows an impulsive need to clean and remove all the traces of poverty and deviance in order to make the space shine again. Ahmed uses Kristeva’s (1982) definition of abjection.
as “that which opposes the I” (p. 3). To Kristeva (and Ahmed), abjection involves both a reaction to something horrible, disgusting, and repulsive and the recognition of the reality that the horrible, disgusting and repulsive are a part of our existence (Kristeva, 1982). Thereby, through the speech act of the mayor, he both recognizes the city center as a reality and reacts against it as a horrible, disgusting, and repulsive city center. Disgust produces effects as the “disgusted subject is ‘itself’ one of the effects that is generated by the speech act” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 94). In the work of Podoshen and colleagues (2017) which examines abjection in the context of the extreme (black) metal scene, the scholars explore how abjection works in making borders, separating those on the inside and the outside of the consumption setting. In their study, they see “abject as a force that both disrupts the social order and acts as a boundary” through many practices (black) metal bands evoke. For example, the violent performances of the Norwegian band Taake help to keep many more mainstream heavy metal fans from engaging in their concerts. Their violent practices during the concerts keep the borders of (black) metal tight. The scholars explored, in the context of (black) metal, how abjection works through signs of death, violence, misanthropy, and blood. Through the consumption of ‘disgusting’ music, the social tensions of (black) metal fans in Norway, and mainstream metal fans and citizens of Norway become exacerbated. Podoshen and colleagues (2017) argue that “the use of abjection can be seen as a boundary and source of delineation between the “acceptable” and the “unacceptable” in society” (p. 1).

In the context of this study, the mayor of the city delineates the city center as unacceptable. It is unacceptable because it is far away from the ideal of a city center. The failure of the ideal makes him disgusted. The mayor feels the urge to turn the city center into a beautiful, protected, preserved, and historical place. His objective is to turn the place into an immaculate space. In his own words, in his mandate the administration “will work on the requalification of the city center”. By calling for a requalification of the area, he implies that the current residents and pedestrians are unacceptable. These other bodies do not follow the standards and norms that are ‘acceptable’. The city center then is presented as a shame as it fails to portray the ideals of a ‘downtown’ area. As “ideals can be binding, even when we feel we have failed them; indeed, the emotions that register this failure might confirm the ideals in the first place” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 109). For example, Anthony Bourdain, in the show No Reservation about São Paulo, described the city by stating that São Paulo “feels
like Los Angeles threw up on New York” (Bourdain, 2007, n.d.). In this statement, he not only uses the two largest cities of the United States as reference, but he also adds the act of vomiting in a way that also evokes disgust. His description encompasses the mirroring of ideals that have failed. It encompasses abjection. However, in another TV show about São Paulo (The Layover), Bourdain stated that “Sao Paolo can be a pretty inhospitable, intimidating, and densely packed city. But if you look a little further, if you dig a little deeper, if you spend the time, you discover an endless supply of good and interesting stuff” (Bourdain, 2012, n.d.). In this later statement, Bourdain notes that, with a closer look, São Paulo can also be read as something else than disgusting. By looking further and digging a little deeper, there is an implication of getting closer rather than getting more distant. Abjection seems to have dissolved. There is an implication that the affective direction has turned from pushing to pulling. The affective flow is not one of ejection any longer, it is now one that creates proximity. The flow is not pushing anymore. There seems to be an unmaking of disgust. Rather than being repelled by the city, he starts to be oriented towards the city.

*The making and unmaking of disgust*

Many activist collectives also went through an unmaking of disgust, which encompasses the reversal of affective orientation. Abjection started to dissolve. For example, once many activists started going to Crackland with the aim of changing the area, they started to read those bodies in a different way. As described by Bourdain, by looking further and digging a little deeper, other readings became possible. Other signs started to become more prevalent. They stopped reading the bodies of *crackers* as disgusting. This change in the reading of bodies is presented below. The excerpt is from a discussion of an event to discuss urban concerns and counted with the participation of many activists from several collectives. In a certain moment of the event, one activist goes to the small stage and describes the process of arriving at Crackland with a designation of badness coupled to the area and how there was a change in this designation through his experience:

(…) We went there (to Crackland) with the same vibe: we will go there; we will be an ‘agent of gentrification’; we will change Crackland. And, when we got there, we saw it was different. We went there with that perspective, even though we have other means of information than just TV. But, when we go there, we see the problem is not crack. First of
all, it is not the crack. It is not the epidemic that is portrayed in the media. The problem with alcohol is much worse. The problem with violence to women is much worse. The problem is reduced to categories of “Oh, I’m not from here”; “Oh, I’m black”; “I’m not black”; “I’m not from the Northeast”; “I’m not a crack user”. So, like (he makes a gesture of ‘washing his hands’ as the saying). Fuck! Then we go there in the middle of very big power struggles. We have there Porto Seguro (the third largest insurance company of the country), which is a company that bought half the neighborhood. It is the company that has profited the most from the Crackland area. It is a company that removed the flux\textsuperscript{15} from that area now. The flux is now in another street. The flux used to be in a small square, but the insurance company wanted to reform the square. It placed stools and tables there. The flux will not go back there, I think. It is difficult.

(…) For me, the crack-addicts and the (drug) users are guys occupying that area much better than us. The guys are a temporary autonomous zone, the guys have their language, and the guys have their currency. Meanwhile, we are here and there. I have done the community garden, I have done a lot of different works with House of Lapa, but I think we end up talking a lot: blah, blah, blah and blah, blah, blah. But, when is time to act: (as to say ‘nothing’, he hits his hands horizontally against each other many times).

(Everyone starts clapping in agreement)

As one of the activists describes above, he also used to read the designation of badness in Crackland and on the bodies of crackers. Once he went to Crackland, he realized that the dynamics were different than the making of disgust (and shaming) portrayed in the media, and his designations have changed. The disgust could not be perceived any longer. Some signs slipped. The traces of badness began to fall away from them and other signs replaced them. By removing some traces of badness upon such bodies, there was an unmaking of disgust. Those bodies did not need to be saved by them or the other activities the activist has already tried. The bodies of crackers become bodies that were occupying the area well (“they are occupying that area much better than us”). The bodies are seen in a way that they are extended to the city space. The feeling of abjection then dissipates. The repulsing orientation between these (middle-class) activists and crackers also becomes dissipated, as the orientation does not entail opposition any longer. Changes in the orientation of affective flows entails a remaking of felt surfaces. Through the realignment of affective flows (from pushing away to pulling towards), previous surfaces become unfelt and other surfaces become felt.

\textsuperscript{15} See page 96 in Chapter 4 for further explanation about ‘the flux’ in Crackland.
For example, for others residents of the city, many activists started to carry the traces of poverty and deviance themselves when they started to defend Crackland and resist gentrification. As it was stated in the Instagram post, the bodies resisting gentrification merge with bodies that are read as disgusting. They together extend into that space and are incorporated in the making of disgust. Rather than creating distance through abjection, bodies are extended into each other. The bodies of activists are extended to the bodies of crackers, poor residents and other bodies of deviance, as well as the spatial body of the city center. This extension, as an amalgamation, entails a new surface. It is part of a new making of disgust, as this extended body became read as ‘disgusting’. The making and remaking of disgust, as affect, is then continuous. It is marked by the relations between bodies, rather than the bodies themselves.

Another example of this continuous making, unmaking, and remaking of disgust is presented below. This time, I focus on how the collectives of activists have also engaged in the making of disgust. In an exchange of e-mails between participants of BxC, people discussed their participation in an event promoted by a crowdfunding platform with many other collectives. In this discussion, they expressed how much they have become tired (in an expression that resembles abjection) of Vila Madalena. Vila Madalena was a bohemian lower-middle class neighborhood until the 1990s and has been completely gentrified as of 2018. It is now an upper-middle class neighborhood with dozens of art galleries and studios, and an extensive range of restaurants and bars. It is often described as bohemian and hipster in popular media (Moreno, 2014). This neighborhood has then embraced the patterns of upper-middle class consumption. It is not only the aesthetics of bars and cafés that have changed, the consumption activities they encompass have also changed. It used to be a neighborhood full of ‘dirty-cups’ (*copos-sujo*), which means cheap and simple bars) with plastic chairs and tables where frequent dwellers could drink and hang out. It was an area to enjoy cheap bars and bakeries. It became an area to go to for tasting craft beer and specialty coffee. Now, it has become an area where you can go to a store of the Belgian chain of *Le Pain Quotidien* and have brunch. The neighborhood has assimilated an ideal, which now has become a designation of badness for the activists. They associate these changes to market forces. The violence associated with international capital transforming places and replacing people has become a designation of badness for the collectives.
Whereas in the *Vila Madalena* this transformation is already complete, in the city center this transformation is still on course. In the city center, the changes are happening as families are removed from residential projects to facilitate the construction of parking lots (as discussed above). The delineations of what is inside and outside still seem to be in dispute. In the case of *Vila Madalena*, the delineation of what is inside and outside seems more distinct from them. The activists seem to feel outside already. The surfaces have already shifted. In the excerpt below, some participants of FJM and BxC are trying to get more people to join them in attending an event in *Vila Madalena*. However, it is difficult to motivate participants to join because of their dislike for the area. In a previous exchange of e-mails in FJM group, the participants say that they should try to share the invitation with the BxC Google groups because they were feeling ‘lazy’ with the idea of going to *Vila Madalena*. Laziness implies a sensation of heaviness. There is a hardship in going there even if it is only for a friendly meeting. In a subsequent exchange of e-mails, the participants of BxC emphasize the sensations of laziness as heaviness with the idea of going to *Vila Madalena*:

(…) I don’t like *Vila Madalena* that much either. In two and a half years living in São Paulo, I probably went there three times. Too much $$ and too cool for me. – L

Hi, people. I’m in the same (situation –) go, not go. Total laziness of *Vila Madalena* in reality… but with everything happening with BxC, I think I dare to go there actually. (…) – M

(…) I was also ‘in laziness’, but I got a car ride from a friend. I’m going for sure. – E

Ah, people, let’s go there, eh? If someone does not go there because of the place, it sucks. The important thing is the people! Ahhhh, miss you guys.

Through their laziness, there seems to be a need to keep their bodies distant from that neighborhood. Going to *Vila Madalena* seems to imply an effort, as certain heaviness is pressed upon their bodies. However, through this ‘laziness’, the force seems to be one of resistance rather than of ejection. Nevertheless, there seems to be an ‘invisible wall’ (Cheetham et al., 2018) for them to cross when they go there. Their bodies become heavy once they cross that
invisible wall, as the atmosphere is felt differently. Their bodies seem to become tense when they go there. Their bodies are not relaxed going there, as the idea of going there evokes a feeling of ‘total laziness’. They prefer to avoid going to this area that has been totally gentrified, as the place is ‘too much $$ and too cool’. That city space does seem to fit them, and they do not seem to fit that space. Going there, to an area which is already gentrified, seems tiring for them. But, how do bodies get tired? Which bodies get tired? This tiresomeness is related to the effort of the body to resist and accommodate in spaces that are felt unpleasant. Below, I focus on comfort as the feeling of accommodating bodies in spaces. By discussing comfort as an affect that extends bodies and discomfort as an affect that breaks this extension, I continue the discussion of how affects travels in different directions and consequently align and misalign bodies.

6.1.2. (Dis)Comfort

“The word ‘comfort’ suggests well-being and satisfaction, but it also suggests an ease and easiness” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 146). To feel comfortable is to feel at ease in the world: more precisely, it is “to be at ease in a world that reflects back the [couple] form one inhabits as an ideal” (p. 147). To feel uncomfortable, then, happens when this easiness is absent or retrieved. Discomfort then entails not feeling easy in a world, as this world does not reflect back the form one inhabits as an ideal. The bodies of the activists of this study are bodies in discomfort. They do not feel ‘at ease’ in the city of São Paulo as the city and the city center do not reflect back the form it inhabits as an ideal. The gentrification process seems to move the city center even further away from their ideal form as it approaches the ideal of others (Ahmed, 2006). The relation of comfort and normativity are enclosed. For Ahmed, normativity can be seen as a form of comforting, as “one feels better by the warmth of being faced by a world that one has already taken in. One does not notice this as a world when one has been shaped by that world, and even acquires its shape” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 148). The world is then felt as easy.

The sensations of easiness and sinking in

In the city center of São Paulo, discomfort is ubiquitous. The city space does not conform to the ideal of upper, middle, or lower classes, as it is a space
where social, cultural, political, and economic conflicts happen intensively and constantly. The feeling of ‘uneasiness’ is constant in the whole city of São Paulo, yet this ‘uneasiness’ seems more intense in the city center. When one walks in the streets of São Paulo one should always be aware of cars and other people, for example. The rates of theft and pedestrian-vehicle accidents are high. In only the first six months of 2017, there were 223 deaths of pedestrians hit by automobiles registered (Zylberkan, 2017). Most pedestrians in São Paulo have already had a moment of fright – that is, being ‘almost hit’ – when crossing the street. The same can be said about being robbed. There, it is more common to know people who have been robbed than people who have not been robbed. Thus, there is always a sensation of caution and uneasiness in the streets. I have only realized how I do not feel at ease living and walking around São Paulo (especially in the city center) after living in Stockholm for three years. In Stockholm, I feel a certain easiness walking around the city. I never feel this easiness when I walk around São Paulo. In the first couple of months after I moved back to São Paulo during the period of this research, I realized how much I felt the need to maintain awareness at all times in the streets there. The sensation of ‘uneasiness’, the need to be alert, is always present. From the first day back, I realized I was not used to the city space of São Paulo any longer. I also realized I have forgotten the norms and rules for occupying that space. It demanded a lot of effort. I also do not feel totally comfortable in Stockholm. As I moved to Sweden, I have been always aware of the body in that new space. As a new immigrant, I am still trying to understand the cultural norms and rules in order to adjust my body to the Swedish public space. During the research process, I have realized how ‘uneasy’ I have been feeling for years. This realization came to me in one event during the research process, when I suddenly felt comfortable.

As explained by one of the organizers16, the event was part of a series of events aimed to bring together people of different backgrounds and discuss the relation of “bodies that are non-binary, transsexual, black, the female body, the body of the black woman, bodies that live at the peripheries of the city of São Paulo, bodies that dance, all of the multiplicity possible of bodies”. During that event, which was a dance workshop organized on the outskirts of the city, there was a moment I suddenly realized a strange feeling of ‘sinking in’ – a ‘melting’ feeling that comes with an intense relaxation of the body. In that

16 This excerpt was retrieved from a mini-documentary called Cidade Queer (Queer City), that covered the whole series of events under this name. The video is available via the following link: https://vimeo.com/245807121.
moment, I was watching the dancing workshop that was happening. I was next to the dance floor where one of the guests of the event was teaching Vogue, which is a type of dance, to the residents of the workshop. My body was moving following the dancers practicing. I was also clapping together with the rest of the audience. I was watching them practicing and performing. I was seeing their bodies in movement, being exposed proudly. I could move my body as well. In that moment, I felt totally comfortable with my body in that space. It was like I was the space itself, as my body melted with it. My body had extended into the space. In that moment, I realized I did not need to ‘adjust’ my body any longer. My body just seemed to fit in. By being totally embraced by that space in that moment, I realized I had not felt ‘that way’ in years. I had not felt comfort in years. Then, at this moment of the event, the sensation of easiness just came to me. Everything felt nice and comfortable. To experience comfort is to experience this ‘melting’ in a space, which is an intense but soothing sensation. My body just ‘sank in’ and it ‘felt right’. As Ahmed (2004) argues in the excerpt below, whenever in comfort, the body is felt to melt in the space:

To be comfortable is to be at ease with one’s environment that it is hard to distinguish where one’s body ends and the world begins. One fits, and by fitting, the surfaces of bodies disappear from view. The disappearance of the surface is instructive: in feelings of comfort, bodies extend into spaces, and spaces extend into bodies. The sinking feeling involves a seamless space, or a space where you can’t see the ‘stitches’ between bodies. (p. 148)

In that event, I felt a relaxation of muscles that I was not even aware were tense. Their tension had become a ‘normal’ state. I was feeling discomfort without being aware. I was carrying a weight without being aware. I also was feeling the “weight of having an inadequate body”, as one participant also describes below during another event of the same series of events:

We have an endemic segregation. Each time we are stopped by the police, each time that we look for a job, we feel the weight of having an inadequate body.

This weight is felt constantly by those bodies. This weight is felt as the bodies “who do not sink into spaces, whose bodies are registered as not fitting, often have to work to make others comfortable” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 224). Unfitting bodies can then feel heavy, as they are constantly working to make others comfortable. But in this event, as the norms for bodies are discussed, multiple
forms of bodies are welcomed. As I followed the discussion, I started no longer caring for what kind of body I have. I did not have to worry about the shape of my body, its surface and the signs attached. The possibility of not being worried about my own body, in comparison to other bodies and that space was relieving. As I did not need to worry about it anymore, it was as if my own surface had suddenly disappeared and I did not need to carry the weight of my body any longer. My own body was already extended to that dance floor and the people around it. My body was already extended to those other bodies that were dancing on the floor of the workshop. My body was finally an extension of the world. In that moment, I felt a deep connection to the world.

**Extending bodies through comfort**

Through comfort, we connect to the world around us. The world around us becomes reachable. The body extends as well as it is extended, in a way that reaches and becomes reachable (see Ahmed, 2006). It is about a connection that is different from belonging, which suggests a proprietary relationship. Belonging, as membership, suggests being part of something else. In contrast here, the connection is about melting in an amalgamation of flows of affect, that emerges as an already melted body. The sensation is one of pouring. Through comfort, the body extends and surfaces become unfelt. One does not become a member here, as being a member suggests maintaining a surface within the collective body (i.e., individual). Through comfort, bodies merge in attraction and surfaces become unfelt. The unfolding body is an extended one. Comfort as an affective intensity travels as a pulling force that extends the body. This extension of the body entails the sensation of unfeeling the organic skin. The body feels open, as some surfaces have melted into something bigger. If before I was coping trying to accommodate my body in different spaces, I did not need to do that any longer. As I suddenly felt a soothing sensation of comfort, I also felt protected. This feeling of protection seems to be exactly because I did not feel the surfaces of my organic skin any longer. As my body is not one of (my)self, I do not feel its shape, weight, and surface any longer. ‘I’ became a ‘we’. I am inside the collective body. We are inside. A similar experience was described by the participant Andrew in the study of Goulding and colleagues (2009) about clubbing and illicit pleasure. An excerpt of the study is presented below, with the participant describing how he can go to the floor, ‘lose it’, and go to a different plane:
You just get on the floor and lose it to the music. You feel euphoric...It’s like this feeling of happiness and contentment. You look around and everyone is feeling the same. You’re on a different plane; you’re all feeling it together. (…) Also there’s no threat, no aggression, it’s just something we’re all into together. (p.766)

In the excerpt above, the participant describes how there was a sensation of feeling happy, content, and safe. In that moment, there was no threat or aggression. Instead, there was something else which they were all in together. Even though I was not on the dance floor, the experience described above also describes my own experience. In that moment, that space seemed a safe space not only for me, but also for everyone else. As I felt inside and protected, I looked around and the people around seemed to feel safe and protected as well. In that safe space, we all seemed comfortable and merged. It was in that moment, after three years of asking myself what the glue of these collectives was, that the answer just strokes me: it was comfort. It had to be this blissful sensation I was feeling. This feeling of ‘being inside’ that does not become an entity, or a property. It was a moment within that event, which marked a series of encounters. The metaphor of the bubble, as in the case of the bubble of silence of the fishermen in the park (see Cheetham et al., 2018), also fits here. Through a bubble of silence, an invisible wall was felt. In contrast, the bubble here involved people dancing, a dance floor, a backyard, a barbecue grill and meat sticks, beer, catuaba (a popular Brazilian drink, similar to wine, made from extracts of an Amazon plant), music, clapping, and other supportive sounds. In that moment, we became a dancing bubble. By being inside that bubble, I felt a blissful sensation. Life felt easy and right.

This blissful sensation can also be related to the sensation of ‘perfect fitting’ that Allen (2002) describes in his ethnographic study of choices for postsecondary education. In this work, Allen proposes a choice framework that focuses on the experience of ‘fitting like a glove’ as a way to “capture choice experiences that most of us realize, but that are not grasped aptly by rational choice theory or constructive choice theory” (p. 528). In the study, students from different socioeconomic backgrounds have emotionally embodied experiences of ‘perfect fit’ with the postsecondary school of their choice. In the study, Allen describes how two students with different social class backgrounds felt they ‘Fit-Like-A-Glove’ (FLAG) when they visited their respective schools for the first time. Allen argues that these emotional experiences of ‘perfect fitting’ reflected their different socioeconomic backgrounds. As
with myself during the event, the bodies of these two students fitted like a glove in a world that seemed ideal to them. They were feeling at ease in that world, as that world mirrored back the form they inhabit as ideal. In the study, the force that underlines ‘easiness’ and thereby guides choices is related to the “shaping of the in situ encounter by social and historical factors incorporated in the consumer and embedded in the object of choice” (Allen, 2002, p. 520). For Allen, the feeling of perfect fitting “is explained by chronicling the different social conditions shaping their habitus and contemporaneously affecting the situation in which they make choices” (p. 528). Their choices are then tightly related to their sociocultural conditions, as they shape the world they inhabit as ideal.

The feeling of ‘fitting like a glove’ then resonates with an easy reading of a world. In other words, we feel that we ‘just fit in’ when the social and cultural shaping of the world matches the shaping of our own bodies, as it is easy to read and be part of that world (Ahmed, 2006). As that world is felt to be easy, it is felt as comfortable. It is felt as ‘natural’. The feeling of comfort then resonates with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, which has been covered not only by this study of Allen but also by many other studies in CCT (e.g., Holt, 1998; Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013). Through the concept of habitus, CCT scholars have theorized status consumption. For example, in the community and subculture literature, consumer culture scholars have also underlined how consumers, through specific symbolic capital and status consumption, develop internal structures and competition within collective bodies (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001; Ulver & Ostberg, 2014). In such studies, scholars have focused on how experienced consumers with high cultural capital reinforce the norms of the collective to the novice consumers with lower cultural capital. The novice consumers then go through a process of becoming accustomed to the norms and knowledge of that microculture. Such studies also discuss how the feeling of ‘easiness’ emerges when there is a match, through social, cultural, and historical shaping, of the signs attached to the bodies with the spaces they occupy (Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013). This easiness then evokes a feeling of comfort, which produces an effect of total accommodation of the body in the space.
The participants of the urban collectives, through different activities, causes, and arguments, are focused on accommodating their bodies into the city space. They are focused on different ways in which to consume that space. Their activities are frequently related to how to occupy their bodies in that space. The objective of trying to find new ways of occupying the space has been made explicit in many occasions and across the multiple collectives. In the case of BxC, for example, the participants describe themselves (in a text they exchanged via e-mail) as “an open network of producers, a movement, a network in movement, with clear objectives: take the streets and rescue it as a common space, a place for gathering, interaction, public local of art and multiple other manifestations”. As participants state they need to ‘take the streets and rescue it’, they suggest their bodies are not accommodated in those streets of the city center. Both actions, to take something and to rescue something, imply reaching something that was previously out of reach. Thereby, their statement implies that their bodies were not extended to the space. Rather than feeling inside, they suggest a distance between their bodies and the streets. Their objective is then to make something else out of the streets: a common city space where they can live, work, walk, and hang out. Thereby, the participants want to feel inside this common city space: they want to extend their bodies into the city space. However, with the gentrification process, the city center is increasingly changing away from a space where they can sink in. Quite the contrary, their city center becomes a place that is considered even harder to reach, as it becomes a place for others to consume. It becomes a place where families are removed from their housing and replaced by parking lots (as discussed above). As pointed out in another e-mail, it becomes a place where the public square is planned, maintained, and controlled by a private national bank called Itaú. Through the gentrification process, the feeling of discomfort seems to increase as the accommodation of their bodies in that part of the city space seems harder. Their activism can then be seen an affective labor for accommodating bodies in the space. Their activism is then a labor of discomfort. However, instead of working to make others comfortable, their work is focused on trying to accommodate their bodies in the city space. Their activism is focused on moving from discomfort to comfort.

In moments of their gatherings, the participants have described sensations of relief and ease when discomfort is revoked, like the one I felt in the event I
mentioned above. In such moments, there is a realization of everything ‘fitting’ together, as the participant describes in the excerpt below (which is originally part of a long exchange of e-mails). This e-mail exchange occurred immediately after the first BxC festival and the participants were sharing their impressions of what had ‘just happened’:

I still feel funny not to feel my feet on the ground (…) I could speak with some people that passed through BxC dancing: I have a billion of fulfillments in this festival. I saw more billions of personal dreams of participants being achieved as well.

Of all steps in my life and career, I could understand many kilometers of things that were desires that didn’t fit. Well, they did fit because they had to swirl in different axes, crossing and merging in different ends.

In the passage above, the participant seems to be still in a euphoric state after the first BxC festival and cannot feel his/her ‘feet on the ground’. According to him/her, before the festival, the participant had many desires that did not fit his/her everyday life previously. The BxC Festival changed that. S/he and many other participants had fulfilled their dreams in that occasion. S/he describes a sensation of fulfillment and relief. S/he describes a dream-like feeling – billions of dreams (of the participants) fitted in during the festival, where they swirled on different axes, crossing and merging at different ends. S/he emphasizes how s/he still can feel the affective intensity of this merge. It merged in that moment as s/he felt at ease, as the world mirrored back the form s/he inhabits as ideal – “an immensity of personal dreams being achieved together”. In that moment, the surface between his/her body, BxC and the city space becomes unfelt. As s/he states in the beginning, it felt funny not being able to feel his/her ‘feet on the ground’. S/he still could not feel the surface of the ground, as his/her feet melted into the ground. In this passage, s/he describes the sensation of his/her body extending into the space, and the space extending into his/her body. This extension of the body into the space entails an expansion of the body, which is described as a fulfilling sensation. Once the body is extended fully into the space, as his/her feet had melted into the ground, it becomes impossible to remove the participant from that space. They are merged together in that moment.

In the first edition of BxC Festival, many participants shared these experiences of merging together. The passage above is an excerpt of a longer exchange of e-mails that happened in the days following the first festival. Below, I place the passage above in the broader exchange of e-mails that happened.
In the excerpt below, other participants express how the intensity of comfort seems to still be felt through their bodies, even though they have already returned to their routines. Through this long exchange of e-mails, they seem to sustain the affective intensity of feeling comfortable in one’s world:

For me, who is in cold Berlin… (there have been) many emotions in the last week, my peeps. I even woke up crying one day. I woke up from a BxC dream. LOL. Today on my way to work, I kept remembering the first CCD emails, the conversations in the hall, at bars, the shared dreams, the ideals... and it fills my heart with joy to see that we went further than we could imagine. It was the most beautiful thing I saw, and participated in.

Personally, it functioned as a fucking compass to locate myself, my desires, my dreams and where I want to be… with you guys, of course, always! For me, BxC is the synthesis of many dreams, projects and ideas... the free university of cultural production under construction!!!!!!

Let’s go because it is just the beginning! (Let’s go) towards other endless possibilities of life!!!
Life is for dancing!!!!!!!!!!!!
Lots of love and missing you - D

It was the coolest thing I have ever seen, I have ever participated. It is a strange sense of delight, some butterflies in the stomach, something like “Is this really happening right here?”

Congratulations to everyone, ok? It is truly amazing what happened and how it happened.
Thank you indeed, people! - Z

Today I woke up with a huge emptiness, which usually follows something too important to be measured. I tried to return to my routine before BxC, but for now I cannot remember any more what that was. I have done a thousand things that were late in these 2-3 weeks of hurricane and nothing seems to have a resemblance to the importance that BxC had in these 10 days.

I have read many things about BxC today, from e-mails in the group to newspaper articles, from tweets to FB posts, in order to try to understand or digest everything a little bit better, but it didn’t happen yet.
I am going to sleep now. Will the void continue tomorrow? – M

Jeez, M, I understand your feeling... It was fucking hard to go to the office on Monday and return to the daily boss-employee routine. But the good thing is that this BxC feeling has remained and, apparently, it will go even further (Urban biotopes say so!)
Kisses, - J
It does not matter how or where.... I am BxC from head to toe!! I think there have been very few times I felt so much joy that I could understand what all this means to me... it is a dislocation in all features, peeps. It is a dislocation of life that (indeed, like a dream, D) takes me to feeling how clearly I imagined my path, not only professional; this is (cultural) production!!!
It is a shift in all respects. A shift of life (yes, like a dream, D.) taking me to feeling how real everything I imagined for my career not only professional ... but this is production!!!
Let’s gooooooooo. We are together. On the way! - V

Aaaah! I’ve written before, but I could not hold myself with so much prettiness here. I repeat once again and I will keep repeating for others to hear:
Another order of things is possible.
Eye to eye is possible.
The dialogical construction, trialogic, polyphonic, rhizomatic. It is not easy, we do not yet well know how to make it to go further from a way of producing an ‘event’ to a mode of production, but it is a delight to experience and feel the taste. - L

Through the exchange of e-mails, the affective intensity is still shared and felt by the participants in the days following the event. There is a sensation of not being able to control one’s own body (e.g., one participant woke up crying) because there is a remaining force that one cannot restrain (e.g., “I could not hold myself”). The body cannot be contained anymore, as it has already been poured over the city space and BxC. The sensation of being extended is still felt vigorously. The affective merge is felt as a body extension between the participants and, during the festival, they were oriented toward their ideals (e.g., “we went further than we could imagine”). Their connection to their ideals during the festival is felt as a disconnection with their normal life after the festival. The ‘normal life’ is now seen as a vacuum, as one participant asks, “will the void continue tomorrow?” In addition to this void, there is a certain disorientation followed by the event. The festival was felt to be a “compass to locate myself”, when the orientation of participants during the festival was toward their ideals and themselves. The festival, as a gathering, worked as a centric force. There was an affective intensity pulling them together. In that moment, “eye to eye” was possible. During the festival, they seem to have found each other and themselves, and together they melted with the space through comfort. During the event, there was a shift from discomfort
to comfort. One participant describes it as “shift of life”. One shifts the body when one is accommodating the body in a space. In the case of the participants, the festival was the shift that allowed them to sink into the city center. It was the shift that allowed them go from discomfort to comfort, as they were able to extend their bodies into each other and the city space. One feels comfort in a chair when the body sinks into that chair as the division of the body and the chair is undone. Comfort is about subjects, objects, and spaces merging through a pulling force. Through comfort, participants merge together. They are pulled together, forming a collective body.

*Discomfort as a pushing force*

Throughout the following years, the participants kept searching for this shift from discomfort to comfort. The participants seemed to always be engaging in activities concerned with how to accommodate bodies in the city space. They were looking for ways that could feel comfortable, and this constant search for comfort is expressed, for example, in the BxC proposal of care. The collective emerged as a festival through a public call organized by ‘caretorship’ according to the participants. In the section of Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) of the website for the first BxC festival, they emphasize that the activities:

> were not chosen or filtered. They were cared in order for them to happen. This is our concept of ‘caretorship’. Instead of selecting, cutting, interposing, choosing, modifying, we want everyone to have the opportunity to choose how their work is incorporated and how they participate in our program.

This concept of ‘caretorship’ (in contrast to curatorship) was often described as one of the few moments of instant and complete consensus, and this organization ‘by care’ has been a matter of pride for participants of BxC. They describe the moment of the proposition of the concept of ‘caretorship’ as a *eureka* moment. They suddenly realized that care was bonding them: it was what was organizing them. They were caring for that area of the city center. They were taking care of each other when the threat of gentrification got closer. The threat of expulsion seemed to be ever present throughout the six years from 2011 until 2017. As they felt under constant threat, they turned to each other for comfort. Their orientation is one of pulling them together, merging them together. However, once discomfort is felt again, surfaces also become felt
again. The comfort of some bodies depends on the discomfort of other bodies. The participants are then always juggling with the surfacing process through the making of comfort and discomfort. For example, the BxC participants were always encouraging the discussion of different perspectives in the GoogleGroups stating that they were not striving for consensus. They seemed to refuse to impose their perspectives within BxC, as it would entail the imposition of the comfort of some over the discomfort of others. Constantly they recalled that tension was welcomed. Indeed, many discussions became heated. Rather than reinforcing cohesion, many participants would leave once they started to feel some discomfort. Below, I present excerpts of an exchange of e-mails regarding a participant leaving the group:

I came here just to confirm what you have already noticed and to talk about the posture that I already have here on the list and through the corridors of life. For already some time now, the paths of the BxC have made less sense to me, the struggle for civil occupation of the city has been gaining a status quo that does not interest me and I am increasingly inclined to follow my restless heart and click F5. So, I will do it. :D

I am leaving the list. I do not know if that means ‘passing the baton’, as L mentioned the other day. We tried to allow the baton to dissolve (and it dissolved) and the power to never seduce us (I am not sure if we did that). - P

(…) (The paths of BxC) It is movement. One pulls from one side, everyone goes. Another one pulls from another side, everyone goes. And so it goes on stretching, pluralizing and leaving. - J

(…) And I believe in what J wrote... movement is this: one pulls from here, another pulls from there, and so on, taking care not to stretch too much and to be loose. - K

(…) I try to put myself in your place and in the place of everyone that came in and made this thing burst from the beginning. It seemed a vigorous flower that grew fast and already spread seeds as soon as it opened. It was probably the most beautiful moment. Now, the plant grows organically. - X
As much as we are feeling your absence in the discussions of this group after BxC (Festival), your official disconnection gives us a slight pain. I had to move away from personal projects to be part of this beautiful movement and, now I am returning also to them. This is also a reason for my absence in the last meetings.

I wish you success in this new journey. (I hope) that this one click away is real and that soon (we) all folks will meet to dance! - D

Above, the participant leaving the group explains that her/his heart is restless and s/he feels inclined to follow the restlessness of her/his heart. Rather than resting and sinking in, there is a force that urges movement rather than rest. The participant also mentions s/he is already adopting another posture (and consequently, another position) through the corridors of life. Through the perspective from the position s/he stands (in the corridors of life), s/he sees that the path of BxC is pointing in another direction. In the excerpt above, the participant explains the paths of the BxC seem to be heading in a direction that makes less sense to her/him. That is, the pulling intensity seems to be going in a different direction. Once BxC was pulling in a direction that the participant was not oriented to, the participant pulled out. There is a dislocation towards different directions. In such moments, there seems to be a split of paths and the feeling of a surface then remerges. S/he is already feeling outside, s/he is only making it official with the e-mail. Rather than trying to change the course of these new directions, s/he opts to leave and renew upon other avenues. The participant uses the reference of clicking the F5 key, as it is commonly used as a reload key in many web browsers and other applications.

Rather than enforcing norms and ideals, there seems be a refusal to reinforce in others the direction s/he has become oriented towards. S/he declines to ‘pass the baton’ as one does in a run, which is a metaphor for consecutive path. As s/he already discussed with another participant, the baton was supposed to dissolve and it did. This dissolution of the baton implies that seniority should not push for the direction of the path. Her/his path should not be the one to be followed by others. As one participant argues, the participants are continuously pulling, but there is a concern for not stretching too much. There is a concern for not pulling too much towards one side, as it would enforce a power imbalance. Nonetheless, the stretching happened and the participant decided to leave the group list. New paths had emerged for her/him.
Once the participant felt discomfort, s/he moved towards other activities, proposals, and collectives. Rather than trying to reinforce norms and ideals through a hierarchical structure, the participant moved to other initiatives and collectives. A surface between her/him and BxC was already felt. There was no pulling between them any longer, they were already going in different directions. In the exchange of e-mails above, her/his position is one that is already felt outside. S/he clicked F5 to reload and shifted to other initiatives. The participant refused to – or attempted not to – write scripts of norms and ideals for other participants within the collective, even though s/he was one of the founding participants. In my first interview with this participant s/he recalls: “I left (BxC) because I thought I was getting in the way there”. However, throughout our conversation during the interview, s/he mentioned how s/he had engaged in many other activities that were still related to the occupation of the city center, but in different ways. S/he also mentioned that s/he kept attending some of the events of BxC. S/he mentioned that s/he was still friends with everyone and could help me to get in touch with them. Even though s/he was one of the first people to be involved with BxC, s/he says s/he “was one of many there”. The participant then left the group (list) officially even though some interaction between her/him and BxC remained. The choice for leaving seems to be taken, as s/he already felt distanced from the direction BxC was heading in. S/he already felt a split between them. Yet, on multiple occasions, they would merge again and share the same orientation. That is, in many other moments, this new surface would become unfelt and they would again feel to be inside of something else. As another participant says, her/his dislocation was just one click away and soon they would find other moments to dance together.

Nevertheless, the moment of her/his disconnection away from the collective is felt through feelings of discomfort. The surfacing process was not an easy one. The splitting of bodies was marked by discomfort from both sides. The participant points out that her/his heart is restless and there are disagreements over current issues. The other participants are feeling her/his absence and there is a slight pain in her/his official departure from the group, as described in the last e-mail presented above. The feeling of pain is instructive here, as it interlaces the feeling of pain with the emergence of the surface from inside BxC. Even though I do not intend to further develop the discussion concerning pain, Ahmed (2004) points out that “it is through sensual experiences such as pain that we come to have a sense of our own skin as bodily surfaces […], as something that keeps us apart from others” (p. 24). This slight pain, mentioned
by one participant, is felt when the participant is felt as apart from them. They feel her/his official disconnection as a removal away from them, as something that was inside is not felt anymore within the boundaries. Conversely, it is now seen as something outside. This withdrawal from the collective towards other directions can be understood as a sprouting. Also in the excerpt above, the collective is compared to a vigorous flower that burst forth, grew fast, and spread seeds as soon as it opened. This sprouting, as a germination that emerges as other bodies, is seen as the natural progression of BxC in their juggling between comfort and discomfort. Whereas the process of sprouting itself is felt as a slight pain, they hope for posterior reencounters. They also focus on the horizontal accommodation within the collective formation. Their accommodation and reaccommodation was constantly negotiated.

The relation between comfort and discomfort was a volatile and fragile one. In another long exchange of e-mails, one participant recalls another participant quote in a previous meeting: “If we do not put out the discomfort that each one has of the other or of a process that we do not agree, this bubble will burst nastily”. This metaphor of the bubble is also used by the participant herself, as s/he feels that they are still inside a bubble but, that it seems a volatile and fragile form. It will burst nastily. The other participant recalls this quote when many participants are discussing the position of other participants in the group and how certain decisions were taken, discussed, or considered. Below, I present some quotes of this discussion that demonstrate their constant efforts in resisting the imposition of one over the other:

Here, no matter how much you have done, how long have you been in the group, nor the color of your hair, everyone is equal and has the same weight always. Obviously, this is not 100% real or 100% true. First because nothing is. But second, and more importantly, it is because we are people hierarchized by “nature” (i.e., by creation). We live in a totally hierarchical world and fighting against this (hierarchical world) goes against all the perception of reality that we have. This is why it is difficult and therefore it is necessary to lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil of putting us in a different place than the SIDE of the next. - P

(…) Being horizontal is not something that is given, it is more a permanent exercise of dissolution of power. We tend to topdownisms. Our life is built like that. We need a lot of gracefulness to undo this (topdownism), which did not happen / does not happen, especially, in my view, by those two (participants) that I quoted.
This distance between speech and practice is one the most harmful things that exists, (it) is the ‘clay foot’ of history. - A

Yes, unfortunately, as the B said in another email, ‘War is Peace’ and vice versa. The price of tranquility is eternal vigilance (it was not really that saying, but the moral is the same). This vigilance, ironies and laziness (one on one side and others on the other) only swim against. We have to row together here to survive. With patience, parsimony, and any other noun that uses the circumflex around it. (...) So, let’s be friends and take care of each other. If we are not able to do it in here, we are not doing out there in that capitalist and hierarchical world either. - S

As shown above, they are constantly surveilling themselves so as to avoid hierarchies and imposition of power into others’ bodies. They admit it is difficult. That it is tempting. As another participant mentions in another excerpt above, they are constantly pulling but it is important to be careful not to stretch too much. This pulling can be seen as the act of accommodating. During the exchange of e-mails above, the participants are problematizing the imposition of power between them, especially from senior participants over newcomers (“but deliver us from the evil of putting us in a different place than the SIDE of the next”). In many discussions via e-mails, a newcomer would ‘excuse themselves’ to take a stance and the others would say how there was no need for that. There, a newcomer has the same space of a senior participant. Everyone should feel the right to speak up to the same degree. However, as one participant warns in the excerpt above, the “distance between speech and practice is one the most harmful things that exist”. The horizontal organization and the lack of hierarchy was a constant exercise, as it again demanded an effort to accommodate. Even though in theory everyone had the same ‘space’, some of the senior participants seem to exercise more eloquence throughout some discussions via e-mail. The other participants would often then call out this pushing by a senior participant and ask for more space for the discussion. Nevertheless, there was a constant exercise of not writing scripts of norms within BxC. By trying not to write scripts within the collectives, the preservation of BxC ‘as they are’ became troubled. The collective then seemed to dissolve, participants started to sprout in other directions, as discomfort became felt by many (more than fewer).
Even though the participants described intensive moments of comfort (of merging together into the space), they also discussed many situations of discomfort in their interactions. In alterations of moments of comfort and discomfort, they were continuously merging and unmerging. Whenever there was discomfort, the mergings of subjects and objects in a collective body were undone and some surfaces became felt again (Ahmed, 2004b). The feeling of ‘melting’ is only possible if there is no effort involved. Once there is an effort to fit, the surfaces of the bodies become felt (Ahmed, 2004). Then, instead of reinforcing norms within the collective in order to maintain the borders of the collective body, the participants sprouted and moved on to other initiatives even though many of them kept interacting. They kept coming and going, intercalating between being inside and outside. They maintained contact zones, as many of the multiple initiatives the participants headed towards were actually close enough for merging once again. Before moving ahead to discuss fear, I would like to focus on the relation between norms and comfort.

*Norms, legitimate lives, and comfort*

According to Ahmed (2004), “bodies take the shape of norms that are repeated over time and with force” (p. 145). Norms are naturalized through normativity and a social ideal is presented as a reproduction of life itself (or ‘life as we know it’). In Ahmed’s study, she discusses how social ideals regarding sexual orientation rely on the coupling of difference (i.e., man and woman) as the natural way to guarantee society’s capacity to procreate. Within Brazilian space, the norms have been one of social segregation. Social inequality and segregation have been naturalized and justified by the colonial history of the country (Souza, 2009). Social inequality is naturalized as part of the country’s history and social segregation can still be seen currently with a clear division of white and wealth on one side, and black and poor on the other side. The demarcation of *Casa-Grandes* (which refers to the slave owner’s residence, and can be translated as ‘Big House’ in English) and *Senzalas* (which was the name of slave quarters) still seems clear and ubiquitous. For example, it is still the norm today that buildings are built with two types of elevators: there is a ‘social’ elevator for residents and guests and there is a ‘service’ elevator for maids and other domestic workers. In many cities nowadays, there are laws forbidding discrimination in the usage of the elevators based on race, sex, color, origin, social position, age, any type of impairment, or non-contagious disease. In São Paulo, such a law was implemented in 1996. In Rio de Janeiro,
a law ruling against any kind of discrimination in the elevators of buildings came into force in 2003. However, segregation in the usage of elevators is still a controversial issue, as incidents of discrimination are still occurring. These laws were passed, but many people disagree with such laws. The spatial norm in Brazil is then still one that splits rich and poor, white and black. This norm is reproduced as natural in the present day.

This class-racial segregation is extreme in many neighborhoods around the city of São Paulo. The neighborhoods are distinctly segmented according to class and their social ideals can be very homogeneous within neighborhoods. Below, I show one iconic picture that illustrates how class-racial segregation is well delineated in the boundaries of two neighborhoods in the South side of the city of São Paulo: Morumbi and Paraisópolis (Picture 1). In each of these neighborhoods, the norms and social ideals are quite different. They encompass different modes of life. This situation differs from the city center of São Paulo. As shown below (Picture 2), an overlapping of different social cultural patterns, as well as social ideals and norms, can still be seen in the city center. The tensions of such overlappings increase during the gentrification process, as different social ideals and norms are pressed against each other. In addition, this pressing is not symmetric, as power is not flat.

Picture 1 – In the left side of the picture, part of Paraisópolis favela is shown. The favela is part of the neighborhood of Paraisópolis. In the right side of the picture, a fancy building in the neighborhood of Morumbi is shown. Both neighborhoods are located in the southwestern part of the city.
As argued by Ilkucan and Sandicki (2005), gentrification is “a spatial manifestation of a wider consumption ideology” (p. 474). São Paulo seems to be a city “that is increasingly defined by elites through and by consumption. In this context, cities appear to have become increasingly defined by disparities of wealth” (Miles, 2012, p. 216). Following Miles, São Paulo seems to be a neoliberal city. In such cities, gentrification is one of the manifestations of the spatial transformations that are the result of a “broader (more speculative) commitment to the image of place that, it is hoped, will have a trickle-down effect for the city as a whole” (ibid., p. 218). For some scholars, the neoliberal city highlights the orientation towards the neoliberal social ideal of prosperity, growth, and consumption (Miles, 2013; see also Harvey, 2008). However, in the case of Brazilian cities, the gentrification process, like the urbanization process from its very beginning, is tied to the naturalization of social segregation in the colonial process. Therefore, in the city of São Paulo, the gentrification process is not only creating new forms of urban inequality (Castilhos, 2015), but it is also maintaining colonial normativity with the clear division of the Casa-Grande and Senzalas. This situation resonates with Jackson’s (2017) argument that gentrification is a current manifestation of the reproduction of historical colonization. In her research, she explores the Canadian context and the displacement of Indigenous peoples. She contends that “colonial relationalities (both symbolic and material) that give rise to the settler city
persist through the capitalist mode of production, which is reproduced by bodies who share space across social difference, through a dialectic of gentrification (ibid., p. 44). The neoliberal city can be then one of the modern ways to legitimize present-day social inequality (Souza, 2009). It is a modern way to split legitimate lives from illegitimates ones.

Miles (2013) points out that the “neoliberal city is grounded in a sense of place built around a conception of prosperity, rather than the more uncomfortable reality that lies beneath” (p. 220). According to the author, this kind of city is a homogenized one. It allows one norm and this norm interlaces prosperity, consumption, and comfort. The speech of former mayor João Dória presented above resonates with this ‘one’ norm. In that interview for a television program, he argues that the city center of a major world city is a ‘beautiful place, protected, preserved’. However, in the city center, the different cycles of urbanization blurred the delimitation of social segregations that have become naturalized. The gentrification process then pushes again for such delimitation with multiple initiatives aiming to transform the area in a ‘historical, preserved and clean’ space for consumption (Miles, 2012). However, there are also many initiatives trying to resist such transformations and delimitations. The participants of this study are involved in such initiatives. For instance, the participants of BxC do not see the cleansing process of gentrification as progress. They see it as a regression, as the split between rich and poor is again felt as present and intensified. The spatial injustices of the colonial split of the Casa-Grande and Senzala are felt again in the present. The spatial injustices are not felt as colonial inheritances. Rather, they are felt as forces that legitimize certain bodies and delegitimate other bodies. It now splits human bodies from sub-human ones. In another interview in 2017, João Dória opined that the city of São Paulo was garbage and associated people in the city center with ‘human garbage’ (Sakamoto, 2016). By associating the city with garbage and its residents (especially crackers) to ‘human garbage’, the bodies of the residents of the city center are not seen as human bodies. They are sub-human as they fail to follow the social ideal of being human.

Through that act of speech, the former mayor highlights the social ideal within the wider consumption ideology. For him, the city center is seen as garbage as it is not qualified as a space for consumption (Miles, 2012) and many residents of the city center are not qualified as humans, as they are not seen as humans for consumption (that is, consumers). For him, the city center then needs to be requalified. The current city center of São Paulo and its residents
fail to follow the social ideal, as they carry sticky signs of badness (e.g., poverty, addiction, garbage, non-human, etc.). Through speech acts, the former mayor validates the need to remove these signs of failure through gentrification. The ‘requalification’ of the city center, through real estate development and the proliferation of middle-class shops and services, would then have the potential to turn the city space into a place in compliance to normativity, in contrast to what it is now. The city space now is seen as unfitting (Ahmed, 2006). For him, the city center is garbage, ‘it is sadness. It is no man’s land’. In Portuguese, the precise expression (for no man’s land) is “it is land of no one”. His speech act then implies that the land would be a happy place if there would be someone there. Now, there is no one. The former mayor then cannot see the bodies occupying the city center as bodies of ‘someone’. The bodies of marginalized people in Brazil become invisible (Souza, 2009). They are illegitimate lives.

Only the lives of a specific type of human become visible and legitimate for the ‘requalification’ of that space. The bodies of humans for consumption (consumers) are legitimate bodies, since in the wider consumption ideology, the social ideal is delineated by access to capital and consumption patterns. Through different consumption patterns, consumers attach themselves to signs that confirm their social status and compliance with social ideals of consumption and consumerism. By sticking certain ascribed consumption signs to their bodies, consumers are then able to legitimize their lives. However, other bodies fail to legitimize their lives, as they are not able (or refuse) to carry the ascribed signs of consumption. The city center of São Paulo and its current residents fail in legitimizing their lives because, as a collective body, they keep carrying signs of badness. The split between legitimate and illegitimate lives is one effect of normativity. Whereas sexuality splits legitimate and illegitimate lives regarding sexual orientation, within capitalism and wider consumption ideology, the potential for consumption splits legitimate lives from illegitimate ones.

For example, during an event of a collective around the city center, one participant was explaining the LGBT history of that city space. S/he explained how in the last 20-30 years the spatial division of the LGBT community can be traced back according to access to capital and consumption. S/he highlighted that there were two big areas of LGBT concentration, which were divided by one of the main avenues of the city (Avenida Paulista). One side, located in the neighborhood of Jardins (one of the wealthiest neighborhoods
in the city), became a dwelling place for wealthy LGBT people. In contrast, on the other side of the avenue where the city center starts, the poorer LGBT community found their stronghold. This split of legitimate and illegitimate lives in São Paulo is then one based on consumption patterns to the point that, in the intersectionality of potential for consumption and sexual orientation, the potential for consumption seems to loom in the making and unmaking of surfaces, as a ‘splitting force’. This looming was also the case of gay consumers in Kates’ (2002) study. Similarly, in his study, gay lives were legitimized when the participants had the capital to consume and consequently had the potential to conform to the normativity of consumption and consumerism, even though they failed to comply with heterosexuality. In his study of gay communities, the members used brands to legitimize their cause and consequently their lives.

In contrast, the current residents of São Paulo’s city center (especially, the crackers) are designated as illegitimate lives since they are not able or not willing to reproduce market norms and logic. They fail in contributing to the (re)production of life: the life of consumption. For the mayor, the possibility of feeling comfort in the city center again depends on the expulsion of (invisible) lives that extended into the city space when the area was ‘abandoned’. For the mayor, such ‘abandonment’ turned the city center into a pigsty. The bodies that have been extended to the city space in this said time of ‘abandonment’ are invisible. As illegitimate lives, their bodies are extended into the city space that is considered to be a pigsty. The space is then considered not qualified for consumption. Within the ideology of consumption and neoliberal normativity, through the right of property, it is perceived as natural that capital determines who has the right over property, who has the right to occupy spaces. It is perceived as natural then that legitimate lives of consumers have the right to the city space, instead of crackers and lower-class consumers. Spatial injustices are then naturalized. As Harvey (2008) points out, “we live, after all, in a world in which the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights” (p. 23). Below, I start to discuss fear. In this discussion, I highlight how fear can undo surfaces and merge bodies together.

---

17 The stronghold of LGBT people in the city center encompass some blocks around Consolação Avenue, Augusta Street, Frei Caneca Street, and Largo do Arouche, among others. Within the city center, there is a sub-division of areas between gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites, and ‘alternativies’ (friends). However, this sub-division is out of the scope of this study.
like comfort. I also discuss how fear mediates both the convergence and the divergence of these urban activists.

6.1.3. Fear

According to Ahmed (2004, 2004b), the making of fear is produced once a body read as dangerous is felt as getting closer in space and time. In the making of fear, both the spatial and the temporal dimension are crucial. The lived (unpleasant) experience of fear is felt in the present even though the unpleasantness of fear is an anticipation of the future. Fear involves an expectation of feeling hurt or injured, which is perceived as imminent. In the case of the urban activism collectives (as well as residents and frequenters of the city center), the imminent threat is the gentrification of the neighborhoods they are used to living in. Whereas some participants reside in the area, others are frequenters of the area. Nevertheless, the city center permeates their lives. As gentrification is felt to be approaching the city center, gentrification is also felt to be approaching their lives in the city center. The threat of expulsion via gentrification is felt to be imminent and, consequently, this approximation is feared. The theme of gentrification permeates most of their interactions. The word gentrification is incessantly repeated in meetings, e-mails, discussions, and events. The presence of gentrification is thus perceived in the present. Gentrification is always felt as present. Still, it is the threat of this approximation in the future as well as its intensification that mediates the fear.

The city is closing down: the approaching of a threat

During an interview, one participant explained to me that “the city is closing down, it is hard to live in São Paulo, it is expensive, you know?” (see full excerpt in page 207). This statement was made when the participant was explaining the context of 2011/2012, which is the period when they started to organize the first festival of BxC. In that period, the city is felt to be “closing down”, which resonates to an object approaching and constraining them. It constrains their movements in the city center. It is felt as a force that presses their bodies to occupy less space. It is felt as constraining and therefore threatening. It is felt to be hard to live in the city of São Paulo because the prices are high. This hardship is an unpleasant intensity felt in the present and it also anticipates the continuity, or even aggravation, of the situation in the future.
Fear is an intense bodily experience felt in the present, which presses us into the future (Ahmed, 2004). As an object in movement, gentrification presses upon their bodies, from the future into the present, producing an unpleasant form of intensity. The object that one fears is not simply close to one’s body, it impresses upon the body in the present as an anticipated pain in the future. The anticipation of pain in the future is felt when the object in movement is read as danger and the direction is forthcoming (Ahmed, 2004, 2004b).

For the participants, the approximation of the gentrification (as a threat) and the anticipation of its painful consequences are felt constantly: when a bar is closed because the owner cannot afford another raise of the rent, when an old house is demolished, when new condo buildings are built, when they remove families who have built precarious homes in the middle of the streets, and so on. Some of the homeless families have a fixed spot and become part of a corner or certain pillars of the Big Worm Viaduct. When they are expelled, the approximation of the gentrification as a threat is also felt. Throughout the participants’ e-mail exchanges, the sharing of such incidents was constant. As presented above (p. 121), such e-mails would have the subject title of ‘another one’. These e-mails would trigger a thread of replies in which participants would state how these events evoked pain in them and how they were feeling sorrow and aversion with that situation. In that moment, they were sharing the pain with the people involved in those occurrences. Their bodies were felt to be connected to the ones getting removed and, thereby, their bodies were also felt as being removed from the city center. The pushing force of removal was felt in the present. The presence of gentrification was then felt as present and intense: it was felt as a pushing force.

During the organization of the first edition of the BxC Festival, there was a salient moment of the reading of gentrification as a threat approaching. In late 2011 and early 2012, many activists who were involved in multiple other causes started to get involved with the production of the BxC festival. As participants started to join the BxC e-mail list, they started to debate the direction, the format, and the proposal of the festival. Initially, the festival had a more artistic focus. However, during the production process the threat of gentrification started to be felt as closer and closer. In this period, there were instances of compulsory removals of families in some areas and buildings around the city (e.g., Favela Moinho, Pinheirinho, Crackland, etc.). Many spaces and buildings are empty because they have been used as investment properties for
real estate speculation for many years. Throughout the years, hundreds of families have illegally occupied some of the empty buildings and areas. They are called ‘occupations’. In a few cases, the occupation families were able to reclaim the property of the space, which required the municipality to misappropriate the building and allow them to stay in the occupied building. However, most of the occupations are still illegal and thereby in constant threat of forced eviction. Throughout the production process of the festival, the police evicted a few of these occupations, removing many families from their precarious homes. These evictions were violent events. On such occasions the police would often use tear gas and brute force to remove the families and their possessions from the buildings. By witnessing these violent evictions (2011/2012), the participants shared the pain of the eviction with the families or other activists and the narratives of the BxC e-mail exchange have since then been shaped by witnessing such events. By sharing the painful feelings related to violent occurrences, the approaching of a forced eviction was pressed upon their bodies. The perception of the threat of gentrification became imminent for them. It was not felt in the future, it was felt in the present.

**Fear as a pushing force**

Gentrification as an imminent threat was felt as a pushing force that was approaching and pressing upon their bodies away from the city center. It was also felt as a constraining force that would press against their bodies and constrain their movements. An emerging surface could then be felt through this pushing and constraining force. Rather than having their bodies extended to the city center, the activists would feel a pressure for their removal. At the same time, this pressure would squeeze them towards each other. They were being pushed together. Together, the pressure for removal was felt as getting closer and closer. Thereby, the same force that was felt splitting them from the city center was the force that was pushing the urban activism collectives together. It was orienting and directing them towards themselves and against the bodies read as ‘gentrifiers’. Through fear, these collectives would get together searching for protection and care in each other. In other words, fear

\[18\] In the series of articles that The Guardian published about São Paulo in late 2017, the role of these occupations is emphasized. In one of the articles, they show one occupation called *Mauá*. They present it as a “fair-housing movement that has reignited debate about whether urban development should aim at gentrification or helping the growing ranks of people forced to live on the street and in the periphery”. For further reading of this article about the occupations in the city center of São Paulo, the link follows: [https://goo.gl/MjnQWw](https://goo.gl/MjnQWw).
was felt as a pushing force that squeezed and merged bodies that were feeling the threat of gentrification together. Below, I present an excerpt of a thread of e-mails that was prompted by an eviction event of one of those occupations mentioned above. In this excerpt, the participants discuss how they can together join and try to resist the eviction of one occupation. In such moments, collectives would join in and work together and, consequently, become a joint force of resistance against this pushing force that was felt approaching the entire city center and their bodies. In the e-mail below, one participant calls on the other participants of both BxC and OH to join the resistance against the eviction of the one occupation called *Ocupação São João* (Occupation Saint John, in English).

Hi guys,

I write taking the lead in the thread OH in BxC. Can I try to push for an action that D. proposed? The *Ocupação São João*, which has opened a fucking space for our cultural activism (http://www.facebook.com/groups/160518717367984/) and where we already have a torrent of accumulated yield (i.e., culture), is threatened with eviction.

In fact, it is very likely that (the building) will be reintegrated. The owners, who left the building closed 20 years ago, asked for possession back and what is justice but a mechanism of inequality? Certainly, the right to property of half a dozen will overlap the right to housing and dignity of 400 people who live there.

But let’s make some noise. The public hearing will happen on Thursday 09.02, at the *Forum João Mendes* (I believe) and we are preparing three days of films and docs about housing, to design in the forum. On that day, we will also roll out a soirée with a popular Mexican radio (http://radiochinelo.mx/), which will build a special program together with the residents, and other things that are still under construction.

People of OH and Hacker Transparency are more than welcome.

Let us go deeper into this question, you can expect a letter in the next few days to delve into the legal question. We already have organization meetings booked for 01/26 and 02/02 (one and two weeks before the legal hearing).

Once again, this shit system seeks to empty the city center in the name of private property. It is the same logic of intentional abandonment that generates these landscapes of crack throughout the city center. Urban degradation is fought against with life and people, not with police, Kassab, fuck!
In the e-mail above, one participant that navigates around a few collectives calls on the other participants to join the resistance against the eviction of an occupation. The overlapping of participants of different collectives comes to the fore and becomes felt. Rather than feeling surfaces between them, as different collectives, they gather together in these events against the eviction. The fear of such eviction then presses their bodies together. This eviction is felt in the present, not only as the approaching of gentrification, but also an approaching of ‘private property’, a justice system that works as a ‘mechanism of inequality, ‘intentional abandonment, ‘police, and ‘Kassab’ (who served as a mayor from 2006-2012). They gather together, as they feel these bodies approaching and pressing their bodies together in the present. The participants gather together in collectives in reaction to the threat of losing space in the streets. The participants gather together in search of protection and comfort. According to Ahmed (2004), the body recoils through fear. For her, this shrinkage is a response to what is approaching. It is a reaction for protection to be followed by paralysis or flight. In their case, the flight is not one that escapes with an orientation that turns away (e.g., Kozinets, 2002; Goulding et al., 2009). The flight is one that fights with an orientation that faces back. The direction is one that goes against; it is one that resists (Canetti, 1995). Instead of withdrawing the bodies from the streets and searching for escape by dancing in clubs, which are closed and safe places (Goulding et al., 2009), participants here were drawn together to reclaim spaces that were under threat of imminent loss. They would then try to push back together and together resist this loss of space. Rather than dancing in private spaces such as clubs, the participants wanted to dance in the streets. They wanted to push back and occupy the city streets.

Affective encounters and alignments: orientations and directions of fear

Fear works to contain some bodies spatially in order to allow other bodies to expand. When you feel fear, you feel more constrained to move in a space in order to enable other bodies to move more freely in that same space (Ahmed, 2004, 2004b). In other words, through the uneven distribution of fear in a space, some bodies expand whereas other bodies shrink. By shrinking, the body tries to protect itself, maintaining the distance and avoiding the threat. Through fear, bodies recoil in order to take less space. Thus, fear does not start in the body – whether individual activists, collectives or corporations.
Fear aligns bodily and social space (ibid.). But how exactly does this alignment happen? As presented above, through fear of an eviction, collectives got together. They went towards themselves first in order to turn against the bodies read as ‘gentrifiers’. The participants then aligned together through fear, as they felt the approaching of bodies that were read as dangerous. Those bodies were read as dangerous by activists because they wanted to occupy the same space that their bodies were already occupying. As mentioned in the e-mail above, the owners left the building closed for 20 years (and did not pay any tax or do any maintenance, as pointed out in other e-mails). There was an ‘intentional abandonment’ for real estate speculation. However, after 20 years the owners wanted to take the possession of that space back. With this repossession, there should be a realignment of bodies in that space: in the place of current residents, the owners would reoccupy that space. That space should be extended to the owners as new occupants, rather than the current occupants. In this realignment, some bodies get aligned whereas other bodies get misaligned.

Through fear, there is a realignment of bodily and social space. In a protest during my ethnographic experience, I could feel how fear works in aligning bodily and social space. In the excerpt below, I recall a moment of fear during a protest which was followed by comfort and euphoria. Both affective intensities can be seen as affective encounters. In the first encounter, I felt fear when I encountered the police. In that moment, I felt my body and its surfaces more intensively. I could also feel a shift of the perception of my own boundaries as I joined a protest. As I got inside the crowd in that event my own skin became unfelt. My own surface became unfelt, as it expanded into the crowd. There was a shift from me to us. This shift was a shift of orientation: instead of facing and seeing the police approaching and possibly hurting me, I turned toward the crowd that was ‘walking and singing’. In the excerpt below, taken from a field note, I describe the scene of the protest:

September 5th 2016

Yesterday, the Paulista Avenue was full. I kept waiting for a friend of mine. There were the about 100,000 people, according to some sources. Around 4:00 p.m., there was already a lot of movement. It started to increase. I was still waiting. From the window of the apartment, I could see now the whole Paulista Avenue crowded. They started to walk towards the apartment, to reach Rebouças Avenue. It was expected that they would walk towards the Potato Square, where another crowd was also gathering.
The march started to go under the tunnel. The vibrancy began to spread, but I did not want to go alone. While waiting in the apartment, it felt strange to go to the protest alone. Out of danger, maybe. I frequently go alone to bars, concerts, and music festivals. I travel alone very often. However, going alone to the protest seemed uncomfortable. There was a need to share it. However, my friend was still missing.

Around 6 p.m., I could not wait for my friend anymore inside the apartment. I decided to still wait for him, but I went downstairs to watch the crowd pass by.

In the same corner where my apartment is, the military police were also watching. At the same time, people were walking and singing. Suddenly, the policemen jumped in their armored cars that had previously been parked. They were nasty. They started pulling out when there was no emergency; they just wanted to show truculence and power. They were booed. I booed. They left. Almost immediately, people started to cross the tunnel. Suddenly, the lights went off. All public lighting was off. Pitch dark. In that moment, people became more united. I was crying suddenly. I looked at the armored cars rushing in and cried. It was just wrong. When I realized, I suddenly joined the crowds. Many people who were also on the sidewalks also seemed to join the crowd. We got inside. I felt moved into the crowd; I needed to be inside rather than at its surface. I started to sing loud, the intensity of sensations was inebriating. I was not afraid anymore; quite the contrary. I felt protected in the crowd, I felt stronger inside the crowd. I was the crowd.

In the excerpt above, I describe an affective encounter with the police and a crowd of protesters. The excerpt starts when I was still on the periphery of the crowd, between the crowd and the police. It was only when the police armored cars moved threateningly in the direction of the crowd that I felt the threat of the police approaching. My body felt the approximation of dangerous bodies, as my surface became closer to the policemen and their armored cars. This approximation marked an intensification of fear, as the body read that danger was approaching my own body. In that moment, I was facing those policemen approaching me. There was a pitch-dark moment. Then when I realized, I was already crying and had moved to the interior of the crowd. Through fear, as an affective intensity, I turned my body towards some bodies (i.e., protesters walking and singing) and against other bodies (i.e., police). This shift of the orientation reconfigured the bodily marking of us and them in that social space. As I felt inside the crowd, I became the crowd. I became an us (see further discussion on section 6.3.1). The interior of the crowd became a ‘common security zone’, as I was facing and following these people walking and singing. I was following them: we had the same direction. Whilst we had that
same orientation and direction, ‘I was not afraid anymore: quite the contrary. I felt protected in the crowd, I felt stronger’. By having the same orientation and their direction, I could only see people singing and walking. I could see families and friends. I could see kids and elderly people marching. My surface became their surface. We merged. We were sharing a common surface against the police. I could not even see the police any more. My biological skin was not felt as approaching the police any longer: a safe distance was created.

This meeting with the crowd then marks a second affective encounter. In this second encounter, with the crowd, I felt safe, comfortable, and stronger. It was precisely my movement against the police that attached me to the crowd. It was my shift in orientation (Ahmed, 2006) that allowed another encounter and realignment of bodily and social space. In this realignment, surfaces became unfelt. In the crowd, the fear of being touched disappeared (Canetti, 1995).

My biological skin became unfelt as my felt surface was shifted to the surface of the crowd. That is, the surface of my individual body was unmade as it shifted to the surface of the collective body of the crowd. The *me* became *us*. Through fear, the body shifted orientations and directions, also marking a shift in felt surfaces. Shifts, breaks, and junctions in the orientations and directions of affective flows mark embodied intensifications. Such shifts, breaks, and junctions of affective flows come to the fore in the surfacing process. The workings of affective flows are not free of signification, their routings are mediated by signs attached to bodies. For example, the routings of fear discussed above are contingent on the accumulation and stickiness of signs of fear upon the bodies of policemen in Brazil.

This working of affective flows, as routings that are contingent on signs, resonates with studies trying to advance a sociocultural perspective on consumer emotion. Gopaldas’ (2014) study on marketplace sentiments is a vital and insightful example of such studies. Gopaldas explores marketplace sentiments as “collectively shared emotional dispositions towards marketplace elements” (ibid., p. 995). His definition of marketplace sentiments is formed by three conceptual components: (a) an emotion (e.g., disgust, care, or hope), (b) a marketplace element at which the emotion is targeted (e.g., corporations, governments, capitalism, responsible choices), and (c) a group of actors that share such emotional disposition (e.g., brand community, activism organizations). For him, “sentiments are cultural patterns of feeling and emoting” (ibid., p. 998), composed of emotions and targets. For him, emotions have targets. They
are not adrift: they also have directions. Gopaldas then explores these directions as patterns and identifies seven sentiments/patterns that emerged in his context of ethical consumerism. He divided the seven sentiments that were identified into three categories based on their functional similarities: (1) contempt for villains, where he grouped (1.1) anger at corporations, governments, and mainstream consumers and (1.2) disgust at capitalism, pollution, and unhealthy products; (2) concern for victims, where he grouped (2.1) care for all living things and future generations, (2.2) anxiety about industrial processes and harmful products, and (2.3) guilt about regressions to mainstream consumption; and (3) celebration of heroes, where he grouped (3.1) joy of making responsible choices and (3.2) hope in the power of discrete and individual choices. For him, marketplace sentiments are powerful forces in consumer culture as they transform markets.

However, Gopaldas sees sentiments as patterns outside the body. He argues that “sentiments, once internalized by human actors, predispose feelings that urge, amplify, and sustain consumer engagement in discourses and practices (p. 1008). Sentiments are then seen as something that go from outside into the body: “consumers learn, experience, and communicate sentiments to commune and individuate in society” (p. 1007). For him, disgust is a sentiment that serves as a tool for activists: they can plant, amplify, and hyper-perform sentiments to accomplish their goals for recruiting consumers and disciplining institutions. Sentiments have a function and are used by activists. In addition, Gopaldas differentiates marketplace sentiments as (collective) patterns from their individual expressions, linking the individual and the collective. In contrast, in this study, I do not assume that affects are internalized as collective patterns, or externalized as individual expressions. The routings of affect flows mark the orientations and directions between bodies through a contiguous unfolding of felt surfaces. Depending on signs already circulating and accumulating on bodies, affects travel and connect us to certain bodies and disconnect us with other bodies. For example, in this study my feeling of fear is not seen as an individual expression of a cultural pattern of fear. Fear mediates embodiment. It works on the process of surfacing of the body: by reading signs of fear upon certain bodies, I could feel my own surface as my own body and this process depends on the relation between them. Similar to Gopaldas’ study, the reading of signs is culturally-based. For example, I discuss below how signs of fear have accumulated in the bodies of policemen in Brazil.
One of my favorite songs I heard during the protests that were happening in São Paulo in the second half of 2016 was: “what a coincidence, there is no police, there is no violence” (Que coincidência, não tem PM, não tem violência). Every time it was sung, I would sing it with an extra satisfaction. The chest would open a bit. In that moment, we could shout together what one would fear to say by oneself to a policeman because of fear of retaliation. Due to a long history of violent impressions, policemen in Brazil can evoke fear as much as outlaws. The police body is impressed with violence as the body of an outlaw. For example, in the first two months of 2017, deaths caused by the military police surpassed the homicide rate in São Paulo. Thus, the police are not always read as security. As for me when I joined the protest, this was also the case for Bx C participants. The possibility of encountering the police was imminent. By proposing activities in the streets, they would be facing that body even if it evoked fear. Instead of turning away and secluding their bodies, they would get prepared for that encounter. They talked about what to do because they knew the police would come to them and they needed to be prepared. For the main events of BxC, the participants wrote a letter called “Hi, Mr. Policeman”, which I present below (emphasis in original):

**LETTER TO THE AUTHORITIES**

Hi, Mr. Policeman!

How are you?

I am an artist and I am doing a presentation here on the streets of the city. As much as I use the street as a stage as well as the public infrastructure available here, **I am not interested in damaging it.**

Quite the contrary, my art regards the street as an integral part of the work. And that is why I cannot do it in another place.

I would also like to state that I **respect the work done by you Mr. (Policeman),** and I also understand the difficulty of dealing with the situation of “art being done in the street” because it is not ordinary or everyday.

Still, I would like to ask your patience in understanding that the act practiced here **has no intention of confrontation or clashing with the public power.** Quite the opposite, it is an act of appreciation of this space and of all those who exercise the function of protecting it.
According to Municipal Decree 52.504, of 2011, which regulates artistic and cultural expressions in public spaces, I can make my presentation if I do not request any charge for it and do not stay permanently in one place.

My presentation is free. It is also done freely and in a spontaneous manner. I am here just to show my work to the widest audience possible. I do not intend to stay here longer than necessary. And I guarantee that when I will leave this place it will be left the same way as it was found, so that I am not punished as a predator of public good.

If you still have any questions, please give me the opportunity to talk to my producer to solve the issue in the best possible way.

Thank you!

Artist

This letter was supposed to be given to any policeman who would approach the participants in order to explain the event as well as the legal clause that allowed them to promote such an event as an artistic intervention. This letter was written and shared along with another document, which was a guideline for participants on how to act in the event of approaching police, as they were already protecting their bodies against the bodies of policemen. An accumulation of personal experiences as well as stories you hear from friends and media impresses these signs in the reading of their bodies. In the moment of each affective encounter, past experiences mediated that new reading, which evoked a series of sensations and feelings. The readings of every encounter unfolded into the directions and orientations of the body in future encounters, whether these bodies are (read as) policemen, crowds, or the city center. The readings follow an accumulative order. The affective dispositions, as directions and orientations, in relation to other bodies depend on signs attached to and accumulated upon these bodies. Their intensification also depends on the accumulation of signs upon bodies. For example, since the start of the study, I have become more afraid of policemen and more comfortable at protests. I feel my body constantly avoiding policemen more than I already did previously. The automatic freezing of my body has become more evident. In contrast, every time I see a protest, I have come to notice that my first reaction is a certain excitement. When I realize, I am already smiling and my eyes are wide open. If I hear someone making a comment about protesters disturbing the peace or increasing traffic, I feel bothered and almost offended. I feel the urge to talk to the person and defend the protesters, which is what I often do.
if the person is an acquaintance. Such automatic responses are then not so automatic. They are contingent on an accumulation of signs already circulating, accumulating, and sticking to bodies (Ahmed, 2004b). The inverse process can also occur. Through the gentrification process, there is a removal of a plethora of signs that have accumulated on that space for other signs to circulate, accumulate, and stick. As the former mayor mentioned in the TV interview related above, signs of crack, poverty, and dirtiness need to be removed from the city-center of São Paulo. In general, the streets of São Paulo and Brazil, like the bodies of policemen, are impressed with signs that evoke fear.

**Signs in the streets of São Paulo: from fear to joy**

Recent history as well as the current circumstances of public space in Brazil involves violence. The streets are spaces where one feels insecure because one can be assaulted at any time, whether by the police or by outlaws. In Brazil, the urban street itself carries sticky signs of violence and danger. As it was also described in the above discussion about (dis)comfort, it is hard to feel comfortable and safe on the streets of São Paulo. The social rule is to be alert. For example, talking on a cell phone while walking in the streets is considered an invitation to be robbed. I have often heard people blaming the victims of an assault for talking on a cell phone while walking in the streets. As if one ‘should know’ the street is a dangerous place and thereby the person facilitated the assault by using the cell phone in a public space. The impression of signs of fear in the streets seems to be constant. The excerpt below is a paragraph of an introspection memo in which I compare my experience of living again in the city of São Paulo (in contrast to living in Stockholm). In the excerpt below, I recall how even when you are inside one’s home taking a shower or in bed, you keep hearing sirens. They are constant. There is always a sensation that something bad is going on around the city.

Sirens are always on. The state of alert is constant. When you take a shower: siren. When you wake up: siren. When you are sleeping: siren. It seems even worse now that the protests are happening. The sound of helicopters of TV channels adds up. The military police are constantly on the doorstep now. The Paulista Avenue is besieged every other day. People are at peace, but there is a war. Where? Where is this confrontation? Yes, there is a declared confrontation between protesters and military police. But these are extreme cases of confrontations, (these)
flows have been occurring for some time. They are no exceptions. They are the rule.

This feeling that the city is in a non-declared war resonates with a reflection video that one participant shared with the other participants as a gift on the 458th anniversary of São Paulo (January 25th 2012). In the beginning of the video, a confrontation between policemen and citizens in the streets is shown. It shows a policeman throwing a gas bomb towards people in the streets and some people running away. Other scenes show encounters of confrontation and violence. By watching the video, it is possible to grasp the affective dispositions of the participants towards police and public power. It is also possible to grasp that such confrontations and disputes impress signs of struggle upon the city center. The streets are impressed with signs of violence. These signs of violence are sticky; in the case of Brazil the violence in the streets is not only associated with outlaws, but also with public power and police.

The tagline of the BxC festival, “the streets are for dancing”, reveals the wish of these participants to resignify the streets of the city center of São Paulo. The streets have not usually been spaces for dancing or joy in Brazil, with the exception of the carnival. For DaMatta (2004), it is precisely the exceptional state of the carnival that reveals the opposite reality of the streets – one of inequality, scarcity, misery, and violence. “The carnival is the utopian possibility of changing places, of changing positions in the social structure. (It is the possibility) to really invert the world in direction of happiness, abundance and, beyond all, equality of all in society” (p. 42-43, translated by the author). Thereby, dancing in the streets like in the carnival, reclaims this inversion of the order of things in the streets in the mundane life. Through signs of life, dance, and joy, many participants of BxC wanted to impress those signs on the streets. They were their direction, whether as participants of BxC (pack) or as protesters (crowd). When national protests ignited in 2013, some participants of BxC that were going to the protests started to talk about the possibility of also adding signs of carnival and joy (with music, dance, color, glitter, humor, confusion) to the protests:

I know everyone is in shock, trying to understand what is going on, and besides, life goes on, jobs, the rent bill did not stop arriving, (laugh), and the transport tariff has not gone down.

19 The link for the video is https://vimeo.com/35659155.
But still, I wonder what contribution we could make, instead of just complaining, or being stupefied by the preppiness and the lack of care.

What BxC knows and does best is to bring also the aesthetic layer to politics. For me, it is the most beautiful thing that ever happened in São Paulo precisely for that.

And, it is precisely that which is missing (in the protests), the river that is the river, the land carnivalesque, the protest was boring, smug, and embarrassedly silent. It lacks music, dance, color, glitter, humor, confusion. These things provide changes of perspective. Conflict and violence are two different things. Conflict is inherent.

Let’s think of something? Here are some cool ideas (http://beautiful-trouble.org/).

So, what do you think? Do we make a pad with ideas? Or are we going to do a hackday of artivism? Or shall we just do?

Poking myself
Kisses, N

Exactly! I wanted to open a thread for us to gather, talk and think about something for the next protests. They will come. But, we are running against time. Let’s go guys?
Should we throw ideas here?
Should we set (a meeting) for the Friday? Or Thursday during the protest itself?
Let’s go!?
Kisses, D

Well, that same discussion has been troubling me here. But I argue not for “music-color-glitter”.

It is all very confusing and, sometimes, it is overshadowing the fight. Putting more color there might add up to this nebula that they are trying to force.

I, of course, have a completely non-sensory view of the thing, only by facts and testimony (as this participant was not living in São Paulo in that moment). But I believe that this kind of color and music emerges from the protesters themselves, right? If there is climate for it, everyone would be already singing, right?
-P

(…) Super, C. But I think it’s not (about) color, music, glitter. 167
We must think of actions that try to leave this apathetic informal body. Like, I do not know: get a bus and stop there with things, such as music, medical workers, wifi, balloons, readings, etc. I do not know, but something like that!

Thinking.
-D

I disagree, love (P). We are the protesters! It is emerging from us! Of course, it will not contaminate the 100,000 protesters, and it could not! But I do not see any other way, and here I am talking about me, to intervene. Personally, this is the contribution I want to make. Because when the words run away, we have to act. I think that the people are impressively open and that opening is also giving way to small acts of violence. I will tell you about my feeling and perspective here in the second protest in Rio de Janeiro. I saw a lot of people, mostly young people, entire classes of high-school kids in uniform and everything, with their teachers! People who NEVER went to the streets for anything, except maybe to celebrate football and carnival. In this context, the sound car, which for me is an outdated figure, cannot reach the complexity of the politics that we need.
-N

I think we need to think about other things. It is not color by color, nor glitter by glitter. This is why I sent the Beautiful Trouble link: it has some ideas, but we can think of others... interventions, silent and colorless even, but that could propose a new look at everything... or at least, an attempt for a new look.
-N

I always think of something with joy also N! The revolution of joy. (It is not important to) ruminate as if it is with or without gluten (in reference to glitter), or if there is need for a lot (of things). That musical popcorn cart that we used in the BxC festival would already make a mess, huh? (...) to leave this apathetic informal body.
-A

As discussed by the participant in the excerpt above, the idea to impress carnivalesque signs (e.g., music, dance, color, glitter) upon the protests was an attempt to impress signs of joy upon what they were seeing as an apathetic informal body (i.e., crowds of the protests). One participant adds that the openness of people in the protests also gave way to small acts of violence. The other participant points out that ‘conflict and violence are two different things’. Whereas ‘conflict is inherent’, violence is not. Then, some of the participants wanted to add signs of ‘joy’ to the protests, rather than the ones that
were pointed out - ‘violence’, ‘preppiness’, and ‘lack of care’. Instead of the ‘apathetic informal body’, some participants could foresee the protests as ‘the revolution of joy’. For them, adding music, dance, color, glitter, humor, confusion, balloons, medical workers, ‘could propose a new look at everything’. A new look would come from a new aesthetic layer, which they could add. One participant highlights that ‘what BxC knows and does best is to also bring the aesthetic layer to politics’. Yet, this aesthetic layer is a specific one: it is a layer with music, dance, color, glitter, humor, confusion. It is a layer where ‘streets are for dancing’. It is then a carnivalesque layer, precisely because carnival evokes the utopian possibility to subvert order. As argued above, carnival is an exceptional state that reveals the opposite reality of the streets in Brazil – one of inequality, scarcity, misery, and violence. As one participant argues, just the car sound of the protest would not reach the complexity of the politics that they needed. What was missing from that (in the protests) was ‘the land carnivalized’. This could be what they could add since it was what BxC knew and did best. For the participant, it was the most beautiful thing that ever happened in São Paulo precisely for that reason.

As when I joined the crowd in one protest (see discussion above), the participants joined the crowds of the Brazilian Protests of June 2013 and inside the crowd participants could foresee a ‘revolution of joy’. From life as it is (‘jobs, the rent bill did not stop arriving’), there could be a new look at everything. There could be a shift in the orientation. Joy could enable this shift. As one participant states, s/he think of something with joy. Whereas one participant sees a ‘revolution of joy’, the other participant wants to see the ‘land carnivalized’. Such signs of joy and carnival were their direction. It was ‘not color by color, nor glitter by glitter’, but they feel an urge to leave ‘the apathetic inform body’ with ‘carnival’ or maybe just a ‘musical popcorn cart’. They were already seeing some signs of violence and, instead, they wanted to take another direction and orientation. They wanted to invert the order (carnival). They were projecting themselves towards a different plane: the carnival as the opposite mirror of the streets in Brazil. It is what Tarde (1903) would call an opposite imitation. It is an imitation that bifurcates (see further discussion on sub-section 6.2.1). It turns direction: equality over inequality, abundance over scarcity and misery, joy over violence. This projection towards another direction is opened by sticking other signs to the crowd, or to the streets of São Paulo, which could then alter the relations and open up other possibilities. The participants were then paving their own way towards these other possibilities through hope. This paving of new ways, by foreseeing and sticking signs that
evoke different directions and orientations, resonates with the workings of some graffiti artists that were covered in a study by Visconti and colleagues (2010). For example, in that study, Pao, a Milanese street artist argues that:

The city is the public forum par excellence; it’s also defined as a theater where everyone is a protagonist in some way or another and a place whose true significance is especially in the past... when there was the agora, a meeting place where the poor were basically on the same footing as the rich. You realize now that this is all becoming more difficult, except in towns. (Pao, street artist, Milan). (p. 521)

In the excerpt above, Pao argues, the poor being on the same footing as the rich is becoming more difficult. Pao sees Milanese streets going in the opposite direction of the agora. Even though he sees the city as the public forum par excellence, it is all becoming more difficult. Then, through graffiti, Pao and other graffiti artists engage in paving new ways for projecting different directions and orientations against the world that they do not like. I will discuss further such workings for redirection in the next section, when I discuss hope. But before I move on to discuss hope as well as its relation to the future, I will end this sub-section by discussing how gentrification has become a fetish object through time up to the present.

**Gentrification as a fetish object**

For Ahmed (2004), the approaching of the object can become an approach to the object. That is how objects become fetish objects. As in the case of disgust, signs of threat stick more to some bodies than others, such that they become threatening and their passing by is what makes us fear. The sharing of fear, through shared witnessing of that which is designated as threatening, then becomes a reaction against the fear. That is, it becomes an approach to the object of fear. Its repetition feeds the sticky signs attached to the object. By constant repetition and fetishization of gentrification, the language associated with fear then creates the distinction of those who are ‘under threat’ and those ‘who threaten’. In the case of the city center of São Paulo, activists and residents were constantly aligning themselves with the city space being gentrified, with crackers, and with other collectives resisting gentrification. Gentrification, as a fetish object, then aligned their bodies and created surfaces in relation to other bodies. The fetish object then establishes the perception of ‘us’ and ‘them’. Still, this process was not an immediate one. The process of turning
In the excerpt below, which was related in an event with many collectives at which urban issues were discussed, a participant describes how the word gentrification has changed throughout the last twenty years. S/he describes how the word, from a theoretical concept of urban theory, has proliferated among the collectives and become a common word:

Our group was mainly saying (about gentrification): “look, let’s put a magnifying glass here: you see this here? This is really bad.” We have been denouncing and seeing this urgency – “I do not believe this is happening. Let’s report it.” We started denouncing gentrification fifteen years ago, around the year 2000. No one was talking about gentrification (back then). It was a swearword of the architecture field. When I went to my group of artists and said “Guys, gentrification, that I learned in FAU (School of Architecture of São Paulo University)”. What? Fucking dirty word. The guys talking: “What? Certificate? Certification of what?” Nowadays if you say gentrification is possible, everyone knows what this is here. This is beautiful! We started to paste flyposts saying ‘Gentrified’ (Gentrificados, in Portuguese) in places fifteen years ago. We started to engage with the social movements for housing. Every time they occupied a building (we used to go there), not just us but other collectives as well. The social movement themselves started to stick ‘Gentrified’ flyposts to buildings that had been vacated. We were doing a symbolic occupation as well. Subjectivity all over the place. It was a period in which I find it very interesting to use this idea of denunciation. And today, what I think is very cool to see, is that most people are more in the announcement, it is not enough to just report it.

But (now) how do you get there and transform it, right? We already put the body in movement. When we arrive in the place, we are already transforming it. So I am enjoying seeing this generation that I think is a little different from ours. Whereas we were going there to say ‘look, you’re seeing it here’, you guys already go to the Big Worm and you are already transforming it. You already arrive in Potato Square. You already arrive in an alley in Vila Mariana (a neighborhood in São Paulo) and you are already putting the body in action in the public space. This was not common before. It was not possible (before). It is cool to see (this now). It is possible now also because there was a place twenty years ago where the artists could be on the street, forty years ago nobody (could be) on the street because of the dictatorship. (…) Our generation in São Paulo, for example, was the first (one) to return (to the streets). Thirty years after the trauma of facing the street and connecting with this movement. And the trauma of the dictatorship has passed and these artists went there to find the social movement.

In the excerpt above, the participant recalls when his/her collective first started to talk about gentrification to other urban collectives. S/he learned the
concept at the architecture school and most people did not know about the concept. Above, s/he celebrates that, from a swearword of the architecture field in 2000, gentrification has become a common word for residents in current times. Through the denunciation of many urban collectives, the architectural concept of ‘gentrification’ has turned into a common word in the streets of São Paulo. This denunciation designates gentrification as an imminent common threat. As the threat is denounced, it is perceived as a danger in the present. S/he continues to say that the new generation is not only worried by its denouncement, but with its transformation. Like in the case of the speech act of the mayor attaching signs of badness upon crackers and turning them into disgusting bodies, here signs of threat are attached to the city center through the stickiness of gentrification, and it evokes reaction. Gentrification then also works here as a speech act. Participants are moved to transform the streets. As the participant states above, the new generation is putting the body in the street and transforming it. The fetishization of gentrification in the city center then became an approach to the object of fear. Gentrification has turned into a collective danger for the activists and residents, as it helps to delineate them as those ‘under threat’.

This distinction between who are ‘under threat’ and those ‘who threaten’ resonates with Kozinets and Handelman’s (2004) study on consumer movements seeking ideological and cultural change regarding consumption and consumerism. In a similar manner to this study, in their study activists also see themselves and many fellow activists as ‘people who care’, whereas the corporate elite falls under those ‘who threaten’. The passage below is an excerpt from the paper. In the excerpt, the scholars not only exemplify the distinction between them, but they also highlight an opposition between them:

The stark opposition between consumer activist and corporate adversary is fully exposed in the discourse of 29-yr.-old anti-GE food and crop activist Rudy:

You know, I look at these large corporations. I look at the element that created them, the bottom line mentality. The believing what you want to believe about your products, what they’re doing to people, or not wanting to know, and all. That element is the manifestation of evil in the physical world.

Further in our interview, Rudy reveals that he views his work as an activist as being “involved in the battle between good and evil,” where working on the side of good means struggling to see that people are “happy, healthy, and empowered” and those who are evil oppose these
In the case of the activists in Kozinets & Handelman’s (2004) study, the activists directly oppose the threat of the ideology of consumption and consumerism. For them, consumption and consumerism became the fetish object, which then became their approach to the object. Signs of consumption and consumerism slipped and stuck to the bodies of consumers along with the large corporations. They became aligned together as opponents of the activists. Consumers were then seen as unreflective and unrepentant people who contributed to the wrongdoings of corporations and, consequently, they were seen as part of the system. Consumers became seen as the threatening object as well. Thereby, in their study too, the language associated with fear along with the constant repetition and fetishization of consumption and consumerism created the distinction of those who are ‘under threat’ and those ‘who threaten’.

Fear here is seen as response to the threat to danger. “The object of fear may pass by and this structural possibility is part of the lived experience of fear (Ahmed, 2004, p. 73). For the participants of BxC, violent events in the occupations are seen as the passing by of the object of fear. The violence of the evictions came to symbolize the violence of the gentrification process (and other related sticky signs, as ‘private property’, injustice system, ‘mechanism of inequality, ‘intentional abandonment, ‘police’ as discussed above). They evoke other memories of the violence of class segregation. The threat of being evicted through gentrification then is not only seen as the approaching of a future danger, but became a felt presence. It became a presence in the discussions of BxC as well as other collectives. Throughout the years, the presence of gentrification as a threat has permeated many encounters of different collectives. They promote events to discuss gentrification. They attend presentations with international scholars, such as the geographer David Harvey, about the subject. They develop events and projects together to discuss gentrification. The topic of gentrification has been repeated incessantly and turned into a fetish object.

The designation of fearful objects, such as gentrification, is instrumental in the mediation of affect in the making of collective bodies. They enable, through affective alignments and misalignments, the making and unmaking of surfaces. The constant repetition of gentrification, as a language of fear,
intensifies the perception of its approaching. Speech acts are then performative in the making of fear (Ahmed, 2004). Through the perception of being closer and closer, gentrification as threat is then felt intensely. It presses upon bodies in the present through speech acts. The designation of gentrification as a threat in the city space has been in the making for twenty years. Increasing interest and discussion concerning gentrification has reinforced the making of gentrification as a threat approaching, and the split of the bodies between ‘who threatens’ and ‘who is under threat’. As one participant argues during one event where they were discussing the city space and gentrification: “The streets are in dispute. We just need to understand on which side we are, who are our allies and who are our enemies”. Through the threat of gentrification, the collectives ‘under threat’ align themselves to resist together in the streets.

In the making of gentrification as a common threat in the city center of São Paulo, the description linking the bodies resisting gentrification with the bodies resisting dictatorship is instrumental. An authoritarian military dictatorship ruled Brazil from April 1st 1964 to March 15th 1985. In the excerpt above, the participant recalls the “trauma of the dictatorship” and connects the resistance against the gentrification with the “trauma to face the street and connect with this movement”. The street is recognized to be a territory of dispute and violence in Brazil – as he recalls that “forty years ago nobody (could be) on the street because of the dictatorship”. The allusion to the violence of dictatorship is recurrent. Another example of this allusion is the video of the crowdfunding campaign of the BxC festival, where one of the songs of the soundtrack is an iconic song of resistance against the dictatorship in Brazil. The musical refrain of this iconic song starts exactly in the moment that the name “Baixo Centro 2013” appears written over the whole screen. The allusion of the violence lived in current times with the violence lived during the dictatorship was also made in many of the protests of 2013 and 2016. The images of protesters from dictatorship times going back to the streets to protest again in 2013 and 2016 were widely shared. The association of streets, violence, and resistance is then constantly made. For the participants, the violence felt in the streets today is mediated by the past stories of violence felt on the streets during the dictatorship. They have been feeling as the ones ‘under threat’ not in that instant, but as a continuation of the past.

---

20 The iconic song of resistance against dictatorship is called Alegria, Alegria by Caetano Veloso. The music refrain sings Por que não? Por que não?, which can be translated to ‘Why no(t)? Why no(t)?’.
Such findings contrast to how Woermann and Rokka (2015) explored the relationship of fear and time. In their study on temporality, they argue that time is “an inherent feature of the consumption experience (… it) is immediately felt. It is directly intertwined with breathing, fearing, moving about and being there” (Woermann & Rokka, 2015, p. 1487). Fear is then presented as one of the emotions that influence the timeflow of a practice. In their study, they discuss how fear in an extreme sports activity (i.e., freeskiing) is due to a possible misalignment between the material set-up (e.g., condition of snow and slope) and the demands (e.g., knowledge and ability) of performing such an activity. The scholars explore examples of how the perception of time can be much longer or much quicker, depending on the emotions associated with it. For example, whenever in fear, time seems to stand still. In their study, they implicitly discuss the temporal as well as the spatial dimensions in the making of fear. In their study, they focus on fear as an immediate bodily response to an objective danger.

In the next section, I discuss how fear can also transition towards hope through the formation of a crowd. According to Anderson (2006), “hope is entangled in the circulation, and displacement, of other affects and emotions. The result is that actual hopes possess different qualities of durability and mobility and slide into and out of broader movements of hope and dispositions of hopefulness” (p. 747). Below, I discuss how hope has emerged in moments of circulation of fear (and despair) through activism and protests in São Paulo.

6.1.4. Hope

Hope involves a feeling of expectation. Like fear, hope is felt in dislocation of the body through time. “The moment of hope is when the ‘not yet’ impresses upon us in the present, such that we must act, politically, to make it our future” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 184). Hope emerges in pressing the body, in the present, into the future, and vice-versa. It encompasses a desire that the world can take different forms, “so the emotion of hope keeps something open” (ibid., p. 185). It emerges through anticipation of something good (better) approaching, whereas fear emerges through anticipation of danger approaching the body. As Audette Sophia, the graffiti artist presented in Visconti and colleagues’ (2010) study and cited above, said: “if we don’t like the world as it is, well then we need to step up to the canvas and paint a better picture and inhabit it” (p. 522). Hope then involves a projection towards the future, and a
projection of this new future into the present. It then involves a twofold shift: a shift of the future in order for the present to change, and vice-versa. Through hope, bodies then merge and are pressed into the future in relation to a present (that one wants to disconnect). Hope and fear are often intertwined upon and between the approaching of a threatening scenario and a wishful scenario. Therefore hope is mostly felt in the transition of affective intensities (e.g., from fear to hope). “The disposition of hope is best defined as a relation of suspension that discloses the future as open whilst enabling a seemingly paradoxical capacity to dwell more intensely in points of divergence within encounters that diminish” (Anderson, 2006, p. 747).

*Hopeful moments: discontinuity as connection with life*

The moment in which I felt the most hope was also the moment I felt most fear – the day I lost my father. The idea of losing my father has always terrified me. Then, one morning I woke up with the call that he was in the hospital and it was very serious. My uncle just told me there was no time to waste and I had to catch the first flight from São Paulo to my hometown. Throughout the whole trip that morning, instances of great fear and great hope intercalated. The idea of losing my father was unbearable. The pain was intense. My greatest fear could come true, which I had to refuse. I kept telling myself: ‘this could not be happening, this is not happening’. In this rejection of the threatening present, there were these brief moments of serenity. In those seconds, I was hopeful he would be fine and ‘everything would be just fine’. In those seconds, there would be a disconnection to a world without my father breathing and living with us. My connection with life was through him; life without him felt impossible to bear and therefore he could not be taken out of my world. In those moments of hope, he was still in my world. He was still in my life. In those moments, many flashes of memories of the past with images of a projected future blended. In those moments, through hope, I could see us having family dinners once again, for example. Rather than disconnecting his body from the world I live in, I projected a world where he would still be alive. Through those flashes, his body became attached to mine into the future. His body would go through the threatening present in attachment to mine. His body would be alive in the future, and thereby it had to be alive in the present. Together, we would both survive. Through those moments of hope, I could feel a multiplicity of possibilities, with the refutation of the imminent threat. “Hope is therefore a moment of discontinuity in which a threshold is crossed.
through the creation of an intensified connection with life (the ‘glimmer’ or ‘spark’ of hope)” (Anderson, 2006, p. 745).

Through hope, bodies merge towards life in the future. Through hope, there is an attempt to revoke the present, as an unfolding of the past, and surpass the perceived threat with dislocation of time. Ahmed (2004) argues that “hope involves a relationship to the present, and to the present as affected by its imperfect translation of the past” (p.184). It is a transient and paradoxical point emerging in the present as an unfolding of the past, being that this encroachment entails a form of affliction. In a complementary statement, Anderson (2006) writes that “the absence, or desperation, that is part of hope is not merely a possession of the individual but is a question of how the emergence, movement, expression, and qualification of despair enact an individual” (p. 744). Hope then is felt as a dislocation of the unfolding from the line that connects past, present, and future. Hope is felt as reorientation as it encompasses to view ‘a better picture and inhabit it’. This reorientation as ‘viewing a better picture and inhabiting it’ is the force driving the collectives in São Paulo. The urban collectives had then been trying to paint a better picture of the city center in the future so they could inhabit that (new) world, since it was felt harder and harder to live in São Paulo in the present.

The relation between hope and suffering is highlighted in the violent encounters throughout the six years of urban activism that this study covers. In the case of BxC, hope emerged through the suffering shared in the violent encounters against Crackland, in the displacement of many residents of nearby occupations, in the ‘city closing down’, and in many other encounters of violence and curtailment that evoked suffering. It was in these moments of suffering that the possibilities of other futures for the city were sparked. In these encounters of felt violence, the participants started to foresee another city center. They merged together with the city space into the future. This dislocation of time, into a better future, is often visualized through a multiplicity of possible city centers in the future. In one of these possible city centers, the participants of BxC could see streets in which everyone could dance. For another collective, the imagery of a possible city center encompassed the proliferation of bikes rather than the current predominance of cars in the streets. For another one, the possible future is about public gardens and parks around the city. With different but shared possible images, the collectives have different orientations regarding what is yet-to-come. With different but shared possible images, the different collectives compose a patchwork of multiple possible
and better city centers. Below, I present a small dialogue retrieved from an exchange of e-mails in which a couple of these shared dreams for the future are exposed:

(...) How beautiful it would be (to see) the entire Big Worm green or even colored. This was/is our desire. Some of the many projects that we have not yet removed from the paper, despite my desire. – M

(...) We do not dream (I, at least) of a world without money. I mean, I even dream about it, but maybe in 20 generations from here. – R

In the excerpt above, one participant admits that s/he shares the dream of seeing the Big Worm viaduct colored (rather than grey). There is a projection that turns the grey city into a colorful one. Another participant dreams that the world, and thereby the city center as well, will be not driven by capital. By sharing different dreams, while still overlapping, they disclose their projections towards multiple futures through these different possibilities. The diversity of dreams opens up to not only one possible future: it opens up many possible futures for them and the city center together. In their discussions throughout the years, the activists have constantly shared dreams, wishes, and desires for the city. This constant sharing of dreams, wishes, and desires usually animated the discussions and the atmosphere surrounding the collectives, creating a hopeful atmosphere. In another exchange of e-mails, one participant encourages another participant concerning the possibility of dreaming: “Live in the dreams, E. Of reality, our world suffices”. Thereby, through the habit of ‘dreaming’ and enticing the imagination regarding a better future for the city, they create and sustain a space of hopefulness. Through the sharing of these hopeful projections, they are not only shifting their lives in the city center of the future, but they are also shifting their lives in the city center of the present.

Making space in the present through reorientation of the future

Rather than accepting the approach of gentrification, which was felt through encounters marked by violence with policemen or unfordable prices, the activists would push for other possibilities through projections toward the future which would boomerang into the present. Through continuous exchange of e-mails, meetings, and events, they could mark momentary interruptions of their relation to the city in the present and try to trace other trails for the future
boomeranging into the present. For Anderson (2006), hope “has a paradoxical place in relation to everyday life” (p. 744). In their encounters together, they could then (a) propose a break from the present as the unfolding of the past, (b) project other possibilities for their lives in the city into the future, and (c) project back these other possibilities for the city in the present. As in the Weijo and colleagues’ (2018) study, the participants here engage in a creative process of reimagining the city in the future pushing them to act in the present. In that study, the Restaurant Day movement initially emerged in Helsinki as a reaction against market tensions unfolding from the country’s food regulation, which is described as constraining. The participants then started to organize what became a food carnival. Then, “Restaurant Day began in the spring of 2011 with the sudden appearance of unsanctioned pop-up restaurants in Helsinki’s streets and public spaces in protest of restrictive Finnish food regulation and its stifling effects on food-ways” (p. 2, emphasis by the author). Rather than accepting the constraining Finnish food regulations, the participants wanted to see Helsinki enjoying a culturally vibrant atmosphere similar to other European countries. One participant could see kids watching adults drinking champagne without becoming criminals (in contrast to the view of bureaucrats), another participant could see Helsinki with a ‘Mardi Gras’ atmosphere even if it was only for a day. The participant, who was from Louisiana in the United States, joined RD with a Cajun-themed pop-up restaurant, where he served Hurricane cocktails. His restaurant was “decorated with Mardi Gras beads, an alligator head, voodoo trinkets, and New Orleans Saints football team memorabilia” (p. 11). Participants of RD were then also acting in the present through hope. They were bringing images from a Helsinki of the future into the present, which then enabled a shift in the present. It traced the not-yet-here into here and, consequently, opened spaces from the future in the present.

As in the case of Restaurant Day in Helsinki, participants of BxC could here also engage in a creative process of reimagining the city of São Paulo. Through this creative process of reimagining the city in the future, traveling through time would enable a collective formation that melted some bodies together whereas other bodies would get disconnected. For example, in the case of RD, Helsinki could be a place where people could have a Mardi Gras atmosphere and people could drink Hurricane cocktails in the streets. However, this possibility could only happen when the city becomes disconnected from rigid bureaucrats. In the case of BxC, the city of São Paulo would become a colorful place and would get disconnected from money and real estate
speculation. Through the creative imagining of hope, their bodies would melt together and be pressed into a better version of the city space in the future. Such better versions of the space in the future entails a disconnection of bodies that are felt as constraining or threatening (i.e., rigid bureaucrats and real estate speculators), for example. Through hope, the participants of BxC would then share moments of discontinuity with the present towards an open future with a multiplicity of possibilities. Through hope, they maintain openness to the future.

This openness then involves multiple trails from the future towards the present. Their bodies, in possible better futures, are then felt in the present. This boomeranging of the imagined future back into the present can be felt in encounters such as the one described in the excerpt below. One participant describes a moment of his/her participation in an open meeting that happened with the secretary of culture of the municipality of Juca Ferreira (2013-2014) and multiple collectives. This meeting happened in the beginning of 2013, when the mayor Fernando Haddad (2013-2016) began his administration.

I cannot take the image of the nine-year-old-little girl, who shared the speech with B. Because that is it, you know? There is no such thing as future, nor things that have yet to be done. It is present right in your face. It is an urgency, it is to give means for children to understand the world and, in their childlike way, be positioning there. Look at me, with my eyes wet again and now at the job (lol).

In the excerpt above, the participant emphasizes how the little girl illustrates urgency. As the participant mentions in the sequence, ‘there is no such thing as future’ as the present is ‘right in your face’. Hope then works in bringing

---

21 Fernando Haddad is affiliated with a left-oriented party (PT, Partido dos Trabalhadores). Even though the participants shared many criticisms about his mandate, the criticism in relation to his position and administration involved a mild tone. The participants would often share some concerns and disagreements, but there was not an intense reaction. There was no fear as an immediate approaching of danger, as they did not see the mandate of Haddad as defending the interests of an elite as much as the other mayors (i.e., Gilberto Kassab and João Dória). They did not see this government as a government ‘who threatens’. Throughout the mandate of Fernando Haddad, they did not read the municipal institution as a fearful body anymore. For example, Kassab (as with gentrification) became a word that evoked fear: it became a fetish. It was constantly spoken. The same does not apply to Haddad. The relation between those two mayors was different: whereas the former carried signs of badness, the latter did not. Even though the participants pointed out some wrongdoings of Haddad’s mandate, they also pointed out many shared views for the city (e.g., bike lanes). Many participants voted for him. However, the collective did not support him officially during the municipal election in 2012 (and in 2016). The participants did not want BxC to be associated with any political party or politician.
an imagined future into the present. It works reorienting bodies in the present. In front of the participant, s/he sees the present, rather than the future. The future then is pressed into the present. But, this present as an unfolding of the future encompasses an urgent break from the unfolding of the past. It makes an opening space, from the future, in the present. Hope then anticipates the future in the present. It extends bodies through time. Through hope, bodies merge and get projected towards the future and back to the present (e.g., different participants of BxC enjoying a colorful city center together; me and my father having dinner again). The melting sensation of hope is then twofold: (1) there is a melting of bodies, (2) there is a melting of future and present. Hope works in bringing and merging bodies together, as it also works in bringing (other) futures into the present. Hope then works as a pulling force.

Hope as a pulling force

Hope anticipates the potentiality of what “has not-yet-become”. Through hopefulness, these collectives of urban activists try to materialize their imagined future. They work for the imagined future world to come to them. This imagined world, in contrast to the current world, extends to their bodies (Ahmed, 2006). Through hope, the body in the present extends to the imagined world in the future. For example, in another exchange of e-mails, they discuss this imagined future city space through placing BxC as a temporary autonomous zone (TAZ). In the excerpt, the disruption of time and space is highlighted as a linear unfolding. The excerpt below (emphasis in original) is part of an exchange of e-mails that began with a citation of the Provo Manifesto and was followed by the introduction of Deleuze and Guattari’s Thousand Plateaus and another citation of Hakim Bey’s T.A.Z (Temporary Autonomous Zone):

TAZ is simply the possibilities presumed without longing in non-linear and chaotic systems. And it is in that, anywhere things are as they are, simple. With rule or with rule-of-rule-anything, the universe folds and welcomes. (Fol-des). Because things are (são, from the verb ser in Portuguese, referring to the verb to be in a permanent or long-term state of being) as they are (estão, from the verb estar in Portuguese, which is another verb that means to be, but it refers to a temporary or changing state of being) and nothing can go against what is in the same space-time without hurting the integrity of our natural freedom.

It is everything there! In instants!
Yes!!!

But we can set up a temporary autonomous zone to flow and converge in collectively. But for that, we need a space. Hehehe

-R

Our space is infinite!

The further the network goes, the more space between us, the more things we have to go through, the more things will be touched and transformed.

Space is just an exactic monument. A puff for the comfort of reason. Because what happens from here and there, it gets a lot bigger in us from far way. Because it reaches a lot more than you and me. IT REACHES EVERYTHING IN BETWEEN!

... a brief epiphany, but wtf this opened up the ideas through an absurdly VORACIOUS reasoning!

-T

In the excerpt above, the participant highlights that TAZ evokes possibilities without the anxiety of linearity, it goes towards non-linearity. The participant then argues that in such possibilities, the universe folds and welcomes. That is, the world shifts by bending and covers in a welcoming way. S/he then suggests that this folded world is a welcoming one, which implies that the current world is not felt as welcoming. S/he also argues that things are in a permanent way as they are in a temporary way, and it is in this temporality that ruptures in space-time are located. Thereby, in the e-mail, the participant highlights the potentiality of those instants when the universe folds and welcomes. Through this sentence, the participant implies that the world can change orientation (as it folds) and with this change of orientation (by folding), the world becomes a world that welcomes. The suggestion of a world that ‘welcomes’ implies an embracing of the world into the body. That is, it implies that, once folded and reoriented, the world would extend to their body. One participant agrees but cautions that they would need space. Another participant then argues that their space is infinite.

According to the participant, the space is infinite as its reach extends not only to ‘you and me’; it extends to everything in between. The space then becomes
seen as an extension of the collective body. It implies a melting of space, bodies and everything in between, with no surfaces in between. Thereby, through hope, the future is brought to the present as an extension of the collective body in the space. For the participants, the opening up of possibilities is felt in the present, pressing them to extend the bodies into space. For the participants, BxC was then a way to reach other futures and their multiple possibilities and, at the same time, extend their bodies into a space that melts future and present. Their orientation towards another future evokes an action-reaction in the present. Through many activities and festivals, the participants extend their imagined futures into the present. As one participant expresses (in the excerpt presented in the discussion about comfort): “BxC is the synthesis of many dreams, projects and ideas”. Another participant notes that s/he “saw more billions of personal dreams of participants being achieved as well”. Through a multiplicity of imagined futures, BxC became actualized.

Through hope, there is a disposition for action as a reaction from the future pressing into the present. Their actions are reactions. They work more as an affective reaction than a rational agentic decision. Through hope, their actions entail a reoriented action. The reorientation of their actions resonates with the different directions that the imitative process can take (Tarde, 1903). According to Tarde, we imitate in accordance and in opposition. I will discuss how this imitative process, whether in accordance or in opposition, works in the next section. For now, I will focus on how through feeling hope and hopeful, the participants make, remake, and unmake connections between bodies in the present and press them from an imagined future into the present. As Anderson (2006) points out “there is a transindividual beginning again that reanimates the present in response to the transmission of despair and grief” (p. 745, emphasis in original).

(Re)acting in the actual space for the resetting of present-future

In the case of the collectives in the city of São Paulo, their working in the present has a strong connection to different possibilities of the future. Their workings in the city center are ways to connect present and possible futures; at the same time, they disconnect themselves with an announced future in the present, such as the approaching of gentrification. Then, for them, the “future is both a question mark and a mark of questioning” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 183).
Multiple collectives, multiple participants work together and/or simultaneously in opening multiple futures. Their workings in the present are then seen as a response to the future that is dislocated. The participants reorient their bodies, as well as the spatial body of the city center, to trail other possible futures. By organizing BxC festivals, participants were reacting to the possibility of dancing in the streets in the future. By building a 50-meter-pool in the middle of the Big Worm, a participant was reacting to the possibility of having rivers throughout the city in the future (rather than having them covered by streets, as the municipal government has continuously built roads with no or very few environmental concerns). By building park benches, participants of BPV were reacting to having squares as spaces to be rather than nonplaces in the future. By working and traveling with the Hacker Bus around the country, the participants of OH are reacting to having public spaces in which to share knowledge in the future. The participants were (re)acting together in the actual space, but each (re)acting had different (re)orientations from the future. Through these multiple re(actings) in the city space from the future, the city center became attached to the related signs of hope. Through hope, their bodies are pulled together into the direction of the city center of São Paulo but with different orientations.

Hope then works as a pulling force that does not require homogeneity, as it can encompass multiple orientations. The diversity of possible futures allows the bodies of multiple participants and multiple collectives to merge (momentarily) with their differences, not despite them. With different orientations, the participants traverse the city center. Through hope, participants together share the actual space as multiple openings from the future in the present. In such gatherings, they then form a collective body that does not require homogeneity (i.e., shared consciousness, as it works in brand communities). The heterogeneity in the composition of the collective body, through hope, resonates with what Chatzidakis, Maclaran and Bradshaw (2012), in their study of heterotopian spaces, call a ‘need for autonomy’. In their study, the scholars discuss how the Exarcheia neighborhood in Athens (Greece) encompasses a myriad of different social groups with different social practices. According to them, “these practices ‘play’ against each other in the Marinian sense of not seeking resolution, engaging with each other’s difference rather than seeking to oppress or eradicate them” (p. 503). The residents and pedestrians of Exarcheia, like the participants of BxC as well as other collectives in São Paulo, try to engage with each other without imposing different views and actions upon each other. They are always negotiating their boundaries through these
differences. Yet, in contrast to this study, their study focuses on heterotopian spaces as a way to disconnect from current norms and social orderings of the present. Their disconnection emphasizes the spatial dimension, rather than a temporal one. The neighborhood of Exarcheia is presented as a place that fosters critique and experimentation in the present: it is a place of exception of the present. As argued by Chatzidakis and colleagues (2012), the distinction can be understood by differentiating concrete utopias from abstract ones. The scholars highlight that heterotopias (i.e., the Exarcheia neighborhood) can be seen as concrete utopias that are based on the material possibilities of a historical present, whereas abstract utopias are disconnected from the conditions of the present. I argue here that, through hope, the participants of BxC disconnected from conditions of the present because they were connected to conditions of the future – more specifically, of multiple imagined futures (cf. Maclaran & Brown, 2005). Through hope, the participants’ workings were based on material possibilities from a future that is felt as present. Their workings aim to dislocate the orientation of the future-present. Their (re)actings then, like the future, seem to be a question mark and a mark of questioning. As both, their (re)actings attempt to (re)organize the relations between bodies, space, and time.

In this first part of the chapter, I have discussed how certain affects entail different orientations, directions, and, consequently, different surfacing effects. I discussed how hope merges bodies from imagined futures into the present, whereas comfort merges bodies together into spaces, disgust creates distances through the ejection of bodies, and fear creates distances through the recoiling of the body. Affects are then multiple intensities that flow between bodies and press upon bodies. I also discussed how the traveling of affects is contingent on signs already in circulation, which accumulate on certain bodies more than others. Affects do flow and spill over, but affective flows are not autonomous. How affects travel - pushing or pulling, turning or aligning, free flowing or sticking – is instructive here. Depending on how affects travel, we can name and recognize them as disgust, comfort, fear, and hope, which can mark different effects. The four affects discussed above are just four examples that have glowed throughout the data production. Such affects were highlighted by the participants as emotions that they were feeling. But, there was also a lot of care, love, shame, pain, joy, anger, and so on. Nevertheless, the four affects highlight how different travelings have different effects. In Ahmed’s (2004) words, “emotions may not have a referent, but naming an emotion has effects that we can describe as referential” (p. 14). I assume here that
such effects shape bodies, as they have a surfacing effect: how they travel marks our relations between bodies. Bodies are then formed by a multiplicity of affective flows in interplay. In other words, bodies take different shapes through a continuous process of the traveling of affective flows. The traveling of affective flows, which Tarde calls imitation, can be seen as a continuous process of affective flows taking different orientations and directions (i.e., imitation by accordance or opposition). In the first part of this chapter, I focused on how affects travel through bodies and mark felt surfaces in different ways. That is, I explored how the traveling of affects, named and recognized as emotions, is contingent to signs already attached to bodies, marking the relations between such bodies.

Now, in the second part of this chapter, I focus on the marking of felt surfaces as an effect of the process of the alignment and misalignment of affective flows. Whereas in the first part of the chapter I sought to differentiate between how multiple affective flows can travel, in this section their differences are underplayed. In this next section, I want to focus on the effects on the collective body. I then focus the discussion on how the multiple urban collectives in São Paulo can be seen as a composition of affective flows. Affective flows are seen here as imitative flows – and they are in a constant process of alignment and misalignment. Imitation is then an affective process. As Tarde (1903) has argued, imitation is both an action and a reaction. In imitation, action and reaction are an indivisible occurrence. It is a (re)acting. Intention for Tarde is dissolved in both action and reaction (as I have already discussed in section 3.1.2). Affective intentionalities have little to do with rational agentic meaning-making or goal-directedness, and should rather be seen as affective bypasses that guide us in making connections with the world. Below, I highlight how some affective flows merge together (as flows join in a braid) and how others split and take different courses (as flows bifurcate in differentiation).

Multiplicities, whether as packs or crowds, can be seen as consequential amalgamations of affective flows in alignment and misalignment. The multiplicities are then understood through the effects of the traveling of the affective flows. By studying participants of collectives and protests in moments and spaces of dispute (i.e., the gentrification process), I could follow such affective flows in multiple directions, orientations, and potencies. Rather than focusing on their alignments (cf. Thomas et al., 2012), I could follow both align-
ments and misalignments, as well as synchronizations and desynchronizations. As packs, the multiplicities are then felt through (a) alignments and intensifications, and (b) misalignment and dissipations of affective flows. In contrast, in crowds the multiplicities are felt through synchronization. It is through this interplay of affective flows that felt surfaces are marked as continuous embodiments. It is through this interplay that the surfacing of packs and crowds is here understood. I start the discussion below with a consideration of the making of packs.

6.2. The making of packs: aligning and misaligning affects

In this section, I focus the discussion on the interplay of affective flows that marks the felt surfaces of the urban collectives as packs. I describe how these collectives have emerged, changed, dissipated, merged, and morphed into other collectives through the interplay of multiple affective flows with multiple orientations and directions. I then focus on the making, unmaking, and remaking of their felt surfaces. Collective bodies are then seen as amalgams of affective flows with different orientations and directions. Such affective flows, as imitation flows, then work in alignment and misalignment, marking confluence and divergence in the amalgamation process. In this section, I discuss how surfaces of these collectives become felt through these alignments or misalignments. I assume that the process of amalgamation encompasses multiple affective flows, not only the ones discussed above (i.e., disgust, comfort, fear, and hope). The amalgamation process encompasses several affective intensities. These affective intensities work concomitantly to pull bodies together, push them away, make them turn, grant them inertia, and so on. As they affect us, they compose us.

For example, some participants and collectives seem to misalign themselves when participants manifest discomfort with some ideas and activities. This divergence is then felt as a split. In those moments, the surfaces between them become felt and they find new ways to resist gentrification. Still, those surfaces become unfelt every time there is an incident that is perceived as threatening to several urban collectives. Through fear, the participants align again; they recoil in another collective body in order to prepare to react against the common threat. Another example was when I moved away from the police through fear, as fear was pulling me away from those bodies. At the same
time, hope as a force that pulls was also in play. Through hope, I felt pulled towards the crowd. It was the interplay of both of them (along with multiple other forces) that marked my distancing of the bodies of police and my merging with the crowd. In other words, bodies are composed by multiple affective flows in interplay. Their interplaying and overlapping, as an effect, mark the relations, distances, and extensions between bodies. That is, they mark their connections and disconnections. The effects of such interplay are ones of surfacing (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b). Such surfacing effect is highlighted when, through alignments and misalignments, some flows come to the fore. Hence, I do not assume that a specific affective flow composes a specific collective body. Nor do I try to map and typify the affective flows present in the gentrification context (cf. Gopaldas, 2014). Instead, below I focus on how the relations between bodies were delineated through these processes of alignment and misalignment of affective flows. I focus on how the participants delineated what was felt as us.

6.2.1. The making of collectives: from them to us

By the end of 2016, five years after its inception, BxC have become nearly inactive as a collective. The conversation was already meager in their Google Groups, which was their main media of interaction. It could seem that they fell apart; there had been an apparent dissipation of the collective as an assemblage, as also happened in the case that Parmentier and Fischer (2014) studied. In that study, participants who were once engaged with America’s Next Top Model (ANTM) lost interest in the brand and its related activities. The scholars show how fans of the TV-show contributed to the erosion of the value-creation process, which consequently increased the inconsistencies of the assemblage. Parmentier and Fischer argue that the participants, feeling betrayed by the changes made by the producers, started to engage in activities that betrayed the coherence of the assemblage. The increasing of these incoherencies then contributed to the dissipation of the fan base as a collective formation. In contrast to their investigation, in this study many participants have dissipated but they kept interacting with each other in different ways. Some participants are still involved in related initiatives with the initial proposal of BxC (i.e., to resist the gentrification process in the center of São Paulo). One has started to work in the municipality, some of them are working in NGOs and organizations engaged in the improvement of the quality of urban life, and some of them have started to organize a guerilla carnival block.
They are constantly meeting at events that cover the theme broadly. They are still cooperating and helping each other. They are still sharing festive moments and protest marches. Under different names, overlapping causes, and renewed formats, they seem to endure. The collective has reconfigured in a way that it is hard to recognize. Still, one can follow the traces of many people crossing over and over again as well as many of the issues they discussed.

Only in 2015-2016, when I was reading the e-mails that the BxC participants exchanged via GoogleGroups, did I realize that I went to some of the places and parties that BxC was promoting in 2011-2012 as part of the BxC Festival. During this time, there were joint events with two regular parties - Voodoohop and Santo Forte. Similarly, one friend of mine that donated money to the crowdfunding campaign for the first BxC Festival, told me that she went to some BxC Festival activities without realizing it. Even though she had donated money, she was not aware of their activities afterwards. Unlike many branded events and communities where there are clear demarcations of borders, the happenings of BxC do not demonstrate easily discernible boundaries. As happened to me, I later realized, many participants come and go without a clear membership or even a shared consciousness of kind (cf. Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001; see also Cova and Pace, 2006).

Nevertheless, the multiple participants and collectives can be seen as a continuum. But where can we start when we see these collectives as a continuum? The participants of BxC suggest that for them the start was in the mid-1960s in the Netherlands. Through imitation across time and space, BxC see themselves as a dislocation of Provo, the Dutch counterculture movement. For example, they adopted the same tagline: “The streets are (made) for dancing” to emphasize this perception of dislocation across time and space and disclosing their connection to Provo. In this dislocation across time and space, BxC then came into being as an imitation of that which connects the participants of BxC with the participants of Provo and the city space. They are a continuum as a reverberation of past figures is maintained as new people cross through over and over again. In an initial crowd-funded event held over the course of one week in 2012, BxC facilitated more than 100 cultural activities. The movement subsequently splintered into two additional annual events as well as numerous other independent events held throughout 2012. Many of the participants have since become part of other forms of collective action with numerous overlapping causes (e.g., FJM). Other collectives emerged in the same
area, as well as in different areas of the city. This was the case with BPV, as one participant explains in an interview:

The Baixo Centro, was the first one that did that (occupied), and then later we had others; occupation, occupation, occupation. Many projects (were) occupying. The Potato Square case is a case that started there (in BxC). Laura Sobral herself, the girl who created the Potato Square project, she was a girl who came, sat down with us in the meetings of Baixo Centro, and started to say: “Wow, I live in the Potato Square and I will do something there”.

The Potato Needs You (BPV) is then a neighboring initiative: it is an initiative that can be traced back in BxC and emerged in another area of the town. Influenced by BxC and Basurama, which is a collective from Spain focused on cultural production and environmental protection, the BPV emerged as an innovative imitation, in a braid of BxC and Basurama (among others). In other words, these two different imitative flows came to interlace with each other, merging into another composition (Tarde, 1903). With focus on public gardens and public furniture in a public square, it came into being. According to Tarde, the interlacing of different imitative flows in braids are occurrences of innovative imitation (ibid.). As amalgams of affective flows, they surface when alignments of affective flows exceed misalignments. In contrast, WikiPraça came into being as a bifurcation of BxC, in this very specific area of the region called Arouche. With a recurrent proposal with weekly activities, it emerged as an opposing imitative flow. The proposition of having an on-going calendar of activities in a specific area of the city center came into being to overcome the impermanence of BxC activities. It was a dissident flow, as BxC was a dissident flow of CCD. As amalgams of affective flows, they surface when misalignments of affective flows exceed alignments.

Thereby, I argue that BxC has morphed into other shapes through two predominant methods: (1) innovative imitative flows (when flows join in a braid) and (2) opposing imitative flows (when flows bifurcate in differentiation). Whilst the former is an emerging flow, the latter is a dissident flow. Through emerging and dissident flows, the collectives diverged as well as converged concomitantly. They moved in miscellaneous orientations and directions. They also vanished and were transfigured. Many participants dissolved into other collectives with different brands in different places. They almost did not leave any trace, as crowds usually do. They went through a continuous process of being affected by other collectives and affecting other collectives: ‘them’
becomes ‘us’, which becomes ‘them’ in the following moment. Rather than being a stable and bounded community (cf. Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001; Schou ten & McAlexander (1995), BxC can then be characterized by its continuity. Many participants shifted to other initiatives when they felt discomfort in one collective. They feared that BxC had fertilized the gentrification process rather than resisted it. The spreading to other initiatives can then be traced back to multiple affective intensities (e.g., discomfort with hierarchical structures, fear of the approach of gentrification). Their spreading can be seen as the effect of affective flows that makes distances, extensions, turns, and, consequently, surfaces.

The participants then spread, through affective flows, into multiple other collectives. This is the case of one of the most active activists of BxC. S/he has shifted his/her energies to other initiatives. One of them is REPEP. REPEP is an activist network focused on legitimizing popular housing as cultural heritage. S/he also shifted to “Queer Dinners”, which encompasses a series of events to discuss politics and queer activism. During two of the Queer Dinners in which I participated, I recognized a few BxC participants. Even though many other participants have shifted to different collectives or institutions, some of them are constantly interacting with each other through different arrangements of flows. Periodically, they converge in occurrences of affective synchronization, such as political protests and events against gentrification. Thereby, these collectives, as packs, can be seen as the embryos of crowds.

The urban collectives can be seen as condensed multiplicities, whereas crowds can be seen as expanded multiplicities. But before I discuss the process of making crowds as an expanded multiplicity, I emphasize below how the constant shifting of the participants is a form of dissipation through misalignments of affective flows. Such misalignments enable them to continue sharing contact zones as they keep directing and turning towards the city center. Their constant shifting is then also what allows them to continue interacting with each other and crossing again through time and space. By creating surfaces across them, they are able to reanimate their connections with the city center as well as creating further distances in relation to other bodies. In the following section, I try to develop this argument further.
In one of my first interviews for this study, one participant explained that BxC, the case I chose to study, does not exist anymore. In his opinion, the collective was dead and what remained was just a group of friends discussing ‘the right to the city’. Some thoughts immediately crossed my mind: Should I be worried about choosing this case for my doctoral project? Did I choose a case that was already dead? But even if BxC does not exist anymore, why do so many of the participants keep interacting with each other? Was BxC still alive or was it really dead? Even though I became apprehensive at the apparent death of my case, I continued the study. Still these questions kept running into my mind. Throughout the years of this doctoral project, I have questioned the living status of these collectives. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, something is dead when there is a permanent cessation of all vital functions. But what is vital? According to the same dictionary, vital is “fundamentally concerned with or affecting life or living beings, such as (1) tending to renew or refresh the living and (2) destructive to life”. In the case of a human being, an individual body, death is usually determined when the brain is considered to be dead. All the other parts can be replaced (e.g., heart transplant), changed (e.g., plastic surgery), or even left in absence (e.g., removal of appendix, one of the kidneys, or tonsils). But, how about a collective body? When and how can we determine the end of a collective body?

What makes a collective body ‘alive’? Is it its name? Is it its stated purpose? Is it stability in terms of membership? Is it the shared consciousness of its members (cf. Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001)? Or would it be the perpetuity of its rituals and traditions (regardless of the participants)? What can be considered the vital functions and organs of a collective body? And, what can be changed? Or, even, what should be changed in order to keep the collective body alive? This last question is counterintuitive but key to this study because it assumes that the collective body, like a human body, depends on renewal for its longevity. In other words, its stability derives from its instability. This is a fundamental argument of this thesis. The multiplicity of collectives presented here is seen as a social amalgamation in constant change at the same time as they maintain consistency. The continuity of the collectives I studied seems to derive from their morphing capacity and heterogeneity, not in spite of them. Some brands are ephemeral, some participants come and go, some propositions come and go, in some moments they gather in their thousands, and sometimes it might even seem they have no connection. Some affective
orientations, directions, and potencies are short-lived. Still, many participants seem to maintain affective reverberation in their resistance against the gentrification process: they seem to maintain affective reverberation with the city center. The imitative process between them keeps going. In this reverberation with the city center, the collectives seem to be social amalgams manifesting affective imitation instead of rational cohesion. As a participant described during an interview, “there are many entries and many exits”. The exit from one collective might be the entry into another collective, for example. Whereas some participants flow between collectives, some participants stick to one or a few collectives. In conjunction, they continue resisting the gentrification of the center of São Paulo.

These collectives seem always to be in movement, always willing to change. For example, throughout the years, rather than assuming that BxC has died, it is possible to explore how it has morphed into other shapes (i.e., other collectives). Multiple other collectives emerged from BxC through the interplay of multiple imitative flows that were in alignment or misalignment. This interplay of multiple imitative flows then enables the morphing feature of BxC as a collective body, sometimes making it hard to recognize the thread between collectives and participants. The dialogue below reveals how this morphing feature of the collective body leaves few traces, to a point that some participants do not recognize the morphing process whereas other participants are able to make the trace back. In the dialogue, one participant highlights that the nature of the resistance in the area of Potato Square has changed from public housing to public gardens. For her, this shift is a downgrade in the resistance process. The dialogue happened during an event in which many urban activists and representatives of collectives participated in order to discuss the urban issues they were facing. The participant of one collective goes on stage and asks:

Regarding one collective and another, there is a very large gap. There is a generational gap and it is big. The Potato Square project began many, many years ago. It was a popular housing project, if I remember correctly. So, how have we ended up with park benches and public gardens? I have nothing against benches and public gardens. However, we are not able to relate anymore! I could only share and learn with you one or two years ago. It took all this time to understand that: fuck, we’re fighting for public gardens! Okay, but it was not what we were talking about a few years ago. This is very crazy! There is nothing wrong, but what happened in those 10 years?!?
Another participant asks to reply (because his/her project is focused on public gardens):

The collectives indeed knew each other. The guys of BijaRi have been doing stuff there for many years. The question is not about knowing the project. It is just another way of organizing and questioning what has been done. (...) I agree with both C. and S. when they say that we have a lot of the same - and also a lot of different stuff. That is because we are kind of the same. I see many collectives pointing their fingers at other collectives and saying they’re doing wrong. (...) We are talking about fighting for heterogeneity, but demanding homogeneity. It is bizarre, to be polite. The movements willing to change, they are flexible. We do a lot of stuff wrong, we do some things right, we try to approach people that can do better.

In the dialogue presented above, the two participants from two different collectives expose the differences between the collectives through time. One participant is puzzled at how the last ten years of resistance in the Potato Square have unfolded. She shows agitation, as s/he thinks it is crazy how the resistance of the collectives has changed throughout the last 10 years. The other participant then opines that they have changed throughout a long process that encompassed different means and methods (‘another way of organizing and questioning what has been done’). Still, the participant points out that they ‘have a lot of the same - and also a lot of different stuff’. In the excerpt above, the participant emphasizes how the participants of different collectives interact with each other throughout their different workings (“we try to approach people that can do better”). Many participants then keep interacting with each other. They keep cooperating with each other in specific projects, participating in joint events, hanging out as friends, celebrating some victories, supporting each other in the face of setbacks, and protesting together: even if the ideas regarding what the problems, solutions, formats, and priorities actually are can vary substantially. As one of the participants says above, “I see many collectives pointing their fingers at other collectives and saying they’re doing wrong”. Their differences come to the fore on many occasions. Across the collectives, both homogeneity and heterogeneity are key features (Thomas et al., 2012).

The collectives seem to refute striving for shared consciousness (cf. Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001). Rather, they seem to share solidarity. Here, solidarity does not assume that their struggles are the same struggles, that they share the same
fears, or that their hope is for the same future. “Solidarity involves commitment, and work, as well as the recognition that even if we do not have the same feelings, or the same lives, or the same bodies, we do live on common ground” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 189). This solidarity, which does not assume homogeneity nor search for resolution, resonates with the discussion of Chatzidakis and colleagues (2012) about the need for autonomy as well as the discussion of the multiple orientations of hope. The different workings of the city center are different ways to connect through the present to possible futures. They connect with each other and with the city space. Through their multiple workings in resisting gentrification, there is a coming together of different bodies that keeps unfolding through time. Through this solidarity, which does not cover a shared consciousness, they are always policing each other for not imposing their ideas, their feelings on the other (see discussion regarding comfort). They make an effort to preserve a diversity of subjectivities between them (“We are talking about fighting for heterogeneity, but demanding homogeneity. It is bizarre, to be polite”). The overlapping and interplaying are continuous. As described below by some participants of BxC, the exercise of balancing homogeneity and heterogeneity is a hard, constant, and important exercise in the urban life. In the excerpt below, which is a paragraph of a memorandum of BxC that was released after the first FJM party, the participants emphasize that the exercise of finding commonality without damaging alterity is a formidable exercise:

(...) When we think about the horizontality proposed by BaixoCentro we should not understand it as a flattening of individualities, an amorphous mass where all think and feel the same, with the same cultural background, age, income, education level, etc. Where is the possibility of exchange when all around is only mirrored? (...) It is common that there is identification within a group, but it is not possible that this will supplant the transforming exercise of alterity. Such a hard exercise! That is why we insist on keeping on doing it. Yes, there will be activities at the party that I identify with more or less, but it is one unique party and what makes it unique is its desire to exist as occupying a shared space with a shared and simple purpose: to party!

In the excerpt above, the participants express their desire to occupy and share the city space without the prerequisite of feeling the same, or having the same cultural background, age, income, or education. For them, sharing also encompasses ‘the transforming exercise of alterity’. As stated above, it should not be about exchanging between equals (‘where is the possibility of exchange when all around is only mirror?’). Differences are then allowed and therefore
there is no need for acculturation into the collective formation (cf. Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). In a similar manner to consumer tribes, the participants are here connected through rapid processes of active play; they do not exhibit the long-term moral responsibility or religious zeal towards their ‘own brands’, and refute obsequiousness for social hierarchies (Canniford, 2011; Cova et al., 2007). The connection is one of solidarity through sharing a common ground (‘occupying a shared space with a shared and simple purpose: to party!’).

Partying here is also instructive as it was a response to the claim made by the administrators of the city that the city center was in need of ‘revitalization’, which implies it was seen by them as dead. By partying (in the streets), the participants of BxC and FJM wanted to show the vitality of the city center. Partying here then relates to the potential of living on common ground. Nevertheless, their connections were not only made through partying. They entailed a continuous process of discussing, listening, learning, protesting, and partying. The *us* was then continuously formed *with* their differences not in spite of them. The balance between their differences and similarities was a hard exercise though, as the participants mention in the excerpt above. Still, they emphasize that this difficulty is the reason why they kept insisting on doing it. Through continuous alignments and misalignments of affective flows, the participants could keep sharing the city space as they kept reanimating the possibility of living on common ground.

Yet, there were moments of disorientation within BxC when misalignments became more predominant than alignments. Such moments were felt as disorienting. In such moments, it could seem that they got ‘stuck’. Throughout the active years of BxC, there have been many problems and moments of tension. So, how many of these misalignments were solved? Usually, they were not solved. In such moments, multiple directions and orientations could be identified. However, the lack of hierarchy could not influence a decision or consensus, which led to apparent inertia. There would be no apparent ‘moving forward’ towards any specific direction or orientation. An example of these moments of inertia was when Vodafone tried to buy a few seconds of images from a video called *Painting Reality* which the participants of BxC produced for the opening of the first festival. As an inaugural action on the morning of the first day of the BxC festival, some participants poured over 200 liters of water-soluble ink into the streets. The movement of the cars, buses, bikes, and people then created a living painting. The project, which was recorded and
uploaded online\textsuperscript{22}, was an imitation of a similar event that happened in Berlin’s \textit{Rosenthaler Platz} in 2010. The German artist whose project served as inspiration, IEPE, was also involved in the negotiation with Vodafone and BxC. However, the diversity of opinions regarding the negotiation did not enable any consensus.

The discussion, which encompassed the exchange of 107 emails, took many turns as well as U-turns: the collective should accept the offer and charge a steep price for each second; they should not accept and refuse any type of cooptation; they should ignore it; they should accept, but not charge anything because the video was launched via CreativeCommons; they cannot accept or refuse anything since the video is open and free for use via CreativeCommons; Vodafone is welcome to hack them; they cannot enter into the logic of the market; they should accept because they need the money; they cannot escape the market, only use the market as the market uses them. They discussion evolved into the concept of value, market logic, hacking, and capitalism. As the discussion became ever more convoluted and bewildering, the issue entered into inertia. There was an absence of decision. Each e-mail was a (re)action to the marketplace, value, and BxC. Each e-mail had a different orientation and direction. There was no alignment. In this diversity of misalignments and realignments, no decision was reached. The variety of different positions manifested into an apparent inertia and dissolution. However, the inertia and dissolution of affective flows were only apparent. These misalignments, as nodes of divergence, can be traced as a stem for upcoming imitative oppositions (i.e., dissident flows), which became manifested in a multiplicity of new collectives and protests in the future. For example, two years later, a couple of BxC participants founded a pay-what-you-want café in the city center. Their positioning regarding value was then retaken through a different arrangement.

The collectives, like BxC, can be then seen as amalgamations of affective flows which are in constant movement towards multiple directions and orientations. It is in the overlapping and interplaying of the multiple affective flows in which the multiple packs keep emerging as collective bodies. That is, the surfaces between the participants and collectives become felt, as well as being able to become unfelt. In summary, the collectives here (as packs) can be seen

\textsuperscript{22} The video of this event is available online through the Vimeo platform (https://vimeo.com/39249572).
as amalgams of affective flows that travel within and across bodies, shaping them. The shaping of the bodies is not linked to any specific affect (as emotion), but how they overlap and interplay. In the next section, I focus on how the traveling of affective flows can synchronize, marking an expansion of the collective body forming them into crowds. By these means, I discuss how, through the synchronization of affective flows, the temporary alignment of affective flows becomes felt as an expansion of surfaces. In those moments of affective synchronization, it is not only the participants of the collectives gathered together forming crowds in the form of events, protests, or festivals. By discussing my own experience in joining the political protests of 2013, I exemplify how in the becoming of the crowds (from packs), people feel to join the participants of such packs when the affective flows synchronize. Through the synchronization of affective flows, the forces of the affective flows become more potent. In sum, I discuss below how these collectives, as packs, become crowds.

6.3. The making of crowds: synchronizing affect

In this third and final part of the chapter, I highlight how crowds emerge when affective flows synchronize. This affective synchronization does not assume that in the crowd everyone feels the same. It is not about one specific affect (as emotion) or the effect of its particular traveling. The crowd is about the effects of the tangle of multiple affective flows. The concept of affective synchronization then proposes that there is a momentary convergence of multiple affective flows. Multiple affective flows with numerous orientations and directions (as discussed in the first part of this chapter) synchronize through time and place. This synchronization intensifies a process that was already happening with the constant alignment and misalignment of affective flows in packs. Through the synchronization of affective flows, the forces of such flows become more potent as they also concentrate, forming entanglements. For example, the pulling together of hope within the crowds become more potent. Likewise, the repelling force of fear also becomes more potent when the police come into confrontation with the crowd, reinforcing the pulling effect even more, which consequently also intensifies the condensing effect. Thereby, affective synchronization entails an overlapping and interplay of flows (with multiple orientations and directions) but now in higher potency.
As Canetti (1995) argues, “the eagerness to grow is the first and supreme quality of the crowd” (p. 15, translated by the author). In crowds, the affective synchronization does not entail a homogeneous affective disposition (cf. Gopaldas, 2014). It entails an overlapping and interplay of affective flows, whose imitative processes have become contagious (Tarde, 1903). They become concentrated as they temporarily converge in the tangle, only to subsequently diverge. Yet, in the focal points of convergence, there is an embodied intensification. Crowds are then these focal points of convergence with embodied intensification. Crowds do not then appear out of nowhere, nor do they disappear without leaving a trace. Crowds emerge from packs, as amalgams of affective flows already in alignment and misalignment. Crowds emerge from existing multiplicities of affective flows already in reverberation (Tarde, 1903; Canetti, 1995; Brighenti, 2010a). Crowds then emerge in convergence, but they then dissipate as flows misalign, cross, and diverge since the forces can be of trailing as well as traversing. Thereby, multiplicities, crowds and packs, are part of a continuous process of convergence and divergence of affective flows. They are tangles of affective flows in a continuous process of amalgamation. They are social amalgamations with no stable structure, as they have the potential to expand and shrink continuously. For example, Canetti (1995) highlights that the crowd “exists only as it is growing and its disintegration starts as soon as it stops growing” (p.15, translated by the author).

To start discussing the making of crowds from packs, I share below my first experience of joining a crowd. In the sequence, I discuss how and why I joined the crowds during the protests of 2013. By sharing the first memories (of 1992), I disclose my affective dispositions towards crowds. By sharing the second memories (of 2013), I illustrate how I became an us through the surfacing of my own body shift. Through anger, fear, pain, hope, and many other affective interplays, the felt of us surpassed the felt of I. I start by discussing the surpassing of felt surfaces through the amalgamation of affective flows.

6.3.1. The making of protests: from I to us

I was ten years old when I got closer to what would become a crowd for the first time. It was 1992, the year of the impeachment of President Fernando Cardoso de Mello. He was the first president elected after the dictatorship, serving as president from 1990 to 1992. In May 1992 the president’s brother, Pedro Collor, accused him of corruption. This led to the proliferation of several anti-corruption movements and ultimately resulted in the impeachment.
of the president. One of the most iconic movements was called *Caras-Pintadas* ("Painted-Faces"). There were many Painted-Faces at my school. Many buses full of youngsters with their faces painted used to leave in the morning from my hometown to join the protests against the corrupt government. Some of these buses left from the door of my school as the older students were granted permission to go to the protests that happened in the capital, which was located around 200 km from my hometown. We, the younger ones, could only see the older ones departing to Brasília, the federal capital. It was an amazing and exciting moment to be a kid near the Brazilian capital. I was so jealous of the older kids who could paint their faces green and yellow (the national colors), jump on those buses, and fight for a better future for our country. The number of students and buses increased at a rapid pace. The political unrest reverberated with the high frequency of the engines of the buses and chants of the students. Suddenly, there was popular adherence to the belief in a better Brazil, in a Brazil without corruption. The media coverage emphasized how the National Congress felt the pressure of the people in the streets and the president was finally impeached. It felt amazing to see ‘the power of the people’. By witnessing the process, I felt that I was also part of it. As I thought I was watching history being made, I was touched by that atmosphere. Technically, I was just seeing a bunch of kids leaving my school to go to the federal capital until the official impeachment was announced on December 30th, 1992. Nonetheless, I remember feeling close to them. Even though the causality between the two episodes – students leaving my school and the impeachment of the former president - was much more meager than I believed back then, it was quite an impressive event to follow when one was 10 years old.

After 21 years, in June of 2013, I finally had my chance at taking part in a crowd. I did not anticipate that. Apparently, no one did. Overnight protests started to sprout in São Paulo and I joined some of them. The protests started at *Paulista* Avenue when the *Movimento Passe Livre* (MPL, “Free-Pass Movement”) organized a protest against the 0.20 reals increase of public transportation fares in São Paulo. *Paulista* Avenue is an emblematic avenue for hosting large gatherings in the city: from the Pride Parade to Soccer Championship Celebrations, from Election Festivities to New Year’s Eve Parties. In my time living in the area between 2000 and 2013, I witnessed many of

---

23 According to international coverage media during the protests, 20 cents of *reals* was equivalent of 9 cents of American dollars. In February 1st, 2018, the value is approximately equivalent to 6 cents of American dollars.
those gatherings, from celebrations to protests. Such gatherings were expected to happen from time to time. However, there was something different about the first protest in which I personally participated. This protest in June of 2013 was met with a violent police response that triggered popular support for the cause. In the following days and weeks, the protests garnered ever more support, attracting more and more people and moving beyond the initial issues of public transportation fares to encompass many other causes. The proliferation of different causes was underscored in the new motto of the protests: “It is not about the 20 cents”. According to research conducted by the main statistical bureau of the country (IBOPE), 84% of the citizens of the country were sympathetic to the protests (R7, 2013). The protests began to spread to other cities. People joined in for different reasons. As already discussed, there was a solidarity that did not require a consciousness of kind, in contrast to community. The convergence of people did not contradict the need for autonomy (Chatzidakis et al., 2012). The heterogeneity of causes made it difficult to find a suitable moniker for the protests even though many attempts were made. The events are still known today as Jornadas de Junho (‘Journeys of June’) (Protestos no Brasil em 2013, n.d.).

From 2013 until 2017, there were many other protests in Brazil. They differed from each other though. Even the first protests in 2013 are considered by many participants to be different from the final protests of 2013. Many of the original protestors of 2013 were not present at the protests of 2015, which were focused on calling for the impeachment of the then President Dilma Rousseff (who governed the country from 2011 to 2016). Many people considered the participants of the 2015 protests to be more representative of elitists and nationalists. For example, at some of the 2015 protests there were participants calling for the return of dictatorship. After the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff, many of the 2013 protestors returned to the streets in the protests of 2016 and 2017. The difference in adherence to the protests according to political inclination was discussed by alternative media coverage, as well as social media discussions. Whereas the political protests of 2013-2014 and 2016-2017 are considered as oriented more to the political left, the political protests of 2014-2016 are considered as oriented more to the political right. I joined the protests in 2013 and 2016. On both occasions, I felt a need to join the protests.

In 2013, I was one of the thousands of people who ‘decided’ to join the second protest of June. Yet, my ‘decision’ was not rational choice: it was an affective
(re)action. I felt pulled into the crowd after watching (from my window\textsuperscript{24}) two policemen on motorbikes pursuing pedestrians who, in that moment, were doing nothing more than walking and trying to dissipate from the crowd. This episode happened at the first MPL protest against the raising of public transportation fares in São Paulo. On that occasion, I was looking out of my window and perceived the protesters as violent when they placed trash cans in the middle of my street and set them on fire. I remember thinking that maybe they were crossing some boundaries and they had no reason to act like vandals. However, in a matter of a couple of minutes my impression had changed completely. There was a sudden turning point. The police arrived and attacked them. I saw many participants starting to run and the crowd started to dissipate. In a matter of a couple of minutes, there was almost no trace of a crowd any more. It was only people trying to return to their houses. However, the policemen remained in an attacking mode. Then, I saw two policemen on motorbikes going after two pedestrians in the streets. Avoiding the two pedestrians by no more than a few centimetres, the policemen rode their bikes at speed towards them several times. They were policemen. My reading of their bodies was baffling: they were supposed to protect people and not threaten them. Such a moment was one of reading through bodily memories and, as Tarde (1903) argues “memory of sentiments is much more persistent than that of ideas” (p. 197).

In that instant, my orientation changed, as well as my direction. That was the turning point for me and it was intense: I was scared, but also very angry. Those policemen were supposed to be us, but they became them. This turning point was a surfacing point: I already felt the crowd as us. In that moment, I felt the need to join the next protest and show that they – the policemen – crossed the limit. The body lines (of organic skin) of those people being attacked by the police were not them any longer, their body limits were felt like my own body limits. Our bodies then connected and together, as a collective body, we had a new surface that they the policemen should not cross. It was not about any specific pedestrians any longer, and it was not about me either. It was about us. It seems many people felt likewise. The violence of the police against the protesters went viral on social media and resulted in the creation

\textsuperscript{24} I used to live on the margins of Paulista Avenue and through my window I could see part of the avenue and witnessed several of the events that took place there. Due to the privileged position of my old apartment, I could not only see the first protests of 2013 from my window and compare what I was seeing live from what was presented by the media coverage. I could also join the protests as part of my daily routine for a short period of time.
of the second protest the following week. In short order this protest had thousands of confirmed guests. In the following weeks of 2013, the protests started to grow exponentially. What started as a small MPL protest became a sequence of much bigger protests. The crowd was growing and the progression seemed like a spontaneous burst.

However, this spontaneity was only apparent. There was already an affective effervescence going on in the city of São Paulo and worldwide that enabled the growth of the crowds in June of 2013. The protests were then outbreaks of a longer and continuous process. There were already many affective (re)actings of many urban collectives resisting issues related to urban life. There was already an acceleration of affective reverberation. The first protest was then an event of catalysis of a longer process. The violent encounter functioned as a focal point for the reorientation and redirection of multiple affective flows. There was a synchronization of affective flows towards that point. This synchronized turning point then enabled the acceleration of the forces of the affective flows. They became more potent. They became contagious. The growth of the Brazilian protests in June 2013 can then be seen as contagious eruptions of urban collective formations already in play. There was already an increase in multiple forces which enabled the surfacing shifts to occur. In other words, the process of crowd formation can then be seen as a manifestation of the growing of the collective body from the packs. Below, I discuss further the relation between these two multiplicities: the urban collectives as packs and the protests of 2013 as crowds.

6.3.2. The making of multiplicities: from them to us

During an interview, one participant explained to me that there was already an effervescent atmosphere in São Paulo in the months preceding the Journeys of June 2013. In the excerpt below, the participant explains how many of these collectives were already articulating events that wanted to express discontent with the situation of life in the city of São Paulo:

We were setting up another thing. It was supposed to happen in September, one month before the municipal elections. It would be called Paulista Spring, in reference to the Arab Spring and so on. We would join BxC, Pimp My Carroça (‘Pimp my Cart’), Cidade Para Pessoas (‘City for People’), OH - the scene of the crowdfunding of Brazil, the crowdfunding of São Paulo. Everyone was funded collectively. We
wanted to occupy the kiosk of the *Praça da República* (Republic Square) for a month to mess with the elections. That was the point. We had some conversations to articulate this [event], which would be very impactful. Because BxC was way up here (gestures with hands up), right? If we had come through it, it would be like “Booooom”. A fucking punch! I honestly think that we were doing something that would be what MLP ended up doing in 2013, you know? It was like “Booooom” (Hands simulating explosion). A fucking punch that resonated. We were in that moment when anything could resonate a lot. It's funny – how it was and happened in June (Gestures simulating a chaotic event, an explosion and/or tornado).

In the passage above, the protests of June are not seen as a surprise but they are seen as the spark that ignited the explosion. In hindsight, the protests are seen here as events of a context of discontent that escalated. Throughout 2012 and early 2013, there was already an articulation of many collectives for contesting urban life as it was presented in São Paulo. The cost of living had been rising and many collectives were trying to create alternatives in response to these rising costs (e.g., free parties in the street) and improve the conditions of public spaces in the city space (e.g., replacement of automobile culture for biking and public transportation, support for garbage-recycling collectors). There were already multiple initiatives in progress around the city center. As the participant describes above, there were already some efforts to create something impactful. There were already multiple mobilizations. There were multiple affective flows already reverberating with each other when the ‘spark’ happened. There was already a growing effervescence in the previous year when they were trying to articulate a *Paulista* Spring in September of 2012. As the participant recalls above, they ‘were in that moment when anything could resonate a lot’; and they ‘were doing something that would be what MLP ended up doing in 2013, you know?’.

The spark was then in June of 2013, when another collective (MPL) had a violent encounter with the police as they were protesting against the rise of public transportation fares. The connection with this spark, the violence of the police, and the rise in price of public transportation is instructive for two reasons. Firstly, according to Sandine (2009), the eruption of many crowds can be traced back to a violent encounter with policemen or another form of institutionalized body of enforcement. In his historical account of the transformation of American crowds from an active subject of change to a passive crowd as an object of control and regulation, Sandine argues that many violent incidents worked as sparks for crowds. The violent incidents then mark the
bursting of the crowds from the packs, but their formation was not instantaneous. Dissatisfaction was already spreading and escalating. The participants were already feeling pressure to constrict their bodies to the peripheries of or within the city center. A lot of pressure was already being felt by the participants of the collectives as well as the general population: there were already many forces pushing and pulling. Then there came the approach of a new threat: the public transport price increases. That increase of price was felt as yet ‘another one’ pressing against their bodies. With these price increases, it would be even harder to move around the city. The city center would become even less reachable. This would result in making it even harder not only for the extension of their bodies in the city center, but also for the circulation of their bodies around the city. Therefore, the public transport price increase also marked yet another threatening approach of the ideology of consumption and consumerism (see further discussion regarding ‘Norms, legitimate lives and comfort’ in the sub-section 6.1.2). But, in that moment, they pushed too hard. That was the last drop: it was the “Booooom” they were expecting. It was the ‘fucking punch’ they were already longing for.

This rise of the price of public transport then functioned as a breaking point in an escalating situation. The escalation of the situation as further pressing was not only felt for the bodies of the participants, it was felt beyond the memberships of each collective. The process of making the crowds of 2013 is then a crescendo of an already ongoing making of crowds. For example, the BxC festival in 2012 can be seen as part of this crescendo, as well as the FJM and many other crowding events organized by multiple collectives. The merging process between the collectives was already going on. For example, at the first BxC festival in 2012, many collectives gathered together and promoted activities at the BxC Festival. BijaRi had proposed an activity, BxC had shared parties with Voodoo hop and Santo Forte, OH had participated in the event: there were many pre-parties to raise money at CCD. Their gathering was enabled by an affective synchronization of different flows. They were already tangled. They were cooperating with each other during the festival as one larger body, but their crossings were ephemeral. Their differences, as felt surfaces, were revoked only temporarily. They then gathered in convergence, forming a tangle. From packs, the participants formed a larger collective body in order to go out on to the streets together. They formed a tangle, as they became more concentrated and expanded at the same time.
As Canetti (1995) argues, the crowd is eager to grow and, at the same time, loves density. In the crowd, the fear of being touched disappears as surfaces between bodies become unfelt. In events such as the BxC festival, the surfaces between the different collectives disappeared. They became a larger collective body that was not just BxC, FJM, CCD, or BijaRi. They were, as Canetti would argue, equals. But this equality of the crowd does not require sameness, as they were not feeling the same. As argued by Canetti, in the crowd, who is next to us is felt like us. The equality of the crowd resonates with the affective solidarity that I discussed above. The participants and collectives did not share a consciousness of kind, nor were they experiencing the same feelings or sensations. Like us here marks a surfacing: from them they become us. The participants and collectives then became a larger us, with another surface being felt in expansion. Thereby, in gathering on occasions such as the BxC Festival, they often became a tangle that was not about specific collectives or individuals. This tangle was about a crowd of them together. This tangle turned them into us.

In the making of crowds, the making of them into us can be seen as an effect of a continuous merging of bodies of collectives in São Paulo through affective synchronization. This synchronization is a process that has junctions across time and space. For example, in the excerpt above, the participant describes how the collectives were not only already in reverberation with each other (‘the scene of the crowdfunding of Brazil, the crowdfunding of São Paulo’), but there were also junctions across the world (‘It would be called the Paulista Spring, in reference to the Arab Spring and so on’). This referencing is an imitation, which is an affective process. The participants of BxC were constantly sharing happenings of activism and (re)actings of resistance happening around the world, throughout the exchange of e-mail of BxC. They were constantly sharing such ideas and mirroring them. There was a reverberation across space and time – whether by mirroring the Provo movement in Amsterdam in the mid-60s, or by signing a BxC troll-press-release with the name of Luther Blisset, which is an international political pseudonym. Since its first appearance in Bologna (Italy) in the mid-90s, hundreds of artists and activists in Europe and the Americas have used the pseudonym.

Their affective mirroring then is not restricted to the happenings of activism and (re)actings of resistance within that city space, it reaches initiatives around the world. For example, in the interview excerpt below, one participant...
explains the ‘explosion’ of BxC, connecting the BxC festival to the other eruptions that were happening in other places such as Turkey and Egypt. S/he explained during the interview that there was a ‘Zeitgeist’ for crowds when the first festival emerged in 2011/2012:

The city is closing down, it’s hard to live in São Paulo, it’s expensive, you know? At the same time, there is this worldwide thing – the Zeitgeist there, which was the Springs and Occupies, 2011. There is this place for the street – Turkey, Egypt, - there is this place a bit of “reclaiming the streets”, you know? In Brazil, there was “Occupy Sampa” but it didn’t respond well. There is this place, this historical moment. And there is the place. We (BxC) were able to update not only the cultural production, but also the street and activism with the concepts of digital – I think this is the point. It is open, it is remixed, it is self-governed: there are many entries and many exits. If you study the digital concept, the (digital) aesthetics - we were able to transfer it to the real world in that moment. I think that everything went towards making it the right moment. We responded to the surrounding questions very well. I think that was the place, and that is why it exploded. Therefore: explosive.

As described in the excerpt above, the context of the formation of BxC is described at the junction of the local context of São Paulo with a world zeitgeist of reclaiming the streets. The participants feel the city is closing down, but they also feel the effervescence of the “Springs and Occupies”. The participant then emphasizes that there was already an affective effervescence in other countries and that they were following the Springs and Occupies that were happening throughout 2011 and 2012. As the participants were witnessing them, they were also synchronizing with them. Through affective synchronization with other movements in other places, the intensification of the imitative process becomes even more potent. They exploded because there were ‘many entries and many exits’, as a tangle. They gathered, but remained open with many entries and exits as described above. This permeability allowed other collectives, residents, and pedestrians to join the first occurrence of the festival and, then, they exploded.

They exploded in tangles of affective flows, as the affective synchronization process converts imitation in contagion. The formation of BxC as a collective body then took different shapes. Throughout a continuous process of amalgamation of affective flows in different orientations, directions, and potencies, the collective body kept shrinking and expanding. Here then, the collective body is not a stable structure, but a process of continuous expansion and
shrinkage, which entails both instability and stability throughout its constant formation.
In this seventh chapter, I discuss how the findings of this research can potentially contribute to the extant CCT literature. I divide the discussion into two parts. In the first part, I summarize the findings by addressing the two research questions separately. In the second part, I connect the findings to ongoing conversations in the CCT literature and highlight how the findings of this research contribute to each conversation. I position the contribution within four conversations. Firstly, the primary contribution of this study relates to the marketplace culture literature and the formation of collective bodies. In this study, I explore how the formation of the collective body is a continuous affective process that unfolds into different forms of multiplicities: crowds, and packs. Secondly, this study also contributes to the growing literature regarding the “experiential aspects of consumption” (e.g., Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982; Gopaldas, 2014; Scott et al., 2017). This study adds to extant discussions regarding the felt experience of consumers by exploring felt experiences without assuming their origin within the individual. Affect is not assumed to be inside or outside bodies. This study explores how affects shape the delineation of bodies as it relates bodies and the findings show how affects work in delineating the relation between and of bodies and, thereby, marking what we understand as I, you, we, and they. Thirdly, this study contributes to discussions regarding space and place in marketing. This study extends the discussions regarding spatial injustices and neoliberal cities which are driven by wider consumption ideology. Lastly, the forth conversation this study contributes to regards methods. More specifically, it regards methodological approaches to affect-oriented research. In this study, I have adopted alternative research methods to understand aspects that are hard to capture by conventional methods. By using autoethnographic and affective techniques, this study responds to the call for the adoption of methodological alternatives that have the potential to foreground affective processes. Below, I begin by summarizing the answers to the two research questions.
7.1. So, how do affects shape collective bodies?

The main question of this study is to understand how collective bodies are formed through affective intensities in a context of social transformation driven by mainstream consumer culture (i.e. gentrification). As presented in the introduction, this main question can be broken down into two complementary questions, which I reiterate and answer below:

- *How does affect work in the formation and transformation of collective bodies amongst residents and urban activists within a gentrification process?*

For my affective framework, I followed the elaborations of both Tarde and Ahmed in exploring the socializing process as an affective process that travels in different ways. By following Ahmed’s elaborations on emotions (as affects), I could explore how affects circulate, accumulate, and stick to bodies depending on signs already in circulation and accumulation. By following Tarde’s elaborations on imitation, the imitative process can be seen as an affective process that emphasizes relationality. Whereas the former highlights the cultural political aspects of the traveling of affect, the latter highlights the relationality of the process. By following the elaborations of both scholars (in a braid), I was able to elaborate on the traveling of affective flows, emphasize their political and cultural features, and, at the same time address Wetherell’s critique of Ahmed’s work. For Wetherell (2015), even though Ahmed’s model is able to go beyond the locations of emotions as ‘inside’ and ‘outside’, by focusing on textual analysis her work misses showing “the practical human relational work involved in an episode of affect” and then “affect, once more, seems to swirl, move, and ‘land’ like a plastic bag blowing in the wind” (p. 159). Rather, this study emphasizes the human relational work involved in episodes of affect. It explores how this relational work is crucial to the shaping of collective bodies.

The findings of this study show how, in the formation and transformation of collective bodies, affect works by traveling through bodies. As nomadic forces, the traveling of affect are multiple depending on signs already circulating among and accumulating upon bodies. In the previous chapter, I discussed how the formation and transformation of collective bodies amongst residents and urban activists within a gentrification process are contingent upon signs attached to their bodies as well as other bodies. Depending on the signs, affect then travels in multiple directions, orientations, and potencies.
Affects do not then work homogeneously. They flow in different ways. They can also become stuck. They are affective flows with different forces: they can push, pull, melt, dislocate, and reorient. Affects are multiple with multiple effects. They can work through merging and splitting bodies. Their different effects mark the felt surfaces of me, you, us, and them. Affects then work through a surfacing effect in the formation and transformation of collective bodies amongst residents and urban activists within the gentrification process in the city center of São Paulo. Affects then work in marking the relation between and of bodies continuously. Ahmed’s work on the political and cultural dimensions of affect is crucial for this argument because it emphasizes how bodies are not neutral, and our relations to bodies are not neutral. In addition, Tarde’s work on imitation and contagion allowed for extrapolating the performativity of this affective process with a dynamic ecological perspective.

In this manner, this study explored how disgust, (dis)comfort, fear, and hope affects work in the formation and transformation of collective bodies. For example, in the case of disgust, affect works as a pushing force. By pushing away, it creates distance. It disconnects. The surfacing effect is one that presses apart and splits. In contrast, comfort has a surfacing effect that extends and merges. It works as a pulling force. By pulling bodies together through a melting sensation, comfort connects. Bodies are then amalgams of multiple affective flows that have multiple forces. These forces overlap and interplay, concomitantly forming condensed focal points continuously. In such interplays, they move us, connect us, and disconnect us. Through their interplay, surfaces are felt continuously.

The findings also highlight how there are moments of embodied intensification when a certain affect becomes more potent. In such moments, this increase in potency shifts the axis of the interplay of affective flows. Affect then moves us. The dislocation becomes felt as surface that is rearranging. Through this rearrangement of affective flows, some flows get connected whereas others get disconnected. It is then by moving us as well as connecting us that we feel surfaces. That is, in such moments, we have moments of embodied intensification. In such moments, some surfaces are felt intensively, at the same time some surfaces became unfelt. For example, in moments of great fear, the participants of multiple collectives would join together and become tighter against other (fearful) bodies. Affects work aligning bodily space with social space (Ahmed, 2004). In the gentrification process, the aligning of bodily space with social space is accentuated since the distribution of bodily space
with social space is in dispute. The findings of this study then show how affects works in these alignings of bodily space with social space in the city center of São Paulo. For example, I discuss how comfort works in legitimizing the distribution of bodily spaces in the city center of São Paulo and this process is contingent on the norms and social ideals already in place.

- How do collective bodies become organized whilst disputing spaces for consumption within a gentrification process?

Collective bodies become organized through the interplay of multiple affective flows. In other words, the organization of collective bodies entails the organization of affective flows. The effect of the surfacing of collective bodies is then an effect of the continuous organization of affective-imitative flows. Within a gentrification process, the surfacing process is vigorous as the dispute for space highlights tensions in the distribution of bodies and space. Within the gentrification process of São Paulo, the relation of signs, bodies, and space come to the fore. Consequently, how bodies affect and are affected, as junctions, shifts, and breaks, also comes to the fore. Collective bodies are then organized in resistance of a spatial transformation that leads to the augmentation of spatial injustices.

In such a vigorous context, there are multiple urban activism collectives acting in the city space. In many cases, it is hard to perceive the line where one collective starts and the other ends. Many participants had been connected to more than one collective. Participants are constantly meeting, sharing, and fighting against each other, as well as fighting together. They are constantly imitating each other, whether by accordance or opposition. By following Tarde’s notion of imitation, the socializing process is seen as an affective-imitative one. In the imitative process, affective flows can join in a braid (i.e. innovative imitative flows) as they can bifurcate in differentiation (i.e. opposing imitative flows). Hence, they are constantly converging and diverging as affective imitative flows have different directions, orientations, and potencies. Throughout this dynamic affective imitation process, flows are in constant alignment and misalignment. They become organized as amalgams of affective flows, which can shrink or grow. They can shift direction and orientation through time. Them, as collective bodies, are always changing.
In this interplay of affective flows aligning and misaligning, the participants gather in packs. Through a continuous imitative affective process, *them* becomes *us*, which becomes *them* again in the following moment. In the making of such packs, the process of affective amalgamation is dynamic and leaves almost no trace. The collectives, as packs, can be seen as amalgams of multiple affective flows that travel within and across bodies, shaping them. Packs, as amalgams of affective flows, take the shape of tangles. They are not a homogeneous amalgam, nor stable. By following Tarde and Canetti’s discussions on crowds and contagion, as well as Nunes’ affective synchronization, I could also explore how such tangles can take different shapes. From packs, they can become crowds. They become larger focal points of convergence in moments of affective synchronization. For example, an incident of violence can evoke multiple affective responses at the same time. On such occasions, the surfacing shift becomes synchronized: the *I* becomes *us* in synchrony. In such instances of affective synchronization, the forces of the flows become more and more potent. In such moments, the imitative process enters a contagious phase. The interplay of affective flows that is already connecting and merging bodies becomes more and more vigorous. With the intensification of forces pushing, pulling, and merging, the collective body grows rapidly and becomes a crowd. The crowds then are events of affective synchronization of an already ongoing affective reverberation. Hence, collective bodies become organized as morphing packs and crowds, whilst disputing spaces for consumption.

The findings of this study then address Mazzarella’s (2010) questioning of how we can explore “Canetti’s idea that mimesis can be reflectively creative without falling back on the heroisms of either the autonomous individual (as self-determining rational agent) or the autonomous collective (as immanent multitude)?” (p. 720). By following Tarde’s work on crowds, imitation, and contagion, the findings explore how socialization does not stem from the conscious, self-determining individual, and elaborates on events taking place at a more relational level. It does this by leveraging Canetti’s questioning of classic crowd theory’s tendency to present crowds through a zero-sum drama of mimesis versus reason, heteronomy versus autonomy (Mazzarella, 2010). For both Canetti and Tarde, imitation is creative and affective. For both scholars, the creative feature of imitation is linked to the formation of multiplicities. Then, the findings of this study present multiplicities not as autonomous collective bodies either (i.e. multitudes) because affect is not seen as autonomous. The findings of this study present the formation and transmutation of
the collective body as an affective process that is not autonomous. Rather, the organization of collective bodies is dependent on the circulation and accumulation of affects and signs in entanglement in the city center and its gentrification process.

7.2. Contributions to conversations in CCT

Now that I have summarized the findings of this study by answering the two main research questions, I will relate these findings to on-going discourses within CCT. I start below with the conversation concerning marketplace cultures. It is in this conversation that I posit the main contribution of this thesis as I explore here an affective perspective with which to better understand the formation of collective bodies.

7.2.1. Marketplace cultures

This study conceptualizes packs and crowds as two forms of multiplicities that are composed by affective flows rather than individuals. They are two forms of multiplicities that transmute. This thesis extends our understanding of collective bodies as a stable formation. Rather than seeing instability as an epiphenomenon of collective formation, the transmutation of the collective body is seen as inherent. Whether in the form of a pack or crowd, the collective body is always in the making through the amalgamation of affective flows. By working with the notion of crowds and packs, the role of rationality, stability, and individuality is underplayed. As argued in the literature review, these roles have already been emphasized through other notions of collective bodies. Within the individual perspective, there is often a privileging of homogeneity of members in the composition of the collective body. More often than not, the belonging of the collective body is contingent on consciousness of kind, shared rituals, and hierarchical structure (e.g. Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). Within the relational perspective, some scholars have challenged the role of individuality and rationality in the formation of the collective. They have also explored the role of heterogeneity in the collective body (see Thomas et al., 2012). However, stability has remained a crucial feature of the collective body. Instability then tends to be presented as something to be mended and, if not mended, the collective body
is seen in terms of disintegration. The vitality of the collective body then seems ascribed to its stability. In contrast, this thesis proposes that the collective body goes through an on-going process of formation and inherent transformation, which requires both stability and instability. It grows. It shrinks. It grows again. Rather than a stable and hermetic entity, the collective body entails instability and change. It transmutes.

Social amalgamation as a continuous process

Some CCT scholars have already covered how the collective body goes through transformations, however these transformations have often been presented as threatening (e.g., Schouten et al., 2007; Parmentier & Fischer, 2014). The transformations of the collective body tend to be presented as an epiphenomenon, rather than an inherent feature of continuous formation. The collective body then keeps being presented as a mainly steady body to be protected, reinforcing the notions of stability and exclusion. The linking of inclusion, instability, and potential injury to the collective body often then remains an unspoken assumption (see Ahmed, 2012). For example, in the case of Harley Davidson drivers, the growth of the subculture through the entrance of woman, non-white, and non-straight members challenged and undermined the authority of the hegemonic perspective within the group (Schouten et al., 2007). The diversity and the opening up of the collective body are presented as tensions threatening the original formation of the social amalgamation.

By adopting the theoretical framework suggested here, this transmutation would not be problematized as such. Instead, the transmutation of the collective body is seen as part of the continuous process of the social amalgamation. The transmutation of the social amalgamation is a continuous process of delineating what is inside and what is outside. Collective bodies, whether as crowds or packs, then do not emerge out of nowhere. What have been described as transient formations (e.g., Kozinets, 2002; Goulding et al. 2009; Hietanen et al., 2016) could be explored as phases of the transmutation of the collective body. For example, Kozinets (2002) has argued that Burning Man is a temporary hypercommunity from which consumers practice divergent social logics. He presents Burning Man as an event where thousands of strangers unite and interact as a community. He highlights that they live close to each other, they are affectionate with each other, they share food, drink, and ex-
traordinary experiences, they party together, and they help each other. However, he points out that Burning Man is an ephemeral collective formation that lasts only a week. After that week in the middle of the desert, Kozinets argues that the collective body of Burning Man vanishes as the participants return to their ‘normal’ lives. Yet, the Burning Man festival has been happening every year since 1986. It has spread to other countries, as it has become a global network (Burning Man, n.d.). There are many activities related to Burning Man happening throughout the whole year in many different places in the United States and outside the country. In some places, like Boston and Las Vegas, there are regular meetings with participants. To name a few of the international events, there are regional stagings of the festival in Sweden, South Africa, Brazil, Israel, and China. According to their website, the Burning Man experience has been expanded to year-round programming (ibid.). Some of the activities are presented on a smaller scale, some are on a bigger scale. Many participants repeatedly attend both smaller and larger events.

By adopting the theoretical framework suggested here, the collective formation of Burning Man could also be seen as a collective body in a continuous process of formation, rather than being seen as a transient formation. Burning Man, as a collective body, can be seen as a body that is constantly transmuting. It spread. It grew, it shrank, it grew again. It split into other bodies and reconnected afterwards, only to split again. Burning Man would not be seen as a temporary collective formation because its form lacks stability. Quite to the contrary, it is the lack of stability of its form that enables its recovery. Similarly, the dissipation of the America’s Next Top Model (ANTM) audience described by Parmentier and Fischer (2014) could then be seen not as the end of the collective body, but a dissipation phase of a larger process of amalgamation. As the scholars argue, there were multiple misalignments in the collective formation. For them, when these misalignments overshadowed the alignments, the dissipation escalated. It became more potent. Their study has contributed to the literature by showing the process of erosion of value within a network. They added to the literature focusing on the process of creation of value from networked associations (see Canniford & Shankar, 2013). For Parmentier and Fischer (2014), the dissipation of the audience can be seen as a breakdown of the assemblage (as discussed in the section 2.4.1. about consumption assemblages). Indeed, the series was cancelled in October 2015. However, since the publication of the article, the program was recommisioned. The show emerged with even more modifications from its first cycles in 2003-2005. It moved to another channel (TV1) and Rita Ora, a British
singer and actress, became the host of the first cycle after the revival only for Tyra Banks reassume as host again in the following cycle. The end of ANTM was only apparent; it was temporary. This dissipation could be then seen as yet another transmutation of the collective body.

The dissipation of ANTM could be seen as a desynchronization of affective flows that had already been in reverberation. If we could follow the affective flows of participants, whether they were producers, models, or viewers of the TV show, this transmutation would be seen as inherent. Yes, there was a dissipation of the audience of ANTM. But, there were also spin-offs to other countries. Britain’s Next Top Model premiered in 2005, and ended as Britain & Ireland’s Next Top Model in 2013. As in the case of the collectives in the city center of São Paulo, such apparent beginnings and endings are linkages between them. They can be seen as extensions or shifts in the process of social amalgamation. They can be seen as inherent transmutations. For example, by delineating ANTM as a focal brand of interest, Parmentier and Fischer focused on how viewers contributed to the dissipation of the audience. The study brilliantly explored the role of consumers in the erosion of the brand and its audience, yet it assumes that the audience could only have one trajectory: a straight growing one. By defining focal brands of interest (e.g. ANTM, Harley Davidson, BxC), studies have been disregarding important dynamics and other possibilities of connections. Such clear and close delimitation of bodies within CCT research underplays the messiness of human connection. By focusing on such contained forms of bodies, consumers can seem unmanageable (Gabriel & Lang, 2006). But, maybe we have just been holding onto them too tightly.

This study then extends the literature by exploring the transmutations of the collective body as fundamental processes. This study embraces the messiness of living in the world. The world we live in, as well as the experience of it (whether human or beyond human), is messy. Then, connection to life is more about messy tangles than clear nodes. It does not have to have a clear beginning or an end. It can be about signs, as it can be about sensations. It can be about affect and emotion working together, not separately, in the shaping of life. It can be non-ideal (Mills, 2005; Mikkola, 2018).
Crowds as collective bodies of resistance

Many studies regarding collective bodies in CCT have focused on the liberating potential of consumption. The literature often covers momentous gatherings that encompass opposition to the established order. As Kozinets (2002) points out they “provide ritual power for inverting, temporarily overturning, and denying the currently entrenched social order of market logics, which are necessarily prerequisites for consumer emancipation” (p. 34, emphasis added by the author). In such gatherings, the fleeting connection between participants is presented as a temporary relief. Such gatherings are presented as instances for escape from the daily struggles (e.g., Kozinets, 2002, Goulding et al., 2009; Hietanen et al., 2016). The extant literature has privileged how participants are able to temporarily escape from alienating rules and norms (i.e., over the weekend) through affective encounters (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Goulding et al., 2009; Canniford & Shankar, 2013; Scott et al., 2017). In such studies, the participants are then able to turn away from their daily struggles for a short period. In such studies, the scholars have focused on how the shared experience of pleasure enables the suspension of the rules and norms of everyday life.

In contrast, this study extends the literature by introducing gatherings that aim to resist daily struggles by confronting, not escaping from them. The opposition is one that faces, rather than one that turns away. The gatherings, in the form of crowds and packs, are affective reactions against the pressing of daily struggles and ideological forces (cf. Kozinets, 2002; Kozinets & Handelman, 2004). The intention of the gatherings is social transformation. Throughout the 20th century, social transformation has been presented more often than not as the result of rationality and agentic efforts whereas crowds have been associated with irrationality. As pointed out by Borch (2012), crowds have become an unfashionable concept in the social sciences precisely for being a central concept with which to understand collective bodies in contexts of social transformation in the early 20th century. Then, moments of emotional outburst have become localized in spaces for consumption of alienation and escape and squeezed to weekend escapades. In addition, these moments are generally expensive ones as not everyone can afford to spend a week in Burning Man, buy a Harley Davidson, or participate in Tough Mudder events. Then, the literature has often covered not any type of escape, it has often covered a privileged type of escape.
This study adds to the body of literature that does not focus on how consumption can be seen as a tool for coping with daily struggles. It resonates with Kozinets and Handelman’s (2004) call for more research on resistance formations “seeking the much broader goal of consumer culture change” (p. 703), rather than a type of activism with more specific goals. It also resonates with studies that explore possibilities other than following the wider consumption ideology, whether by studying heterotopian spaces (Chatzidakis et al., 2012) or investigating consumer movements (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004).

What this study adds to such CCT studies is an emphasis on the affective potential for social transformation. The crowds, as well as the packs, are not presented here as rational instances. Their (re)actings are not presented as rational choices. Their gatherings in crowds do not subscribe to conscious awakening. They are sensorial: it is about touching and feeling touched, by the city center and each other. It entails a bodily connection rather than a conscious one. Hence, this thesis contributes to activism accounts in CCT by highlighting affective interplay within a context of consumption resistance.

Rather than seeing their activism as an effort towards enlightenment and increased consciousness, their activism is presented through affective reverberation. The formation of amalgams of affective flows delineates what is inside and outside through ‘felt surfaces’. This study then shows how bodies are not uniform or neutral, and their shaping is a cultural political process. The formation and transmutation of bodies is contingent to cultural signs already circulating and accumulating. The surfacing effect is political; the findings of this study illustrate how bodily disputes work in a context of spatial injustice. Thus, this study presents a relational perspective with which to understand the cultural political dimensions of the formation of collective bodies within a context of resistance against wider consumption ideology.

### 7.2.2. Affects & Emotions

This study extends the literature by showing the role of affects (as emotions) for our socializing. Even though their role has been covered in the literature, it has mostly been presented in an implicit way. As Gopaldas (2014) argues, thick interpretations of emotional dispositions are rare in CCT literature even though it frequently describes experiential aspects of consumption. For example, Muniz and O’Guinn (2001) have indicated fear as an emotion that typically brings people together, which enables the formation of communities. However, how fear actually works in the shaping of the collective body is still
quite vague. This study then offers a framework that can stress the role of affects in mediating our socialization processes.

The political dimensions of affect

This study contributes to the extant literature by “linking consumer emotions to sociocultural ties and political ideologies” (Gopaldas, 2014, p. 996). Even though scholars have been expanding our understanding of felt experiences within consumption practices, objects, and signs, there seems to be a lot of room left for further understanding of how emotions work being taken into consideration of the broader context of the consumption setting (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011). For example, Scott and colleagues (2017) explored the (individual) feeling of pain in their study. The scholars argue that painful experiences represent a desire to escape from life for the participants of adventure challenges. Yet, the contextualization of what that life means and why those people wanted to create a temporary distance from that life was not the focus of the study. As they acknowledge, “yet we need to explain exactly what people are trying to escape through pain and how this type of escape differs from the romantic escape described in previous research” (Scott et al., 2017, p. 38). Similarly, in the study by Woermann and Rokka (2015), the feeling of fear is explored as an internal property that is manifested through bodily sensations in consumption settings. However, a further exploration of how fear works and its broader contextualization was not the focus of their study.

The findings of this study show how the travelings of affect are contingent to past experiences and tied to political ideologies. This study then contrasts with studies that assume affect is autonomous, or non-representational (Hill et al., 2014). Following Ahmed, I assume here that there is a bypassing of body through affect. The findings here do not emphasize the distinction between conscious recognition (representational) and ‘direct’ feeling (non-representational). I assume that “sensations may not be about conscious recognition and naming, but this does not mean they are ‘direct’ in the sense of immediate” (p. 40). Thus, by proposing affective flows as the unit of analysis, I emphasize how affect travels with an intentionality which does not equate to rationality. The findings show how the process of social amalgamation depends on the orientation, direction, and potency of affective flows. The social amalgamation process is then an outcome of affective intentionalities rather than employment of rational agency. The findings then suggest that collective bodies
do not operate simply as goal-driven collections of individuals. The findings suggest that we can see collective bodies as fluxes of affective forces that find momentary combinations and then move on to other novel connections. This study then complements the growing CCT literature that aims to explore affective intensities (Canniford & Shankar, 2013; Kozinets, Patterson, & Ashman, 2016). It extends such studies by investigating affect as nomadic, but not autonomous. It extends the literature by emphasizing the political dimensions of affect, rather than focusing on its mechanical-material dimensions (e.g. Martin & Schouten, 2013).

The bridging of affect and emotions

The nature and degree of difference between emotion and affect is often contested. Some argue that emotion refers to a sociological expression of feelings whereas affect is more firmly rooted in biology and in our physical response to feelings; others attempt to differentiate on the basis that emotion requires a subject while affect does not; and some ignore these distinctions altogether. (Gorton, 2007, p. 334)

This study adopts the latter strategy described above by Gorton. The non-splitting of affects and emotions has allowed this study to start the bridging of CCT studies focused on affect and emotion. This study offers a different perspective on the current literature regarding emotions and consumption. Whereas the literature has covered the link of emotions and consumption practices (e.g., Sandlin & Callahan, 2009, Scott et al., 2017; Molander & Harts, 2018), mapped emotional patterns in consumption contexts (Gopaldas, 2014), and identified emotions as information for consumption decisions (Martin, 2011), this study adds a relational perspective to studies regarding emotions. It does not assume affect goes inside-out (Martin, 2011), or outside-in (Gopaldas, 2014). Following Ahmed, this study extends our understanding of emotions (as affects, and vice-versa) by assuming they delineate what is inside and outside. Rather than exploring what emotions are, it shows how the effects of affective interplay establish our relations. The relation of and between bodies is a result of the joint workings of affects and emotions (that is, affects as emotions).

Hence, this study emphasizes how our affects or bodies are not neutral: they are relational. It focuses on how our relations are delineated through affects
as they are contingent of signs circulating and accumulating within wider consumption ideology. This study then resonates with Illouz’s (2009) critique on the focus of consumption studies on desire as the predominant affect within wider consumer ideology. Illouz argues that the notion of desire is undifferentiated and underplays crucial features of the experience of consumption itself. By working with desire (and/as affect, see Kozinets et al., 2016) as an undifferentiated category, many scholars have then assumed a straight-undifferentiated perspective of affect and emotions (Ahmed, 2006). Illouz indicates that the different routings of consumers are linked to different workings of emotions, and this differentiation is important. In her study, she “starts explaining the stability of volatility that is at the heart of consumer culture” (p. 408) by transposing the temporality of emotions with consumers’ imagination. For her, consumption mobilizes emotions and consumer imagination plays a crucial part in this mobilization. Even though this study takes a different route proposed by her (since she tends to adopt an inside-out perspective), the findings of this study show how their differentiation is key to understanding how affects (as emotions) make us.

Before I move on to discuss the contribution of this study to conversations linking consumption with space and place, I will highlight that this study also adds to studies of emotions within consumer resistance movements. Such studies recognize the role of emotions in addition to rationality as properties that consumers have. For example, scholars have started to flesh out “the role of emotion in fighting against consumerist ideologies” (Sandlin & Callahan, 2009, p. 80, emphasis in original) as tools that individuals can and do use. Then, such studies also entail some ‘control over emotions’ as it is a substance that people hold and can use to push for or against consumerist ideologies. Hence, they tend to assume an inside-out perspective on emotions. By adopting a relational perspective instead, emotions are not presented as properties. they are not inside bodies, they work through bodies. The findings of this study show how affects (as emotions) have political dimensions rather than seeing emotions as political resources in consumer resistance.

7.2.3. Space & Place

This study also contributes to the growing space-place-related research of the marketing literature. As pointed out by Chatzidakis and colleagues (2014), there are two predominant streams in marketing literature. One stream focuses
on place as an object to be marketed to multiple stakeholders (Braun et al., 2013). Within this stream, scholars generally explored multiple avenues and processes for constructing places as products and brands (Lucarelli & Berg, 2011). In contrast, the other stream generally explores the dynamics between social relations and material dimensions of place (Chatzidakis et al., 2012; McLaran & Brown, 2005; Visconti et al., 2010). These studies tend to assume that place is a consumed space, “the city is a spatial configuration composed of diverse places”, and “urban places are meaningful sites within the urban space, where social interactions occur and where people build collective memories and shared identities” (Castilhos, 2015, p. 330). Thereby, such studies tend to present a given place with one dominant narrative even when scholars identify that a transition of normativity might be happening (Castilhos & Dolbec, 2018).

**Spatial injustices and normativities**

The gentrification process covers this process of dispute and change of normativity in the city space. Many scholars have already recognized a nexus of marketization in course in urban spaces. According to Castilhos and Dolbec (2018), “nexus of marketization refers to the confluence of different forces in the production of urban space increasingly embedded in the logic of the market” (p. 162). Miles (2012), for example, has highlighted the role of consumption in the neoliberal reinvention of the post-industrial city. For Miles, the neoliberal city is increasingly defined by elites through and by consumption. Such configuration would contribute to increasing disparities in wealth and income, where marginalized groups apparently have no voice. This situation seems to match the situation of the city center of São Paulo. However, this study shows that such spatial injustices within the city center of São Paulo are neither only a contemporary manifestation of neoliberalism, nor only a distant heritage of the colonization process. The findings of this study underline how the relation between bodies and the social space is a dynamic process that is felt in bodies in present time at the same time as it encompasses norms that have become naturalized through the circulation and accumulation of signs across time and space. This study then elaborates on the role of normativities and their interlinkages with spatial injustices for space-place-related research in CCT.
As in Cheetham and colleagues’ (2018) study, this research explores the “active and dynamic process in which boundaries are constantly formed and re-formed” (p. 3). For the scholars, there are multiple choreographies overlapping and interacting in the formation of city space as territory. They offer then a kaleidoscopic perspective to the literature, which is more dynamic and processual. Aligned with other scholars researching consuming assemblages, they privilege how consumption activities fit together in a harmonious way even with betrayals in the network. They emphasize how unspoken norms and rules were often respected, rather than contested. Their study then presents territories as a multiple choreography working through a dynamic process following one predominant normativity. Their chosen context, an urban park in Manchester in the United Kingdom, seems to follow a middle-class normativity. The scholars highlight how consumption acts and materials from urban youth culture are seen as betrayals to the vigilantly choreographic performance of ‘safe’ urban green park space. Yet, their kaleidoscopic perspective also emphasizes how consumption is crucial to place-making through a multitude of territorializing consumption practices that fit together despite several tensions.

In contrast, the findings of this study extend Cheetham and colleagues’ study by exploring how conflicting conceptions of space are produced and experienced through bodies. I have focused the analysis on how the process in which spatial boundaries are constantly formed and re-formed is not only dynamic but political. Neither the spatial body, nor the social body are assumed to be neutral. For example, in this study, the streets are not presented as a public space (Castilhos & Dolbec, 2018). Instead, they are presented as a spatial body that can extend to certain bodies more easily than to other bodies in moments of comfort. This alignment of spatial bodies and social bodies depend on signs already in circulation and accumulation; they are contingent to affective reverberation between bodies and space. Hence, this emphasizes the spatial injustices in the dynamic process that Cheetham and colleagues have started to explore.

7.2.4. Alternative methods

This study can also contribute to the literature methodologically, as it has adopted alternative methodological techniques in order to follow affective traces that are not easily grasped by conventional methods. This study then
adds to a growing body of CCT literature that is trying to push the boundaries of representational accounts, especially its predominant dependency on in-depth interviews. Some CCT scholars have already been adopting alternative methods to emphasize affect rather than sense making. Cheetham and colleagues adopted film, photographs, and observations to access the “affective and sensual registers of the human body” (Hill et al., 2014, p. 384), as Hietanen (2012) has focused on videography, and Canniford and Shankar (2013) have used autoethnographic notes, diaries, and guided introspections in their ethnographic account for similar purposes.

Like Canniford and Shankar (2013), I also adopted autoethnographic techniques. With them, I became more reflexive about my own bodily reactions throughout the research process. I was able to embrace my own engagement and embodied participation to the research field. My embodiment and sensitivity as a researcher was instrumental in uncovering aspects in the field that have been overlooked in studies that focus mainly on discourses and emphasize the consumer as an agentic individual. At the same time, by not splitting affect from emotion, my bodily sensations became traces of both affective intensities and signs in circulation. That is, my ‘gut feeling’ was not only seen as a sensual register of the human body that goes beyond signification; it is also seen as a trace of my reading of my own body as mine, its connections as well as its disconnections with other bodies. It was seen as a trace of bodily memories that is directed and oriented through signs attached to bodies.

By adopting affective methodologies for developing affective attuning (Trivelli, 2015), this study also proposes another set of a novel range of tools and sensitivities that complements extant consumer research. Through affective attuning, I became more attentive in moments of intensifications and dissipations; whether through bodily sensations or through escalating exchange of e-mails via Google Groups. The findings of this study have then extended the CCT literature by introducing and exploring methods to trace how affects travel through bodies not by splitting sensations from signification, but tracing how they work together. It has proposed a starting point for exploring felt surfaces as multiple skins in which we live (Bradshaw & Chatzidakis, 2016). Hence, this study has introduced affective methodologies to produce data and analyze embodiment that goes beyond the individual organic skin (cf. Scott et al., 2017).
8. Concluding Remarks

In this final chapter, I provide my concluding remarks regarding this study. Firstly, I present my final reflections on this dissertation. Secondly, I highlight some limitations of this study. Thirdly, I elaborate on some potential practical implications. Fourthly and lastly, I discuss ideas for further research.

8.1. Final reflections

The aim of this study has been to explore how collective bodies are formed through affective intensities in a context of social transformation driven by mainstream consumer culture (i.e., gentrification). This study then provides a theoretical framework with which to understand how multiple affects shape collective bodies within consumer culture. By following an affect-based theorizing that does not focus on the differences between affect, emotions, and feelings, this study leverages multiple directions, orientations, and potencies of affects as multiple affective flows. Rather than working with a notion of affect that is undifferentiated, I emphasize their differences in the first part of the findings chapter. I elaborate on how they have different surfacing effects because the forces of such flows are different. In the second part of the findings chapter, I elaborate on the interplay of these multiple affective flows. This study then elaborates on how the interplay and organization of multiple affective flows entail continuous surfacing effects of the body. Through these surfacing effects, we read bodies as me, you, us, them. This study then elaborates on collective bodies that transmute. They are multiplicities, which can take the form of packs as well as the form of crowds.

By elaborating on the concept of multiplicities, particularly packs and crowds as two forms of multiplicities, this study also provides a framework with which to understand crowds as a continuous process of social amalgamation. This process is an affective-imitative process that relates affects, signs, and
bodies. This framework elaborates on the potential of the crowd as a transformative, collective body. In this study, the crowd is not portrayed as an irrational formation. At the same time, the study does not assume human action to be a rational choice. Through the theoretical framework proposed here, the formation of both crowds and packs entails an amalgamation of affective flows that connect and disconnect through affective-imitative interplay. This study presents the crowd as a collective body composed of a multiplicity of affects that are traveling – whether by pushing or pulling – and making us. More especially, making us to recognize bodies as we, you, they, and I.

This study addresses Mazzarella’s (2010) assertion that “crowd theory is, quite simply, politically incorrect” (p. 702). For him, the multitude has been presented as the politically correct alternative for crowds. He argues that “multitudes, in all their vital autonomy, represent the immediate recuperation of life. Crowds, in their passive heteronomy, represent the thoroughly mediated, and thus lifeless, collective” (p. 713). In addition, Borch (2012) argues that social movements have also been presented as a politically correct version of the crowd, for as they also present a collective formation based on individual choice and privilege rationality over emotions. Nevertheless, the assumption is that:

> the relation between reason and flesh is in the first instance imagined in zero-sum terms; the more there is of one, the less there is of the other. One cannot be both fully fleshy and truly reasonable— hence the tremendous pressure of maintaining oneself as an “upstanding individual” and the concomitant temptation to let go for a few moments by merging with a crowd” (Mazzarella, 2010, p. 703).

Instead, this study elaborates on the potential of thinking with the body, not as an entity distinct from the cognitive faculties of the mind. It provides a framework with which to elaborate on the potential of thinking with the body that is contingent of signs and past experiences. It proposes a framework to understand the formation of the collective body as an imitative-affective process, renouncing the split of body and mind. It focuses on the continuous negotiation and parsing of affects as complex, lived, and troubled (Wetherell, 2015). This theoretical framework then leverages “Ahmed’s account of circulating affect and refocus[es] attention on context, entanglement and relationality” (p.155). It works with her approach towards affective meaning-making, the shaping of bodies through performativity and reiteration, as well as her “interest in how affective patterns intensify and sediment over time linked to
power and privilege” (ibid.). Yet, by combining it with Canetti and Tarde’s approach to crowds and focusing on imitative and contagious instances, this study develops how affect also works “in live interaction and affecting events, scenes and episodes” (p.156).

8.2. Limitations of the study

This study encompasses some limitations. Below, I highlight three limitations. Firstly, the identities of the participants of the urban activism collectives can be traced even though I have tried not to identify the participants by name in the analysis. Many excerpts presented in this study are available online, in Portuguese, making it possible to trace the original excerpts and identify the participants. Thereby, the anonymity of the participants becomes problematic.

Secondly, there has been a geographical limitation. I conducted this doctoral study when I was studying in Stockholm, Sweden. Even though I have lived in Brazil for most of my life (and more than 10 years in São Paulo), I could not participate in related events as much as I wanted to. The field research in the city of São Paulo was conducted during two short stays and one longer stay (4 months). Thereby, my engagement with the urban activism collectives was not constant or close for the last five years. However, the experience of living in Stockholm and contrasting it with the experience of living in São Paulo has become crucial to the analysis. Also, being Brazilian, a Portuguese native-speaker, and a former dweller of an adjacent neighborhood of the city center has facilitated my understanding of the empirical context.

Thirdly, this study proposes understanding collective bodies as amalgams of affective flows rather than a composition of individuals, but the participants, as well as the researcher are said individuals. Nevertheless, methodologically, I have assumed that affective data can be produced, analyzed, and presented through bodies. Following Ahmed (2004), affect here is assumed to work through bodies, whether as individual or collective bodies. For example, in the analysis (see chapter 6), I discuss how my body became our body. My own body is then considered a resource for grasping affective intensities as affects are working through bodies. This study assumes that it is possible to embrace “historical entanglements, hauntings and sensibilities of the ‘researcher-body’” (Knudsen & Stage, 2015, p. 5) without boiling it down to personal and
individualistic accounts. Also, as I have aligned myself with the sub-stream of affect theorists that do not split body and mind, language can be considered “capable of expressing affects, as there would be no inherent contradiction between the categories of language and the categories taking part in the social shaping of bodies, so they become emotionally sensitive to certain stimulations” (p. 4). Researching affectivity and body does entail many challenges: how affect may be traced, approached and understood is still a matter of academic negotiation and exploration (Knudsen & Stage, 2015). Affective methodologies can be considered to be still in a germinal and explorative stage. This study then recognizes such challenges and tries to contribute in advancing affective methodologies.

8.3. Practical implications

Understanding collective bodies as social amalgamations of affective flows within consumer culture may have practical implications. The present study suggests that collective bodies entail both stability and instability, and that the transmutation of the collective body is inherent in the shaping process of bodies. Then, organizations (from activist organizations to commercial ones) can also understand collective bodies in such a way. Organizations could work with their brands assuming instability as an inherent feature of the socializing process, rather than a threatening feature to brands. Extant research has elaborated on how organizations can work collaboratively with more stable forms of collective bodies within consumer culture (e.g., Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Muniz & O’Guinn, 2001; Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2015) in order to safeguard their brands. However, rather than trying to control consumers and trying to tighten connections with them, organizations and brands can try to find ways to work with both consumers’ connections and disconnections. Working with disconnections seems counterintuitive but it might open other possibilities to branding and communication efforts. For example, this framework can provide insights for practitioners regarding brand architecture, co-branding, and brand transition.

This study has highlighted how imitation can enter into a contagious phase when affective flows become synchronized. This study then can be helpful for practitioners seeking to understand consumption trends. For example, the transmutation from packs to crowds and then from crowds to packs can be
associated with brands or products coming into fashion and then going out of fashion. Also, as I have already mentioned in the analysis with the cases of *Burning Man* (Kozinets, 2002) and *America’s Next Top Model* (Parmentier & Fischer, 2014), the process of the transmutation of brands can also be seen as a more perennial process. One that spreads through space and time. Whereas organizations have already been active in promoting constant changes for consumers through innovation, they assume the consumer to be a stable entity. Branding and communication activities are imagined for a consumer that remains stable. Yet, the underlying assumption is that brands need to change continuously in order to keep the consumer interested. In this view, the ultimate goal is still one that manages the consumer (cf. Gabriel & Lang, 2006) as a stable individual. However, this thesis problematizes the managing of consumers as such.

Last but certainly not least, this thesis can have implications for practitioners within activism, resistance, and public spheres. It provides insights into how the mobilization of causes can be understood as an affective-imitation behavior. Whereas the extant literature has presented consumer movements as being driven by conscious processes (e.g., Kozinets & Handelman, 2004), this study highlights the affective-imitative processes delineating collective bodies. Thereby, this study can provide insights for activists and other practitioners to leverage mobilization campaigns.

8.4. Further research

 Throughout the iterative process of developing this study, many potential routings have sprouted through several insightful moments. This thesis is the result of the development of only a few of those insightful moments. This thesis has focused on the elaboration of the interplay of a few theoretical and empirical insights. However, many other insights were left out and could not be developed further in this study. Below, I acknowledge some of these research openings.

Firstly, this study has explored how affects shape collective bodies that are transmuting continuously. In this study, I have shown how multiplicities can take the form of both packs and crowds. However, in the analysis, the trans-
mutation from packs to crowds is over represented in comparison to the trans-
mutation from crowds to packs. For further research, I suggest further empha-
sis on this latter process - from crowds to packs. Also, I have privileged mo-
ments of orientation as embodied intensification. I focus on shifting moments of
orientation and direction. However, there have also been moments of diso-
rientation. Even though I have elaborated on such moments as moments of
inertia in the analysis, their development in this study could be further ex-
plored in future research. I believe that such disorienting moments can also
provide multiple insights into how affects work.

In addition, I suggest that further research could broaden this study’s explora-
tion of the interplay of affective flows. Extant research has already discussed
affect as undifferentiated force (e.g., Kozinets et al., 2016; Hill et al., 2014)
and elaborated on emotions and sentiments as specific categories (Scott et al.,
2017; Gopaldas, 2014). In contrast, this study works with affect as differenti-
ated forces that have effects. Whereas I have elaborated on four affects and
the interlinkage of multiple affects, the research on how multiple affects work
together can be developed further. For example, the interlinkages of how
shame, pride, and fear could provide further insight on the formation and
transformation of bodies as stigmatized, and thereby contribute to consumer
research on stigma (e.g., Sandikci & Ger, 2009; Kates, 2002; Scaraboto &
Fischer, 2013).

This study also calls for future research on Consumer Culture Consequences
(CCC). Above I have discussed how gentrification can be seen as a context of
spatial injustice within consumer culture. Extant literature has already linked
many contemporary problems with consumer culture (e.g., Belk, 2004; Wilk,
2006; Sahakian & Wilhite, 2014). Yet, there is a lot of room left for future
research linking consumer culture with social and spatial injustices. Further-
more, studies often assume an idealized positioning regarding consumer cul-
ture consequences and such injustices. For example, scholars have privileged
working with the concept of sustainable consumption (e.g., Holt, 2012;
Gollhofer, 2017; Luchs et al., 2015) rather than unsustainable consumption
(e.g., Schor, 2005, Pereira & Chatzidakis, 2012). Such studies have elaborated
on idealized notions rather than non-idealized theoretical notions, as argued
by Mills (2005). For him, scholars have privileged working with ideal con-
cepts as justice rather than non-ideal as injustice, even though we generally
face more injustices than justices. For him, this positioning of theory is ideo-
logical. Relatedly, Ahmed (2012) has argued that concepts of inclusion and

232
diversity have become more predominant whereas racism is seldom men-
tioned in academic institutional life. This subtle choice regarding the framing 
of social issues can be seen as an ideological positioning that has an impact 
on how we have thus far been theorizing consumer culture consequences.


Da Matta, R. (2004). *O que é o Brasil?*. [What is Brazil?] Rocco.


Gane, N. (2006). When we have never been human, what is to be done? Interview with Donna Haraway. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 23(7-8), 135-158.


Sakamoto, L. (2016, December 5) Caro João Doria, precisamos mesmo limpar SP. De todo tipo de preconceito. [Dear João Doria, we really need to clean SP. From all types of prejudices]. Retrieved from: https://blogdosakamoto.blog-osfera.uol.com.br/2016/12/05/caro-joao-doria-precisamos-mesmo-limpar-sp-de-todo-tipo-de-preconceito/


Sammanfattning


Resultaten i denna avhandling bidrar till forskning om konsumtionskulturteori genom att undersöka hur bildandet av den kollektiva kroppen är en kontinuerlig affektiv process som uppenbarar sig som olika former av multipliciter (dvs. flockar och folkmassor). Denna studie föreslår att den kollektiva kroppen ses som en kontinuerlig process av affektiv amalgamering Denna studie bidrar också till existerande konsumtionskulturteoristudier avseende affekt och känslor. Resultaten av denna studie länkar samman känslens erfarenheter med effekten av ytan s uppkomst. Härmed fokuserar jag analysen på hur affekt fungerar för att skildra relationen mellan kroppar och kroppar emellan och, därmed markera det vi förstår som jag, du, oss och dem. För det tredje bidrar denna studie också till diskussioner kring utrymme och plats i marknadsföring. Denna studie utökar diskussionen beträffande spatiala orättvisor och neoliberala städer, som drivs av en omfattande konsumtionsideologi.

Nyckelord: kollektiva kroppar, multiplicities, flockar, folkmassor, gentrifiering, affekt, spatial orättvisa, omfattande konsumtionsideologi.
Abstract

This thesis explores how we can think of collective bodies as amalgamations of interplaying affects (i.e., multiplicities), rather than compositions of individuals. Using ethnography as my main method, I study urban activism collectives resisting gentrification in the city center of São Paulo, Brazil. Following affect-based theorizing, I focus on the collective body as a composition of affective intensities. I explore disgust, fear, (dis)comfort, and hope as affective intensities that travel with different orientations, directions, and potencies. I take the position that, through such travelings, bodily surfaces become felt and unfelt. That is, I explore the *surfacing of the collective body* as a continuous process through the circulation and accumulation of such affects. I also explore how collective bodies become organized as *packs* and *crowds*, whilst disputing spaces for consumption within a gentrification process. Whereas *packs* are seen as a condensed form of multiplicities, *crowds* are expanded forms of multiplicities.

The findings of this thesis then contribute to the marketplace culture literature by exploring how the formation of the collective body is a continuous affective process that unfolds into different forms of multiplicities (i.e., packs and crowds). This study proposes viewing the collective body as a continuous process of affective amalgamation. This study also contributes to extant CCT studies regarding affect and emotions. The findings of this study interlink felt experiences with surfacing effects. That is, I focus the analysis on how affects work in delineating the relation between and of bodies and, thereby, marking what we understand as I, you, us, and them. Thirdly, this study also contributes to discussions regarding space and place in marketing. This study extends the discussion regarding spatial injustices and neoliberal cities, which are driven by wider consumption ideology.

**Keywords:** collective bodies, multiplicities, packs, crowds, gentrification, affect, spatial injustice, wider consumption ideology.
Doctoral Theses

Stockholm Business School

Stockholm Business School
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Mohammad Irani</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Steffi Siegert</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Andrea Lucarelli</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>The Political Dimension of Place Branding</td>
<td>Stockholm Business School, Stockholm University.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Danilo Brozovic</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Service Provider Flexibility – A Strategic Perspective</td>
<td>Stockholm Business School, Stockholm University.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Andreas Sundström</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dong Zhang</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Niklas Wällstedt</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Goran Zafirov</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Christer Westermark</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Anna Wettermark</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Randy Ziya Shoai</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Christofer Laurell</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Commercialising social media. A study of fashion (blogosphere)</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Fredrik Jörgensen</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Caihong Xu</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Essays on Derivatives and Liquidity</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Mikael Andéhn</td>
<td>Place-of-Origin Effects on Brand Equity. Explicating the evaluative pertinence of product categories and association strength.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Sabina Du Rietz</td>
<td>Accounting in the field of governance.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Kumar, Nishant</td>
<td>Globalisation and Competitive Sustenance of Born Global. Evidence from Indian knowledge-intensive service industry.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Molander, Susanna</td>
<td>Mat, kärlek och metapraktik. En studie i vardagsmiddagskonsumtion bland ensamstående mödrar.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Lund, Ragnar</td>
<td>Leveraging cooperative strategy – cases of sports and arts sponsorship.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jens Martin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Radón, Anita</td>
<td>The Rise of Luxury Brands Online: A study of how a sense of luxury brand is created in an online environment. Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Martinsson, Irene</td>
<td>Standardized Knowledge Transfer: A study of Project-Based Organizations in the Construction and IT Sectors. Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Digerfeldt-Månsson, Theresa</td>
<td>Formernas liv i designföretaget - om design och design management som konst. Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Wittbom, Eva</td>
<td>Att spränga normer - om mälstyrningsprocesser för jämställdhetsintegrering. Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Wiesel, Fredrika</td>
<td>Kundorientering och ekonomistyrning i offentlig sektor. Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Essén, Anna</td>
<td>Technology as an Extension of the Human Body: Exploring the potential role of technology in an elderly home care setting. Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Gustafsson, Clara</td>
<td>Brand Trust: Corporate communications and consumer-brand relationships</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Jansson, Elisabeth</td>
<td>Paradoxen (s)om entreprenörskap: En romantisk ironisk historia om ett av-vikande entreprenörskapande</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Jüriado, Rein</td>
<td>Learning within and between public-private partnerships</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Söderholm Werkö, Sophie</td>
<td>Patient Patients? Achieving Patient Empowerment through active participation, increased knowledge and organisation</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Tomson, Klara</td>
<td>Amnesty in Translation. Ideas, Interests and Organizational Change</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Carrington, Thomas</td>
<td>Framing Audit Failure - Four studies on quality discomforts</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Dahl, Matilda</td>
<td>States under scrutiny. International organizations, transformation and the construction of progress</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Gawell, Malin</td>
<td>Activist Entrepreneurship - Attac’ing Norms and Articulating Disclosive Stories</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Ihrfors, Robert</td>
<td>Spelfrossa - Spelets makt och maktens spel.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Karlsson, Anders</td>
<td>Investment Decisions and Risk Preferences among Non-Professional Investors</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Vigerland, Lars</td>
<td>Homo Domesticus. En marknadsonalys av bostadskonsumenters strategier och preferenser</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Värlander, Sara</td>
<td>Framing and Overflowing. How the Infusion of Information Technology Alters Proximal Service Production</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Ahlström Söderling, Ragnar</td>
<td>Regionala företags förutsättningar för internationell konkurrenskraft</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Beckius, Göran</td>
<td>Företagsetik. En studie av etiskt organiserande i några svenska företag</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Ferdfelt, Henrik</td>
<td>Pop. Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Sjödin, Ulrika</td>
<td>Insiders’ Outside/Outsiders Inside - rethinking the insider regulation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Skoglund, Wilhelm</td>
<td>Lokala samhällsutvecklingsprocessorer och entreprenörskap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Bengtsson, Elias</td>
<td>Shareholder activism of Swedish institutional investors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Holmgren, Mikael</td>
<td>A passage to organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Sjöstrand, Fredrik</td>
<td>Nätverkskoordineringens dualiteter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Khan, Jahangir Hossain</td>
<td>Determinants of Small Enterprise Development of Bangladesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Almqvist, Roland</td>
<td>Icons of New Public Management. Four studies on competition, contract and control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Yazdanfar, Darush</td>
<td>Futures som ett mångsidigt instrument. En empirisk studie av oljebolag som använder futureskontrakt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Elmersjö, Carl-Åke</td>
<td>Moralisk ekonomi i sjukvården? - Om etik och ekonomi i sjukhusets vardagsorganisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Koponen, Anja</td>
<td>Företagens väg mot konkurs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Frostling-Henningsson, Maria</td>
<td>Internet Grocery Shopping - A Necessity, A Pleasurable Adventure, or an Act of Love.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
137 2003 Bagelius, Nils  

136 2003 Lindqvist, Katja  
Exhibition enterprising - six cases of realisation from idea to institution. Stockholm University School of Business.

135 2003 Soila-Wadman, Marja  
Kapitulationens estetik. Organisering och ledarskap i filmprojekt. Stockholm University School of Business.

134 2003 Lundkvist, Anders  
Conversational Realities - Five Studies of User Interactions as Sources of Innovation. Stockholm University School of Business.

133 2003 Willstrand-Holmer, Sofia  
Att konstruera kunskap om kunder - en studie om förändring och berättelser i ICA-sammanslutningen. Stockholm University School of Business.

132 2003 Roy, Sofie  
Navigating in the Knowledge Era. Metaphors and Stories in the Construction of Skandia's Navigator. Stockholm University School of Business.

131 2003 Tollhagen, Renate  
Skräddare utan tråd - en illustration av fyra företag i klädbranschen. Stockholm University School of Business.

130 2002 Hansson, Johan  
Omtänkbara organisationer – Sagor och utsagor om Astrid Lindgrens Barnsjukhus. Stockholm University School of Business.

129 2002 Pramborg, Bengt  

128 2002 Axén-Ruzicka, Jeanette  
Införande av ny teknik. En studie av problem vid införande av elektroniska marknadsplatser. Stockholm University School of Business.

127 2002 Torpman, Jan  
Rättssystemets Lärande. Stockholm University School of Business.

126 2002 Dahlström, Karin  
Värdeskapande produktutveckling i tjänsteintensiva företag. Stockholm University School of Business.

125 2002 Gravesen, Inger  
Fitnessövningar och husförhör: Om förbättringsprocesser i företag. Stockholm University School of Business.

124 2001 Gottfridsson, Patrik  
Småföretags tjänsteutveckling - en studie av hur småföretag utvecklar individuellt anpassade tjänster. Stockholm University School of Business.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Engström, Malin</td>
<td>Essays on Equity Options.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Hansson, Bo</td>
<td>Essays on Human Capital Investments.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Eklöv, Gunilla</td>
<td>Auditability as Interface - Negotiation and Signification of Intangibles.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Lennstrand, Bo</td>
<td>HYPE IT - IT as Vision and Reality - on Diffusion, Personalization and Broadband.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Friman, Henrik</td>
<td>Strategic Time Awareness - Implications of Strategic Thinking.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Apéria, Tony</td>
<td>Brand Relationship Management: den varumärkesbyggande processen.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Johansson, Stig G</td>
<td>Individens roll i strategiska informationssystem.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Carlell, Camilla</td>
<td>Technology in Everyday Life - A study of Consumers and Technology in a Banking Context.</td>
<td>Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Hamde, Kiflemariam</td>
<td><em>Shifting Identities: Teamwork and Supervisors in Swedish Change Programmes for the Last Three Decades.</em> Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Rämö, Hans</td>
<td><em>The Nexus of Time and Place in Economical Operations.</em> Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Berglund, Åke</td>
<td><em>Från affärskompetens till affärsutveckling i småföretag.</em> Stockholm University School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Lundgren, Maths</td>
<td><em>Bankens natur - miljöfrågans genomslag i svenska banker.</em> Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Bay, Thomas</td>
<td><em>...AND...AND...AND - Reiterating Financial Derivation.</em> Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Malver, Henrik</td>
<td>Service in the Airlines - Customer or Competition Oriented?</td>
<td>Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Wallin Andreassen, Tor</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction with Services - The Impact of Satisfaction with Service Recovery on Corporate Image and Future Repurchase Intention.</td>
<td>Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Le Duc, Michaël</td>
<td>Constructivist Systemics - Theoretical Elements and Applications in Environmental Informatics.</td>
<td>Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Preiholt, Håkan</td>
<td>The Organization of Manufacturing Know-How.</td>
<td>Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Green, Bo</td>
<td>Analys av komplexa samhällssystem - Aktionsinriktade fallstudier och metodologiska konklusioner.</td>
<td>Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Hedlin, Pontus</td>
<td>Accounting Investigations.</td>
<td>Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rutihinda, Cranmer  
*Resource-based internationalization: Entry Strategies of Swedish Firms into the Emerging Markets of Eastern Europe*  
Stockholm University, School of Business.

Liljefors, Ole  
*Efterfrågan och utbud av kompetensutvecklande ledningsarbete.*  
Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Asproth, Viveca  
*Visualization of Dynamic Information.*  
Stockholm University, School of Business.

Håkansson, Anita  
Stockholm University, School of Business.

Khodabandehloo, Akbar  
*Marknadsföring som utbyte: en idéhistoria, en pluralistisk ansats.*  
Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Rylander, Leif  
*Tillväxtföretag i startfas. Från dimma och mörker till relationslyft.*  
Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Malmström, Li  
*Lärande organisationer? Krisen på den svenska fastighetsmarknaden.*  
Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Brunson, Karin  
*Dubbla budskap. Hur riksdag och regering presenterar sitt budgetarbete.*  
Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Sveiby, Karl-Erik  
*Towards a knowledge perspective on organisation.*  
Stockholm University, School of Business.

Bergqvist, Erik  
*Belöningar och prestationer i offentlig verksamhet - En utvärdering av fyra fall inom Stockholms läns landsting.*  
Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Paul, Ann-Sofi  
*Organisationsutveckling genom personalenkäter – en personalekonomisk utvärdering.*  
Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Bergström, Cecilia  
*A Female Cooperative Perspective on Power Influence and Ownership.*  
Stockholm University, School of Business.

Borg, Erik  
*European Markets and Management Action: Making Sense of a Europe Without Frontiers.*  
Stockholm University, School of Business.

Olsson, Birgitta  
*Kortare arbetstid - en väg till ett mer ekologiskt arbetsliv?*  
Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Tesfaye, Besrat</td>
<td>Determinants or Entrepreneurial Processes. A Case Study of Technology-Based Spin-off Company Formations.</td>
<td>Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Norling, Per</td>
<td>Tjänstekonstruktion - Service Design.</td>
<td>Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen och Högskolan i Karlstad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Osarenkhoe, Aihie</td>
<td>Improving Food Product Distribution in Developing Countries: A Case Study of Nigeria.</td>
<td>Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
54 1991 Pihliamäki, Klara  
*Media Technology and Communication Patterns in the Organizational Interface.* Stockholm University, School of Business.

53 1990 Ekvall, Arne  
*Affärsidéer - En empirisk studie av hur företagsverksamhetsinriktning kan analyseras och beskrivas utifrån ett affärsidébegrepp.* Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

52 1990 Sotto, Richard  
*Man without Knowledge - Actors and Spectators in Organizations.* Stockholm University, School of Business.

51 1990 Zineldin, Mosad  
*The Economics of Money and Banking - a Theoretical and Empirical Study of Islamic Interest-Free Banking.* Stockholm University, School of Business.

50 1990 Tollin, Karin  
*Konsumentbilder i marknadsföringen av livsmedel - en studie om marknadsförings kontext inom svensk lantbrukskooperativ livsmedelsindustri.* Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

49 1990 Wagué, Cheick  
*Entrepreneurship and industrial policy in developing countries. A case study of principal policy constraints which limit the development and expansion of private sector industrial enterprises in Mali.* Stockholm University, School of Business.

48 1989 Eriksson, Gunilla  
*Framtidsinriktade aktörsperspektiv på branscher - metodsynpunkter med utgångspunkt från en studie i svensk dagligvaruindustri.* Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

47 1989 Winai, Peter  
*Gränsorganisationer. Egenskaper, problem och utvecklingsmöjligheter hos organisationer i gränslandet mellan privat och offentlig sektor.* Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

46 1989 Åredal, Åke  
*Den osynliga styrningen. En hermeneutisk studie av styrningen inom svensk tandvård.* Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

45 1989 Kaiser, Bo  

44 1988 Scheutz, Curt  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Öhrming, Jan</td>
<td>Förvaltning av flerbostadshus. Om arbetsorganisation och föreställningar som villkor för samspel och boendemedverkan. Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Kostopoulos, Trifon</td>
<td>The Decline of the Market: the ruin of capitalism and anti-capitalism. Stockholm University, School of Business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Badran, Mohga</td>
<td>Coordination In Multiactor Programs: An Empirical Investigation of Factors Affecting Coordination among Organizations at the Local Level in the Egyptian Family Planning Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Edsbäcker, Göran</td>
<td>Marginal Cost Pricing of Electricity. University of Stockholm, Department of Business Administration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Högberg, Olle</td>
<td>Föreställningar och spelregler i kommunal planering. Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Khan, Sikander</td>
<td>A Study of Success and Failure in Exports. An empirical investigation of the export performance of 165 market ventures of 83 firms in the chemical and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
electronics manufacturing industries. University of Stockholm, Department of Business Administration.

Mills, Peter 1977
New Perspectives on Post-Industrial Organizations. An empirical investigation into the theories and practices of service firms. University of Stockholm, Department of Business Administration.

Bergström, Sören 1977

Gumnesson, Evert 1977
Marknadsföring och inköp av konsulttjänster. En studie av egenskaper och beteenden i producenttjänstmarknader. Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Hansson, Roland 1977

Widman, Leif 1976
Alternativa distributionssystem. En samhällsekonomisk modellstudie av dagligvarudistributionen. Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Lilja, Johan 1975

Söderman, Sten 1975
Industrial Location Planning. An empirical investigation of company approaches to the problem of locating new plants. University of Stockholm, Department of Business Administration.

Ljung, Birger Selmer, Jan 1975

Rapp, Birger 1974
Models for Optimal Investment and Maintenance Decisions. University of Stockholm, Department of Business Administration.

Lindberg, Jens 1973
Externa effekter av dryckesförpackningar. En studie av några åtgärder. Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.

Rundfelt, Rolf 1973
Reklamens kostnader och bestämningsfaktorer. Stockholms universitet, Företagsekonomiska institutionen.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Leonardz, Björn</td>
<td>To Stop or Not to Stop, Some Elementary Optimal Stopping Problems with Economic Interpretations.</td>
<td>University of Stockholm, Department of Business Administration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Bergendahl, Göran</td>
<td>Models for investments in a road network.</td>
<td>University of Stockholm, Department of Business Administration.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>