

Exploring the Social Impacts of Favela Tourism



An insight into the
residents' view

Wageningen UR



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Master Thesis of Leisure, Tourism and Environment

Department of Environmental Science, Chair Group

Social Spatial Analysis

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Master Thesis

Leisure, Tourism and Environment



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Abstract

Since 1992, favela tourism in Rio de Janeiro is becoming increasingly popular, especially among international travelers. However, academic debates often condemn this form of tourism as a form of exploitative voyeurism. This study intends to contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon of favela tourism based on the community perspective in the favelas *Rocinha* and *Pereira da Silva*.

The emerging paradigm of transmodernity provides the theoretical umbrella to support this research; keeping in mind that from a transmodern perspective, tourism can be seen as a platform for dialogue and social transformation, the aim of this exploratory study was to expose the social dimension of favela tourism and investigate its possible contribution to stimulating social transformation. Results showed that under certain circumstances, favela tourism could indeed support processes of transformation in favelas. Given local acceptance of and control over the development of touristic activities, this study provides indications that favela tourism can lead to open a path for improving the social representation of favela residents.

Hence, although it needs to be acknowledged that the complex issue of tourism in regions of extreme poverty deserves critical academic debate, this study points to evidence that tourism can have also make positive social contributions in vulnerable areas. The outcomes of this research therefore contribute to shedding new light on the topic of favela tourism and to a better understanding of the complexity of favelas as an object of study.

Keywords: favela tourism; community perspective; participation; tourism development; transmodernity; social transformation

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
List of Pictures	v
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction to the Research Topic	1
1.2 Problem Statement	1
1.3 Research Objectives	2
Chapter 2. Literature Review	3
2.1. Introduction	3
2.2 Mystifying, Representing and Commodifying Favelas	3
2.3 Slum Tourism - the Case of Brazilian Favelas	7
2.4 Exploring the Other Side of Favela Tourism	8
2.5 Transmodernity	11
2.6 Transmodernity in Tourism	12
2.7 Favela Tourism From a Transmodern Perspective	13
Chapter 3. Methodology	15
3.1 Introduction	15
3.2 Research in the Social Science Field	15
3.3 Research Techniques	15
3.4 Case Study	16
3.4.1 Selection Process of Case Studies	16
3.5 Data Collection Methods	17
3.5.1 Marcelo Armstrong tour:	19
3.5.2 Zezinho tour	20

3.6 Data Analysis Methods	22
3.7 Fieldwork Experience	22
Chapter 4. Empirical Context: Brazil, Rio and its favelas	24
4.1 Introduction	24
4.2 Background information about Brazil and Rio de Janeiro	24
4.3 Historical Overview of Favelas	25
4.4 An Overview of the Representation of Favelas and its People	26
4.5 Favela Tourism in Rio de Janeiro	29
Chapter 5. Data Analysis	31
Section One	31
5.1 Introduction	31
5.2 Case study Rocinha: the historical background	31
5.3 Tourism Scenario in Rocinha	33
5.3.1 External Actors: Tour Operators	34
5.3.2 Internal Actors: Resident Association and Local Tourism Organization	34
5.4 Case Study Pereira da Silva: Historical Background	36
5.5 Tourism Scenario in Pereira da Silva	37
5.5.1 External Actors: Bed and Breakfast Network	38
5.5.2 Internal Actors: NGO Morrinho and Hostel Favelinha	39
Section Two	41
5.6 Qualitative Data Analysis	41
5.6.1 Introduction	41
5.6.2 Theme 1: Local Involvement Versus Hegemony of Actors	41
5.6.3 Theme 2: Social Dimension	51

5.6.4 Theme 3: Tourism (Transmodern) Potential and Local Aspirations	59
Chapter 6. General Conclusion	65
6.1 General Conclusion	65
Chapter 7. Discussion and Final Reflection	70
7.1 Discussion and final Reflection	70
7.2 Limitations and Scope for Further Research	76
Reference List	77
List of Websites:	79
Appendices	80
Appendix 1: Interview for residents not directly connected to tourism	80
Appendix 2: Interview for residents directly related with tourism	81
 List of Pictures	
Picture1: Rocinha View, fieldwork February 10 th 2010	33
Picture2: Hostel Favelinha, fieldwork, January 20 th 2010	37
Picture3: NGO Morrinho, fieldwork, January 20 th 2010	38
Picture4: Morrinho project, fieldwork January 18 th , 2010	39

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the Research Topic

Under the umbrella of slum tourism the object of this research is favela tourism in Brazil, more precisely in Rio de Janeiro. This city is one of the main tourism attractions of Brazil and since 1992 tours into favelas have started to be one of the many activities that tourists can undertake in such a lively city. Since then, tourism inside favelas has become a growing activity and can assume different forms (Kuiphuis, 2010). In fact, according to Souza (2006) for more than a century slums have existed in Rio de Janeiro and represent the worst and the best that the city has to offer. Although those neighbourhoods are controlled by gangster groups, they are also the stage of some of the richest cultural manifestation in Brazil.

In opposition to the main stream tourism, slum tours can represent an alternative form of visiting a country and getting to know the culture. However, this form of tourism raises many ethical dilemmas and despite its growing popularity there is much criticism in relation to this recent form of tourism and it is seen by researchers and journalists as quite a controversial topic (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). As pointed out by the same author (Cejas), as a research object, Favela tourism, is quite challenging because it is composed of several ambiguities and contradictions. The aim of this study is to expose the complexities of such phenomenon based on the host communities' perspective. Furthermore it will explore the potential of favela tourism as a vehicle for social transformation of favela dwellers. The final contribution of this research is to bring some enlightenment into the recent topic of favela tourism by clarifying some of the assumptions that surround this matter.

1.2 Problem Statement

Favela tourism only recently became an object of academic research, therefore there is still room for more scientific findings. As already mentioned, so far this activity is very controversial and contested in the Brazilian society. The lack of research done can justify the strong assumptions that surround favela tourism (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). For that reason, the role of researchers is extremely important regarding this topic because it can help to bring some clarification about it. Each study carried out can represent a small step in a better understanding of this phenomenon and in breaking some preconceived ideas regarding slum tourism in general and favela tourism in particular.

So far, the many criticisms done about favela tourism have been made by outsiders (researchers, citizens, journalists, tourists among others) about other outsiders (tourists and external agencies). Nevertheless, if more information coming from host residents could become available much easier would it be to actually understand what favela tourism is about and in what contexts is taking place. Therefore, the proposal of this study is to obtain an insight into how the community perceives favela tourism.

Other motives also contributed to the reason for selecting community as the main research target. First, seldom does the research that it was possible to find, take into account the community perspective. Secondly, the fact that my mother tongue is Portuguese highly contributed to this choice. The possibility of interacting with the community became an advantage instead of an obstacle. I wanted to give a voice to the favela dwellers and gain insight into how they perceived tourism because for me they are the most important actor who hardly have a chance to speak. Finally, with this study I intend to contribute to a better understanding of this topic and to explore the positive side of favela tourism, more specifically as a potential agent for social transformation of favela dwellers.

1.3 Research Objectives

This research has two objectives. First to challenge existing assumptions found in the literature regarding this topic and secondly to explore the complexities of favela tourism and understand if tourism can and till what extend potentially stimulate a social transformation of favela residents.

The favelas Rocinha and Pereira da Silva were the selected case studies to conduct this research.

Main research question

Can favela tourism possibly contribute to initiate a social transformation of favela residents?

Sub research questions:

- Can tourism in favelas be a gate for a more positive representation of favela residents?
- Can tourism in favelas have a social impact in the host communities?
- What does tourism represent for favela dwellers?
- How do they perceive the presence of tourism activities in their favelas?

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter corresponds to the theoretical pillar that will sustain the findings of the primary data collection. The literature review will give an overview of the theory and concepts grounded by several scholars with different visions. The goal is, after giving a general background, to clarify how this abstract knowledge is shaped according to the objectives of this current study.

2.2 Mystifying, Representing and Commodifying Favelas

The connection between favelas with tourism may seem odd or even bizarre to some people. Besides the moral and ethical dilemmas that surrounds favela tourism one of the most intriguing aspects is to understand how a vulnerable area like a favela has become a tourism commodity. In order to understand it, is necessary to explain the aestheticization process that favelas had been target of. It can justify why despite the origins, favelas can still be seen by others as an exotic place and a desirable object for consumption. To get a better insight of such a paradoxical phenomenon, the role of the media must be taken into account.

The image of the favela became internationally popularized by the movie, realised in 2002, “Cidade de Deus” (City of God) that portrays what is supposed to be a true story of life in the Rio’s slums. The fact that it was based on a book from a former resident of Cidade de Deus (that is what the slum is called) and that many actors were favela kids attributed a great authentic feeling to this movie. Its impact is also pointed out by many tour operators that claim that “Cidade de Deus” is responsible for the increase of interest in the favelas as a tourist attraction (Freire-Medeiros, 2006). Furthermore, there are also other actors that have an active role in the aestheticization process. The award winning documentary “Favela Rising”, tells the story of an afro reggae group from the favela Vigário Geral. An interesting point is, that in many parts of the film a different favela, with beautiful views, is replacing Vigário Geral. Therefore, we can see how the visual aesthetics of the favela are created to amaze an audience that later on, will be seduced with the chance of facing a similar scenario in a favela tour. The list of examples moves on, and takes us to a train station in Paris that hosted the project named Favelité installation, which corresponds to a collection of pictures taken by young photographers that once lived in favelas. The international night club named Favela Chic that exists in Paris, London, Glasgow and Miami also uses the label favela to sell an exotic image. Once asked why such name was used, the manager answered: “Our intension was to show what a favela really is, what the people needs are, what recycling is [...] All of our decoration is based on recycling. Our work has the intension of improving the situation [...] to show that favela is valuable, that the dignity we

preach does exist. It's not shameful anymore to speak about favelas. Favela is luxury, favela is chic!" (Freire-Medeiros, 2006, p. 12). It is also possible to find a restaurant named Favela in Tokyo and another nightclub in Germany known as Club Favela. In the music field, it is important to mention the clip of the king of Pop Michael Jackson, "They don't care about us" that was shot in morro Santa Marta and was highly criticized at that time by the Brazilian government (Freire-Medeiros, 2006). During the 2009 Brazilian Contemporary Art summer festival in Rotterdam several pictures and videos about favelas and their dwellers were part of the show.

Even Brazilian products that desire to be commercialized outside their country are adjusting their marketing strategy and are adopting favela as their label (Freire-Medeiros, 2007). In fact, according to the author (2007:4), "The force of the favela brand has become, as we can see, capable of transcending geographical and territorial referential, promoting Brazil as well as anything wishing to present itself as alternative, hip".

It is possible to interpret this internationalization of favela in a political dimension as Williams Claire (2003) claims, after years of neglect, social stigma and struggle, the favela is definitely becoming the dominant cultural image of Brazil at an international level and that represents its triumphant revenge. In fact, it is very interesting to see the reflection of the inverted logic that has always been part of the favela and other places with the same negative connotations. What was once the most shameful side of Rio de Janeiro city, which Governments tried so hard to keep away from citizens, and especially outsiders' view, now has crossed all possible barriers and represents Brazil outside borders.

According to Freire-Medeiros in a post-modern society, characterized by the deconstruction of the rationalism that dominated the modern paradigm, Favelas has gained the status of being cool. That image is represented in many ways in the international panorama, resulting in a strong fixation for consuming such representation. It is part of the global image to associate favela with a multi-cultural environment, samba, funk, warm people, beautiful girls, tropical landscapes and at the same time with danger, violence, traffic and poverty. This binary, almost bipolar image of the favela, is the main ingredient that turns it into a new meca for tourists in Rio de Janeiro (Freire-Medeiros, 2006). Favelas are now a trademark whose image is associated to a range of products and services. Despite the possibility of this irreverent shift in the favelas image be seen as being "breeze of fresh air" it is important to reflect on the risk of this representation being as injurious as the assumptions of favelados being "lazy" and "potential criminals".

Elements that symbolize favela culture such as capoeira, samba, flip flop shoes and funk music are consumed internationally and also by Brazilians regardless of social class. Due to the great array of media and technologies that proliferated in the postmodern society, this cultural development resulted in an intense reproduction of the favela image and in the international desire of consuming such representation. Nevertheless, the tendency to analyze this cultural

evolution with modernist lenses can continue to perpetuate the existing stigmas and assumptions of favela residents, reinforcing the same favela's image.

It is impossible to deny the fact that the representation of favelas has been changing through history reaching the current status of being trendy. Nevertheless, as was shown, this process was triggered by external forces like media, art and several businesses that associate their image with favelas. At this moment, tourism is also a global force that can contribute to a change in the representation of favelas and its people.

In contrast, those who are in opposition point out that the inhabitants of these communities, compared with other actors, have an uneven access to the benefits generated by tourism. Plus they highlight the fact that the motivation to undertake this kind of experience is only related with voyeuristic consumption of poverty. This point of view is stated by Mowforth and Munt (2003), who argue that visits to poor areas are motivated by a desire to consume real poverty leading to the commoditization and aestheticization of poverty that can, in fact, disempower the community.

The clash of views that surrounds slum tourism is also present in the case of Brazilian favelas as is going to be exposed. Concerning the topic of favela tourism, a clearer understanding about it is not possible to achieve without first reflecting upon Freire-Medeiros on-going research. This scholar is one of the pioneers in studying favelas as a tourism attraction and recently published a book in 2009 "Tem Gringo na Lage: Produção, circulação e consumo da favela turística", which means, *Foreigners on the Rooftop: The Production, Circulation and Consumption of Slum Tourism*. The book gives a good insight into the complex phenomenon of combining favela and tourism. Medeiros helps to demystify this phenomenon and makes a critical analysis of poverty and tourism. According to the author (2009), in order to analyse, favela tourism critically one needs to be free from extreme views. On the one hand, do not believe that tourism in poor areas is the ideal solution for the socio economic problems that a community face and on the other hand, do not assume that commodifying poverty for tourism purpose is an immoral activity.

Medeiros helps us to understand that to be able to claim a position about favela tourism, first you need to understand this phenomenon, take into account the specifics of each locality and analyse how tourism is being promoted. However, such reflectivity is not evident. Freire-Medeiros states that there are many extreme critiques, generalizations and assumptions around the controversial practice of favela tourism. The main argument against it, highlights dehumanization of the poor and voyeurism. Plus analogies with safaris are also frequent in order to illustrate how poor are exposed for tourists' pleasure. Furthermore, it has been claimed that the encounter between favela dwellers and tourists is based on asymmetric interaction. If favela dwellers accept tourists it is because they are not aware of the humiliation that is taking place. According to this view the contact zones created by this form of tourism are a form of humiliation and exploitation of the visited people.

Additionally, there are others who share the opinion that it is the responsibility of the Brazilian elite, such as researchers, to protect the favela dwellers from the immoral and voyeuristic first world eyes. This point of view is shared by intellectuals, researchers and the Brazilian middle class. However, in those arguments we can find two assumptions: first the favela dwellers and tourists are two homogeneous groups and the favelados¹ are not capable of having critical thinking or of being aware of the reality that surrounds them. Freire-Medeiros goes a step further in her criticism and dares to state that those who share this opinion want to be blind; avoiding the assumption that Brazilian society has a responsibility in the production of stereotypes about favelas.

In opposition to this extremely negative view, the author points out that favela tourism does not exclusively mean exploiting the poor. It can also have a positive effect on the community and particularly at a social level. Based on her empirical findings in Rocinha (the most touristic favela in Rio) she claims that the community mentioned the chance of reverting the social image that depreciates favelas as the most positive feature of having tourism. This evidence reveals that favela tourism can have a beneficial social impact on the communities. Furthermore, Medeiros highlights the rescue of the community's self-esteem an extremely important element while analysing the role of tourism. Following this line, the researcher exposes the fact that some community members are proud of having tourists willing to visit their neighbourhood.

Based on the author's fieldwork experience, the social dimension of favela tourism is also present in the mind of some tourism agency owners who claim being aware of the social impact of their activities and believe that their tour helps to improve the reputation of the favela. The reproduction of the social image of the favela strongly affects the self-image of the community; therefore, tourism in poor areas can represent a possible solution of raising the self-esteem of the local community.

Highlighting what Freire-Medeiros already stated, the social dimension is a key element when analyzing favela tourism. Within the social umbrella the increase of self-esteem and the positive repercussion on the community self-image are two important factors when mentioning the role of favela tourism.

¹ Favelados is a Brazilian expression to describe the residents of favelas

2.3 Slum Tourism - the Case of Brazilian Favelas

An in-depth understanding of this thesis cannot be achieved without becoming familiar with the academic debate that surrounds the selected topic. Therefore, this section will start with a brief description of what slum tourism is and the main arguments against and in favor of this trend. This general view will be followed by a more detailed discussion concerning Brazilian favelas since they are the object of study. This new form of tourism, known as slum tourism, consists of turning third World neighborhoods and their inhabitants into a new commodity to be consumed by the North. In this process the “periphery” is incorporated in the global tourism industry as an exotic other (Cejas, 2006) It’s currently present in several countries like: India, South Africa and Brazil.

According to Freire- Medeiros (2009) the reason why this new form of tourism is so controversial is because the combination between leisure and poverty touches on the sensitivity and moral values of public opinion. In western morality, leisure and poverty are often seen as two opposite concepts and connecting them is considered incoherent and inappropriate. Due to its nature, this topic raises many questions and ethical dilemmas. In the heated debates about it we can find different positions.

As proponents of slum tourism, we can mention Scheyvens (2001) who defends the idea that not including poor areas like slums in the tourist circuit of a city is reinforcing the social and economic isolation of such areas. Furthermore, “if a more integrated society and economy is the aim, tourism must be promoted within formerly excluded areas” (Goudie et al 1999 in Scheyvens, 2001) In general, those who defend slum tourism use economic development; improvement of the community’s self-esteem and the enhancement of the tourist’s awareness as their core arguments.

In the intense debates around favela tourism, we can see the danger of assuming that communities, especially marginalized groups, are passive recipients with no ability to take control over their lives and that favelas are homogeneous places. In reality, favelas are areas with plural realities. In fact, according to Valladares book (2005) “A Invenção da Favela do Mito de Origem a Favela.Com” favelas are heterogenic neighbourhoods. Each one has a different level of violence, infra structures, educational skills, entrepreneurship and its own level of involvement with the Government. However, such evidence is often neglected. The author claims that the last thirty years of research in the social science field contributed to the association of favelas with very simplified features. The general consensus about it spread to policies, government actions and public opinion. Those features became “unquestionably true” originating in the following three dogmas: first the specifics of the favela. Due to their history favelas are always seen as very specific and unique places. Places with their own rules, structure and apart from the rest of

the city. Secondly there is the social image related to its dwellers. Favelas are considered exclusively the home of the poor. Finally, Favelas are constantly being portrayed as a homogeneous territory, although they possess a quite plural reality internally and also in comparison with others, there is a great tendency to see them as a singular place.

Defending Freire- Medeiros critique of how discussions about favela tourism are being shaped, one may claim that this topic is being gazed at a very polarized view. Probably, the challenge concerning this subject is the fact that it is a very recent and complex phenomenon with little academic research carried out. The deficiency of academic attention can justify why there are so many common sense assumptions and judgments around it. It is fundamental to enrich the debates about favela tourism with more academic reflections. Therefore, the role of my research is to bring some clarification about favela tourism and demystify some of the assumptions that have been made about it.

2.4 Exploring the Other Side of Favela Tourism

Having in mind what Freire- Medeiros suggests this study intends to take into account the context of each favela and how tourism is being developed in each case. It aims to understand how this phenomenon is interpreted and what it represents for the communities. This research desires to go a step further from the above polarized views and reveal another perspective of favela tourism based on an inner view of two communities. It seeks to emphasize the positive side of combining poverty and tourism, therefore it will explore the social dimension of favela tourism taking into account the community perspective.

As Medeiros mentioned, the increase of the community's self-esteem can be one of the best contributions of linking tourism and vulnerable areas. Taking a more in-depth analysis into the potential of favela tourism, self-esteem can be a starting point for discussing the possibility of social transformation. In fact, the positive contribution of tourism within favelados can lead to a reflection upon the power of tourism in creating a social transformation. It can be an opportunity to reduce the social and geographical gaps that exist between slums and other areas, promoting what Scheyvens (2001) refers a more integrated city. It can be the chance for residents to look at themselves and their place in a different way, celebrating what they have best. Besides, it can be the possibility to broaden their horizons, gain new skills, absorb new knowledge and possibly aspire to a different lifestyle (Smith & Robinson, 2006).

Following this line of thought, social transformation through tourism can open a space for improving the social representation of the slum dwellers. If it is possible to promote dialogue and an understanding in tourist encounters, it is likely that tourism can contribute to a new insight into

favela dwellers. For a better understanding, the example of township tourism in South Africa will be mentioned in order to illustrate the positive impact of tourism. According to Regina Scheyvens (2001), township tours help to smooth stereotypes and show to visitors that they and slum dwellers share middle class norms and values, such as caring for the wellbeing of their families. A local community that believes in their abilities and demonstrates pride in their traditions and culture can be seen as psychologically powerful (Mansperger, 1992). Tourism initiatives which focus is to promote intercultural understanding can contribute to empowering communities. Psychological empowerment comes from self-esteem and pride in cultural traditions (Smith & Robinson, 2006).

The contribution of tourism represented by the townships case will be sought in favela tourism. In the sphere of physiological wellbeing it is evident that self-esteem is an important concept and is often mentioned by scholars to expose the intangible benefits of tourism in local communities. As a result, in this study this concept will be the main guidance while evoking the positive effects of tourism. For a better understanding, self-esteem can be a definition of how people evaluate themselves. Its synonyms embrace self-worth, self-regard, self-confidence, and pride (Baumeister, 2005).

Having self-esteem as the starting point, the social dimension of favela tourism can reach a higher level of complexity. It can encourage an internal transformation that can open a path for a shift in the representation of slum residents.

As well as the social impact, when referring to the relationship between tourism development and communities a common concept in the tourism literature is participation. It has been seen by different scholars as the key element to reduce the negative aspects and maximize the positive contribution of tourism projects. This vision is supported by Tosun (2005) who states that participation is a means of creating opportunities for the community to take tourism development into their hands by using their potential resources and having more information about tourism developments. In a general way, the concept of local participation embraces the idea of communities being more involved in the decision making process and being able to gain more control over the development and benefits of tourism (León, 2006).

Furthermore, according to Mowforth and Munt (2003) the only forms of local participation that can break existing patterns of power and unequal access of tourism development are the ones originated within the community itself. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that in the context of developing countries the relationship between community participation and development is not always proportional. The constraint that those countries and excluded areas face can justify this reality (Tosun, 2005).

In the favela tourism context the concept of local participation being addressed is important for two reasons. First to clarify the assumption that residents are simple commodities for western

voyeuristic consumption. Second, in order to explore the social potential of tourism in favelas it is crucial to understand if its development is matching local needs and if it is potentializing the chance of locals to gaining mastery over their own lives.

Still in the same line of embracing the social contribution of favela tourism, the empowerment of minorities and marginalized groups can be essential for their adjustment into society (Deloria & Lytle, 1883). As Onyx and Benton (1995) claim in the discourse of community development empowerment is connected with concepts of participation, self-help, networking and equity. Besides, they believe that participation is a vital part of empowerment since taking a role in the decision making process improves the self-esteem, confidence, knowledge and skills.

As Rapport (1984) points out empowerment is a difficult concept to operationalize and no single measure can define it properly. This study does not aim to go into analysing this concept in depth. It is only presented to reinforce the importance of incorporating the concept of participation in this research. Furthermore it helps to illustrate the possible positive effects of tourism in disadvantaged areas. Empowerment can be seen as part of the process of allowing vulnerable communities to participate in tourism development.

It is possible to acknowledge that local participation can indeed have a positive impact in the community and be a link to the social dimension that tourism developments in vulnerable areas can achieve. Since this study aims to explore the possibility of social transformation through tourism, participation is an essential element and can be an important vehicle to reach such a goal. Therefore it will be an important issue to be addressed in this research.

In conclusion, it is clear that the social magnitude of favela tourism can be intimately connected to local participation. Both concepts can open a path for more philosophical conversations about the role of tourism and its contribution to society. Following this line of thought, the new emerging paradigm known as transmodernity seems the most appropriate theoretical umbrella to embrace the mission of this study. Within this philosophical concept tourism gains an innovative image, plus it is possible to discuss its contribution to achieve higher values. The role of tourism in vulnerable areas can be reevaluated and favelas as an object of study become detached from existing stereotypes, gaining a new complexity.

In order to clarify its relevance for conducting this research a more detailed explanation about this theory will be presented, followed by a discussion concerning its connection with the selected topic.

2.5 Transmodernity

Transmodernity was for the first time presented by the Spanish philosopher Rosa Maria Rodrigues in her paper “La Sonrisa de Saturno. Hacia una teoria transmoderna” in 1989. She claims that transmodernity represents a development of thought that seeks to embrace the best of the traditional, modern and postmodern reality. Transmodernity is the concept that represents and explains emerging shifts at a socio- cultural, political, economic and philosophic level. To sum up, it defines a global mind change (Ateljevic, 2009) . There are several scholars, intellectuals and researchers that share the same vision and point out evidence in different fields. It is possible to say that transmodernity is the result of the current time that we are living in. We are in a transitional period, a time where human thinking is shifting from postmodern to what is now known as a transmodern way of thinking (Luijckx, 1999).

From a more sociological and political-economic vision, Dr. Marc Ghisi (2001) defends that we are moving away from controlling the world through reason and reaching a stage where every woman, man, culture and worldview, based on equality, is pushed towards the center. A joined effort for rejecting values of control, domination and to fight for a better future. Transmodernity, goes against the ongoing desire for economic development and material wealth and instead, measures progress by using quality of life as a barometer.

Worldviews have been shaped throughout time resulting in the emerging transmodern mindset. Each era is dominated by its own “Truth” and values that shape human behaviour and society. Reality is perceived differently according to each period: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern and Transmodern.

In a general way, in the Modern period human thinking was dominated by rationality. Truth was what could be proved by scientific methods. In this period society structures were based on the concept of deconstruction, which led to the separation of the serious-rational-masculine-economic-scientific pole and the religion-intuition-aesthetic-feminine pole (Luijckx, 1999).

In the following paradigm, known as postmodern, society is disenchanted by rational thinking. Skepticism rules and reflects the disbelief, the inexistence of Truth. Individuals are becoming aware of the limitations of what was once the rational way of organizing society. As a result a transmodern way of thinking is emerging. It embraces rationality and intuitive thinking without divisions. Tolerance and positive thoughts dominate. Diversity is celebrated. No one owns the Truth. There is an active tolerance. Women rejoin society. Women and men are equal citizens with the power of deciding upon their common future (Luyckx, 1999).

In sum, the idea of transmodern means that the best of modernity should be preserved without compromising the need to go beyond. The world no longer needs to be gazed as an objective reality with one Truth. After the deconstruction that dominated the previous paradigm, a reconstruction vision can now start. It rejects religious divisions and dogmas while rediscovering the sacred as a dimension of life (L. M. Ghisi, 2006).

After exposing the complexity of the selected paradigm, one may question how transmodernity can contribute to the tourism industry. The answer to this enquiry is precisely what is going to be revealed in the next section.

2.6 Transmodernity in Tourism

Transmodernity can be connected to tourism in different ways. The most common one is to associate the changes in the market, for instance the rise of spiritual and educational trips, as a reflection of the travel preferences of those individuals that have adopted their lifestyles according to their worldviews. Following this line, tourism can be seen as a key indicator to the global change in human consciousness. In this way, the role of tourism can be raised to a higher level and finally be seen as “a serious field of study” (Airey, 2007; Ateljevic, 2009; Nash, 2007). It will be possible then to change public opinion about their dominant and shallow view of tourism as just a leisure activity or another tool to reach economic development (Ateljevic, 2009). The same author, provides a good example of how can we reconstruct the role of tourism by referring to Theodore Zeldin, an Oxford historian and a public intellectual. In his vision tourism can contribute to a better human dialogue at an international level. As a result, he conceived the Oxford Muse Foundation that aims to rethink a new model for different business. In the case of hotels, he came up with the concept of Muse Hotels where besides the regular services; it enlarges the guest experiences by transforming hotels into types of cultural centers (<http://www.oxfordmuse.com/projects/projects.htm>).

Tourism embraces within the transmodern umbrella a higher stage of contribution to society. It can become a platform to potential social change and human conscience. Transmodernity opens the path to look at positive benefits driven by tourism and its input to human interconnectedness (Ateljevic, 2009).

In conclusion, it is clear that transmodernity has its impacts on tourism. Transmodern lenses gives to this industry the chance to reconstruct its image. From a frivolous activity or mainly business to an international indicator of one of the most relevant shifts in human consciousness. Tourism gains a new dimension and importance and it is able to contribute to higher causes such as improvement of understanding and connection among human beings. Despite the insight of how this philosophical concept can be attached to tourism, concerning the

selected topic such link is not yet visible. A better understanding of the association of favela tourism and transmodernity can be achieved in the following section.

2.7 Favela Tourism From a Transmodern Perspective

Contemporary tourism is frequently associated to the “otherness machine”. Tourism destinations are presented as sites and the people within as sights for tourists. The people are usually portrayed within this frame as passive agents. In this process places and people are presented as, exotic as the other. This vision neglects the fact that those places are constantly in motions of change and its people are evolving due to contact with tourists and the consumer opportunities that tourism as a source of livelihood provides (Aitchison, 2001). Similarities can be found in regard to favela tourism. Favelas and their peoples are portrayed as exotic object for western pleasure. Frequently the “speaking subject” is the western tour operator or tourists and the “center of talk” is the residents. Critical voices claim that favela tourism is a form of exploitation of the weakest ones. Plus, it points out that those locals cannot protect themselves from being exposed, reinforcing the vision that slum dwellers are passive victims.

Embracing the topic of favela tourism with transmodern lenses gives me the freedom as a researcher to take a step back from this frame and gaze at a different angle. It allows acknowledging that reality is constantly changing and therefore favelas are also permanently evolving. They possess a hybrid environment and their own dynamics. Furthermore, because transmodern vision has positive thinking as one of the main pillars it allows move away from pessimistic views and the opportunity to visualize positive outcomes of favela tourism. Being inspired by Margaret Silf who claims that “to travel is to discover that human beings in other lands and cultures are also people with whom we can share our laughter and our tears, and that what we have in common is a great deal more than the sum of all our differences.” (Margaret, 2006, p. 178), allows reflection upon its input on global awareness. Favela tourism can give an opportunity to gain an inner perspective and bring people together. It can be a starting point for creating a bridge to reduce the gap between favelas and the rest of the city. It can be an open door for dialogue and understanding. Transmodernity does not erase the fact that favelas are indeed paradoxical it does not neglect the fact that tourism can be responsible for increasing powerless and exploitation. It acknowledges those facts but provides a chance to discuss new possibilities such as the contribution to a change in human consciousness and social transformation.

Keeping in mind Freire-Medeiros suggestion of avoiding the dominant view, transmodern thinking provides the theoretical argument to move away from the hegemonic assumptions and polarized

views. It allows embracing favela tourism having in mind the importance of the specific environment and the context of each case.

In the beginning of the theoretical chapter it was clear that the distinctions made by public opinion and governments concerning favelas as “us and the rest” resulted in a strong social and geographic separation. The transmodern view can interpret favela tourism as an opportunity to challenge existing divisions by creating a space where “we” can co-exist. Where diversity is celebrated and dialogue is in pursuit. The analysis of contact zones can be a good way to understand how the clash of cultures and existing barriers can be dealt with. For a better understanding of the meaning of the “contact zones”, Louise Pratt defined it as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other in contexts of highly asymmetric relations of power” (Pratt, 1999, p. 76).

In conclusion, as the final outcome, from a transmodern view this study intends to explore the role of tourism in opening a path for a possible positive change in the representation of favelas and its people. Consequently it will improve more understanding about favela tourism and reduce the extreme views that dominate the literature about it.

For a better understanding of how this research is connected to transmodernity, it is relevant to make it clear that the aim of this study is not to actually prove or measure at an empirical level the existence of the selected theory. That explains why it was presented in a general way rather than in a detailed explanation. In this context, transmodernity should be seen as the theoretical backup that permits me as a researcher to explore the social dimension of favela tourism, a less known side. It is the perfect umbrella to bring into discussion the role of tourism in poor areas and to embrace its potential as a trigger to initiate a social transformation that can open a way for a change in the human mindset. Furthermore, as was previously revealed this approach to transmodernity is in harmony with Freire-Medeiros main argument.

Since transmodernity is quite a philosophical paradigm in order to conduct fieldwork it will be operationalized into the following concepts: self-esteem, local participation, dialogue and aspirations. Each dimension will be evaluated in each case study and the positive contribution of tourism will be discussed based on the evidences that each context highlights. The features of tourism development in each case study will allow discussing if favela tourism has the potential to be seen as a transformative form of tourism.

Due to the fact that this study will be focus exclusively on the community side, it will give a chance for the “speaking subject” to be finally the center of the discussion.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this research is to contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon favela tourism and to explore the social dimension of this activity based on the community perspective. In this chapter information will be given concerning the methodology applied at a theoretical level. More precisely: the research strategy, data analysis and data collection methods. In advance, it will provide a detailed description of the fieldwork experience.

3.2 Research in the Social Science Field

In social science research one must select a paradigm that will guide its whole research process. For a better understanding one can define paradigm as a basic set of beliefs that guide action (Guba, 1990). For this study the paradigm adopted was the interpretative social science paradigm. It is based on the work of Max Weber and his term “verstehen” or empathetic understanding. According to the author, “verstehen” is obtained when “through sympathetic participation one can grasp the emotional context in which the action takes place” (Weber, 1978, p. 5).

This paradigm defends that there are multiple realities to explain a phenomenon, the research process should be subjective rather than objective and preference is given to qualitative methodological approach. Plus, data should be collected based on the insider’s view and in their natural environment (Jennings, 2001). Once a brief description of the paradigm is made, it becomes clear, taking into account the nature of this study that this choice is in harmony with the topic, data analysis and aim of this research.

3.3 Research Techniques

In the condition of a qualitative researcher one has a great variety of methods and practices available in order to address the research questions that define the path of the study (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001). In this research the case study method was selected plus other two techniques named as: semi structure interviews and participant observation. Once the techniques have been chosen the next step is to guarantee the reliability and validity of the research. In this case the triangulation method was adopted in order to increase the trustworthiness of this study. According to Jennings (2001) triangulation involves using several

methods to gather relevant data. At a methodological level there are different sources of triangulation but for the purpose of this study, triangulation of methods was the most suitable option. In this sense, the data gathered from the different techniques were merged in order to gain a deeper understanding and to eliminate possible errors of misleading information.

3.4 Case Study

The research strategy adopted for this thesis is the case study. According to Yin (1994) case study can be interpreted as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context (Jennings, 2001). In order to conduct this research an exploratory case study was selected, which means that this research explores a tourism phenomenon to discover its uniqueness or characteristics since no pre-existing data exists in the public arena (Yin, 1994). Since the nature of this study was to investigate the uniqueness of each context which lacks scientific knowledge, especially in relation to one of the case studies (Pereira da Silva) the exploratory case study was the most suitable choice.

3.4.1 Selection Process of Case Studies

During the process of collecting information about the selected topic for my thesis I came across the fact that there was a lack of scientific information regarding tourism development in favelas. Therefore, the majority of the articles found presented Rocinha as an object of study. Due to this fact I also decided to include Rocinha as part of my research. In this way, I could more easily understand the phenomenon and what kind of tourism scenario I could find in my fieldwork. Since the topic, the city and particularly the favelas were unknown to me the selection of Rocinha was very important because it gave me a more detailed vision of what kind of tourism development I was going to face, what organizations I could find there and some initial contacts that later on were beneficial for my fieldwork. Besides, the fact that it was the pioneer favela to receive tourists and is the most touristic one, contributed to reinforce the value of including Rocinha as a case study.

The option of including another favela seemed like a wise option once I had clearer vision of the aim of my study. I decided to explore two case studies with opposite development nature: one locally initiated and another controlled by external actors. Since the objective was to understand the social dimension of favela tourism and its possible contribution for a social transformation, I assumed that the crucial difference among the case studies could contribute to valuable data in my findings. The main reason why particularly Pereira da Silva was chosen is based on the fact

that first of all it is a local initiative and then because it offers very unique tourism activities. Pereira da Silva was the first favela to offer accommodation and is the only one that gives the visitors an opportunity to see an art project made by locals that has been participating in international renowned exhibitions and museums.

Due to its particularity Pereira da Silva personally attracted my curiosity. At a scientific level this favela seemed like the perfect case study to show a positive example of an active community. Furthermore, the objective of clarifying some of the assumptions regarding the topic reinforced my choice for Pereira since it challenges the idea that slum dwellers are lazy and lack initiative.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

During fieldwork the techniques used were semi structure interviews and participant observation. The first one can be defined as pseudo conversations that usually have set rules to follow (Jennings, 2001). In this case since the interviews were regarding topics such as participation, benefits, perceptions and aspirations it seemed like the wisest option to collect data. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that the questions were open and was similar to a conversation which contributed to making the interviewee more comfortable and willing to collaborate.

In relation to the semi structure interview design, the only target were locals but due to the nature of the research two semi structure interviews were elaborated. One of them was directed to locals connected to tourism, which means residents related with the tourism activities or those that could directly benefit from tourism were part of this group. The other one was directed to residents whose livelihood was not connected at all with tourism. The objective was to verify if the general community perception to tourism was homogenous and avoid being influenced by a possible more favorable opinion of those that rely on tourism. Curiously, in both favelas the two groups shared quite a similar vision of tourism. In total, in a period of three months twenty one interviews were conducted. More precisely, nine interviews in Pereira and ten in Rocinha.

The profile of the interviewees was quite diverse in both favelas. In general the average age was in between thirty to forty, the youngest being nineteen and the oldest seventy years old. Since the idea was to get an insight into how locals perceive tourism I decided that it would be more beneficial to get an overview across different ages instead of selecting a more specific group.

In respect to gender, the sample collected is far less homogeneous compared to age factor. There is a predominance of females in the sample of Pereira da Silva. The motive that can justify this is related to the fact that a day care centre for children or any kind of assistance is basically nonexistent. Therefore once women have a child they tend to stay in home to take care of it.

Furthermore, the fact that the birth rate is high in favelas (especially among youth) reinforces the probability of interacting more with the female gender.

In terms of sample selection, since I started fieldwork first in Pereira da Silva those that were part of my routine as volunteer were the primary source, such as the mothers of the children that attended Morrinho activities. Later, the selection started based on snow ball effect, meaning that each interviewee would suggest someone that could be relevant. Others were obvious choices since they were connected to organizations that I wanted to approach. Besides semi structure interviews and participant observation was also an adopted technique. According to Patton (1990) participant observation requires intensive fieldwork in which the researcher is immersed in the culture of the object of study (in Jennings, 2001). In this way, during the three months spent in both favelas observations were conducted constantly and organized into a reflection note book.

To complement the data collected by the above methods, less “formal” sources were used which highly contributed to my integration, interaction with slum dwellers and understanding how favelas are approached as a tourism destination. Due to the nature of the selected object of study one of my main concerns was how to get access to a favela and to what extent it would be possible for me to conduct my fieldwork. In order to facilitate my presence and to more easily gain the confidence of the residents I decided to conduct volunteer work for a period of two months in the NGO Morrinho in Pereira da Silva. In relation to Rocinha the same strategy was not applied because it would have been extremely difficult to conduct two volunteer jobs at the same time plus the research.

Therefore, taking into account the fact that Rocinha is quite touristy and external and internal actors work independently, I decided to participate in two tour experiences. One was organized by an external tourism agency, named Favela Tour, which owner is Marcello Armstrong, who I had been in contact with since the beginning of my research and who had always been very helpful to me. The second one was a tour run by a local guide. The idea behind participating in two opposite forms of tours was to understand the differences and similarities according to the methods, group size, guide performance, visited areas and overall approach to the favela as a tourism commodity. For a better understanding of what each tour can offer to their tourists, one can find below a brief summary of each experience.

3.5.1 Marcelo Armstrong tour:

On February 9th, I participated in the Marcelo Armstrong tour. The group size was relatively small, ten people attended. It had duration of 3 hours and it was carried out by traveling in a small van and also on foot in the main streets. It included visiting Rocinha and Vila Canoas a small favela, closed by. There, we visited the social project Para ti, which this tour agency financially supports. After attending this tour I must say that I gained a good impression about this agency and mostly because of the guide's role. During the 3 hours tour she constantly tried to make the tourists understand that the way media describes favela residents does not really correspond to reality because only a small percentage, some say 1%, are actually involved in trafficking. The rest are just hard working people. She also highlighted to the group that many staff members of their luxury hotels also live in favelas. Her discourse was mainly focused on Rio's extreme social inequality, the lack of public policies for the poor and the low quality of the public school system and health system, the only services that poor people can attend.

In addition, the guide was very open to discussing a popular assumption that remains open, the possibility of tourism agencies being associated with trafficking in order to guarantee tourists security. She made it clear that there is no connection between them and the agencies operating there. According to her, the drug lords want to keep Rocinha in low profile in order to avoid police attention. Therefore, committing any source of crime to a tourist would cause the opposite effect. In addition, she argues that it is an advantage for them to have tourists because it passes the message to the middle and upper classes that it is safe to enter Rocinha. Therefore there is no reason for them to interfere with the tourists' safety. Furthermore, the guide explained that once we were there the watchers (those that stay in strategic points watching if police or the rival gang is coming) knew about our presence and communicated to the rest of the group so they would circulate more discretely.

The tour started in Rocinha and the main stopping point was in the art craft stalls in one of the main streets, giving a chance for tourists to purchase souvenirs. It is important to refer to this moment because one of the most common arguments of locals is that external guides block the opportunity of tourists investing their money inside the favela. It is also relevant to mention that the guide was very friendly to the artists, introducing each one individually to the group. According to her opinion, this small jest is important because it makes them feel proud of their work.

An important aspect of this tour was the fact that before starting and even during, several recommendations were given concerning pictures. We were told only to take pictures in the areas allowed by the guide and to avoid photographing people especially without permission. Also, other recommendations were given concerning the tourists behavior. We were told to avoid

interfering as much as possible in the residents routine, therefore we were asked to let residents pass first while walking in narrow and busy streets. Later I found out that such awareness is not always transmitted to the tourists which make some locals claim that tourism is invasive.

After visiting Rocinha, which is a mix of walking and touring in a small van, the next stop was Vila Canoas to visit the social project that the agency supports. The project is an educational center to support children and teenagers with their academic work after school. After it, we continued with a walk through the favela and finalized the tour.

At the end of the tour, I had the opportunity to discuss the topic of tourism in favelas with the guide. She confessed she previously had a very negative image of favelas and their residents but that had gradually changed once she started working in the field of favela tourism. Furthermore, she expressed that the idea that favelas are no go areas is so strong that her family never dare to do a tour with her. In addition, she revealed that her family and close friends do not agree with her work choice, describing it as risky and bizarre. This informal conversation led me to believe what I already suspected about the strong Brazilian prejudice to this form of tourism.

Finally, I want to mention the fact that during the tour there were a Norwegian couple that complained about not being able to see people carrying guns just like a friend of theirs did while taking a Rocinha tour. They expressed their disappointment about only seeing a normal routine and a peaceful environment. This episode made me reflect upon how favelas can be commoditized as an exotic product for the voyeuristic consumption of western adventure tourists and how that perpetuates the negative stereotypes and reinforces the power structures inside the favela, making those related with trafficking even more powerful and the rest of the community more submissive.

3.5.2 Zezinho tour

On February 18th I participated in a Zezinho tour. Zezinho is a resident of Rocinha who speaks English fluently because he is half American and spent some years living in the United States of America. He explained that he first started giving tours in Rocinha in an informal way, by taking friends of friends who were traveling in Rio and were curious about the reality of favelas. Later, through the encouragement of a couple that took his tour he decided being a guide would become his full time job. Therefore he took a short course on tourism that an organization in Rocinha provides and five months launched ago a website to promote his tours: www.favelatour.org.

A Zezinho tour starts in Ipanema (a rich and quite well known area) and from there we took a Kombi (small public vans that circulate around the city) which brought us to the starting point of Rocinha. Zezinho explained that his intention was to provide his tourists with as much of a local

experience as possible and to blend in among the crowd. So reaching the favela in the same way as any other resident is part of that.

This local guide only works with small groups. On that day we were four in total, three of us , being student researchers which made it possible to put forward questions during the tour. In fact, Zezinho does not have a fixed discourse and it was possible to discuss the topics that interested us most. Another important detail is that there is no fixed time schedule so his tours can always last longer. In my case I was supposed to have a three hours tour but ended up spending five hours there.

On his tours he intends to move away from the most common circuit in order to show, in his opinion, taking a tour with a local is a far richer experience because they know the area where they live. This way, he showed us the Academicos da Rocinha, the place where they rehearse for the carnival and we could see the theme of that year and take pictures. Then we stopped in a small café to eat or drink something.

During the tour Zezinho and myself spoke about the topic of favela tourism and he revealed himself to be very critical about how agencies explore Rocinha. He argues that tourists do not get to see or sense what life is in Rocinha and they do not spend any money in the community, therefore he was very open to let the group spend time at the market or in a restaurant.

After that, we took a moto taxi, the most common way for residents to move around in Rocinha, and went to an area known as Visual (a high point in Rocinha where you can have a wonderful view of a great part of the city and the beaches). After that we walked around the favela, including the narrow alleys.

During the tour the topics covered ranged from renting houses, the role of the Residents Association, what locals think about tourism, health issues, schools, public transportation, local economy, drugs security, among others. Zezinho was quite open to any question all the time. I felt that Zezinho gave to the group freedom about what to talk or even what to see or do. The fact that we were a small group definitely helped in that sense. In my case, besides being open to answering some specific questions he gave me some tips about where to find certain organizations that I was looking for.

His tours usually involve visiting the art studio of tio Lino, not to purchase anything but to see the work made by children, but since the person in charge was hospitalized that was not possible. We ended the tour in his house, looking at the beautiful view from his terrace and continued our informal conversations.

3.6 Data Analysis Methods

Data analysis requires organizing what one has seen, heard and read so that one can make sense of what has been learned. In order to do so, it is necessary to categorize, synthesize, interpret and search for patterns of the data that has been collected (Glesne 1999, in Jennings, 2001). In this way, there are several options concerning the way a researcher decides to analyze the data. In this study, a qualitative content analysis method was chosen for analyzing the data gathered.

In qualitative content analysis the researcher is free to analyze the text without being restrained to a theory or concepts in advance. Hence, the researcher is open to find out what the text reveals and analyze the data taking into account the social context from which they were taken (Jennings, 2001).

In this case, the data analysis was conducted based on interview transcripts and the coding technique. Codes are tags to give meaning to the information compiled (Jennings, 2001). It was a very useful technique since it allowed organization of the data from the interviews into categories that later enhanced the discussions in each theme.

3.7 Fieldwork Experience

The fieldwork required for this study had a period of three months, more specifically from 9th January to 9th April 2010. During the first two months I was working as a volunteer in the NGO Morrinho. My main task was to teach English to children and teenagers. During that time I was living in Santa Teresa, the neighbourhood where Pereira da Silva is located. In my last month I lived in Ipanema, in the south area of Rio and only twenty minutes by bus from Rocinha. My weekly routines consisted of working in the NGO two days a week and then the rest of the time would be divided between Pereira and Rocinha. The location of both favelas was in opposite sides of the city, almost two hours by public transportation. Due to the city size moving around in Rio can be a difficult and time consuming task. Therefore I intensified my data collection in Pereira while I was living close by and then focused more on Rocinha once I moved to a closer area.

Describing my fieldwork experience is not possible without mentioning my positionality and how it influenced my research. The fact that I am Portuguese was a key factor in deciding to investigate slum tourism in Brazil, since there is many other places around the world that share the same phenomenon. Furthermore being Portuguese facilitated my integration and interaction with Brazilians due to the historical background that links both countries.

In relation to a more concrete setting, without mastery of the Portuguese language my research would have been extremely difficult not to say impossible since that the great majority of favela residents do not speak other languages. Therefore, I can claim that my positionality contributed positively to achieving the existing results of this research.

Included in the constraints, besides the limited time to conduct fieldwork there were other limitations. The time spent in Rio corresponded to summer and then what is popularly known as tropical rain season. As the name suggests, during that period it often rains.

Due to the general topography of favelas, they are risk zones once it rains because of landslides. Therefore, I would usually avoid going to my fieldwork once the weather conditions were not favourable. Unfortunately, according to national news this year Rio suffered the biggest rain fall over the last thirty years which resulted in floods around the city and several landslides in many favelas including Rocinha. Thousands of people became homeless and many others faced death. This unexpected event forced me to stop my fieldwork for approximately two weeks. In relation to the interviews, although residents were willing to collaborate, often they did not attend appointments as arranged. Taking into account this situation plus the distance from one favela to the other made the interviewing process become more time consuming than expected.

As a final remark I would like to express that during the time spent in both case studies I never felt unsafe or uncomfortable. I was made very welcome by the residents who always made me feel at home. I had the opportunity to meet inspiring people and I have great memories from the time spent in Pereira and Rocinha.

Chapter 4. Empirical Context: Brazil, Rio and its favelas

4.1 Introduction

The background chapter is extremely relevant for a better understanding of the data analysis and the purpose of this research. It will start with a brief description of Rio de Janeiro followed by an overview of the historical development of favelas and its representation in the Brazilian society. Furthermore it will present the current situation of favela tourism in Rio de Janeiro.

4.2 Background information about Brazil and Rio de Janeiro

Brazil is located in east-central South America and has a population of 190 million. Due to its large size it represents almost 50% of the entire South America (www.brasilemb.org). It is internationally known for its warm people, football, Carnival and stunning nature. The combination of all these elements makes Brazil quite a popular tourism destination. Besides the tourism sector, the concentration of a large quantity of natural resources turned Brazil into one of the fastest growing economies in the world, ranking the highest in South America and quite remarkable one at global level (www.tradingeconomics.com).

Despite the economic potential of Brazil, this country is strongly marked by a notorious social inequality. In fact, 10 % of the population earns half of the national income and around 34 % of Brazilians live below the poverty line (Janice E. Perlman, 2004). The socio-economic Brazilian scenario resulted in a growing agglomeration of very deprived urban areas, known as slums (Burgos) mainly located in large scale cities all over the country. Rio de Janeiro, considered one of the biggest and most relevant cities in Brazil, is definitely a good example of the social gap that divides rich and poor. Rio, also known as the Marvellous City, has a population of 10 million and 1 out of 5 Brazilians live in a favela. In total, in the last census made in 2009, Rio had 870 favelas.

Along with the social division Rio is geographically subdivided into two zones: north and south. Each one reflects a different level of socio economic development. The north area is considered the poor zone of the city with lack of resources such as public transportation, infra structures and so on. In opposition, the south area is where the resources and rich neighborhoods are concentrated. It is also where you can find all the tourist attractions. For this reason the southern area has a cosmopolitan environment, is safer and receives a greater attention from the public

power. One can say that the social division in Rio not only outlines the favela factor, it depends on which side of the city you belong to.

4.3 Historical Overview of Favelas

For a better understanding of the favela historical roots in Rio de Janeiro, we must go back to the 19th century. At that time, the urban and industrial growth of the city attracted many European emigrants (Portuguese, Spanish and Italians) and recently emancipated slaves who came to work mainly in construction. At a later stage, rural immigrants from the Northeast of Brazil, a very poor rural region, would join them as well. The Imperial and later the Republican government were unable to provide adequate housing for the majority. Therefore, the construction of “Cortiços” – small interior slums- started to rise. In fact, many historians, point out the emergence of Cortiços as the beginning of the slums. The Cortiços were very crowded, unhygienic and located next to the middle and upper class neighbourhoods (Carter, 2005).

In 1897, a group of soldiers returning from the Canudos war were given permission to settle in the Santo Antônio and Providência hills on a temporary basis. Providencia slum, located behind the central train station, received the name of Favela due to an abundant bush that surrounded the area. This is how the first official favela in Rio de Janeiro was born. In 1920, 26 favelas were part of Rio's setting. This increase is related to the demolition of the already mentioned, Cortiços (Freire-Medeiros, 2008). However, the big boom in favela growth was during the authoritarian Vargas regime (also known as the Estado Novo period) in 1930 and 1940 resulting in a rural exodus to the city (Dwek, 2004). In this political period, favelas started to be seen as problematic. There are two main reasons underlining this concern. One is related to their intensive development. In the 50s 7% of the city's population were living in favelas (Abreu M, 1987). The second motive concerns the fact that the government was afraid that their dwellers would be seduced by the communist ideology. After the military coup in 1964 the government decided to take new action: the creation of housing complexes subsidised by the public power. The construction of this alternative and temporary accommodation given by the state is attributed to the demolition of eighty favelas in the heart of the South zone, the rich area. The removal of favelas, specially the well located ones, was the ultimate goal. However, the alternative solution, had very low infrastructures, were far away from the city facilities and job opportunities (L. Valladares, 1978) Therefore, many families that were forcibly evacuated to those complexes rapidly moved to a new favela. Within this cycle, many new small favelas started to rise, reaching a growth of 74% between the period of 1968 and 1973 (Abreu M, 1987). Consequently, the presence of favelas in the strategic and rich areas like Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon was never eliminated. In the late 70s, after the military dictatorship, a new political period started.

Although there was not a well-designed public policy to improve favelas, the demolition was no longer a discussed topic. Some started to be partially urbanized and gained basic services like electricity and piped water (Preteceille & Valladares, 2000).

The 80s was even a better decade for the favela destiny, with president Brizola the head of the state. Public opinion condemned violent police actions against the favela residents and the government launched several projects to improve the living conditions in the favelas. Since 1992 preservation and improvements of the favelas have become part of the public policies and is represented by the initiative named Favela Bairro (Squatter Settlement Neighbourhood) launched in 1994 by the Housing Department of the Municipal Government of Rio de Janeiro and with the financial support of the Inter-American Development Bank. This project aims to reunite favelas in to the ²asfalto at a spatial and social level. Therefore, initiatives to design buildings for social projects, streets connecting to the surrounding areas, sanitation and other basic services are part of it. Nevertheless, there is some criticism about this public project for neglecting the fact that favelas had become controlled by gang group (Riley, Fiori, & Ramirez, 2001). As it will be discussed next, despite the public concerns with the expansion and improvement of favelas the social stigma that surrounds its dwellers is still very strong and justifies many violent and repressive actions towards them.

4.4 An Overview of the Representation of Favelas and its People

Favelas were the birthplaces of some of the main elements of the Brazilian culture: samba and carnival. Nevertheless these areas were constantly associated with strong negative components like criminality, violence and lack of hygiene. This duality is present t nowadays. However, the representation of favela and their dwellers, along with the development of society, has been suffering oscillations and readjustments as will be explained.

Elimination of the slums, especially the central ones (like Rocinha) was considered by the government as the best option till 1970. The result was segregation and marginalization of the poor working class that were living in those areas (Carter, 2005). In fact, according to Janice Perelman (1976) the stereotypes of the urban poor were developed to justify the government policies of relocation of favela residents to the periphery. During the early part of the 20th century the alleged reason was hygiene and aesthetics. Nevertheless, favelas had a breakthrough with the Modernist Movement in 1922. For the first time vulnerable groups were considered part of

² Asfalto is the Portuguese word for asphalt and is a common Brazilian expression to refer to city beyond favela borders

Rio's society. As a result, the artists of that time considered favela as a symbol of the Brazilian cultural diversity. It was the cot of samba and owner of a picturesque beauty. From that time, it became known that despite poverty and criminality also had room for beauty and for the expression of different forms of Brazilian culture. The role of the Modernist Movement resulted in the first steps of the aestheticization process of the favelas and the paradoxical logic that are beneath these places. Both elements are present in the commodification process that was previously in the theoretical chapter.

In 1930, when Getúlio Vargas was ruling the country favelados were perceived as “pre-citizens” without any kind of rights. The creation of what was already described as the complexes was based on the excuse to end the unhealthy conditions of the favelas, therefore their demolition was necessary (Menezes, 2007). In reality, the gradual expansion of the favelas was an extreme concern for the most wealthy classes and owners of the media at that time. For the Rio de Janeiro elite, having their best neighbourhoods occupied by poor people was damaging the aesthetic landscape, threatening public security and health (Janice E. Perlman, 1976).

According to a research done by Valladares (Baumeister) about the role of the media in Rio de Janeiro in the beginning of the XX century it is revealed that newspapers, after the first official slum named Favella appeared, started to associate the word “Favela” with the image of danger, unsanitary conditions and disorder. Favelas were described as a space populated by crooks and criminals, suggesting their demolition. Valladares suggests that the dominant groups, through the possession of the media, were consolidating and spreading a preconceived idea of the slums and their people. This strategy was so strong that it spread also to the general thinking. The physical and mental distance was a notorious mark on the construction of the favela image. With it, a sociocentric posture was built crossing decades and is still dominant today. As we can see, the overall growth of favelas in Rio developed at the same speed as the marginalization and stigmatization that surrounds these urban areas and their dwellers.

Although the period that moves on till late 70s presented the demolition of favelas as the main solution, this phase was also marked by the extreme capacity of the favela dwellers to resist those actions and to organize themselves as a unit of force. The engagement with politics were not constant in the daily life in favelas, but during its history every time the danger of removal or the chance of urbanization was present the communities tended to reinforce their strength as a collective union. Their power was represented by their community leaders and their local associations. The first resident associations were created in 1940 as a consequence of their involuntary evacuation to the complexes created by the state.

With the end of the military dictatorship, a new era started. It was a changing period in the relationship between state and favelas, especially with their community leaders. They started to negotiate basic services and urbanization actions for the exchange of votes. At that time, the

government was willing to invest in better infrastructures and was open to a change in the way that public power had been dealing with favela and its people. In this process, community leaders based on their residents associations became the main political actor between favela and the government. This articulation motivated the residents to join their local associations because that represented a job opportunity and control over services (Grynszpan & Pandolfi, 2003).

During the 80s the Life in favelas, its relation with the government and with Brazilian society in general suffered a dramatic change with the introduction of cocaine traffic. The public discourses concerning favelas and the perception about their dwellers gained a more complex layer. One could say that, till this date, Rio was seen as a kind of tropical paradise and the favela, despite all the negative connotations and struggling periods where seen as places shaped by authenticity, popular culture, samba schools and religiousness (Burgos, 2004). Others like Janice Perlman (Janice E. Perlman) claimed that favela residents, despite the adversities were generally optimistic people, with a strong community sense, cooperative spirit and violence was not part of their daily life.

The presence of trafficking had strong repercussions in the image of favelas. They started to be seen as places controlled by gang groups and highly violent areas. Consequently, the favela people came to be seen as dangerous and quite often treated as potential criminals. This abrupt change in the representation of favelas and its people had also consequences in the image of Rio de Janeiro. The city came to be seen as an unsafe place at a national and international level (Zalazar, 2004).

This transformation was not only at an external level. Internal dynamics in the favela also changed dramatically. The residents had to become submissive to the laws of the drug lord in their favela. In order to avoid possible conflicts a new regime reigns: the law of silence. Favela dwellers are extremely cautious in speaking about the fact that their lives coexist with trafficking and violence. It is almost like a tabu issue not only with outsiders but even among residents. It is a strategy to cope with it, to guarantee self-protection, to avoid being considered accomplices or even informers by others.

The fear of expression also reached the local associations. Community leaders don't speak about what the residents have to endure in their daily lives. The leaders as residents are also under the same pressure and the actions of the resident associations are quite often shaped by the parallel power. This situation resulted in a disbelief of their strength as a key and representative element. Slowly many dwellers started losing interest in their collective organizations. Therefore, the image of the local associations as a democratic space and a source of voice of the favela dwellers is no longer the same.

Although the government still recognizes the resident associations as the political actor of the favelas, because of their proximity with the parallel power their reputation is often questionable.

To reinforce that, there have been official cases of community leaders associated with the drug lords (Rocha, 2009).

As we have seen the favelas representation and their relation with the rest of society have constantly been reshaped according to the historical background and the introduction of new elements. However, Valladares (2005) claims that the research material produced in the last 30 years associates favelas with a simplified amount of features. The general consensus about them made those features become “unquestionably true” being translated in the following dogmas: first due to their history favelas are always seen as very specific and unique places. The Second one is related to the social image of its dwellers. Favelas are considered exclusively the home of the poor. Finally, Favelas are constantly being portrayed as a homogenous territory, although they possess a quite plural reality internally and also in comparison with others, there is a big tendency to see them as a singular place.

Nevertheless, this universal vision based on the three dogmas clashes with the current complex and sophisticated reality that surrounds favelas. Nowadays, favelas have access to recent technologies like internet and cable tv, becoming accessible and in contact with the rest of the world. Favelas are no longer a closed system, some receive tourists from everywhere. Those are some of the new components that show that favelas are open to modernity and the previous popular vision needs to be contested.

4.5 Favela Tourism in Rio de Janeiro

Organized tours to favelas may be seen as a recent phenomenon, but some people point out that in the decade of 1940 sporadic some international visitors used to go inside the favela with the urge of finding “an exotic world”. There is not precisely a date for when official tours started but all the research done so far refers to the Earth Summit (Rio Conference on Environmental and sustainable development) in 1992 as the kick off moment for the official tours. Since then, it has become a systematic activity and favelas are officially seen as a tourist destination (Freire-Medeiros).

Nevertheless, not all the favelas can be turned into a tourist commodity. They have to correspond to some pre-established requirements such as: breath taking views to nature and also the inequality existing in Rio. Favelas located in the south area of the city (which is the richest and tourist area) and on hills are preferable as well. On top of this, only the “light version” can actually become touristic, which means that there must be a pacific environment (as much as possible) in order to guarantee the safety of the tourists.

Although, it is part of the public awareness that favelas are controlled by drug lords their possible connection to the tourism agencies remains a mystery. However, in the case of Rocinha such a link is not possible to observe, in others like Prazeres a phone call from the “boss” of the favela was enough to stop the tours (Freire-Medeiros).

Favela tourism is highly contested among Brazilian public opinion. Such controversy is clear in some comments about an article related to the topic in an important newspaper “O Globo”³: “Only in Brazil people like to be treated as animals!”; “the 50.00 dollars that the tourist pays goes to the traffic, because without their permission there is no tourism.”; “Favela is not a touristic point. Favela is a social problem!”; “The first world people come here to see the poverty and misery that they only know in books!” “How long will the favela continue to exist? Besides being a refugee for criminals, it is now also a human zoo for foreign perverts?”

Furthermore, a recent survey made by the newspaper “O Estado de Sao Paulo”⁴ to find out if favela tourism should be supported, revealed that 80% of the people that participated were against (Menezes, 2007). In order to understand how this phenomenon represents such a big dilemma for the Brazilians it is necessary to take into account the previous historical analysis. The media discourses of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil started portraying favelas as very negative areas, the residence of criminals. The public assumptions reflect the same vision. One may see now how extremely hard it is to accept that an area that is related to mainly negative connotations can represent Brazil internationally and become a tourist attraction. The majority of the residents in Rio want to keep a physical and mental distance from their slums. Finally, we may conclude that: although favela eradication is no longer a policy, the stereotypes and the social constructions about the favela and their inhabitants remain till today (Carter, 2005).

Despite the potential of favela tourism and its growing popularity, it is a sensitive topic for the Brazilian government. In 1996 the association of favela and tourism was unacceptable. However the relationship between the government and favela tourism has been changing. No longer can the government claim that favelas interrupt the flow of tourists because it has become an important element of tourist attraction. As recognition of its value, In September 2006 the mayor allocated Rocinha as an official tourist site. After that, Rio tour, the official tourism office of Rio de Janeiro, included the same favela in their official guide (Freire-Medeiros, 2009).

³ This article was published in O Globo newspaper in the 24th of September, 2009

⁴ This survey was published in 4th of February, 2007

Chapter 5. Data Analysis

Section One

5.1 Introduction

This chapter consists in an analysis of the data collected during the fieldwork experience. It will provide the reader with more in-depth knowledge of the complex dynamics in each case and how tourism is perceived by the residents in both favelas. This chapter is subdivided in two sections. The first one consists in a description of each case study. More precisely it will inform the reader about the historical background, the tourism scenario and the key actors that take an active role in the tourism development of each favela. The information provided in this section will be a good basis for the understanding of the following one which corresponds to the analysis of the collected data. The information was gathering having the previous selected concepts- local participation, self-esteem, dialogue and aspirations in mind. The interaction among actors was also an importing guiding element during fieldwork. Nevertheless, is not officially considered a concept because it was used mainly to translate the existing dynamics that surrounds the tourism development in each favela. The data collected is presented in three dimensions: local involvement versus hegemony of actors; social dimension in which the concepts of self-esteem and dialogue are the main guidance and finally future aspirations, which reflects the vision of the community towards tourism, giving an insight of how the residents face tourism and what role tourism can play in their lives.

5.2 Case study Rocinha: the historical background

Rocinha is located on a steep hill in the southern area of the city more precisely in between the luxurious neighbourhoods of Sao Conrado and Gávea. Rocinha means small farm and its name is related to its rural past. Around 1930 the first residents started to settle there. At that time Rocinha's land was part of an old farm named Quebra- Cangalha. The main basis of the residents' livelihood consisted of agriculture. They used to cultivate for themselves and to sell it in the main market of the south zone area.

Rocinha started to grow very quickly during the 50s and 60s with the urban development of nearby neighbourhoods like Gávea, Leblon, Ipanema and Jardim Botânico. At that time, the favela was home to many emigrants from the northeast part of the country that moved to Rio with the hope of finding a job in the construction field (www.favelatemmemoria.com.br). During the military dictatorship, there were several attempts to demolish this favela, however strong resistance from the community managed to stop its complete removal.

Many residents claim that Rocinha is the biggest favela in Latin America. It is hard to be precise, because thousands of houses lack addresses, but the most recent estimation points out that Rocinha possesses around 200.000 inhabitants.

Nowadays it is subdivided into 20 neighbourhoods, Roupa Suja being the poorest one. The locals of the poorest areas often make their living by being trash collectors. A large part of the residents work outside the favela mainly in hotels, restaurants, construction and in the rich neighbourhood houses as maids, cooks, babysitter, gardeners, drivers and security guards (Carter, 2005).

The local economy in Rocinha is very impressive. Legal and illegal commerce blossoms in the main areas. It is even possible to find external companies (like popular food chains) that decided to open a business in Rocinha because it is profitable. Therefore, one can find a range of services: banks, clinics, beauty salons, restaurants, supermarkets, clothes shops, travel agencies and even at one time a McDonalds. Rocinha has a locally based channel TVROC and its own community newspaper Rocinha Noticias. Due to the topography of Rocinha the most common way to get around is by moto taxi. Rocinha has around 300 moto taxis operating inside the favela, making this service one of the most developed and requested.

This favela received the status of bairro (Neighborhood) by the municipality in 1992 but is still seen and considered a favela because not all the population has access to basic services and it is still quite controlled by the parallel power. In fact, due to its proximity to the richest neighborhoods of Rio, Rocinha is a very profitable drug selling point and in 2004 it was the stage of a 40 day war between two main rival gangs: Comando Vermelho⁵ and Amigos dos Amigos⁶. This resulted in the transference of power to the latter. At that time Mcdonalds closed and never reopened (<http://favelatour.org/about/rocinha/>).

Rocinha is quite an unusual favela. Besides its particular location it was the place where some “favela trends” started, like the moto taxi business and the local newspaper. As usual as this, it was also the place where the government opened the first nursery inside a favela. A quite relevant service that is still not present in many favelas.

Besides the range of business, which is also not a common reality, another unique feature is the social class differences inside Rocinha. Nowadays one can find an internal social distinction by the new middle class apartment blocks. Rocinha also became the main destination of national and international NGOs concentrating a large number of different social projects. Following Rocinha’s tradition as an initiator of trends, it was also the first favela to receive official tourism.

⁵ Means in Portuguese Read Command

⁶ Literally means Friends of Friends

5.3 Tourism Scenario in Rocinha

Tourism in Rocinha started in 1992, leading the way to favela tourism in Brazil. The trigger was the curiosity of a group of tourists during the Earth Summit. In 2000 it became part of the official city guide by Riotour, the organization responsible for promoting and developing tourism in Rio de Janeiro.

The tourism side of Rocinha is mainly explored by external agencies. In the high season there is tours every day, amounting to more than two thousand visitors a month. The tour agencies fight among themselves to diversify their service. Therefore, one can choose to do a tour by walking, in a small van, moto taxi or even in a safari jeep.

The main travel reasons pointed out by the agencies to justify why Rocinha is a such profitable tourism product are: location close to hotels, the breath taking views (as you can see from the picture) and because it is placed in between two rich areas which gives the opportunity for the visitors to see the visual contrast that quite often is part of the geographic imagination of Rio (Freire-Medeiros, 2008), as it can be proved by the following illustration.



FIGURE 1: ROCINHA VIEW, FIELDWORK FEBRUARY 10TH 2010

5.3.1 External Actors: Tour Operators

As was explained before, the tourism activities started with and are still mainly explored by external agencies. Nowadays there are seven tour operators: Be a local, Exotic tours, Don't Be a Gringo, Favela Tour, Jeep tour, Indiana Jungle Tour, Private Tours and Rio Adventures. There is a big dispute to possess the status of pioneer, but many people claim that Favela Tours by Marcelo Armstrong was one of the first agencies to operate there and the only one that does exclusive favela tours.

5.3.2 Internal Actors: Resident Association and Local Tourism Organization

Residents Association

Among the several actors that one can find in the hectic Rocinha, the most relevant one is União Pró-Melhoramentos dos Moradores da Rocinha (UPMMR), the Residents Association of Rocinha. This association is considered in government eyes as the representative institution of Rocinha. It was founded on August 21 in 1961. During all these years it has been a key actor in many political struggles such as the fight for water and electricity in the 70s (www.rocinha.org). Nowadays their main activities are: to guarantee basic services to the community, represent their rights in the Government and City hall, supervise constructions and provide certificates for selling and buying properties.

Despite the active role of this association in managing Rocinha and satisfying resident's needs, surprisingly as the current president Leonardo Rodrigues explained, their connection to tourism is nonexistent. He claimed that he is aware of the growing development of tourism and the fact that it is mainly run by external private companies. He revealed dissatisfaction while explaining the lack of communication between them and the agencies: *"They should communicate with us, but they don't. They just come and do it. I think they should communicate with the association so we could send someone with them to show some places in Rocinha that they don't know"*.

Furthermore, Leonardo showed feeling concerned about the current dominant form of tourism, criticizing the lack of knowledge of the guides and their attitude: "They (agencies) sell a false tour to the tourists because they show almost nothing of Rocinha" and "the guides don't even allow the tourists to buy a bottle of water".

When asked why the association, does not try to change it, Leonardo promptly justified the lack of human resources and skills to actually take some control over tourism. The lack of cooperation extends also to the Local Government, since transforming Rocinha into an official tourist point in September 2006 did not result in any dialogue with the Association or with any other actor. According to the president it didn't promote any change.

The lack of coordination among political actors is also present at an internal level. The connection between this Association and the one related to tourism (the one that follows below) is nonexistent as well. When asked about why the Association didn't support the initiatives of the only internal tourism organization he replied that: "They are trying to take their own benefit but does not work because they don't know what they are doing. You must only do what you know. They want to do something about it but do it all wrong". The low credibility that the President has about this organization was clear. The real reasons remain a mystery but I speculate that conflict of interests can be the trigger.

Local Tourism Organization

At a local level an organization named Secretaria de Turismo that can be translated as the Tourism Organization⁷ was formed in 2009 by a group of 6 residents. Their members are composed of people who have been involved in social movements in Rocinha, who have worked for Residents Association or have higher education. Some of them are well known in the favela, like the president Ailton Macarrão. Unfortunately it was not possible to reach him but there was an opportunity to interview Hélio Almeida responsible for the communication and Fernando Ermiro the secretary.

The aim of this organization is to implement a model of tourism that is more community oriented and with development goals. Their ideal vision is to have the possibility to offer different tours, giving a chance for tourists to visit social projects, participate in workshops like Capoeira and Samba classes, and eat traditional Brazilian food and to get to know a more in-depth history of Rocinha explained by a local guide. They want tourists to understand their context, their relation with the government, their struggles in the past, current social issues that they face but also what is positively developed by the community. Their goal is not only to reach international tourists but also Brazilians living in Rio.

⁷ The translation is not literally because the Portuguese word "secretaria" doesn't exist in English. However they present themselves as a tourism organization. So the translation is more related with their role than with their official name

5.4 Case Study Pereira da Silva: Historical Background

The favela Pereira da Silva or Pereirao as it is now popularly called is located on a steep hill in between two neighborhoods: Laranjeiras and Santa Teresa. At the top and bottom part of the favela there is an exit corresponding to each district.

The beginning of the settlement in that area started a long time ago. It is hard to precise, but residents claim that the favela has existed for 70 years and the oldest families arrived in 1960. At that time the land belonged to a coffee farm and the lifestyle was marked by a rural atmosphere. It was like living on a small farm. Vegetation and fruit trees were part of the landscape. Few families were living there so there was enough space between houses and the environment was very friendly. Everybody knew each other; it was a quite close community. Kids used to call their neighbors: “uncle” and “aunt”. At that time the infrastructures were practically nonexistent: there was no pavement on the streets, no electricity and no water.

Despite the improvements in life conditions today, some residents are unhappy that along with urbanization came the expansion of the favela. Today you can find 3500 inhabitants; however the favela is still growing because many people are moving because of the “tranquil” atmosphere. In fact, the environment of today’s Pereira da Silva was a conquest after many years of struggle. In 1990, this favela was one of the most popular drug selling points of the southern area of the city. It possesses a strategic location. The bottom part is connected to the southern area and the top is part of the central zone of the city, plus the selling point itself was quite close to the exit. This time was characterized by constant violent conflicts between the police and the traffickers. Usually those confrontations happened in the morning and late afternoon. Matching with the time table of working people and children’s school time.

This tense environment culminated in 1998 when the police murder the drug lord of Pereira da Silva. The violent episodes that occurred during that time had big coverage in the media because this favela is quite close to the headquarters’ of the State Government and to the Governor official house. Therefore, this favela was the chosen one to become a role model of the new security project designed by the government and named as “Murtirao da Paz”. One of the main features of this initiative was to give special attention to the children and teenagers. The goal was to help their integration in society through social projects.

Nevertheless, this program was never really implemented as expected. However, the initiative that still remains was the relocation of the BOPE⁸ (Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais) headquarters to a street next to the favela exit (the one close to the selling point) in 2000. This

⁸ BOPE is the special police force created in 1978 to interfere only when the military police can’t control the situation anymore. They usually operate in the favelas to search for drug dealers

event had a strong influence in the life of the residents since they associate the sense of “tranquility” that they now live with the presence of the police close by. Therefore, the fact that this favela reached a stage where there are no more armed traffickers controlling the area due a government intervention makes this place a rare example among other favelas that are also free but based on the intervention of ex-police men that charge a monthly price to guarantee security.

However, this favela is still under the power of the Comando Vermelho (Red Command) gang. Consequently, despite the fact that the presence of armed people is not as visible as before, the residents still behave in a controlled way, just as in the favelas where the trafficking is notorious. One can say that the dynamic of Pereira da Silva makes its “tranquility” a quite fragile one (Rocha, 2009).

5.5 Tourism Scenario in Pereira da Silva

As in other favelas, tourism also reached Pereira da Silva but in a different rhythm and setting compared to Rocinha. It is far less developed, started only in 2005 and is mainly locally run. The tourism scenario of this favela consists of: a hostel named Favelinha, and an art production made by the favela kids which is considered the main attraction of this area. It was due to this art project that walking tours started. The NGO Morrinho is the only organization that is responsible for it. Because of its relevance in the community and the fact that two months of volunteer work was conducted with them that this organization is considered in this study as the main tourism actor. For a better understanding, below it is possible to find pictures corresponding to each project taken during fieldwork.



FIGURE 2: HOSTEL FAVELINHA, FIELDWORK, JANUARY 20TH 2010



FIGURE 3: NGO MORRINHO, FIELDWORK, JANUARY 20TH 2010

5.5.1 External Actors: Bed and Breakfast Network

As was said before, the tourism activities started and are run mainly by local residents. However, there is an external organization named Cama e Café that supports Morrinho. Although external actors in the case of Pereira are practically nonexistent and are not the main focus of this study, a small description of Cama e Café is given in order to provide a wider picture about the development and the role of tourism in this case study.

Cama e Café is the first bed and breakfast network in Brazil. It operates in Rio de Janeiro and Olinda but its office is in Rio, more precisely in the Santa Teresa neighborhood. The idea was implemented by Joao Vergara and its aim was to develop a sustainable tourism model in the Santa Teresa district based on improving the chances of income generation in this area. Therefore, his mission was to motivate residents to candidate themselves to host tourists in their homes and to develop a cultural and gastronomic guide covering the most relevant spots of Santa Teresa. The goal is to make tourists enjoy their stay as much as possible and to spread the economic benefits to other areas of Santa Teresa.

The idea of supporting a social project in one of the several favelas in Santa Teresa was a possibility included in the vision of Cama e Café. The person responsible for this organization see this initiative as part of the social responsibility of the company and of himself as a citizen. Once he got to know the art production and the boys he decided to start a partnership that has been going on since 2005.

Cama e Café is responsible for promoting the tourist side of Morrinho by increasing their network with other tourism actors and arranging financial support through projects financed by the Ministry of Tourism. No financial return goes to Cama e Café. Their support to Morrinho is completely voluntary.

5.5.2 Internal Actors: NGO Morrinho and Hostel Favelinha

NGO Morrinho

Morrinho is a small scale model of several favelas with 320 square meters. It is made of bricks and recycled material and its inhabitants are made of lego pieces. Young boys play with it reproducing the best and the worse side of living in favelas. For a better understanding of the project description, please see the pictures below.

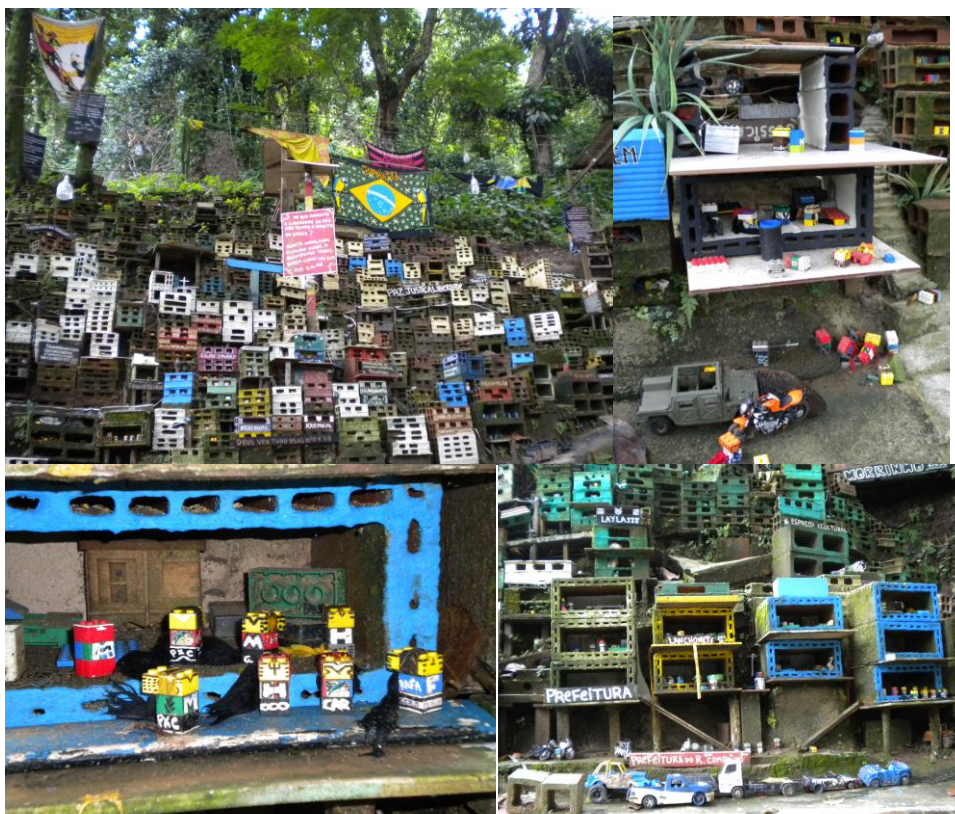


FIGURE 4: MORRINHO PROJECT, FIELDWORK JANUARY 18TH, 2010

It started in 1997 when at the age of 14 Nelciclan Souza de Oliveira arrived in Rio de Janeiro. Coming from a small city Nelcilan went to Pereira to live with his parents. That was the first time he had seen or lived in a favela. He was so impressed by his new reality that he started to reproduce it in his backyard with bricks and paint, leftovers from his father's work in construction. Other motives like free time, lack of money to buy toys and scarcity of safe places to play also

contributed to the creation of Morrinho and the inclusion of another seven boys. Each boy was the “owner” of one favela and was responsible for its maintenance, construction and its inhabitants. These micro favelas represent real ones like Fogueteiro, Prazeres, Borel, Grotá, Turano, Querosene, Falleté, Encontro, among others. Morrinho became their daily game and their safe leisure spot during the violent times of Pereira.

In 2001, the film directors Fábio Gavião and Marco Oliveira, through one of the boys’ teacher, decided to make a documentary about Morrinho and included the boys in the production. In fact, it was the boys that actually filmed themselves while reproducing episodes of daily life in favelas. These encounters with favela kids and outside boys created the path for the representation of Morrinho as an artistic production outside the favela walls and the creation of Morrinho as NGO. This project gradually attracted media attention and participated in several international events like the Urban world summit in Barcelona (2004); Venice Bienal (2007); Brazilian contemporary art festival in Rotterdam (2008) among other international and national exhibitions.

As an NGO Morrinho works in four different fields: Tv Morrinho (production of audio visual material), Expo Morrinho (exhibition and reproduction of the scale model), Social Morrinho (providing courses for local kids in film production and foreign language) and Tourism Morrinho (tours to see the model and the NGO headquarter).

In relation to the tours, according to Nelciclan they started in 2003 after participating in an annual exhibition Portas Abertas (Open doors) that took place in Parque das Ruínas, a park in Santa Teresa. Visitors showed interest in Morrinho’s picture and wanted to see the real scale model. This way, they started to take the visitors to see the real Morrinho. After that, informal tours continued till 2005 when they made a partnership with Cama e Café and started to receive official tourists. Nowadays they are connected with six agencies, one of them Iko Poran, that allocates volunteers to work temporarily with them. Nevertheless, Cama e Café is seen by Morrinho members as the key element that initiated and motivated actions in the tourism field.

Pousada Favelinha

The Pousada Favelinha was the first hostel in a favela in Rio de Janeiro and it is open since 2005. The owner is a young Brazilian woman named Andreia da Silva. It was during the time as an emigrant in Europe that Andreia got to know about the concept of hostel. Later, when she returned to her country she decided to open one. The hostel has five rooms and has a maximum capacity of 15 people. It’s located in the top part of the favela, close to Morrinho, and has an amazing view to the Guanabara bay and Sugar loaf.

The promotion and advertisement of this business is completely done by internet. And it is through the website <http://www.favelinha.com/en/index.php> that the reservations are made. The information is only in English because the potential customers are mainly European or American. As Andreia says " Brazilians are afraid of favelas".

This project is so exceptional that it is part of the list of the most unusual and unique hotels in the world (<http://www.unusualhotelsoftheworld.com/>). In fact, for being seen as a radical idea this initiative had a strong impact in the Brazilian media. Notorious newspapers like "Folha de São Paulo" or "Globo" did articles about it. Even a Dutch journal interviewed Andreia. In the website is possible to read some of this interview and the other articles .

Section Two

5.6 Qualitative Data Analysis

5.6.1 Introduction

In this section the data collected from the case studies is presented in themes, each one corresponding to a specific topic and concept. Each case study will be evaluated individually. At the end, the data from each favela will merge and be analyzed based on the theoretical pillar of this study.

5.6.2 Theme 1: Local Involvement Versus Hegemony of Actors

The main focus of this theme is the interaction of the community towards tourism development. In that sense, local participation is the concept used in order to understand the role of residents (or at least some) in relation to the tourism activities offered in each favela. The objective of this subsection is to discuss later on, if local participation can contribute to improve the positive effects of favela tourism. Due to the complexity of this concept within favela tourism, at an empirical level it was possible to identify several obstacles from different fields. Each one will be discussed in particular.

Rocinha faced a fast growing tourism and an increase in demand in the last few years. It is not possible to point only one reason to justify the tourism boom but the internationalization of favela image and the attribution of glamour by movies and other art forms definitely contributed. Although the presence of tourists can be seen on a daily basis, especially during the high tourism season in Rio, the interaction of locals with it is almost invisible. There is only a small group of

residents connected to the industry. More precisely six local guides doing their own tours and a small group of art craft artists that spontaneously decided to expose their stalls in one of the main streets. It is not possible to point out only one reason to explain this fact. This reality is a result of the combination of several factors. Some have been explained to me others are more obvious, such as the hegemony and dominance of external actors.

Once entering in Rocinha the element that stands out the most is the imbalance between internal and external actors. At a superficial level, the presence of external travel agencies is far more notorious in quantity and in performance. There are six agencies working on a daily basis. Usually the tours are done twice a day, with large groups (around 20 people) using vans, motorcycles or jeeps to circulate inside the favela.. The first impression that one gets from observing such scenario is that the travel agencies are a far more active group and the interaction between locals and tourists is very limited.

At a more in-depth level, the dominance of travel agencies is reinforced and explained. The president of the Residents Association, Leonardo Rodrigues, explains that there is no involvement between the travel agencies and the community and no communication. Leonardo argued that there was never an initiative from the owners of the travel agencies to approach the association. Both parties never discussed what should be seen during the tours, the role of the community or even just to get permission to circulate in the favela. Surprisingly, it seems that the private travel agencies do not need to give any justification or explanation to the most relevant actor in Rocinha. When confronted about their passive attitude, Leonardo justified the lack of human resources, knowledge and lack of connections with tourism actors as the main reasons to explain why they do not make an effort to obtain more control over the tourism activities.

Besides not being able to participate in the decision making process the Resident Association also did not take any part in the benefits distribution. In fact, according to Leonardo the community does not get any kind of benefit from the travel agencies. He explained that economically they do not give any share of the profits and except from art craft; they block the possibility of tourists of purchasing anything from their local services. It seems that the chance of increasing the local economy through tourism is not a possibility. In terms of social benefits, Leonardo pointed out that such opportunity is not visible because none of the travel agencies contribute to any local project or support an NGO. Leonardo believes that the agencies are disconnected from Rocinha needs and reality.

The critical view of the President of the Resident Association is shared by other residents. Both members of the local tourism organization Fernando Ermiro (the secretary) and H lio Almeida, responsible for the communication affairs, explained that the creation of this organization is a consequence of their dissatisfaction as residents about the way tourism is being exploited in Rocinha. They label the agencies action as invasive and not contributing at all to the

improvement of Rocinha. Nevertheless, it is the lack of involvement with the community that consist their core argument against the actual tourism development in Rocinha. In their opinion the tours are very commercial and do not promote any chance for tourists to interact. Also the fact that the guides are outsiders was also mentioned as an extra argument to reinforce the poor engagement from the travel agencies towards Rocinha.

Although residents that are connected with tourism reveal a more critical opinion about the travel agencies, locals that do not work with tourism also share a similar point of view. In general both sides argue that in terms of decision making the community was never approached in any way. There was never any action to stimulate residents' awareness and to grasp locals' opinion about having tourists in their neighbourhood. They all share the idea that the way that tourism is being developed so far is not the most appropriate because it does not give anything back to the community. Their main argument is that the agencies should hire local guides. It might be seen as an obvious argument, but this notion is also shared by those who are not connected with tourism. The reason why will be explored in another theme but in terms of participation it reflects the lack of local involvement in tourism. Also highlighted was the fact that the agencies do not make any contribution to the improvement of living conditions in the favela.

Benefit sharing was also a contested topic and several criticisms were made about the fact that the travel agencies do not support any social project. In fact, they do not even have to follow any source of regulation. As Carlos Souza (local guide) stated: *"the agencies come and go without giving any explanation"*. Besides being socially alienated some agencies were accused of exploiting the art craft artists by charging a fee for each item sold. As Zezinho, a local guide explained, the travel agency Be a local takes tourists to a certain art studio but charges a commission fee and does not allow those artists to show their work to tourists from other agencies. Without compromising the credibility of such information, I want to highlight that this was not confirmed or even mentioned by the artist that I spoke to.

Still regarding the same topic, besides the fact that the level of benefits reaching the community is very low only a restrict group have access to it. This means that only the residents that work with tourism can get access to the benefits of having tourists in their neighbourhood. This situation causes uncomfortable feelings. It even caused dissent, as it can be revealed by Daniel, who runs a local NGO, statement: *"What difference makes benefiting 5 people if I cannot benefit the whole community or at least a large part of it? If I am a guide I will benefit but what about if I am not? I think as being a resident I should benefit too!"*

Among the arguments about the contribution of economic or even social benefits to the community, it is possible to see a different vision expressed by Eduardo Casais, a local journalist. From his point of view, the agencies should not economically share its benefits with the community because if locals want Rocinha to be seen as an integrative element in the city

the agencies should not be obliged to share their profit or support local projects. Furthermore, he claims that the improvement of life conditions should not rely on tourism but on the public power. In his view, it is the government that is the responsible actor and not agencies. Nevertheless, he states that external agencies can indeed give some space for locals to participate by hiring local people.

During the several informal conversations while collecting data in Rocinha it was evident, as was said before, that in terms of local involvement there are several obstacles. The complexity of Rocinha reality and the strong presence of external forces make local participation a very difficult target. The first and most obvious obstacle is the power of the external actor in terms of resources (contacts within the tourism industry, skills and financial capital) compared to local initiatives. The competition with local guides is unfair and almost impossible to balance. Besides the uneven power in access to tourism development, there are no signs of communication between the external actor and the community which reinforces the hegemony of the travel agencies. Despite the imbalanced relationship between the community and the external forces, internally it was possible to identify other barriers that must be addressed.

Culture plays a fundamental role in shaping the way an individual thinks and acts. As was explained by Fernando Ermir, the secretary of the local tourism organization, Rocinha is the mirror of the Brazilian culture. As he stated: *“Rocinha is a small Brazil. You have a chance but you don’t do anything to take it.”* In order to explain why the community doesn’t assume a more proactive attitude towards exploring the potential of tourism, Fernando gave an example to illustrate the passivity of the local population. He reported that there are many complaints about how badly the bus company operates inside Rocinha. Although it is a vital resource for the transportation of residents and children, people do not get together to fight for their rights. Carlos Souza, a local guide, also supports this view. He claimed that it is typical for the Brazilian people to complain about something without moving to action. That they are culturally used to blaming a third party. It is part of the Brazilian way of life and is present in the Rocinha reality too. As he said: *“here people don’t get together to work or to complain (...) Whoever does not agree with the way tourism is being exploited complains but does not get together to do something about it.”*

Besides the influence of the Brazilian culture, the concrete reality of Rocinha also contributes to exacerbate the lack of internal cooperation. Hélio Almeida, a member of the local tourism organization, pointed out the fact that because the predominant level of education is low it makes it harder to get the residents to participate politically and actively about Rocinhas’ future. In general there is a lack of awareness whether in individual power or even community power to make a change. The lack of understanding that people together can work as unit force explains why the concept of association is poorly understood. According to Fernando Ermiro, the secretary of the local tourism organization, the community mentality looks at associations as

mainly an exploitive mechanism to extract money. The residents are not used to looking at associations as a form of union but as a way of exploiting others. As he explained: *“there are several associations in Rocinha, for instance, like the moto taxi. Instead of fighting for the right of the workers its only role is to demand the association fees. The population is not used to seeing associations as a union source (...) that’s why there is no participation, no collective union. There is not one single fight for a global interest”*.

The community mentality can explain why the residents that work with tourism do it individually. It was not possible to find any kind of partnerships or collaboration among them. Taking this environment into account once can see how hard it is for a recent organization, like the Tourism one, to get local support and participation in order to develop their work. The way of thinking is a strong barrier for local involvement. It is so rooted in the community mindset, that it is the cause of internal conflicts among the members of the local tourism association. There are opposite views concerning their role is never shared. As, once again Fernando Ermiro (the secretary) explained, in order to improve their action as well as changing the community mentality the first step is to promote an internal change. Inside their organization there are members that believe that they should charge a fee for promoting the local projects and businesses. This argument seems incomprehensible to Fernando who explained that it does not make sense to charge someone who is already poor. Plus, if their aim is to strengthen local participation then promotion is part of the strategy. Although culture and mentality represent a strong barrier for local involvement and reflects the existing lack of internal cooperation, there is another factor that blocks local participation. There are conflicts of interest among the different political parties that rule Rocinha. Political conflicts are the next issue to be discussed.

In Rocinha the two main representatives (the Resident Association and the Local Tourism Organization) that can influence tourism development are not seen with positive eyes by the residents that were interviewed. As to the first one, it is seen as an alienated actor. The Residents Association is accused of not being willing to include tourism affairs as part of their agenda. They are not open to change and evolve as an organization or adjust to the new reality of Rocinha. As Rodrigo a local guide stated *“the Resident Association is asleep in relation to tourism. They don’t care about it.”* The same line of thinking is shared by António Souza another guide *“The Association does not know how to deal with this matter. They are not interested. Tourism brings money but also involves work so they prefer to keep doing what they have always been doing”*. Furthermore the same interviewee also pointed out corruption as another negative aspect about the Resident Association attitude.

Surprisingly the local tourism organization was not seen as a possible hope in order to improve local participation. Several criticisms were made but the main argument is that this organization is mainly focused on getting their share of the economic profits generated by tourism and it is quite disorganized. Plus Local Tourism Organization is seen as having internal dilemmas. As

Carlos Souza, a local guide explained, they don't share the same vision and have lack of knowledge. Concluding *"they talk a lot but do very little"*. The president of the Resident Association also showed a critical attitude about this initiative, claiming that they don't have skills or knowledge and just want to reap their own benefit through tourism.

The members of the Local Tourism Organization also mentioned the role of the Resident Association. The passivity of the Residents Association was also part of the motivation to take action and formed this organization. In opposition to what the President claimed, the members of this organization stated that during the tourism development in Rocinha there was and still is dialogue between the agencies and the Residents Association. They accuse the Resident Association of only being focused on their own political interests neglecting what is best for the community as a whole. In terms of decision making there was never any action to be involved and discuss with the community, to get to know what the residents thought about it and to stimulate their awareness.

Another obstacle found that constrains the spread of local participation towards tourism is the lack of community awareness. Although it was not so obvious as other already discussed factors some locals mentioned the lack of residents understanding. Such as the local guide, Carlos Souza, who stated: *"the favela needs to be more prepared for tourism. Many residents don't know how to deal with it, what to think about it and why the tourists wants to come here"*. Increasing community understanding could possibly improve the awareness about the potential of tourism and how locals could have more access.

As we can see participation in Rocinha is a very complex issue. Although there are some signs, like the small group of residents that work with it or the initiative to form a local organization, it is not significant compared with Rocinha's dimension. In conclusion it was possible to find several obstacles from economic, political, social and cultural levels.

In the case of Pereira da Silva, tourism development is quite different from Rocinha. There is not interference from external agencies. It was a local initiative and it is run locally. Local participation can be seen as a fact and not a possibility. The challenging regarding the dimension of local involvement within this case study is regarding the implementation process and the benefits that the community has access since they became open to tourism.

At first glance, both favelas are quite different. Pereira da Silva is quite a small place with a relatively low number of inhabitants (around 5.000), and a scarcity of resources. The local economy is practically nonexistent and there are no hospitals, schools or kinder gardens. Furthermore there is only one NGO working in that area. The environment of Pereira da Silva influences the way tourism is being developed and how the community interacts with it. The first impression is that the Pereira da Silva dynamics is far less complex than Rocinha. It is important to keep in mind that Rocinha is considered the biggest favela in Latin America with a population

of around 200.000 inhabitants, with a strong economy and several NGOs and other organizations operating there. Despite their differences they share common points, as it is going to be revealed further.

As it was already said the tourism development in Pereira has been based on a local initiative. Although the fact that members of a vulnerable community had the power to initiate and implement tourism activities that does not mean that there is community involvement. In this case study, this theme will be analyzed slightly different from the first one. It will start by exposing the process of decision making and benefits distribution of the two actors (NGO Morrinho and Hostel). Then it will be presented the elements that can explain why the level of local involvement is still low.

Before discussing the relation of the NGO Morrinho with the community the role of other actors that allowed this NGO to move further will be first explained. The NGO Morrinho was the first element responsible to initiate tourism in Pereira da Silva. Nevertheless the support of two other organizations allowed this NGO to make this favela a tourism point. The collaboration of the Resident Association was quite important because it helped the Morrinho members with the bureaucratic process of turning the house of Cilán (one of the members) into the NGO headquarter. Nevertheless it was the partnership with the enterprise Cama e Café that made it possible to turn the already casual visits into official tours. It was during that process that the NGO Morrinho together with Cama e Café involved the community in the decision making process. With the collaboration of the Resident Association it was possible to invoke the residents' opinion about the possibility of having tourists in their place. Therefore it was the joint effort of these three organizations that made it possible to collect several testimonials, especially of those living close to the NGO. It is possible to say NGO Morrinho considered local participation in the decision making process. In terms of benefit sharing it is harder to evaluate, as is going to be explained.

Although the demand for tours is increasing, it is still done in an informal way and is not a systematic activity. It still happens occasionally and with low peaks during the year. Consequently, the economic benefits that the NGO Morrinho takes from tourism are still very low. In fact, the majority of the NGO members work voluntarily. Even Cilán, who is responsible for touring, does not get any profit from doing it. Their main economic source comes from other projects that this NGO develops such as film productions and exhibitions. Nevertheless, because those activities are not run constantly tourism is perceived as a more consistent service. However, Morrinho tours are not yet a secure economic source to rely on. Therefore the economic benefits that the community can take from it are practically nonexistent, except from the occasional stopovers at the bar with some tourists after the tour.

In terms of social benefits there is more clear evidence. Morrinho is seen as an active actor in that community. Besides being the only leisure spot apart from the football field, Morrinho is responsible for organizing cultural events for the community such as a jazz festival and open cinema sessions. In terms of education they are the only place where teenagers and children can improve their skills. During several informal conversations it was possible to realise the importance that Morrinho possess inside the community. As a NGO Morrinho provides different services. Nevertheless for the community Morrinho is one single unit. So the fact that for instance, it provides English courses given by international volunteers it is seen as a positive to be benefit of tourism. It is understood to be the way in which Morrinho contributes to the community. This interpretation is clear when Evaneide, owner of a small bar, stated when asked if the benefits of tourism activities are reinvested in the community: *"when it is possible Morrinho helps. As they do with the English courses. If they can offer to the community they will."* Interesting, when asked if tourism has a positive economic impact on her business she replied: *"I would not say that there is an increase in selling but the most important thing is to see new faces"*. For this resident the social benefits of tourism are more relevant than the economic ones.

In general it is possible to claim that there are signs of local participation, especially when considering the implementation phase by guaranteeing that residents were in favour of opening their favela to tourism. Nevertheless there is no community interaction towards running the tours. In terms of benefit sharing, economic profit is not present, not even to Morrinho members. Social benefits are clearer since their work seems to be appreciated by the residents and is a motive of pride for the community. A strong evidence of the positive effect of Morrinho in Pereira is the fact that their members are seen as a role model among youth which justifies the fact that a new generation of Morinho members is being formed.

In relation to Hostel Favelinha, although the community didn't directly participate in the decision process, the implementation of the hostel had a big impact on the community. According to Andreia, the owner, her project caused a negative reaction among many residents. As Andreia stated *"when I arrived here people thought I was crazy!"* A large part of the community was sceptical about it accusing her of only being interested in making money. Externally, the municipality was against of the idea of a hostel in a favela. They claim that it was completely incoherent, that the tourists would be in danger and the house plan was far too ambitious. In Andreia own words: *"they thought I could not build something like this. Just because it's in a favela I can't build something big and beautiful?! It has to be small and ugly?!"* It is possible to see that Andreia idea of opening a hostel in a favela was seen as a revolutionary concept for the community and also for the local government.

In terms of how the community participates in the hostel business nowadays, Andreia has an informal partnership with a lady that cooks for the tourists and hosts them for lunch in her house. Plus when the hostel is full she temporarily hires a girl to work in the reception and to help her

with cleaning. Besides, the construction process and the still existing repairs are in charge of local workers. In Andreia's vision, the small but existing residents participation is her way of being involved with the community. As she stated: *"I have a lot of work and I try to split it. I don't want everything for myself. I feel happy to see that I'm also helping others. It is my way of interacting with the community"*. Although on a small scale and being mainly informal it is possible to see that to a certain extent there are some economic benefits reaching a few community members.

In terms of social benefits, they were far less visible. Despite her initial idea of opening a Cultural house and her complains about the lack of social projects for those tourists that wish to contribute, in reality she did not take any action. She argues that she did not continue with her project of opening a Cultural house for children because there was no financial support from local government and no support from the Resident Association. Currently her only way of contributing is by collecting toys from tourists and distributing them to children during Christmas.

When approaching other residents the role of Morrinho was mentioned for more than the hostel. Its contribution to the community was seldom talked about. It is clear that Morrinho is the most dominant and active actor in the resident's perspective. In general the level of awareness about participation in decision making and distribution of benefits is low but there is a clear understanding that tourism was initiated internally and it is explored only by local residents.

The case of Pereira da Silva can be an example of local tourism initiative in the sphere of favela tourism. Nevertheless, it was possible to see from the above analysis that the level of local involvement is still precarious. There are signs of local participation in terms of decision making in the case of Morrinho and some benefits (especially social ones) are reaching the community. Nevertheless the distribution of benefits could be improved. At an economic level the return to the community is negligible except for the fact that the hostel employs local people and the presence of tourists can lead to an increase in the consumption of drinks. Beside the fact that it is on a very small scale the economic return only reaches particular elements. The residents that live close to the hostel and have good relations with Andreia and the lady of the bar located close to both actors are the greatest beneficiaries.

Although the dynamics found in Pereira da Silva were not as complex as Rocinha, it was still possible to find different elements that according to the main tourism actors' point of view decrease the level of community participation. Those factors are going to be discussed in advance.

Andreia, the owner of the hostel, and members of Morrinho are aware that more could be done in order to improve the life conditions of the community through their projects. They pointed out that one of the barriers of improving local participation is the fact that the community lack initiatives of their own. They expressed their desire of having a more creative and active community. They

wished that their projects would be seen as a chance for residents to create their own opportunities and improve their access to economic benefits generated by tourism. As Andreia explained *"if the community would be more creative, if there would be more people cooking, doing desserts, Brazilian savories I would tell my tourists to go there and eat because it is homemade food!"* In the case of Cilán tours there had been occasions of tourists willing to have caipirinhas after the initial tour. Cilán took them to a resident house so they could drink it. This situation is spontaneous and not a standard possibility. If residents are aware that there are tourists circulating in the favela it could be a great opportunity to start and increase small businesses. For instance one of the existing bars could start selling caipirinhas (typical Brazilian cocktail) and art craft stalls could be implemented. This favela is quite small and the local economy is practically nonexistent so a new initiative could possibly easily attract the tourists' attention.

It is possible to argue about the lack of residents' initiative. Around twelve years ago this community was living in a very controlled and closed environment. It was not possible to find outsiders. The human contact was restricted to those that lived there. The local economy was even worse than nowadays because it was not common to find people chatting in the street or in bars. At the present time they see new faces, tourists coming in and out of their community. Although it is becoming part of their reality and daily routine it is still something new for them, so the perception that this new environment can represent new business opportunities is not present in their mindset yet.

Another element that was also evident and is a common feature between the two case studies is the lack of internal cooperation. Just as in the case of Rocinha, in Pereira da Silva there are no signs of collaboration or any kind of partnerships. The only cooperation that was mentioned was the intervention of the Resident Association while supporting the NGO Morrinho in their bureaucratic process and in researching residents' opinion about tourism. In relation to the hostel the role of the Resident Association is nonexistent.

More relevant than that is the fact that the two actors directly related to tourism do not share any source of cooperation, greatly reducing the chance of community participation. As Andreia said: *"If me and Morrinho worked together we could do much more but without a union is not possible."* Cilán, a member of Morrinho, also made it clear that there is no partnership or any kind of collaboration with the hostel. He explained that their relationship is based on courtesy because they live in the same community. As it is possible to confirm in Cilán's own words: *"I don't have any partnership with the hostel. Our relation is mainly based on friendship because we are part of the same community"*. Although Cilán receives tourists from the hostel there is no link with it. They work independently. Andreia argues that the price of the tours is an obstacle to cooperating with them. As she said: *"It is not possible to have a partnership with them because 30 reais (the price of the tour) is the price of a bed in my hostel"*.

She moves on and reveals slightly how the dynamic among the different actors in Pereira da Silva is. It is possible to identify a strong sense of individualism inside the community. There is no union spirit and there is a lack of communication among actors. Such evidence becomes clearer when Andreia expresses her feelings about the Resident Association *“with the association I have no link. We are not enemies but we are not friends either. The Association here is very small, close and individual. It’s hard to get in.”* As we can see although this case is synonymous of local initiative it is still apparent that tourism development is implemented on an individual scale. There is no conscious thought that by working together it would be possible to achieve greater development and involve more locals in benefit sharing. Even when there is that level of awareness as in the case of Andreia, in reality there are no efforts to move in that direction.

5.6.3 Theme 2: Social Dimension

One of the motives of this study is to explore the possible positive effects that tourism can have on vulnerable communities. Freire-Medeiros argues that tourism in favela can increase the self-esteem of the locals, representing a big achievement. Additionally, in the literature related with tourism and poverty there are signs that tourism can promote understanding among tourists and dwellers. In order to explore the presence of intangible benefits this dimension will be structured based on two concepts: dialogue and self-esteem.

In respect to the first one, this theme will analyze how the encounters with tourists are perceived by the community eyes. In order to do so, the concept of “contact zones” will be used as a guideline. As was mentioned in the theoretical chapter, this concept is quite often present in the tourism literature when referring to the imbalanced encounter of host and guest due to power relations that can be connected to a colonial past, gender, political or economic hegemony. The second one intends to provide an insight about the community welfare. Therefore, it will use the concept of self-esteem as the main guideline to discuss the impact of tourism in residents’ life. Other elements linked to the community welfare were found and included in this theme.

In Rocinha tourism is seen as a gate to interact with other cultures. Nevertheless this option is not always well explored since there are many complains concerning the way the tours are developed. In the condition of resident, anyone can be exposed or affected to tourism regardless if it is connected to it or not, therefore in this section the residents are seen as a whole so the data given by members of organizations is not distinguished by the information given by residents that are not directly related with tourism.

Rocinha residents in general saw the encounters with tourists as an opportunity for interaction, cultural exchange and most importantly the chance to show their history, their reality. As Helio

Almeida highlighted the interaction with tourists promotes: *“demystification from the outside eyes about what a favela is”* and *“the interesting thing of tourism is to have an exchange. The tourist gets to know the community and the community gets to know him”* by Fernando Ermir. Despite the positive opinion about what contact with tourists can promote, in reality there are many concerns about the current tourism situation.

Criticisms are made about how the tours are organized. It is seen as a commercial activity and does not allow interaction between tourists and locals. The main reason pointed out for the discomfort with the way it is being planned is because the guides are outsiders who have, according to locals, no idea about their reality and their history. As was clearly expressed in Eduardo Casais, a local journalist, opinion: *“I think it is very inappropriate to have an external agency coming inside and showing a reality that they don’t know.”*

He moves on in his argument to claim that *“for instance the guide will show that there is a large accumulation of garbage. But why there is so much garbage? It’s because the municipality can’t manage it. Plus because it is a favela the trash collector passes less often. Furthermore resident also do not have the consciousness to not add more garbage in an area that is already full”*. Since the context is missing the consequence is disconnection between what tourists see and the reasons underneath. Because this link is not present receiving tourists can have a negative impact on the residents. As Eduardo pointed: *“as a resident my image is distorted by tourism. Then they will go back to their countries and say it is all wrong. The resident image is harmed”*. There are other residents that share the notion that if the encounter between tourists and locals is not well balanced by the guide the consequences can be negative and it will be mainly affecting the favela dwellers. As Daniel, director of a local NGO, claimed: *“I have heard many lies about Rocinha from external guides. Then the tourists look at Rocinha according to what they hear. Sometimes I pass by and say: hey what your guide is telling you is a lie!”* As a consequence, it is frequent to hear residents expressing their desire of having local guides instead who they believe are more familiar with the place and would be responsible for telling their side of the story. Some think that the contact with tourists made by external elements increases the feeling of being locked as at exotic commodity, as H lio de Almeida expressed: *“I think that the tourists found us exotic. The fact that the agency and guide are from outside contributes to that.”*

Nevertheless, Eduardo Casais although thinks that the best option is not to have alienated external agencies operating in Rocinha, believes that the solution might not be only in hiring local people to do the tours. As he stated: *“it is not because you are a resident that you are prepared to be a guide. The majority of the knowledge that I know is because I worked on a website that collected stories of elderly residents. It is not because you were born here that you know it. It should be planned better so as to prepare those people”*.

On the other hand, the local guides defend their role by assuming a distinguished position compared to the way the agencies operate. As Carlos Souza, a local guide, said: *"the agencies are not interested in quality, in showing the history of Rocinha to the tourists. They do not even know about it. They tell a lot of lies and the tourists get to know very little about the favela. Besides they rarely walk on the street"*.

All the guides interviewed share the same vision about the potential of their tours. They all support doing only walking tours, but when necessary to use the local means of transportation (moto taxi), try to show social projects, schools and provide an experience closer to Rocinha reality. As Rodrigo explained: *"if you take a tour with a local you will have a different experience. When I take a tourist inside a house they are surprised to see a computer, tv, hot water. An agency does not have the chance to show you this"*. In their dialogues it was also possible to identify the desire to show tourists that the majority of the people that live in Rocinha are honest and hard workers. As Zezinho said: *"I want to show that the reality here is the opposite of what the media shows that it is possible to walk peacefully, without problems that the majority of the residents are honest people and just because a minority is connected with trafficking the whole community gets a bad reputation. I try, on my tour, show the tourists how different it really is from what is being said."* The same line of thought is present in the discourse of Carlos Sousa: *"what I try to show to my tourists is that there are a lot of honest working people...very different from what the media portrays"*.

It is clear that as slum dwellers they are quite aware of the strong prejudice that surrounds the favela and its people. It is this awareness that justifies their urge of using the encounter with tourists to express their identity, to show their side of the story. Furthermore, this opportunity also represents a chance to reinforce the sense of Rocinha singularity as Carlos Souza explained: *"Before starting my tour I like to explain what a favela is and the different types that you can find in Rio. There are differences between favelas in the south and north area of the city. I think this helps them to understand better what they are going to see and to acknowledge that each favela is unique"*.

It is possible to discuss about the importance of transmitting the sense of uniqueness. Rio de Janeiro has more than eight hundred favelas. Media, government and even research has been portraying favelas as a homogenous reality, emitting differences among them. As it was mentioned in the theoretical chapter, Valladares pointed out this situation in her book referring to it as one of the dogmas about favelas.

Despite the dissatisfaction about the way the encounters between tourists and locals are being promoted, it is also possible to find positive signs as a consequence of the interaction with tourists. In this sense, it is necessary to recall Rodrigo Carvalho, a young local guide. He explained that at the age of fifteen when Rocinha began to experience tourists circulating around

it was quite strange for him to see people with a different physiognomy:” *I found it strange that they were white, blonde, speaking a language that I could not understand and wondered why they were here.*” The continuous presence of tourists opens a path for residents like him to come into contact with different cultures and to develop a new social network. As Rodrigo Carvalho explained: *“when Rocinha became touristic things changed so much that now people from the favela have friends that do not live in the favela, like the tourists. They become your friends, your neighbor. They come to Brazil but want to live in Rocinha.”* According to Rodrigo Carvalho the presence of tourists led to the unexpected rise of a niche market in Rocinha: renting houses or rooms to foreigners. The possibility of communicating with people from a completely different cultural background in a less rigid and formal way such as neighbors or roommates can have a positive impact on a slum dweller, as we can see by Rodrigo example:” *tourism changed my life a lot. It gave me the opportunity to meet people from different countries, motivation to learn new languages and helped me to change the way I was thinking. Before I was thinking about the wrong stuff... I could only see till a certain point. Now I can see beyond.*”

Rodrigo’s optimistic vision about what encounters with tourists can bring is also shared by Rogério Pinto, coordinator of a local NGO. He also mentioned the growing tendency of foreigners to choose Rocinha as their temporary residence. Plus he highlighted the fact that the possibility of contact with tourists, foreigners is positive because some time ago that was something impossible to experience. Finally he mentioned the consequences that it can have on the younger generations, as he claimed:” *this contact is particularly good for the youth as they become more motivated to learn new languages and they have the chance to come into contact with different cultures. It opens their mind.*”

To sum up, the encounter with tourists in Rocinha can have asymmetric contours especially when referring to the way agencies and in particular external guides block interactional opportunities and present the favela. Plus it was possible to see the imbalanced power relations that are beneath. The locals’ voice is shadowed by the agencies that seem not to be aware or are not interested in promoting a type of tour that would suit better the residents’ expectations. As a consequence the local guides are engaged in doing a tour in a different format. It was possible to understand that in the condition of favela dwellers the guides are aware of the stigma that comes with living in a favela. Therefore they use tourism as a means of telling their side of the story. This aspect will be further explored in detail in another theme. It is only mentioned here to superficially explain why local guides are engaged in distinguishing themselves from the external agencies.

Although the interaction with tourists is not always carried out in the most advantageous way we can see that there are signs of positive effects of meeting two different cultures. The friendship link or the status of neighbour allows for a less rigid interaction. The key element is not the difference between the two actors but in what format those contacts are made. It is the last factor

that can improve the communication and the positive consequences that can come with in bringing together slum dwellers and foreign people.

As we can see, tourism in Rocinha raises antagonist feelings. Despite the controversy of transforming favelas into tourism commodities it is possible to find evidences that the introduction of tourism can bring positive signs into the community's life. There are residents that have a positive attitude about having tourists in their neighbourhood and express it by mentioning the evolution of Rocinha and the aroused feelings caused by this new reality. It is important to highlight that locals that are not connected with tourism share this vision as can be illustrated by António Paiva, who works outside Rocinha in the construction field: *"I think it is very good. It gives me tranquility, freedom. Before there were people with shotguns controlling who was coming in and who was living. Today the idea of seeing tourists coming into the favela gives me a peaceful feeling."*

The notion of security that tourism might transmit, even if not realistic is a very precious value for someone that lives in on area of conflict like in the case of a favela controlled by the parallel power. It important not to forget that Rocinha is still under the control of the gang, Amigo dos Amigos and it is a very profitable drug selling point. Therefore it is quite understandable that the sense of peace that might come along with tourism is so much appreciated. Rogério Pinto, a member of a local NGO also said: *"I think it helps to reduce barriers and gives a higher sense of security."* Other residents also shared some good thoughts about having tourists as the case of Leandro, a moto taxi driver: *"we feel proud of having people that come from so far and wants to know about the place where we live."*

Among the residents connected with tourism it was also possible to find a good level of awareness about the opportunity of positive effects in the community through tourism. Fernando Ermir, secretary of the local tourism organization, believes that tourism in Rocinha can lead to a change in people's behaviour in the long term. It can motivate them to learn more, to get more education. In the short term, well implemented tourism can increase the community self-esteem. As he said: *"just the fact that you came so far to visit me, to get to know the place where I live is quite good for me"* Furthermore, he reveals that he believes that the majority of the residents appreciate having tourists. He says that the fact that there are people who are willing to visit the place where they live is highly valued. He explains that it is interpreted as: *"a sign of pride. That at the end the place where they live is not so bad."* Plus he states that: *"tourism can offer a great opportunity to promote the community, create interaction among people from different cultures"*. He also pointed out possible consequences to younger generations such as the motivation to learn English and even start small business. Finally, he mentioned that the dissatisfaction that can be presented while discussing the topic of tourism is not about tourism itself but the way it has been implemented.

As was said before, favelas are socially apart from the rest of the city and favelados have a poor image in the Brazilian society, especially among higher classes. One can say that an individual who has to live with this burden will probably have low self-esteem and a poor self-image. In order to illustrate this idea it is necessary to mention Helio Almeida, member of the local tourism organization. He stated that tourism has an impact on self-esteem because: *"you think that the place where you live is not so bad". Plus: "because it is not just the outside has a negative image. Quite often the residents also have a negative image about the place that they live. About the amount of garbage in the street, that there are only people with a low level of education living here, that it is very crowded and messy. This way is easier for the resident to understand that those elements are part of his culture and is appreciated by others."*

As we can see although tourism can represent mixed feelings due to the reasons already explained it is still possible to find evidences of the positive effects, such as the increase of self-esteem. Furthermore it is crucial to refer to the association of tourism with freedom and progress. Despite the tense environment that still exists in Rocinha tourism can diminish that which represents a very important achievement and a strong argument to accentuate the importance of the social dimension of favela tourism.

In the case of Pereira da Silva the encounter with tourists is seen as a positive opportunity. In opposition to Rocinha it was not possible to find criticisms about the way tours are organized or how people feel that tourism can contribute to reinforce a negative image. It is possible to speculate that the fact that it is locally run and has a low frequency reduces the chance of locals feeling too exposed or misunderstood. In order to sustain this perspective it is necessary to refer to Jorgete, a 54 years old resident. She described the interaction with tourists as quite smooth, easy and spontaneous. She claims that she often helps them with the luggage, directions and sometimes has a few drinks with them in a bar close to the hostel. Furthermore she also highlighted that in order to promote a positive interaction the community should be aware of how to host and deal with the tourists. According to her perspective it is the communities' responsibility of balancing the interface with the tourists. Moreover Jorgete expresses that the contact with tourists can promote an improvement in the daily life of the community. As she said: *"I think it is good for the community. It brings improvement. Here we only know each other so it is very good to have the chance to meet people from outside. It's very important to deal with other people and with different cultures."* Jorgete also highlights that it is a giving back situation because there are other communities that would not accept the presence of tourists. As she stated: *"it is not every community that accepts it. Here you can walk around without any problem. You will not see anything wrong. But there are many communities where you cannot walk alone. You have to know where to go, who to talk to and your entrance and exit time is controlled."*

Once again the need to express the singularity of their favela is present. In fact this feeling can also be identified among other references, like the case of Andreia. When mentioning the reality

of Pereira da Silva, Andreia contested that: *“for me this is not a favela. Here there is no violence and no one starves.”* Also in Pereira da Silva is possible to find foreigners living in the favela which helps to promote communication on more equal terms.

In informal conversations during my time spent as a volunteer, I realized the importance of those encounters as a way of showing that favelas are also an integral element of the Brazilian culture and therefore should be celebrated. This argument is clear in Maiara, (who works in a bar) statement: *“In order to say you know Brazil and particularly Rio you must visit the favelas. Only Christ Redeemer is not enough”.*

The fact that receiving tourists offers locals the possibility of contacting and seeing different people from their usual routine is also quite valued. The chance to speak English and exchange ideas is very much appreciated. As the same participant explained she enjoys talking to tourists because, in opposition to the majority of the youth there, they share the same music preferences. Children and teenagers also appreciate having tourists around and the possibility of communicating with them represents one of the main motivations to follow the English courses provided by Morrinho.

Speculations can be made about the reason that can somehow justify a positive feedback from the community. In Pereira da Silva, the tourism development is locally run. There are no conflicts with external agencies or guides. Compared to Rocinha, tourism activities are run in an informal and less commercial way. Since the tours do not happen on a regular basis there is a more limited likelihood that the presence of tourists will interfere in the daily routine of the residents. As shown in the research frequency, size of the groups and tour methods are an important factor. Due to its nature (the tourists go there for accommodation and to see an art exhibition) and the fact that it is done on foot and with small groups can justify why from the community perspective, the contact between tourists and residents have not yet reached a saturation point.

Furthermore, is important to highlight the fact that Pereira da Silva, in opposition to Rocinha, is quite a small community, which transmits a more familiar feeling. There are only two bars and a grocery shop which makes encounters between tourists and residents almost impossible to avoid. Since the local business is practically nonexistent it opens space for more informal and spontaneous contact situations. For instance, the fact that Andreia often indicates some neighbours' houses for the tourists that want to have lunch, have caipirinhas or snacks promotes a more familiar interaction. As well as this, when there are barbecues and funk parties the tourists are also invited to join.

In Pereira da Silva it was also present the psychological positive effect associated to tourism. In fact, it is the social impact of tourism rather the economic benefit that makes this community be open to it.

The correlation between self-esteem and tourism goes beyond evidences found inside the community. While talking with members of the Cama e Café entrepreneurship João Vergara (the director) and Daniela Greco (responsible for the collaboration with Morrinho) they mentioned the opportunity to interact with different people and self-esteem as the main current contributions of tourism in Pereira da Silva. Nevertheless, while approaching residents that are not directly involved in the tourism activities, although positive effects of tourism were mentioned, instead of self-image they referred to their external image. The way they are perceived by outsiders could be improved by tourism. This finding is evident in the conversation with Evaneide, who runs a bar. She claims that: *“Tourism gives a good image of the community. Those who visit spread the word to others.”* And also in Maiara (that works in another bar) who stated: *“There is always something good in every place [...] tourism is a good way to promote the good things that exist here.”*

The same interviewee also pointed out the sense of pride that having tourism transmits to the community. Since she works in the bar that is located in the main street, and also quite close to Morrinho and Hostel, it is frequently a gathering point for locals and tourists. She said that often a boy that works for the hostel comes there and tells a lot of stories about the tourists to the rest of the customers. He feels proud that tourists come here and some residents share his vision too.

Among other residents it was possible to observe, once again, the association of tourism with achievement. It is seen as a step further for community development and a sign of freedom. As Jorge, an unemployed resident, explained: *“I think tourism is good for us. It is a sign of evolution. It’s an improvement. Here we have freedom and that is very nice.”* If we look back at how this community was in the past and how it is now it is quite understandable that tourism is interpreted as a sign of evolution. During the 60/70s Pereira da Silva lifestyle was similar to a farm. The residents were a small group with strong ties to each other. The living conditions were more precarious but they had many fruit trees and small gardens to sustain their livelihood. In the 80s/90s the reality changed dramatically.

Besides the expansion and the decrease of social link among residents, Pereira became a quite popular drug selling point and a very violent place. This environment lasted until recently. For a better understanding of the changes that Pereira da Silva has gone through it is important to evoke Cilan’s (member of NGO Morrinho) conversation. He said that he believes that the community has changed a lot and not only regarding tourism. He claimed that twelve years ago they were living in a very restricted environment under strict rules. Their behaviour was highly controlled. They could not exit the favela freely and outsiders were not allowed. Now it is possible to see tourists circulating alone in the favela. Taking into account the context, today’s Pereira da Silva reality is definitely a sign of improvement and progress.

The evolution that is reflected in Pereira da Silva as a whole it is also present in Cilan's vision of himself. As we can see from his statement: *"I have changed a lot. I was nothing to what I am now. Twenty seven years of life twelve of change. Thank God I have changed a lot. I have lost a big part of the rebellion that I had twelve years ago. I have learned how to communicate more with the help of the outside boys (the two film directors that are part of the formation of Morrinho NGO) that made part of the project. Besides, because I started learning new things, how to deal with technology I started to feel better with myself. I gained more self-respect. I became able to look and talk to people, to have more dignified behaviour and to have more respect for my work."*

Although it is not directly referring to tourism the great benefits of contact with external people and learning skills that are not part of the favela culture or environment (like how to use a video camera, do film editing, shooting and other video production related activities) is quite evident. Despite the fact that Cilan story is quite a unique example, it opens a path for reflecting that tourism (a new activity in the favelas reality) comes with the chance of communicating with different people. The fact that some residents through tourism, can contact outsiders, develop new skills or have a different job opportunity can indeed have an impact on the residents' mentality and in their inner vision. It can change the perception of who they are and what they can achieve as human beings.

5.6.4 Theme 3: Tourism (Transmodern) Potential and Local Aspirations

As was mentioned in the theoretical chapter, this research aims to understand if favela tourism can contribute to initiate a social transformation of favela dwellers. In order to address that it is fundamental to understand if tourism developments conform with the residents aspirations of what tourism represents for them. The concept beneath this theme is perception and this subsection regards exclusively the perspective of locals concerning the potential of tourism. It will be possible to see, through this theme, to what extent the residents' vision is similar to their existing reality.

In the case of Rocinha, as was shown in the previous theme, tourism does represent a good opportunity for locals and it is seen with positive eyes. Nevertheless the main dissatisfaction in relation to today tourism in Rocinha is related with the low number of locals involved. Despite the obvious consequence of increasing the amount of residents in obtaining economic benefits through tourism, they assume that hiring external people to introduce Rocinha to tourists increases the gap between the guide's performance and the existing reality. There is much criticism about how guides do their work. Accusations are made in relation to the lack of knowledge and engagement towards Rocinha.

Hélio Almeida, member of the local tourism organization, criticizes today's tourism saying that it is carried out in a very superficial way preventing tourists from getting to know the history of Rocinha. Carlos Souza, local guide, pointed out the lack of engagement of travel agencies in doing tours to promote a real insight into Rocinha.

As we can see the need to promote their history, to protect and proclaim their identity justifies why it was possible to find several criticisms concerning the presence of external elements in exploring the tourism side of Rocinha. This desire also reflects what locals aspire from tourism. As Hélio Almeida said: *"through tourism we have the possibility to create an image from the inside to the outside"*. The idea that tourism can be a base from which to construct a different image is present in the mindset of many residents. Daniel can be a good example. He believes that tourism is the opportunity to break the image that a favela is a dangerous place and favela people are very different from the rest of the citizens. According to Daniel, if tourists had the chance to walk around the favela they could see that normal people lived there.

Zeinho, a local guide, is another resident that shares this common view. As he explained, tourism in his opinion is an opportunity to show that in opposition to what the media publish it is possible to walk around peacefully. In addition he also mentioned the strong prejudice concerning favela dwellers. As he said: *"the largest portion of residents is honest hard working people. Because of a small percentage that is connected with trafficking the whole community gets a bad reputation."* In his vision tourism can break that outlook and that is what he intends with his tours. He wants to show that Rocinha can be very different from the image portrayed. The same interviewee also mentioned that because of the reputation of movies like the "City of God" there are tourists that do the tours willing to see people carrying guns, the opposite of what he aims to show. It is possible to reflect upon the promotion made by movies and other sources present in the theoretical chapter. Although it was the trigger to restart the fascination over favelas, in terms of tourism it can work in a double way. It attracts tourists but it can also portray the same negative image.

The vision of using tourism to spread the idea that Rocinha can be different from what the media and Brazilian middle class believe being a common link among local guides and their need to distinguish themselves from external agencies were already reflected in the previous theme. Nevertheless, it was mentioned briefly in this one because it reinforces the perspective that locals have about tourism.

Other relevant information that must be mentioned is the fact that for some, like the local guide Toninho tourism can be a way to attenuate the dominant sociocentric view of higher classes in relation to favela dwellers. In his mind, tourism can be a way of opening the door to high class Brazilians enabling them to get to know favelas and their people. He expressed his desire to attract more Brazilians explaining that in 20 years of work he had only got 40 Brazilians, mainly

all from the southern area of the country. As it was explained before, the prejudice in relation to favelados is very strong but geographically, rich and poor people live side by side in Rio de Janeiro which justifies Toninho's statement: *"I would like to take rich Brazilians to get to know their neighbours"*. Fernando Ermiro, secretary of the local tourism organization, shares the same desire. He explained that he would like to attract Brazilians to see Rocinha.

He justified that due to the extreme prejudice people that live in Gavea (the rich neighbourhood where Rocinha is located) never entered the favela because of the news related with trafficking and violence. To sum up, he believes that tourism could be the opportunity to show that there are honest people living in the favela as well.

Although tourism represents a good opportunity for residents and the presence of tourists is appreciated, as it was revealed before, locals have shown dissatisfaction concerning the way tourism is being developed. Since their aspirations do not match the existing reality, several residents expressed negative feelings in relation to tourism. The most common ones are: feeling exploited and invaded. Such information can be confirmed by the statement of Daniel, who works in an NGO: *"when I see a group of 20/30 people I think it is strange and disrespectful to be able to take pictures without asking for permission"*. Fernando Ermiro, also confirmed that there are critiques concerning the habit of taking pictures without permission. He explained that although there are residents that do not agree with this behaviour they do not express themselves. Once again the community mindset is present and explains partially the residents' behaviour. Although it was possible to find criticism in relation to tourism they all attribute responsibility to the guides and not to the tourists. Perhaps it is because of the negative emotions associated to tourism that almost all the residents mentioned the importance of hiring local people. Possibly, they believe that residents would feel more engaged since they are part of the community as well. More easily tourism could be used to show the positive side of Rocinha and disrespectful attitudes towards the community would be attenuated.

To finalize, when residents had a chance to project their vision of how tourism should be developed in Rocinha the dominant perspective highlights the importance of giving more control to locals, to increasing the amount of residents involved with tourism, to reducing or to balancing the power of external travel agencies and to giving more preparation to those residents that work or are willing to work with tourism. In that respect the organization of courses about Rocinha history and English classes were mentioned.

In regard to this theme, concerning the case of Rocinha, it is possible to see the imbalance between the perceptions of locals concerning tourism and how in reality it is being developed. The dissatisfaction and the lack of power to change this situation can lead to exploitation and disempowerment. In that case, favela tourism despite its potential can cause more harm than positive effects on the community. If this scenario can be proved as real then the idealistic vision

that tourism in disadvantaged areas can represent a way to integrate excluded communities and increase their self-esteem can be questionable.

In opposition, the case of Pereira da Silva exposes a more harmonious relation between local aspirations and the way tourism is being developed. In this way, in general residents believe that tourism is a way to reveal the good side of favelas and to create a new image, different from what is seen in the media. As Maiara, who works in a bar, said:” *There are good things everywhere. It is important to spread them.*” Furthermore, Francisco Silva, member of NGO Morrinho, believes that tourism can be a possibility to transform favelas into social places and to reduce the prejudice that people outside the favela have about favelas. His point of view can be confirmed by his statement:” *tourism can be an opportunity to show that there are good citizens living here, that it is not exclusively a place where gangsters live like many people think*“. In addition, Francisco also mentioned the fact that tourism in Pereira da Silva can lead to a better outlook of the community towards foreigners. It is important to notice that the positive impact of tourism outside the favela walls is only regarding the international sphere. In fact, when Morrinho members or Andreia (the hostel owner) were asked about the presence of Brazilian tourists the answer was always the same: never had or only very few dare to do it. Andreia statement:” *if I had to depend on Brazilians I would starve*” illustrates how rare the presence is of the Brazilian public in this new form of tourism in Rio de Janeiro.

Since in this case study tourism was implemented by locals I wanted to understand how they perceived tourism, how they interpreted their reality and if their projects were in harmony with their vision. In several informal conversations with Andreia (the hostel owner) and Cilán (member of NGO Morrinho and the initiator of the artistic scale model) they revealed being aware of how their world, as slum dwellers, is shaped by the media at a national and international level. As was explained in the background chapter, media was a key element in creating strong negative assumptions in the public opinion about the favela and its people since the eradication period. However nowadays as a consequence of a highly interconnected society they face similar judgment at an international scale. In fact, this awareness was part of Andreia motivation in opening her business, as she stated: “*I wanted to show that not everybody that lives in a favela is a thief. Here you can find good people, normal human beings. I wanted to show to my American and European tourists that it is possible to live in a peaceful community that it is different from what you can find in newspapers and on television. Even today in Europe the media mentions the slaughter of Candelaria*⁹. *When international media wants to criticize Rio they only show blood and guns. The favela is not like that. I wanted to show my tourists that it can be different*

⁹ This slaughter happened on 23rd July 1993 in front of the church with the name Candelaria in the city center. It was carried out by a group of police men that shot into a group of sixty homeless kids and teenagers that were sleeping on the church steps. It caused the death of six children and two teenagers.

from what they think". Following the reflection about their positionality as slum dwellers and the role of their projects, Cilán highlighted that: "the tour helps to change the mentality. At least the tourists can say that here they were welcome. Here they saw creativity and positive things."

Besides the strong prejudice concerning the favela and its people, Cilán is also aware of the social and geographical separation between the favela and the rest of the society. He invokes a mind-set change. He criticizes openly how Brazilian society is socially segregated. How the two worlds, favela and the "asphalt", live apart. Cilán aspires to a more united society, where people from different cultural and social backgrounds could interact and learn from each other. His biggest accomplishment is that the work developed by the NGO Morrinho tries to break that barrier creating a space for such interaction. As he says: *"here you can find people from the favela, people from outside and from other countries. Everybody in the same place. Society as a whole."* This interconnection is the biggest pride of Cilán and it is a rare achievement in a society with such a strong class division like Rio de Janeiro.

As we can see, both participants share the perception of how their reality and consequently how themselves, as slum dwellers, are represented in a global scale by the media. Their awareness is a fundamental ingredient in their commitment of contributing with their work to taking a step further in changing the negative perception upon favelas.

The phenomenon of favela tourism was also discussed and they revealed the fact of being aware of the controversy attached to this recent trend in Rio. Andreia shows quite a negative opinion about it, labelling the tourism development in Rocinha as *"disgusting"* mentioning similarities with a Zoo due to the exposition of the community to the tourists' cameras. It is important to explain that once the topic of favela tourism is mentioned the association with Rocinha is automatic because since it was the first tourist favela and the most popular one it is seen as the symbol of favela tourism in Rio de Janeiro.

In addition she also mentioned the a past occasion where photos of tourists with a drug lord appeared on the television as an illustration of how negative this form of tourism can be. Cilán was less negative about it but showed that he is aware of the prejudice that exists about the tourism development in favelas. In the theoretical chapter the researcher Freire-Medeiros highlighted the fact that favela tourism was a highly polemic and contested topic in the Brazilian society. Andreia and Cilán are aware of it and also partially reflect the negative vision that favela tourism can have in the public opinion.

In opposition to Rocinha, in this case study it was not possible to find negative feelings due to the presence of tourism. Due to the low frequency and the fact that it is locally run one may say that, perhaps, the moral commitment that Andreia has towards the community might also contribute. She explained that she is aware that the presence of tourists can put residents in an uncomfortable position, feeling too exposed. Because of that Andreia controls the behaviour of

the tourists that choose to stay at her hostel. One of her main concerns is the excess of pictures and especially taken without permission. As she stated: *"here is not a zoo!"* In order to keep a respectful environment between tourists and residents Andreia says that she does not hesitate to send them away in the case of disrespecting rules. Besides the pictures, one of her major concerns are tourists hunting for sex tourism (Brazil and particularly Rio is a popular destination for that) therefore prostitutes cannot enter and single men are more carefully controlled.

In terms of future aspirations, Andreia and Cilán share the desire to incorporate the community more and to be able to more successfully fulfil some of the community needs. This idea can be easily illustrated by Cilán's statement: *"in the future I imagine a studio for youth where they can study, learn video production and informatics skills. Gaining new knowledge and learning in order to improve their future life. I want to give a better future to the community. I want a day nursery centre so moms can go to work in peace. I want better infra-structure in the community and in the NGO as well"*. The reference to the day care centre for children is important because it is a very necessary service that the Residents Association has been asking to the government to implemented for years but without success.

Finally, João Vergara, the director of Cama e Café, also aspires to increase the benefit sharing for the community as well as its participation in the future. A distinction of the above participants is that he aims to increase the frequency of the tours. This idea is also present in the vision of Evaneide, a resident that works in a bar.

Chapter 6. General Conclusion

6.1 General Conclusion

This research does not intend to undertake a measurable comparison study but to reinforce the theoretical argument that favela tourism should be analyzed taking into account the complexity and uniqueness of each context. Therefore, based on the previous qualitative analysis it is possible to draw some similarities and differences about the two case studies.

From a general overview, the population under research presented evidence of interpreting the presence of tourism as a “breath of fresh air” in their communities. This piece of information reinforces the importance of the social dimension attached to this form of tourism. In fact in both favelas the social impact was a priority highlighted by the community. Tourism can have an impact in the way the favelas are represented to the outside and in the way the favelas are seen by their own residents. In both cases the presence of tourists was interpreted as a sign of evolution. Curiously, despite the economic vulnerability that characterizes the population of those areas the possibility of gaining social benefits, such as an improvement in their image, was far more relevant than obtaining economic profit through tourism.

The evidence found in relation to the social dimension of tourism in favelas can lead to a reflection upon the Brazilian society and more specifically Rio de Janeiro. We can see that the dominant mindset that favela dwellers are criminals and favelas are an extremely dangerous places is still very present in Rio de Janeiro. Although favelas have gained a glamorous touch internationally which contributed for its transformation into a tourism commodity, at a national scene their image has remained practically the same since the eradication period. This data reinforces the importance of tourism as a mechanism to promote understanding and mind change. Furthermore, also it reflects how fragile its implementation can be because it can reinforce instead of challenge the existing stereotypes. The case of tourists eager to see armed people is a good example of how tourism can work in favour of the image constructed by the media.

In both case studies, community members are quite aware of the stigma attached to the condition of favela dwellers. In both favelas tourism represents a chance for them to be looked at differently. The presence of tourists offers them the opportunity of not being feared or looked down on but to be seen as individuals that have to struggle to survive, that have their own way of living but have habits, routines and a social behavior similar to many other Brazilians.

Nevertheless participants also showed awareness concerning the negative impacts that tourism can have, mentioning feeling exposed or interrupted in their daily routines. This evidence should

lead to reflection about the assumption that some intellectuals have that favela dwellers are unable of critical thinking and therefore are not aware of the humiliation that can result from the imbalanced encounter with tourists (Freire-Medeiros, 2007). The case of Rocinha is a clear example that residents are quite aware of the negative consequences that tourism can bring into their lives and because of that some are willing to reverse the way tourism is being explored so far.

In a general way, while comparing the two case studies it is possible to state that the case of Pereira da Silva reveals it to be a more harmonious example than Rocinha. The locals responsible for the tourist activities share a similar perspective with the rest of the community about what tourism can represent for them. The fact that both sides have a similar opinion about it can justify the general acceptance of tourism and the nonexistence of negative feelings. It is possible to say that the fact that Andreia and Cilan's worldviews are reflected in their engagement with their own projects reinforces the positive impact of tourism in the community. In the case of Rocinha, although the role and presence of tourism was seen with "good eyes" the way it is being developed causes dissatisfaction. In this case, it is important to reflect that tourism in vulnerable areas can lead to psychological disempowerment since locals feel lack of control over the direction and path of tourism (Scheyvens, 2003).

Going more in depth into the social dimension of tourism, besides the fact that the increase of self-esteem is present in both cases another important finding and a common link between these two favelas is the fact that both communities associate tourism with freedom and progress. One may say that this evidence can constitute an extra argument when mentioning the social dimension of favela tourism. It can attenuate extreme criticism and it can be a new perspective for positive effects through tourism in repressed areas.

Based on this fact and taking into account the literature used in the theoretical chapter, favela tourism can, to a certain extent, have an impact on the self-esteem and general welfare of the host communities. It can represent a small step in increasing the personal development of favela dwellers and be the beginning of a social transformation.

In relation to intercultural understanding, the analysis of the selected case studies reveals that it is possible to see that the development of tourism in disadvantaged areas does not have to be based exclusively in asymmetric relations of power. It can encourage cultural exchange and understanding. It can be an open door for dialogue and if done in a way that coincides with resident expectations, it can lead to feelings of empowerment and progress, as was previously discussed. Both case studies show that it can be possible. Nevertheless, the nature of the contours is the crucial element that shapes this interaction and can lead to positive or negative consequences.

The case of Rocinha reveals that despite the resident vision about contact with tourists, the reality was different. In this favela signs of imbalanced power relations between external and internal actors, were present putting locals in a delicate situation, as mentioned before. Plus, the contact with tourism was being responsible for raising negative emotions such as feeling exposed and misinterpreted. The factor that makes these contact zones less harmonious are not the tourists themselves but the agencies and particularly the guides. Those are seen as responsible for making residents feel disempowered by tourism. In fact, no comments were made concerning tourist behaviour they were all directed at the guides. When the presence of this external element was less evident as in the case of more informal encounters the consequences were seen as positive.

Once again, because locals are aware that tourism can lead to demystification of the favela and its people, the encounter with tourists is seen as a chance for exposing their side of the story. It can be interpreted as their moment of expressing themselves to the outside world. Plus it is also an opportunity to reinforce their singularity. The need to show that their favela is unique can be connected, as was already explained, to one of the dogmas that researcher Valladares (2005) pointed out.

Finally it is possible to say that in the case of Pereira the power relations are less asymmetric because there is no conflict with external elements. Besides the fact that the main motive of the tours is to appreciate an art production that has been present in international exhibitions, they can be a trigger to initially bringing balance into the unavoidable unevenness that exists between two such different actors.

Due to the myths around the favela and its people, tourism in those areas also raises ethical dilemmas. However, the opportunity of bringing tourists to a place where they would not dare to enter alone, creates a “contact zone”. If the relation between the two sides is based on respect the result can be enriching or at least not harmful to any of those involved (Claire Williams, 2008).

As a final remark it is impossible, despite how integrated one can become, to avoid any voyeuristic feeling once someone, as a tourist or even the position of researcher, enters an unknown environment. The challenge concerning favela tourism is to make this encounter as smooth as possible in order to diminish the already existing assumptions about favelados and favela tourism.

In respect to community involvement, local participation is quite a complex concept and appears difficult to be truly implemented. Nevertheless, if we compare both cases, Pereira da Silva has higher signs of local participation. In fact tourism was initiated locally and although Morrinho has a partnership with an external organization, Cama e Café, there are no signs of conflict or control from external forces. This partnership is part of the social vision of this organization that aims to

support a favela located in their neighborhood. In fact, this alliance can be seen as a good example of collaboration for tourism development. If an external and local organization share the same vision the result can be quite satisfactory.

Reflecting upon the data collected one can recall the argument of Mowforth and Munt (2003). They argue that local participation based on community initiation is the only way of breaking existing patterns of power and unequal access of tourism development. Indeed, Pereira da Silva can be a good example of how locals from a vulnerable community have been able to start their business and develop their own tourism activities. It is also a good representation of local agency and control. In opposition to Rocinha, there is no interference of power from external forces. In this sense local participation is a key element in giving the community a chance to implement tourism in a way that will suit their expectations. Nevertheless it is important to keep in mind that in this particular context, tourism takes place in a vulnerable area with its own particular environment. It is due to the favela context that tourism development and participation reach a higher level of complexity. Toscani (2005) argues that the obstacles of excluded areas make the positively proportional relation of community participation and development questionable. Without denying the importance of community involvement it is essential to keep in mind the area of focus. The reality of both case studies revealed how complex the implementation of local participation can be.

The aim of invoking Toscani is not to shade the argument of Mowforth and Munt but to invoke reflection. Community participation is indeed a vital element in order to implement a type of tourism that will more easily satisfy the residents. Plus it can more effectively reduce the negative impacts of tourism. In the case of favelas, community participation gains a double dimension. On the one hand, because it is in a favela it can be a good start to implementing feelings of power and agency in an excluded community.

On the other hand, if it is completely run and developed by the community it can become an extremely difficult challenge to overcome. Due to the socioeconomic reality of favelas the level of education is low, few residents have specific skills and in general the access to information is restricted. In order to balance this scenario the best solution would be to give control to the community but let their initiative be supported by external actors that could contribute with their knowledge. In this sense, the case of the NGO Morrinho can illustrate this idea. It was their initiative to transform their scale model into a tourism point but it was the collaboration with a tourism organization that highly contributed to making their dream a reality. In the case of favela tourism, both scholar arguments are not contradicting but complementing each other.

In both cases it was possible to find barriers that block local participation. Despite the fact that the context and nature of tourism development was quite diverse, lack of local cooperation was present in both scenarios. This fact is responsible for reducing the chances of improving the local

involvement and benefit sharing. There is no collaboration among the different actors and non among individuals. The case of the tourism organization in Rocinha was a clear example. They had a low level of credibility among the residents and they were struggling to attract local engagement. Complaints about the lack of activism from the community were also visible in Pereira, not for the same reasons but in terms of lack of creativity and business initiation.

It was also possible to see that there is a different level of awareness about the consequences and the opportunities that tourism can bring. This can be justified by the fact that there is a relevant difference concerning the amount of time exposed to tourism and the type of development. In the case of Rocinha, the community has been exposed to tourism for a longer period (10 years) while Pereira began its appearance five years ago. Furthermore, the way tourism is being developed is also quite different. Rocinha is a tourism destination officially recognized by the local government. It is explored by several external agencies. It can attract around 2000 visitors a month in the high season and is an intense commercial activity. The locals are far more exposed to tourism which can contribute to a higher level of awareness and a clearer understanding that tourism can represent potential opportunities.

In Pereira da Silva, tourism is still seen as a recent phenomenon. It is undertaken informally and less frequently. In total they have around 2000 tourists per year attending tours. Besides the difference in the flux of tourists, in this case tourism can assume a different nature, more precisely, an educational side. It is common to receive groups from high school, university students to take part in workshops in Morrinho in order to experience how to build a small scale favela.

In terms of community awareness, the level is still low and contact with tourists is seen as a “breath of fresh air”. This can be explained by the fact that in the past this favela was very closed to the external world. As was explained, tourism is not a systematic activity, plus it involves small groups which can reinforce the residents’ attitude. The familiar environment that characterizes Pereira is not spoiled by the presence of tourists which can lead to the conclusion that so far residents do not feel exposed to external eyes.

The aim to explore the role of local participation in favela tourism is to understand if there is a relationship between this concept and the positive effects that tourism can bring to areas like favelas. Taking into account the two case studies it is possible to claim that local participation is a key concept and is intimately connected to the positive contribution that tourism can make to those communities. In fact, it was in Pereira da Silva where local participation is evident that presented the higher level of community satisfaction. The presence of local participation, whether in decision making or benefit sharing, increases the feeling of power and agency among locals. Besides, community control over tourism allows them to use it as an instrument to promote understanding, providing a small step to demystifying favelas. In conclusion, one can say that in

order to explore the capacity of favela tourism in contributing to a possible social transformation community involvement is a vital element and should be integrated in further debates in this topic.

Chapter 7. Discussion and Final Reflection

7.1 Discussion and final Reflection

Reaching this stage implies an overall reflection upon the several months of research done so far. At this point, the data collected during fieldwork and the analysis that proceeded after will merge with the theoretical support of this study. In order to initiate the process, the first step will be to discuss if the objectives of this thesis were successfully accomplished.

One of the aims of this study was to contribute with understanding about the topic based on the community perspective and challenge existing assumptions regarding favela tourism. In this way, besides contributing to tourism studies, literature regarding favela tourism also benefits with this study. In that sense, it is necessary to evoke the ongoing research of Freire-Medeiros. The work developed by this pioneer researcher was a vital element in understanding the complexity of this topic. As was said before, this field lacks research and consequently is dominated by assumptions and a strong polarized view. This research intends to bring some clarification to this topic by breaking some pre conceived ideas.

Based on the collected data we can see that some of the assumptions presented in the theoretical chapter can be questionable. A common idea is that the contact with tourists is a humiliation for favela dwellers. Through the data evaluation it was possible to see that in any case the contact with tourists itself was interpreted as a humiliation or asymmetrical. In Rocinha there was criticism concerning the way guides were doing their work but not in relation to tourists themselves. In both favelas residents appreciated the possibility of interacting with external people from different cultural backgrounds and to introduce them to the place where they live. According to Freire-Medeiros, another assumption is that favelados lack critical thinking and therefore are not aware of being too exposed to tourists. Once again, the two case studies in particular Rocinha showed the opposite.

In many informal conversations it was clear the notion shared by several residents that depending how it is developed, having tourism in their place can be harmful if is not carried out in a respectful way towards the community. It is due to the residents' awareness that it was possible to find criticism in relation to pictures taken without permission or the invasive way that

some tours circulated around the favela. As we can see these findings reveals that favela dwellers are aware of the environment that surrounds them and are not passive agents.

In an overall analysis this research opens space for the recognition that favela residents do not necessarily need to be in the backstage of tourism development, they can as also assume control and an active position. Nevertheless, residents do not always succeed as expected, therefore, for a better understanding it is essential to take into account the dynamics of each place and evaluate each case individually. To sum, one can say that the selected case studies challenge existing ideas and bring some reflection into the field of favela tourism. Nevertheless it is important to understand that although certain findings may challenge some of the key ideas present in the literature, it does not necessarily mean that those assumptions are unsubstantiated. Favela tourism can be a form of exploiting the weak ones and reinforce existing stereotypes. Rocinha as a case study can reflect this side of tourism. The fundamental idea is to understand that favela tourism can have many versions and the one indicated in the literature does not has to be the only truth about this matter.

Furthermore, the dynamics of the favela such as the link among community members, the amount of population, its level of openness to external organizations and people, security, urbanization among other factors is very diverse, contributing to make the analysis of favela tourism a challenge. Community mentality can be a good example of how the favela dynamic influences the direction of tourism development. Although in both case studies residents have a similar vision of the role of tourism, in the case of Rocinha despite the fact that social benefits were very much mentioned there are also residents mainly interested in economic profits. The incoherence among the members of the Local Tourism Organization can be a good illustration of how community mentality can block local involvement. Although some were in favor of promoting for free local projects in order to increase community participation, others believe that they should charge a fee for supporting local initiatives.

It is possible to discuss about factors that can contribute for such dilemma. Rocinha is an extremely populated and developed favela. It is quite business oriented as it was possible to see due to its strong local economy, the presence of external entrepreneurs and an emerging middle class. In addition, the link among locals is not so tied. Due to the overgrowth of Rocinha, today this favela can be seen as an urban poor neighborhood. The community sense that often inspired many favelas residents to fight for their rights and for the benefits of the whole community is not so evident.

In opposition, the dynamics in Pereira da Silva are quite different. It is a less developed and urbanized favela with a shortage of basic services, such as in health and child assistance. Although it is growing Pereira is quite a small favela compared with many others and especially with Rocinha. The environment present in Pereira still evokes the community sense that was

often present in the general past of the favelas. In Pereira da Silva the presence of external organizations and entrepreneurs is nonexistent. Perhaps this factor associated with the population density can explain why the ties among members are stronger. In general the community environment is closed and the residents rely on each other to survive.

Despite the fact that the real reason to justify such dissimilarity was not completely found the key idea that is possible to retain is that the complexity of the favela matters in terms of local involvement and overall direction of tourism development. In that sense, one can claim that although it is possible to create space for local involvement and to use tourism in the best way according to the community perspective, it does not necessarily means that it can be applicable in all cases of favela tourism.

Having in mind what has been discussed, this research can also bring some understanding about favelas as an object of study. As was mentioned in the theoretical chapter, the researcher Valladares highlights in her book “A invenção da Favela: do mito de origem a favela.com” that the past thirty years of research in social science contributed to diffuse, what the author classified, as the three dogmas related to: the specificity of favelas, the homogenization of favelas, which means that all favelas are the same and the social image of the residents since favelas are considered exclusively the home of poor people. Based on these dogmas the vision of favelas is far too simplified, without acknowledging the fact that favelas have been evolving throughout time.

Based on the data collected each dogma will be discussed individually. In respect to the specificity of favelas, this dogma is related to the fact that because of the marginal history of favelas they are seen as areas apart from society. Places with their own rules and particular environment. Indeed favelas are excluded zones and the rules that operate and structure society not always are visible. Nevertheless, they are not totally estranged from the Government, Municipality and the public services that are available for citizens. In reality, favelas are connected to the rest of the city at a governmental level but each favela has its own level of engagement that can be more visible in some than in others. Furthermore, favela dwellers share common Brazilian habits with the rest of the citizens and nowadays even technologies. The access of internet is rising in many favelas and social networks like Face book are particularly popular among teenagers. The use of mobile phones is a common practice across all ages. At the end, the environment and habits that are present in favelas are not, as they once were, so diverse from the rest of the city. In relation to the second dogma, the two case studies revealed that in reality, favelas are quite heterogeneous. The Pereira da Silva environment was very different from Rocinha. This fact was present in the history, in today's reality and even in the way tourism was developed. This proves that when favelas are the object of study generalizations should be avoided because they are not homogeneous. As debated before, each favela possesses its own dynamic. In respect to the third dogma, the image of favela residents is

exclusively associated with poverty and social problems. Nowadays some favelas, like Rocinha, are socially heterogenic. It is possible to find a diverse socio-economic reality. There is an emerging middle class inside Rocinha and it is possible to find residents with a high level of academic education. What can possibly explain this growth is that some favelas, like Rocinha, became intensive economic centres, with a strong local economy and the capacity to attract external business people who are willing to open their businesses inside Rocinha because it is a profitable market.

As we can see, the dogmas highlighted by Valladares are inappropriate to the modern favelas of today. The ideas that sustain those dogmas correspond to a favela that existed in the past. It has not adjusted to the evolution that favelas have been a target of all this time. Favelas have suffered a metamorphosis and research must acknowledge that so it can diffuse a more appropriate vision of what currently is a favela.

The second aim of this study was to explore the potential of favela tourism as a vehicle for social transformation. Although it can be seen as a very idealistic and intangible goal to establish in a work with a specific time limitation such as a master thesis, it is possible to say that there are signs that the presence of tourism in poor areas like favelas can be a starting point for a transformation at a social level. Both cases revealed how important the social dimension is for the communities. The residents' aspirations from both favelas associated tourism as the opportunity to be seen detached from the image portrayed by the media, to interact with different cultures, to broaden their horizons, to achieve other skills and to open space for new opportunities. Besides the clear effect on their self-esteem, other elements can be integrated in the social dimension of favela tourism. A sense of progress, evolution and even freedom were present in the two case studies. Keeping in mind the history of these favelas, residents see the presence of tourists as a sign of peace, of tranquility (even if it is fragile). It helps them to feel less excluded and more integrated in the city. This finding can represent another argument to reinforce the importance of the social aspect of favela tourism. As we can see, although slight, there is light evidence that this form of tourism can have the potential to be a trigger for a social transformation.

Based on the selected case studies, the lesson that can be learned is that the moral debates concerning the introduction of tourism in favelas should be focused on how tourism is implemented in favelas. It is not the presence of tourism but rather how it is developed that is the bottom line issue. It is the way that tourism is being run that affects the communities and optimizes (or not) the positive side of favela tourism. Following this line of thought, the concept of local participation is a crucial element to be incorporated in the debates of favela tourism or even in discussions concerning the positive impacts of tourism in disadvantage areas.

The data collected shows that a large portion of the potential of favela tourism in leaving a positive legacy relies on the presence of local participation. The integration of the communities is a vital element in order to achieve the social impact that tourism can represent in those areas. Although local participation in none of the case studies was fully applied, the case of Pereira da Silva can be seen as an example of local initiative. Invoking the argument of Mowforth and Munt (2003) the only forms of local participation that can break existing patterns of power and unequal access of tourism development are the ones originated within the community. This point of view can be illustrated with the case of Pereira da Silva.

In opposition to Rocinha, tourism was initiated by community members and they do not have to compete with external forces. The fact that residents were responsible for the tourism activities was a very important factor that influenced the whole development and impact that tourism has on that community. It was an essential element to balance the relationship between tourists and residents, plus it was the reason beneath the homogeneous view concerning what tourism represented for that community. In this sense, because those that run tourism activities are also part of the community there is a common vision of what tourism can bring for them.

Therefore, they are using their projects to address higher goals such as image improvement, motivation for residents in gaining new skills and integrating others as much as they can. Although the involvement of the community is still on a small scale there are several individuals that are directly benefiting from the introduction of tourism in their neighbourhood. A reason that can explain the minimal level of involvement is related to the fact that both projects are relatively recent and still in the development phase, especially the case of NGO Morrinho. Nevertheless, it is the local participation factor which is the major difference between the two case studies and the reason why the feeling of exploitation and invasion were not present in Pereira da Silva but in Rocinha. Still in relation to local participation, as explained before, while exploring the complexities of favela tourism in the selected case studies, the difficulties that the community of Rocinha faces while trying to implement such a concept it become evident. Besides the obvious domination of the external travel agencies, internally, there are internal obstacles like community mentality, such as lack of trust in associations and individualism, which reduces the chance of stimulating residents to work together as a unified force.

Gazing favela tourism as a form of transmodern tourism is not a “black and white picture”. Transmodernity was the chosen paradigm because it emphasizes the positive legacy that tourism in poor areas can have. It invites the opportunity to erase pessimistic mentality, to be free from assumptions and sensationalistic analogies (such as urban safaris) and to be able to look for positive examples and successful stories. Transmodernity acknowledges that reality is constantly changing therefore favelas can be seen as places that are in constant evolution instead of static enclaves. The Spanish philosopher Rosa Maria Rodriguez Magda in her essay

La Sonrisa de Saturno hacia una teoria transmoderna (1989), uses the logic of thesis, antithesis and synthesis to describe the mind shift process of moving from modernity to transmodernity.

Making an analogy with it about this topic, one can say that transmodern perspective on favela tourism is not about defending that tourism in poor areas is the only solution for economic profit and development or either that tourism is just about commodifying third world poverty for western leisure. It is about accepting both sides but being able to go beyond that and gain a more integrative view.

In that sense, based on the data analysis it is possible to find indicators that can stimulate a new direction of favela tourism as a potential agent for social transformation. The first one is local involvement since it is a crucial factor in optimizing the positive effects of tourism. Then partnerships with external organizations that are purpose and not profit driven. It can be a key contribution to integrate favelas into the tourism market and to avoid conflicts of power and control. Finally, another quite relevant aspect is the mindset of residents in relation to the role of tourism. They share the vision that tourism can be a mechanism for promoting understanding and reducing stereotypes. Finally, locals prioritize social benefits instead of economic ones which can reflect their awareness of the positive impact that tourism can have in their communities. Following this line, the data demonstrates that favela tourism, and in particular Pereira da Silva, has the potential to be a platform for social transformation and mind shift towards favelas. Tourism is used as a vehicle to show another side of the favela and its people. Interaction and dialogue between residents and tourists can be achieved in the tourism format of Pereira. Those that are responsible for it showed themselves to be morally engaged in improving the community through tourism. Furthermore, the fact that both projects received good critiques from some of the most important newspapers in Brazil increases their contribution in opening space for public opinion to start associating favelas with positive news.

As a final remark, the results of this research allow me to claim that transmodernity may open space to reconstruct a new image or to add a new vision into the portrait of favela tourism. This research does not intend to prove if favela tourism is indeed transmodern or not. In fact such a task seems to be meaningless since transmodernity is a recent and far too philosophical concept to be measured. The intension was to bring a new light, a new vision of tourism inside favelas based on the communities' point of view. In that sense, as a researcher I assume that this study successfully accomplished its predefined mission.

7.2 Limitations and Scope for Further Research

This study was restricted to a limited fieldwork experience of three months in two favelas Rocinha and Pereira da Silva. The goal was to get an insight of the residents' vision of having tourism in their favelas in order to explore the possibility of tourism being an initiator of a social transformation. Further research should include tourists' motivations and mindset about favelas and compare it before and after experiencing a favela tourism activity. In that sense it would be possible to more precisely evaluate the change in perception after experiencing favela tourism. In order to confirm the importance of local participation in optimizing the positive effect of tourism, it would be relevant to analyze and compare a group of tourists from an external agency and another one from a local run activity. Furthermore, it would also be relevant to explore other case studies and search for more positive examples of partnerships between local and external organizations.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview for residents not directly connected to tourism

Pre- Interview

- A little about myself and the purpose of my research

Background information

- What is your name?
- Age?
- How many family members? Children?
- Where were you born?
- How long to you live in this Favela?
- What is your current job?
- Do you work inside or outside of the favela?
- Are you related with any association inside the favela?

Perceptions about tourism

- Do you know that there are tourists visiting your community?
- What do you think about it?
- What do you think that motivates the tourists to come here?
- What would you like the tourists to remember about visiting your community?
- How do you feel about having tourists in your neighbourhood?
- When you think about tourism, which are the most positive things that come into your mind?
- Which are the most negative ones?
- What do you think that tourism represents to your community?

Perceptions about the current tourism activities

- How does the tourism in your favela started?
- Who do you consider as the main responsible actor? Who started?
- Did they ever request your opinion about it?
- What do you think about the attitude of those that run the tourism activities?

- If you were responsible for running the tourism activities in your favela would you change something? If yes what and why?
- If you could guide a tourist what would you show and tell about your community?
- What do you think that the tourists remember most about this experience?
- Do you think that having tourism in your favela changed your life? If yes how?

Appendix 2: Interview for residents directly related with tourism

Pre- Interview

- A little about myself and the purpose of my research

Background information

- What is your name?
- Age?
- How many family members? Children?
- Where were you born?
- How long to you live in this Favela?
- What is your current job?
- Do you work inside or outside of the favela?
- Are you related with any association inside the favela?

Perceptions about tourism

- When you think about tourism, which are the most positive things that comes into your mind?
- Which are the most negative ones?
- What do you think that tourism represents to your community? And to yourself?
- What would you like the tourists to remember about visiting your community?
- How do you feel about having tourists in your neighbourhood?
-

Perceptions about the current tourism activities

- How does the tourism in your favela started?
- Who do you consider as the main responsible actor? Who started?
- What is your role in the tourism activities in this favela?
- Can you depend only in tourism to live?
- What do you think about having tourism here?
- How was and how is the involvement of the rest of the residents with the current activities?
- If you had the power to change the current tourism scenario in your favela, would you change something? If yes what and why?
- What do you think about the attitude of the tourists that come here?
- What do you think that motivates the tourists to come here?
- In your opinion how do the tourists perceive your community?
- If you could guide a tourist what would you show and tell about your community? (only in case of not being a guide tour)
- What do you think that the tourists remember most about this experience?
- Do you think that having tourism in your favela changed your life? If yes how?

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