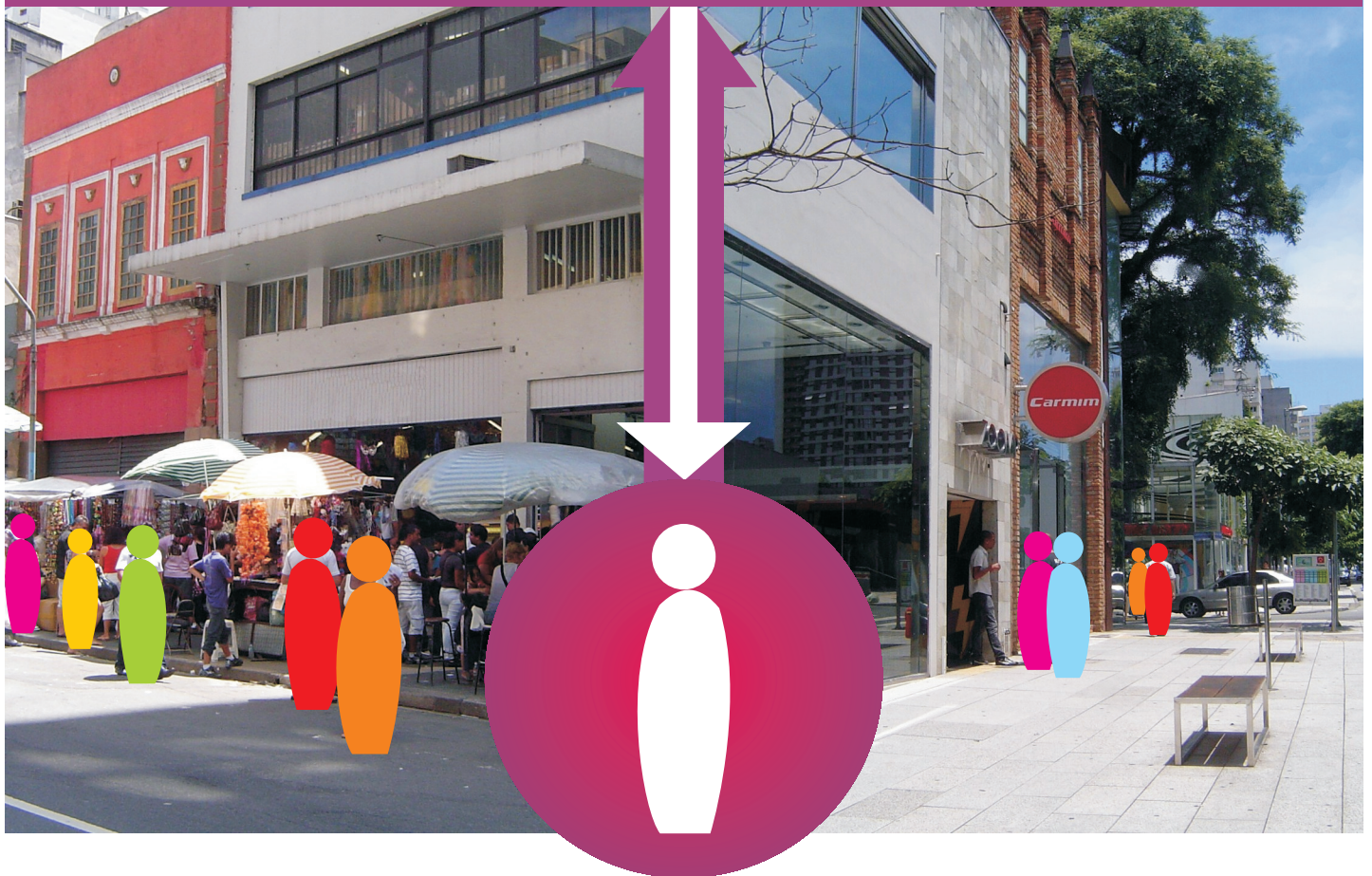


Consumption, Class & Space

Performing the higher-income consumer in São Paulo, Brazil



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Summary

Class identities have been traditionally conceptualized as innate to the economic capital accumulated by social groups. In the past decades, though, social scientists have been questioning this assumption and have been accounting for consumption as the realm in which individuals express themselves and construct their identities. Geographers, in particular, have illustrated how identities and spaces are co-constituted through consumption practices. In addition, social scientists have been conceptualizing class identities as socially produced. These scholars do not deny the material component of class identity but they stress the role of individuals' practices in the construction and legitimization of social difference. Nevertheless, accounts of class identities as socially produced emphasise the discursive nature of social practice and only see possibility for transformation in individuals' conscious acts. More recently, performativity theory has emphasised the embodied nature of social practice to account for the ways individuals unpredictably and/or unintentionally change the world by living in it. However, performativity has been neglected in studies of class identities. In Brazil, where exclusion has deepened the material, social and cultural differences between socioeconomic groups, the understanding of class identity as performative is especially valuable because it highlights how social inequality and spatial boundaries are constructed, negotiated and transformed through and in individuals' everyday practices.

This research aims to explore the performativity of class identities and the performativity of consumption spaces. To do so, this study investigates the performances of 18 higher-income women when they shop in consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil. The performativity of class identities and of consumption spaces is analysed in the ways higher-income individuals, through their performances, conform to and subvert the higher-income-consumer identity. The main conclusion of this study is that class identities are a performative enacted and transformed through individuals' discursive, emotional, social and spatial practices within which individuals construct, negotiate and transform social and spatial boundaries.

Resumo

Identidades de classe foram tradicionalmente consideradas inatas ao capital acumulado pelos grupos sociais. Nas últimas décadas, contudo, cientistas sociais têm questionado essa hipótese, e tem reconhecido o consumo como a esfera em que indivíduos se expressam e constroem suas identidades. Geógrafos, particularmente, têm demonstrado as maneiras pelas quais identidades e espaços são co-constituídos através de práticas de consumo. Além disso, cientistas sociais têm conceituado identidades de classe como socialmente produzidas. Estes autores não negam a componente material das identidades de classe, mas eles ressaltam o papel das práticas dos indivíduos na construção e legitimação de diferenças sociais. No entanto, esses pesquisadores enfatizam a natureza discursiva da prática social e só vêem possibilidade de mudança nos atos conscientes dos indivíduos. Mais recentemente, a teoria da performatividade tem enfatizado a natureza corpórea da prática social para explicar as maneiras pelas quais os indivíduos mudam o mundo de forma imprevisível e não intencional ao viver nele. No entanto, performatividade tem sido negligenciada em estudos de identidades de classe. No Brasil, onde práticas de exclusão têm aprofundado as diferenças materiais, sociais e culturais entre os grupos socioeconômicos, a compreensão das identidades de classe como performativas é especialmente importante porque destaca as maneiras pelas quais a desigualdade social e as barreiras geográficas são construídas, negociadas e transformadas através das práticas cotidianas dos indivíduos.

Esta pesquisa visa explorar a performatividade das identidades de classe e a performatividade dos espaços de consumo. Para tanto, este estudo investiga as performances de 18 mulheres de alta renda quando elas compram em espaços de consumo associados aos consumidores de alta renda e aos consumidores de baixa renda em São Paulo, Brasil. A performatividade das identidades de classe e dos espaços de consumo são analisadas nas maneiras pelas quais os indivíduos de alta renda, através de suas performances, conformam e subvertem a identidade do consumidor de alta renda. A principal conclusão deste estudo é que as identidades de classe são uma performativa estabelecida e transformada através das práticas discursivas, emocionais, sociais e espaciais dos indivíduos em que estes constroem, negociam e transformam fronteiras sociais e espaciais.

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1

Introduction

(...) Who cannot New York, goes with
Madureira, who cannot New York, goes
with Madureira
If there is no Emporium Armani, it
doesn't matter; I go to Creuza, the
seamstress at the 8th floor (...)

from the song "Vai de Madureira"
by Zeca Baleiro, 2008

Traditionally, class identities have been considered inherent to individuals' socioeconomic position (Jackson 1999). Within the past two decades, this assumption has been contested by accounts of class identities as socially constructed (Yodanis 2002). Such accounts do not deny that individuals have different access to material resources, but they recognize class identities not only as the outcome of divisions in society but also as the means by which these divisions are justified and naturalized (West and Fenstermaker 1995a). In addition, these accounts highlight the role of individuals in the production of social difference and reveal how power is exercised and inequality is produced through social interactions (West and Fenstermaker 1995b). Nevertheless, these accounts emphasise the reflexive nature of social practice and, therefore, they only see possibility for resistance in individuals' conscious practices.

More recently, concerned with the “immense remainder constituted by the part of human experience that has not been tamed and symbolized in language” (Certeau 1984:61), social scientists started emphasising the embodied nature of social practice. By doing so, these authors account for unpredictable and unintentional outcomes of social practice. Therefore, rather than see resistance as prior to or as determining individuals’ practices, these authors see possibility for individuals to change the world by living in it (Harrison 2000). In addition, the emphasis on the embodied nature of social practice has motivated social scientists to investigate the role of emotions in the ways individuals, by experiencing the world, construct, reproduce and transform their identities (Davidson and Milligan 2004; Anderson and Smith 2001). Most often, these authors recognize that emotions include physiological sensations, although they cannot be reduced to them, and that emotions are not intrinsically reflexive, rather they are conscious, beyond conscious and imaginative modes of being-in-the world (Williams 2001).

The work of Judith Butler has been influential in understanding how individuals transform the world by living in it. Butler’s theory of performativity (1990; 1993a) puts forward the view that gender identities, rather than natural, pre-existing or given, are constructed, negotiated, and transformed through individuals’ performances. The term performance is used to emphasise the embodied and transformative nature of social practice (Schieffelin 1998; Thrift 2008). Butler argues that embodied practices became associated with gender identities through their repetition. Overtime, these practices became normative and make gender identities look ‘natural’. Individuals, thus, are not free to perform gender as they will; their performances are regulated by the power of discourses that naturalize gender differences. For Butler, when individuals reproduce gender-normative practices they conform to gender identities and, therefore, their performances reiterate the discourses that naturalize gender divisions.

However, according to Butler, individuals’ performances are not mechanical and, in the iterative process by which practices became normative, the discipline of power might fail, opening up possibilities for ‘doing gender differently’. This unpredictable and unintentional nature of social practice is grasped in the concept of performativity. Performativity theory, thus, recognizes the possibility for both conformity to and subversion of dominant discourses in individuals’ everyday practices (Hodgson 2005). Subversion is an interesting concept because it accounts for resistance in practices that do not aim to overcome the effects of power (Rose 2002), but that do so by exposing the non-naturalness of social categories.

Butler’s theory of performativity has been widely used in studies of gender, sexualities and has been “cited as one of the founding texts of queer theory” (Butler 1999b:vii). Her notion of performativity has also been used outside gender studies to reveal how national, professional, consumer and ethnical identities are constructed and negotiated through social practices (Weber 1998; Hodgson 2005; Gregson and Crewe 1997; Thomas 2005). However,

performativity has been neglected in accounts of class identities. The present study argues that performativity theory offers a way to understand how class identities are produced, embodied, naturalized and transformed through and in individuals' everyday practices.

To account for the performativity of class identities this study recognizes that consumption practices and spaces are central to the constitution of class identities. This recognition was particularly influenced by the work of Bourdieu (1984). Bourdieu argued that individuals indicate their membership to class groups and reproduce the differences between these groups through consumption practices (Slater 1997). Bourdieu, however, implied that class identities are innate to the material resources accumulated by social groups. More recently, Miller et al. (1998), questioned this assumption and investigated how individuals use material resources to articulate their identities. Motivated by performativity theory, these authors conceptualized class identities as "an act of becoming and understanding of oneself in relation to objectified values" (1998:137).

In addition, Miller et al. (1998) demonstrated that consumption spaces are intrinsically related to processes of identity formation. These authors argue that, when individuals shop in department stores and when they value the characteristics of these shops, they become middle-class. Informed by a cultural perspective of the social production of space, these authors consider that department stores are associated with middle-classes. Department stores are stable, organized, spacious and luminous places where products are purchased on the basis of the balance between price, quality and taste. Hence, these spaces transmit notions of rational compromise and functionalism which appeal to middle-classes. Miller et al. (1998), however, neglected the performativity of class identities and of consumption spaces.

Butler's theory of performativity has inspired geographers to conceptualize spaces too as performed and performative (Massey, Allen, and Sarre 1999). Gillian Rose (1999), for example, followed Butler's argument that subjects do not pre-exist performances and argued that space too is produced through performances rather than an "anterior actant to be filled or spanned or constructed" (1999:248). Developing her argument, Gregson and Rose (2000) argue that performances, "what individual subjects do, say, 'act out'", and performativity, "the citational practices which reproduce and subvert discourse, and which at the same time enable and discipline subjects and their performances" (2000:441), are connected through the saturation of performers, performances and performed spaces with power. Accounts of space as performative have demonstrated that individuals' performances imprint spaces with dominant discourses and that these performances normalize spatialities and practices which, in turn, regulate individuals' performances to reiterate those dominant discourses (Turner and Manderson 2007; Blumen 2007; Thomas 2005). Such accounts have also showed that particular spaces might enable individuals to subvert normative identities and to disrupt dominant discourses (Longhurst 2000).

By investigating the performativity of space, Gregson and Rose (2000) have acknowledged that the performative process is more unpredictable than what Butler accounted for. These authors demonstrated that individuals' performances are interrelational, this means they enable individuals to simultaneously conform to and subvert dominant discourses. For these authors, individuals' performances in car-boot sales in Britain enable them to subvert the normative construction of retailing, but discipline them to conform to gender-normative identities. In car-boot sales, shoppers bargain, they dress down and they define the quality of goods in ways which differ from the ones used by retailers and manufacturers. Hence, shoppers behave in discordance to the practices performed in conventional shopping areas. However, because car-boot sales do not offer the same guarantees as conventional shopping areas, individuals usually buy items which they are knowledgeable about and unintentionally recur to normative-gender conventions. Women, for example, might buy more clothing and household items whereas men might buy more tools and accessories for the car. In addition, these authors argue that spaces too are interrelational, this means, spaces are "threatened, contaminated, stained, enriched by other spaces" (2000:442). For these authors, the relationality of the car-boot sales lies in the contrasts that informants draw into when comparing these spaces and conventional consumption spaces.

The present study explores the performativity of class identities and the performativity of consumption spaces by investigating the performances of higher-income individuals when they shop in areas associated with lower- and higher-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil. In this study performances are conceptualized as acts of saying, doing and feeling which are regulated, but not determined, by normative practices and spatialities and through which subjects and spaces are co-constituted. Understanding class and space as performed and performative allows accounting for the ways particular practices and spatialities became associated with socioeconomic groups. In addition, this understanding allows accounting for how normative practices and spatialities discipline and enable individuals' performances. The following section introduces São Paulo, Brazil, as the context for this research.

1.1 Consumption, Class & Space:

Going shopping in São Paulo, Brazil

This study considers that marketing specialists' recent interest in lower-income consumers and in the luxury market is promoting the existence of contrasting-consumer-class identities in Brazilian society. Lower-income consumers, for example, are promoted as looking for inclusion and for being

part of Brazilian consumer society, whereas higher-income consumers are promoted as looking for exclusivity and for being unique (DataPopular 2006; Rocha and Silva 2008). These identities are regulating what is to be a consumer in Brazil, as products, advertisements, services and spaces, are conceptualized to increase their attractiveness to a particular socioeconomic group.

These contrasting-consumer-class identities are based on the material, social and cultural differences existent between lower- and higher-income groups in Brazil. These differences are the outcome of the social and cultural processes usually referred to as exclusion (Davoudi and Atkinson 1999). In Brazil, exclusion organizes society. Brazilian power institutions, for example, do not promote plans and policies that benefit society as a whole, rather, they usually benefit the social groups that constitute them (Santos 1987). In this context, individuals' practices of differentiation and individuation are not regulated by their rights to equal life opportunities and to the valorisation of their differences. Rather, individuals' practices are, most often, focused on the access and maintenance of benefits and privileges associated with higher socioeconomic positions (Silva and Michelotti 2007). These practices have, overtime, reinforced differences in the quality of services accessible to different socioeconomic groups and have naturalized inequality (Neves 2002). The different quality of educational services, for example, guarantee better education and, consequently, better job positions for wealthier individuals (Boito Jr. 2003). In Brazil, where exclusion has deepened the material, social and cultural differences between socioeconomic groups, the understanding of class identity as performative is especially valuable because it highlights how social inequality and spatial boundaries are constructed, negotiated and transformed through individuals' everyday practices.

The performativity of class identities and the performativity of consumption spaces are explored through the performances of higher-income individuals when they shop in areas of São Paulo, Brazil, associated with lower- and higher-income consumers. This study focuses on consumption spaces located in São Paulo, Brazil, for two reasons. First, São Paulo concentrates 75% of the national luxury market (Campos and Yoshida 2010). This concentration is an expression of the territorial component of exclusion in Brazil. Second, in São Paulo, as in many Brazilian cities, exclusion is perceived on the unequal distribution of services, such as education, public transportation and health care facilities, between neighbourhoods associated with different socioeconomic groups (Maricato 2003; Rolnik 2001). Nevertheless, in São Paulo, particularly, exclusion is also perceived on the high levels of residential segregation (Torres 2004) and on the popularity of controlled spaces such as gated communities and shopping malls (Caldeira 2003). For these reasons, in São Paulo, the differentiation between consumption spaces associated with higher-income and with lower-income consumers is particularly evident.

The association between consumption spaces and consumer-class-identities, the differentiation between these consumption spaces and the differentiation between individuals' performances when they shop in these spaces will be investigated through higher-income individuals' perspectives. This study focuses on the performances of individuals with higher income because they are more likely to choose where to shop, as material resources facilitate the access to different consumption spaces (Williams et al. 2001).

1.1.1 Aim and research questions

This study investigates the performances of higher-income individuals in consumption spaces associated with lower- and higher-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil, to explore the performativity of class and the performativity of consumption spaces. The central question to be answered is:

In which ways do (1) consumption spaces of the city of São Paulo associated with lower-income and higher-income consumers and (2) the performances of higher-income individuals when they shop in these spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?

To answer this research question, three aspects will be analysed. The first aspect deals with spaces:

1. In which ways do higher-income individuals differentiate consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers from consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil?

The second aspect deals with performances:

2a. What are the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in spaces associated with higher-income consumers?

2b. What are the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in spaces associated with lower-income consumers?

The third aspect deals with identity:

3a. In which ways do consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers and higher-income individuals' performances when shopping in these spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?

3b. In which ways do consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers and higher-income individuals' performances when shopping in these spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?

1.1.2 Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research strategy to explore the differentiation of consumption spaces associated with the contrasting-consumer-class identities, the differentiation of higher-income individuals' performances in these spaces and the ways these performances and spaces allow individuals to conform and subvert the higher-income-consumer identity. The methods selected to collect data were semi-structured interviewing and non-extensive participant observations. Data analysis consisted of coding the transcriptions of the interviews and connecting the data to the research questions through integrative procedures. Thus, the interviews were the main source of data for the research whereas the data collected in participant observations served as support for the analysis.

Semi-structured interviewing was selected because this method enables participants to describe shopping practices and explain motivations in their own words and important points are not forgotten. Semi-structured interviews consisted of 18 interviews held in Portuguese, native language of informants and researcher, between November 2009 and February 2010. Informants were recruited through personal networks and snowball techniques because it was not possible to identify a sampling frame including all individuals who fit the profile required for this research. This profile consisted of three characteristics: informants should perform most of their shopping activities in the municipality of São Paulo, should have a monthly household income higher than 10 minimum wages and should shop occasionally or often in shopping areas of the city associated with lower-income and with higher-income consumers. In addition, this recruitment process increased the access to higher-income individuals, who are often protective of their information and practices.

During the recruitment process the terms lower- and higher-income were not used because this study sought to grasp informants' perspectives on the association between consumption spaces and class-consumer identities. Hence, informants described their performances in shopping areas which they selected. To better understand these shopping areas and to illustrate the differentiation of consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers, 12 non-extensive participant observations were performed in shopping areas which informants visited or mentioned the most. These visits were performed in January and February 2010. During the visits, I assumed different roles depending on my involvement in the activities being performed. In most situations I was overtly recording, photographing and making notes. However, in few situations, especially inside shops, I adopted a covered role in which I behaved as a regular consumer. This role was selected because the public nature of these spaces allowed free access to them and because, as multiple shopping areas were visited, there was not enough time to collect informed consents for all of them.

1.1.3 Outline

This thesis is composed of six chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework in four sections. Section 2.1 introduces the toolkit used in this study, namely the concepts of performance, performativity and performative space. Section 2.2 outlines the notion of class identities as socially constructed. Section 2.3 addresses the relations between consumption, identity and space. Section 2.4 concludes the chapter by conceptualizing the performativity of class identities.

Chapter Three contextualizes this study in two sections. Section 3.1 discusses the ways exclusion has perpetuated the material, cultural and social differences between socioeconomic groups in Brazil and how these differences are being used in the conceptualization of contrasting-consumer-class identities. Section 3.2 introduces São Paulo as an example and expression of inequality in Brazil and addresses the ways exclusion has been structuring the production of the city. Section 3.3 concludes the chapter by addressing how the conceptual model will be used to investigate the performances of higher-income individuals in consumption spaces associated with lower- and higher-income consumers.

Chapter Four displays the methodology in three sections. Section 4.1 discusses the process of data collection for the semi-structured interviews, the definition of interview guide and the informants. Section 4.2 presents the process of data collection for the participant observations, the definition of the field scheme and the shopping areas visited. Section 4.3 introduces the process of data analysis.

Chapter Five presents the results in four sections. Section 5.1 demonstrates how informants perceive the differentiation between consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers. Section 5.2 illustrates five shopping areas visited or mentioned the most by informants to account for the particularities of these consumption spaces. Section 5.3 and Section 5.4 introduce informants' performances in shopping areas associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers, respectively, and discuss the ways informants, in and through these performances, conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity.

Chapter Six concludes this study in three sections. Section 6.1 summarizes the main findings of this research. Section 6.2 presents the conclusions, the implications of the findings and recommendations for policy makers and discusses the relevance of this research. Section 6.3 finalizes this study with a critical reflection and discusses future possibilities for research.

2

Theoretical Framework

To account for the performativity of class identities and for the performativity of consumption spaces, this study recognizes consumption as the realm in which individuals express and construct their identities (Miller 1997). This recognition was particularly influenced by the work of Bourdieu (Mackay 1997). For Bourdieu, individuals indicate their membership to class groups and reproduce the differences between these groups through consumption practices (Bourdieu 1984; Slater 1997). Bourdieu argued that individuals learn how to behave in accordance to class tastes through sets of conscious and beyond conscious embodied practices, which he called *habitus* (Holt 2008). Bourdieu, however, follows traditional accounts of class identities and implies that the *habitus* is innate to individuals' socioeconomic positions (Bourdieu 1990). Within the past two decades, social scientists have questioned this assumption and conceptualized class as socially constructed (Yodanis 2002). These scholars do not deny the material component of class identities but they highlight the role of individuals in the construction of social boundaries and in the legitimization of class difference (Yodanis 2006; West and Fenstermaker 1995a). Nevertheless, accounts of class identities as socially constructed emphasise the reflexive and discursive nature of social practice.

More recently, Judith Butler's performativity theory has moved away from discursive understandings of social practice by drawing into the concept of *habitus*. Butler argues that the *habitus* offers insight into the unreflexive and unintentional ways by which social norms are incorporated in individuals'

embodied practices (Butler 1997a, 1997b, 1999a). However, for Butler, Bourdieu failed to account for how individuals' embodied practices might also transform social processes (Butler 1997a). In her theory of performativity, Butler questions gender identities as natural constructs and argues that embodied practices became associated with gender identities through their repetition (Butler 1993a). For Butler, individuals' performances are regulated by these normative practices, but are not determined by them. Thus, when individuals perform, they have the possibility to conform to or subvert the discourses that legitimize and naturalize gender divisions (Butler 1997b). Performativity, thus, is a concept which grasps this possibility for creative change in individuals' everyday practices (Harrison 2000).

Motivated by performativity theory, Miller et al. (1998) conceptualized class identities as "an act of becoming and understanding of oneself in relation to objectified values" (1998:137) and illustrated how consumption spaces are central to the constitution of class identities. Miller et al. (1998), however, neglected the performativity of space. Performativity theory has also motivated human geographers to investigate the performativity of space (Massey, Allen, and Sarre 1999). These scholars illustrate that spaces are produced and invested with meaning through individuals' performances and that spaces, as social norms, regulate individual's performances. In addition, the emphasis on the embodied nature of social practice has motivated social scientists to acknowledge the ways by which the world is constructed and lived through emotion and how, in this process, spaces and identities are co-constituted (Davidson and Milligan 2004; Anderson and Smith 2001). However, these scholars have neglected the performativity of class identities.

This chapter's aims are four-fold. First, this chapter aims to introduce the conceptual toolkit used in this study. This toolkit, composed of the concepts of performance, performativity and performative space, is presented in Section 2.1. Second, this chapter aims to present the conceptualization of class identities as socially constructed. This conceptualization, although neglects the embodied nature of social practice, puts forward the view that class identities are not inherent to individuals' socioeconomic position, as addressed in Section 2.2. Third, this chapter aims to situate this study within studies of consumption and, more specifically, within the 'geographies of consumption' body of literature. These studies have been central to the recognition of consumption as a social and cultural process within which people construct and transform the world by living in it, as discussed in Section 2.3. Fourth, this chapter aims to conceptualize the performativity of class identities, as presented in Section 2.4. Chapter 3 contextualizes this study in São Paulo, Brazil.

2.1 Performativity:

Performance, conformity, subversion and space

According to Thrift (2008:124), “performance is one of the most pervasive metaphors in the human sciences” and it has been used by theorists working with different traditions, such as symbolic interactionism, contemporary culture theory, performing arts. These theorists use the term performance to describe social practices because it emphasises the idea that meanings are human constructions – attributed to things rather than essential to them – and are socially constituted – through social actions, relations, processes and institutions (Slater 1997; Thrift 2008). In addition, performance deals with bodily acts, with people’s taken-for-granted social practices, allowing shifting the emphasises from the processes by which individuals represent reality to the processes by which individuals construct reality (Schieffelin 1998).

One of the most influential usages of performance in human geography is associated with the work of Judith Butler (although, see Gregson and Rose 2000 for a discussion on how these accounts are better associated with the work of Erwin Goffman). Butler, following Austin (1955), adopts a linguistic approach to performativity. However, by drawing in the notion that the lived body is individuals’ “vehicle of being in the world” (Merleau-Ponty 2002:94) and in Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, Butler conceptualizes performances as both linguistic and bodily acts. Butler’s emphasis on the centrality of embodied practices to processes of identity formation motivated social scientists to investigate the role of emotions in the ways individuals experience the world and make sense of their identities. This study follows these accounts and conceptualizes performances as acts of doing, saying and feeling, as presented in Section 2.1.1.

In addition, Butler draws into Foucault’s ideas that power is ambivalent, this means it forms and regulates the subject, and that resistance is consequent and internal to power. She argues that it is through performances that take place in everyday life that social categories and social difference are reproduced and resisted. Butler’s theory of performativity questions gender identities as natural constructs and argues that these identities arise from the repetition of embodied practices that, overtime, became normalized (Gregson and Rose 2000). For Butler, however, this repetition opens up the possibilities for social norms to be “reproduced awry, or with a difference” (Lovell 2003:2). Thus, in opposition from views of resistance as conscious ideological struggle, Butler’s notion of resistance is better conceptualized as subversion. Butler’s theory of performativity is described in Section 2.1.2. Butler’s theory of performativity has also motivated human geographers to investigate the performativity of space, as discussed in Section 2.1.3.

2.1.1 Performance: *habitus*, embodied practice, emotion

Butler's theory offers a non-essentialist understanding of identity formation as, for her, identities are made 'natural' through the embodiment of discourses and materiality in everyday life (Nayak and Kehily 2006). Butler departs from Foucault's idea that the human body is produced through institutional discourses and everyday practices in which power is manifested (Bordo 1992). However, she distances herself from Foucault's 'discursive determinism' by looking into the materiality of the body. Butler, drawing into the notion that individuals' body is their "vehicle of being in the world" (Merleau-Ponty 2002:94), argues that speech acts are not only linguistic but also bodily and sees "new possibilities, new ways of bodies to matter" (Butler 1993a:30). For that, she draws into the notion of rule-following as embodied activity, grasped by Bourdieu in the concept of *habitus* (Thrift 2008). *Habitus*, for Bourdieu, is the every-day know-how gained from routine experience through which individuals learn how to behave in accordance to cultural patterns of choice and preference, or *tastes* (Jayne 2006). Bourdieu considers the *habitus* central to the identification and reproduction of class identities.

Bourdieu was concerned with how practices of differentiation and identification reproduce class identities through time, and for him, "the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste" (Bourdieu 1984:190). His work shows that different classes produce different bodies. For instance, working classes follow sports such as boxing and football, which require strength and skills related to manual work. In contrast, middle classes follow sports such as polo, yachting and golf, which not only require more material resources to be performed, but also involve socialization (Valentine 2001). According to Bourdieu, the *habitus* is present in all aspects of our embodiment: "in the seemingly most natural features of the body, the dimensions (volume, height, weight) and shapes (round or square, stiff or supple, straight or curved) of its visible forms, which express in countless ways a whole relation to the body, i.e., a way of treating it, caring for it, feeding it, maintaining it" (Bourdieu 1984:190).

Moreover, for Bourdieu, the *habitus* is not consciously learned, rather, it is obtained through "mimesis" - subconscious and repetitive impression of "rules of the game", or embodied practices, that are specific of particular social contexts (Bourdieu 1990:66). The concept of *habitus* illuminates "how practice is simultaneously a series of conscious and beyond conscious embodied acts that are socially situated" (Holt 2008:233). For Butler, *habitus* is a concept that registers "those embodied rituals of everydayness by which a given culture produces and sustains belief in its own 'obviousness'" (Butler 1999a:114) and "offers a promising account of the way in which non-intentional and non-deliberated incorporation of norms takes place" (Butler 1997a:142). As Butler argues: "(...) to master a set of skills is not simply to accept a set of skills but to reproduce them in and as one's own activity. This

is not simply to act according to a set of rules but to embody rules in the course of action and to reproduce those rules in embodied rituals of action" (Butler 1997b:119).

Thus, for Bourdieu and Butler, embodied practices are central to processes of identity formation. This understanding has motivated social scientists to investigate the role of emotions in the ways individuals experience the world and make sense of their identities because "there is little we do with our bodies that we can *think apart* from feeling" (Davidson and Milligan 2004:523, original emphasis). Although traditional accounts have reduced emotions to physiological responses to stimuli, such as flushes, visceral clutches, rising of the hair on the neck (Lupton 1998) more recently, social scientists have conceptualized emotions both as 'socially constructed' and 'conscious existence' (Williams 2001).

Understandings of emotion as socially constructed considers that emotions are "self-reflexive, [and] involve active perception, identification and management on the part of individuals, and indeed, [are] created through this reflexiveness" (Lupton 1998:16). This approach, however, emphasises the role of the psych in the ways individuals' feel and, therefore, is disconnected from the material and bodily dimensions of emotions (Lyon 1998). Understandings of emotion as 'conscious existence' recognize that emotions include physiological sensations, although they cannot be reduced to them, and that emotions are not intrinsically reflexive, rather are conscious and imaginative modes of being-in-the-world (Williams 2001). These accounts of emotions, although emphasise different ways of feeling, have motivated social scientist to understand emotions as embodied compounds "conceived in the intersubjective, intercorporeal and communicative terms" which are central to the ways individuals experience the world (Williams 2001:73).

Geographers, drawing in the conceptualization of emotion as embodied compounds, have illustrated that "emotions are felt to reside, notably in both bodies and places" (Davidson, Smith, and Bondi 2005:3). Malbon (1998), in one example, investigates the places and practices of clubbing and argues that clubbing experiences are an encounter of mind and body in which youth identities are constituted. Malbon argues that clubbing experiences involve both 'bodily techniques' as the massive stimulation of senses and emotions. One way in which this stimulation takes place is in the pleasure of being with others, sharing the same territory and maintaining some sense of membership. Another way in which this stimulation takes place is through the use of recreational drugs, which increase stamina, and therefore, heightened the pleasure of its users.

Urry (2005), in another example, argues that emotionally experiencing a place through consumption is permeated by contradictory and ambiguous emotions. Urry departs from the notion of 'place as play', in which touristic places are seen as "sites of intense and heightened consumption, within which distinct goods and services are compared, evaluated, purchased and

used "(2005:79). He argues that these places are emotionally pleasurable because they are experienced through the consumption of culturally specific services and goods. However, they also become places of disappointment, frustration and bitterness when expectations are not met. For Urry, capitalist corporations have a particular role in mediating these experiences as often they fail to account for the specificity of the commodity.

These examples illustrate the ways by which the world is constructed and lived through emotion and in this process, spaces and identities are co-constituted (Davidson and Milligan 2004; Anderson and Smith 2001). Motivated by these accounts, this study considers performances as acts of saying, doing and feeling which are regulated, but not determined, by normative practices, as presented in the following section.

2.1.2 Conformity, resistance and subversion

Both Butler and Bourdieu understand repetitive practice as the way by which social processes maintain coherence overtime (Rose 2002). However, the *habitus*, although important to understand how social order is internalized and reproduced in people's practices, emphasises the perpetuation of the social order (Cresswell 2002; Dirks, Eley, and Ortner 1994). According to Butler, "the rules or norms, explicit or tacit, that form that [social process] and its grammar of action, are themselves *reproduced* at the level of *habitus* and hence implicated in the *habitus* from the start" (Butler 1999a:117 original emphasis). Butler, however, recognizes that social practices are not only the effect of social processes, but also affect it. Butler's theory of performativity puts forward a view in which the repetition of social practices make possible the reconfiguration, adjustment or negotiation of social processes (Crouch 2003).

Butler argues that gender identities (e.g. man/woman) are produced through individuals' performances – bounded 'acts' of saying or doing (Gregson and Rose 2000). Thus, Butler (1993a) questions gender identities as natural constructs as she recognizes that these identities exclude other natural possibilities, such as hermaphrodites. She argues that gender identities look 'natural' because the social practices that constitute these identities became normalized, through their repetition overtime. According to Butler, the repetition of social norms "is not performed *by* a subject: this repetition is what enables a subject and constitutes the temporal condition for the subject" (Butler 1993a:95 original emphasis). Rather than being a 'woman', people became one by performing in accordance to social norms that constitute what is to be a 'woman'. Hence, the repetition of previous performances is central to the constitution of social norms and to the regulation of individuals' performances. As she argues, the process of identity formation "cannot be

understood outside of a process of iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms" (Butler 1993a:95).

The reiteration of previous performances is also central to the ways the everyday exerts its power in the individual (Manderson and Turner 2006). For Butler, "power not only *acts on* a subject but in a transitive sense *enacts* the subject into being" (Butler 1997b:13 original emphasis). As she explains: "we are used to thinking of power as what presses on the subject from the outside, as what subordinates, sets underneath, and relegates to a lower order (...). But if, following Foucault, we understand power as *forming* the subject as well as providing the very condition of its existence (...) then power is not simply what we oppose but also, in a strong sense, what we depend on for our existence and what we harbor and preserve in the beings we are" (Butler 1997b:2 original emphasis). Hence, for Butler, gender identities are not individually chosen, rather, they are performed "within a highly rigid regulatory framework" (Butler 1990:33).

The notion that subjects are constituted through power implies that domination and potential resistance occur at the same time. As argued by Foucault, "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (1978:95). The understanding of power as ambivalent – both forming and disciplining subjects – allows the understanding of resistance and agency as internal to power, rather than oppositional to it. As Butler explains: "that agency is implicated in subordination is not the sign of a fatal self contradiction at the core of the subject and hence further proof of its pernicious or obsolete character. But neither does it restore a pristine notion of the subject, derived from some classical liberal-humanist formulation, whose agency is always and only opposed to power" (Butler 1997b:17). As Foucault, Butler considers that resistance is not only "a reaction or rebound, forming with respect to the basic domination an underside that is in the end always passive, doomed to perpetual defeat" (Foucault 1978:96).

Following this idea, Butler argues that Bourdieu neglects the "performativity of the *habitus*" as he fails to understand that "what is bodily in speech resists and confounds the very norms by which it is regulated" (Butler 1997a:142). Butler, thus, sees possibility for resistance in acts that do not aim to overcome the perceived effects of power but that have potentially subversive effects (Rose 2002). As she explains: "the disciplinary apparatus produces subjects but as a consequence of that production it brings into discourse the conditions for subverting that apparatus itself" (Butler 1997b:100). As Butler suggests, "the 'natural' or 'essential' nature of gender is [continually] challenged (and thus the system destabilized) from 'within' the resources of the system itself, through the parody of it" (Bordo 1992:170). For Butler, for instance, the parody and other theatrical tactics used by 'drags', to imitate gender "implicitly [reveal] the imitative structure of gender itself – as well as its contingency" (Butler 1990:137) and, thus, subverts the discourse of

heteronormativity (Hodgson 2005; Bordo 1992). Subversion, thus is a useful concept as it considers resistance as internal to power and, consequently, accounts for the effort of practices that do not aim to overcome the effects of power (Rose 2002), but that disrupt the naturalness ascribed to social divisions.

Performativity, according to Butler, should be understood as “that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains” (Butler 1993a:2). Moreover, Butler argues that performance “is distinguished from performativity insofar as the latter consists in a reiteration of norms which precede, constrain, and exceed the performer and in that sense cannot be taken as the fabrication of the performer's ‘will’ or ‘choice’” (Butler 1993b:24). However, the reiteration of norms is “never merely mechanical” (1997b:16). As Butler explains: “it is precisely the possibility of a repetition which does not consolidate that dissociated unity, the subject, but which proliferates effects which undermine the force of normalization” (Butler 1997b:93). Hence, in the reiteration of performances, even the most inculcated social norms are vulnerable to transformation, divergence, contestation or subversion, to what Butler calls the “logic of iterability” (1997a:147).

As argued by Gregson and Rose (2000:434) performance and “performativity (...) are intrinsically connected, through the saturation of performers with power”. Performativity, thus, opens up possibilities for both conformity to and subversion of normative identities and “suggests a broader subversive role for (...) other forms of non-conformity outside gender debates” (Hodgson 2005:60). Geographers, for instance, have drawn into notions of performativity to account for the ways space is intrinsically involved in the normalization of behaviours and in the conformity to and subversion of hegemonic discourses, as presented in the following section.

2.1.3 Performative space

Over the past two decades, social sciences have experienced a spatial turn, a recognition that space is essential for the constitution of social identity and social difference (Massey, Allen, and Sarre 1999; Massey 1993). Geographers, in particular, have drawn into different theories to account for how spaces, “from the geopolitical to the intimate”, are produced in the “living of our lives” and how, in this process, identities and social differences are co-constituted (Massey, Allen, and Sarre 1999:246). Butler’s theory of performativity has been influential to these understandings. Her notion of identities as social constructs influenced geographers to think about space as multiple, fluid and contested (Valentine 2001). Butler also offers insight into the ways space relates to the performative process. As she explains: “to be hailed as a ‘woman’ or ‘Jew’ or ‘queer’ or ‘Black’ or ‘Chicana’ may be heard or

interpreted as an affirmation or an insult, depending on the context in which the hailing occurs (where context is the effective historicity and spatiality of the sign)" (Butler 1997b:96).

Bell et al. (1994) suggested that, although geographers have already explored the social production of space and the spatiality of identities, they have failed to account for the performativity of space. Geographers have often assumed that hegemonic spaces – such as 'straight' public space, capitalist landscape – are the natural or the original. They, most often, look into the ways dissidents or subjected groups appropriate these spaces to resist to hegemonic discourses. Following the argument that performativity theory does not seriously incorporate matters of spatiality (see Nelson 1999, for instance), a group of geographers have developed the notion of space as both performed and performative. This conceptualization of space, pushes "Butler's 'context' beyond that of a mere condition of identity and meaning to a central component of the processes of identity practice and indeed, as an integral, spatial component of identity and difference" (Thomas 2005:1234).

In *Performing Space*, Rose (1999) argues for an understanding of space as performative. Building in Foucault's notion of power as play – evoked in Butler's theory of performativity – Rose conceptualizes space as "practised, a matrix of play, dynamic and iterative" (1999:248). However, for Rose, space is not plastic, rather, social practices saturate space with power and this saturation is reflected in the recurrence of specific spatialities. Rose's argument has motivated human geographers to explore the performativity of space.

Turner and Manderson (2007), for example, demonstrate how social practices articulated in specific time-space configurations imprint these spaces with hegemonic discourses which, in turn, regulate individuals' performances. These authors investigate the performative of the Coffee House – an event sponsored by law firms to 'brand' their firm for students of a major Canadian law school. They illustrate that, through the repetition of particular embodied practices such as drinking, eating, dressing up and making small talks, students' and sponsors' performances saturate the Coffee House with a particular discourse of what is to be a lawyer in Canada, namely the corporate lawyer. In addition, they illustrated that students who have chosen to participate in the Coffee House "unconsciously acted out the dominant behaviour patterns expected of a (...) law student and aspiring lawyer" (2007:777-8).

Thomas (2005) shows how social difference is constructed in spatial practices and how particular spaces entail the performance of normative behaviours that reinforce social differences. Thomas argues that racial difference is constructed through daily spatial practices performed in high school – such as seating in the lunchroom, spatial-boundary making, calling among students. In addition, this author considers the lunchroom a normative space which entails the separation of students by race, age and gender. According

to Thomas, girls encounter this powerful space but “they come to accept, repeat, and embody [racial categories] by invoking normative racial identities and recreating racial symbolism” (2005:1246). Hence, for Thomas, the lunchroom is a performative space through which racial and sexual bodies are produced.

Blumen (2007) shows how unreflexive spatial practices normalize behaviours and reproduce social differences. She argues that routine mobility is central to performativity as it produces “cycles of citational practices that make the ordinary landscape a means of imposing punctiliousness and belonging” (Blumen 2007:806). Blumen considers that the everyday practice of going-to-work is performative in three ways. Going-to-work in the morning is a normalized behaviour in public spaces that reify the significance of paid work in contemporary life. In addition, going-to-work is performed purposefully and quickly and therefore it reinforces the hegemonic discourse of the productive body. Finally, going-to-work involves dressing the body and, despite the tendency for ‘dressing-down’ to work, individuals’ occupation and status can still be identified by these practices. Hence, going-to-work marginalizes non-employed individuals and bodies who move relaxed or who make effort to move and reinforces social divisions based on occupational categories. For Blumen, going-to-work is a performative practice which “demonstrates the discursive power of capitalism” (Blumen 2007:809).

Longhurst (2000) illustrates how particular space-time configurations enable individuals to subvert normative practices and to disrupt hegemonic discourses. In addition, he illustrates that individuals’ performances are simultaneously regulated by diverse discourses in society. Longhurst argues that, during a bikini contest for pregnant women in New Zealand, participants subverted the pregnant-normative practices by exposing their bodies in public space. However, at the same time that these women were labelled as ‘pregnant women with attitude’ they celebrated motherhood as glorious and beautiful. Hence, the contest enabled pregnant women to subvert the normative practices associated with pregnancy in public space but discipline them to conform to the hegemonic discourse of motherhood.

Accounts of space as performative, thus, have illustrated how individuals’ performances imprint spaces with dominant discourses and produce normative practices and spatialities. These practices and spatialities, in turn, regulate individuals’ performances to reiterate those discourses. However, as illustrated by Longhurst, particular spaces might open up possibilities for the subversion of normative practices.

2.1.4 Conclusion

The aim of this section was to introduce the conceptual toolkit used in this study, namely the concepts of performance, performativity and performative

space. In this study, performances are conceptualized as (1) embodied practices of doing, saying and feeling, (2) which are regulated but not determined by normative practices and spatialities and (3) through which identities and spaces are co-constituted. The concept of performativity proposes that individuals' everyday performances associate particular embodied practices to social categories which, overtime, became normative. The concept of performative space suggests that individuals' everyday performances imprint spaces with dominant discourses in society producing normative spatialities. In addition, performativity asserts that individuals' performances are regulated, but not determined, by normative practices and spatialities. Hence, performativity offers the possibility for understanding how individuals conform to and subvert the discourses which naturalize and legitimize social divisions. Performativity, however, has been neglected in studies of class identity. Traditionally, studies of class identities have considered these identities inherent to the socioeconomic position of individuals. This assumption has been questioned by authors who consider class identities as socially constructed, as presented in the following section.

2.2 Doing class:

Social interaction and class identity

In *Doing Difference*, West and Fenstermaker (1995a) adopted an ethno-methodological approach to describe class identities. In their approach they argue that class, as gender and race, is not something that we are, but something that we do. For them, social categories emerge in the "perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities" (1995a:9) that take place in social situations and cannot be "reducible to biological or material characteristics of individuals" (Winant et al. 1995:500). In their view, social categories are both the outcome and the means by which fundamental divisions of society are justified and naturalized. They argue that investigating how social difference is 'done' might "reveal the mechanisms by which power is exercised and inequality is produced" (West and Fenstermaker 1995a:9).

This notion of class identities as socially constructed is often criticised for denying the different material realities imposed by capitalist relationships (see for instance Winant et al. 1995). Most of this criticism arises from the importance that different approaches within social sciences attribute to social interactions, to culture and to power in the reproduction of social inequalities. However, the notion of class identities as socially constructed does not necessarily disregard the importance of any of these elements. The role of power is recognized in the assertion that capitalism "differentially structures group access to material resources, including economic, political and social resources" (Andersen and Collins 1992:50). Within this system, there are

objective indicators of one's position, such as individuals' income and bank account figures, years and type of education and position in job hierarchies. Nevertheless, differences in these indicators are not a problem *per se*. Rather, the cornerstones of social theory concerned with class are the relations of dominance and subordination and the outcomes differences produce, such as poverty, violence and class oppression (West and Fenstermaker 1995a; Winant et al. 1995).

In addition, the indicators of individuals' socioeconomic position usually remain unknown in everyday life and individuals association with class identities is usually based on their behaviours, rather than on their occupation or income level (Collins 2000; Warner and Lunt 1941). Thus, the role of social interaction is recognized in the understanding that social divisions emerge through social interaction. In these interactions people "present to others symbols socially associated" with socioeconomic positions (Yodanis 2002:340). This presentation results in subjective differences that are used to associate ourselves and others with class identities. Finally, the role of culture is recognized in the understanding that material differences have consequences because these differences have socially defined meanings (Lamont and Fournier 1992). The notion of class as socially constructed is presented in Section 2.2.1.

2.2.1 Social class roles and class representations

The notion that class identities are reproduced within social interactions is not new. In *The social life of a modern community*, Warner and Lunt (1941), although considering economic factors to be the basis of class divisions, argued that class identities emerged from individuals' interactions. In a study in Yankee City, these authors identified that individuals' association to class identities were based in their tastes and behaviours, rather than income or occupation (Yodanis 2002). Warner and Lunt defined these tastes and behaviours as 'symbolic behaviour'. Symbolic behaviour includes "tastes in home decorations, reading material, magazine subscriptions, attendance at the local movie theatre, and organization membership" (Yodanis 2006:342). The authors also identified that individuals' membership to a certain class identity was also confirmed in the interactions of those who shared similar symbolic behaviour and in the avoidance of those who did not (Warner and Lunt 1941, 1942).

The ways individuals embody the behaviours associated with their socioeconomic position was grasped by Bourdieu in the concept of *habitus*, presented in section 2.1.1. According to Bourdieu, social groups have different competence and knowledge to use the signs, symbols, ideas and values of legitimate culture – what he called cultural capital. In addition, social groups have different "institutionalized relationships of mutual

acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 1986:249), what he called social capital. For Bourdieu, cultural, social and economic capital are "concealed forms of intergenerational capital accumulation, which reproduce privilege and disadvantage" (Holt 2008:232). Bourdieu, however, considers that economic capital is at the root of the other capitals, as he argues: "only at the last analysis - [economic capital is] at the root of their effects" (Bourdieu 1986:253). Therefore, he implies that the habitus is innate to socioeconomic positions.

The notion of class identities as socially constructed questions this assumption. West and Fenstermaker (1995a:29), suggest that individuals' behaviours support the "rigid system of social relations" under capital and legitimate class identities as a natural way of organizing social life. Langston (1991 in West and Fenstermaker 1995a), for instance, identified two current beliefs in contemporary society that illustrate how the social order is considered a reproduction of the natural world. First, the belief that the "current economic distribution is unchangeable, has always existed, and probably exists in this form throughout the known universe" (Langston 1991:146 in West and Fenstermaker 1995a:27) is required for the perpetuation of social inequalities based in class, race and gender. Second, the belief that an individual's economic fortunes are a reflect of the qualities of a person, such as talent, initiative and effort, is required for the legitimization of the accumulation of capital thorough which "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" (West and Fenstermaker 1995a:28).

The notion of class identities as socially produced focus on individuals' practices in everyday life and recognizes symbolic behaviour is ascribed to socioeconomic positions, rather than inherent to them. Moreover, this notion recognizes that individuals' actions which comply with symbolic behaviour constitute class identities, rather than only reproducing them. One of the most complete accounts of class identities as socially constructed is put forward in the work of Yodanis (2002; 2006). She draws into West and Zimmerman (1987:125) distinction between sex ("what was ascribed by biology"), gender ("constructed through psychological, cultural, and social means") and sex category (socially ascribed according to visible characteristics) to account for three dimensions of social class. According to Yodanis, socioeconomic position refers to individuals' access to resources, social class role refers to the symbolic behaviours that members of all society associate to a certain socioeconomic position and class representations refer to the way individuals act and that allow them and others to identify their membership to a certain social class (Yodanis 2002).

Yodanis (2002) argues that, by acting accordingly to symbolic behaviours, individuals have actual influence in the ways they are perceived by themselves and by others and in the ways they are treated by others. In Sandy Heaven, the small community in which Yodanis held her research, differences in socioeconomic position are much less extreme than in the USA

as a whole. Nevertheless, she identified that women construct class representations by performing and talking about their jobs. For instance, women who do hard-physical work, such as waiting tables and racking berries, and who value these types of work construct a working-class representation. The reputation of these women as hard-workers opens up opportunities for temporary jobs in the summer houses or in the harvest of berries, as most of jobs are announced through word of mouth.

Yodanis highlights the role of in-group interactions in the construction of boundaries that approximate similar people and distance them from different ones (Yodanis 2002). In her study at a coffee shop, Yodanis (2006) identified that working-class woman act out their work ethic by constantly talking about their hard-work during their visits to drink coffee in the morning. Moreover, they used these values to differentiate others, such as emphasizing how lazy are the people for whom they work for. This illustrates that class divisions and relations of dominance are also produced in social interactions which occur between individuals who pertain to the same social group (West and Fenstermaker 1995a).

Most often, in social interactions, individuals represent themselves in accordance to their socioeconomic positions, this means they perform the symbolic behaviours associated with their socioeconomic position. As captured in Bourdieu concept of *habitus*, this process is largely unreflexive. However, as Erving Goffman (1959) suggested, in everyday life people might consciously display specific behaviours to “construct a particular image of ourselves and to control the perception that others have of us” (Yodanis 2002:325). Yodanis (2002) suggests that individuals can ‘act’ a class representation which does not match their socioeconomic position. In Sandy Heaven, where socioeconomic positions between working-class, middle-class and upper-class are not extreme, individuals play out class representations to attain the benefits that these positions might offer. For instance, individuals with higher socioeconomic position might play out middle-class representations to “reduce guilt or the negative consequences of inequity” (Yodanis 2002:339).

The notion of class as socially constructed, thus, allows for understanding class identities as produced rather than inherent to the material resources associated with social groups. However, this notion emphasises the discursive nature of social practice and neglects the part of human experience which is not symbolized in language. Yodanis, in particular, neglects the role of the consumption practices and of spaces on the constitution of class identities.

2.2.2 Conclusion

This section aimed to present the notion of class identities as socially constructed. This notion allows understanding class identities as produced through social interaction rather than inherent to the material, political and ideological resources available to social groups. However, accounts of class identities as socially constructed neglect the embodied nature of social practices. Carrie Yodanis, in particular, has illustrated that socioeconomic positions became associated with specific symbolic behaviours or class roles. In addition, she has illustrated that individuals produce and reinforce barriers between social groups by acting accordingly to the behaviours associated with socioeconomic positions. Nevertheless, she neglects the role of space in the constitution of class identities and understands class identities as based upon occupation rather than consumption. The next section presents social scientists' accounts of consumption practices and spaces as central to processes of identity formation.

2.3 Consumption: Identity, space and performance

Until mid-20th century, the theory of mass consumption dominated accounts of consumption in social sciences. In this theory, consumption was considered an alienating activity and consumers were considered to be manipulated by marketing and advertisement and to perpetuate the ideology of capital (Slater 1997). The work of Bourdieu, Baudrillard and De Certeau, however, brought into light the importance of consumption to the ways people conform to culturally defined behaviours and to the ways people resist to the ideology of capital, as presented in Section 2.3.1. In opposition to accounts of the consumer as dupe put forward by the theory of mass consumption, such accounts have acknowledged consumer as active, critical and creative.

These oppositional views of the consumer have dominated consumption studies until the 1990s, when social scientists, motivated by performativity theory, started conceptualizing consumption as practised. These scholars were able to relate everyday shopping practices to the construction and negotiation of identities, as addressed in Section 2.3.2. Geographers also became interested in consumption as a social and cultural process and recognized consumption spaces as produced through the practices of consumers, retailers, property developers and local authorities, as presented in Section 2.3.3. In addition, geographers' accounts of consumption as

practised have been central to the understanding of how identities and spaces are co-constituted, as also presented in Section 2.3.3.

2.3.1 Identification, differentiation and resistance

The recognition of consumption as a cultural and social process was deeply influenced by the work of Bourdieu. His theory of social practice puts forward the view that consumption is about practices of differentiation and identification through which individuals reproduce differences between class groups and indicate their membership to a particular group (Slater 1997; Mackay 1997). The idea that consumption was used as a means of social differentiation and individuation were already explored by Veblen and Simmel. Veblen in 1899, argued that elites, in late 19th century America, continually updated their consumption practices to differentiate themselves from the *nouveaux riches* as this group was mimicking their consumption practices to attain higher-social positions. Twenty years latter, Simmel described fashion as a mean to “mark out both oneself and one’s group as unique and individual” (Slater 1997:157). Bourdieu, however, was able to relate individual agency (the *habitus*) and social structures (class identities).

Nevertheless, Bourdieu accounts only for class divisions within a community, neglecting other divisions such as gender, ethnicity and generation (Friedman 1994; Mackay 1997). This understanding was further developed in the work of those concerned with the conceptualization of post-modernity, more specifically, by Baudrillard. He departed from post-modernists assumptions that culture was becoming more fragmented and that the significance of meanings was increasing in contemporary society to argue that differentiation based on social categories was becoming less important as identities could be bought and worn as wished (Mackay 1997; Jayne 2006). Baudrillard considered contemporary, post-modern society a consumer society (Campbell 1995:99) in which people “now consume only signs rather than things” (Slater 1997:145) to “become what [they] buy” (Mackay 1997:5).

Moreover, as mentioned before, Bourdieu does not consider the transformative character of social practices, as the *habitus* signifies, in most cases, the perpetuation of the social order (Friedman 1994; Mackay 1997). Drawing into Bourdieu, de Certeau incorporated Foucault’s idea that people constantly negotiate their positions in social relations, their authority and their controls of the definition of reality and acknowledged that individuals transform their reality within social practices in everyday life (Dirks, Eley, and Ortner 1994). De Certeau (1984) argues that those in power use ‘strategies’ to maintain the *status quo*, which is temporarily resisted by subordinated groups through tactics. Influenced by Baudrillard and by theories of everyday life, authors who contributed to Cultural Studies started investigating attempts that aim to resist to or defy the ideology of capital.

One way to resist to capitalism is by using goods in non-conventional ways. Fiske (1989), for instance, considers that individuals who wear torn or ripped jeans to prolong its use and to reduce the amount of times they buy this commodity resist to capitalism by diminishing their participation in consumption. In this process – which Fiske calls “excorporation” – individuals “make their own culture out of the resources and commodities provided by the dominant system” (Fiske 1989:15). However, as Fiske argues, the uses defined by subcultures are rapidly incorporated by manufacturers and designers into new commodities. This process of incorporation might aim to deprive deviant individuals of their oppositional meanings or to contain dissidents’ acts, so they cannot threaten the stability of capitalism.

This example illustrates that consumption is not the end of the production process, rather, consumption is a process that involves the subversive appropriation of goods into everyday life and practices of resistance that are, most often, reincorporated into production. To account for consumption as processes and to challenge linear readings of the relation between consumption, production and culture, Richard Johnson (1986-1987) introduced the circuit of culture. According to Peter Jackson (2000:145), “the circuit emphasises the flows and connections that exist between specific contexts of productions, the commodity form assumed by particular goods (and representations of those goods in advertisement and marketing) and the different contexts of consumption (where the same good can have quite different meanings for different consumers according to their lived cultures, social relations and personal identities)”.

Fiske’s example also illustrates that Cultural Studies have put forward a view of the consumer as active, critical and creative, someone that often adapt goods to their own ends by a diverse range of everyday, symbolic and creative practices (Campbell 1995). These studies have promoted consumption as an act of resistance, in opposition to the view of consumption as an expression of capitalism promoted by the theory of mass consumption. These oppositional views arise from the focus on consumption as either the effect of practices of domination performed by the capital or as the effect of practices of resistance performed by consumers. More recently, however, this dualism is being disrupted by authors who conceptualize consumption as social practice. These authors, motivated by performative theory, emphasise the embodied nature of social practice and account for consumption as a realm within which individuals experience the world around them and construct their identities, although within a rigid “regulatory framework of cultural norms and social expectations” (Jackson 1999:29), as presented in the following section.

2.3.2 Changing focus: shopping practice and identity

In *A Theory of Shopping*, Miller (1998) acknowledged consumption practices as “routinized and socially embedded forms of behaviour that require skill and competence to enact” (Jackson 2004:172). Miller shows that, when describing the regular shopping visits that aim the provision for the home and for others, people usually highlight their ability to find cheap goods, in either discount or second-hand shops. This approach illustrates that consumers are neither the dupes, manipulated by the capital, nor the active and creative individuals who resist to it. Rather, Miller shows that, for many individuals, shopping involves the careful managing of money and choice of goods and the investment of time that allows their families to make even in the end of the month (Mackay 1997; Miller 1997). In addition, Miller looks into how individuals talk about shopping and identifies shopping practices as a “devotional ritual” through which relations of love and care are constituted, rather than only reflected on.

In *Shopping, place and identity*, Miller et al. (1998) pay attention to people’s narratives about their shopping experiences in two shopping centres in the North of London and highlighted the discourses which individuals draw into to make sense of their identities (Jackson 1999). In an article which anticipated the publishing of the complete study, Jackson and Holbrook (1995) illustrated how identities emerge, are negotiated and expressed through the activities and meanings involved in the process of selection, purchase and incorporation of goods. When shopping for clothes, for instance, teenagers appreciate making their own choices and they consider that ‘making a good choice’ requires recognizing good quality and style. In opposition, for their mothers, ‘making a good choice’ requires the ability of comparing prices and choosing based on the best quality price ratio. Parents and teenagers, especially from different genders, also diverge on what is considered appropriated to wear. The final decision of what to buy is, thus, permeated by conflicts and negotiations in which the differences between generations and genders emerge.

Miller et al. (1998) further explored the relation between consumption practices and identity formation. For instance, the authors identified that individuals’ strong concerns about the materialist relationships that shopping evokes is often expressed in the concerns with the artificiality of shopping centres. They illustrated how elderly individuals, for instance, mitigate negative feelings about shopping by situating shopping practices within other activities, such as going for a walk. Hence, elderly prefer shopping spaces in which they might combine these two activities, such as high-streets and small malls.

In addition, these authors illustrated that “shopping is used to create relative [class]-positions within the group” (1998:137). Miller et al. (1998) took a perspective of class association as increasingly related to the arena of

consumption, rather than of occupation. In addition, instead of focusing on class as a pre-existing or as a discursive practice, they see class as “an act of becoming and understanding of oneself in relation to objectified values” (1998:137). As other accounts of class as not innate to material resources, these authors do not deny the material component of class, but they emphasise the ways individuals use material resources to articulate their identities. Miller et al. (1998) show that, despite the similarity between shops present in the shopping areas analysed and between individuals who frequent these areas, individuals consider shopping areas and shops differentiated and this differentiation clarifies what class means to them.

Individuals, for example, portray the department stores and the cheapjacks as oppositional spaces and the act of shopping (or not) in these shops allows individuals to become middle-class or working-class. Miller et al. (1998) argue that these types of shops share the characteristic of bringing together products which would be found in different specialist shops. However, the cheapjack is an inversion of the values which are manifested in the department store. The department store is stable, organized, spacious, lights and products are purchased on the basis of the balance between price, quality and taste. The department store, thus, transmits the notions of rational compromise and functionalism with which middle-classes identify. In opposition, the cheapjack is transient, crowded, poorly light, and products are purchased on the basis of risk. The cheapjack store might be eventually included in middle-classes shopping visits, but, for more impoverished individuals the cheapjack store becomes a part of the general shop routine.

Miller et al. (1998) have drawn into the notion of consumption spaces as socially produced and have illustrated that consumption spaces are central to processes of identity formation. However, these authors neglected the performativity of space. The next section presents how geographers have been accounting for the social production of consumption spaces, for the relation between consumption spaces and processes of identity formation and for the performativity of consumption spaces.

2.3.3 Consumption spaces: identity, performance, emotion

The expansion of interest in consumption in social sciences was also reflected in geography. Geographers long interest in retailing, catchment areas and location-selection criteria, shifted towards an interest in consumption and its relation to the constitution and negotiation of identities and of consumption spaces (Crewe 2000). These interests originated the ‘geographies of consumption’ body of literature (Jackson and Holbrook 1995). ‘Geographies of consumption’, rather than seeing space as the result of social relations or as a transparent container for them, accounts for both economic and cultural perspectives of the social production of consumption spaces. The economical

perspective considers the concentration of capital and the relations between space and corporate retail activity (see, for instance, Wrigley 1998).

The cultural perspective of the social production of consumption spaces accounts for the ways these spaces are produced and invested with meanings through the practices of architects, developers, shopping-centre managers, retailers and consumers (Spierings 2006). Local authorities, for example, have been regulating the location, size and types of retail developments (Lowe 2000; Lowe 2005) and have been promoting consumption landscapes as strategies for urban redevelopment (Zukin 1998). In addition, property developers, managers and retailers have been responsible for the commoditization and aesthetization of retail environment. Malls, particularly, are conceptualized and designed to attract consumers in order to increase the time and the money spent in shopping experiences (Goss 1993).

Moreover, the cultural perspective of the production of consumption spaces highlights the role of these spaces into processes of identity formation (Crewe 2000). Retail spaces, for example, have been historically gendered. In the 19th century, department stores allowed middle-class women to shop in a semi-private environment, in which encounters with strangers were possibly reduced (Glennie and Thrift 1996). By providing a safe environment for women and a diversity of products, these shops reinforced women's role as shoppers (Domosh 1996). Moreover, department stores reinforced discourses of masculinity and femininity as they were organized in accordance with discourses of gendered consumption. On one hand, male sections included only goods directly associated with men's interest, such as clothes, tobacco, electrical equipments and hardware. On the other hand, female sections included female and kids cloths and items related to housewifery (Reekie 1992). These accounts, however, neglect the role of consumers in the social production of consumption spaces.

This role has been emphasised in accounts of consumption as practised. Gregson and Crewe (1997), for example, have acknowledged consumption spaces as performed. These authors argue that car-boot sales require that participants produce the activities of consumption as these spaces are "devoid of the systems of surveillance and control, order and rationality associated with conventional retail environments" (1997:246). They illustrate that the car-boot sale is a consumption space performed by sellers and buyers, as their practices of organization, display of merchandising, negotiating prices and buying is what converts parking lots (or other spaces where they take place) into consumption spaces. In addition, Gregson and Crewe (1997) have illustrated that car-boot-sales buyers are extremely skilful in their practices and routines. Shoppers explore what is being offered, memorize multiple prices and wait for the right moment to negotiate the items they are interested in. In addition, they illustrate that purchasers are knowledgeable in recognising the value that particular goods will have after

their appropriation and transformation and in identifying bargains or items which price is overrated.

More recently, Gregson et al (2002) have illustrated how consumption spaces are attributed with meanings through and in consumers' practices and how, in this process, identities are constituted. These authors identified that the meanings attributed to charity shops in the UK depend on the place charity shopping occupies in people's every-day lives. For those that shop in charity out of necessity, to provide for the family, shopping entails a process of being thorough and methodical, browsing the offers by clothing categories to not miss good opportunities. Mostly because they see themselves as the recipient of charity, buying in charity shops is not perceived by them as an act of charity. In opposition, for those that shop in charity out of choice, shopping is a treat, a dedicated time-out. They pop-in to see what is available and perceive buying as an act of charity.

In addition, accounts of consumption as practised have illustrated the performativity of consumption spaces. Gregson and Rose (2000), drawing into the work of Gregson and Crewe (1997), argue that, in car-boot sales, the subjects and the temporary consumption space produced through their performances are performative as they enable the subversion of the normative construction of retailing in Britain. Car-boot sales enable individuals to negotiate and subvert the identity of the 'consumer' as shopping practices performed in these spaces contrast with the practices performed in conventional shopping areas, such as the high-street and the retail parks. In car-boot sales, people usually dress-down - they adopt the "unofficial boot-sale uniform of scruffy trainers, old jeans or tracksuit bottoms, and baggy T-shirts" (Gregson and Rose 2000:443), they bargain, they define the qualities of goods such as appropriated price, newness with logics that differ from the ones used by retailers and manufacturers.

Moreover, Gregson and Rose (2000) argue that, because car-boot sales do not offer the same guarantees as conventional consumption spaces, individuals rely on their skills and usually look for and buy items for which they are knowledgeable about. In doing so, individuals unintentionally recur to the normative convention of gender, in which male is associated with tools, the car and the house and female is associated with clothing and household. The car-boot sales enable individuals to subvert the hegemonic discourse of the consumer in Britain, but discipline them to assume gender-normative identities. Gregson and Rose also argue that performed spaces are interrelational, this means, spaces are "threatened, contaminated, stained, enriched by other spaces" (2000:442). For these authors, the relationality of the car-boot sale lies in the contrasts that informants draw to compare these spaces and conventional consumption spaces.

These accounts of consumption as practised, however, have emphasised what people do when shopping and have neglected the links between emotions and consumption practices. Williams et al. (2001), for example, have revealed

the importance of emotions to the ways people select where to shop. These authors consider emotions as elicited through interactions between informants and the people and goods they might find in consumption spaces. They illustrate how negative past experiences lead to processes of self-exclusion as individuals are discouraged to visit certain shopping areas or stores “because of their feelings about the type and quality of shopping” (2001:217). More recently, Colls (2004), by exploring the links between consumption practices and emotions, has acknowledged the role of emotions in the constitution of subjects. This author focused on the ways sensations are interrogated, managed and interpersonally experienced and investigated the emotional relationships formed between women, clothing and their bodies in spaces of clothing consumption. Colls revealed that women use their detailed knowledge of shopping environments to choose where to go to make them feel more positive about their bodies.

Accounts of consumption as practised focus on shopping routines; on what people do and feel when shopping, people’s acts of selection and purchase of goods and of looking and being looked at; on how shopping fits into their daily life; on the social relations of shopping; on the way people talk and feel about shopping, and on the things they take for granted in this process. Such accounts have revealed that identities and spaces are produced through and in individuals’ performances. Moreover, accounts of consumption as practised have revealed the performativity of consumption spaces. Nevertheless, these accounts have neglected the performativity of class identities.

2.3.4 Conclusion

This section’s aims were three-fold. First, this section aimed to present consumption as a process in which individuals indicate their membership to particular social groups and they construct differences among those groups. Second, this section aimed to illustrate that consumption practices are intrinsically related to processes of identity formation. The focus on consumption as practised allowed researchers to understand consumption as the realm in which individuals are able to express who they are, not freely as Baudrillard suggested, but within the regulation of social norms. By focusing on what people do and how they talk about shopping, these authors also revealed how emotions are involved in the processes of identity formation.

Third, this section aimed to present how geographers, in particular, have been accounting for the relation between consumption, space and identity. These authors have demonstrated that consumption spaces are imprinted with dominant discourses in society through the practices of retailers and developers, such as in the reproduction and reinforcement of gender roles in the organization of department stores. In addition, these scholars have

illustrated how identities and spaces are co-constituted through and in individuals' performances and have accounted for the performativity of consumption spaces. Nevertheless, accounts of the relation between consumption and space have neglected the performativity of class identities. The performativity of class identities is conceptualized in the following section.

2.4 Conclusion:

The performativity of class identity

This chapter aimed at introducing performativity theory, the understanding that class identities are not inherent to individuals' socioeconomic position and the recognition of consumption practices and spaces as central to processes of identity formation. In this section, this theoretical framework is pulled together to conceptualize the performativity of class identities.

This study considers that class identities are performed in everyday practices of doing, saying and feeling. As argued by Bourdieu and Butler, these practices are conscious and beyond conscious practices learned and reproduced at the level of the body. When individuals perform they associate particular embodied practices to socioeconomic positions and, overtime, these practices became normative. These normative-class practices regulate individuals' performances and, most often, entail that individuals perform in accordance to them. However, as these normative-class practices are ascribed to socioeconomic positions, rather than inherent to them, people might perform in discordance to the normative-class practices associated with their socioeconomic position. This process might be reflexive, as suggest by Goffman, this means individuals might consciously and purposefully perform in certain ways to influence the ways they are perceived by others. Or this process might be unreflexive, as suggested by Butler and Bourdieu. These performances open up possibilities for the subversion of class identities and for the disruption of discourses that naturalize class divisions as they reveal that individuals' class identities are not inherent to their socioeconomic position.

This performative process also affects and is affected by the spaces in which they occur. Consumption spaces, in particular, are imprinted with dominant discourses through the practices of architects, property developers, managers, retailers, consumers and local authorities. Overtime, these practices associate particular spatialities with socioeconomic positions. These spatialities became normative as, most often, they entail that individuals reiterate the dominant discourses that naturalize class divisions. Hence, these spaces discipline individuals' performances to reproduce the normative-class practices and

spatialities and to reiterate the discourse that naturalizes class divisions. However, particular spaces might enable individuals to perform in discordance with the class-normative practices associated with their socioeconomic position. These performances open up the possibility for subversion as they reveal that social divisions are not natural.

It is also important to recognize that “[this] performative process occurs in a social field of power” (Thomas 2005:1234). In everyday life, people might fall out of place, avoid, be excluded or exclude themselves from areas of the city because they do not have the knowledge or the resources to conform to the normative-class practices imprinted in these spaces (Collins 2000). Hence, people that are less constrained by material, political, and ideological resources might have more freedom to play out class identities that differ from the ones associated with their socioeconomic position. In addition, it is important to recognize that individuals’ performances are regulated by normative practices associated with multiple discourses in society. In addition, the spaces in which individuals perform are not bounded or fixed rather they constantly permeate each other. Hence, individuals’ performances are also regulated by multiple normative spatialities. Figure 2.1 illustrates this performativity process in a conceptual model.

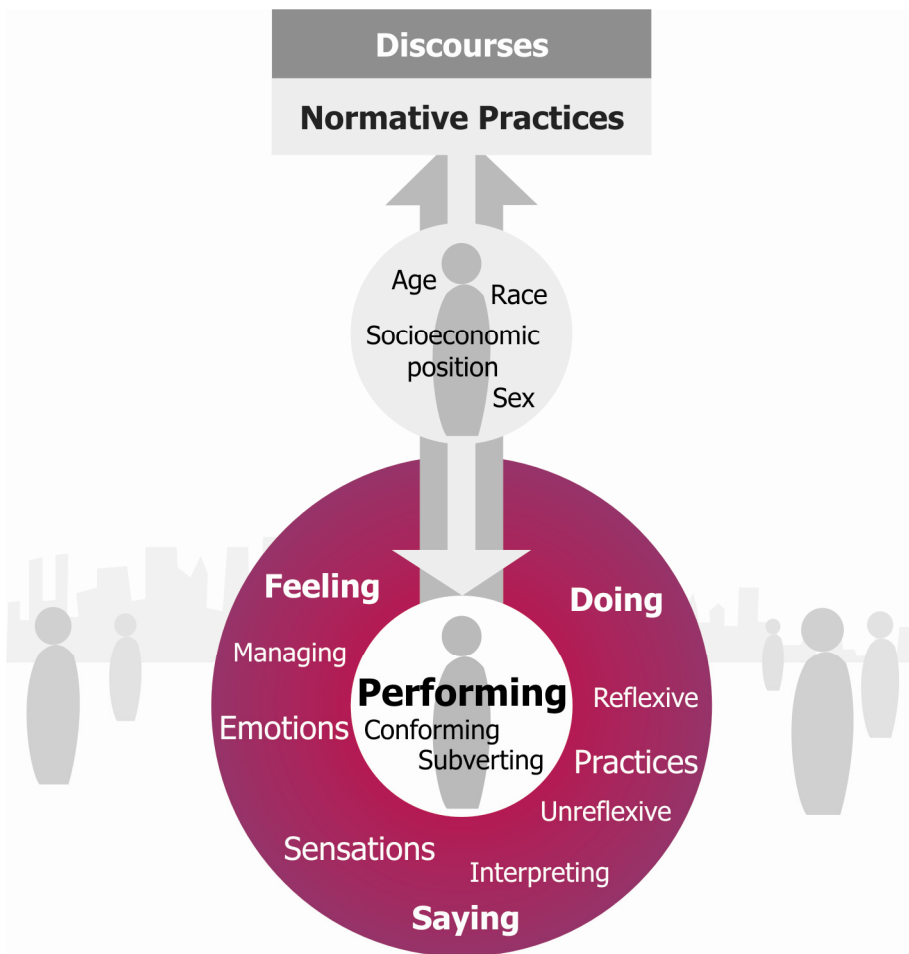


Figure 2.1 – Individuals’ performances and the performative process

This conceptual model is used in this study to explore the performativity of class identities and the performativity of consumption spaces by investigating the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil. As presented in the following Chapter, In Brazil, individuals' practices of identification and differentiation have perpetuated the material, social and cultural differences between socioeconomic groups. These differences are perceived in the unequal access to material resources, life opportunities, and quality of services and spaces associated with socioeconomic groups. Recently, these differences are also being used by marketing specialists, property developers, managers and retailers in the conceptualization of products, services, advertisements and consumption spaces. These practices are promoting the existence of contrasting-consumer-class identities that are regulating what is to be a consumer in Brazil.

3

São Paulo, Brazil

The context for this study is the municipality of São Paulo, Brazil. São Paulo is the largest city and the most important industrial, financial and tertiary centre in Brazil (SEMPA and DIPRO 2007b). São Paulo is both an expression and an example of inequality in Brazil. The concentration of economic wealth in São Paulo expresses the territorial component of inequality in Brazil. For example, the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in São Paulo is the double that of the GDP per capita in all of Brazil. Inequality characterizes Brazilian cities and it is perceived on the unequal distribution of services between neighbourhoods associated with different socioeconomic groups, such as public transportation, education and health care facilities (Maricato 2003; Rolnik 2001). In São Paulo, particularly, inequality is also perceived on the high levels of residential segregation (Torres 2004) and on the popularity of controlled spaces such as gated communities and shopping malls (Caldeira 2003). These inequalities are the outcome of social and cultural processes referred to as exclusion (Davoudi and Atkinson 1999).

Recently, inequality is also observed in the differentiation of consumption spaces (Pintaudi 2005). This differentiation is greatly influenced by companies' recent interest in the consumption potential of lower-income consumers and in the growth of the luxury market. Marketing professionals classify consumers in market segments based on their tastes and behaviours (Smith 1956), and use these tastes and behaviours in the design and marketing of products, services, spaces and advertisements to increase their attractiveness to this particular segment (Dickson and Ginter 1987). In Brazil,

marketing specialists focus mostly on either lower- or higher-income consumers. This focus is promoting the existence of contrasting-consumer-class identities in Brazilian society. These identities are based on the material, cultural and social differences between lower- and higher-income groups and are regulating what is to be a consumer in Brazil.

This chapter aims to contextualize this study in São Paulo, Brazil. Section 3.1 presents the means by which exclusion deepens the material, cultural and social differences between socioeconomic groups in Brazil and how these differences are being used in the conceptualization of contrasting-consumer-class identities. Section 3.2 introduces São Paulo as an example and expression of inequality in Brazil, and presents the specific ways exclusion is being reproduced in the city. Section 3.3 concludes this chapter by discussing how the theoretical framework can be applied to investigate how higher-income individuals, by shopping in areas of São Paulo associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers, conform to and subvert the higher-income-consumer identity. Chapter 4 presents the methodology.

3.1 Brazil:

Inequality, exclusion and consumer identity

Brazil is the 5th largest and the 5th most inhabited country in the world (CIA 2010). It also has the 8th largest economy in the world (WorldBank 2008 - GDP method). Brazil is also a country of inequalities. 10% of households with the highest income represent 43% of the total income in the country, while 10% of households with the lowest income represent only 1.1% (CIA 2010). Inequality, often measured by differences in the access to material resources, has been recognized as the outcome of the social and cultural processes usually referred to as exclusion (Davoudi and Atkinson 1999). Understanding that inequality is produced and reproduced by social and cultural processes allows for recognising that practices of exclusion permeate all spheres of social life. In Brazil, practices of exclusion have naturalized inequality and deepened the material, cultural and social differences between groups, as shown in Section 3.1.1. These differences are being used in the conceptualization of products, services, advertisement campaigns and consumption spaces to increase their attractiveness to specific socioeconomic groups. These practices are promoting the existence of two contrasting-consumer-class identities, as presented in Section 3.1.2.

3.1.1 Exclusion: perpetuating inequality

In Brazil, despite strong evidence on the racial component of inequality¹, exclusion is often associated with socioeconomic positions (Telles 1995). Exclusion is characterized by individuals' differing access to material resources, life opportunities, and by the differing quality of services and spaces associated with socioeconomic groups. Exclusion is also perceived in the organization of Brazilian power institutions. These institutions promote plans and policies that benefit the social groups that constitute them, instead of benefiting society as a whole (Santos 1987).

In this context, individuals' practices of differentiation and individuation are not regulated by their rights to equal life opportunities and to the valorisation of their differences, rather, individuals' practices are focused on the access and maintenance of benefits and privileges associated with higher socioeconomic positions (Silva and Michelotti 2007). These practices have, overtime, reinforced differences in the quality of services accessible to different socioeconomic groups (Neves 2002). For example, in areas such as education, health and retirement plans, wealthier individuals rely on services provided by an expanding private sector, while poorer individuals rely on services provided by a declining public sector (Boito Jr. 2003). Therefore, in Brazil, individuals' everyday practices of differentiation and individuation naturalize inequality and perpetuate the material, social and cultural differences between groups (Souza 2004). The different quality of educational services, for instance, guarantee better education and, consequently, better job positions for wealthier individuals (Boito Jr. 2003). Recent strategies of the federal government have been aimed at reducing the material inequality of lower-income groups. Despite having impact in the consumption power of lower-income families and alleviating poverty (see, for example, Barros, Carvalho, and Franco 2006) these initiatives do not act on the social and cultural processes which actually (re)produce inequality. Meanwhile, the material, social and cultural differences between these groups are being reproduced in, and reinforced by, contrasting-consumer-class identities promoted by marketing specialists in Brazil, as presented in the following section.

3.1.2 Contrasting-consumer-class identities

Post-1950s, it was recognized that consumers characteristics, needs, tastes, desires and customs were not homogeneous, promoting the development of marketing segmentation strategies (Smith 1956). These strategies consist of adapting products, advertisements, shops, etc., to appeal to a specific market segment to increase the competitive advantage of companies (Dickson and Ginter 1987). Market segments are easily identifiable categories of consumers

usually defined with the use of cluster techniques, taking into consideration individuals' cultural, geographic, demographic and socioeconomic characteristics; individuals' personality, values and life-style; individuals' relation to products and services (such as frequency of usage, store loyalty and patronage); and individuals' perception of the attributes of products and of the benefits provided by them (Wedel and Kamakura 2000).

In the past two decades, two particular market segments have been the attention of Brazilian-marketing professionals, lower-income households and the higher-income household consumers, particularly in relation to the luxury market. Until the 1990s, Brazilian marketing professionals paid little attention to the consumption behaviours of households with income lower than 10 minimum wages (lower-income). These professionals followed the Western marketing tradition, which focused on middle-class consumers as this group represents the majority of the population in developed countries (Rocha and Silva 2008). However, after the 1990s, consumers with low income gained attention in the international and national marketing scene. In the international scene, companies' difficulties to grow in developed markets redirected attention to the demographic and economic growth of the developing world (Barki 2005); 'Making profit with consumers on the bottom of the world's income pyramid' became a 'must do' for multinational and large local companies present in countries in development (see, for instance, Prahalad and Hammond 2002). Among these countries, Brazil, Russia, India and China occupy a privileged position as they are becoming a much larger force in the world's economy (Wilson and Purushothaman 2003).

In the national scene, Brazil's economic stabilization (achieved in the mid-1990s) boosted the power consumption of the lower-income households (Rocha and Silva 2008). However, generating profit from the bottom of the pyramid proved not to be as straightforward in Brazil as hoped. Some attempts to target these consumers did not provide the expected results (Barki 2005). According to marketing specialists, these poor results revealed the need for a better understanding of the consumption tastes and behaviours of these 'new consumers', labelled *consumidores de renda baixa* (lower-income consumers) (Rocha and Silva 2008). In addition, Brazilian newspapers, magazines, and professional marketing literature were invaded by articles that stressed the need for companies to adapt their products, services and marketing strategies for these consumers (see, for instance, Oliveira 2006; Wiziack 2008; Costa 2007). Most often, these marketing strategies involved recognizing the cultural and social differences between lower-income consumers and the 'old consumers', who soon became referred to as *consumidores de renda alta* (higher-income consumer).

According to professional marketing accounts, companies' marketing strategies, which traditionally focused on higher-income consumers, had to adapt to lower-income consumers' characteristics, such as levels of education, aesthetic references and reliance on social networks. As lower-income consumers have a lower average number of years of education (6%) in

comparison to higher-income consumers (11%), communication addressed to them should be simpler and more repetitive. Communication should also be more colourful, abundant and extravagant as these consumers have different aesthetic references. In addition, companies should rely more in communication through word of mouth as lower-income consumers share more consumption opportunities with others (60%) than higher-income consumers (20%) (DataPopular 2006).

Concomitant to the discovery of lower-income consumers were increases in the consumption of luxury products world-wide and in Brazil. Within the last few decades, luxury products and services became more accessible to less wealthier consumers. Currently, the luxury market includes both traditional and new luxury products and services (Silverstein and Fiske 2003). Traditional luxury products and services are those made of rare materials or known by its reputation, precedence or special technology (Strehlau and Huertas 2006). New luxury products and services include lower-priced versions of traditional luxury products and premium versions of accessible goods, such as Belvedere vodka, Starbucks coffee, and Bath & Body Works body lotions (Silverstein and Fiske 2003). Luxury products are conceptualized based in the idea that the consumer buys products and services not because of the items *per se*, but because of the enhanced feelings and experiences that these products and services might provide them (Danziger 2005). Hence, in luxury products and services, 'luxury' is not reflected only on price and exclusivity, but also in the ways these products and services can increase consumers' pleasure and life quality (WEBLuxo 2008).

In Brazil, the consumption of luxury goods grew 35% from 2000 to 2007, when the market sold US\$ 2.5 billion (70% of the luxury market in Latin America) (Lacerda 2008). The continuous increase of the luxury market in Brazil, even during the 2009 economic crisis, caught the attention of marketing professionals (see, for instance, Meyer 2008; Lacerda 2008; Moura 2008). According to these professionals, in Brazil, consumers are attracted by the quality of luxury products and services, the exclusivity of having them, the glamour and tradition associated with them, the status conferred by them, and by the personalized service offered (Campos and Yoshida 2010; Moura 2008). In addition, as luxury consumption is connected to individuals' experiences and feelings, marketing professionals often stress the need to guarantee a perfect and personalized service and to surprise the client. For instance, dress boutiques keep track of events in which clients will wear the dress bought to guarantee that people do not wear the same model (WEBLuxo 2008).

The recent interest of marketing specialists and companies in lower-income consumers' and in the growth of the luxury market is promoting the existence of contrasting-consumer-class identities in Brazilian society. These identities are based on material, social and cultural differences between lower- and higher-income groups. The characteristics, needs, tastes, behaviours and desires associated with these groups are being used in the conceptualization

of products, services, consumption spaces and advertisement campaigns to increase their attractiveness to one particular segment. One on hand, higher-income consumers are considered to 'seek differentiation from the mass' and, on the other hand, lower-income consumers are considered to 'seek being part of the group' (DataPopular 2006). Figure 3.1 summarizes the characteristics, behaviours and tastes associated with each segment.

Higher-Income	Lower-Income
Higher educational level	Household income lower than 10 minimum wages
Glamour	Lower educational level
Luxury	Abundant
Tradition	Colourful
Exclusivity	Extravagant
Quality	Inclusion

Figure 3.1 – Contrasting-consumer-class identities

3.1.3 Conclusion

This section's aims were two-fold. First, this section aimed to address the ways exclusion has perpetuated material, cultural and social differences in Brazil. In Brazil, individuals' practices of differentiation and individuation are performed in a social context of exclusion and most often, are focused on the access and maintenance of benefices and privileges associated with higher socioeconomic positions. These practices contribute to the naturalization of inequality and increase the material, social and cultural differences between socioeconomic groups. Second, this section aimed to present how these differences are being utilised by marketing specialists in the promotion of contrasting-consumer-class identities. Products, services, advertisements and consumption spaces are being conceptualized and produced to increase their attractiveness to a particular consumer-class-identity.

These identities are regulating what is to become a consumer in Brazil as individuals require particular material, social and cultural capital to consume them. Consumption spaces, particularly, are increasingly differentiated through the practices of retailers, property developers, property managers and consumers. Retailers, property developers and managers are informed by professional and academic marketing literature of current and evolving consumer trends. These actors design, develop and adapt shopping areas to be more attractive to a specific consumer-class identity. However, consumers reproduce the practices associated with consumer-class identities, reinforcing the association of consumption spaces and consumer-class identities. This phenomenon is particularly clear in the municipality of São Paulo, an expression and example of exclusion in Brazil, as presented in the next section.

3.2 São Paulo:

Exclusion and the production of the city

São Paulo is a city of large figures. With approximately 11 million inhabitants and 3.5 million households, São Paulo is the most inhabited municipality in Brazil. The municipality has a total area of 1 509 square kilometres and an urban area of 1 000 square kilometres. There are 3.8 million automobiles and 15 000 buses (operating on 974 bus lines) travelling in its 17 260 kilometres of roads (SEMPLA and DIPRO 2007b). In 2007, São Paulo housed 6% of the Brazilian population (10.9 million inhabitants) and was responsible for 12% of the national GDP (SEADE 2007; IBGE-SIDRA). The concentration of economic wealth in São Paulo is an expression of inequality in Brazil. Despite the economic wealth, São Paulo is also an example of inequality itself. Inequality is shown in the differing quality of spaces associated with lower- and higher-income groups (Rolnik 2001). This inequality is the result of practices of exclusion that has permeated the urbanization process and that are influencing the city's adaptation to a post-industrial society. Section 3.2.1 introduces São Paulo as an expression of inequality in Brazil. Section 3.2.2 presents the economic and urban development of São Paulo. Section 3.2.3 addresses the ways exclusion has permeated the urbanization of the city and is affecting the city's adaptation to a global economy.

3.2.1 An expression of inequality in Brazil

In Brazil, inequality has a clear territorial expression. For example, inequality is easily seen in the distribution of lower- and higher-income households in different parts of the country. In the northern part of the country, 6% of households have income higher than 10 minimum wages (approximately US\$ 13 000/year in 2000) and 11% have no income, as shown in Table 3.1. In contrast, in the southern part of the country, 12% of households have income higher than 10 minimum wages and 8% have no income. These regions are shown in Figure 3.2.

In the southern part of the country, the state of São Paulo (SP) stands out. In SP, 14% of the households have income higher than 10 minimum wages, as also shown in Table 3.1. However, 9% of households have no income, the same percentage as in Brazil. Hence, in SP, extremes in income distribution are more visible than in other regions. This same pattern of distribution is observed in the municipality of São Paulo, the capital of SP. In São Paulo, 21% of the households have income higher than 10 minimum wages and 10% of the households have no income.

Table 3.1 – Households (in millions) per income (in minimum wages) in 2000

Income	Brazil		Northern		Southern		SP		São Paulo	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
More than 10	4.2	9	1.0	6	3.2	12	1.5	14	0.6	21
Until 10	36.5	82	14.4	83	22.1	80	8.0	77	2.0	69
No Income	4.1	9	2.0	11	2.1	8	0.9	9	0.3	10
Total	44.8	100	17.4	100	27.4	100	10.4	100	3.0	100
% Brazil		100		39		61		23		7

10 minimum wages = R\$ 1 510/month or US\$ 10 000/year in 2000

(Data source: IBGE-SIDRA)



Map produced by Carolina Castanheira (Data source: GISMAPS 2000)

Figure 3.2 – Brazil, Regions and SP

SP also concentrates economic wealth in Brazil. The state houses 22% of the population of Brazil and contributes to 34% of its GDP. Hence, the GDP per capita in SP is 58% higher than the GDP per capita in all of Brazil, as shown in Table 3.2. The São Paulo Metropolitan Area, also known as São Paulo, but hereafter Região Metropolitana de São Paulo (RMSP), is the 7th principal agglomeration of the world (Th.Brinkhoff 2009). 11% of the population of Brazil lives in this region and contributes 19% to the Brazilian GDP, as also shown in Table 3.2. RMSP is presented in Figure 3.3. In São Paulo, the focal point of RMSP, the GDP per capita is 104% higher than the GDP per capita in Brazil. The population and economy concentration in RMSP and São Paulo are related to the economic development of Brazil in the 20th century, as explained in the following section.

Table 3.2 – Population and GDP in 2007

	Population			GDP		
	(in millions)	%	(in billions US\$*)	%	per capita (in thousands US\$)	%
São Paulo	10.9	6	158	12	14.5	204
RMSP	20.7	11	252	19	12.2	172
SP	39.8	22	446	34	11.2	158
Brazil	184.0	100	1 314	100	7.1	100

* Values converted to US\$ based on the value of 2007

(Data source: SEADE 2007; IBGE-SIDRA)



Map produced by Carolina Castanheira (Data source: IBGE-GEOFTP)

Figure 3.3 – São Paulo, RMSP and SP

3.2.2 Economy and urban development

São Paulo was founded by Jesuits in the 16th century and until the 19th century, had a minor role in Brazil's economy, which was dominated by sugar-cane growing and gold extraction in other areas of the country. However, this role changed with the expansion of coffee growing and exportation activities in SP. São Paulo occupied a strategic position between coffee fields and the two major harbours in Brazil (Santos and Rio de Janeiro), and this advantage encouraged its economic and urban development (SEMPA and DIPRO 2007b). In the last decade of the 19th century, the city grew almost 14% - from 65 000 inhabitants in 1890 to 240 000 in 1900 (SEMPA).

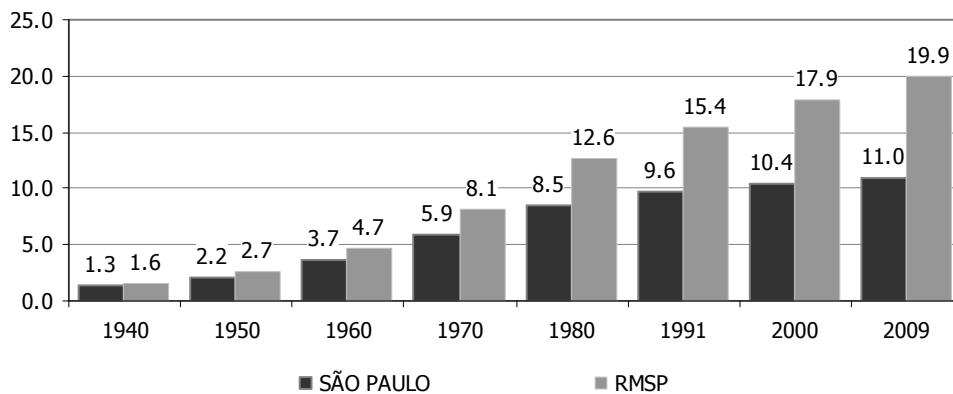
In the early 20th century, São Paulo became an important financial, industrial and services centre in Brazil. This position was consolidated during World

War I and World War II, when the supply of industrialized goods from Europe was severely reduced. This reduction promoted the development of national industries, which became concentrated in São Paulo due to the availability of economical resources (Mautner 1999). Until the 1970s, the concentration and centralization of industry, manufacturing and related activities characterized the urban and economic growth of São Paulo and RMSP (Nobre 2002). From the 1940s to the 1970s, the population of São Paulo and RMSP grew at annual rates close to 5%, as shown in Table 3.3 and Figure 3.4.

Table 3.3 – Annual Growth Rate (in %)

	1940-50	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-91	1991-00	2000-09
São Paulo	5.2	5.6	4.9	3.7	1.2	0.9	0.6
RMSP	5.3	6.0	5.6	4.5	1.9	1.6	1.2

(Data source: SEMPLA)



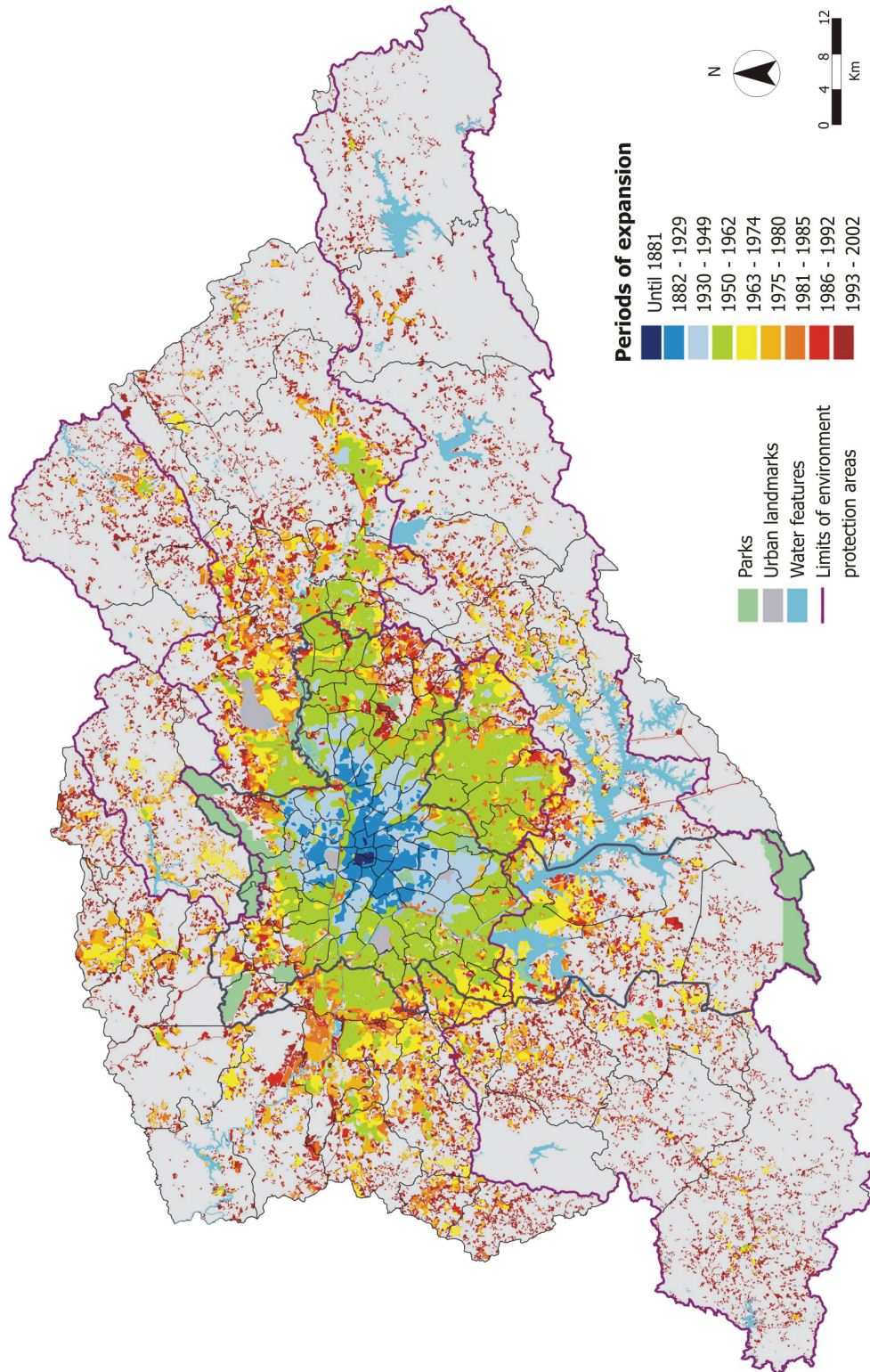
(Data source: SEMPLA)

Figure 3.4 – Population (in millions)

Since the 1970s and accelerating after the 1980s, the RMSP has “undergone a process of industrial restructuring which have resulted in plant closures and the spatial dispersal of manufacturing sites” (Murray 2004:11). Industrial plants were relocated to other regions of the country and, in 1987, this region was responsible for only 30.7% of the industrial production of Brazil, a figure much lower than the 43.5% observed in 1970 (Caldeira 2003). Although industrial plants were relocated, companies’ headquarters were kept in São Paulo, denoting the city’s transition from industrial centre to service-oriented site for business and finance (Taschner and Bógus 2001). This transition was characterized by the outsourcing of services traditionally related to the industrial sector, such as management, marketing and advertisement (Araújo 1992). In addition, this transition included the raise of formal jobs with low remuneration and of informal jobs (Taschner and Bógus 2001).

As shown in Table 3.3, after the 1970s the growth rates of São Paulo and RMSP reduced drastically. The difference in the growth rates of São Paulo and the RMSP reflect their urbanization process. During this process, the

population growth of São Paulo and RMSP was accompanied by the expansion of the urban area, as shown in Figure 3.5. This expansion relied on the suburbanization of lower-income households and produced an unequal city. After the 1980s, although the growth rates of São Paulo and RMSP have declined, but inequality continues to characterize the city, as explained in the following section.



Map adapted from source by Carolina Castanheira (SEMPLA and DIPRO 2007a)

Figure 3.5 – Expansion of the urban area RMSP

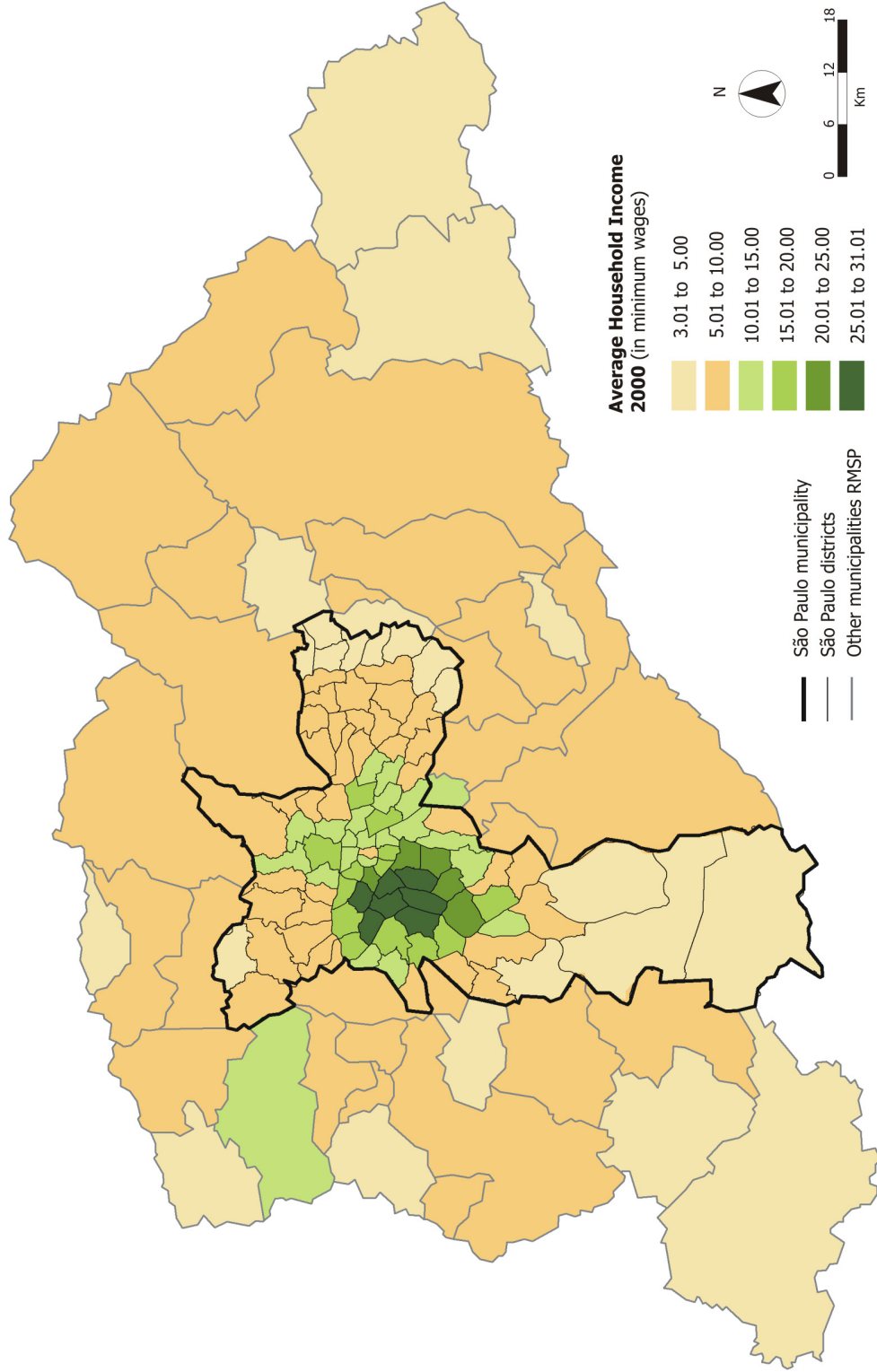
3.2.3 Exclusion: suburbanization and post-industrial landscapes

Between 1940 and 1980 the urban area of São Paulo grew based on the suburbanization of lower-income households (Meyer and Grostein 2005). Neglected by the formal housing market, lower-income households saw in the suburbs the opportunity to obtain their own dwellings², as they could now afford land prices and construct their own houses. The suburbs were affordable because the land parcel, the construction of dwellings and the provision of infrastructure did not need to comply with the urban laws and building codes of the city. Although the laws were not followed, they were often kept as a reference allowing for later legalization³ of the suburbs (Mautner 1999).

While suburbs were neglected by the government and grew illegally and informally, the central neighbourhoods were regulated by urban laws and were provisioned with infra-structure (UNHABITAT and SEADE 2010). In these areas, real state companies provided apartment buildings for the middle and higher-income households (Botelho 2006). After the 1960s, however, higher-income households migrated to neighbourhoods in the southwest of the city (UNHABITAT and SEADE 2010), which transformed downtown São Paulo. Until the 1950s, downtown, supported by smaller commercial centres in Lapa and Pinheiros, was responsible for the provision of non-perishable goods for the whole population (Pintaudi 2006). In addition, downtown São Paulo constituted the site of consumption, commerce and business for the elites (Frúgoli Júnior 2000). After the 1950s, however, the migration of higher-income households to the south-western neighbourhoods attracted commercial enterprises and services.

In addition to this migration, the implementation of plans to improve the metropolitan transportation system and the traffic in the city decreased the car accessibility to downtown and increased the afflux of users of public transportation (Kowarick 2007; UNHABITAT and SEADE 2010). The lack of accessibility and the increased provision of goods, services and jobs in the south-western neighbourhoods contributed to the abandonment of downtown São Paulo by its wealthier residents (UNHABITAT and SEADE 2010). After the 1950s, downtown became associated with lower-income housing and with informal activities and marginal groups, such as prostitutes and travesties, homeless adults and children, pickpockets and other thieves and informal commerce. Despite that, downtown was still the locale of many jobs and, during working hours, kept most of its vitality (Frúgoli Júnior 2000).

This urbanization process resulted in a concentric distribution of households. Differently from Burgess's model (1925/1974), this distribution has higher-income groups occupying neighbourhoods closer to the city centre and lower-income groups occupying the suburbs (Taschner and Bógus 2001). The distribution of the average income in RMSP, presented in Figure 3.6, illustrates this pattern.



Map produced by Carolina Castanheira (Data source: IBGE-GEOFTP; IBGE-SIDRA; CEM)

Figure 3.6 - Distribution of average income RMSP

Industrialization and suburbanization produced a scenario of inequality. Since the 1980s, this scenario has been transformed by São Paulo's adaptation to a post-industrial society. To particular aspects of this process are discussed here, the initiatives to reevaluate downtown São Paulo and the popularity of gated communities and malls.

Post-1990s, downtown São Paulo became a target of 'revitalization' projects. State and city governments transferred part of their departments to downtown (10 000 employees) and promoted the recuperation of representative buildings and the implementation of cultural facilities in the area (Kowarick 2007). Moreover, property owners and other segments of society created an association focused on reevaluating the area (Frúgoli Júnior 2000). This association supports projects called 'Ação Local' (Local Action), in which volunteers take care of streets or squares. These caretakers pay attention to multiple aspects which might interfere with the life quality of residents or the functioning of enterprises, such as lack of lighting and security, irregular occupation of public space, presence of homeless, visual and sound pollution (Nascimento 2003). Despite these efforts, companies still find it difficult to relocate to downtown. Most often, the obstacles for relocation are (1) reduced car accessibility, related to the lack of parking facilities and with the existence of pedestrian areas, and (2) insecurity, related to the lack of police patrol and the presence of marginal groups (Kowarick 2007).

The popularity of controlled spaces such as gated communities, shopping malls and other 'fortified enclaves', has added a new layer to the centre-suburb model, enforcing inequality. In this layer, lower- and higher-income dwellers live closer, but segregated by walls and surveillance technology (Caldeira 2003). In 2002, São Paulo had approximately 400 small gated communities in addition to bigger projects located in the RMSP (Coy 2006). For instance, one of the oldest and largest gated communities in Latin America, Alphaville, with 32 000 inhabitants in 2000, is located about 25km of the city centre, in northwest São Paulo (Coy and Pöhler 2002).

In addition, São Paulo has 50 shopping malls, which represent 13% of the number of malls in Brazil, with a total gross leasable area (GLA) of 1.8 million square meters, or 20% of the GLA available in malls in Brazil (ABRASCE 2009). These numbers are proportionally higher in the municipality of São Paulo, which houses 6% of Brazil's population and 12% of its GDP. The development of malls in Brazil followed the evolution of the sector in the USA. However, unlike in the USA, malls in São Paulo were implemented within the urban net and were segmented according to the target public (Garrefa 2007). For example, malls developed to target higher-income individuals were constructed close to higher-income neighbourhoods, whereas malls developed to target lower-income individuals were located close to transportation hubs (Pintaudi 2005). After the 1980s, following the tendency in the USA, existing malls were refurbished to increase natural

lighting and the number of parking places; entertainment facilities (such as movie theatres and electronic games); restaurants and services (Garrefa 2007).

Therefore, the development of São Paulo has been infused by practices of exclusion, which deepened the differentiation of spaces associated with lower- and higher-income groups. This study investigates the differentiation of consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers through higher-income individuals' perspective. These spaces and the differentiation between them are illustrated in Chapter 5.

3.2.4 Conclusion

In the past 150 years, the concentration of economic wealth in São Paulo has been a territorial expression of exclusion in Brazil. Despite its economic wealth, the production of São Paulo has been infused with practices of exclusion. The period of urban expansion produced a city characterized by the segregation of lower- and higher-income households. The dispersion of lower-income households made the city centre associated with informal activities and marginal groups, despite the concentration of people from different classes during the working hours. Adapting to a post-industrial society has reinforced exclusion as shopping malls and gated communities became the paradigm for consumption and housing spaces and as initiatives to revitalize the city centre's focus on removing undesirable individuals. The following section connects the context of São Paulo and the conceptual model addressing how the performances of higher-income individuals in shopping areas of the city associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers will be analysed to explore the performativity of class and the performativity of consumption spaces.

3.3 Conclusion:

Link to the research

This concluding section connects the conceptual model presented in Chapter 2 and the social context presented in Chapter 3 to illustrate how the performances of higher-income individuals in São Paulo, Brazil, shopping in areas of the city associated with higher- and lower-income consumers will allow exploring the performativity of class and the performativity of consumption spaces. The conceptual model adopted in this study is composed of the concepts of performance, performativity and performative space. This model suggests that specific shopping practices and shopping spatialities become associated with the contrasting-consumer-class identities

through their repetition. In this iterative and often, unreflexive process the higher-income-consumer-normative practices and spatialities discipline individuals to conform to the higher-income consumer identity. However, individuals who attain a higher-income socioeconomic position might subvert the higher-income consumer identity when they do not perform in accordance to the higher-income-consumer-normative practices. In this case, individuals' performance subverts the discourse which naturalizes consumer-class identities as innate to individuals' socioeconomic position.

To explore the performativity of class and the performativity of consumption spaces, this study investigates the performances of individuals who attain a higher-income socioeconomic position when they go shopping in areas associated with higher-income and in areas associated with lower-income consumers. Higher-income individuals are selected because they are freer to choose where to shop, as thus have more access to material resources (Williams et al. 2001). The differentiation of shopping areas associated with higher- and lower-income groups and the performances of higher-income individuals in these shopping areas will be investigated through informants' practices at different moments of shopping, such as planning the shopping visit, dressing to shop, selecting the goods, performing other activities and going home. As argued by Gregson, Crewe and Brooks (2002), the focus on these different moments of shopping allows accounting for the skills and knowledge involved in consumption, but also reveals what individuals take for granted in this process.

The performativity of class identity and of space will be investigated through the analysis of the performances of individuals who attain a higher-income socioeconomic position when they shop in areas associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil. The analysis will focus on the ways these performances and spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity. The main research question to be answered is:

In which ways do (1) consumption spaces of the city of São Paulo associated with lower-income and higher-income consumers and (2) the performances of higher-income individuals when they shop in these spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?

To answer this research question, three aspects will be analysed. The first aspect deals with spaces:

1. In which ways do higher-income individuals differentiate consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers from consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil?

The second aspect deals with performances:

2a. What are the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in spaces associated with higher-income consumers?

2b. What are the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in spaces associated with lower-income consumers?

The third aspect deals with identity:

3a. In which ways do consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers and higher-income individuals' performances when shopping in these spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?

3b. In which ways do consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers and higher-income individuals' performances when shopping in these spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?

The following chapter presents the methodology.

Notes

¹ In 1999, individuals who self-declare as white represented 36% of the poor Brazilian population and 54% of the total population (Henriques 2001).

² After the II WW the federal government promoted own-occupied dwelling as a solution for social stability and for economic growth. However, the different mechanisms created to finance the construction of own-occupied dwellings, in most cases, targeted middle-income households (Mautner 1999).

³ Legalization was also possible because the borders between legal and illegal are not well defined in Brazil allowing the local government to determine, case by case, the legality of a neighbourhood or a dwelling (Caldeira 2003).

4

Methodology

The main research question formulated in this study investigates the ways consumption spaces of the city of São Paulo associated with lower- and higher-income consumers and the performances of higher-income individuals when they shop in these spaces allow them to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity. To answer this question, five sub-questions were formulated. The first investigates the differences between consumption spaces associated with higher- and lower-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil. The second and third investigate the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in those areas. The fourth and fifth investigate how these spaces and performances allow them to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity.

To answer these questions, this study adopts a qualitative research strategy. The reasons for this choice are two-fold. First, this study assumes that human beings construct their own reality by experiencing and interpreting the world around them and by behaving in certain ways according to these experiences and interpretations. This assumption is in line with epistemological and ontological orientations most often related to qualitative research strategies. These orientations, respectively interpretivism and constructivism, recognize that social practices are meaningful for human beings and these meanings are continually accomplished by individuals through their social interactions (Bryman 2008). Second, this study requires the exploration of the differentiation of consumption spaces associated with the contrasting-consumer-class identities, of higher-income individuals' performances in

those spaces and of the ways performances and spaces allow individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity. Qualitative research strategies are more suitable for exploratory studies because they enable research participants to produce their own accounts of the subject of study using their own words and not limiting the study to pre-given categories (Boeijs 2010).

The data collection method selected was semi-structured interviewing. This method allowed participants to describe their shopping practices and explain their motivations in their own words. Non-extensive participant observations were also performed to illustrate the shopping areas and the practices performed in them. These observations allowed cross-checking certain information provided during the interviews. The use of these two methods allowed for a more flexible data collection schedule and a briefer period of immersion in the field than regular participant observations do. Other data collection methods in which informants are more participative, such as diaries and walks-along visits were considered. Nevertheless, data collection was performed from December to February, months in which informants avoid shopping in areas associated with lower-income consumers because of the large amount of people present in these areas.

Both semi-structured interviews and participant observations involved the preparation of an instrument, an interview guide and a field scheme. To structure the definition of these instruments I have identified the data required to answer the five sub-research questions, which were condensed in three groups to simplify their presentation in Table 4.1. Items A, C and D were collected through semi-structured interviews. Item B was collected through participant observations.

Table 4.1 – Data required to answer research questions

Research question	Data required
In which ways do higher-income individuals differentiate consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers from consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers?	A Informants' characterization of consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers and motivations to associate these spaces and these identities.
	B Characterization of consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers.
What are the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in areas associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers?	C Characterization of higher-income individuals' performances in consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers and in consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers.
In which ways do these consumption spaces and performances allow higher-income individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?	D Informants' motivations to perform the way they do in consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers and in consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers.

Data analysis consisted of open, axial and selective coding of the interviews transcriptions and of integrative procedures that aimed at connecting the data to the research questions. Therefore, the interviews were the main source of data for the research, whereas the data collected in participant observations served as support for informants' narratives. Coding was performed with the assistance of the software MaxQDA and integrative procedures were performed with the assistance of Excel, Word and Corel Draw, when required. These integrative procedures consisted of the construction of tables, lists, visual displays and typologies and allowed for consolidation of the final results. The aim of this chapter is to display the methods used in this study and offer explanations for the choices made. Section 4.1 presents the semi-structured interviews. Section 4.2 addresses the participant observations. Section 4.3 presents the process of data analysis. Chapter 5 presents the results of this research.

4.1 Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews enabled the collection of the following data: informants' characterization of consumption spaces associated with lower- and higher-income consumers and their motivations to associate these spaces and these identities, characterization of higher-income individuals' performances in consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers and in consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers, informants' motivations to perform the way they do in consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers and in consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers. In addition, the interviews informed the shopping areas in which participant observations took place. It is important to mention that the association of consumption spaces and consumer-class-identities was explored through informants' perspectives. Therefore, informants were asked to associate consumption spaces and consumer-class-identities and to motivate this association.

Semi-structured interviewing was selected because this method allowed for an open and flexible interaction between researcher and informant. In addition, because semi-structured interviews entail the use of an interview guide, important points were not forgotten and interviews could be compared. Informants were recruited through personal networks and snowball techniques. This section addresses the process of data collection and the recruitment of informants. Section 4.1.1 presents more details about the interviews. Section 4.1.2 discusses the definition of the interview guide and Section 4.1.3 presents the recruitment process of the informants.

4.1.1 Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were held in two phases. Phase 1 consisted of three exploratory interviews performed in November and December 2009. These interviews provided an overview of informants' performances when shopping in areas associated with lower-income consumers. This phase was required to provide an overview of the practices of higher-income individuals in these areas and to test the interview guide. Phase 2 consisted of 15 interviews performed in January and February 2010. This phase approached informants' performances when shopping in areas associated with higher-income consumers and with lower-income consumers.

Interviews were held in informants' houses or workplaces. Most often, informants had an open attitude and provided details, histories and explanations. Few respondents were reactive in the beginning of the interview but, by spending some extra time in the introduction and in the first questions, they became more open. It is important to mention that most informants recognized me as pertaining to their group. They often used expressions such as 'people like us' and 'the same as you would do'. In fact, I do share many characteristics with them, namely being Brazilian, female, white, high-educated, above 30 years old and in a stable relationship. These similarities also required me to distance myself from my own views and reflect on the appropriateness of my interpretations to their views.

The interviews lasted in average 50 minutes and the two phases produced a total of 16 hours of interviews. Interviews were held in Portuguese, the mother tongue of informants and researcher. Interviews were recorded with a digital recorder. The audio records were stored in researcher's personal computer and external backup device. Informants' personal information was removed from the records. The interviews were transcribed in full by the researcher. This process was deemed necessary as it helped identify themes and compare informants' accounts before a more systematic data analysis could be started.

4.1.2 Definition of the interview guide

In semi-structured interviewing, the interview guide guarantees the collection of all data required. In this study, the guide consisted of five parts. Part One's intention was to introduce the researcher and the research, to appreciate informants' participation, guarantee information would be kept confidential, request permission to record, and inform the intention of the interview. The interest on their practices, feelings, histories and opinions was emphasized. Part Two's intention was to profile informants. This profile included information related to age, household income, postal code of residence, gender, education level, marital status and number of children.

Part Three consisted of questions which focused on informants' performances on shopping areas. They asked individuals to describe their practices allowing the collection of a detailed and rich description, which most often, include their feelings and the meanings attributed to these practices (Matthews 2005). In Phase 1, questions focused on the performance of informants in shopping areas associated with lower-income consumers (lower-income shopping areas or LISA). To explore these performances, 11 aspects related to different moments of shopping and to activities usually associated with shopping were identified. These aspects, presented in Table 4.2, were identified in the literature about shopping as practised. In Phase 2, questions focused on informants' performances in shopping areas associated with lower-income consumers and in shopping areas associated with higher - income consumers (higher-income shopping areas or HISA). In this phase, two aspects were added to specifically address themes to which informants were not providing sufficient details during the exploratory interviews (items 4 and 5). These aspects are also included in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 – Aspects of shopping

Aspects	Phase 1	Phase 2
1 Shopping areas in which informants usually or occasionally shop	Associated with lower-income consumers.	Associated with lower-income consumers, associated with higher-income consumers. Motivations to associate these areas with these consumers.
2 Shopping items	Description of goods usually bought in the shopping areas and motivations to buy these goods in these areas.	
3 Visiting habits	Seasonality, duration and frequency of shopping visits, planning of visits and motivations.	
4 Other consumers, retailers and staff	-	Description of other consumers, retailers and staff, description of the interactions with them and motivations.
5 Shops and brands	-	Descriptions of shops and brands present in the shopping area and motivations to know/not know them.
6 Selection of goods	The ways goods are exhibited and how this characteristic influences the shopping practices.	
7 Looks and personal belongings	The ways people dress and carry personal belongings when visiting the shopping areas and motivations.	
8 Transportation	Transportation means used to access shopping areas and motivations.	
9 Groups	Group sizes and composition and motivations.	
10 Pleasantness of shopping	Difficulties faced when shopping, pleasantness of shopping visits and motivations.	
11 Other activities	Other activities performed while shopping and motivations.	
12 After shopping	Activities in which people engage into after shopping and motivations.	
13 Appropriation of goods	The users of the goods bought in shopping areas and their motivations.	

Part Four of the interview guide consisted of two open questions which allowed informants to bring some information on their own about their performances in LISA and HISA. Part Five consisted of thanking the

informant. An English version of the interview guide is available in 0. Although topics were presented as questions, their order and final formulation varied following the flux of the interview. Other questions were also formulated during the interview to cover important aspects brought up by informants.

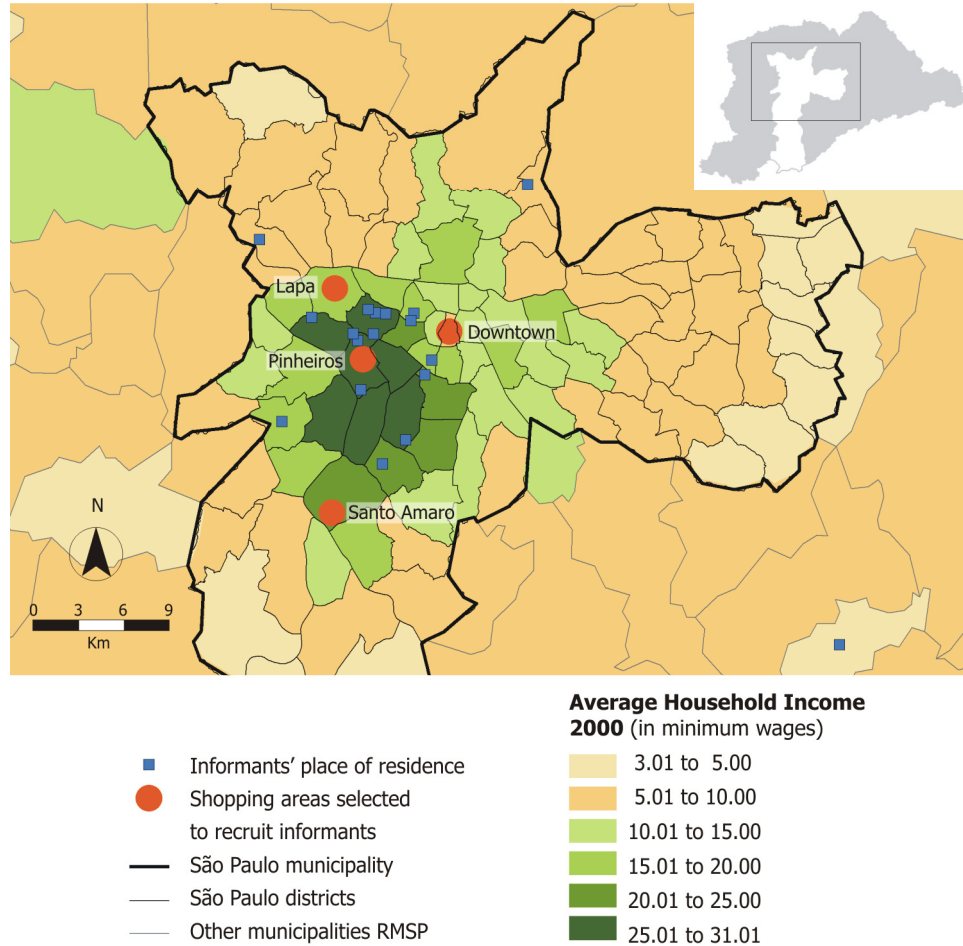
4.1.3 The informants

The recruitment of informants was accomplished through my personal networks and using snowballing techniques. This recruitment process was selected because it was not possible to identify a sampling frame including all individuals who fit the required profile. In addition, contacting informants through my personal networks increased the accessibility to higher-income individuals', who are often protective of their information and practices (Álvarez-Rivadulla 2007). Finally, this process facilitated the interviewing process, as informants felt more comfortable in sharing their points of view with an acquaintance.

During this process, a deliberate measure was taken to not mention the terms 'higher-income' and 'lower-income' to avoid misleading labels. Hence, informants were recruited based on three aspects. First, informants should perform most of their shopping activities in the municipality of São Paulo. Individuals who only occasionally shop in São Paulo might perform differently in these areas and were therefore excluded. Second, informants should have a monthly household income higher than R\$ 5.000,00. This figure corresponds to 10 minimum wage salaries (in January 2010), the usual division between class-consumer groups in Brazil. Third, informants should shop occasionally or often in four well-known shopping areas of the city often associated with lower-income consumers and with informal commerce. These areas, presented in Figure 4.1, were selected because they are located close to higher-income neighbourhoods.

After this profile was defined I send an email to those individuals in my personal networks who could indicate distant acquaintances that fit the profile. These acquaintances were interviewed and were also asked to indicate distant acquaintances. This process resulted in a mixture between a convenience and a purposive sample. This means, although informants were those available through my personal networks, variations in personal network connection, age, gender and household composition and income were sought for. Nevertheless, variation was not achieved in all these aspects. The sample is quite homogeneous; most informants live in the south-western neighbourhoods of the city, where the average household income is higher than 20 minimum wages, as also shown in Figure 4.1. It is important to mention that informants who live in neighbourhoods where the average income is lower than 10 minimum wages live inside gated communities.

Also, all informants are Brazilian, female and white. In addition, except for one, all informants are in a stable relationship and most of them have kids (83%), as shown in Figure 4.2. Lastly, informants are highly educated, all are graduated and 40% have post-graduated studies.



Map produced by Carolina Castanheira (Data source: CEM; IBGE-GEOFTP; IBGE-SIDRA)

Figure 4.1 – Shopping areas selected and informants' place of residence

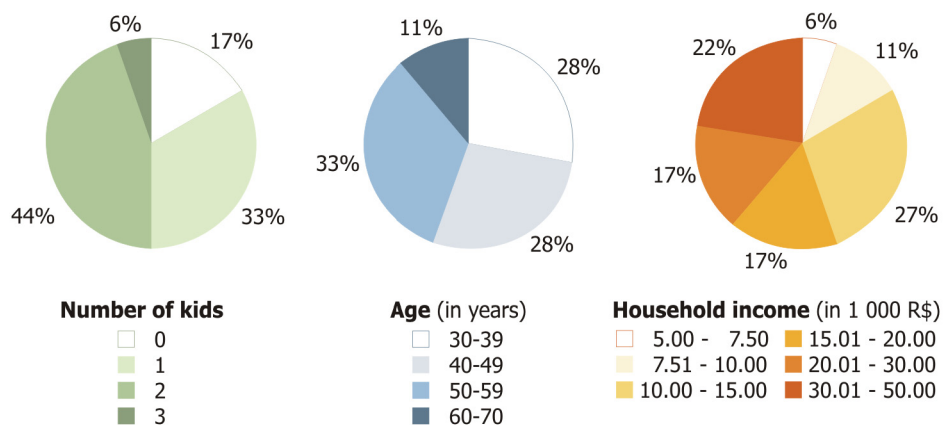


Figure 4.2 – Informants per number of kids, age and family income ranges

However, heterogeneity was achieved in terms of age, income range and participation in personal networks. Informants' age varied from 30 to 70, with an average of 47 years. Although the majority of informants lives in households with monthly income higher than R\$ 10 000 (83%), they were well distributed in the income ranges defined. Figure 4.2 also presents the percentage of informants per age and per income range. Informants also came from seven different personal connections, as shown in Figure 4.3. To protect the anonymity of informants, pseudonyms are used.

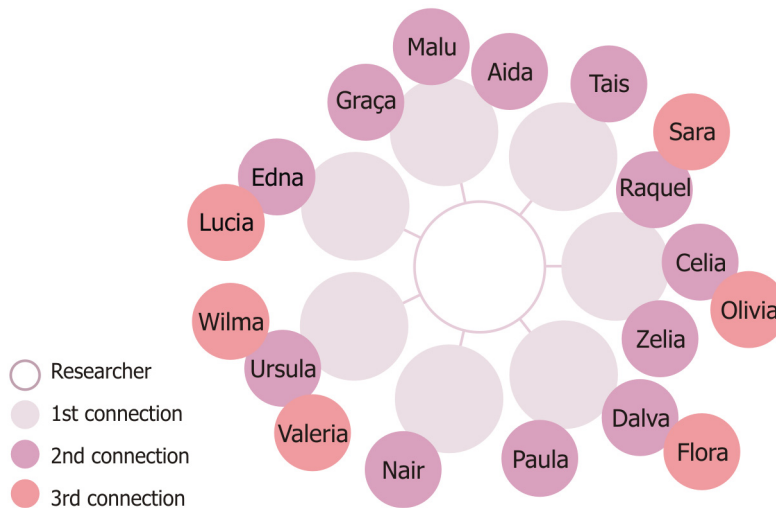


Figure 4.3 – Distribution of informants by personal connections

Individuals in the first connection were not interviewed because the study would benefit from interviewing individuals who were not closely related to each other, allowing for a wider perspective on the shopping performances of higher-income individuals. Thus, informants were most often in the 2nd connection, and those pertaining to the same connection were not closely related to each other. Detailed information collected on informants is presented in 0. The next section addresses the participant observations.

4.2 Participant observations

The participant observations enabled the collection of a characterization of consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers and with lower-income consumers. These characterizations illustrate the differentiation of these consumption spaces. Observations focused on the shopping practices performed by consumers, retailers and staff and on the physical characteristics of shopping spaces. This method was selected because it allowed the collection of visual data, such as pictures and movies, allowing for a better understanding of the areas informants were constantly

mentioning in the interviews and for the observation of the practices individuals' engage into. Although, these participant observations were not product of extended periods of immersion they enabled a better understanding of the differentiation of consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers and of the similarities between consumption spaces associated with the same consumer-class identity.

This section aims to displays the process of data collection and the observed areas. Section 4.2.1 presents more details about the observations. Section 4.2.2 discusses the definition of the field scheme. Section 4.2.3 addresses the shopping areas observed.

4.2.1 Data collection

Data collection was performed in January and February 2010. In total, 12 visits were performed. All visits were planned during the morning, between 10 o'clock and 14 o'clock due to the opening areas of shopping areas and the extreme weather in São Paulo in those months. During these months, summer showers were extremely strong and floods were occurring daily. Therefore, for safety reasons, these summer showers were taken into consideration to plan observation periods.

As suggested by Gans (1968), during the observations I assumed different roles. In some situations I was minimally involved, although in some of these occasions I was overtly recording, photographing and making notes, and in other situations I was totally involved. In these situations, especially inside shopping malls, shops, restaurants and cafés, I adopted a covered role in which I behaved as a regular consumer. This role was selected by two reasons. First, the public nature of these spaces allowed free access to them. Second, because as specific shopping areas were not defined to recruit informants, there were various shopping areas to be visited and the schedule of the observations would not allow time to collect informed consents for all visited areas and shops.

Pictures and movies were produced with a digital camera and field notes were recorded with a digital recorder. Pictures and movies were not produced inside shops, restaurants, cafés and shopping malls because there was no informed consent. In some cases, drawings were produced based on personal accounts. In addition, when required, observations were complemented with data collected in the websites of shopping malls and retailers' associations.

4.2.2 Definition of field scheme

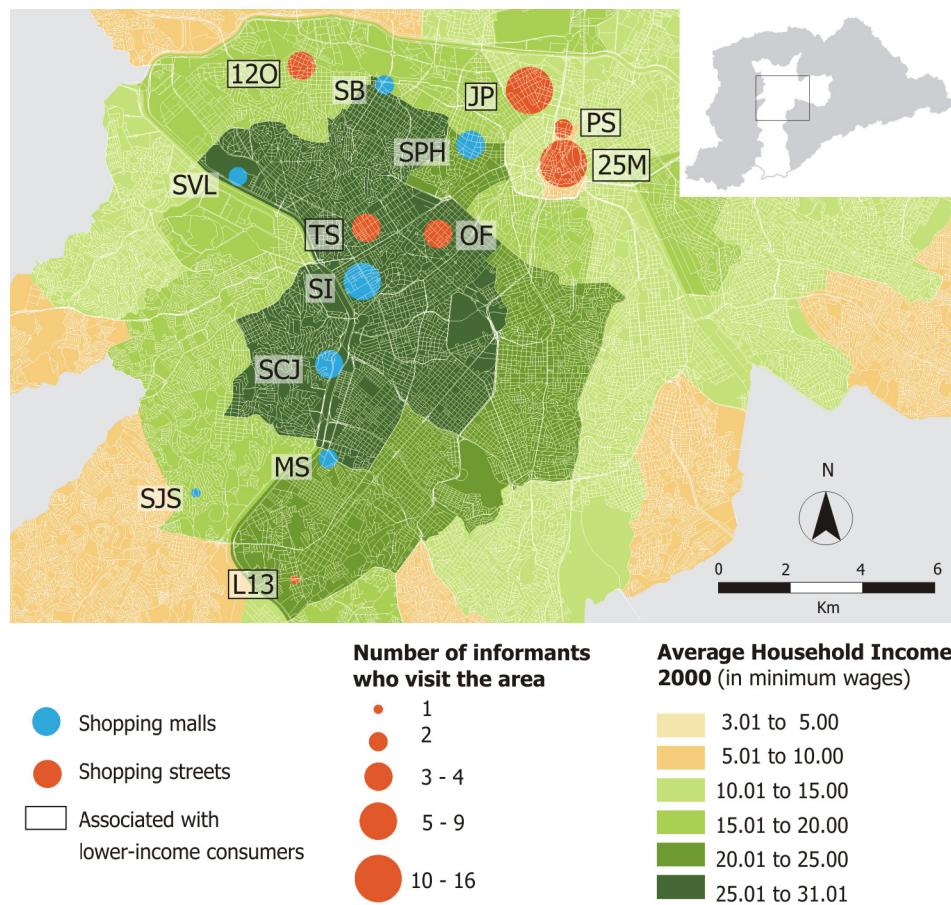
A field scheme was required to allow the observation of the same aspects in all visits. This scheme was defined based in the 13 aspects used in the interviews. However, for some aspects, namely the activities performed after shopping and the appropriation of goods, it is not possible to observe the individuals' performances because they do not always occur in the place of purchase. The field scheme also included aspects related to the pleasantness of shopping, often mentioned by the interviewees. These aspects refer to the amount of people present in the area, the presence of police and surveillance, the neatness or dirtiness of the area and the presence of urban equipment. In addition, the field scheme included the shopping area's name, transportation means used by the researcher and date and time of the visit.

To accommodate these aspects, three observation routines were created. The first routine concentrated on the shopping area. In this routine, attention focused on maintenance status of walkways; presence of cameras, private security, police; presence of urban equipment; presence of informal commerce and presence of trash. The second routine concentrated on people present in the area and the practices they performed. In this routine the attention was aimed at the number of people present in the area, to the group sizes and composition, to shopper's looks and to shopper's activities while shopping. The third routine focused on shops and practices performed inside the shops. In this routine at least two shops were entered with interest on the shop, the staff and the consumers. Shop characteristics to be observed included the noise of the shop, the ways goods were exhibited, the appeal to brands. Staff characteristics to be observed included their looks (uniform, make-up and biotype) the way they approached costumers (formality, politeness), the ways they presented the goods, and if attention to costumers was personalized and individualized. Consumers' characteristics to be observed included their looks (clothing, make-up and biotype), the formality and politeness they interacted with each other and with staff, and the way they selected the goods. An example of the field scheme is presented in 0.

4.2.3 Shopping areas visited

The shopping areas observed were chosen from the semi-structured interviews. Informants were asked to identify which of the four selected shopping areas (Downtown, Lapa, Pinheiros and Santo Amaro) they visit occasionally or frequently (LISA). Informants specified six streets or groups of streets in which they shop, from which the most visited are Rua 25 de Março and surroundings (25M) and Rua José Paulino and surroundings (JP). Informants were also asked to associate visited shopping areas with lower-income or higher-income consumers. Areas in Lapa, Pinheiros and Santo

Amaro were associated with lower-income consumers. Areas in downtown were, in most cases associated with lower-income consumers, but many informants agree individuals from all socioeconomic positions shop in those areas. In addition, informants were asked to identify the shopping area or mall in São Paulo in which they shop occasionally or frequently they consider is associated the most to higher-income consumers (HISA). Informants mentioned seven shopping malls and one shopping area. The shopping area is Rua Oscar Freire and surroundings (OF). Among the malls, the most commonly mentioned were Shopping Iguatemi (SI), Shopping Patio Higienópolis (SPH) and Shopping Cidade Jardim (SCJ). The areas informants visit are presented in Figure 4.4.



Map produced by Carolina Castanheira (Data source: CEM; IBGE-GEOFTP; IBGE-SIDRA)

Figure 4.4 – Shopping areas visited by informants

Observations focused on areas most mentioned by informants (25M, OF, JP, SI, SPH) or in areas which I was unfamiliar with (SCJ, 12O, PS, SJS). In addition, more extensive observations were performed in 25M and OF. Informants constantly compare visited areas to these areas, associating them with lower- or with higher-income consumers, respectively. These areas are particularly interesting for this research because both are diversified in terms of items offered. In 25M, shops offer a variety of goods such as bijoux and

other accessories, toys, lingerie, household utensils, bed sheets and towels, electronics, among others. In OF, shops offer a variety of luxury goods such as furniture, electronics, clothes, shoes, household utensils, etc... In JP shops offer mainly clothes and accessories. In addition, most informants who visit JP also visit 25M. Third, OF is not a mall, making it more accessible for field work and more comparable to 25M. The number of observation visits performed in the shopping areas informed during the interviews is presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 – Number of visits performed

LISA			HISA		
Shopping Area		Visits	Shopping Area		Visits
25M	25 de Março	3	OF	Oscar Freire	2
12O	12 de Outubro	1	SCJ	Cidade Jardim	1
JP	José Paulino	1	SI	Iguatemi	1
PS	Paula Souza	1	SJS	Jardim Sul	1
TS	Teodoro Sampaio		SPH	Pátio Higienópolis	1
L13	Largo 13		SB	Bourbon	
			MS	Morumbi	
			SVL	Villa Lobos	

4.3 Data Analysis

The process of data analysis focused on the identification of similarities and differences between consumptions spaces associated with lower- and higher-income consumers and on informants performances' in these spaces. In addition, data analysis focused on identifying the ways these performances and spaces allow individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity. Transcriptions of the interviews were used as the main source data for the research whereas the pictures and field notes produced during the participant observations were used as support for the analysis.

Data analysis consisted of open, axial and selective coding and of multiple integrative procedures which allowed connecting the data to the theoretical framework and to the research questions. Coding was performed with the assistance of qualitative data analysis software, namely MAXQDA. This software was selected because of its availability to students at Utrecht University. As identified by St John and Johnson (2000), using qualitative data analysis software facilitates the coding process, especially by reducing the amount of manual tasks and by making changes in the coding system easier. This allowed more time to be dedicated to data analysis. Using the software also facilitates the retrieval of coded segments, the assignment of fragments to different codes if needed and the comparison of fragments assigned to the same code. Coding and data analysis were held in Portuguese and results were translated to English.

This section addresses the process of data analysis. This process was performed in two main phases. Phase one consisted in open and axial coding the transcriptions of the interviews by aspect of shopping, as presented in Section 4.3.1. Phase two consisted of axial and selective coding the transcriptions of the interviews and of integrative procedures to connect the data, the research questions and the theoretical framework, as presented in Section 4.3.2.

4.3.1 Phase one

Data analysis in Phase one focused on open and axial coding parts of the interviews that dealt with the same aspects of shopping. This strategy was used to identify themes in the data. When I started coding the interviews it became very difficult to identify themes emerging in the data because there were many different aspects of shopping being covered in each interview. Hence, I decided to code the same aspect of shopping for all interviews together. Before starting coding I divided the interviews into two groups. This division was a strategy used solely to make the coding process more manageable. Group one consisted of interviews held in Phase 1 and half of the interviews held in Phase 2. This group represents 60% of interviews. Group two consisted of the remaining interviews held in Phase 2 and represented 40% of interviews, as presented in Figure 4.5. Groups were different in size to allow the creation of more codes in the first steps, so remaining steps would generate fewer new codes.

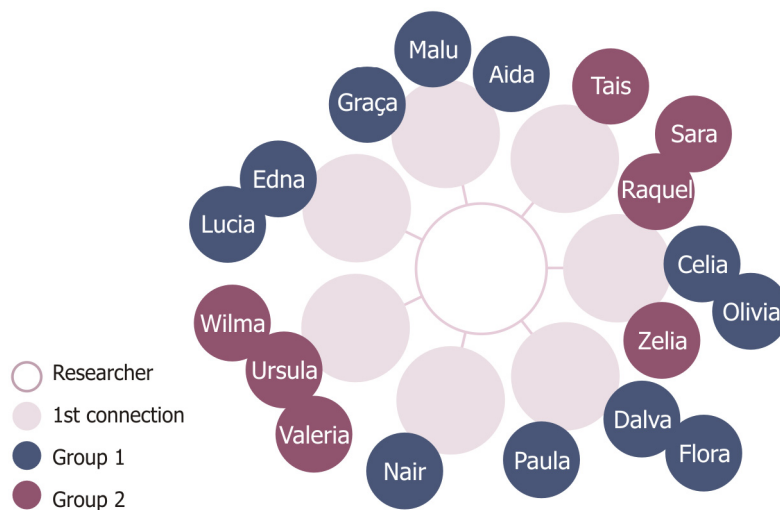


Figure 4.5 – Groups of interviews

After grouping the interviews, the process of coding became much simpler. This process was performed in five steps. STEP 1 consisted of creating one code for each aspect of shopping. STEP 2 consisted of assigning the parts of

the interviews in Group One which covered each aspect of shopping to the respective code. STEP 3 consisted of performing a more detailed coding by analysing each aspect of shopping for all interviews. During this step some relationships between aspects of shopping became clear. However, I decided to keep the division by aspects of shopping until finishing coding interviews in Group Two. In the sequence, I performed STEP 2 (STEP 4) and STEP 3 (STEP 5) for interviews in Group Two.

STEP 6 consisted of a thorough revision of codes, which aimed at integrating interviews groups and produced preliminary results. During this step I started identifying practices performed in LISA and in HISA and informants' motivations to perform them. It is important to notice that this analysis strategy does not use interviews as unit of analysis and could result in losing informants' perspectives toward their own performances. To retain informants' perspectives I summarize the most striking characteristics, histories and practices of each informant based on what was recalled from the interviews and transcriptions. This summary was consulted when required.

The results produced in Phase One allowed a better understanding of informants' performances and motivations. However, to produce the final results of this research, it was necessary to integrate the different aspects of shopping. To do so, integrative analysis strategies were used, as presented in the following section.

4.3.2 Phase two

As discussed in the previous section, the first phase of analysis consisted of coding the different aspects of shopping separately. However, the production of results required dissolving aspects of shopping into themes that allowed (a) illustrating the differentiation between consumption spaces associated with lower- and higher-income consumers, (b) identifying informants' performances in these spaces and (c) addressing the ways these practices and performances allow informants to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity.

Phase two of analysis was performed in four main steps. STEP 1 consisted of separating codes which differentiated consumption spaces from the ones which referred to informant's performances in these spaces. Some aspects of shopping clearly referred to the first of these themes, such as the ones which intended to collect descriptions of shops, consumers and attendants present in the areas. Other aspects of shopping allowed both the collection of the differentiation between shopping areas and of the performances of informants, such as the pleasantness of shopping and the visiting habits. STEP 2 consisted of identifying the ways informants differentiate LISA and HISA and STEP 3 consisted of identifying informants' performances when shopping in LISA and in HISA. In these steps the coding tree was reviewed to

enable the analysis of themes rather than aspects of shopping. Data analysis was supported by a series of integrative procedures, which when required, were performed with the assistance of Excel, Word and Corel Draw. These procedures included the creation of tables and lists, visual displays, topologies, and of the outline of the results chapter. These tools were used to summarize the characteristics of shopping areas and informants' performances and to connect the data to the theoretical framework. STEP 4 consisted of reanalysing the themes while writing the results, presented in the following chapter.

5

Space, Performance, Identity

This chapter presents the results of this study in four sections. Section 5.1 focuses on how informants perceive the differentiation between shopping areas associated with lower-income consumers and with higher-income consumers. The section is organized around informants' motivations to associate consumption spaces and consumer-class identities and around the ways they differentiate these consumption spaces. Due to exploratory nature of this study, different shopping areas were selected to recruit informants, thus, multiple shopping areas are considered for identifying how informants perceive the differentiation between shopping areas associated with lower-income consumer and with higher-income consumers. These areas, although displaying some similarities, are also particular consumption spaces. To account for these particularities, Section 5.2 presents the five shopping areas visited or mentioned the most by informants. Section 5.3 focuses on informants' performances in shopping areas associated with higher-income consumers and on the ways these performances allow them to conform to and subvert the higher-income identity. Section 5.4 focuses on informants performances in shopping areas associated with lower-income consumers and the ways these performances allow them to conform to and subvert the higher-income identity. Chapter 6 presents the conclusions.

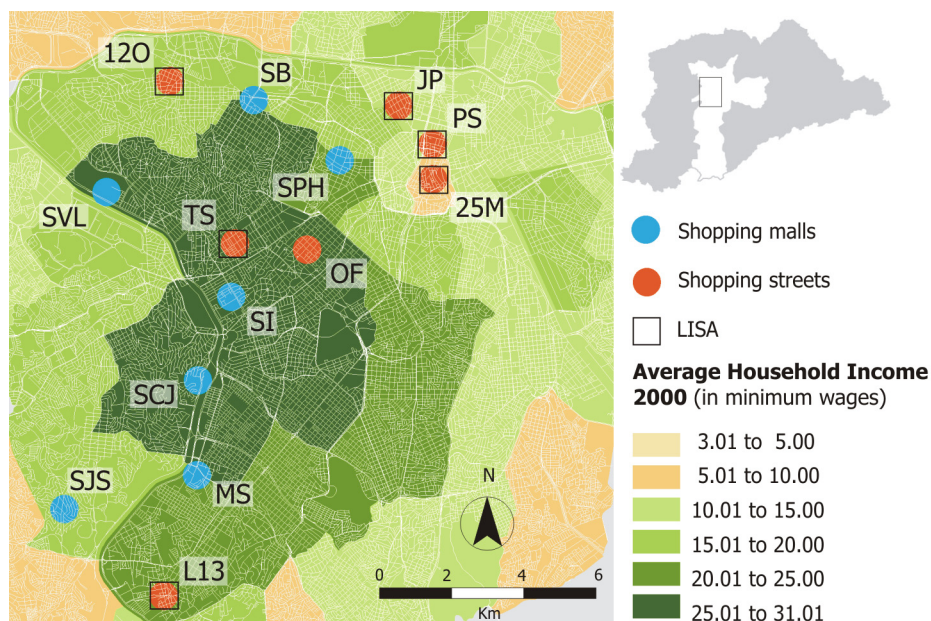
5.1 HISA & LISA:

Differentiated consumption spaces

This study presupposed the differentiation between consumption spaces associated with the contrasting-consumer-class identities being promoted in Brazilian society. The association between consumption spaces and consumer-class identities was explored through informants' perspectives. Hence, informants were asked to associate the shopping areas they visit with higher-income consumers (HISA) or lower-income consumers (LISA) and to motivate this association. To associate shopping areas and consumer-class identities, informants draw into the prominence of socioeconomic groups and into the shops and products present in shopping areas, as presented in Section 5.1.1. In their narratives, informants also differentiated HISA and LISA in terms of the ways retailers exhibit the goods, of the interactions they have with attendants and of the pleasantness of shopping in the area, as addressed in Section 5.1.2. Informants, however, question the association of shopping areas and consumer class-identities in different ways, as discussed in Section 5.1.3.

5.1.1 Associating space and identity

Chapter 4 introduced the shopping areas informants associated with higher-income consumers and with lower-income consumers. The location of these shopping areas is presented in Figure 5.1.



Map produced by the author (Source data: CEM; IBGE-GEOFTP; IBGE-SIDRA)

Figure 5.1 – Shopping areas

To associate shopping areas with consumer-class identities, informants draw into the prominence of socioeconomic groups and the types of shops present and of products offered in shopping areas. Therefore, particular practices of consumers and retailers are the most relevant for the association of shopping areas and consumer-class identities. These practices and the characteristics of shopping areas, summarized in Figure 5.2 (bigger fonts indicate most mentioned characteristics and most relevant practices), are presented next in detail.

		HISA	LISA	Practices
Consumers	Socio economic groups	Higher-income	Lower-income	Caring for the body Dressing Talking Moving
	Shops	National & international brands Well-known retail chains	Popular retail chains Familiar and locally traditional shops	Decorating Locating
Retailers	Products	Sophisticated High-quality Expensive	Same products, but cheaper Low unitary cost, low quality, imitations	Pricing Selecting

Figure 5.2 – Associating space and identity

Prominence of socioeconomic groups

Informants argue that most consumers in LISA are lower-income individuals whereas most consumers in HISA are higher-income individuals. Individuals are ascribed to higher socioeconomic positions in accordance to the ways they talk, move, care for their bodies and dress themselves. As mentioned in section 3.1.1, the different quality of educational services accessible to individuals pertaining to different socioeconomic groups in Brazil reinforces inequalities in the educational level of these individuals. Individuals' politeness is also associated with their level of education, especially because in Portuguese *educação* refers to both politeness and education. Therefore, individuals who do not comply with Portuguese grammar or who are less polite are associated with lower socioeconomic positions, as these extracts illustrate:

When you listen to people saying something, you can tell there is a relation between the information, the culture and the income. The way people express themselves, the better or worst is their Portuguese, I do pay attention to it. (...) The determinant aspect is the knowledge of agreement rules. People with lower education level pay less attention to them, and this is what calls my attention the most. (Malu, 61)

At TS, there are *camelôs*¹ thus it is a bit complicated [to walk]. There are too many people, with bags, kids. And people are not very polite; they walk very fast, like a bulldozer (Zelia, 50)

Moreover, as suggested by Bourdieu (1984), individuals' socioeconomic position is inscribed in their bodies and in the ways they use cultural

artefacts. Therefore, the membership to a socioeconomic position is perceived in individuals' appearance. Higher-income individuals, for instance, are considered to be beautiful due to the high level of care with their hair, skin and teeth, whereas lower-income consumers are considered to pay less attention to their appearance, as the following narratives illustrate:

You see in their face, it does not matter if the person is wearing jewellery. Their teeth are well taken care of, the eyebrows are well shaped. (...) I like to look the hair, you can see the highlights were not made in a hairdresser, but in a studio. (...) They say the person is what they eat, thus you can see that a person who has a lower income has worst nourishment and they have a different type of skin, of body. (Sara, 51)

Some people do not smell good, their hair is dirty, some things you look to the person and you see. No need to wear much, just a clean cloth. You see peoples' dirt feet and nail, you see is a poor person. People with rotten teeth, with no access to a dentist. Then you see the person has less. (Raquel, 52)

In addition, the membership to a socioeconomic position is perceived in the ways individuals dress and present themselves and in the ways shopping fits in their daily lives. Higher-income individuals, for instance, wear 'differentiated'² clothes, often branded, which match their shoes and purses. Higher-income individuals also wear more exclusive fashion items and more expensive accessories, such as watches and sunglasses. In opposition, lower-income individuals are considered to pay less attention to their appearance and to fit shopping in between activities, as Nair's narrative illustrates:

I think I recognize [people's socioeconomic position] by the way they dress, how they talk, it has to do with the appearance, the outfits, the ways they present themselves, with whom they are, and even the formality or informality. It's different, for example, high-heels, purses, the shoe matching the purse, and both in the same colour of the dress, the hair well done, wearing make-up. That is the woman who shops at SJS. [At L13], the consumer who goes there is not concerned with matching the shoe and the purse, with dressing an adequate dress, with wearing make-up, mascara, lip-stick. A person who at the day-by-day has the characteristic of being in a hurry, of being passing by, of carrying a lot of bags, because she has gone to the bakery and she has bought bread, she has gone to the butcher shop...(Nair, 58)

Figure 5.3 illustrates individuals present in LISA and HISA. In LISA, individuals carry big plastic shopping bags, they bring their kids and they do not wear fashionable clothes and accessories. The two men facing the shops are informal sellers, one is selling water bottles and the other is selling USB flash-memories. Individuals present in HISA stroll, wear sun-glasses and more fashionable accessories, bring their pets and talk on the mobile.

Rua 25 de Março (LISA)



Rua Oscar Freire (HISA)



Pictures by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.3 – Individuals present

Shops present and products offered

Informants also drew into the shops present and products offered to associate shopping areas with consumer-class identities. Shops present in HISA pertain to retail chains well known in the Brazilian market or retail chains associated with international and national brands. These shops and brands are often in the media and are present in many shopping areas, especially malls. In contrast, shops in LISA are described as *popular*³, that means, shops belong to retail chains associated with lower price and lower-quality objects and/or are shops established in a particular shopping area, most often, run by family members. Edna's narrative explains these differences:

[At 120] there are no brands. Most of the shops are small, owned by people. (...) There are some shops for kids' clothes which are big, but are only there. If the family is Japanese, there are only Japanese attendants in the shop. You see these shops got big there because they sell a lot in the area, but are run by families. There are lots of shops that have the same owner, when I was little my mother used to go to a jewellery, to fix something or to ask them to make earrings, and the shop has the same owner since I was little. (...) [At SVL] I know the shops very well because they do a lot of advertising, such as Brooksfield, Calvin Klein, Timberland, you heard in the media, you see on advertisements, on magazines. Most shops, I have never entered, there are some I consider absurd. You can't even window shopping. I usually get choked with the prices. At SVL there is one floor with those top shops, the most expensive in the world. Then, there is the floor with the more *popular* shops, which I'm more fan of. But most shops are well known. Branded shops, in which the owner will not come to attend you. Big shops, from chains which you can find in many malls. (Edna, 43)

Shops or shopping areas which sell ‘differentiated’, sophisticated, high-quality and expensive products are associated with higher-income consumers. The following narratives illustrate the ways buy which Tais draws into the types of products offered in Mercadão (São Paulo central market, refurbished in the 1990s, located close to 25M) to explain why she considers the market associated with higher-income consumers:

I think there are many exclusive products which you will find only there. So I think the *Mercado* is more higher-income. Sure, you might go there to buy one thing or another, but I think the products are sophisticated, such as cheese, nuts, fish... Although it has the aspect of a market, it is very exclusive, you have restaurants and other facilities which are more associated with higher-income. (Tais, 44)

Shops present in HISA and LISA are illustrated in Figure 5.4. Shops in LISA usually have a large open door and no windows and they are painted in more extravagant colours. In addition, the name of the shop is not emphasised or is even absent (as in orange shop in the first picture). Shops in HISA have small doors and large windows and shops are usually detached from the rest of the building façade. In addition, the finishing materials used are sophisticated, such as wood, marble, glass; the colours used are most often neutral and the name of the shop is always present and sometimes emphasised.

Rua 25 de Março (LISA)



Rua Oscar Freire (HISA)



Pictures by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.4 – Shops present

The practices of consumers and retailers in which informants draw into to associate consumption spaces and consumer-class identities reveal the differentiation of shopping areas associated with lower- and higher-income

consumers. Nevertheless, this differentiation is also produced through other practices, as presented in the following section.

5.1.2 Differentiating consumption spaces

To differentiate shopping areas associated with contrasting-consumer-class identities, informants draw into the exhibition of goods, into their interactions with attendants and into the pleasantness of shopping in the area. Therefore, particular practices of retailers, attendants, property developers, *camelôs* and local authorities are the most relevant for the differentiation of shopping areas. These practices, summarized in Figure 5.5, are presented next in detail.

		HISA	LISA	Practices
Retailers	Exhibition of goods	Few items Small price tags Organized by colour, type	Disorganized Multiple items Large price tags	Ehhibiting Hiring and training attendants
Attendants	Customer treatment	Personalized Formal	Informal Collective Direct	Serving Being (in)formal
Local Authorities Câmelos Property Developers	Shopping Area	Security Neatness Parking lots Comfort Climate, noise, air-quality control Leisure facilities Places to rest	Effort High number of people in the streets Camelôs Lack of security, neatness, climate and noise control	Diversifying facilities Locating Providing security, cleaning, acclimatization

Figure 5.5 – Differentiating consumption spaces

Exhibition of goods

In HISA, retailers focus on the characteristics of each product and exhibit few items in the windows. Inside shops, retailers also exhibit few items, which are organized by type, collection and colour. These practices make products appear more exclusive and entail that consumers have to enter the shop and, most often, to ask the help of attendants to see other products. In contrast, in LISA, retailers focus on the variety and in the price to exhibit products in windows and inside shops. For instance, they put large price tags and they exhibit all goods available inside the shops. In shops which have windows, retailers make use of all space available by exhibiting as many goods as possible. Inside the shops, products are accessible to consumers and, due to the amount of people who enter the shop, attendants not always have time to re-organize products. The following narrative illustrates how informants perceive this differentiation:

One thing I pay attention is the difference between one shop at this level (Malu indicates top with her hand) and one of that (Malu indicates bottom with her hand), the quantity of items in exhibition. At the mall, shops are more modern in the way they exhibit the products, they put less visual information. You see the price in small letters, all together in a label at the bottom of the window, saying blouse x, trousers y. They don't put the label with the price in the merchandise. At TS, they still do, they put, if the space fits 30 items, they put 30 items in the same space where in the mall there are no more than 5 items. So, if you put one item in the window, the consumer will look this one, there is no way. But, if you put 30, you require more effort from the consumer in the sense that he has to identify the items in which he is interested. And I perceive it more in 25M than in JP. At 25M some times there are no windows, but when there are windows, they put 200 things inside. At JP retailers are already following the malls, exhibiting less. (Malu, 61)

Figure 5.6 illustrates the differentiation between the ways retailers exhibit the products in LISA and HISA. Retailers in LISA exhibit a large amount of goods in piles and boxes or hanging from the ceiling, sometimes in the sidewalks. Hence, the shops seem disorganized. The prices are displayed in big tags which are not produced with sophisticated materials nor have elaborated design. In addition, shop lighting is uniform and attendants wear simple uniforms. Retailers in HISA display few items which match each other and which are well organized in the windows. Inside shops, lighting is not uniform, usually emphasising the products. These practices allow products to be perceived individually. In addition, tag prices are small and lay on the floor.

Rua 25 de Março (LISA)



Rua 12 de Outubro (LISA)



Pictures by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Rua Oscar Freire (HISA)



Pictures by Camila Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.6 – Exhibition of goods

Interactions with attendants

In HISA, customer treatment is personalized, that means, each attendant is in charge of one consumer, to whom they introduce themselves and, often, they serve water or coffee and occasionally wine, cake or other treats. Attendants are well dressed, trained and they interact with consumers formally. In some shops, attendants are differentiated by their tasks, while one attendant will assist consumers with tips of what to wear, another group will serve coffee, carry the clothes and organize the shop. This type of treatment is illustrated by the following field note extract:

I entered the shop and immediately a well-dressed-approximately-50-year-old lady approached me, she told me I was welcome, she introduced herself (Ana) and asked my name. I was the only customer at the shop and she was the only person I could see. The shop was narrow and had mirrors in the walls and in front of the mirrors there were hangers with clothes and glass-counters. I stated browsing the clothes when someone asked me if I wanted a coffee. This attendant was different; she was younger and was wearing a fashionable-black outfit which had the name of the shop on it. I didn't accept the coffee, and she disappeared again. I selected three pieces to try on and Ana called Marta (the lady who offered me coffee) to help me bringing the pieces to the changing room. When I finished, Ana asked Marta to put the clothes back in the hangers (OF, 12 February 2010)

In opposition, customer treatment in LISA is collective. That means, one attendant might help multiple customers at the same time and, most often, consumers have to search for the products they are looking for. Attendants interact with consumers informally. For example, when informants ask for help, attendants might either indicate their help is not really required or ask them to wait as they are attending someone else. Attendants in LISA are also considered more direct and sincere. For example, they are very direct when items are not available or sold out and are more sincere when customers try clothes or ask for products which attendants think are not adequate for them. The following extracts illustrate how informants perceive customer treatment in LISA and HISA:

At 12O, there is the pile, the square with all the clothes inside. Then there is the label 'sizes from 4 to 16'. Then you start searching, this is 2, this is 3, this is 8 and you want the 16, you take them all out, and you can't find a 16. Then when you want another size, you can only find 16. Sometimes *uma alma caridosa* (a benevolent soul) comes and tells you 'I'm going to look inside, but usually what we have is here'. (Aida, 34)

I think [the treatment at 25M] is even more authentic, because attendants do not have to say everything is beautiful. Sometimes a suggestion for a bra, you go to 25M to shop, and they say 'There is this one, I think it would be better for you'. I think sometimes could be even more sincere than an attendant in a higher level shop. (Paula, 36)

Informants also interact with attendants more informally. For example, informants might make jokes or use other informal conversations to motivate staff to perform faster or better. In addition, informants perceive attendants appearance to be less important for retailers in LISA than in HISA as attendants are from different ages, are not always well dressed. The following narrative illustrates how Nair interacts with attendants in L13 and perceives attendants in SJS:

For example, I get closer and make a joke '*Força querida*, let's get to the end of the day'. And she says: 'I have to count all these items, I'm tired'. Thus you get to know more about them, about their tiredness, that they are not strong all life, they are also people with limits, whereas at the mall, they are super-women. Sometimes they are the same, the same education, but the appearance, wearing make-up, dressing up, impeccable, the nails, the talk, the presentation. There is a concern with formality, in serving, in being polite'. (Nair, 58)

Pleasantness of shopping in the area

Informants consider shopping in HISA comfortable and pleasant because of the neatness of the place; the integration of leisure facilities and parking lots; the presence of places to rest, such as cafés, restaurants; and the provision of a safe, clean and comfortable indoor environment (climate, noise, air-quality control). Malls in particular are fully air-conditioned, despite the increased integration of natural lighting and gardens. Informants also recognize prices in malls are higher because of the services provided. Informants not always consider shopping in LISA unpleasant but they consider it uncomfortable, especially because of the lack of security, of climate and noise control; of the amount of people in the streets, and because of the presence of *camelôs*. Usually these shopping areas are located close to metropolitan transportation hubs, and, therefore, the amount of people circulating in these areas is large. Figure 5.7 illustrates the amount of people in LISA and HISA.

Rua 25 de Março (LISA)



Rua Oscar Freire and surroundings (HISA)



Pictures by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.7 – Amount of people

Most often, informants recognize shopping in LISA an effort. Informants, for instance, consider that higher-income individuals will not have disposition to go shopping in LISA because of the difficulties faced by consumers. Informants also argue people have to know the place to shop there. The following narratives exemplify the differentiation between the pleasantness of shopping in LISA and HISA and the understanding of shopping in LISA as an effort:

At 25M you have to keep an eye on your purse, you have to be focus, if not you get lost. You sweat because it is warm, it might rain. At the mall, not. You can stroll, you can window shopping. At 25M, it is not a place to stroll. Thus, I always say: 'The mall is more expensive? Yes, it is. But look at the services they offer you'. At 25M to go to the toilet is tough. But I know where to go because I'm used to shop there. (Wilma, 49)

Someone with high-income will not walk that much, it is not comfortable go shopping at JP. You have to be patient; that is why I'm going less and less. First, you have to go by subway because there is no place to park; you have difficulties to access the place, and there you cannot try on the clothes you buy. So I think it is for people who want to pay less, who do not have the possibility to have a good garment and to go to the mall. People who want to buy in quantity, who wants to buy more than when they go to mall and by one item. (Lucia, 31)

Therefore, the characteristics of shopping areas and the experiences that informants have in these areas reveal that the practices of retailers, attendants, property developers, local authorities and *camelôs* contribute to differentiate shopping areas associated with lower- and higher-income consumers. Nevertheless, the association of shopping areas and consumer-class identities is also questioned as presented in the following section.

5.1.3 Questioning the association between space and identity

It is important to recognize that informants question the association between shopping areas and consumer-class identities in three ways. First, informants question the need to associate shopping areas to higher or lower-income consumers, arguing that the shopping areas they visit could be better associated with middle-classes. This questioning is related to the fact that, in their narratives, informants differentiate themselves from both lower- and higher-income individuals, as these narratives illustrate:

Actually, I think malls are not for higher-income. I think Oscar Freire, Daslu⁴, those crazy things, with exorbitant prices. So I think malls are focused on middle classes. (Wilma, 49)

There are the extremes and the intermediate, which is me, in the middle. You can find all kinds of people at JP. People who scramble you and say 'I'm sorry' and people who push you and say 'go away'. (Sara, 51)

Second, the association of Downtown, Lapa, Pinheiros and Santo Amaro with lower-income consumers is questioned when informants emphasise the presence of 'people like them', friends, acquaintances and of higher-income individuals shopping in these areas. Moreover, this association is also

questioned when informants emphasise that going to shop in these areas requires access to material resources. For example, informants mention that, although a lot of shops sell lower-price products, many shops have a minimum threshold, either in terms of number of items or value. Finally, this association is questioned when informants argue lower- and higher-income consumers buy different things in LISA. The following narratives illustrate these examples:

I think the lower-income people are the most prominent [at 25m], you realize. But some times you see, as they call, *madames*. You see a lot of *madames* shopping. (Malu, 61)

I would not say it is only lower-income. A lot of people I know frequent 25M. In my building, I have many friends who go shopping there. It is obvious; there are a lot of lower-income individuals. (...) But, I don't think all there is cheap. There are shops in which products are cheap, very cheap, but you see [the quality] is inferior, and in most shops you have to have money to buy, especially because in many shops you have a minimum purchase. (...) Even the shops in which you buy bed sheets, towels, the products are high-quality, it is not what lower-income are looking for, it is in another level. (Raquel, 52)

And it is not because you shop there that you are going to spend less, it is incredible, you think, everybody talks so much about 25M, it is cheap, it is worth it, and you go, but you do not necessarily spend less. (Dalva, 35)

Third, informants classify different shopping areas in accordance to the level of association with higher-income consumers. Shopping Iguatemi (SI), Shopping Cidade Jardim (SCJ) and Oscar Freire (OF), are associated with the highest socioeconomic positions. Other shopping areas are classified in comparison to these areas, as these extracts illustrate:

At SI, for example, you see really higher-income, people who go there to shop. There are a lot of brands, those expensive brands, which you cannot find everywhere. But you also have Animale, Le Lis Blanc, brands in which you can buy, more accessible. MS is not for higher classes, there is no Chanel, Prada... Tiffany's, for example, you have to go to SI. (Valeria, 52)

I perceive the quality in West Plaza is like a left over of best malls. Because, when I went at Arezzo⁵ there and then I went at Oscar Freire, I could see the difference. (Sara, 51)

However, the level of association with higher-income consumers depends on informants' own views. Emma, for example, considers Shopping Bourbon (SB) associated with higher-income consumers whereas Rachel, Wendy and Valery consider this mall middle-class. The association between shopping areas and consumer-class-identities, therefore, depends on how these spaces are part of informants' lives, as the following narratives illustrate:

I use to go to SB or SVL which are close to my home. (...) Both have higher-income, things like, very higher-income. (Edna, 43)

I think [at SB] there are a lot of people who work in the region. You see by the periods of the day, because at Avenida Francisco Matarazzo, there are a lot of commercial buildings, then you see many people who work there. And also a lot of people of the neighbourhood, then I think it is middle-class. (Raquel, 52)

5.1.4 Conclusion

The aim of this section was to present research findings to answer the first sub-research question: *In which ways do higher-income individuals differentiate consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers from consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil?* This section addressed how informants associate consumption spaces and consumer class-identities, how they question this association and how informants differentiate shopping areas associated with lower- and higher-income consumers. Through informants' perspectives it is possible to recognize the role of consumers, retailers, attendants, property developers and local authorities in the differentiation of consumption spaces.

First, consumers' practices of choosing shopping areas to visit, talking, dressing, caring for their bodies and moving are different in HISA and LISA. Second, retailers' practices of selecting, exhibiting and pricing the products they offer; of locating, decorating and equipping shops and of recruiting and training attendants are also different in HISA and LISA. Third, attendants' practices of dressing, talking and interacting with customers and property developers' practices of increasing the neatness, the security and the comfort in malls and of diversifying the offer of retail and leisure activities increase the differentiation between shopping areas. Fourth, *camelôs*' practices of locating and displaying their goods and local authorities' practices of providing security and cleanness and of dealing with informal commerce also contribute to differentiate shopping areas. These practices are summarized in Figure 5.8.

Therefore, in São Paulo, shopping areas which are easily accessed by public transportation, in which retailers focus on the variety of goods, consumers search for the lowest price, attendants are direct and informal and in which *camelôs* are prominent, such as 25M, 12O, JP, TS, L13, became more associated with lower-income consumers. In opposition, shopping areas and malls which are closer to wealthier neighbourhoods, where retailers focus on the differentiation of their products, international and national brands prevail, customer treatment is personalized, attendants are formal, such as SI, SJS, OF, SPH, SM, became more associated with higher-income consumers. So far, the differentiation between shopping areas associated with lower- and higher-income consumers has portrayed the similarities between consumption spaces associated with a particular consumer-class identity. However, although spatialities associated with lower- and higher-income consumers are recurrent, the shopping areas visited by informants are particular spaces, as presented in the following section.

		HISA	LISA	Practices
Consumers	Socio economic groups	Higher-income	Lower-income	Caring for the body Dressing Talking Moving
	Shops	National & international brands Well-known retail chains	Popular retail chains Familiar and locally traditional shops	Decorating Locating
Retailers	Products	Sophisticated High-quality Expensive	Same products, but cheaper Low unitary cost, low quality, imitations	Pricing Selecting
	Exhibition of goods	Few items Small price tags Organized by colour, type	Disorganized Multiple items Large price tags	Exhibiting Hiring and training attendants
Attendants	Customer treatment	Personalized Formal	Informal Collective Direct	Serving Being (in)formal
Local Authorities Câmelos Property Developers	Shopping Area	Security Neatness Parking lots Comfort Climate, noise, air-quality control Leisure facilities Places to rest	Effort High number of people in the streets Camelôs Lack of security, neatness, climate and noise control	Diversifying facilities Locating Providing security, cleaning, acclimatization

Figure 5.8 – Differentiation of consumption spaces

5.2 Similar Spatialities, Particular Spaces

Despite the similarities between shopping areas associated with each consumer-class-identity, the areas visited by informants are spaces with particular histories, location and characteristics. The aim of this section is to account for the particularities of the five shopping areas visited or mentioned the most by informants. Shopping Iguatemi, the first shopping in Brazil, has been continually refurbished to keep up with the changes of the sector and to maintain its position in the Brazilian market as one of the most exclusive malls in the country, as presented in Section 5.2.1. Rua Oscar Freire, since the 1990s, has become the top location for national and international brands in São Paulo, as discussed in Section 5.2.2. Shopping Cidade Jardim, one of the most recent developments in São Paulo, was built to become one of the most luxurious malls in Brazil, as illustrated in Section 5.2.3. Rua 25 de Março, a traditional and economically active shopping area in São Paulo, has become highly associated with cheaper goods and imitations of international brands,

as presented in Section 5.2.4. Rua José Paulino, a traditional clothing factory and wholesale area also economically active, has become a reference in the fashion business in Brazil, as addressed in Section 5.2.5.

5.2.1 Shopping Iguatemi

Shopping Iguatemi (SI) opened in 1966 and it was the first mall built in São Paulo. The mall is located in a higher-income neighbourhood where financial institutions and other high-end business are located. Shopping Iguatemi has always been associated with higher socioeconomic groups and, to keep up with the changes in the sector, the mall has been renovated every 5-10 years (Garrefa 2007). Refurbishments and alterations included the expansion of the leasable area, the implementation of different facilities, such as movie theatres, parking areas, restaurants and the provision of natural lighting. The current façade of the mall and the building in the year of its inauguration are presented in Figure 5.9.

In 1966



Picture from
<http://sempla.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/historico/1960.php>

in 2010



Picture by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.9 – Exterior of Shopping Iguatemi

However, one of the most visible changes in SI is the composition of shops. Top international and national brands are becoming more prominent as more traditional or less known retail chains leave the mall or reduce the space located, as this narrative illustrates:

Funny, [at SI], for example, I miss shops of a second rank. I would not say *popular* goods, but for example, I would like to buy a shoe for my father. My father has a visual deficiency. Thus, he trips a lot and there is no reason to buy an Italian or German shoe because it is going to be destroyed very soon. (Tais, 44)

Some of the international brands present in Shopping Iguatemi are Bang & Olufsen, Baccarat, Tiffany & Co., Ermenegildo Zegna and Amsterdam Sauer. C&A and Lojas Americanas – a well known Brazilian retail chain of convenience stores – are one of the few shops less associated with higher-

income consumers which are still present in the mall, although their leasable area have been reduced. The mall also offers different types of services – such as personal shoppers, bag carriers – and a loyalty program, called *Programa One*, which gives members free access to the lounge and to parking, invitations to fashion shows and movie previews. These services emphasise the personalized attention given to consumers and the unique experience of shopping in Iguatemi, as mentioned in the mall’s website. The texts which illustrate these services and which emphasise shopping at SI as an unique experience were translated and are presented in bigger font sizes in Figure 5.10.



Images from <http://www.iguatemisaoapaulo.com.br/>

Figure 5.10 – Website Shopping Iguatemi

5.2.2 Rua Oscar Freire

In the 1960s, when higher-income groups and related services and business moved to the south-western neighbourhoods of the city, Rua Augusta, in Jardins, became the most prominent commercial area associated with higher-income consumers. With the years, however, Rua Augusta lost its glamour, when more sophisticated restaurants and business started to move to other streets in the neighbourhood (Romero 2008). In the 1980s a transversal of Rua Augusta, Rua Oscar Freire (OF) was already quoted in newspapers as the most hyped up place in the city. In 1995, with the economic opening for imports, Rua Oscar Freire became one of the first locations for international brands, such as Mont Blanc, Osklen, Tommy Hilfiger, Lacoste, Timberland, Adidas, and for national brands such as Havaianas, Melissa and Les Lis Blanc. These brands use their shops at Oscar Freire as a symbol for the brands, as illustrated by the shops presented in Figure 5.11. In 2006, OF Retailers’ Association, a private sponsor and the municipality implemented a project to standardize walkways, and provide sitting areas, trash bins, locator

panels and underground electricity lines. These equipments are also illustrated in Figure 5.11.

Facades of the shops from Adidas, Melissa and Havainas



Sidewalks, benches, trash bins and locator panel installed in 2006



Picture by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.11 – Shops and urban equipments at Oscar Freire

5.2.3 Shopping Cidade Jardim

Shopping Cidade Jardim (SCJ) is one of the most recent malls in São Paulo. The mall is part of the largest Real State Project built in São Paulo Metropolitan Area since 1985. Besides the mall, the project includes nine residential and three commercial buildings, a hotel, a spa and a gym. The mall was built integrating nature, leisure activities and the most prestigious national and international brands such as Daslu, Chanel, Mont Blanc, Hermes, Giorgio Armani, Carolina Herrera, Salvatore Ferragamo and Osklen. The exclusive character of the mall was emphasised in SCJ opening press release:

Shopping Cidade Jardim brings to São Paulo a concept inspired in the world's most elegant streets and top commercial centers. It is the city's first open mall, with natural lighting and stores facing gardens. (...) The anchor stores are equally innovative. A unit of Livraria da Vila, associated with a Casa do Saber, the Reebok gym, seven late-generation Cinemark movie theaters and the most comprehensive spa in Latin America are the leading attractions, in addition to Daslu and Zara. Another innovation: replacing a food court with some of the city's best restaurants. (SCJ opening press release, retrieved at 7th August 2010, from <http://www.shoppingcidadejardimjhsf.com.br/shopping.asp>)

Figure 5.12 presents a picture of the real state project, and pictures and blueprints available on the mall's website. Informants, most often, go to SCJ to stroll and mention that most people present in the mall are also strolling. Informants consider the products offered in the shops very expensive, as this extracts illustrate:

I only go to SCJ to stroll because it is too expensive. There are only these *griffes*, the shops in which I usually buy, you only find Zara and Capodarte. I don't shop at Louis Vuitton, Gucci. I think these shops are of a higher-level. I don't buy. I could, but I don't. (Paula, 36)



Picture and blue print from <http://www.shoppingcidadejardimjhsf.com.br/>

Picture by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.12 – Shopping Cidade Jardim

5.2.4 Rua 25 de Março

Until the 1930s, most shops at 25 de Março (25M) sold imported goods such as German cutlery, Swiss and French lace fabric and English fabric. After the 1930s, with increases in the production of national goods, 25M shops started selling Brazilian clothing, sewing notions and small wares (Vitrine25 2010). Nowadays, 25M shops sell a wide range of goods with low prices, as advertised in the website organized by the retailers' association:

[At 25M] it is possible to find anything, with attractive prices. Consumers might choose from a variety of products, such as sewing notions and small wares, bed sheets and towels, toys, stationary, shoes, clothes, electronic equipments, household utensils, gifts,

beauty products, national and imported beverages. (Text published at Vitrine25, retrieved at 7th August 2010, from http://www.vitrine25demarco.com.br/a25_historiahoje.php)

Shops in 25M also sell bijoux, costumes and imitations of products from international brands (such as bags, sunglasses, tennis shoes and clothing). Over the past decade, 25M also became more well-known and has attracted consumers from all over Brazil. Informants perceive these changes, as this narrative illustrates:

I go to 25M before this euphoria, since many years. Then when all this started the thing started to growth. There have always been a lot of people; it has always been this wholesale area, but not like today. Today is like that, close to a holiday, Carnival, Easter, Christmas, Mothers Day, beginning of classes, it is terrible. You can't walk. Before it was not like that, but I think it is fashion now. Nowadays you see at [Brazilian newspaper], they advertise, that didn't existed. At [Brazilian magazine] they show famous people who shop there, so all this calls the attention of other people. (...) Nowadays you see much more of these things which come from China, that crap, a lot of things you couldn't find before. When importations were allowed, then they started selling all these imitations, watches, glasses. These things you didn't find there, but now you see it a lot. (Raquel, 52)

Camelôs are also very common in 25M, although their number has diminished in the past year with the ostensive presence of policemen. The presence of policemen, however, is not focused on reducing the activity of the most visible *camelôs*, those who sell products in stands or tents. Figure 5.13 illustrates these types of *camelôs* present in 25M.

Camelôs selling beds for pets, keyholders and other small accessories, and bags



Picture by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.13 – Camelôs at 25M

5.2.5 Rua José Paulino

Rua José Paulino (JP), also a traditional commercial street in downtown, became associated with clothing factories in the 1920s, when Jews started to establish in the neighbourhood. In the 1980s, however, many of the traditional families have moved to other areas of the city and have sold their business, especially to South-Koreans businessmen (Pires 2010). In the early 2000s, the factories at JP were involved in many scandals related to the

working conditions, such as the exploitation of illegal immigrants (Rossi and Sakamoto 2005). These scandals generated bad publicity for these factories inside and outside Brazil. This bad publicity and the increasing professionalization of the fashion business in Brazil in general produced changes in the production processes of these factories and in the look of the shops (Kim 2009). Changes in the shops are perceived by informants as this narrative illustrates:

At JP you see they are investing at the shops. It is interesting this renovation; you see they are hiring architects in the same standard as malls. Then, the shops are looking more like shops in the mall. They are paying attention to the appearance, something you didn't see 10 years ago. But you see this renovation and it is fast. (Malu, 61)

Figure 5.14 illustrates different types of shops present in JP. Renovated shops have larger windows and exhibit fewer products in the windows than regular shops. *Camelôs* are also prominent in JP, although the majority of *camelôs* in JP usually do not have tents, and display their goods on the floor, as also illustrated in Figure 5.14.

Renovated shops



Regular shops



Camêlos



Picture by Carolina Castanheira
São Paulo, Brazil Jan 2010

Figure 5.14 – Shops and Camelôs at JP

5.2.6 Conclusion

The aim of this section is to account for the particularities of the shopping areas visited by informants. The five shopping areas presented here, namely

SI, OF, SCJ, 25M and JP, are particular spaces permeated by the practices associated with lower- and higher-income consumers. These practices produce similar spatialities and the recurrence of these spatialities suggests that the promotion of the contrasting-consumer-class identities in Brazilian society is regulating individuals' performances in shopping areas. When shopping in HISA, for instance, informants most likely conform to the higher-income consumer identity, as presented in the following section.

5.3 Shopping in HISA:

Conforming to the higher-income consumer identity

This study presupposed a differentiation between higher-income individuals' performances when shopping in areas associated with higher-income consumers and with lower-income consumers. When informants want 'to shop', to provide for the family, the house and themselves, they are objective and focused and they visit both LISA and HISA. When informants want to 'stroll', to window shopping, to have dinner, or to go to the movies they, most often, visit HISA. Section 5.3.1 addresses the differentiation between shopping visits in which informants 'go to shop' and 'go to stroll'. Section 5.3.2 presents informants' performances in HISA. Section 5.3.3 discusses the ways informants, in these performances, conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity.

5.3.1 'Going to shop', 'going to stroll'

Informants, most often, differentiate their visits to shopping areas in accordance to their motivations. When informants 'go to stroll', or to perform leisure shopping, their visits are motivated by the desire to window shopping and to go to lunch, to dinner or to the movies. In contrast, when informants 'go to shop', or to perform functional shopping, their visits to shopping areas are motivated by the desire to acquire particular goods and services. Besides different motivations, informants also differentiate functional and leisure shopping visits in the ways they select shopping areas and shops to visit, in their groups and in their visiting habits. These differences, summarized in Figure 5.15, are presented next in detail.

	Functional	Leisure
Motivations	Buy Provide for the family, the house, themselves	Go to the movies have lunch, dinner Stroll window shopping
Selection areas shops	Known Close to home	Exploring New
Groups	Alone	Family Friends
Visiting habits	Limiting the time spent Being objective and focused	Impulsive planned shortly ahead

Figure 5.15 – Differences between leisure and functional shopping

In functional shopping visits, informants are objective and focused to keep the time spent on the visits proportional to the number of goods or services being acquired. Informants prefer to go to shopping areas and shops they already know and which are closer to their homes, so they do not lose time finding the products or services they intend to acquire. Informants also prefer to go alone, so they can shop in their own pace. For instance, when informants bring the kids they might have to spend more time on the shopping area. Functional shopping visits are faced as an obligation to provide for others and themselves, as the following narratives illustrate:

At MS I go to the shops I like, I know where they are, I know the place. Then, I go because I have to buy. I go there to shop. Thus, it is difficult to go to stroll. Because I live far, then when I go, I go to buy what I need. (Valeria, 52)

At SI, I go alone. I go because I have to buy something. I'm very fast and focused on what I have to buy. But now my husband got a surgery and I have to go with my son, so he is not alone at home. Then I have to take him, but it is not something I like, because shopping for me is an everyday obligation. Sometimes bringing the kid only makes it more difficult. He wants to stop, he wants ice-cream, he wants to have something, and I am in a hurry to do what I have to do. (Tais, 44)

In comparison, when performing leisure shopping informants might visit new shopping areas or visit areas they are not used to. Because they do not see these visits as a daily life obligation, they enjoy exploring new or unknown shopping areas and shops, they enjoy spending more time in the visits and they also enjoy the company of partners, children and friends. Leisure shopping visits are also more impulsive or planned shortly ahead. The following narratives illustrate the differentiation between leisure shopping and functional shopping:

At OF I don't plan my visits. It is impulsive. It is like that. 'What I'm going to do today? [Husband], let's go to the movies?' He says 'No way'. '[Daughter], let's go?' She says 'no'. Then 'let's go walk at OF?' They say 'Yep'. So we go. It is last minute. (Sara, 51)

I think for me it is more a stroll than something direct like 'I need to buy something, then I go to Paula Souza', no, for me it is a stroll, a leisure. Maybe, depending of what I was going to do, I would buy something here, closer, faster and I would be done. But there is to stroll, to discover, to enjoy the place, the space, the people. I think sometimes it is fun. (Tais, 44)

The division between functional shopping and leisure shopping visits is not straightforward, though. First, functional shopping visits might include window shopping and eating or drinking whereas leisure shopping visits might include eventual purchases of goods. Second, in functional shopping visits, informants might go to unknown shopping areas and shops to buy specific types of products or brands. Third, informants who argue they never go to shopping areas to stroll, recognize that, most often, they end up performing other activities in the shopping areas they visit, such as window shopping, eating or drinking. The following extracts illustrate this:

At SPH I already know where I go. Then I have to go at Lupo, I go. I have to go to DiPolini, a male shoe shop; I have to go to Arezzo, Corello. I already know and I go. Then you get a coffee, an ice-cream, these things and then I come home. And if I go to the movies, I might stay longer. (Lucia, 31)

Marketing specialists recognize these different motivations to shop and classify shoppers' motivations in utilitarian, when individuals have specific needs and buy in order to satisfy this need, and in hedonistic motivations, when individuals' intention is to experience something and to have fun (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982). In addition, they recognize the non-clear division between these motivations to visit shopping areas. Therefore, retailers and property developers are integrating multiple activities within shopping areas and shops to increase the time and, especially, the amount of money consumers spend in them (Grant and Schlesinger 1995). This is particular clear in shopping areas associated with higher-income consumers. Therefore, leisure shopping visits are more likely performed in HISA, whereas functional shopping visits are performed in both HISA and LISA, as presented in the following sections.

5.3.2 Shopping in HISA

Informants' visits to HISA are aimed at strolling and at buying luxury items. In these visits informants' perform different practices which are summarized in Figure 5.16 and presented next in detail.

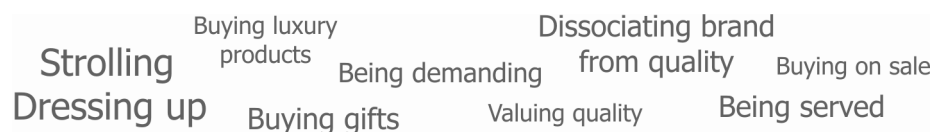


Figure 5.16 – Informants practices when shopping in HISA

Informants usually choose shopping areas associated with higher-income consumer to go to stroll. Informants argue they prefer to go to these areas because they want to see nice things and nice people and because they want to know what is going on in fashion. Informants argue that 'going to stroll' in HISA is more pleasant and convenient because these shopping areas are clean, safe and comfortable and because there are multiple activities integrated, as the following narrative illustrates:

I go to the mall because we want to see nice people, we see a clean environment, pleasant, large. Then we eat something, eating is nice. I like it. I did it a lot when my children were kids, they liked, it is a safe place for you to go with the kids, and it has a lot of things, movie theatres, restaurants. (Raquel, 52)

When 'going to stroll' in HISA informants most often pay more attention to their appearance than when 'going to shop', that means, they wear nicer clothes, high-heels, make-up. Informants argue that when they 'go to stroll' in HISA they dress up because they consider it adequate. First, they consider dressing up is in accordance with the ambience, with the comfortable environment and with the other people present in the area. Second, they consider dressing up is adequate to the activities they are performing, such as strolling, going to the movies and having lunch. The following extracts illustrate informants' motivations to dress up in HISA:

At the mall I improve a bit, because I go to stroll. I'm going to eat, to drink a coffee, to see the price of something, to buy something I only find in the mall. I have a Nespresso coffee machine and when I have to buy the supplies we go to SCJ. We go there to buy the supplies and I go there to stroll, but I don't go to SCJ to shop. Even if I buy something there, I don't go there to shop. Thus my concern is not to shop, I can go with an outfit to stroll, because I'm going to walk a little, I'm not going to run the complete mall, I'm going to drink something, eat something and then I'll go home. (Edna, 43)

Functional shopping visits in HISA are aimed at acquiring luxury products and services, especially shoes, clothes, accessories and gifts. Most often, informants buy luxury products, despite of considering the price excessive, because they associate these products with quality. Informants value quality, especially in clothes, because they feel good and appropriated when they wear clothes which have a good cut and a good fabric and because they have an emotional attachment to their clothes. In addition, informants often mention buying on sale, when they can pay a fair price for luxury products. The following narratives illustrate these practices:

These are products you cannot find in other areas. And these products are things you say 'Look, they are differentiated'. Do they cost more? They do, but you have to see the cost-benefit. Because then you wear a sandal that the other person say '*Nossa, que diferente!*' You know, despite the age, everything else, it feels good. But, I buy on sales. Because on sales I know I'll pay a fair price. Because when they say 60% off, you can be certain the price should be it. (Graça, 69)

Why do I value quality? Because I think, sure I want a piece of cloth which is, which has a better fabric and will not pill after 2 washes, because it does not help buying something cheap that I will wear twice and through it away. So, I like, for example, I keep my things for a long time. I have difficulties in giving away. So, they have to be good. Even because I wear, I have to work, I have to go with an outfit, I'm a coordinator, I cannot

go wearing any outfit. I have to be adequate, I think, an adequate outfit, more classical, with good quality. I care about that. (Nair, 58)

However, informants argue they neither buy luxury products which they consider extremely expensive nor products which quality is not compatible with the price. Informants argue that they do not buy expensive luxury items because they know some products cost more because they are branded. Most often, informants consider the quality associated with luxury products more important than the brand and, therefore, paying a high price for a product with similar quality to others is not considered adequate for them. Moreover, some informants consider themselves skilful in dissociating quality from brand and they emphasise their knowledge in differentiating products which have quality from those which do not. The following narratives illustrate these practices:

At SI, sometimes I buy something. But, I'm not very fan of *griffes*, of consuming, I like it, I think it is beautiful, but I think some things are out of proportion. I don't know, I don't have this profile, I'm not like these people who think 'If something is from that brand and costs I don't know how much, I have to have it'. No, I think it has to have quality, it is going to cost, it is obvious, because everything which has a good quality also has a higher price, but it should not be something abusive. (Zelia, 50)

The label does not interest me, because you see lots of low-quality products with label. Then if someone tells me that she bought a plastic bag at shop X, 'Ok, good'. But if someone comes with a purse from an unknown brand which has gorgeous leather, 'uh, that is awesome'. I have friends who say 'This piece of jewellery I bought at HStern'. But the stone is not good, it is *cascalho*, but they wear it anyway. Many products have that cheap crystal, they put lots of gold around and it costs a fortune. I don't even know how they can sell that in a shop which is so expensive. (Celia, 50)

As noted in section 5.1, when shopping in HISA, consumers require the help of attendants to find the items they are looking for. Informants often evaluate customer treatment at HISA as good and as well adjusted to the types of goods shops are selling. In addition, informants value being served, as the following narrative illustrates:

[My daughter and I went] to Collins at SJS because she wanted to buy a short. The lady gave personalized attention to us, asked the number my daughter wears, and told us she was going to look it up. We asked the price and she told us it was on sale, she gave us all attention. After we bought the short, she took the bag and walked with us until the door of the shop. So it is something different. (...). They make the courtesy to serve us. (Nair, 58)

However, informants argue attendants might be judgemental towards individuals which are not considered higher-income, especially if they are not well dressed. Informants deal with this behaviour in various ways. Some informants, such as Valeria, might be very direct and use the access to economic resources to ensure attendants they are not misplaced. Others, such as Graça, might dress-up to shop in HISA, as these extracts exemplify:

When you do not go well dressed, some attendants stare at you. It happened with me once, and then I said: 'Are you looking me? I fell warm all the time (she was wearing a summer, comfortable outfit), so I dress myself in a comfortable way. But don't worry,

here it is my card.' But they look differently at you, they judge you. Then, if you are well dressed is one thing, if not, is another. (Valeria, 52)

At OF I go well dressed, if not you go to have a coffee, people don't even look at you. Because it is like that, they don't even ask if you would like a coffee or something, no, they ignore you. Buying clothes, the same, either you go well dressed or you stay looking at the windows because nobody, attendants all too proud of themselves. It is like that, 'If you are not buying, what are you doing here?' (Graça, 69)

In addition, informants are demanding when shopping in HISA. First, they are less tolerant with the quality of customer treatment, especially when attendants are judgemental towards other customers. Second, they are more willing to complain to retailers in HISA when clothes are not perfect, fade or unstitch because they consider the loss of that product has impact in their budget and because they think the price charged allow retailers to deal with eventual loses, as Ursula explains:

When you are in the mall, if something goes wrong, you are pickier. (...) I bought some bikinis for my daughter at Billabong, and one faded and the other lost a part. I went to OF, I don't know why I go so often to OF, then I went there and she said, no problem, if there is any problem or if another one does not fits you I can return your money'. There you complain. If I had bought the same bikini at JP I would not go there, I would discard it. (Ursula, 48)

Informants' performances when shopping in HISA allow them to perform the higher-income consumer, as presented in the following section.

5.3.3 Conforming to the higher-income consumer identity

In HISA, informants' performances are regulated by the practices and spatialities associated with the higher-income consumer identity. These performances allow informants to perform the higher-income consumer. As discussed in section 3.3, when individuals who attain a higher-income socioeconomic position perform in accordance to the higher-income-consumer normative practices they conform to the higher-income consumer identity and they reiterate the discourses that promote consumer-class normative-practices and spatialities as inherited to socioeconomic positions.

As indicated in Chapter 3, the higher-income consumer identity is associated with the consumption of luxury products; with the exclusivity, quality, glamour and tradition which these products transmit and with the impeccable and personalized customer treatment which is provided by retailers. In addition, as noted in section 5.1, higher-income consumers are also associated with practices such as dressing up, wearing make-up and branded products, being polite and frequenting malls and shopping areas associated with their social group. When informants shop in HISA, their performances, most often, conform to these practices and they perform the higher-income consumer.

Figure 5.17 summarizes informants' performances when they shop in HISA and the spatialities associated with the higher-income consumer. The ways by which higher-income-consumer-normative practices and spatialities discipline informants to conform to the higher-income-consumer identity are discussed next in detail.



Figure 5.17 – HISA: Performing the higher-income consumer

Shopping visits to HISA enable informants to consume luxury products in different ways. For example, informants visit these areas to acquire luxury products, especially clothes, shoes and bijoux. Informants go to these areas to have dinner, coffee, ice-cream, to go to the movies and most of the services and products they consume are luxury products. Moreover, informants choose these HISA to stroll and, consequently, also consume the brand associated with these spaces.

Consuming luxury products, services and spaces allows informants to feel unique and to feel belonging to higher-income socioeconomic group. One way by which luxury products, especially clothes, bijoux and accessories,

make informants feel unique is because, by wearing these clothes, they stand out, as Olivia explains:

It is not only the quality of the product which is better, it is also the differentiation, the type, the design. You are not going to find many like that one, you can find, they are not exclusive dresses, but ok, it would be not that easy to find someone exactly like you. (...) In fact, we want to be unique; you want to stand out somehow. I think it is unconscious, we don't want to clash and that is why we look for these types of products. You want to stand out; then you look for differentiation. But not always, just in certain occasions, this is the point. (Olivia, 48)

A second way by which luxury products make informants feel good is because, by wearing and consuming luxury products or giving them to others, informants reinforce their membership to the higher-income group. Informants therefore, consume luxury products, services and spaces because of the status and emotional reward attached to and transmitted by these products, services and spaces. Flora, in her narrative, shares these experiences:

We live in a capitalist world, then, I fell forced to believe that image represents a lot for people who belongs to a certain socioeconomic position. Especially the middle to higher socioeconomic positions, in which I think I belong and end up living together with, I know it is selfish, but I feel good wearing a branded cloth. (...) When it is a gift, it ends up being the status, the presentation, and what the brand represents for you and for those who are receiving it. And, the people to whom I give gifts also think in the same way. Thus, I prefer to pay more, consciously, but to feel better and to give a gift which will give the person satisfied in the same way I'll be satisfied if I got a present from a certain brand. (...) In OF or in my neighbourhood, where shops are more or less the same, conscious that a product does not value what I paid for it, but it is going to bring me a satisfaction, how people will see you, but I think this is so inside us that the satisfaction becomes personal. To have a purse or a jeans from some brand is more than showing what I have, it is also my personal satisfaction in achieving the consumption power to buy a certain brand. (Flora, 30)

Informants' performances in HISA are disciplined by the practices and spatialities associated with the higher-income consumer identity in three ways. First, as mentioned in section 5.1, in HISA retailers and property developers and managers prioritise products and shops from international and national brands and emphasise the recreational aspect of shopping. In HISA, property developers and retailers also provide comfort and security in shops and in shopping areas. Malls, especially, and shops associated with international and national brands are mediated environments in which lighting, air quality, noise, temperature, neatness, and access of individuals considered out of place are controlled to increase the comfort and the security of consumers. Informants shop and stroll in HISA because these areas offer luxury products, services and spaces all-in-one visit and because they consider these areas comfortable and pleasant, as Olivia's narrative illustrates:

The mall is pleasant, a place with air conditioning, it has a visual appeal. As people are going to stroll, they are nicer (...). Nowadays I live close to the mall, I go a lot to the mall, without reason, we go to stroll and I end up buying something. Not always. So is

something nice to do. We do not have beaches in São Paulo, so we go at the mall to stroll and, who likes to buy, end up buying something too. (Olivia, 48)

Second, as presented in section 5.1, retailers and attendants in HISA provide a personalized customer treatment which is required because retailers do not exhibit all goods and, consequently, consumers need the help of attendants to find the items they want to acquire. When informants shop in these areas, they appreciate being served, as the products are brought, shown, wrapped and are carried to the door for them. Third, as also presented in section 5.1, consumers who shop in these areas are well dressed, are wearing make up, are consuming luxury products and services and are strolling. Informants, when they shop in these areas, also dress up because they want to blend in, they consider their outfits are appropriate to the activities they perform and to the spaces they perform in and because they want to avoid being discriminated against by attendants. Therefore, when shopping in HISA, informants' performances are disciplined by the practices and spatialities associated with the higher-income-consumer identity, such as the consumption of branded clothes, the search for exclusivity and the comfortable and clean environment. These performances allow informants to perform the higher-income consumer.

When informants choose HISA to stroll they also reinforce the discourse which promotes malls and other controlled spaces, such as gated communities, as oasis of pleasantness and security within the city. SJC, for example, was projected to resemble a public walkway, as the architect who designed the interior of the mall explains:

I liked a lot of the concept of the mall, to be an open mall. My inspiration, as I said before, was a public walkway. São Paulo is a city which has no street. *Paulistanos* (people born in the city) are not used to walk in the streets. Make a joke, like, how should be an ideal shopping street? The importance of that is to bring *paulistanos* to a language that they have lost with time (video-interview with Arthur Casas, retrieved at 10th July 2010, from <http://www.shoppingcidadejardimjhsf.com.br>).

That is not to say that consumers are trapped when shopping in these areas, on the contrary, informants skilfully use their knowledge and material resources to perform the higher-income consumer in four different ways. First, informants go to HISA to stroll because strolling is more affordable than buying the products sold in most shops. Second, informants buy gifts in HISA because giving branded products to others it is a way of making explicit their belongingness to the higher-income group. Third, informants buy luxury products on sale because they recognize prices defined by retailers are high or abusive. Fourth, informants are demanding and draw into consumer rights to return items that, even after worn few times, fade away, pill or unstitch to emphasise they expect certain quality standard when acquiring luxury items. Through these performances, informants also perform the higher-income consumer.

As mentioned in section 5.1.3, informants do not consider themselves higher-income consumers. However, in informants' narratives, they identify

themselves with individuals who they consider to be higher-income consumers. Informants, for example, argue that strolling is a common practice in SCJ. Informants also argue that individuals who they consider to be higher-income consumers also perform the same practices they do, as the following narrative illustrates:

I think people go to SCJ to stroll. (...) Because the shops are from *griffes* and the products are expensive. Then you see few people there. You see more people in shops which, for example, at Sony, because the price there is the same as everywhere. But, if they want to buy a branded purse, they go abroad. Most higher-income people, they buy abroad, at Europe, they don't buy here. They don't shop here. Only if they go to Daslu. But then people go on sales. For example, recently my daughter went to buy a Marcos Miele dress... Thus they also go to Daslu, but on sale. Because the price is more accessible, and also you bring what is going to be worn (in the next season). So, I don't see people buying [at SCJ]. You see one person with a bag, another one. Maybe someone who wants to say: I bought it there'. But the places to frequent, and to shop, I think it is more SPH and SI. (Ursula, 48, lives close to SPH)

In informants' narratives it is possible to identify some reasons why informants do not consider themselves higher-income consumers. Informants consider higher-income consumers are those who buy very expensive luxury products and services and who do not value money, as the following narrative illustrates:

I had a friend, an acquaintance who worked at Daslu. She used to tell about people who frequent the shop. (...) There was one jeans which cost R\$ 20 000 (approximately US\$ 10 000). And people would fight for it and buy it. It does not make any sense. One jeans, 20 000, it is *surreal*. Either you have to have a lot of money and that 20 000 is pocket money or you are a politician, or anybody else who earns money easily, who does not value it, because that comes easy, the person goes there, 20 000, it is not his anyway. (Zelia, 50)

Informants thus, do not consider themselves higher-income consumers because they do not buy extremely expensive products, they dissociate quality from brand and they make efforts to pay a fair price for the products they consume, such as going shopping in LISA, as the following narrative illustrates:

If there are products with good quality and lower price, why am I going to buy the same product for a higher price? Just to have the brand I bought at SI? That makes no sense, my head works like that, if I can buy with the same quality, I go after it. (Nair, 58)

5.3.4 Conclusion

The aim of this section was to present research findings to answer research questions 2a and 3a: *What are the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in areas associated with higher-income consumers? In which ways do consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers and higher-income individuals' performances when shopping in these spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?*

It is possible to summarize informants' performances in HISA in accordance to their motivations to visit these areas. First, informants go to HISA to stroll because they find the ambience pleasant. Second, informants go to HISA to consume luxury products – including the space, the products and services they consume – because, by consuming, appropriating or giving these products to others, informants' feel unique and belonging to the higher-income group.

Informants' performances in HISA are disciplined by the higher-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities. For example, informants dress up because they want to fit in, because they want to avoid being discriminated against by attendants and because these spaces are comfortable. Thus, when informants shop in HISA they conform to the higher-income consumer identity. In addition, when shopping in HISA, informants skilfully use their resources and knowledge to perform the higher-income consumer.

In conclusion, shopping in HISA is a performance disciplined by the higher-income-consumer-normative practices and spatialities in which informants embody, emotionally and skilfully, the higher-income consumer.

Nevertheless, informants do not consider themselves higher-income consumers because they value the money earned, they dissociate quality from brand and they do not buy extremely expensive products. In their narratives, informants constantly differentiate themselves from the higher-income consumer, who in their opinion, consume extremely expensive products and do not value money. One way by which informants value the money earned is by shopping in areas where they can find cheaper products, such as in LISA. The following section presents how informants' performances in LISA allow them to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity.

5.4 Shopping in LISA:

Subverting the higher-income consumer identity

This section aims to present informants practices when they shop in LISA and to explore the ways these performances enable them to subvert the higher-income consumer identity. Whereas shopping visits to HISA are aimed at strolling and at acquiring luxury products, informants' visits to LISA are aimed at providing different products for the family, the house and themselves, as addressed in Section 5.4.1. Section 5.4.2 presents informants' performances in LISA and Section 5.4.3 discusses how informants, in and through these performances, conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity.

5.4.1 'Going to shop' in LISA

Informants' visits to LISA are motivated by the desire to buy one, and most of the time, many products for themselves, their families and homes. Informants argue that in LISA they pay less for the same or similar products they find in HISA and in other shops in their neighbourhoods. In addition, informants argue that in LISA they find a wider variety of products in terms of colour or size but also in terms of quality. That means, in the same shops in LISA they can find products which are very expensive or products which are very cheap, as Tais explains:

At [Paula Souza] you find all types of products. Like in this shop I mention. They have simple vessels but also the sophisticated ones. All imported, these imported brands. When I want something, such as a pan set, I know they have it at Doural, I look at places here and I know I can't find, then I know I will find there. So you have a wide variety of prices, very different, and I think this is good. (Tais, 44)

Most informants do not stroll when they shop in LISA. Some informants, however, might combine shopping visits to 25M with visits to churches, museums and well known restaurants located in downtown São Paulo. Nevertheless, informants' visits to 25M are always motivated by the desire to acquire one or many products, as Celia explains:

Of course, if I'm at 25M and I went by metro, or if I parked [at the top of *Ladeira Porto Geral*] and I pass in front of *Patio do Colégio, Igreja São Bento*, then I stroll. If I have time for that, I go to the church, I go to the Patio and see if there is a nice exhibition. But I do it only if I have time. (Celia, 50)

It is possible to classify products informants buy in LISA in two types. The first type is products equal or similar to those informants find in malls and other shops in their neighbourhoods, but in LISA they are sold cheaper. One example of this type are products from well known Brazilian brands, such as kids' clothes, bought in 12O, and underwear and lingerie, bought in 25M. A second example is clothes bought in JP. As shops present in JP most often belong to clothing factories, they sell, for both retailers and consumers, products that were not produce exclusively for a particular brand. In addition, items produced exclusively to a particular brand might be sold to retail customers without the label of the brand if they do not pass quality control. A third example is the bijoux shops in 25M, which also sell retail and wholesale and, therefore, many items are also available in malls and other shops in informants' neighbourhoods.

The second type is products to which high-quality is not really required, such as accessories and clothes informants consider fast-fashion, this means they will use them only in one season, as this narrative illustrates:

I think you can find a lot of *modinha* (little fashion) which young ladies like. *É modinha*, like these summer dresses. My daughters, who are teenagers, they find it there. The cut, I think is not good, they don't have a good cut, but they have what is fashionable. The fashion, what young ladies like, is launched there. It comes from the mall, but it is launched there. Then you buy a dress at Le Lis Blanc you pay 300, there you pay 50. You

wear during the summer and then they don't want to wear it anymore, because it is not anymore the colour of the summer. (Ursula, 48)

Shopping in LISA, thus, allows informants to spend less money or to acquire more goods. Edna's narrative of shopping in 120 exemplify how she and her older daughter negotiate between spending more or buying more when they shop for clothes:

Because kids are like that, when you have to buy you have to buy everything. If it's winter you buy the full wardrobe, if it is summer you buy another, because they lose everything from one season to another. My kids are already growing and now I can only replace some pieces, but there was a time when I felt like that. When I went to buy, I had to buy 5 outfits. Then you consume too much clothes. If you go to the mall, you spend a fortune. For what? For them to wear it only in one season? Then I realized [at 120] the cost benefit was better and I got used to buy there. (...) But now my oldest daughter [12 years-old] wants to choose where to buy her clothes. When I take her to the mall, she wants to buy something from Zara, something with style. Then I take her there and she chooses. But I set some price limits, you can spend x. Or she got some money as gift. But she realizes she will have to buy less. When I take her to 120, she buys more. But sometimes she prefers, because she likes better. (Edna, 43)

However, as mentioned in section 5.1.2, informants consider shopping in LISA requires effort and, to cope with it, informants draw into multiple practices, as presented in the following section.

5.4.2 Shopping in LISA

As mentioned in the previous section, informants buy in LISA products with the same quality of the products they find in malls and in shops in their neighbourhoods and products with lower-quality but that they already know will be used for a short period of time. These practices are summarized in purple in Figure 5.18. However, informants consider shopping in LISA requires effort because, as presented in section 5.1.2, shops have too many items exhibited and are disorganized and the environment is uncomfortable, unclean and unsafe. To relieve the effort required, the discomfort and the feelings of insecurity when shopping in LISA and to be able to select the products they want to buy and to not get carried on for the variety and low cost of products offered, informants draw into multiple practices. These practices are summarized in gray in Figure 5.18 and will be presented next in detail.

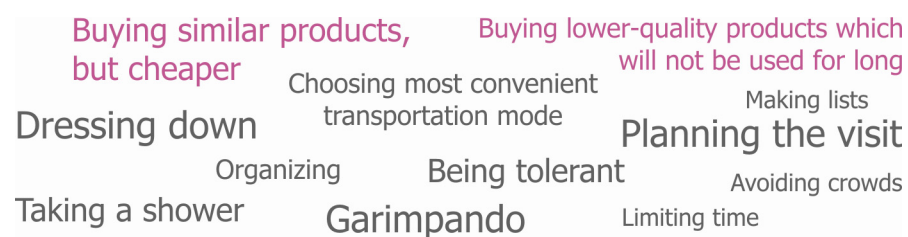


Figure 5.18 – Informants practices when shopping in LISA

Garimpando

In LISA, as mentioned in section 5.1, retailers offer a wide variety of goods in terms of quality, exhibit all goods available and provide a collective customer treatment. Therefore, consumers have to search and select themselves the products they want to buy. To describe this practice, informants use the term *garimpar*. In Portuguese, *garimpar* literally means to mine. However, in Brazil, the term is also used to refer to the practice of searching things carefully or making a selection of valuable goods (HOUAISS 2010). Informants use this term for three reasons. First, as most often informants are interested in buying products with similar quality they find in the shops in their neighbourhoods or malls, they have to find among the goods exhibited the ones which quality is appropriated despite being offered at low prices, as Dalva explains:

Você tem que garimpar! You have to find among all the products which are being offered at lower prices something which does not look like the price you have paid. You have to have knowledge. You have to know how to be in a *popular* place and find something which does not look like *popular*, which looks noble, but with a *popular* price. (Dalva, 35)

Second, informants also have to pay attention when selecting items because they might be broken or have small defects. Third, as consumers have to find themselves the products they want to buy, they disorganize the products, mixing up sizes and models. In addition, as attendants are often busy with multiple customers, they do not have time to re-organize products. Therefore, informants have to carefully and thoroughly search for the products they want to buy, as Aida and Olivia explain:

You have to look carefully, because at the mall it is difficult to get a cloth with a whole, but at the piles in Eskala, you get something seamless, with different colours or bad finishing, so you have to be careful. (Aida, 34)

It is a mess. It is like that, because... This is the big difference, because at the mall you have someone to attend you, to show you, at 25M, no. You get the things, which are normally mixed up by the amount of people that has been there before. You search for what you want to buy and sometimes you also have to search for an attendant, because not even the attendant can be easily found. So you have to be patient because it is tumultuous, it is too much people depending on when you go. (Olivia, 48)

When shopping in LISA, thus, informants demand less of customer treatment. One reason for demanding less from retailers and attendants is the amount of people present in the shops. Informants argue attendants do a good job considering the fact that they are most often helping more than one customer. Another reason for demanding less from retailers and attendants in LISA is the informal, or sometimes illegal, character of shops. Many shops in LISA do not sell products with receipts, therefore returning or exchanging products is more difficult, as Ursula explains:

Some people complain, 'Ah it was so crowded', but it is like this, the customer treatment sometimes is a bit unpleasant. But you go with other mood. You go and you already know you are going to be attended in that way, you know how it is. Then you do not go, you do not fight, you... even laugh. (...) And you don't demand your customer rights because even the government do not apply their laws there. Some people I know, they go [to 25M] to buy a Gucci. They even say that nowadays it is not anymore an imitation,

it is *genérico*, like you have generic drugs. It is not the real thing, and you know the person bought at 25M and it is a felony. For the brand, for a series of things it is not good, but it is there, open to the public, then you cannot be demanding. You go there in another mood. (Ursula, 48)

Dressing down

When going to shop in LISA, informants prefer to wear older and comfortable shoes, jeans, T-shirts, small purses and not to wear any jewellery or other accessories. The main reason why informants dress down is because they want to be perceived as 'just another person' buying in LISA and, therefore, to avoid becoming a target for thieves. Informants argue that the amount of people in the streets facilitates the activities of petty thieves, even in 25M where the presence of policemen is ostensive.

Informants also argue that *garimpar* distract them of their belongings and, therefore, they prefer to carry smaller or sling bags (with a long strap to be worn across the body), which are most often carried in the front of the body and fewer personal belongings. Informants, most often, bring only one credit and/or one debit card and an ID. Some informants put these belongings in their pockets even when they carry a bag, because they think bags are easier to pull and the most common target for thieves. Others disagree and consider this practice might be dangerous because there are too many people around and they might not feel when someone puts a hand on their pockets.

Despite their concerns with security, informants also argue that, when they go somewhere to shop, they prefer to wear a comfortable and functional outfit. For example, informants prefer to wear comfortable shoes and avoid wearing high-heels because they will walk a lot. Informants also argue that some clothes are more functional to wear when you are going to shop. For example, it is more practical to wear tennis shoes when buying a new one because you are already wearing socks. Or still, when you shop for many pieces of clothes, it is also more practical to not wear accessories and to carry a small purse, because it is easier to try clothes on.

In addition, informants also argue that the whole ambiance in LISA is not appropriated for dressing up. For example, informants do not wear fine clothing because they would be colliding with other people, their bags and with *camelôs*. They also do not wear sandals, high-heels or newer shoes because there might be puddles or rests of food and broken glasses or bottles in the walkways and they might either get hurt or ruin their shoes. The following narrative exemplifies the reasons why informants dress down:

Because the mall, it is a stroll, most often. In a stroll you can wear high-heels, there is no problem with the walkway. I would say it is also the environment; it is not only because of the feeling of insecurity. At the mall you can wear high-heels, a nicer dress because it does not call any attention. I think, in all places you go you want to blend in. Then if you go to the mall wearing a dress and high-heels, nobody will pay attention. If you go like that at 25M, first you break the heel, second, you are completely out because people are not dressed like that. (...) It is the same thing, for example, when you are travelling you are going to walk a lot, you are not going to wear a dress and high-heels. You have to be

in accordance with the activity you are going to perform. The objective is to shop? Then I believe if you were in Los Angeles or New York and you know you were going to an outlet you would also go like that, although there would be no violence. I think violence is a determinant factor in São Paulo, people are so concerned that they put their wallets inside their clothes [as Celia does], but I think how you are dressed is more in accordance to the activity you are going to perform. In a mall you can go inside two shops and then sit down, drink a coffee. At 25M you will have to walk a lot, you have to go in and out, it has to be a comfortable outfit, it has to be practical, and it shouldn't get dirt easily because at [25M] is the chaos. You are going to collide with all types of trends. Thus you cannot wear fine clothes, even because of you, independent on the violence. I'm not excluding it; I'm saying it is not only it, because even if there was no violence I might dress exactly the same. (Celia, 50)

Planning the visit

As presented in section 5.3.1, in functional shopping visits, informants are objective and focused, they go to shops they know and they limit the time spent in the shopping area. When performing functional shopping in LISA, informants limit the time spent also because of the lack of comfort and the variety of products offered at lower prices. Informants make lists to avoid buying unnecessary items and to avoid spending either too much money or too much time in their visits in LISA. They often mention buying more than planned, an impulsive reaction to the types of products and prices offered in LISA. Informants also use other strategies to limit the time they spend in LISA, such as making shopping routines and parking the car in areas in which maximum stay is 2 hours. When shopping in LISA informants also go to shops they know, not entering all shops, because it is time consuming and because many shops sell articles that do not have quality and products they are looking for. However, they might go to new shops if indicated by a friend or acquaintance. Rachel's narrative illustrates these practices:

I start a list, hang it on a wall in my kitchen, then I write 25M and I put the items, I forgot to buy something? Then I put there again. It is something I always have. Then when there are many items and it is a weekend when I can go and then I'll go. (...) [I make lists] because 25M is too big, it is confusing. If you don't make a list, you forget, you get lost in all the confusion. So I make a plan of the shops I'll go first, to not lose time. Shops which I know will be crowded, I go first. You will have more difficulties latter on. Sometimes it is not to get what you want, it is to purchase. There is this huge queue. It is why I make the plan, I already know, because I always end up going to the same places. If someone gives me a nice tip, they say 'Go there, you will find this and it is worth it'. Then I change, I go see something different. (...) Also, you see something there, you buy, after you see it is not what you were expecting, you spend in crap, and things you don't need. Nowadays I don't do that. *Eu não compro por impulso*. You cannot buy impulsively, so I make the list. You go and you know what you have to buy, you always buy something outside of the list. I always buy something else, but at least you go with the objective clear, even if I want to buy gifts. There is a shop I love, they have also one close to SPH, it is wonderful, it is my *perdição*, and it is huge and has a lot of thing for the house. It is in a transversal of 25M. But Saturday I didn't go inside. I said, I'm not even going to go inside, so I resist the temptation of buying. I love things for the house, and sometimes you buy something you don't need. You have to resist. (Raquel, 52)

In addition, informants plan their visits to LISA in advance to avoid what they understand are periods of the day, week and year in which the shopping

area and the shops will be too crowded. At 25M, weeks around Christmas, Children's Day and Carnival are the most avoided periods of the year and Saturday is the most avoided day of the week. However, most informants argue that is difficult to avoid Christmas because they have to plan too much in advance if they want to buy Christmas decorations or small gifts. Informants also avoid periods in which they will get too much traffic to go there, or days in which RAPA⁶ will take place. One reason why informants avoid these periods is to reduce feelings of insecurity, which are more pronounced in situations where too much people are on the streets or when there are confrontations, such as RAPA initiatives. Another reason to avoid these periods is to relieve the discomfort and stress generated by visits to LISA. Flora's narrative summarizes these practices:

The past times I went [on Mondays, between 13h and 16h], I realized you can walk, there is less people, and then it is better. (...) I try to avoid going [at Christmas time] because it is chaotic, but every year I end up going. This year, I planned to go in the beginning of December, but I didn't, I considered buying something in the neighbourhood. But then, I saw the prices and it was not worth it. I decided to face it [25M]. I had to buy some things to decorate my house for Christmas and I had to give many small gifts to a lot of people, not like real gifts, cheaper gifts. Then I went to 25M. (...) Every time, before I go, I check the news. If the traffic is chaotic or there is RAPA or policemen, I don't go. I avoid because, although it is not that far, if there is too much traffic, I will spend too much time and I'll become stressed. Then, the good moment I planned to spend, because although at 25M it is chaotic I like to shop. Then, every good thing about that would be consumed by the stress and the time spent on the traffic. (...) I avoid going in periods with RAPA because of security. São Paulo is violent and downtown is more violent. I worked there for a long time and I saw robberies when nothing was going on. Thus, I think in a situation of confrontation, there is a bigger chance for it to occur. But almost all times I went to 25M I see cops coming in and [*camelôs*] run with their merchandise and I get a bit apprehensive. (Flora, 30)

Moreover, informants chose the most convenient transportation mode to go to LISA. Informants argue they are used to do everything by automobile, thus, this is their 'natural' way of going to places. Informants also argue public transportation is not an option as the quality of the service is bad. Still, informants who have a better perception of the quality of the subway system, usually those who live or work close to subway stations, use this transportation mode to go to 25M and JP. They argue the subway is more convenient because they consider downtown difficult to access by car and because parking lots are expensive and unsafe. Nevertheless, some informants might go by car or hire a taxi to return home if they are planning to buy a large amount of products or when they are planning to buy something heavy or big. Dalva's narrative illustrates these practices:

I most often go by subway because it is impossible to park, and you get too much traffic close to downtown. I had two past experiences, I went by car, parked a bit far way, went to 25M, shopped and got back to the car. But I still think it is better to arrive at *Ladeira* (a transversal street of 25M where there are a subway entrance) because it is fast and convenient because there is a subway station close to my house. Then I prefer to go by subway, instead of going by car, the traffic, you spend too much time, the parking is expensive. But, you have the convenience of coming back by car without having to carry everything. But sometimes when you go to buy a lot of small things then it might not

become a huge amount of things to carry. But last time I ended up buying a lot of things for the house, then it was heavy and I decided to get a taxi. (Dalva, 35)

Going home

After long shopping visits, in both LISA and HISA, informants most often go home. However, after shopping in LISA, informants arrive home and most often take a shower and organize the items they bought. Informants go home and take a shower after going to LISA because they feel tired and dirty of being in contact with so many people, of walking a lot in order to cover all shops, of carrying bags and of being in a dirty and warm place. In addition, after arriving home, informants most often organize and try on what they bought in JP. For them, this is the moment of seeing what was bought because while shopping either they cannot try the clothes or they have to try on the top of what they are wearing. Informants who shop in 25M also like to organize and take a moment to see what they bought because they buy many things that they cannot account for after one day shopping. Informants also like to organize to be able to account for the product of their shopping day. The following narrative illustrates these practices:

[When I arrive home after shopping at JP], the first thing is trying on the clothes all over. No, first we take a shower, then we have lunch, we rest, let me see. We take a shower, have lunch, rest and then [Sara and her daughter] go to a room and try on what we bought. 'What do you think?' Because, most often, you cannot try on the clothes at the shop. When we don't try on at the shop, we arrive home and we first try on, because they allow you to return. I did that once. It was a gown for a wedding and I had to try it on. So the attendant [at the shop in JP] gave me an address at JP, I can't say where, but it was a toilet and you paid R\$ 1, you could try on. They had a huge mirror, then you try, it worked, no, then you return it at the shop. I did it once. Thus, we do like that, we arrive, we try on, we take a shower and we have lunch. And in the afternoon we rest because is hard, 3 hours walking, a lot of people, some times it is sunny... (Sara, 51)

5.4.3 Subverting the higher-income consumer identity

In LISA, informants' performances are enabled by the practices and spatialities associated with the lower-income consumer identity. These performances allow informants to subvert the higher-income consumer identity. As discussed in section 3.3, when individuals who attain a higher-income socioeconomic position perform in discordance to the higher-income-consumer-normative practices they open up the possibility to subvert the higher-income consumer identity and to disrupt the discourses that promote consumer-class-normative practices and spatialities as inherited to socioeconomic positions. Figure 5.19 summarizes informants' performances when they shop in LISA and the spatialities associated with the lower-income consumers. The ways informants, by shopping in LISA, subvert the higher income-consumer identity are presented next in detail.

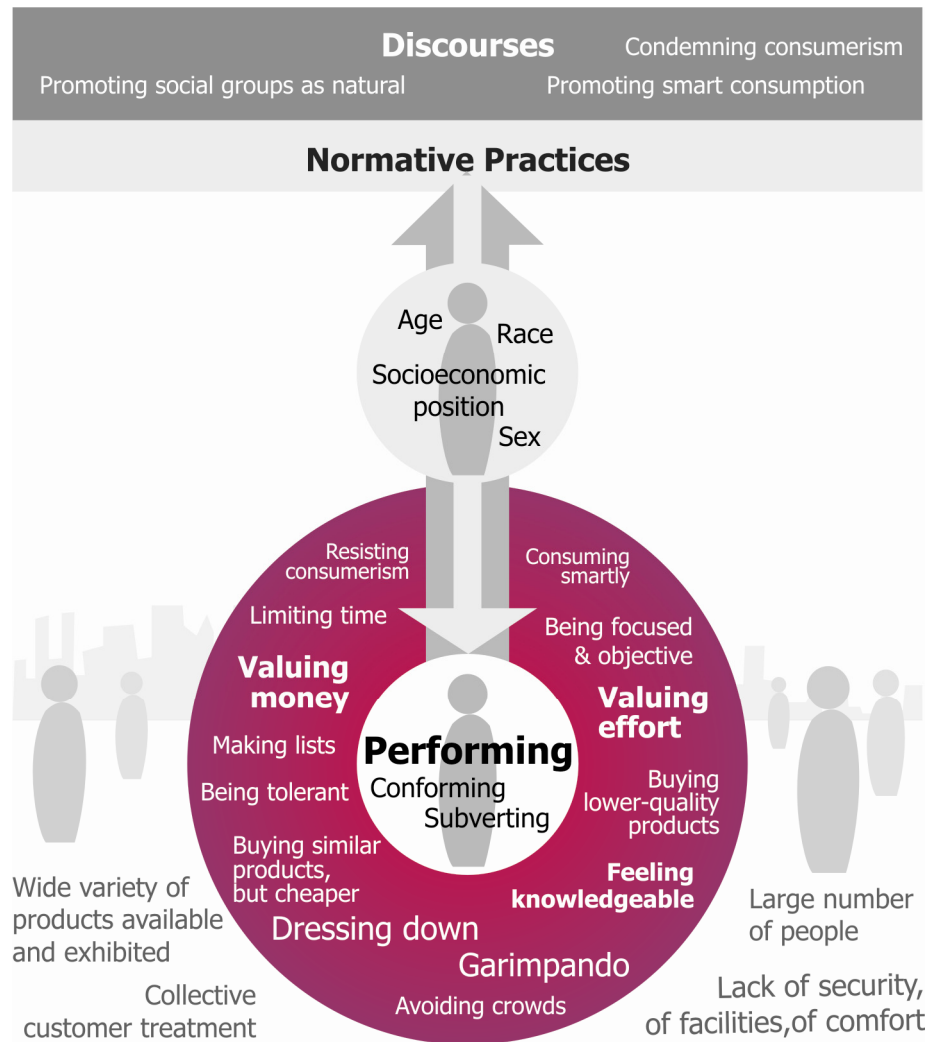


Figure 5.19 – LISA: Subverting the higher-income consumer identity

In LISA, retailers exhibit all goods available, offer a wide variety of products and provide a collective customer treatment, as illustrated in section 5.1. Thus, informants have to find themselves the products they would like to buy and they have to be more tolerant with attendants. These practices do not conform to the higher-income-consumer-normative practices and, therefore, when informants adopt these practices they disrupt the discourses that associate ‘being served’ and ‘being demanding’ with the higher-income socioeconomic position and they subvert the higher-income consumer identity.

By shopping in LISA, informants feel they are valuing money because they consider they are spending money more efficiently and they are doing more with the same amount of money. As indicated in section 5.4.1, in LISA, informants buy products similar to the ones they would buy in other areas of the city but are sold cheaper in LISA and products which might have lower-quality because these products will not be used for a long time. When informants shop in LISA they spend money more efficiently because they are

able to differentiate those products which require quality for their appropriation and those which do not and therefore, might use the money saved in these products to acquire other products and services. When informants shop in LISA they also consider they do more with the same amount of money because they pay less for similar products. In some cases, doing more means providing more for others whereas in other cases it also means spending money more efficiently. Aida's narrative illustrates how she can provide more and spend money more efficiently when shopping in 120 and in JP:

I search the best price because making Christmas Bags⁷ for 4-5 kids, if I would spend 150 *reais* by bag it would be a bit too much and you end up not making it. So, finding a better price you can make it for more kids. But I'm a bit stingy. If I can pay 10 for a belt which costs 150 at the mall, I prefer. (...) I have a trouser which my aunt bought for me at JP, it cost 20 *reais*. And everybody says: 'What a nice jeans'. So I think there are some things that have to have quality, but there are some things you are going to use 6 times, so it does not have to have the best quality because it does not make a difference, you are not going to use until it ends. Our things we do not wear until it ends, we wear until fashion changes, until it is not fitting anymore. And sometimes at the mall you buy something expensive which hasn't very high quality. (Aida, 34)

In LISA, where products are relatively cheap, doing more might also signify buying unnecessary products. However, informants regret shopping visits to LISA in which they got carried on by the variety offered and bought products they never used, as the following narrative illustrates:

There were times in which I bought too much and I though I shouldn't, It wasn't needed. In general I go back home satisfied and I think it is worth it because I don't do it often. I go from time to time, when I have to buy something and I really have to go there. But I have been trying to not buy unnecessary things. I bought a picture frame in the form of a cube, which I have seen somewhere. It has been two years. I never made a picture. It is being used as paperweight. It is like buying on sale, you buy a lot of things, it is going to give you that momentary feeling, that happiness, but the things are not useful for you. It is why I make lists. (Dalva, 35)

Thus, to avoid spending much time and money in LISA and to resist consumerism, informants make lists, they limit their time and they are objective and focused. In addition, when informants buy similar products but cheaper they also feel they are consuming smartly, this means, they are not accepting to pay the prices charged at malls when they can pay less for products with the same quality, as Olivia explains:

I think there are 2 reasons [to go to 25M]. One, the consumer became smarter, today he does not accept, even if you have the money, to pay a higher value for the same thing. No way. And the other, because I think, the consumption power is going down, then you have to be careful, and spend, or use the money for some things and try to find for others the lower price, without losing quality. But I think the smarter consumer is more important. (...) [At 25M] there are products exactly the same as the ones you find in malls, for example. It is the same type, the same brand, but there it is cheaper. Then, here you have the smarter consumer. Why are you going to pay more? Just because the mall is more beautiful? It makes no sense. A small difference is fine, may justify. But sometimes the difference is huge. Then you wear *a roupa de briga* (working outfit, mentioning the practice of dressing down) and go there. (Olivia, 48)

When informants resist consumerism and consume smartly, their performances are regulated by the discourses that promote smart consumption and that condemn consumerism and they also feel they are valuing money. As presented in section 5.3.3, informants argued that higher-income consumers do not value the money earned. However, informants' performances in LISA reveal that individuals who attain higher-socioeconomic positions value money. Hence, when informants shop in LISA they subvert the higher-income consumer identity because they disrupt the discourse which promotes consumer-class-normative practices (such as 'not valuing money') as inherent to socioeconomic positions.

In addition, by shopping in LISA, informants feel they are valuing the effort they make to shop in LISA and the knowledge they have about these shopping areas. As mentioned in section 5.1.2, LISA does not offer the services and facilities offered in HISA. Thus, when informants shop in LISA, they give up the comfort and convenience of shopping in HISA and value the effort they make to save money, as Paula's narrative illustrates:

The ambience is not the same, very pleasant, as if you walk in a shop with air conditioning. But I think it is worth it. Sometimes the customer treatment is not that good, but you find what you want, in the price you want to pay. It is like an adventure. It is not 'oh great', as if you were in the mall, air conditioning, you stop to have a coffee, a water. No, you will be thirsty. Or you might buy a glass of water from a *camelô*... (Paula, 36)

Some informants argue they do not eat or drink when they are shopping in LISA because they are concerned with food quality and restaurants' aseptis. However, many informants argue they know where to go to eat, drink and to use the toilet. These informants feel knowledgeable about LISA and about the city as a whole and argue people who are not familiarized with these areas or with big cities would have many difficulties to shop in these areas. Celia's narrative illustrates this feeling:

The life of people who buy in JP and 25M is not easy in practical aspects. Then if you ask me where I eat, it is in a place I already know, I know it has a toilet I can use. A place at least I can enter. I imagine people who do not know the city, they would have a lot of difficulties. Or the person who never went there, if you would ask me, I would never recommend shopping there for someone who does not live in São Paulo. At least I could go with the person, if it was someone close. (...) For people used to it, it is different, but for people who never came, it is very complicated. (Celia, 50)

When they shop in LISA, informants also feel knowledgeable in other four ways. First, they know the shops which sell products with the same quality of the ones offered at malls and they know, when they *garimpam*, how to recognize these products. Second, informants know when to go to the shopping areas and shops to avoid crowds and how to select the most convenient transportation mode. Third, informants know how to dress and carry their belongings to blend in, to feel comfortable, and to deal with their feelings of insecurity. Fourth, informants also feel knowledgeable because they know how to differentiate products they can buy in LISA and in HISA, as the following narrative illustrates:

Look, I think I fulfil myself in OF and JP. So, if I need a garment to work, for me or for my daughter, I go to JP. Because the price really... But, if I want something better, for a special occasion, I'll not go to JP, because I'm not going to find, I'm going to be frustrated. Why should I look for something there, when that is not the right place? (Graça, 69)

As presented in section 5.1.2, informants argued that higher-income individuals would not shop in LISA due to effort and knowledge required. However, informants' performances in LISA reveal that individuals who attain higher-socioeconomic positions make the effort to shop in LISA and have the knowledge to shop in these areas. Hence, when informants shop in LISA they subvert the higher-income consumer identity because they disrupt the discourse which promotes consumer-class-normative practices as inherent to socioeconomic positions.

Nevertheless, informants' performances in LISA are also regulated by the higher-income consumer normative practices and spatialities. As noted in the previous section, when informants shop in LISA, they limit the time spent, they try to avoid crowds, they choose the most convenient transportation mode, they dress down and they take a shower when they arrive home. These practices aim at relieving the discomfort generated and to allay their feelings of insecurity when shopping in LISA. However, informants only perform these practices because they are used to the spatialities associated with the higher-income consumer, such as the air-conditioned and clean environment of the mall. In addition, these practices aim at relieving exactly what makes informants' performances in LISA subversive: the effort required to shop in these areas. Hence, when informants perform these practices they conform to the higher-income consumer identity.

As mentioned before, shopping in LISA allow informants to spend money more efficiently. For most informants, that means paying less in certain items to be able to acquire products and services which are more expensive or which will improve their quality of life, characteristics associated with luxury goods, as mentioned in section 3.1.2. Therefore, shopping in LISA allows informants to perform the higher-income consumer in other moments of their lives, as Lucia and Flora explain:

I search for the best price because nowadays we have... Nowadays the world asks that, we have too many dreams, to many projects, so we are always trying to find the lower price, to account for all our dreams, of travelling, of having things. So, we end up searching for the best price. (Lucia, 31)

It satisfies me buying at 25M because I can save in these types of products which will allow me to acquire more expensive ones. I'm saving in one place to be able to use these resources in something which will be more interesting for me and which will bring me a greater satisfaction. (Flora, 30)

That is not to say informants only shop in LISA because they can spend money more efficiently. As mention earlier, shopping in LISA makes informants feel they can provide more for their families or for others, feel valuing money and effort and fell knowledgeable. These aspects are central to

the ways these informants differentiate themselves from the higher-income consumer, who in their opinion, does not value money and would not shop in LISA due to the effort required. When informants differentiate themselves from this stereotype, they might be dealing with their guilt of consuming products which are not really necessary, as Flora's narrative illustrates:

I feel guilty when I think about it. Because of the lack of necessity, the way capitalism creates these needs. I feel guilty because we live in a country which has a huge income inequality, and some people do not have either the basic and you see yourself buying things completely unnecessary. (Flora, 30)

Nowadays, the number of higher-income individuals who shop in LISA is increasing as recognized by as informants, marketing specialists and retailers. Informants argue they often see acquaintances and 'people like them' shopping in LISA, as mentioned in section 5.1.3. Marketing specialists, in a research with individuals who were shopping at 25M, identified that 12% of the respondents pertained to higher-socioeconomic positions (D'Ambrosio 2006). Retailers also acknowledge the influx of these consumers. A household utensils shop, for example, started offering products from international brands, such as Silit, Breville, Mauviel, Cristel and Staub, in prices up to 35% lower than in shops found in areas associated with higher-income consumers (Madureira 2009) to attract these consumers, as the owner explains:

Before only 'gente simples' (people with less material resources) would come, now we see everybody. That's why we are prepared to attend them all" (Owner of household utensils shop, 43 years working at 25M) (in Madureira 2009)

'Going to shop' in LISA is not a practice performed by all higher-income individuals who live in São Paulo. However, the increase in the number of higher-income individuals who shop in LISA suggests that this practice is becoming normative of the higher-income consumer.

5.4.4 Conclusion

The aim of this section was to present research findings to answer research questions 2b and 3b: *What are the performances of higher-income individuals when shopping in areas associated with lower-income consumers? In which ways do shopping areas associated with lower-income consumers and higher-income individuals' performances when shopping in these areas allow them to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?*

It is possible to summarize informants' performances in LISA in accordance to their outcomes. First, when informants shop in LISA they spend money more efficiently; they provide more for themselves, their families and others; they resist consumerism and they consume smartly. Second, when informants shop in LISA they know where to go to eat and to use the toilet, how to recognize products with quality, when to go to these areas to avoid crowds, how to select the most convenient transportation mode and how to

dress and carry their belongings. Informants' performances in LISA allow informants to value the money earned, to value the effort they make and to feel that they are knowledgeable about these areas and about the city as a whole.

Informants' performances in LISA are enabled by the practices and spatialities associated with lower-income consumers. For example, as retailers exhibit all goods available, they have a wide variety of products and they provide a collective customer treatment, informants have to find themselves the products they would like to buy and they have to be more tolerant with attendants. In addition, when informants shop in LISA, they give up the comfort and convenience often associated with higher-income shopping areas. Therefore, informants' performances in LISA allow them to subvert the higher-income-consumer identity because they reveal that individuals who attain a higher-socioeconomic position are not always served or demanding and that these individuals value money. In addition, these performances are also subversive because they reveal that higher-income individuals make the effort and have the knowledge to shop in LISA.

Nevertheless, informants' performances are still regulated by the higher-income-consume-normative practices. When informants shop in LISA, they draw into a series of practices to relieve the discomfort generated by shopping in LISA and to allay their feelings of insecurity because they are used to the comfort and convenience of shopping in HISA. These practices also aim at relieving exactly what makes informants' performances in LISA subversive: the effort required to shop in these areas. Hence, when informants perform these practices they conform to the higher-income consumer identity. Informants' performances in LISA also allow them to perform the higher-income consumer because, by shopping in LISA, they spend money more efficiently, which means, they can buy more luxury products and services.

In conclusion, shopping in LISA is a performance enabled by the lower-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities and regulated by the higher-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities in which informants subvert and conform to the higher-income consumer identity. Informants subvert the higher-income consumer identity through the embodied effort they make when shopping in these areas and through the knowledge they attain when doing so. Informants conform to the higher-income consumer identity by drawing into this knowledge to relieve the effort required when they shop in LISA.

Nowadays, however, the increase in the number of higher-income individuals who shop in LISA is suggesting that this practice is becoming normative of higher-income consumers.

Notes

¹ *Camelôs* are individuals who perform informal commerce – they might have sorts of tents, they might arrange their goods in the floor or they might walk along with pedestrians offering products through word of mouth.

² *Diferenciados* in Portuguese, a term used to indicate that a product is neither mass-produced nor very exclusive

³ In Brazil popular is a term associated with lower-income groups and sometimes used to refer to less exclusive products, services and spaces.

⁴ Daslu is a luxury department store founded in 1958 in São Paulo specialized in imported and national luxury items, including clothes, shoes, jewellery, furniture, art objects, etc. In 2005, the shop moved to a building with 20 000 square meters which includes heliport, hairdresser, spa, restaurant among others.

⁵ Arezzo is a brand of Brazilian shoes which allows franchisees to adapt seasonal collections to their consumers' profile. Shopping West Plaza was a classical case of mismatch between marketing studies and consumers' behaviour. The shop was idealized to be a 'top' shopping, but in the long run all mix of shops had to be reviewed.

⁶ RAPA are police initiatives which focus on removing *camelôs* and closing shops which sell informally/illegally imported items.

⁷ Christmas bags are a common practice in Brazil. Orphanages organize lists of items they will like people to donate to the kids, such as clothes, shoes, toys, and volunteers help them to distribute these lists to people who might want to donate the Christmas bags. Donors receive the list, the name of kid, the age and sometimes a description of what the kid likes, they buy the items, and return the bags to the volunteers. Aida, in particular, buys items not only for the bags she sponsors but also for the ones her friends and relatives sponsor.

6

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the performativity of class identities and the performativity of space by investigating the performances of higher-income individuals in consumption spaces associated with lower- and with higher-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil. Performativity suggests individuals' performances as regulated, but not determined, by normative identities and spaces. Hence, the understanding of class and space as performative is required to accounting for the ways individuals unpredictably and/or unintentionally change the world by living in it. In addition, as suggested by Bourdieu, it is through consumption practices that individuals construct differences among social groups and that they indicate their membership to a particular group (Slater 1997). Therefore, understanding consumption as the realm in which class identities are constructed, reproduced and transformed is important to account for the social and cultural aspects of inequality.

These understandings are especially valuable in Brazil, where exclusion has deepened the material, social and cultural differences between socioeconomic groups and where exclusion is expressed in the different quality of spaces associated with different socioeconomic groups. Nowadays, policies which aim at reducing inequality in Brazil are often focused on diminishing the material differences between groups. Although these policies are essential for reducing hungry and poverty, they are not aimed at reducing the social and cultural processes by which inequality is (re)produced. Meanwhile, the material, social and cultural differences between socioeconomic groups are being reproduced in, and being reinforced by, contrasting-consumer-class

identities. These identities are being promoted by Brazilian marketing specialists' recent interest in the lower-income consumer and in the luxury market, usually associated with higher-income consumers. These identities are regulating what is to be a consumer in Brazil, as products, advertisements, services and spaces, are conceptualized to increase their attractiveness to a particular group.

This study investigated the shopping performances of a group of 18 women, who attain a higher-income socioeconomic position, in consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers and with lower-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil. The main research question to be answered was:

In which ways do (1) consumption spaces of the city of São Paulo associated with lower-income and higher-income consumers and (2) the performances of higher-income individuals when they shop in these spaces allow these individuals to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity?

By investigating these consumption spaces and performances, this study contributed to understanding class identities as a performative enacted and transformed through individuals' discursive, emotional, social and spatial practices and within which individuals construct, negotiate and transform social and spatial boundaries. Section 6.1 summarizes and discusses the main findings of this research. Section 6.2 presents conclusions and discusses the implications and relevance of this research. Section 6.3 finalizes the chapter with reflections on the research process and prospects for future research.

6.1 Main findings

The conceptual model proposed in this study suggested that specific shopping practices and shopping spatialities became associated with the consumer-class identities, through their repetition. In this iterative and most often unreflexive process, normative practices and spatialities regulate individuals' performances. The higher-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities, for example, discipline higher-income individuals to conform to the higher-income consumer identity. However, individuals who attain a higher-income socioeconomic position might subvert the higher-income consumer identity when they do not perform in accordance to the higher-income-consumer-normative practices. In this case, individuals' performance disrupts the discourse which promotes consumer-class identities as innate to individuals' socioeconomic position. This study investigated the differentiation between consumptions spaces associated with lower- and higher-income consumers in São Paulo, Brazil, and between the performances of higher-income individuals who shop in these spaces through informants' perspectives. This process allowed accounting for how informants'

performances and the consumption spaces in which they perform allow them to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity.

Informants associate consumption spaces located close to wealthier neighbourhoods of the city, where international and national brands prevail, where customer treatment is personalized and where consumers are dressed up and go to stroll with higher-income consumers. Consumption spaces associated with higher-income consumers (HISA), especially malls, are mediated environments in which lighting, air quality, noise, temperature, neatness, and access of individuals considered out of place are controlled to increase the comfort and the security of consumers. In addition, these areas are integrated with parking lots and leisure facilities, such as movie theatres, cafés and restaurants.

When informants shop in HISA, their performances are regulated by the higher-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities. For example, informants dress up because they want to fit in, because they consider dressing up is adequate to the practices they will perform and because they want to avoid being discriminated against by attendants. In addition, when informants want to go to stroll they go to HISA because they consider these spaces more comfortable and, therefore, strolling in HISA is more pleasant. Finally, informants go to HISA to consume luxury products – including the space, the products and services they consume – because, by consuming, appropriating or giving these products to others, informants' feel unique and belonging to the higher-income group. Therefore, shopping in HISA is a performance regulated by the higher-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities in which informants embody, emotionally and skilfully, the higher-income consumer.

However, in their narratives, informants constantly differentiate themselves from higher-income consumers, who they consider to not value money and to not make the effort or have the knowledge to shop in consumption spaces associated with lower-income consumers (LISA). These shopping areas are easily accessed by public transportation and, therefore, there is a large amount of people circulating in these spaces. In these areas, retailers offer and exhibit a wide variety of goods, customer treatment is collective, attendants are direct and informal and *camelôs* are prominent. For informants, these areas are neither convenient nor comfortable because they lack the facilities and security offered in HISA.

In LISA, informants buy cheaper products similar or equal to those sold in HISA or they buy products in which high-quality is not really required. When informants shop in LISA, they argue they spend money more efficiently, as the savings might be used to acquire other products, and they are able to provide more for themselves, their families and others. Hence, by shopping in LISA, informants feel they are valuing money. Informants also feel they are valuing effort because they consider shopping in LISA worth it despite the lack of comfort and convenience and the feelings of insecurity. In

addition, informants also feel knowledgeable about these areas and about the city as a whole. Informants, for example, dress down to blend in and to avoid being target by petty thieves and they go to shops they know where they can find products with similar quality of the products sold in other areas of the city. Therefore, informants' performances in LISA allow them to subvert the higher-income-consumer identity because they reveal that higher-income consumers value money and make the effort and have the knowledge to shop in LISA.

When informants shop in LISA their performances are enabled by the lower-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities but, still, are regulated by the higher-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities. This entails that informants' performances in LISA enable them to subvert the higher-income consumer identity and discipline them to conform to it. Enabling informants to be tolerant with customer treatment and to search themselves for the items they want to buy would be one way by which lower-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities allow informants to subvert the higher-income consumer identity. In LISA, retailers exhibit all goods available, offer a wide variety of goods and provide a collective customer treatment. Therefore, informants cannot be served and cannot be as demanding with customer treatment as they are used to be in HISA.

Disciplining informants to relieve the effort required to shop in LISA would be one way by which the higher-income-consumer normative practices allow informants to conform to the higher-income consumer identity. When shopping in LISA, informants dress down to feel more comfortable, they go home and take a shower to feel clean, they plan shopping trips to avoid periods of the day, week and year which they consider would be more crowded. In addition, informants' performances in LISA also allow them to perform the higher-income consumer because, by shopping in LISA and spending money more efficiently, they may buy more luxury products and services in other moments of their lives.

Therefore, shopping in LISA is a performance enabled by the lower-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities and disciplined by the higher-income-consumer normative practices and spatialities in which informants subvert and conform to the higher-income consumer identity. Informants subvert the higher-income consumer identity through the embodied effort they make when shopping in these areas and through the knowledge they attain when doing so. Informants conform to the higher-income consumer identity by drawing into this knowledge to mitigate the effort required and discomfort generated when they shop in LISA. Nowadays, however, the increase in the number of higher-income individuals who shop in LISA is suggesting that this practice is becoming normative of higher-income consumers.

The findings of this research illustrate that informants' shopping performances in HISA and LISA allow them to conform to and subvert the

higher-income consumer identity. These results allow accounting for the performativity of class identities and of space, as presented in the following section.

6.2 Concluding remarks

The findings of this research allow accounting for the performativity of class and the performativity of space, as discussed in Section 6.2.1. In addition, these findings contribute to understanding the social and cultural aspects of inequality and the spatial dimension of exclusion, as addressed in Section 6.2.2. This study is relevant for the current academic debates within the geographies of consumption body of literature, within accounts of class identity and performativity theory, within Brazilian studies in social sciences, and within studies of exclusion and inequality, as presented in Section 6.2.3.

6.2.1 Performing class and space

The results of this research suggest that class identities are performed and performative. First, class identities are not inherent to individuals' socioeconomic positions. As suggested by Collins (2000) and Warner and Lunt (1941), individuals are not assigned to socioeconomic groups in accordance to their income or occupational status. Informants of this research draw mainly into embodied practices of dressing, walking, talking and carrying for bodies to classify individuals in socioeconomic groups. Second, class identities are performed through individuals' embodied practices of acting, saying and feeling. Informants of this research perform the higher-income consumer when they shop in HISA by dressing up, strolling, being demanding and feeling part of this group. Informants are not free to perform as they will in these spaces, but are disciplined by class-normative practices and spatialities. Third, class identities are transformed through individuals' performances. Informants subvert the higher-income consumer identity through the effort they make and the knowledge they attain when they shop in LISA. Nowadays, shopping in LISA is becoming normative of the higher-income consumer identity.

Individuals also perform class through discursive practices of talking about and reflecting on who they are, as suggested by Yodanis (2006). In their narratives, informants identify themselves with higher-income consumers when they argue that individuals with income much higher than their own perform the same practices as they do, such as strolling, buying on sales and buying luxury items abroad. However, in their narratives, informants also differentiate themselves from the higher-income consumer, who in their view

buy extremely expensive luxury products and to not value money or effort. Informants differentiate themselves from these consumers by emphasising the effort they make to shop in LISA. Hence, informants, in their narratives, construct a reduced understanding of the higher-income consumer and use their consumption practices to differentiate themselves from this consumer. This practice allows informants to deal with the guilty they feel by consuming luxury products in a country in which inequality is so extreme. These results support the argument that individuals' consumption practices and that consumption spaces are intrinsically related to the constitution of class identities, as suggested by Miller et al. (1998).

The findings of this study illustrate how individuals construct, reproduce and transform social and spatial boundaries through their performances. Informants construct spatial boundaries when they argue that, in LISA, they see more 'people like them' inside shops whereas they see more lower-income individuals outside shops. Informants also construct spatial boundaries when they argue that higher-income consumers usually shop in areas in which prices are extremely high, such as Daslu and SCJ. Informants construct social boundaries when they argue that the products they buy in LISA are not similar to the products lower-income consumers buy in these areas because informants buy products that have a higher quality standard. Informants reproduce spatial boundaries when they chose to stroll in HISA and to not stroll in LISA because they reinforce the association between strolling and higher-income consumer normative spatialities. Informants also transform spatial borders by shopping in areas of the city associated with lower-income consumers and by being knowledgeable of these areas.

The results of this research also corroborate the argument that space is performative, as suggested by Gregson and Rose (2000). The differentiation between consumption spaces in São Paulo associated with lower- and higher-income consumers allowed illustrating how spaces regulate individuals to perform in accordance to the normative practices imprinted in them. Spatialities associated with higher-income consumers, for instance, discipline individuals to conform to the higher-income consumer identity, to be served and demanding, to dress up and wear make-up, to reiterate the discourse which promotes class-consumer identities as innate to socioeconomic positions. In turn, spatialities associated with lower-income consumers enable individuals to be tolerant, to make efforts and to draw into their knowledge of these areas. Therefore, these spaces enable individuals to subvert the discourse which promotes class-consumer identities as innate to socioeconomic positions.

Moreover, the findings of this study support Gregson and Rose's (2000) argument that performances and spaces are interrelated. In their narratives, for example, informants argue malls are safe, clean, comfortable environments. When informants chose these areas to stroll, they reiterate the discourse which promotes malls as oasis in the city. In addition, when informants shop in LISA, they consider they are being smart consumers

because they do not accept paying more at the mall for a similar or equal product they find at LISA. Informants also make lists and limit their time when they shop in LISA to resist buying products which are not useful for them. Therefore, their performances are also regulated by discourses which promote smart consumption and which condemn consumerism. Informants' performances also reveal the interrelationality of consumption spaces. When individuals shop in LISA, they limit the time spent, they try to avoid crowds, they choose the most convenient transportation mode, they dress down and they take a shower when they arrive home. These practices aim at relieving the discomfort generated and to allay their feelings of insecurity when shopping in LISA. However, informants perform these practices because they are used to the comfort and convenience of shopping in HISA.

In conclusion, the results of this research suggest that class identities are a performative enacted and transformed through individuals' discursive, emotional, social and spatial practices and within which individuals construct, negotiate and transform social and spatial boundaries.

6.2.2 Implications and recommendations for policy makers

The implications of these findings are two-fold. First, the findings of this research contribute to understanding the social and cultural aspects of inequality. In the past decades, the visibility of the luxury market and of the lower-income consumers has been promoting a differentiation of products, advertisements and consumption spaces associated with these market segments. This differentiation, although contributes to the general visibility of the lower-income groups, also promotes exclusionary practices because it facilitates the (re)production of stereotypes. In informants view, higher-income consumers are those individuals who buy extremely expensive luxury products and who do not value money or effort. As mentioned before, informants draw into this stereotype to alleviate the guilty they feel. However, informants might also draw into this stereotype because they do not identify themselves with the higher-income consumer usually portrayed at advertisements of luxury products, services and spaces. These higher-income consumers do not seem to shop in LISA to be able to keep up with their dreams and desires as informants do. One might argue that informants do not identify themselves with the higher-income consumers in the advertisement because they are not in the most higher-socioeconomic positions in Brazil. However, within the group of informants, differences in income are very large and, still; all informants feel they are not the higher-income consumer.

This implies that, in Brazil, individuals whose income is much higher than the average population (only 9% of the Brazilian population have household income higher than 10 minimum wages) do not see themselves at the top of

the social pyramid. On the contrary, these individuals consider themselves distant from the comfort and luxury associated with this position. However, these individuals perceive themselves much more distant from lower-income consumers. As Peter Marcuse (1989:706) suggested, most individuals “feel their own lack of power and resources, but believe their position is substantially superior of those below them”. In a country in which exclusion is a major structuring force, such as Brazil, this might indicate that higher-income individuals will continue to use their practices of differentiation and identification to attain and to maintain the privileges and benefices associated with higher-income socioeconomic positions as suggested by Silva and Michelotti (2007). Therefore, as all discourses which focus on the dualism rich/poor, the contrasting-consumer-class identities being promoted in Brazilian society might also foster exclusionary practices.

This implies that policies which aim at reducing the material inequality between social groups might be efficient to reduce poverty and hungry, but they might not be as efficient to address the social and cultural processes which (re)produce inequality. These processes cannot be addressed by only one type of policy, and, therefore, policy makers have to work at different levels to mitigate not only the outcomes of exclusion but also its origins. Policies should aim at reducing the material, social and cultural inequalities existent between different social groups. Those measures should intend to provide the same life opportunities for individuals despite their socioeconomic group. Finally, policies should aim at increasing the participation of different groups in power institutions and at promoting plans and strategies which benefit society as a whole.

Second, the findings of this research contribute to the understanding of the spatial dimension of exclusion. The differentiation between LISA and HISA is the result of the practices of several actors. In particular, retailers, property developers and managers, design, develop and equip consumption spaces to become more attractive to a particular consumer-class identity. These spaces, thus, reproduce the material, social and cultural differences between socioeconomic groups because consumers require not only material but also cultural capital to shop in them. The informants of this research show that higher-income individuals might have the opportunity and knowledge to shop in LISA. Nevertheless, one cannot assume all higher-income individuals will shop in these areas. Moreover, one cannot assume that lower-income individuals would have the opportunity or knowledge to shop in HISA. This implies that the differentiation of consumption spaces associated with lower- and higher-income consumers also contributes to spatial segregation in São Paulo.

Policies aimed at reducing inequality in Brazil might focus on the spatial dimension of exclusion by fostering the presence of particular socioeconomic groups in particular spaces. One way by which local authorities could foster the presence of higher-income individuals in LISA is by providing more information both at the city level, at the local level and in the internet. In the

city level, signs which indicate how to access the area by car and where to find parking lots might ease the access to some shopping areas. At the local level, signs which indicate where to find restaurants, public toilets and cafés could facilitate the access to these facilities. Many shops and retailers' associations already provide information in the internet. However, a website which centralizes relevant information might also ease the access to shopping areas and to facilities. Working together with retailers to adapt these spaces to be more appealing to higher-income consumers without compromising the access for lower-income consumers and the wholesale business would be another way by which local authorities could foster the presence of higher-income consumers in these areas. One solution could be increasing the neatness of the shopping area and of restaurants. Another solution could be increasing the regulation and control of the presence of *camelôs*.

The presence of lower-income individuals in shopping areas associated with higher-income consumers might also be fostered by similar policies. Nevertheless, these policies should be informed by studies which focus on this group.

6.2.3 Relevance

The relevance of this study is four-fold. First, by analysing individuals' shopping performances in São Paulo, Brazil, this study contributes to the 'geographies of consumption' body of literature. This research demonstrates that informants perform the higher-income consumers by shopping in HISA and subvert the higher-income consumer identity by shopping in LISA. This study also demonstrates that these practices are redefining what is to be a higher-income consumer as shopping in LISA is becoming more common among higher-income individuals. Hence, this research reveals the role of these consumption spaces in the constitution of class identities and corroborates Jackson's (2004:175) argument that "local geography still matters".

Second, by exploring the performativity of class identities, this research stretches current accounts of class and contributes to performativity theory. This study illustrates that class identities are constructed, reproduced and transformed through individuals' embodied practices of saying, doing and feeling. Consequently, this study contributes to the understanding of the ways by which class identities are not only reproduced but also transformed unreflexively. In addition, this research illustrates that informants feelings are central to the ways they perform the higher-income consumer. Thus, it contributes to the understanding of the role of emotions in the constitution of subjects.

Third, by providing a theoretically embedded account of the relation between consumption spaces and identity formation, this research contributes to

Brazilian social sciences studies in two ways. This study contributes to popularize 'cultural geography' in Brazil of which practice and acceptance are still limited despite the expansion witnessed in the past two decades (Corrêa and Rosendahl 2004). This research also stretches the current limits of Brazilian accounts of consumption and identity formation. These relatively recent accounts usually focus on the discursive and interactional nature of social practice and neglect its embodied nature. In addition, these accounts neglect the role of space in the constitution of identities (see Leitão, Lima, and Machado 2006; Barros 2007).

Fourth, this research contributes to studies of inequality and exclusion in two ways. By highlighting the role of individuals in the reproduction and transformation of social order and, therefore, it contributes to make individuals, rather than institutions, accountable for "doing difference", for "reproduc[ing], and render[ing] legitimate the institutional arrangements that are predicated on (...) class category (among others)" (West and Fenstermaker 1995b:511). And, by looking into moments of inclusion, when higher-income individuals shop in areas of the city associated with lower-income consumers, this study offers a perspective which reminds "us of the existence of a whole universe" (hooks 1984:ix) in which individuals from different socio-economic groups coexist.

6.3 Reflections and future research

The results and conclusion of this research are based on (1) in-depth interviews with 18 higher-income women, residents of São Paulo, Brazil who attain a higher-socioeconomic position and who shop in lower- and higher-income consumption spaces and (2) on 12 participant observations in those shopping areas. This research revealed that these individuals draw into the practices of retailers, consumers, attendants, local authorities, *camelôs* and property developers and managers to differentiate consumption spaces associated with lower- and higher-income consumers. In addition, this research revealed how informants' performances and the consumption spaces in which they perform allow them to conform to and subvert the higher-income consumer identity. Nevertheless, this research neglected lower-income individuals. Future research focused on lower-income consumers might reveal a different understanding of consumption spaces in São Paulo, Brazil, and of the exclusionary practices that permeate them. Moreover, future research focused on the shopping performances of lower-income consumer might also reveal how these individuals construct, reproduce and transform the world by living in it.

The present study accounted for multiple moments of shopping and, this view resulted in the understanding of consumption as a process through

which individuals embody, emotionally and skilfully, particular subjects. Nevertheless, the focus on multiple moments of shopping and the choice for semi-structuring interviewing minimized the role of unreflexive practices. The focus on multiple moments of shopping entailed that, during the interviews, I sought for a balance between comprehensiveness of the interview guide and depth of the answers. The choice for semi-structuring interviewing entailed that informants reflected, explained and motivated their performances. Moreover, due to the time constraints and the schedule of field work, it was not possible to account for a wider participation of informants in the process of data collection. Future research focused on particular moments of shopping and which will include more participation of informants, such as walks-along (Colls 2004) and photographic diaries and interviews (Latham 2003), might enable a more detailed understanding of informants unreflexive practices and feelings. Nevertheless, future research on emotions should not follow the traditional focus of the field on the semiotics of advertisements and commodities and, as suggested by Illouz (2009:408), should focus on how consumption moments “mobilize simultaneously a panoply of emotions (...) which can coexist with each other (...) because emotions always refer back to the self”.

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Appendix A:

Interview guide

Interview: Shopping practices of higher-income individuals in São Paulo

Part 1 - Introduction

Thank the interviewee

Ask approval to record the interview, say information will be kept confidential

This research is about higher-income individuals' who shop in areas of the city such as Centro (including Brás, 25 de Março, Santa Efigênia, etc...), Pinheiros, Lapa and Santo Amaro.

The intention of this interview is to capture with details your shopping practices in those areas. Moreover, this interview intends to grasp the practices you associate with higher-income consumers. Your opinions, ideas, feelings and histories are very important.

Part 2 – Profile

Name	Code		Date/hour						
Postal code	Age		Gender	F	M				
Education	Fundamental	High School	Graduate	Post Graduate					
Marital status	# Kids								
Income	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Contact info

Part 3 - Shopping practices

Shopping areas

Among the shopping areas mentioned above (Centro, Pinheiros, Lapa, Santo Amaro), in which ones do you shop frequently or occasionally?

Which area would you choose to talk about your experiences? (LISA)

Would you say this area is most associated with lower-income or higher-income consumers? Why?

Which characteristics or aspects of this shopping area lead you associate them with these consumers? Why?

In which area or mall in the city you usually or occasionally shop into you would say is the most associated with higher-income groups (HISA)? Why?

Which characteristics or aspects of this shopping area lead you associate them with these consumers? Why?

Shopping items

What do you usually buy in LISA?

What are your main reasons for you to buy these items in this area?

Why are those reasons important for you?

What do you usually buy in HISA?

What are your main reasons for you to buy these items in this area?

Why are those reasons important for you?

Visiting habits

In general, what is the duration of your visits to LISA? Why?

Would you say your visit to LISA is planned or impulsive? Why?

If planned: ask how long in advance.

And in HISA, what is the duration of your visits? Why?

Would you say your visit to HISA is planned or impulsive? Why?

Other consumers, retailers and staff

How would you describe the retailers and staffs in LISA?

And your interactions with them?

How would you describe the other consumers in LISA?

And your interactions with them?

How would you describe the retailers and staffs in HISA?

And your interactions with them?

How would you describe the other consumers in HISA?

And your interactions with them?

Shops, brands and selection of goods

How would you describe the shops present in LISA?

Would you say that these characteristics make easier or more difficult for you to select and find the items you would like to buy? Why?

Would you say that the brands sold in LISA are well known or not known?

How would you describe the shops present in HISA?

Would you say that these characteristics make easier or more difficult for you to select and find the items you would like to buy? Why?

Would you say that the brands sold in HISA are well known or not known?

Looks and personal belongings

How do you usually dress yourself when you shop in LISA (clothes, shoes, accessories, other)?

How do you carry your personal belongs when shopping in LISA?

Why do you dress and care your belongings like that in LISA?
(ask particularly about comfort and security)

How would you compare this way of dressing and carrying your personal belongs with the way you dress when you shop in HISA? Why?

Transportation

Which transportation means do you use when visiting LISA? Why?

Which transportation means do you use when visiting HISA? Why?

Groups

When shopping in LISA, do you usually go with someone else? With whom? Why?

When shopping in HISA, do you usually go with someone else? With whom? Why?

Pleasantness of shopping

Would you say that your shopping visits to LISA are pleasant or unpleasant?
Why?

Would you say that your shopping visits to HISA are pleasant or unpleasant?
Why?

Other activities (if not mentioned before)

Besides shopping, which other activities do you perform while shopping in LISA
(drinking or eating, using toilet, strolling, window shopping, other). Why?

How would you compare the activities you perform while shopping in HISA and in LISA?
Why?

After shopping

What do you usually do after shopping in LISA?

If 'going home', ask specifically what the person does when arriving at home.

How would you compare the activities you perform after shopping in HISA and in LISA?
Why?

Appropriation of goods (if not mentioned before)

Who usually use the items you buy in LISA?

Are the same individuals who use the items you usually buy in HISA?

Part 4 – Something more?

Would you like to say something else about your visits and practices in LISA?
And in HISA?

Part 5 – Thank you very much!

Appendix B: Informants' profile

Informants							
Code	Name	Age	Education	Marital	Income	Kids	Postal Code
A02	Aida	34	Graduation	Married	6	2	05010-000
A03	Celia	50	Post-graduation	Married	6	1	05435-000
A04	Dalva	35	Graduation	Married	5	0	04003-000
A05	Edna	43	Graduation	Married	3	2	05159-520
A07	Flora	30	Post-graduation	Married	5	0	04081-003
A08	Graça	69	Graduation	Widow	4	1	05008-001
A09	Lucia	31	Post-graduation	Married	9	0	01227-000
A10	Malu	61	Post-graduation	Married	9	2	01254-010
A11	Nair	58	Graduation	Married	3	2	05633-020
A13	Olivia	48	Post-graduation	Married	6	3	01321-000
A14	Paula	36	Graduation	Married	1	1	04609-003
A15	Raquel	52	Post-graduation	Married	3	2	05433-002
A16	Sara	51	Graduation	Married	3	2	05020-000
A17	Tais	44	Post-graduation	Married	3	1	01455-010
A19	Ursula	48	Graduation	Married	1	2	01228-100
A20	Valeria	52	Graduation	Married	5	1	09416-070
A21	Wilma	49	Graduation	Married	1	2	02278-030
A22	Zelia	50	Graduation	Married	5	1	05469-000

Key: Household income		
Key	Household Income	In minimum wages
2	Until R\$ 2.500	Until 5
7	R\$ 2.501 – R\$ 5.000	5.01 – 10.00
4	R\$ 5.001 – R\$ 7.500	10.01 – 15.00
9	R\$ 7.501 – R\$ 10.000	15.01 – 20.00
3	R\$ 10.001 – R\$ 15.000	20.01 – 30.00
6	R\$ 15.001 – R\$ 20.000	30.01 – 40.00
1	R\$ 20.001 – R\$ 30.000	40.01 – 50.00
5	R\$ 30.001 – R\$ 50.000	10.01 – 15.00
8	R\$ 50.001 or more	10.01 – 15.00

Appendix C: Field scheme

Field scheme

Observation routine 1 – Shopping area

Arrive into the shopping area

Walk in the area paying attention to:

- Maintenance status of walkways,
 - Presence of cameras, private security, police,
 - Presence of urban equipment,
 - Presence of informal commerce,
 - Presence of trash
-

Observation routine 2 – People present and practices in the area

Turn around and walk in the area paying attention to:

- Number of people present in the area
 - Group sizes and composition
 - Shopper's looks
 - Shopper's activities while shopping
-

Observation routine 3 – Stores and practices inside

Enter two shops paying attention to:

- Noise of the shop
- Ways goods are exhibited
- Staff:
 - uniform, make-up, biotype
 - formality, politeness
 - ways they present the goods
 - attention personalized or not

Consumers:

- clothing, make-up, biotype
 - formality interacting with each other, politeness,
 - way they interact with staff
 - ways they select goods
-

Pictures & Movies

- Retailers and staff's looks, shopper's looks, number of people
 - Exhibition of goods
 - Maintenance status of walkways
 - Presence of cameras, private security, police
 - Presence and quality of urban equipment
 - Presence and types of informal commerce
 - Presence and types of trash
-

Appendix D: Acronyms list

Acronyms

CEM	Centro de Estudos da Metr�pole
GDP	Gross domestic product
HISA	Higher-income shopping areas
IBGE	Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estat�stica
LISA	Lower-income shopping areas
RMSP	Regi�o Metropolitana de Sao Paulo – S�o Paulo Metropolitan Area
SEADE	Funda�o Sistema Estadual de An�lise de Dados
SEMPLA	Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento
SP	S�o Paulo

Shopping Areas

LISA

12O	Rua 12 de Outubro
25M	Rua 25 de Mar�o
JP	Rua Jos� Paulino
L13	Largo 13
PS	Rua Paula Souza
TS	Rua Teodoro Sampaio

HISA

MS	Morumbi Shopping
OF	Oscar Freire
SB	Shopping Bourbon
SCJ	Shopping Cidade Jardim
SI	Shopping Iguatemi
SJS	Shopping Jardim Sul
SPH	Shopping P�tio Higien�polis
SVL	Shopping Villa Lobos
