

Wageningen University – Department of Social Sciences

MSc Thesis Chair Group: Rural Development Sociology

The Involvement of Favela Residents in Favela Tourism

A Focus on Vila Canoas



January 2010

International Development Studies Inge Kuiphuis

Specialization:
Rural Development Sociology

Supervisor:
Pieter de Vries

Thesis Code: RDS 80433



WAGENINGEN UNIVERSITY

WAGENINGEN UR

ABSTRACT

Kuiphuis, Inge (2009). The Involvement of Favela Residents in Favela Tourism - A Focus on Vila Canoas, Masters' thesis Wageningen University

Favela tourism is increasingly popular. Although residents seem to be positive about tourism in general they are not happy with the organization. Therefore the involvement of residents in favela tourism will be considered by looking at the role of residents in the tourism network of different tourism initiatives in Rio de Janeiro. Furthermore in the case of Vila Canoas, a favela with different experiences in tourism, an interface analysis is done to see differences in discourse, values and interests between the different actors involved. Favela residents are limited involved in the most popular tourism initiatives. Recently other initiatives started where residents are more involved in. As tourists also find it important that residents benefit this may well be possible in the future. Although favela tourism is not a panacea, as it is not an option for every favela and will not benefit all the residents of a favela equally, residents could be more involved if they would be supported in the organization of tourism. This would allow a more central position for residents in the actor-network of favela tourism. However, they are dependent on the support of others as favela residents themselves often lack the means (e.g. financial and educational) to create a network. This report attempted to show the power relations in favela tourism and to compare discourses, interests and values of the different actors involved.

Keywords: favela tourism, involvement, participation, sustainable development, actor-network theory, actor-oriented approach, interfaces, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

SUMMARY

Organized tours in the favela started in 1992. Since that time a growing amount of tourists do such a tour. Major conclusions of previous research are that favela residents in general are positive about tourism, but not so much with the organization; they would like to be more involved. That raises the question in what way residents are actually involved and why they are not more involved if they like to. The aim of this thesis is to get a better understanding of how favela residents, in particular the residents of Vila Canoas, are involved in favela tourism and how this relates to sustainable tourism development, by looking at the actor-networks of the tourists activities in favelas and the (social) interfaces within these actor-networks.

The favelas of Rio de Janeiro appeared at the end of the twentieth century and they continued to grow during the twentieth century. They have an ambiguous image: on the one hand they are seen as dangerous, criminal, unhealthy and ugly and on the other hand as romantic, exotic, connected to samba, soccer and carnival. The relation between tourism and development is political as it can be approached from different perspectives. Scheyvens distinguishes the liberal, neo-liberal, critical, alternative and post-structural approach. The tourism policy of Brazil seems mainly influenced by the neo-liberal approach as they describe their aims in terms of foreign currency and creation of employment. They also use an alternative discourse as they say it is important that local people need to benefit. Vila Canoas is a favela in the Southern-zone of Rio de Janeiro, located in one of the most expensive neighborhoods of the city and near to Rocinha, one of the biggest favelas of Latin-America. Vila Canoas consists of two parts, Vila da Pedra Bonita that started as employees of the golf club were allowed to build their houses on the terrain of the club and Vila Canoas that consists of illegal buildings. Vila Canoas is a relatively well-off (it means wealthy or affluent) favela with different experiences in tourism as Favela Tour organizes tours here since 1992, as there is a bed and breakfast and as Exotic Tours, another tour company carried out tours here for two years.

In previous research about favela tourism mainly a critical and alternative approach can be recognized. Although some research compares favela tourism to colonialism and says it benefit the local population little, (yes, you can say so) the major conclusion is that favela tourism could be beneficial if local people would be more involved in tourism. However, also the call for more involvement is political. It can have different meanings and the call for participation comes from a position of a power. In line with the post-structural approach, I will analyze the involvement of local residents in favela tourism by using a combination of the actor-network theory with the actor-oriented approach. In the actor-network theory tourism can be defined as an actor-network, to unfold the material heterogeneous relations and the role of favela residents within this network. I use the interface analysis of the actor-oriented approach to see where discourses, values and interests of different (human) actors in the social field of favela tourism conflict or overlap. To carry out this research I went to Brazil for a period of four months of which about two months in the favela of Vila Canoas. I explored the cases of a tour company, an organization providing home stays, a project by PUC-university (Pontifical Catholic University) and an independent host. Furthermore two case studies in other favelas are done. Data was collected by participant observation, informal and semi-structured interviews and secondary literature.

Favela Tour looks like a rather stabilized network. Armstrong, the initiator is able to link up with hotels and tourists and some residents benefit from this type of tourism as well. There are also tensions, especially about the way in which Favela Tourism is organized and residents are involved. The involvement of residents is limited to the selling of art and snacks, benefits through a local school and eventually some small talk with tourist. Residents would like to be more involved. Tourist would like to have more interaction with the local population as well and most find it important that local people benefit. As the concern of tourist agencies is to satisfy tourists, a tour set up by residents may have a chance to succeed. In project Vila Canoas, supported by PUC-university, tourism workshops were organized. In this project residents worked on the creation of an alternative tour.

However, Gênesis (a business incubator, a unit from PUC-University), who was supposed to support the initiative, decided to support another initiative instead. This case shows how residents have different ideas about favela tourism than Favela Tour as they wanted to create a different tour that would benefit local residents. It also shows how difficult it is for residents to link up with the tourism network without support.

Favela Receptiva offers a private room or home stay in Vila Canoas. Although both tourists and residents like the idea of Favela Receptiva, especially because there is more interaction between residents and tourist, residents are still limited involved in the organization. There are differences in interests, values and discourses between favela residents and the organizer. Not all residents like the commercial attitude of Santos, while she explains this as being professional. In Vila Canoas there are also some other experiences with tourism. My host for example hosts guests by herself. It provides some extra income and social contacts. The tour company Exotic Tours also worked in Vila Canoas for some period. There were and still are some guides from Vila Canoas who work for this company. The salary is low, but at the same time it is an experience. Furthermore there are residents who work in tourism in other parts of Rio de Janeiro for long hours and a low wage in return.

In Morro de Babilônia, a cooperative of residents tries to organize a kind of tourism that will benefit the residents more, although they had offers from outside tour companies already active in Rocinha. They get support from a professional in tourism, but also from the government in courses to become a professional guide. They now try to link up with the formal tourism network. They need to gain confidence to show that they can offer a safe and attractive tour to tourists. Tourism Morrinho is about a reproduction of a favela made by bricks by local children, supported by the NGO Cama é Cafe. Despite this support, few tourists visit the project. The project shows something different than poverty. The most popular tours in Rocinha are organized by outsiders and the residents are limited involved. They differ in their story and the kind of tourists they attract. There are more and more tourism initiatives in favelas that are created to benefit the residents more. Important is if they are altering the modes of ordering, that is if residents play a role in the organization of tourism as well, if they can tell their story and can interact with the residents.

In conclusion, there exist many type of tourist activities in favelas. Tourism is political, as there are different ideas about how to organize it. Tourists seem to find it important that residents benefit. The operators of tours say they benefit residents, but residents are not always happy with the extent in which they benefit. With respect to Favela Tour that operates in Vila Canoas, local residents would like to work as a guide or that tourists see a more of Vila Canoas. Most residents like the initiative of Favela Receptiva as there is more interaction with tourists and as host families directly benefit. Still, residents are limited involved in the organization and they have different ideas about for example professionalism. Since a couple of years, tourism initiatives in favelas started where residents are more involved in. However, there are difficulties to mobilize a network. They need the support from outsiders to link up with the existing tourism network.

FOREWORD

This MSc thesis is part of the MSc study program '*International Development Studies*' within the specialisation of rural development sociology at Wageningen University. In the study program of Wageningen University it was possible to dive into a wide range of development issues, like conflict studies, microfinance, nature-conservation and tourism. In all of these themes the Wageningen characteristic actor-oriented approach turned out to be a useful approach.

It was difficult to select one topic as I have a broad interest. It was when I had to write a paper about inclusion and exclusion in relation to modernization that I started to think about the topic of slum tourism. In the researches carried out about this topic the importance of the participation of local people was emphasized. It made me wonder how it was organized and how residents are involved, but also what tourist motivated to do a tour.

Rio de Janeiro was a '*marvelous*' place to do the fieldwork, but the reason to choose Rio de Janeiro and not Nairobi, Mumbai, Cape Town for example, was not for its natural beauty. Rio de Janeiro seemed to have the most different kinds of tourism activities as there are not only private organizations, but also community organizations, NGOs and the government that organize tourism activities in the favela.

I want to thank many people for this thesis. First my supervisor Pieter de Vries for his recommendations and much needed criticism. I also want to thank my friends in Wageningen and 'home-home' for their support. I thank my parents and brother for always being there for me. Also much thanks to the people who supported me during my internship in Colombia, I learned a lot from that experience. Much of my appreciation goes to the people I met during my fieldwork in Brazil. First of all Marcelo Armstrong for his openness, his cooperation from the beginning until the end of this research by quickly replying emails, for his interviews and other literature he gave to me. I want to thank Eneida Santos for her help during my period in Vila Canoas, by introducing me to many people and sharing her experience in Vila Canoas. Thanks to many people in Vila Canoas, especially Penha and her children for being a great host, for my friends there for sharing a beer, playing volley and showing me Rio. I thank all the people I interviewed, not only from Vila Canoas, but also from Coop Babilônia, ONG Morrinho, Denise Fonseca from PUC-University and RioTur. Thanks also Alpha hostel and all the other nice people I met during my stay in Brazil. You made Rio a marvelous city!

Thank you,
dankjewel,
muchas gracias,
muito obrigada!

Inge Kuiphuis, Wageningen, January 2009

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, GLOSSARY AND ACRONYMS

ABAV	<i>Associação Brasileira de Agências de Viagens</i> Brazilian Association of Travel Agencies
ABB-Tur	<i>Associação de Bacharéis em Turismo</i> Brazilian Association of Tourism Students
ABIH	<i>Associação Brasileira da Indústria de Hotéis</i> Brazilian Association of the Hotel Industry
ABNT	<i>Associação Brasileira de Normas Técnicas</i> Brazilian Association of Technical Standards
ACTA	<i>Associação Carioca de Turismo Aventura</i> ‘Carioca’ Association of Adventure Tourism
AM	<i>Associação de Moradores</i> Residents Association
AMICAVA	<i>Associação de Moradores e Amigos de Vila Canoas</i> Organization of Residents and Friends of Vila Canoas
AMUVICA	<i>Associação de Mulheres</i> Women’s Organization of Vila Canoas
ANPROTEC	<i>Associação Nacional de Entidades Promotoras de Empreendimentos Inovadores</i> Association of Science Parks and Business Incubators
APA	<i>Área de Proteção Ambiental</i> Environmentally Protected Area
Asfalto	Name given to the world outside the favela
Bairro	Officially recognized district
Carioca	Inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro
CEMASI	<i>Centro Municipal de Assistência Social Integrado</i> Centre for Integrated Municipal Services
CIC	<i>Centro de Integração Comunitario</i> Centre for Community Integration
Condominium	A form of home ownership in which individual units of a larger complex are sold, not rented
DETR	(British) Department for Transport, Environment and the Regions
DFID	(British) Department for International Development
Favela	Illegal squatter settlement, particularly associated with Rio de Janeiro
Favelado	Resident of a favela. Although it has pejorative connotations in Brazil I have used it extensively in this paper for ease of terminology
Favelinha	A part of Vila Canoas
GCET	Global Code of Ethics for Tourism
IBISS	<i>Instituto Brasileiro de Inovações em Saúde Social</i> Brazilian Institute for Innovations in Social Healthcare
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITCP/UFRJ	<i>Incubadora Tecnológica de Cooperativas Populares/ Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro</i> Technological Incubator of Popular Cooperatives/ Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
Malandro	An affectionate term, loosely translated as a cunning, streetwise person (Dwek, 2004)
Mata Atlântica	Atlantic Rainforest
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
Morro	Literally ‘hill’, used as a synonym for ‘favela’, specific to Rio de Janeiro
Muralha	The part of Vila Canoas that is also known as Pedra Bonita
NGO	Non Governmental Organization

NIMA	<i>Núcleo Interdisciplinar de Meio Ambiente</i> Interdisciplinary Environment Institute
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
OMT	<i>Organização Mundial de Turismo</i> World Tourism Organization
ONG	<i>Organização Não Governamental</i> Non-Governmental Organization
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
PUC-Rio	<i>Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro</i> Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro
PWC	Post Washington Consensus
Real	Brazilian Currency ($1R\$ = 0.529463\$ = 0.371057 \text{ € on } 28-07-2009$)
Reais	Plural of Real
RioTur	<i>Empresa de Turismo de Município do Rio de Janeiro</i> Municipal Tourism Agency of Rio de Janeiro
RJ	Rio de Janeiro
SEBRAE	<i>Agência de Apoio ao Empreendedor e Pequeno Empresário</i> The Brazilian Service of Support for Micro and Small Enterprises
SENAC	<i>Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial</i> National Commercial Training Service
SINDETUR	<i>Sindicato das Empresas de Turismo</i> Union of Brazilian Professionals of Travel Industry
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty
TURIS-Rio	<i>Companhia de Turismo do Estado de Rio de Janeiro</i> Tourism Company of Rio de Janeiro State
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
UPP	<i>Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora</i> Police Pacification Unit
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

LIST OF BOXES AND FIGURES

Boxes

Box 1 Para Ti	13
Box 2 Website of Favela Tour	27
Box 3 Fala Canoa!	36
Box 4 Services Offered by Favela Receptiva	42
Box 5 Police Pacification Unit	49
Box 6 Tour in Morro de Babilônia	50
Box 7 Visit to ONG Morrinho	51
Box 8 A Critical Voice	54

Figures

Figure 1 Mirante das Canoas	11
Figure 2 Leaflet Lar Receptivo	45
Figure 3 Dinner in Penha's House	45

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Abstract</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Summary</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations, Glossary and Acronyms</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Boxes and Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Research Problem	1
1.2 Selection of the Topic	2
1.3 Structure of the Report	3
2 Background Information	4
2.1 The Favelas of Rio de Janeiro	4
2.2 Tourism and Development	6
2.3 Tourism Policy in Brazil	10
2.4 Background Information about Vila Canoas	11
3 Research Strategy	15
3.1 Literature Review	15
3.2 Theoretical Framework	17
3.3 Methodology	21
4 Case Study Favela Tour	25
4.1 The Actor-Network of Favela Tour	25
4.2 The Actor-Network of Favela Tour from Different Perspectives	30
4.3 Exotic Tours in Vila Canoas	34
4.4 Project Vila Canoas	34
5 Case Study Favela Receptiva	39
5.1 The Actor-Network of Favela Receptiva	39
5.2 The Actor-Network of Favela Receptiva from Different Perspectives	43
5.3 The Actor-Network from an Independent Host	45
5.4 Other Experiences with Tourism in Vila Canoas	46
6 Other Tourism Activities in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro	48
6.1 Case Study Morro de Babilônia	48
6.2 Case Study Turismo Morrinho	51
6.3 Other Tourism Activities in Rio's Favelas	53
7 Conclusion	57
<i>References</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Annexes</i>	
<i>Annex 1 – Maps</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Annex 2 – Question Lists for Interviews</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>Annex 3 – Tourism Activities in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Annex 4 – Article about Tourism in Fala Canoas!, the Local Newspaper of Vila Canoas</i>	<i>73</i>

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Problem

Introducing the Topic

The topic of this research is how favela residents, in particular the residents of Vila Canoas, are involved in favela tourism.

Rio de Janeiro is a popular tourist destination. Besides traditional tourist spots like Christ the Redeemer, Sugarloaf Mountain and the beaches of Copacabana and Ipanema, favelas have become a popular tourist spot. Organized tours through the favela started in 1992, the year of the Earth Summit in Rio. Most of the organized tours go to Rocinha, known as the biggest favela of Brazil. Most agencies said to start after repeated demands from tourists (Coleman, 2005). However, tourists were attracted to the favela long before, as is illustrated by chronicles of for example Olavo Bilac in 1908, João do Rio in 1911 and Benjamin Constallat in 1924. They wrote about the trips they made into the favelas (Williams, 2008). Furthermore, Philips (2003) noticed that the verb 'to slum' already appeared in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1884, before the existence of favelas. It was described as: "the tendency to visit slums for charitable or philanthropic purposes or out of curiosity, especially as a fashionable pursuit".

Since 1992 favela tourism continued to grow. Nowadays there are a lot of different tourist activities in different favelas. It is a controversial topic that caught the attention of researchers and journalists. Major conclusions of researchers like Dwek (2004) and Coleman (2005) are that favela residents in general are positive about tourism, but not so much with the organization; they would like to be more involved. That raises the question in what way residents are actually involved and why, in case they would like, they are not more involved. This is something that not has been done yet, as most studies leave the issue of participation by a call for more participation. In this research I will look at the actor-networks of tourist activities in favelas and the interfaces between different actors to include power issues in the analysis of favela tourism.

Aim and Objectives

The aim of this research is to give a better understanding of how favela residents, especially the residents from Vila Canoas, are involved in tourism in favelas and how this relates to sustainable tourism development by looking at the actor-networks of the tourists activities in favelas and the (social) interfaces within these actor-networks.

Specific objectives of this research are:

- ❖ To get a better understanding of how residents are involved in favela tourism
- ❖ To show that concepts as involvement, participation, sustainability, development and interaction are political
- ❖ To understand the relation between favela tourism and sustainable tourism development

Research Questions

In order to reach this aim, the following questions will be answered:

Main question

How are *favela residents*, especially the residents of Vila Canoas, *involved in favela tourism* and how does this relate to *sustainable tourism development*?

Sub-questions

1 What is the background of favelas and favela tourism?

2 What is the relation between the involvement of local residents and sustainable tourism development?

3 What kind of tourists activities exist in favelas?

4 What is the background of Vila Canoas?

5 How does the actor-network of tourism activities in favelas look like and what is the role of favela residents in these actor-networks?

6 What are differences and overlaps in discourses, interests and values regarding favela tourism in Vila Canoas or in terms of the *actor-oriented approach* what are the *interfaces* in favela tourism?

Conceptual Framework

When I speak about *favela residents* I don't mean it is a homogeneous group. Within the favela there are different groups and interests. I focus on the favela of Vila Canoas where I stayed for more than two months in total, spread over a period of three months. I will use the word *involvement* in its broadest sense, it can be in decision-making, sharing the benefits or even as part of a product that is offered to tourists. I analyze the involvement of residents with an analysis of the *actor-network* and the role of residents within this actor-network and by looking at the *interfaces* to see conflicts and overlaps in discourses, interests and values of the different actors involved. The concept of *favela tourism* I will see in terms of an *actor network* (from the actor-network theory: see Duim, 2005) and as a *social field* (from the actor-oriented approach). Both concepts see tourism as composed of different elements and made up of different modes of ordering. The difference between the two concepts is, is that the actor-network includes both human and non-human elements in the analysis, while a social field focus on the social interaction within favela tourism. It allows seeing tourism as just one field that human actors are engaged in. With *sustainable tourism development* I mean in line with Duim (2005: p 168), addressing the problems caused by tourism, accepting that there are different interpretations of what sustainable tourism is, because of divergent and conflicting perceptions and different interests. In the words of Duim (2005: p224) sustainable tourism development is about internalizing externalities. *Power* is an important concept in this report as the involvement of residents is influenced by power relations. Power, in correspondence with the actor-network theory has to do with the way in which actors (both human and non-human) are mobilized. It is a relational concept instead of fixed. (Duum, 2005) Besides looking at how an actor-network is created and actors are mobilized I will look at the social interfaces to see where discourses, interests and values of the (human) actors conflict and overlap. This allows to look at the voices of the actors that take a marginal position in the actor-network. This idea is derived from the actor-oriented approach.

1.2 Selection of the Topic

Motivation

I am interested in the topic as I am interested in development issues, but also in tourism as one aspect of development. When I wrote an article about favela tourism for one of the courses, a lot of questions remained, mainly concerning the actual involvement of residents in this activity. Rio de Janeiro is not the only place where this kind of tourism takes place. Other cities where slums have become a tourist attraction are the townships of for example Cape Town and Johannesburg, the slums in Cairo, Dharavi in Mumbai, India and the garbage dumps of Mexico (Weiner, 2008). I selected Rio de Janeiro as in Rio de Janeiro there is a wide range of tourism activities. As the time for writing a thesis is limited I decided to focus upon one favela, Vila Canoas as there are different experiences with tourism in this favela: a favela tour, a bed and breakfast and a project by PUC-University (the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro) for example. In this favela I had interviews with all kinds of actors involved in tourism, but also with residents who are not directly involved in this activity. I also wanted to know something about the involvement of residents in other kinds of organizations, like the community organization in Morro de Babilônia and an NGO in Morro dos Prazeres. Therefore, I visited several other tourism activities and talked with the organizers. This research is not about sex tourism or drugs tourism which also exists in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

Relevance of the Study

As development in general, tourism development is a highly political topic. Cheryl Shanks (*In: Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008*) explains this as follows:

“Tourism pretends to be apolitical, but it encapsulates problems of power and worth on a grand and global scale; it pretends to be passive, yet it is produced by an encounter between host and guest in which anything is possible. When tourists encounter local people, they bring with them the weight of their expectations, their leisure and their power. Locals see this, and respond: they react against it, make a counter offer, or adapt to expectations. This seemingly trivial exchange can have profound economic, environmental, cultural and political effects, not only on individuals but on the global political economy.” (p 3)

As tourism development is political, it is important to examine power structures relating to decisions made about tourism development. (*Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008: p 3*) This research is aimed to analyze the involvement of residents by looking at their role in the actor-network and by looking at the interfaces. The actor-network theory shows how the mobilization of resources by actors is important in the creation of power relations. This makes it possible to analyze which role individual actors play in the actor-network. The actor-oriented approach allows a different perception of the actor-network, so it also gives a voice to the actors that play a marginal role in the actor-network. The combination of the two approaches can be relevant for other development issues that require a better understanding of power relations. It also shows that concepts like involvement, sustainability and development are political and should be used carefully as they can be used in very different ways.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 starts with some background information about the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, tourism and favela tourism in particular. Chapter 3 provides more information about the research strategy. It contains a literature review, a theoretical framework and the methodology. Chapter 4 is a case study about Favela Tour, a tour company that organizes tours through Vila Canoas. It also contains information about a tourism project of PUC-university and another tour company that worked in Vila Canoas for some period. Chapter 5 is a case study about Favela Receptiva, a bed and breakfast in Vila Canoas. It includes information about an independent host. Chapter 4 and 5 will both contain an analysis of the actor-network and the interfaces of the tourism activity. Chapter 6 is about some tourism activities in other favelas of Rio de Janeiro, using the actor-network theory. The final chapter, chapter 7 is the conclusion, which will provide an answer to the research questions.

2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This chapter will start with a brief overview of the history of Rio de Janeiro, followed by some background information about the favelas of Rio de Janeiro by mentioning its history and its ambiguous image. Then tourism will be put in historical perspective. Different approaches to the relations between tourism and development will be explained and the tourism policy of Brazil towards (favela) tourism will be mentioned. This chapter will end with background information about Vila Canoas, the favela that was the focus of this research

2.1 The Favelas of Rio de Janeiro

The Favelas of Rio de Janeiro in Historical Perspective

Before the Portuguese entered Brazil the Tamoio people lived around the area of 'Baía de Guanabara'. Rio de Janeiro (River of January) got his name because when Gaspar de Lemos entered there in January 1502 they thought the bay was a river. The French however were the first settlers in 1555. They had an alliance with the Tamoio until 1567. After the Tamoio expelled the Portuguese many battles followed. By the 17th century almost all Tamoio had been wiped out, while other Indians turned into slaves, died from diseases or were pacified in Jesuit settlements. During the 18th century Rio de Janeiro became the third most important city of Brazil with the entrance of slaves in the sugarcane plantations and the goldmines around Minas Gerais. In 1807 Dom João, the prince regent of Portugal, entered Brazil. He was celebrated widely by the Brazilian residents and he immediately took over the rule of Brazil from his viceroy. He also made Rio de Janeiro capital of Brazil. At the end of the 19th century the population started to explode with European migrants and internal migrants who were mainly former slaves from the declining sugarcane and coffee industry. By 1890 Rio de Janeiro had a population of more than a million people. A quarter of them was foreign born. This decade saw the start of favelas. In the period between 1920 and 1950 grand hotels were developed and Rio de Janeiro became a romantic, exotic destination for Hollywood celebrities and the international high society. Rio de Janeiro continued to change with three land fill projects: Airport Santos Dumont, Flamengo Park and Copacabana. In 1960 Rio de Janeiro was no longer de capital of Brazil. Skyscrapers entered the scenery of Rio de Janeiro. At the same time many buildings were lost. Favelas continued to grow with many migrants from the poor north-eastern region of the country. Crime and violence increased during this time. The period of dictatorship between 1964 and 1985 was hard for Rio de Janeiro. There were a lot of protests in Rio de Janeiro also from the politicians of the city. A lot of funding was withheld and infrastructure deteriorated. 1992 became a turning point when Rio was host of the UN conference on environment and development, the Earth Summit. A lot of infrastructure was build up. Today there is again some money for projects, like the Favela-Bairro project (a project aimed to integrate favelas in the rest of the city with investments in basic sanitation, leisure areas, health clinics, schools and community centres). (*Lonely Planet, 2008: p 122-123; Broudehoux, 2001*)

The favelas in Rio de Janeiro first appeared at the end of the nineteenth century when ex-soldiers of the Canudo wars in the north-east of the country were promised housing. (*Koster, 2009*) As the federal government broke its promise they started to occupy unclaimed land on the hills of Providência and Santo Antonio (*Freire-Medeiros, 2006*). Throughout the twentieth century favelas in Rio de Janeiro continued to grow from 169.305 inhabitants in 1950 to 1.092.958 in 2000 (*Perlman, 2005*). Between 1930 and 1940 there was a first growth spurt of migrants from the countryside. A second wave of economic migrants occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, mainly with people from the Northeast of the country (*Dwek, 2004*). In 1936 the Building Code was the first document to officially recognize the existence of favelas, at the same time the wish of their demolition was expressed. (*Freire-Medeiros, 2006: p 581*) In 1946 the 'Estado Novo Government' (1937-1946) of Vargas ended. Favelas were increasingly seen as a problem to be resolved. They used the fear of communism as an excuse for its repression. Government policies in the period up until 1960 changed from moments of strong oppression to greater tolerance. (*Freire-Medeiros, 2009: p 581*) The political

importance of favelas is reflected in the amount of studies, media coverage and legislative projects for example. (Freire-Medeiros, 2009: p 581) After the military coup in 1964 a resettlement policy was implemented. Eight favelas were removed. As alternative housing was offered far from job opportunities, many people started to leave these new places to start a new favela. (Freire-Medeiros-2009: p 581) In the late 1970s after the period of dictatorship a period of more political openness started towards favelas in which social rights were discussed. Favelas became to be partly urbanized by giving them access to water and electricity. (Freire-Medeiros-2009: p 581)

The 1970s saw also the introduction of cocaine and the crime networks. Those crime networks were a result of prison collaboration during the period of dictatorships, when common bank robbers were able to learn organisational structure and ideology from political prisoners. The three main drug trafficking networks of today are the '*Comando Vermelho*', the '*Terceiro Comando*' and the '*Amigos dos Amigos*' have a so-called parallel power. Conflicts among gangs account for high levels of violence and homicide. (Dwek, 2004: p 8-9) In the 1980s arbitrary actions by the police against favela residents were restricted, programs of basic infrastructure were created and the plans for removal were replaced by the one-plot for one-family program which legalized lots in several favelas, as in Vila Canoas, the favela where this research is conducted. With the 'Master Plan' of Rio de Janeiro in 1992 the official policy became one of preserving and upgrading the favela. This program not only initiated programs for basic infrastructure, but also was intended to integrate favelas spatially and socially. (Freire-Medeiros, 2009: p 581)

Changing Image of Favelas

Early views on the favelas saw the residents as dirty, harmful and a residual category. They were considered to be a threat to personal security and health and as "*ugly spots in an otherwise beautiful urban design*" (Koster, 2009). Urban planners called for their removal (Koster, 2009). In the 1940s attitudes altered as authorities became interested in doing research about favelas. Knowledge about the social organization of favelas increased and the slum population was included in population censuses. (Koster, 2009) Although a marginal image of the favelas existed from the beginning, fascination for favelas also seems to have a long history. Williams (2008) refers to chronicles written about visits to the favela from as far back as 1908. The diaries of favela resident Carolina Maria de Jesus that became a bestseller in the sixties are another example of the fascination for the favela. The term favela has both positive and negative connotations as it is associated with crime, poverty and violence as with samba and football for example. In the words of Williams (2008) they are both romanticized and demonized.

There exist many words for a favela, words like *morro* (hill), *comunidade* (community) or *bairro* (neighbourhood) are seen to be more neutral (Williams, 2009). In English it can be translated with slums, shanty town or squatter settlement (referring to the illegal origin), all having a negative connotation.

As Perlman (2005) argues the marginal image of favelados as being poor, filthy and lazy was used by the ones in power as an excuse for the eradication of favelas. Perlman writes about a myth of marginality as according to her: "*favela residents are not economically and politically marginal, but are excluded and repressed; they are not socially and culturally marginal, but stigmatized and excluded from a closed class system.*" (Perlman, 1976 In: Dwek, 2004, p 10) After her re-study Perlman (2007) concludes that the exploitation and exclusion of the urban poor has not diminished and although access to services has improved and the material well-being increased, social integration has not improved, although education has improved, unemployment increased. (Perlman, 2007: p 7) Perlman (2007) further concluded that drugs and arms trade meant a big change. The state "*lost control of the favela by better equipped and financed drug gangs*" (p 7). This made residents "*feeling trapped between the police and the drug gangs, neither benefiting nor protecting them*" (p 7).

Dwek (2004) discusses the changing image of the favela and tells that during the period between 1940 and 1950 there existed a romantic image of the favela, as the favela residents were

seen as living 'closer to the sea'. Dwek (2004) described that the introduction of drugs in the 1970 changed the image of the favela as it:

"converted the favelas into places of illegality, exclusion, criminality and violence and while they have always been seen as places absent of the work ethic found in the rest of society, the once-romantic figure of the malandro (see glossary) has been brutally contemporized into today's unemployed cachaça-drinking bandido". (p 9)

The media play an important role in perpetuating the negative image of favelas. (Dwek, 2004) As Dwek (2004) describes it: *"today there has been a renewed interest in the marginal world of the favela and a national and international appetite for the subjects has been satisfied through various cultural offerings". (p 11)* The success of the movie City of God, the video of Michael Jackson recorded in Santa Marta and more recently the success of Elite Squad are examples of it, as is favela tourism. In the last two decades it is argued that the favela has become a trademark. In 1997 Salles (In: Williams, 2008) already writes about a cultural revenge of the favela as it appeared in popular music, fashion and language.

2.2 Tourism and Development

Tourism is a growing industry. Although it was first considered as a smoke-less industry, since the second half of the twentieth century it is studied more critically. Here I will first give a short historical overview of tourism development. Second, I will describe how tourism became related to sustainable development. Third, I will describe some different approaches towards the relation between poverty alleviation and tourism.

Tourism in Historical Perspective

The development of tourism can be divided in three periods as is done by Van der Duim (Duim, 2005): pre-modern, modern and contemporary. Tourism in the pre-modern period was mainly preserved for elites, as for example in Imperial Rome. In the 13th and 14th century pilgrimages became a widespread phenomenon (Urry, 2002). The most well known example of tourism in the pre-modern period however is the grand tour. Duim (2005) used the dimensions described by Held to characterize tourism in this period as having a low intensity, low extensity, low velocity and low impact. There was some infrastructure in the form of inns, roads and some (sea) resorts and mainly the high social classes were travelling and tourism could be described as personal and cooperative. The period between 1850 and 1950 can be seen as the beginning of modern mass travel as it saw the introduction of railway, the first Atlantic steamship, the Wells Fargo Company (which became part of American Express) began and as Thomas Cook started to offer package tours tourism became more institutionalized. The intensity of tourism increased, but the velocity remained relatively low and the impact spatially concentrated. In this period tourism became available for more citizens and resorts became stratified. The shift from modern to contemporary tourism is marked by the introduction of airplanes, but was also influenced by other interlocking cultural, economic, technological and political transformation processes. (pagenumbers) Tourism not only grew in the amount of people but tourism spread to geographically more distant areas. The intensity, velocity and impact all increased. The infrastructure amplified with intensified road, communication and transport system, internet and a mixture of accommodation forms, there are many types of institutions. Tourism became an option for many more people, although it also involved processes of inclusion and exclusion of regions and people. (Duim, 2005: p 80-81)

Tourism and Sustainable Development

Until the seventies tourism was mostly seen as a 'smokeless industry' (Holden, 2008). Although in the 1960s people became more aware of environmental problems, it was only in the seventies that the first academics paid attention to the environmental impact of tourism. In 1977 this led to the

establishment of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to examine the interaction between tourism and the environment. In the 1980s concern over global environmental problems grew further and tourism in developing countries became increasingly popular. In the Brundtland Report of 1987 they made an explicit connection between poverty and environment. Tourism was considered a tool for development. From a neo-liberal perspective this meant that tourism was a tool to increase foreign exchange earnings and employment opportunities. People also became concerned about the environmental and cultural consequences of tourism development and pressure groups like Tourism Concern and local pressure groups arose. In the 1990s new local and global concerns over the environment popped up. Responsible tourism, ecotourism, environmental friendly tourism, sustainable tourism, solidarity tourism and many other terms found in tourism brochures and travel reviews reflect an increasing awareness of both the positive and negative impacts of tourism and a wish to travel responsible (Duim, 2005). So the idea of tourism as a tool for development partly originates out of environmental concern when a relation was being made between poverty and environmental problems in the Brundtland Report.

The Poverty-Tourism Nexus

Pro-Poor Tourism was introduced by the PPT Partnership in 1999 and is described as “*tourism that generates net benefits for the poor*” (Ashley et al, 2000). The term was first used in 1999 and it is associated with the global focus on poverty alleviation. This description PPT is based on the information in the article of Scheyvens (2007: p 235-236). PPT grew out of a UK-sponsored research on sustainable livelihoods in southern Africa and a comparative study of tourism, conservation and sustainability issues in protected areas of Indonesia, India and Zimbabwe. PPT sees tourism as an industry with potential to improve the well-being of rural communities. This made the DFID and DETR to write a paper on sustainable tourism and poverty elimination. They used the paper to put tourism on the agenda as a means of poverty alleviation. This was in line with the ideas put forward in the Rio Earth Summit in which a concern for poverty and the environment are important for sustainable development. In 2000 the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) initiated a research project focused on an analysis of the theoretical basis of PPT and examined case studies of tourism in practice. This study was a collaboration between the International Centre for Responsible tourism, the International Institute for Environment and Development and the ODI. The UNWTO used the ideas of PPT and together with UNCTAD (an organization focused on the promotion of international trade), they initiated ST-EP (Sustainable tourism-eliminating poverty). ST-EP was presented at the World Summit in Johannesburg to promote sustainable tourism development as a way to alleviate poverty. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 235-236)

The PPT Partnership stresses that PPT is not a product, but an approach to tourism. It is to some extent related to the alternative development theory as it takes a holistic approach on poverty and tourism, by seeking not only economic benefits for the poor, but also social, environmental and cultural. In contrast to the alternative development strategy they aim beyond the local level by stressing the need to incorporate PPT strategies into mainstream tourism. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 244)

Tourism and Development from Different Approaches

The idea to use tourism as a strategy of poverty alleviation is embraced by many different institutions like donor agencies, governments, non-governmental organizations, conservation organizations and tourism bodies, including the World Tourism Organization (Scheyvens, 2007: p 1). As those institutions have different agendas and interests it is important to look at the approaches they use. Scheyvens (2007) makes a distinction between four approaches towards the relation between tourism and development and gives an analysis how they influence pro-poor tourism. These four approaches are: liberal/ neo-liberal, critical, alternative development and post-structuralism. She argues that neo-liberal and alternative development thinking have particularly influenced the growth and interest in PPT. I will give a short description of the approaches based on the article of Scheyvens (2007). These perspectives can be recognized in favela tourism as well.

The **liberal approach** informed development thinking mainly in between the 1950s and the 1970s. From this perspective, tourism is regarded as a means for modernization, economic development and prosperity. Tourism was seen as an industry for the generation of jobs, foreign exchange and for socio-cultural change by demonstrating 'modern' ways of life. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 238) This approach is described by Jafari (In: Scheyvens, 2007) as the '*advocacy platform*'. Other terms to describe this approach are '*tourism first*' (opposed to development-first) or the '*sustainable tourism approach*' (as opposed to a sustainable tourism development approach in Duim, 2005). This approach is reflected in the policy of the Brazilian government.

As economic growth often did not trickle down to benefit the poor, a **critical approach** towards tourism emerged, that was inspired by dependency theory and political-economic theory. From this perspective there is little possibility for tourism to alleviate poverty. This approach points to the exploiting nature of tourism and is concerned about poverty becoming an attraction. Furthermore, postcolonial scholars note that tourism builds on power relations between the west and the rest building on inequalities established through colonial relationships. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 238) Other terms to describe this approach are the '*cautionary platform*' (Jafari: In Scheyvens, 2007), because of the "*focus on the negative impacts of tourism, including cultural commodification, social disruption and environmental degradation*" and minimal economic benefits of tourism. Scheyvens (2007) suggests this may be because they focus on giving critique, but don't give suggestions for greater benefits of tourism development. Scheyvens (2007) argues that the value of this approach is to "*identify power relations at national and international levels that can provide constraints to the implementation of effective PPT strategies*" (p 249). (Scheyvens, 2007: p 238-239) In previous research, for example of Dwek (2004) and Freire-Medeiros (2006), a critical perspective can be recognized.

As a follow-up of the liberal approach Scheyvens says that in the 1970s and the 1980s the **neo-liberal approach** came up. Important in this approach is economic rationalism and efficiency, market liberalization and a minimal role for the state as they were seen to interfere with free-market processes. (Scheyvens referring to Öniş and Şenses 2005, p 239) This belief in the free market is also known as the '*Washington Consensus*', and institutions like the World Bank and the IMF are highly influenced by such thinking. (p 239) From this approach tourism is seen as a strategy for economic growth. This outward-centred approach, based on neo-liberal agendas meant that government decisions were not always in the benefit for the poor. (p 239) This can also be seen in Brazil, where in the 1970s government spending on social services was limited. The Washington Consensus was challenged in the early 1990s as it became clear that inequalities were growing. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 239) In response to growing critique on neo-liberal policies they started to talk about a Post Washington Consensus (PWC) or new-poverty agenda. The PWC is characterized by an emphasis on enhancing the role of the state, an appreciation of the importance of strong institutions, support for democratic governance and a move to more effectively target the poor and vulnerable. (Scheyvens referring to Öniş and Şenses, 2005: p 273-275) This led to the introduction of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in 1999 by the IMF. In 80% of these documents, tourism is identified as an important economic factor. Still they are influenced by neo-liberal thinking with the conditionality on loans, the focus on private sector development, macro-economic growth and liberalization. Some argue that the emphasis on poverty reduction is a way of window dressing to refute criticism of earlier neo-liberal policies and using the poverty issue as a pretext for broadening and deepening the neo-liberal agenda. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 239-240)

A fourth perspective that Scheyvens (2007: p 240-241) describes is the alternative approach, which became popular in the nineties. This approach provides a strong critique of tourism initiatives dominated by outside interests. From this approach tourism can contribute to development if it is approached in an alternative way to that proposed by liberal and neo-liberal thinkers, acknowledging concerns of critical thinkers. Generally alternative approaches support small-scale or locally based tourism initiatives, with the aim to benefit the poor, minimize harm to the environment and build good relationships between hosts and guests. They support an active role of local residents in tourism planning and decision making. Jafari (In Scheyvens, 2007) calls this the '*adaptancy platform*',

whereby community-focused forms of tourism are proposed as an alternative to mainstream tourism. Some ways of tourism in line with this approach are soft tourism, green tourism, altruistic tourism, volunteer tourism and justice tourism. Different bodies of thinking like the sustainable livelihood perspective inform alternative approaches. From this perspective, tourism is seen as a means of diversifying the livelihood options of the poor. Furthermore, not only the environment, but also people and poverty are central to the sustainable development discourse. Alternative approaches are also centered on grassroots development, supporting ideas of participation, equity, gender sensitivity and empowerment. There are different reasons for criticism to these approaches. First, they are very limited in scale. Some reasons for community based tourism not to be successful are lack of business skills of community members and a lack of connections to mainstream tourism enterprises. Second alternative approaches seem to rest on the assumption that communities don't want mass tourism, while in reality this maybe *"more manageable, profitable and less invasive"* (p-241). Third the focus on community is sometimes *"based on the assumption that communities are homogeneous entities, while in fact they are made up of different interest groups"* (p 241). Local empowerment is also not sufficient to let local people benefit from tourism. State intervention may be needed to provide appropriate legislation and providing support to let local residents benefit from tourism. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 240-241)

Scheyvens (2007) describes that **post-structuralists**, the fifth approach towards tourism and development are: *"interested in how people and places are socially constructed for tourism and in issues of representation, identity formation and ideology."* (p241) They reject a reductionist perspective which makes differentiations between good or bad. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 241) Neoliberals, criticals and alternative developmentalists all make many generalizations about the relationship between tourism and development. (Scheyvens referring to Gössling e.a., 2004: p 132) While there are many reports that emphasize the importance of linkages between tourism and poor people few in-depth studies have been carried out to understand the complexities of these interrelationships. (Scheyvens, 2007 referring to Gössling et al, 2004: p 242) Jafari calls it the *'knowledge based platform'* (In: Scheyvens, 2007), which is based on a holistic view of the structures and functions of the tourism industry, rather than focusing on impacts, this put emphasis on detailed studies of systems processes, places and interactions between people in order to understand how culture and power influences the action of tourism stakeholders. This can be in both a cooperative and a competitive way. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 242 referring to Teo) According to Scheyvens (2007) post-structuralist perspectives deserve more consideration for two major reasons. First it *"encourages us to develop a nuanced understanding of the links between tourism and poverty reduction: tourism is neither a panacea nor the root of all problems of developing countries"* (p 249). This makes it possible to redirect tourism to social and environmental motives, rather than only neo-liberal economic motives (Scheyvens, 2007 referring to Wearing et al, 2005). A second contribution mentioned by Scheyvens (2007) is *"its recognition of the value of social movements and alternative voices"* (Scheyvens, 2007: p 249). It is thus important to know about the implications of tourism development and the opinions of the actors involved. (Scheyvens, 2007)

The tourism initiatives of the World Bank and the UNWTO are much informed by a neoliberal perspective, although they make use of an alternative development discourse in their documents. The term poverty consensus or new poverty agenda describes the use of the pro-poor tourism discourse in a neo-liberal logic that promotes trade liberalization, market-led growth and private sector development, while calling for minimal government interference in market mechanisms. This poverty consensus is criticized, as it does not question the existing power structures. (Scheyvens, 2007: p 246-250)

The description of the four perspectives shows that issues of sustainable development are political as it can have different meanings to different groups of people. In this research I will therefore look at tourism development from different perspectives. This is most in line with the post-structural perspective.

2.3 Tourism Policy in Brazil

Brazilian Ministry of Tourism – Focus on Economic Growth

As in other countries, the Brazilian Government sees tourism as a tool for development, mainly in the sense of job creation and earning foreign currencies. This is reflected in the aim of the ministry of tourism to develop tourism as an economic sustainable activity, creating job opportunities and foreign currency and providing social inclusion. In their national tourism plan (*Ministry of Tourism, 1997*) social inclusion is said to be used in its broadest sense: “*inclusion of new customers for the domestic market, inclusion of new segments of tourists, inclusion of more foreign tourists, inclusion of more wealth for Brazil, inclusion of new investments, inclusion of new opportunities for professional qualification and inclusion of new jobs for the population... inclusion to reduce regional inequalities and to make Brazil a country for all.*” In this plan tourism is also an important tool to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, particularly with respect to the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, the guarantee of environmental sustainability and the establishment of a global partnership for development. In this plan the Brazilian government is also complying with the general principles of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (GCET), of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). Within the Brazilian Ministry of Tourism, the National secretary of tourism is responsible for the quality of the tourist services. The National Secretary of the Development of Tourism Programs has the responsibility to subsidize the formulation of plans and programs and to reinforce national tourism. Embratur, the Brazilian Institute of Tourism concentrates on the promotion, marketing and the support to commercialize products, services and Brazilian tourist destinations abroad.

RioTurs’ Agenda with Respect to Favela Tourism

RioTur is the executive organ of the ‘*Special Secretariat for Tourism*’ with the objective to implement the tourism policy of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro’s. The principal objective is to bring a flow of both domestic and international tourists to Rio, fire up the productive chain of tourism, generate foreign exchange, bring in new money, increase the demand for jobs and the revenue from taxes and strengthen the city’s economy. To achieve this objective, RioTur follows a plan of action that includes various marketing activities, which aim to promote, institutionally, the sale of Rio as a tourist destination in Brazil and abroad. RioTur also develops, implements and maintains a tourism strategic plan, coordinating the planning and execution of studies, research and programs of interest to the development of tourism in the city as well as to produce and/ or support larger events in the city. (*Website RioTur*)

With respect to favela tourism, RioTur was first reluctant to put this possibility in their tourism guide. An employee of RioTur explained in an interview (*Interview RioTur, 09-06-2009*) that this is because they didn’t know what it was all about. They were concerned that it was about showing poverty, out of an exotic interest. They also were not sure about the quality and the benefits to the local people. As more tourists became interested and as the organizations got positive reactions it was included in the guide. Nowadays the employee of RioTur said the communities organize themselves. In Rocinha for example they created a forum.

In September 2006, after a decree of the last mayor, Rocinha became an official tourism site. after that, the tourist guide of RioTur included Rocinha as a tourist attraction. Nowadays the government even started to promote certain tourist activities in favelas. In 2006 the last Mayor of Rio de Janeiro tried to prepare a favela tour in Morro de Providência by creating an open air museum. A series of interventions were made, they restored for example an old chapel. The idea was cancelled because the government changed and as there are still safety concerns in this favela. RioTur emphasized that this doesn’t mean that you cannot go there, but that RioTur cannot include it as an official tourist activity as this needs to comply with high quality standards. Now they try to realize tourism in Santa Marta. In this favela the government carried out several projects to improve

the quality of life for the people. With respect to tourism they work together with Jeep Tour, one of the operators who operates in Rocinha. (See also chapter 6)

2.4 Background Information about Vila Canoas

Now I will give some background information about Vila Canoas. I will start with some geographical characteristics. Then I will tell something about the history. Next, I will introduce different organizations of Vila Canoas and I will give some socio-economic characteristics of this favela.



Figure 1 - View on São Conrado from Mirante das Canoas - Showing the contrast between Vila Canoas and other part of the neighborhood

Geographical Characteristics

Vila Canoas is situated in the Southern Part ('Zona Sul') of Rio de Janeiro in São Conrado, to the west of Copacabana and Ipanema beach and eastern of 'Barra da Tijuca'. (See annex 1 for a map) São Conrado is one of the most expensive regions to live in Rio de Janeiro. So there is a big contrast between rich and poor, living very close to each other. On one side there is just a road separating the expensive houses with the favela and on the other side they just live next to each other. In Figure 1 you see the contrast between the favela and the other parts of São Conrado from 'Mirante das Canoas'. Vila Canoas is very close to 'Praia de Pepino', the beach of São Conrado. On the other side, Vila Canoas borders Tijuca National Park, known as the biggest urban forest of the world. On the beach there is a landing place for hang gliders and up to the road of Estrada de Canoas, there is a hillside where the launch takes place. Although it is not so far of the popular beach of Ipanema only few tourists visit this part of Rio. According to the Gênesis Institute, Vila Canoas has approximately 3000 residents. (Machado, 2007) Most residents come from the North-east of Brazil. In addition, a considerable amount of people comes from Minas Gerais. There is even a restaurant called 'Mineiros' after the residents of the Minas Gerais. Many people came here by family or friends who advised them to go there in search for a job.

History

Vila Canoas and Pedra Bonita are favelas with their own specific history. The history of Vila Canoas I described with the information of the thesis of Machado (2007: p 33-36). They are quiet and safe communities with the absence of drugs networks and organized crime. They told me this is due to the absence of opportunities to escape, which makes it easy for the police to catch them. Vila Canoas is not completely illegally established as some part is built with permission on the terrain of the Gavea Golf Club. This part of Vila Canoas is known as Vila da Pedra Bonita.

Three areas of occupation in Vila Canoas can be distinguished. (Machado, 2007) The first occupation started in 1920 when the officials of the Gavea Golf Club settled there in wooden hovels, later also with their families. There was a good relation between the functionaries and their families and the administrators of the Gavea Golf Club. The golf club allowed the functionaries to use the golf court on Mondays, which is still possible. At the end of 1940 when the children of the first residents got children, the number of residents grew rapidly. The golf club decided to demolish the first barracks. As a compensation the golf club gave away part of their property (the place that is now known as Pedra Bonita) to build houses of masonry for the dislocated families. The third and last area of occupation took place in 1960 with the amplification of the families of the first functionaries without any institutional permission or legitimisation. They occupied a public space. Initially the houses were made from poor material and of wood. The people already established saw those new residents as 'favelados' and they were treated as outsiders. (Machado, 2007) The struggles for their permanence in the region during the period of 1970 and 1980 the residents of this new area of occupation, known as 'Favela das Canoas' was the reason to create a resident association. The one-plot-for-one-family program that was implemented in Vila Canoas relieved tensions about habitation. (Machado, 2007) The favela of Vila Canoas grew rapidly between 1970 and 1980 as other favelas in

this region like Rocinha and Vidigal because of the arrival of workers from the North-east who came to work in civil constructions. The reasons for them to go to Vila Canoas were mostly because of marriages and family connections. The Gavea Golf Club, together with the owners of the area at the other side of Vila Canoas, fought to limit the expansion of Vila Canoas. The family Niemeyer had constructed some luxury buildings there that limited the possibilities for expansion. (Machado, 2007: p 33-36)

This history explains the difference between Pedra Bonita and Vila Canoas. The resident association of Pedra Bonita is still connected to the Gavea Golf Club and still a difference between the two parts can be seen. This is reflected in the use of the terms '*muralha*' for Pedra Bonita and '*favelinha*' for Vila Canoas. Another difference is that Vila Canoas is much more densely build then Pedra Bonita. One woman however complained that people in Vila Canoas thought that the people in Pedra Bonita did not need help as they got bigger houses. She thought that although she indeed had a bigger house, she had to work very hard. So I agree with Machado (2007: p 33) that the internal differentiation between illegal and legal occupations is reflected in the social relations between residents, because it created hierarchies and power disputes.

Organizations in Vila Canoas

As has been explained, Vila Canoas in fact consists of two communities 'Vila da Pedra Bonita' and 'Vila Canoas', both have their own resident organizations. People in the two communities however make use of the same facilities, services and organizations. Most organizations and business are located in the part called Vila Canoas. Some residents of Pedra de Bonita complain that there are no shops in Pedra Bonita and that they always have to go to Vila Canoas.

First, there is AMAVICA (Associação de Moradores de Vila Canoas), the resident organization of Vila Canoas. The association started because of fear for demolishment of their houses. Later when the government secured their land rights, tensions relieved. (Machado, 2007: p 35) The resident organization has a president that is elected every four years. It helps to carry out different activities in the community. The current president is seen as a good and friendly man, willing to work, but without much political capacity. He does not for example organize meetings, somebody noticed. Someone else said he always gives a helping hand when something is broken but that he doesn't lobby with the government or other organizations to realize projects.

The part of Vila Canoas known as Vila da Pedra Bonita has its own resident organization: Associação de Moradores da Vila da Pedra Bonita. This association started in 1985 with the aim to search for social activities in the community. Now they are involved in the documentation of residents, they want to construct a sport area to play football and volleyball and they want the health centre to be available 24 hours a day. There are seven volunteers working for the organization, all having their own jobs. They also organize events for the integration of residents of the two communities like card tournaments, football competitions and the local carnival. The association has good relations with the Gavea Golf Club. The Gavea Golf Club supports them financially to carry out the activities. (Interview president of the resident association of Vila da Pedra Bonita, 28-03-2009) The residents however are not all positive about the associations and the president knows this. Some residents have the feeling they are not helping so much and that they are just working for their own benefit.

The women's association, AMUVICA, started in 2004 to improve the situation in Vila Canoas, for example by giving social assistance to children, adolescents, families and elderly. They have eight volunteers who work around two to three hours a day for the association. They help around 50 people every month. Weekly there are lectures, where specialists like a psychologist, a dentist, artists and other social assistants are invited. Other activities of the association are taking helping elderly, providing dental treatment, a centre for arts, alphabetization of adults and raising the consciousness of families in collaboration with a children's institute.

In Vila Canoas there is an Italian NGO, Para Ti that started their activities in 1989 with the creation of a centre for children with support from contacts in Italy. In those days it was called '*São Martinho*'. They run a structural rehabilitation project called '*Bairrinho*' between 1994 and 2002 and

between 2002 and 2008 other social projects were carried out. Families in Italy, the Italian NGO 'Come Noi' and the 'Daniela Agostina Foundation', finance the NGO. For the Bairrinho project they got help from the municipality as well. The school has 75 children and is open for all children in Vila Canoas and Pedra Bonita. Although people appreciate the projects and activities of Para Ti they are not seen as part of the community. For more information about Para Ti see box 1.

Other organizations in Vila Canoas are the Community Centre, CIC (Centro de Integração Comunitaria) that started in 2006. The official name is CEMASI. They organize activities like ballet, battery, video, hip-hop, English and MPB (popular Brazilian music). The objective is to integrate the community and proportionate space for social-cultural activities. There are sixteen volunteers working in the centre and there are about 75 participating and around ten adults. (*Interview Elisbete Nunes and Janaina Oliveir, the coordinators of CIC*) Tia Maura is a childcare centre created by Maura Costa da Silva, a resident of Vila Canoas. She started to volunteer as a teacher. She started the childcare centre because she saw the need for parents who need to work during the day. She started with support of her parents, later she got support from a Dutch foundation and the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. There are three churches in Vila Canoas, a Catholic Church, part of the reformed family of Protestantism and a Pentecostal Christian Church.

Box 1 Para Ti

Para Ti is an Italian NGO that started as an initiative of the family Urani. The father of this family 'Franco' was the director of Fiat. He was responsible for industrial initiatives in Minas Gerais during 1971 and 1975. In 1977, he settled in São Conrado in Rio de Janeiro. Next to his private terrain was Vila Canoas. Because of the frequent contacts of the family Urani with Italy, they managed to create some help for a centre for children in 1989. This was with the help of the Italian NGO Come Noi and by families who sponsored some children.

In 1994, the Municipality started the Favela-Bairro project in Vila Canoas in collaboration with the BID (Banco Interamericano de Desenvolvimento). This project aimed at social and structural rehabilitation and geared towards medium and big favelas. The family Urani, in accordance with Come Noi, decided to propose the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro to include Vila Canoas into this program. The Municipality accepted the idea that could be directed towards about 200 small favelas in the city and would serve about 200.000 residents. The new project got the name Bairrinho.

In the period 1994-2002 Para Ti helped to realize various projects, like a playground, support for about 350 children from Italian and Carioca families, sport activities, the centre for children maintained. Since 2000 Para Ti is responsible for this centre in agreement with the municipality. In 1997 the rehabilitation project started in Vila Canoas. They helped to realize a municipality crèche, a centre for social integrations, the municipality centre 'Para Ti', a community association centre, a computer centre a health post, professional courses for adults, the replacement of twenty families in risk situations to better houses elsewhere and structural works like a central sewer, pavement of passages, drainage systems, walls, public light, drink water systems, new squares and the external reformation of buildings.

After the rehabilitation of Vila Canoas was finished, Para Ti realized a program of six years with an amount of 1.800.000 US\$. They realized this project by different financial means. Favela Tour was one of them, with an amount of 110.000 US\$ in six years. During this period the children's' centre of was consolidated. This means there was education, ICT, sports, culture for about 70 children of the primary school and computer courses. Furthermore, Centre Para Ti reformed, with an area of 250 m². The support from Italian families to 350 children in Vila Canoas maintained. The best students received funds for university, max 50%. Up until 2008 they gave away 45 funds.

This information is derived from the website of Para Ti (Website Para Ti)

Life in Vila Canoas

Many people in Vila Canoas work somewhere else during the day, be it as a domestic worker, a driver, a motor taxi, shop attendant or for job in hotels or restaurants. Most of those jobs mean many working hours and low payment. This means people in the favelas are definitely not separated

from the formal economy. Rather they are marginalized. (See e.g. Bauman, 2004 or Perlman, 1976; 2005; 2006; 2007)

There is a wide range of shops, restaurants and bars. To have some idea: there are four restaurants in the entrance street, some bars in Estrada das Canoas, a supermarket, a hairdresser, a drugstore, a shop to buy arts and other things, a bakery etcetera. Besides that there are two internet cafes and there are some more bars in the alleys. Some people sell fruits or popcorn in the street.

Everyone in Brazil has the right of free health care. However, the quality of public health care is not always high and waiting lists can be very long. All children in Vila Canoas can go to the public school for half a day. The other half of the day they can go to Para Ti to do their home work, playing on the computer and for sports. The quality of the public schools is generally low.

Tourism in Vila Canoas

Tourism in Vila Canoas started in 1992 with tours organized by Marcelo Armstrong. For about two years Exotic Tours offered tours in Vila Canoas. It gave young people the opportunity to become a guide. In 2004, Favela Receptiva started to offer bed and breakfast in the favela. The political organizations of Vila Canoas are not very much involved in tourism. The NGO 'Para Ti' has close links with Favela Tour. Tourists visit the school every day and on the roof of the school, they sell art to tourists.

In Summary

Rio de Janeiro got his name when Gaspar de Lemos entered the bay of Guanabara in 1502. The city however was settled by the French and the Tamoio people were wiped out. At the end of the nineteenth century the population started to grow rapidly. In this period the first favelas appeared. During the twentieth century favelas continued to grow mainly with migrants from poorer regions. The government wanted to destroy the favelas as they were seen as filthy and dangerous. The 1970s saw the introduction of cocaine that increased violence in favelas. At the same time tourism grew rapidly in amount of people and in the extent of places visited. It was only in the seventies that people started to pay attention to the impact of tourism. As in the Brundtland Report they made a connection between environmental problems and poverty, tourism became to be seen as a tool to combat poverty. There are different theoretical approaches about the relation between poverty and tourism. The policy of many developing countries is mainly influenced by the neo-liberal approach. In this approach tourism is seen as tool for economic growth and the creation of jobs. In the Brazilian tourism policy they also use an alternative discourse as in report the importance of benefits for local people is said to be important. In the next chapter I will give a literature review about favela tourism in which a critical approach can be recognized. In this report however I will take a post-structural approach as this approach wants to understand power relations in tourism development. This research focuses on Vila Canoas. This is a favela in the Southern Zone of Rio de Janeiro, located in one of the most expensive neighborhoods of the city and near to Rocinha, one of the biggest favelas of Latin-America. Vila Canoas consists of two parts, Vila da Pedra Bonita that started as employees of the gulf club were allowed to build their houses on the terrain of the club and Vila Canoas that consists of illegal buildings. Vila Canoas is a relatively well-off favela with different experiences in tourism. The political organizations of Vila Canoas are not much involved in tourism.

3 RESEARCH STRATEGY

In this chapter I will explain the research strategy. This will consist of a literature review about favela tourism, in relation to the involvement of favela residents. This literature review will lead to the theoretical framework that will be a combination of the actor-network theory and the actor-oriented approach. I will end with an explanation of the methodology of this research.

3.1 Literature Review

This literature review will give an overview of the studies about favela tourism, especially with respect to the participation of local residents. Almost all studies about favela tourism point to the importance of the participation of local residents in tourism. However, participation is a political concept as it can mean different things to different people.

Post-Colonial Criticism of Favela Tourism

Dwek (2004) takes a post-colonial perspective to describe how favelas are represented in tourism. She first puts the favela in historical and political context and looked at the changing relationship between the favelas and the '*asfalto*' (literally asphalt: name given to the world outside the favelas). She describes how the image of the favela changed through the years and how the ambiguous image of favelas became hot through movies as '*City of God*'. She uses the term '*favela chic*' to describe this hot and sexy image of the favela. She argues that "*the fascination of the west with the favela has always projected outsiders' perceptions and values on to the world.*" (p 12) This representation of slum dwellers as a subaltern group she also found in Rocinha as she concludes that tourism has been "*imposed on the community in a top-down manner by external agents*" and that the "*residents association had little bargaining power over the terms favela tourism is being carried out*". (p 10) Furthermore she concludes that some people become dependent on favela tourism, like some artisans. She also looked at the opinion of favela residents to question if residents feel exploited and whether they were primary agents in the representation of their own reality. She concludes that most residents are positive about tourism, but not with the way in which it is organized and that "*they do not appear to have a voice with which to express them or any power to effect change*" (p 38). The post-colonial critique shows the politics of favela tourism, in that the dominant outsider gives a representation of 'the other'. This perspective is in line with the critical perspective described by Scheyvens (2007). From this perspective however little attention is paid to how residents deal with favela tourism and how a network is created through different relations. It seems almost as if residents are passive recipients. Furthermore it doesn't look at alternatives.

Tourist Motivations and the Commodification of Poverty

A second topic in the research of Dwek (2004) is whether favela tourism could be seen as part of a bigger trend in tourism and whether this included the '*glamorization of poverty*'. In this respect Dwek discusses what motivates tourists to take the tours. She concluded that favela tourism is part of a trend wherein tourists look for authenticity, but she also makes a distinction between different motivations and the different kinds of favela tours. First of all there are tourists who don't do a tour because of ethical considerations. They find it for example voyeuristic. Then she characterizes the different tours similar to the distinctions made by Coleman (2005) and Freire-Medeiros (2006). Freire-Medeiros (2006) makes a distinction between social-tourism and dark tourism. This is comparable to the distinction made by Rolfes e.a. (2009) between educational and sensational tourists and Coleman (2005) who makes a distinction between the sociological/ anthropological and adventure seeking tourists.

The Impact of Favela Tourism

Dwek (2004), Freire-Medeiros (2006), Coleman (2005) and Machado (2007) all have their doubts about the economic benefits tourism could bring and all see opportunities for social benefits of favela tourism like a better image and an increased self-esteem of the residents.

Especially the research of Coleman (2005) concentrates upon the impact of favela tourism with a discussion of the social and economic effects of favela tourism on Rocinha and their reciprocal effects on foreign tourists. His conclusion is that favela tourism is beneficial. Although its economic benefits are minimal, it helps certain segments of the population like artisans, shops, some drivers that are employed and donations to social projects, is his conclusion. Most important however he thinks that favela tourism can help to break down existing stereotypes (*Idem: p 18*). In giving a list of social and economic impacts, he is critical towards favela tourism. He mentions that the companies are controlled by outsiders and that care should be taken to create local linkages. He cites Kadt (1979 *In: Coleman, 2005*) to mention the importance of participation and he thinks local involvement would be a logical next step in favela tourism. Like Dwek, he doesn't explain how participation should or could look like in practice and how participation is political as there are many different ideas about it.

Dwek (2004) also looked at the moral and practical benefits of this kind of tourism to see if it should be encouraged and to consider the future for tourism in favelas. Economically, she thinks the benefits of tourism are limited, as it is only an option for some favelas and as it only can bring benefits for some people in the favela. Residents only benefit by selling handicrafts and snacks or the donation of money for a social project. Even in the case of Morro da Babilônia, where residents organize tourism themselves tourism will not benefit all the residents equally. Dwek concludes that it can give economic growth for some without development for all. Despite the comparison with imperialism and colonialism, she thinks favela tourism can have social benefits like breaking down prejudices and increasing the awareness of social problems in Brazil. She thinks it is an important responsibility not to misrepresent or to exploit favelas and therefore she suggests that favela tourism be regulated by a third party. Her research gives valuable insights in how residents think about favela tourism and how residents play a marginal role in favela tourism. However, it is not clear how power relationships are created and how these relationships look like at the moment.

Machado (2007) did research in Vila Canoas as part of a project by PUC-Gênesis, sponsored by the World Bank to promote entrepreneurship in Vila Canoas. She gives a detailed ethnographic description of favela tourism, with a focus on Vila Canoas. The aim of her research was to understand the limitations of this economic activity in the context of a discussion about sustainable development in poor urban areas. She thinks the tours offered are "*progressively invasive and very similar in scope*" and that the touristic walks through alleys and trails are done to explore poverty and violence. (*Machado, 2007: abstract*) By giving a detailed description of the perceptions about tourism within Vila Canoas, she shows that the community is not homogeneous, that there are different interests, values and perceptions. She emphasizes the possible social benefits of favela tourism as it can enlarge the self-esteem of the residents and could contribute to a positive cultural identity. However, she doesn't explain the power relations in favela tourism.

Commoditization of poverty?

Bianca Freire-Medeiros (2006) looked at how the favelas have become a tourist attraction. She wondered how the favela that is associated with crime and poverty is placed on the tourism market by its promoters. As most studies focus on the reception of favela tourism, she focused on the responsibility of the entrepreneurs in creating fantasies and desires. She responds the question by looking at the expansion of the reality tour phenomenon and by discussing the circulation and consumption on a global level of the favela as a trademark. The phenomenon that the favela becomes a trademark is what Dwek described as '*Favela chic*'. Her study reveals the complexities and ambiguities of favela tourism like moral questions about the commoditization of poverty, the unequal relationships that are established, but also emphasizes that favela residents are not passive

recipients. She found that all entrepreneurs find themselves ethically engaged although none of them sees it as a business priority. Entrepreneurs say the tours increase the self-esteem of residents. Some make donations to social projects and/ or ask tourists to do so. Although she found that the tours did not have something that threatened the dignity of the residents, she can see the relation with a zoo as some guides pointed to ‘*favelados*’ and encourage tourists to take photos of them and their houses. She also mentions that Rocinha doesn’t equally benefit from tourism and that most guides ask a commission of 10% for art that has been sold. As Dwek and Coleman, she recognizes that there are different ways of selling and consuming the favela. Besides the different operators in Rocinha, she looked at initiatives in Morro da Babilônia, Morro dos Prazeres and Morro de Providência. She (Freire-Medeiros, 2009) sees tourism as a contact zone, where the favela is “*a physical and symbolic territory wherein discursive layers accommodate multiple representations: of the favela and its inhabitants of tourists as formulated by local inhabitants; of the favela as formulated by local inhabitants for the tourists – in a continuous spiral of representations.*” (p 587) Her study allows for a more complex picture of favela tourism and it shows the ambiguities in discourses and practices of tourism in favelas.

Participation and Sustainable Development

Most of the researchers of favela tourism call for more participation or involvement of the local residents. This fits into the wider body of literature that considers participation of local people as an essential condition of sustainability tourism development, as is argued by writers like Scheyvens (2007), Tosun (2000) and others. Butcher (2008: p 12) argues however that the concept of participation is often used as an instrument. He says that community participation is essential to neo-populist views on development, which are important in the advocacy of sustainable development. In this neo-populist view, participation suggests greater choice, empowerment and control for local people. Butcher is critical of this neo-populist view, as it tends to locate power within the community. Locating power within the community tends to avoid a more social understanding of power that would consider the external relationship of the community to the world market, western aid agencies and NGOs in the analysis. (Butcher, 2008: p 20) He criticizes Pretty’s typology that makes a distinction between different degrees of development, as it says nothing to prior limits to participation and involvement. (p 20-21) According to him: “*empowerment on a micro-political level may rationalize or make acceptable a lack of power or unequal power relations between developed and developing world.*” (p 21) He cites Mowforth e.a. (2008) to emphasize that the push for local participation comes from a position of power. (p 21) As participation is a political concept, I will look at participation in this research by looking at the practices, but also at the discourses of the different actors involved about participation. In this way I aim to analyze power not only within the community, but also to look at wider power structures.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

In the literature review I argued that despite the conclusion that residents should be more involved and seem to have little power, researchers pay little attention to how involvement is related to power relations and how concepts as participation, benefits and sustainable tourism can have very different meanings for the various actors involved. They call for more participation of local residents, without considering that such a call comes from a position of power and that the various actors involved can have very different ideas about its meaning. (Butcher, 2008) I argue that the actor-oriented approach and the actor-network theory can give a better understanding of these issues. In this chapter I will explain how the actor-oriented approach and the actor-network theory can complement each other in a better understanding of power relations in favela tourism and especially the involvement of favela residents. This theoretical framework is in line with what Scheyvens (2007) describes as a post-structural approach, as it provides a holistic view of tourism, believes in the power of local people and considers different points of view. However, also ideas from the neo-liberal, critical and alternative approach are used.

Tourism as an Actor-Network

Tourism and in this case favela tourism, could be defined as an **actor-network** as is done by Van der Duim (Duim, 2005). He speaks about the tourism landscape. The actor network of favela tourism consists of many elements, like the organizers, tourists, favela residents, tourist agencies, but also websites, leaflets, money, the physical building of a tourist agency and the favela. It also consists of images of the favela that motivate people to visit or not to visit a favela. Therefore, favela tourism consists of material heterogeneous elements that make it possible for the network to extend in time and space. (Duim, 2005: p 82) The limits of favela tourism are not fixed; they are not clear and may change.

In the actor-network theory actors are an effect of network relations (Duim, 2005: p 76). They “define one another in the **intermediaries** they put into circulation”. (Duim, 2005, referring to Verschoor 1997: p 35) Callon (In Duim, 2005) describes an intermediary as “anything passing between actors that define the relationship between them”. (p. 98). In the actor-network of tourism intermediaries are “in general services like guidance transport, advice, food and beverage, hospitality and, in return, money”. (Duim, 2005: p 111)

An important principle of the actor-network theory is the **principle of symmetry**. Law (In: Duim, 2005) describes that this principle implies that “everything, more particularly that everything you seek to explain or describe should be approached in the same way” (p 86) This erodes the distinction between global and local, macro and micro, actor and structure, human and non-human and “instead asks how it is that they got to be that way as a product or effect of processes of ordering” (Law, 1994 p 12 In: Duim, 2005 p 86). Although the actor-network theory doesn’t want to make a-priori divisions they don’t deny the existence of divisions. Rather divisions are consequences of and performed through relations. (Law, 1999 p 3 In: Duim, 2005 p 90) As a consequence of the principle of symmetry the actor-network theory implies a **topological view of space** which means that you don’t look at what is near or far in terms of geographical distance, but in terms of how things are related in time and space. Duim (2005, referring to Murdoch) explains that “Spatial analysis is therefore also network analysis, as space is bound into networks and any assessment of spatial qualities is simultaneously an assessment of network relations” (p 130). Looking at space in a topological way avoids an a priori distinction between different scales, but rather allows to see how different scales are connected. (p 89 referring to Murdoch) It avoids to see favelas as separate from other parts of society, but rather looks at how they are integrated in the rest of society and the power relations these connections imply. For example a lot of favela residents work in the tourism sector in low paid jobs. In this way they are integrated into the so-called formal economy. They need the income of the job and at the same time it reinforces existing inequalities between rich and poor. Furthermore, rather than looking at either the production or the consumption side of favela tourism a topological view shows how they are related. Tourists can be interested in favelas for example, but to do a tour depends on the supply of a tourism activity. The consumption of favela tourism also depends on how the product is presented, the kind of product that is offered, by media images about the favelas and decisions made by the government, as the government can prohibit certain activities or can recommend a certain activity. Tourists may for example prefer activities that benefit the local community, but if a tourist agency doesn’t offer such tours, they may choose the tour that is offered by the travel agency.

As already mentioned, actor-networks are a product of the interactions of both people and things, so they **are materially heterogeneous**. Although much of our language makes a separation between the two, the social is never only social and the technological never only technological. (Duim, 2005: p 17) Van der Duim (2005) distinguishes two lines of arguments to the question how people and things jointly perform tourism: the symbolic framing of material objects and the material framing of social relations. Symbolic framing of material objects refers to the fact that objects must be symbolically framed in order to acquire the status of a tourism sight. So the favela is only a tourism sight when it is framed in such a way. Material framing of social relations stresses “that social relationships in general and tourism practices in particular need to be materially grounded in

order to acquire temporal and spatial endurance". (Duim 2005: p 87, referring to Pels et al, 2005) "Through the use of certain material resources, interactions can be stabilized, summarized and extended through space and time" (Murdoch, 1997: 327 In Duim, 2005: 88). The actor-network may become an actor itself, which allows actors to act at a distance. Duim (2005) gives two reasons for the importance of the principle of symmetry. First, "there would be no social ordering if the materials which generate these were not heterogeneous" (p 88) and second because "if an agent is an effect, then how that effect is generated becomes an important topic in its own right." (p 88) Material things can have different 'affordances'. (Duim, 2005: p 87) The favela for example is not only a tourist attraction, but also a place to live.

With the actor-network theory it is possible "to investigate the means by which associations come into existence and how the roles and functions of subjects and objects, actors and intermediaries, humans and non-humans are attributed and stabilized" (Murdoch, 1997: p 331 in Duim, 2005: p 82). In other words it looks at **processes of translation**: "the methods by which actors form associations with other actors and actor-networks are established and stabilized" (Duim, 2005: p 94). The process of translation can be divided in four moments (Duim, 2005: p 95 referring to Callon, 1986; Verschoor, 1997; Clegg, 2003 and Hillier, 2002). The first moment is that of the problematization. In this moment the project "tries to become indispensable to other actors by defining the nature and problems of the latter and suggesting that these can be resolved by following the path of action suggested". (Duim, 2005: p 95) The problematization of Armstrong to start a tour in 1992 was that there was no possibility for tourists to visit the favela and know more about this part of Rio. The second moment is that of interessement. This is the moment where "the concerns and the image of the project are translated in that of others and then trying to discipline or control that translation in order to stabilize an actor-network." (Duim, 2005: p 95) In the case of Favela Tour, Armstrong offers tourists a safe, educational tour that is beneficial to the community and to the residents he offers the opportunity to sell handicrafts and he supports a local school. In this face words like participation and benefits are often used in an instrumental way. The third moment is that of enrollment. Successful enrollment of actors happens, if other actors become part of the network in a way that is desired by the enrolling actors. (Duim, 2005) If enrollment is achieved you can speak of mobilization, the fourth moment in the process of translation. (Duim, 2005)

Networks can look very stable as they become routinized, taken for granted, unquestioned, black-boxed or punctualized. (Duim, 2005: p 93 referring to Callon, and Verschoor, 1997) In this case, actor-networks maybe counted as resources and they allow "drawing quickly on the networks of the social without having to deal with endless complexity". (Duim, 2005: p 122) However punctualization is unstable as "networks face resistance and may degenerate into a failing network". (Duim, 2005: p 122 referring to Law, 1992 p 385) So networks are never ever-lasting, complete and closed totalities. (Duim, 2005 p 131)

The actor-network of favela tourism can be unfolded by examining different **modes of ordering** that make it up. This unfolding will never be complete. (Duim, 2005: p 109) Following Duim (2005), modes of ordering in tourism can be defined and researched at three different interconnected levels. (p 113) First of all they are "coherent sets of strategic notions about the way tourism should be practiced." (p 113) They form a calculus, that is, "a more or less explicit framework of interconnected concepts with which to 'read' the relevant empirical reality." (Duim, 2005: p 113) "It entails the way in which tourism entrepreneurs evaluate pros and cons" and their "definition of the situation". (p 113) They not only organize experience, but also perform tourismsapes. Modes of ordering don't only consist of ideas but also of a certain set of practices. "They can reflect instrumental ends like economic sustainability, profit or wealth, but also non-rational ends as prestige, fair trade, social responsibility and lifestyle related goals." (p 113) Third, "modes of ordering imply particular ways of integrating with other projects and modes of ordering, as practices have to be realized through the interweaving of divergent projects". (p 114) They "also imply tactics of translation, the way others are enrolled and mobilized". (Duim, 2005: p 114)

Tourism as a Social Field

The actor-network theory is good to explain how the favela tourism network looks like and to look at the role of the different actors involved. It also helps to explain how such a network is created with the concept of translation. However it doesn't look at the other networks in which actors are involved. In this respect, the actor-oriented approach can complement the actor-network theory. In the actor-oriented approach tourism could be seen as one social field in which actors are involved. A social field is comparable to the concept of actor-network. Long (2001) defined it as follows: *"an irregular landscape with ill-defined limits, composed of distributions of different elements – resources, information, technological capacities, fragments of discourse, institutional components, individuals, groups and physical structures – and where no single ordering principle frames the whole scene."* (Long, 2001) With the actor-oriented approach tourism development can be conceptualized as a *"dynamic and ongoing socially constructed and negotiated process"*. Within this process actors negotiate and struggle to make most out of the situation. So tourism development is an emergent property (Verbole, 1999).

An important difference between the actor-oriented approach and the actor-network theory is the way they deal with **agency**. In an actor-approach actors are not just an effect of the network. Human actors have agency that Long (2001, referring to Giddens) defined as: *"the capacity to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life even under the most extreme forms of coercion. Within the limits of information, uncertainty and other constraints social actors are knowledgeable and capable. They attempt to solve problems, learn how to intervene in the social events around them, monitor own actions, observing how others react, taking note of different circumstances."* (p 16) This implies that people are not passive recipients of the consequences of tourism development. (p 52 and 54) Actors are *"active participants who process information and strategize in their dealings with various local actors as well as with outside institutions and personnel."* (Hebinck and Verschoor, 2001: p 4) Agency is not only a characteristic of individuals, but also of collectives. In the case of favela tourism it allows to look at the discourse, values and interests of residents for example, as they may be different from that of the organizers of tourism. Furthermore it allows seeing tourism development in the perspective from the people and it also looks at the wider socio-economic and political context in which it is embedded (Verbole, 1999: p 55).

The concept of **interfaces** as described by Long (2001) allows *"to explore how discrepancies of social interest, cultural interpretation, knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed at critical points of linkage or confrontation."* (p 89) He explains that these interfaces *"need to be identified ethnographical and not presumed on the basis of predetermined categories"*. (p 50) In the methodology I will explain how the interface analysis is used in his research.

The Actor-Oriented Approach and the Actor-Network Theory – A Comparison

Both theories are very similar as they stress that the limits of tourism are ill-defined, as it consists of heterogeneous elements and as it is made up by different modes of ordering or ordering principles (See e.g. Verbole, 1999 and Duim, 2005). Both approaches reject to make a-priori divisions in general sociological categories or hierarchies. (See Long, 2001: p50). Instead in the words of Long (2001) *"meanings, values and interpretations are culturally constructed but are differently applied and reinterpreted in accordance with existing behavioral possibilities or changed circumstances sometimes generating new cultural standards"*. (Long, 2001: p 50) This is in line with the idea of Perlman (Perlman, 1976) as she states that favela residents are not marginal, but marginalized.

The most important difference between the concept of a social field and the concept of the actor-network and where they can complement each other is in how they use agency. In the actor-network theory agency is an effect of the network, in this way non-human actors are also considered to have agency. An actor-oriented approach is focused on human agency, using a (social) interface analysis. In an interface analysis you can see differences in interests and values as they are part of

different social fields (or actor-networks). It allows to look at the perspective of the different actors involved.

As the actor-oriented approach only focuses on human agency it is difficult to see how power works through the creation of (material heterogeneous) networks. In the actor-network theory non-human elements can also have agency, although of a different kind than humans. Non-human elements are necessary for networks to last and they allow human actors to act at a distance. (Duim, 2005: p 240) Take the example of the walls that now built around different favelas in Rio de Janeiro. They form a barrier that prevents favelas to grow. The wall forms that barrier, not directly the politicians that wanted that wall.

This way of attributing agency to non-human elements is much debated, but is not really conflictive with the actor-oriented approach. The weakness however of the actor-network theory is that it doesn't pay much attention to the perspectives of actors that are marginally involved in an actor-network. An actor-oriented approach sheds more light on this as it pays attention to the interests, discourses and values of the different actors involved and what are the conflicts and overlaps between them. In other words the actor-oriented approach looks at social interfaces.

Other Theoretical Considerations

Communities are not homogeneous: within the community there are people with different interests, attitudes and perceptions. The impact of tourism is different according to different perceptions, values and experiences. So it is important to discuss in the community why and for whom tourism is developed and what impact it may have for different people and to look at power relations within the community and with external factors (Verbole, 1999: p 43-44).

Both in the actor-oriented approach and the actor-network theory power is not something that can be possessed. **Power** is rather an outcome of relations. (Long, 2001) Therefore, to analyze power is to analyze relationships. So power is not a resource, it is an act in which resources and capabilities are mobilized. Power is not always used negatively, as an instrument to make others act in ways in which they otherwise would not act, but can also be used positively. "This has to do with the productive nature of power and/ or the formation of a common will." (Duim, 2005: p 127 referring to Goodwin, 1998: p 10) For example the government could exercise power to benefit people in need.

2.3 Methodology

The aim of this research is to give a better understanding of how favela residents, especially the residents from Vila Canoas, are involved in tourism in favelas and how this relates to sustainable tourism development by looking at the interactions between the different actors involved. In the theoretical framework, I explained that I use the actor-oriented approach and the actor-network theory to reach this aim. Now I will explain how I applied this theoretical framework methodologically. I will first explain the implications of the theoretical approach for the methodology. Then I will give a description of my time in Rio de Janeiro. I will go on with a description of how I used the case study as a research strategy. I will mention some characteristics, methodological principles, how the cases were selected and the methods of data-collection and data-analysis. I will also explain my research perspective and mention some limitations and opportunities I encountered during the research.

Methodological Implications of the Theoretical Framework

The actor-oriented approach begins with an actor-defined issue (Long, 2001). Based on previous research in the field of favela tourism residents seemed not to be happy with how tourism is organized, although they are positive about favela tourism in general. (Dwek, 2004; Coleman, 2005) In this research I wanted to understand better the involvement of favela residents in favela tourism.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork was conducted from the 8th of March until the 11th of July 2009. In the months before I started to contact different organizations to consider the possibilities to do research about this topic. In January and February I wrote the proposal and prepared the period of fieldwork by reading literature about (favela) tourism and development and learning Portuguese. In March I went to Brazil. The first two weeks I stayed in a hostel in Botafogo where I talked with tourists and with different organizations like IBISS (an NGO), Coop Babilônia and RioTur. From March 23 until April 23 I stayed in Vila Canoas in a private room by Favela Receptiva. I chose not to stay with a host family as that was a very expensive option for one month. I stayed in the part known as Pedra Bonita. I was introduced to the different host families by Eneida Santos, the initiator of Favela Receptiva and I talked with her about the organization. I also participated in Favela Tour several times and talked to Marcelo Armstrong about his business. After about two weeks I also got some good friends who made my stay not only more enjoyable, but also helped me doing this research by their stories.

After staying one month in Vila Canoas I went back to the hostel for some reflection and to see where I could stay next. I wanted to do a case study of another favela in first instance, but considering the short time I decided that it would be better to focus on Vila Canoas, also because Vila Canoas has a long history of tourism and because of its different experiences with tourism: Favela Tour, Favela Receptiva and a Project by the university of PUC-Rio. This didn't mean I stopped looking at other tourists initiatives. I remained in contact with Coop Babilônia and ONG Morrinho and I talked with one of the organizers of Turismo Alternativo, a tourism initiative in Vidigal, another favela in the Southern zone of Rio de Janeiro. In the hostel I met a young tourist interested to see a favela and I took her to Vila Canoas, to let her stay with one of the host families of Favela Receptiva for one night.

After about one week I returned to Vila Canoas. This time I stayed with a woman with two children of 7 and 11 years old. She offers a room by herself and is not connected to Favela Receptiva. Friends in Vila Canoas brought me in contact with her. She lives in a small, but well-cared house and has experience with other guests. This experience allowed me to see favela tourism in Vila Canoas from a different perspective. In this month I started to play beach-volley with a group of people in Vila Canoas and Rocinha who play about three evenings during the week and in the weekend when they have time. This was mainly a time of leisure, but I also got to know more people because of this.

After this month I returned to the hostel to write my first concept. Next, I traveled around Brazil for about three weeks mainly for a holiday, but the opportunity to talk with other tourists also gave a better understanding of how backpackers think about favela tourism. Coming back in the Netherlands I started immediately writing the report. I had to analyze the material and I decided to use an interface analysis of the actor-oriented approach in combination with the actor-network theory.

Case Study

The research strategy of this thesis is a case study. In this research I make use of various case studies. Although the focus was upon two tourist organizations and one research-project in Vila Canoas, I also made some smaller case studies of tourism activities in other favelas of Rio de Janeiro. The case studies in Vila Canoas are based on participant observation, interviews with residents and the organizers, semi-structured and unstructured. The case studies of tourist activities in other favelas are based upon one or more interviews with the organizers and two of them by participant observation. The aim of the case study was to get a better understanding of the involvement of residents in tourism.

Selection of Cases

In first instance I had to select a city to do research about slum tourism. I considered Mumbai, Nairobi and Cape Town. I selected Rio de Janeiro, because there are a lot of different kinds of tourism activities here. As there are so many different kinds of activities in first instance I wanted to make two or three case studies of different kinds of organizations. However, after one month in Vila Canoas I decided there was still too much to research there. In this favela there is a lot of experience

with favela tourism and since a long time. Not only did Favela Tour start giving tours in Vila Canoas, there is a bed and breakfast since 2004, there was a project of PUC-Gênesis to reflect upon tourism in Vila Canoas and Exotic Tours also did tours there for some period.

I visited other projects as well and made case studies of those projects, but much smaller than the one about Vila Canoas. The other projects I found on internet, I asked around at tourist agencies and I got tips from for example Eneida Santos of Favela Receptiva. The cases I selected were Coop Babilônia and ONG Morrinho. I choose these organizations because they are different kind of organization: one being an NGO and one a cooperative of residents. In this research I also mentioned other tourism activities in Rocinha, an NGO that offers tourists to do voluntary work and Turismo Alternativo, a private organization in Vidigal initiated by a resident and an outside professional in tourism. I chose these cases as I could find the information about them, but also because they all are different kinds of organization. Another factor in the selection of cases was the willingness of the organizations to cooperate in my research and budget and time constraints. In other words, the cases were selected based upon purposive judgment sampling.

Data-Collection Methods

Participant observation was an almost constant part of my field work, as I stayed in Vila Canoas for more than two months, talking to different people, staying with a host family for one month and by paying attention to interactions between tourists and residents for example. Also outside Vila Canoas I was constantly confronted with the theme by talking with tourists and employees in the hostel. Furthermore, I took part in different tours.

Another important way of data collection was the conduction of informal and semi-structured interviews. Some of the interviews I recorded after asking permission. I also wrote down the results of some of the interviews and let them read the interviewer to check if I understood well what was being said. For semi-structured interviews I made a topic list. (See annex 2)

I also made use of secondary literature, mainly of former researches that are done about favela tourism. Furthermore I used information from leaflets and websites.

Data Analysis Methods

In qualitative research like this, data-collection and data analysis are not completely separated. Data-analysis began with a problem definition mainly based on previous research about favela tourism. Based on questions I tried to collect data. During the research process, I adapted the questions based on the data that was collected. Another important part of qualitative research is the registration of research results. I had a big notebook, a smaller one to make quick notes, an mp3 to record interviews and a laptop. I tried to make notes as soon as possible after an interview, a tour or other occurrence. I also made pictures. The notes can be divided in observational notes, theoretical notes, methodological notes and reflective notes. (Hart *e.a.*, 1998) In my field notes I marked comments that were methodological and notes that were observatory. Furthermore I divided observatory notes in themes in order to be able to find them back. I marked parts that I thought to be important.

To secure the validity of this research I used the *methodological principles of data triangulation* as I used different methods of data collection like participant observation, interviews and written material and different methods of data analysis.

Research Perspective

This research is in line with what Scheyvens (2007) describes as a post-structural perspective as this research takes a holistic approach to tourism and as it includes different perspectives in the analysis. It takes both a constructionist approach by the application of the actor-network theory and a social constructionist approach with the actor-oriented approach. The difference is that social constructionists say that *"individuals shape their own reality in a lifelong process of social-based interactions, negotiation and learning as if the world consist of social relations"* (Verbole, 1999). However as is argued by Latour (2005) the world is not made up of only social matter. In the words of Latour, to say that a fact is constructed we mean *"that we account for the solid objective reality by*

mobilizing various entities whose assemblage could fail” (Latour, 2005). So tourism it not only socially constructed it is also made up of other ‘*material*’. Without non-human entities there is no construction. Without non-human entities there is no tourism. There needs to be a location for example, like the favela in the case of favela tourism.

Limitations and Opportunities

A first limitation was time, giving the short period available for doing a master thesis. As ethnographic research demands a long time to get a deep understanding this was a serious limitation. For example, after having done several interviews, new questions arose which I would like to ask all of the people. Back home, when writing the thesis I realized that there were several things I could have done better. I would like to have made a more extensive case study of for example Morro de Babilônia, but then I would have limited the case study of Vila Canoas. Furthermore in most of the cases I interviewed a person just one time, while it would have been valuable to ask them another time. Not only for testing the answers on consistency, but also to have time to prepare new questions and to get a better understanding.

In Summary

All the research about favela tourism, call for more participation of local residents in favela tourism. They show how favela residents are little involved in tourism at the moment, they mention some (possible) positive and negative impacts, the opinions of different actors involved are discussed and ambiguities are shown. However those researches don't discuss how power works through relations in the network. They leave the issue of power by either saying local residents seem to have little power and that they need to have more power, but they don't show how power relations are working. The post-colonial critique shows how the representation of the other is comparable to the subordination of the subaltern, but this perspective doesn't pay attention to how local residents respond to this, seeing them as passive recipients. An actor-oriented approach in combination with the actor-network theory could provide a better understanding of these power issues as they show how power works in relations. The actor-oriented approach and the actor-network theory will be explained and discussed in the theoretical framework.

In order to analyze the involvement of local residents in favela tourism I will use the actor-network theory in combination with the actor-oriented approach. In the actor-network theory tourism can be defined as an actor-network, made up heterogeneous elements and consisting of different modes of ordering. The process of translation that is the enrollment of actors is important to analyze. It allows to see how a network becomes stabilized and to analyze the role of favela residents in this network. In this report I will analyze the actor-networks of the different tourism organization in favelas like Favela Tour, Favela Receptiva, Project Canoas, Morro de Babilônia and NGO Morrinho. From the actor-oriented approach tourism could be defined as a social field. Tourism is thus but one social field of an actor. By looking at the interfaces between different human actors it is possible to look where discourses, values and interests overlap or conflict. In this research I will use the interface analysis for the cases of Vila Canoas.

To carry out this research I went to Brazil for a period of four months of which about two months in the favela of Vila Canoas that has different experiences with tourism. I explored the cases of a tour company, an organization providing home stays, a project by the university and other experiences with tourism. Furthermore, two case studies in other favelas are done. Data was collected by participant observation, informal and semi-structured interviews and during the whole period I made notes.

4 FAVELA TOUR

Favela Tour is a private company that organizes guided tours through the favelas of Rocinha and Vila Canoas. In this chapter the actor-network of Favela Tour will be analyzed and especially the role of residents within this actor-network. I will first describe the development of the organization. Second I will look at Favela Tour from the perspective of the different actors involved to see where discourses, interests and values overlap or conflict. Then I will mention shortly the experience of Exotic Tours in Vila Canoas. This is another organization that offers a favela tour for tourists. It operated for about two years in Vila Canoas. A description of Project Vila Canoas will follow. Within this project tourism workshops were offered with the aim to let local residents benefit more from tourism. I will analyze the involvement of residents in this project and to what extent the project changed the involvement of residents in tourism. This chapter is based on interviews with Marcelo Armstrong, participant observation of the tour, interviews with the residents of Vila Canoas, RioTur and tour operators, hotels and hostels, research reports and articles and blogs about Favela Tour on the internet.

4.1 The Actor-Network of Favela Tour

Marcelo Armstrong, as the entrepreneur of Favela Tour mobilizes different actors, both human and non-human. I will describe the mobilization of these actors with a description of the development of the organization. The description is based on two interviews with Armstrong, interviews with other actors involved, information on the website, in newspapers and previous research about favela tourism.

Development of the Organization – The Mobilization of a Network

Marcelo Armstrong started Favela Tour in 1992. As he lived near Vila Canoas from a young age, some people in the favela know him since he was little boy. He comes from a wealthy family and lives in a condominium. A condominium is a form of home ownership in which individual units of a larger complex are sold, not rented. Armstrong started a study in tourism and traveled to different place in the world. In an interview he explained how his experience of living in Africa, created the idea to show tourists the favela:

“When I was 20 I lived for a year in Africa, working in a Club Med resort in Senegal. A high fence surrounded the whole place. Next to the resort, where most tourists never went, was a poor neighborhood, whose inhabitants worked in the resort, as cleaners and gardeners. And I thought to myself: ‘This is crazy; these tourists have no idea about real life in the country they are visiting. They should get out and see how the locals live’”. (Hennessy, 2009)

Coming back to Rio, he decided to start tours for people who are interested as he is. *‘It was out of idealism, not out of opportunism.’*, Armstrong said in an interview (Interview Armstrong, 26-03-2009). His objective is to give a better understanding of Brazilian society, not just about the favelas. After he decided that he wanted to organize a tour through the favela, he informed the president of the resident association of Vila Canoas about this idea. The president proposed to organize a meeting for the residents to explain his ideas. According to Armstrong there were about eighty people in this meeting. He told them about his idea to guide foreign tourists there. The reactions during this meeting were positive.

The first tourists he got came by asking many hotels, hostels and tourists agencies to offer his tour. As Armstrong explains on his website, it was hard to gain credibility of tour operators, given the bad reputation of the favelas. In the beginning, he was happy to receive one tourist a week, but slowly the amount of tourists started to grow. The good reactions of tourists made it easier to convince hotels and hostels to offer his tour to tourists. Some hostels, hotels and agencies only offer Favela Tour at request; some offer it as part of their product. A major source of advertisement is his website. At this site you can find background information about the tour and there are citations of

different guidebooks and articles of journals and magazines based on the following themes: they say Favela Tour is a fascinating, a different experience, that it is informative, educational, illuminating and gives a better understanding of Rio and Brazil and that the guides speak English very well (*Website Favela Tour*). In box 2 some statements of the website are given. In 1996, Favela Tour was for the first time included in Lonely Planet. By tips of travelers, an author of Lonely Planet came to Rio and called Armstrong to join the tour. He wrote a positive article about the tour. The movie '*City of God*' of 2002 also increased the interest of tourists in favelas. Although Armstrong commented that people expecting to see something like the movie would be disappointed. Now, Favela Tour is mentioned in many guidebooks as a good tour to take. Previous research about favela tourism (*Dwek, 2004; Coleman, 2005*) mentioned Favela Tour as an educational tour that gives a balanced and accurate story about the favela, in comparison with other tour operators in Rocinha. There is an ambiguous relationship with RioTur, the Municipal Tourism Agency of Rio de Janeiro, as there were some problems in the past. During a certain period, RioTur did not publish the info of Favela Tour in their guidebook, because Armstrong was accused of crime apology and making bad publicity of the city. Nowadays however, they are mentioned in the guidebook and when I asked RioTur about favela tourism, they recommended me to talk with Marcelo Armstrong. As RioTur is part of the municipal government, they defend the interest of the municipality. Their main interest is to give tourists a good impression of Rio and to give them a good time. They only recommend those activities of which they know they are well organized, safe and of interest to tourists. It took time for Favela Tour to gain that confidence. (*Interview RioTur, 09-06-2009*)

The first half a year he only visited Vila Canoas. In this first period, Armstrong only had a car and his certificate as a tour guide. After this period, he started to visit Rocinha as well. There, he also talked with the resident associations. The resident associations did not have any prerequisites, just some recommendations about taking pictures. Until 1996, he visited the school of Tia Maura in the part of Vila Canoas known as Pedra Bonita. In 1996, he decided to visit the school of Para Ti instead. He explained this switch by telling there were some problems with the owner Maura Costa da Silva and that it was '*just a decision*'. Another story about this switch was that Armstrong told lies to tourists about the benefits he gave to the school. Although he did give some benefits to the school, he exaggerated about these benefits to tourists. When he started to visit Para Ti, his initial support consisted of sporadic donations. Later he started to give a certain amount per month. He informs hostels and hotels monthly about his donations.

The first two years he was the only guide. After that, the amount of guides slowly increased, up until ten guides now. Two of the guides are part-time secretary. They earn 100 R\$ for three hours (while the minimum is 75 for 4 hours). The guides are not from the community as he has some prerequisites. The profile of his guides is that they are fluent in at least three languages, open-minded, used to travel, with a rich background and '*more like a leftist person*'. (*Interview Armstrong, 26-03-2009*) The person with this profile will be invited for at least five tours. He/ she will need to listen to a CD with a recorded speech and he will need to read about 120 reports and press articles issued recently about favelas and Brazilian society. He found his guides by recommendations of friends or by announcements he sent to tour guide courses or SindaTur (the syndicate for tour guides).

As he gained experience, he elaborated the tour. Armstrong said he was more '*showing*' the favela (its physical characteristics) in the first period, without having a sophisticated story about the favela. He elaborated the story during the tour gradually. He learned by experience what is interesting to tell and how to tell it clearly and to the point.

Armstrong has informal contact with the residents of Vila Canoas. He knows especially the people from Para Ti. When he has a new guide he presents them to some artisans like the owner of a small shop in Vila Canoas. With respect to information, he informed the people in Vila Canoas by first telling the president of resident association of Vila Canoas about his ideas. After this, he did not give extra information, only when '*lies*' were spread about him in the local newspaper '*Fala Canoas!*'. It was an interview with someone presented as a tourismologist. She said, according to Armstrong without knowledge, that the kind of tourism of Favela Tour did not bring any benefits to Vila Canoas.

This annoyed Armstrong because everybody read this interview and he said he had no voice in the media to say that it was not correct. However, Fala Canoa! did publish an interview with him as well. (See for the articles in *Fala Canoa!* annex 4). As a reaction, Armstrong hung some papers with something like: *'in response to the interview issued in the newspaper, Favela Tour informs that since 1996 Favela Tour has been financing the educational project of Para Ti which has benefited close to 60 kids from Vila Canoas.'* In Rocinha he also talked with community leaders. Armstrong is available when residents have questions. Favela Tour doesn't provide trainings with respect to tourism to the residents, for example as guides, or courses in English and there are no evaluations.

Favela Tour offers artisans the opportunity to sell work at Para Ti. There are some 15 to 20 artisans who sell their work at Para Ti. For most of them it is not a major way of their income. Favela Tour gives a financial contribution to the school Para Ti every month, 80 percent of the costs of the school. He presents the amount he contributes openly. He also gives money to the resident organization of Vila Canoas. He has two drivers, who both live in Vila Canoas. One of the drivers (Interview 15-05-2009) told how he knows Marcelo as a little boy and that Armstrong asked him to work as driver for Favela Tour as he knew him. Favela Tours gives the tourists a balanced view of favelas (Dwek, 2004; Coleman, 2005), which may change their perspective of the favela and give it a better image.

Favela Tour thus started as an idea of Armstrong. He used his experience, his education and his contacts to involve other actors in the network. Tourist agencies, hotels and hostels, like tourists, became more and more interested in Favela Tour. He used his knowledge and experience to convince them that working with him is the best option. The involvement of residents is limited as being a driver, an artisan and salesman. Furthermore a local school receives money. Local residents don't know what is told about them.

Box 2 The Website of Favela Tour

*... Illuminating experience if you look for an insider point of view...
 ...Introduces you to another Rio, the favela...
 ...Not only to give an understanding of favelas, but also of other aspects of Brazilian society...
 ...Change the reputation of areas related only to violence and poverty...
 ...Marcelo Armstrong, the pioneer of tours in favelas...
 ...Hard to gain credibility of tour operators giving their bad reputation...
 ...You are welcome don't be shy...
 ...Registered in EMBRATUR...
 ...Making possible a much better understanding of local society and the day-to-day life in Rio...*

The Tour – Performance of a Network

Favela Tour offers a guided tour of about three hours, two times everyday, in the morning and the afternoon. There can be four groups a day depending on how many tourists are interested. The maximum amount of tourists for each group is nine. The tour takes about three hours, with a visit for about one hour of Rocinha (known as the biggest favela of Brazil, also located in São Conrado) and for about one hour in Vila Canoas. Some tours start in Vila Canoas, some in Rocinha. In general the tour consists of certain fixed elements, but things may change because of a lack of time or when it is considered to be better to do so in certain unexpected situations. For example the day I went, the stop at the handicraft centre was cancelled because the police entered Rocinha, because they expected problems with the destruction of an *'illegal'* building (O Globo, 2009). This is just one example of how a network, although mobilized is not fixed and how it is related to such things as news or even *'global'* trends. During the so-called Gang War in 2004 for example, all tours in Rocinha were cancelled, while the movie *'City of God'* increased the interest in favelas and thus in favela tours. I will give a description of the tour based on my experiences with Favela Tour. I participated fully in two tours and two times extra I participated in the part of the tour that takes place in Vila Canoas. The first time was only with two tourists, an English older woman and a young German guy. They listened to the story of the guide, asked some questions and took photos. The participants of the second tour asked more and there was more interaction with residents. The participants were a

family from Portugal and a mother with two children from the United States. First the tourists are picked up in an air-conditioned mini-van from their hotel. So, the network of the hotel is part of the actor-network of Favela Tour, but also the van is part of the network as it enables the performance of a network. For the van money is needed, which is also part of the network. At the start of the tour, the Portuguese family started a discussion as the grandfather was disappointed as he expected a Jeep instead of a van, while the father thought a van is less invasive. The tour starts with some introduction comments about the context of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro specifically and Brazil in general. They tell that there are about 750 favelas in Rio de Janeiro and that they do not appear on the map, only as forest. They also tell people they are welcome in the favelas, that they can take pictures in Vila Canoas, but that they should ask people first. They explain that most residents have low-paid jobs all over Rio like in restaurants and hotels. They say roughly 10 percent of the people are dealing with drugs or criminality and that in the tour they will show you how the great majority of the favela residents is living. They make a distinction between Vila Canoas as a small and quiet favela and Rocinha as a big favela facing many problems. They tell about the importance of favelas in Brazilian culture as the birth place of samba and many world famous football players. In Rocinha the guide explains about the architecture, public services and the social problems of the favela like lack of schooling and garbage. They explain the role of the organized crime in terms of the imposition of rules. If the rules of them are not followed, hard punishment will follow. By creating a certain order they try to get some goodwill among the residents. They point to the police office in Rocinha to show that they are doing nothing. In Rocinha they stop at a Handicraft Centre, a local terrace (on the roof of a house) where pictures can be taken of the view over Rio and a commercial area. They drive down to Estrada da Gavea, a former F1 race track.

In Vila Canoas the tourists stay a maximum of one hour. People arrive at Vila Canoas by first going through a street with expensive houses. The van stops in front of Para Ti where the tourists step out. The guide tells a story about the favela. In Para Ti, tourists visit the class rooms of informatics and they have the possibility to take pictures. In the case of Portuguese speakers, there may be small conversations. Some tourists make pictures of or with the children. Others just take a quick look. Then there is the chance to buy some art at the roof of Para Ti. There is a terrace there, with a view over Vila Canoas and surroundings. Most tourists buy something. First art was sold in the church, in one of the small streets in Vila Canoas. They sold art made by the children of Para Ti. After a law about child labor, they decided to sell only art from adults. There are two volunteers responsible for the selling of art in Para Ti: one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They sell slightly different products. There are for example two people making things out of recycled paper, one of them sells in the morning, one in the afternoon. Although the work of the two people who sell art is voluntary, some artisans provide a commission to them. Furthermore, they can get 25% of the return of the art they sell, of one day in every two weeks. The amount of things sold differs, only some artisans make good money out of it. Besides, they sell things for the benefit of Para Ti, like t-shirts, magnets and a photo book with pictures made by the children in Vila Canoas. After the visit to Para Ti, there is the possibility to have a drink or other consumption in one of the '*botecos*' (bars): people can buy water, a beer, a cold drink or some snack. In this way the bar owners earns some extra money and there may be some small conversations.

Then the tourists are guided through the alleys of Vila Canoas, passing along houses. There may be a talk between the guide and the residents. People take pictures and some are greeting. As the residents of Vila Canoas are not the guides and often do not speak English; and as the tourist often do not speak Portuguese there is little interaction, besides a smile or a photograph. They stop at the Local Square to give information about the favela-bairro project. Finally the tourists are brought back to their hotel after some final talks.

The elements of the story mentioned here, are a selection of what is told during the tour. During the tour more things are mentioned. There are some differences in focus and the amount of information between the different guides. One guide for example tells about the alcohol problems here, the importance of a place for children in the school and the contrast between the different houses, while another tells about how residents tap electricity and about the health care system

here. Some reactions of tourists are that they are surprised that the streets are so clean. Some people expected more poverty and were surprised to hear music coming from modern stereo installations.

Major ways of interaction between tourists and residents are thus looking, buying and eventually some small talk. They only visit the part of Vila Canoas, known as favelinha. They do not go to the part known as Vila da Pedra Bonita.

Analysis of the Actor-Network of Favela Tour

The actor-network of Favela Tour is an example of successful translation, the enrollment of both human and non-human actors. The process of translation (the enrollment of actors) can be divided in four steps, as explained in the theoretical framework (See 2.2). Armstrong started because he wanted to give tourists the possibility to know more about favelas. At that moment there were no other organized tours. At the same time he thought it is a way to break down prejudices about favelas. This is the first phase in the translation process, the ***problematization***. Then he informed the community leader about his idea to guide tourists through Vila Canoas. This would generate income opportunities for artisans and shops and could change the image of the favela. He went to tourist agencies, hotels and hostels to try to convince them that it is a nice tourist activity: professional, safe, interesting and educational, that can generate extra income opportunities for them. They present the tour to tourists as safe, informative, non-voyeuristic and benefiting the community. This is the second phase in the process of translation, the ***interessement***. Through the years the amount of hostels, hotels and agencies that offer his tour increased. Furthermore, guidebooks started to publish the tour. He can go to Vila Canoas and Rocinha without problems, have a visit at Para Ti to show tourists the school, and walk down through the alleys of Vila Canoas. So Favela Tour succeeded in the ***enrollment*** of actors and therefore can be called a mobilized network. This doesn't mean that this network is ever-lasting or not contested. Networks are open and can collapse. (See Duim, 2005) News about violence or unrest brings the amount of tourists immediately down. Furthermore, not everybody is happy about Favela Tour. The perceptions of other actors will be analyzed in the next part of this chapter.

Within the actor-network of Favela Tour there are differences in power. In contrast to many favela residents Armstrong had good education, work experience in tourism, the money, the ideas and the knowledge to create the network. Armstrong has power as he uses his resources that he has available. So the resources that people have available are an important factor in power relationships. The residents of Vila Canoas also have ideas, but in the mobilization of resources to create an actor-network they lack for example start capital or the connections with tourist agencies or the knowledge to enroll those agencies into their network. In the next part of this chapter I will describe Project Vila Canoas in which some residents tried to create an alternative tour. This will make clearer the importance of resources to create a network. Armstrong is the center of the actor-network of Favela Tour as he delegates tasks: he has a driver, there are other guides, people sell art at Para Ti, etcetera. He or other operators of Favela Tours are an ***obligatory point of passage*** for tourist agencies and hostels to show tourist the favela. However, there are many other organizations that offer a tour through the favela. Therefore it is important for Armstrong to distinguish Favela Tour from other tours and convince agencies that Favela Tour is the best option for their business. Favela Tour emphasizes its professionalism, a non-voyeuristic, informative and enlightening tour and the benefits to the community. In short, Armstrong has mobilized successfully people and things in a network. He translated the favela in a tourist site by telling a story about it. This process of translation can lead to asymmetries between centers and peripheries. In the case of Favela Tour this happens as Armstrong is able to reject suggestions of residents, who are in the periphery of the network. However, favela residents are not powerless. They make their own decisions and have their own ideas. This will be explained further by using the interface analysis.

The role of favela residents in the actor-network of Favela Tour is limited to selling art, being a driver or selling snacks. Residents could even be seen as part of the product that is sold to tourists. Favela residents would like to be more involved, but their ideas conflict with the ideas of Marcelo

Armstrong as will become clearer in the interface analysis. The exchange that takes place between favela residents and Favela Tour is that Favela Tour gives money to Para Ti and to the resident association. Furthermore, he brings tourists that in turn give artisans the opportunity to sell something. More specifically, Para Ti has visitors every day and the residents association gave permission. Most people in Vila Canoas don't really know what it is all about. Some who do know are critical about the organization as will become clear in the interface analysis and the case study of Project Vila Canoas.

As this example of Favela Tour shows, favela tourism is a complex process of people and things. Favela Tour is a result of a specific ordering of the different elements like tourists interested in favelas, travel agencies, hostels and hotels offering Favela Tour, leaflets that inform tourists about Favela Tour, the favela of Vila Canoas and Rocinha with its specific characteristics, etcetera. So Favela Tour is not only made up people and organizations but also of objects, services and technical equipment and physical elements. Favela Tour has created a rather stabilized network as he succeeded to create linkages with different actors. He makes use of the existing tourism network of tourist agencies, hotels and hostels, which have links with tourists from all over the world. Armstrong succeeds to link up to that network as he provides them a good commission and as he offers a product that tourists like. Tourists are attracted by his tour, as they are curious about or interested in favelas. To ethical doubts about favela tourism Armstrong responds that he thinks it is important to benefit the community. He does this by supporting Para Ti. There are also other factors that influence the network. The government for example, can prohibit certain organizations or they can give a positive or negative advice to tourists. Furthermore, newspapers can influence the opinion of tourists, but also conflicts between drugs gangs do influence the activity.

4.2 The Actor-Network of Favela Tour from Different Perspectives

While the analysis of the actor-network was about the enrollment of different actors in the network, this part focuses on the different modes of ordering underlying Favela Tour. So, the actor-network of Favela Tour will be analyzed from the perspective of the different actors involved. If you look at where discourses, interests and values conflict it is possible to see alternative modes of ordering and resistance to the order (*Long, 2001*) of Favela Tour. Although residents of Vila Canoas are included in the network of Favela Tour this doesn't mean they have the same interests or the same power in the network. There is also resistance and there are alternatives possible. Although I use the term residents as one category it is important to emphasize the heterogeneity of discourses, practices and interactions within the community. Tourists are also not a homogeneous group.

Interaction between Favela Tour and Tourists from Different Perspectives

The interaction between tourists and the organization is in first instance mediated by the website, tourist agency, guidebook, hotel or hostel. These intermediaries give a representation of Favela Tour. The interaction between tourists and the intermediary also needs a previous interaction between Favela Tour and the intermediary. I asked tourist agencies, hotels and hostels about Favela Tour and the reasons to offer or not Favela, the kind of tourists interested in Favela Tour and I asked Favela Tour about the relations with tourist agencies, hotels, hostels and guidebooks. Second, the interaction between Favela Tour and tourists during a tour will be described from different perspectives.

To understand the involvement of residents, the opinion of tourists about favela tourism is also important. Therefore I did interviews with various tourists to ask them their opinion about favela tourism, some participated in the tour, others not. Furthermore, I read weblogs and articles of participants and I used the research carried out by others like Dwek (2004) and Coleman (2005). I did not carry out many surveys myself, but I had some informal, but deep interviews with various tourists, like tourists in the hostel in Botafogo, tourist during a Favela Tour and tourists I met during the trip through Brazil. This provided an understanding of what motivates tourists in participating or not participating in a tour. See for the list of questions annex 2. I did not ask all the questions to all

the people, but I asked about ten people their opinion about favela tourism, if they have heard about it and if they would consider taking part. People that did a tour explained often that they are interested in that other part of Rio they hear so much about. Most people in the hostel I interviewed never took part in a Favela Tour, some never heard about it. One person said (*Interview, 08-06-2009*) not to know why to visit a favela if there is not something special to see, like a historical site or something like that. Some are interested to visit a favela but do not like the idea of a guided tour (*Interview 16-03-2009*); they are interested in favelas and would consider visiting or have already visited a favela with someone they know. Some do not like the idea of making money out of poverty and reject the whole idea of favela tourism (*Interview 20-03-2009*). People from Latin America are much less interested in favela tours than people from other parts of the world. According to a rough estimation of Armstrong, about 65 percent of the people come from Europe. Other countries where many tourists come from are the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Coleman (2005) did some research about the reasons for tourists to participate in a tour and how it influenced their opinion about favelas. As Coleman (2005) tells in his thesis, tourists may get the impression that the tour agencies are very involved in the favela, which is not necessarily the case. Also in Vila Canoas there are several stories of tourist agencies making false statements about the benefits to the community.

The discourse of Favela Tour is that it is intended for people who want to know more about the other part of Rio. They want to inform tourists to give them a better understanding of Brazilian society. Armstrong distinguishes himself from other tours by telling the importance of a good story without sensationalizing. Furthermore, he emphasizes the tours benefits the community.

Hostels, hotels, tourist agencies and guidebooks are mainly interested in the commercial side of favela tourism. Although Freire-Medeiros (2009) states that favelas are the third most popular tourist activity in Rio after the Christ and Sugarloaf, the hostels and hotels I interviewed said that there were not many tourists interested to do it. They explained it in terms of fear on the site of tourists. The main interest of hotels, hostels and travel agencies is the profit they can make out of it and to provide a good service to their clients. This means it needs to be a professional, interesting and a safe activity. One hotel (*Interview, 20-05-2009*) explained how Favela Tour is giving a good commission and that this is an important reason to work with him. Other agencies however tell that if there is a same commission they will divide it and choose Favela Tour, Jeep Tour or another company. Other reasons mentioned to work with Favela Tour are his experience, the quality of the services offered and his professionalism. Local benefits do not seem to be of their concern. Only after asking they say that Favela Tour indeed is benefiting the community and one hotel told how Favela Tour is giving a paper every month to show the amount of money donated to the NGO Para Ti. Another hostel owner told she did not like the attitude of the organizer Marcelo Armstrong. The owner of the hostel described him as arrogant as Armstrong said he is the only true organizer of favela tours. He also sends a whole list of papers explaining why he is the only true Favela Tour. Personal contact and preferences thus are important in choosing to work with a certain company as well.

Residents do not know what is told during the tour, so they cannot really say something about it. Some think that they tell only bad things about the community, although this is not true. All the people I talked to in Vila Canoas would like to know, although most would not actively procure this information.

Interactions between Tourists and Residents from Different Perspectives

The discourse of tourists about the interaction with residents, I describe based on participation in four tours through Vila Canoas and by reading weblogs and articles. Tourists like interaction with residents. For some, the supposed lack of interaction is a reason not to do a favela tour. Coleman (2005) found that many tourists are positively surprised about the favela: *"They had expected to see much more crime, violence and human misery..."* (p 29) and they were surprised to see *"such a well-organized and friendly community"*. (p 29) The ambiguity of Favela Tour is clearly expressed by Hennessy (2009), as he wrote: *"I did feel a bit that we were dipping in and out casually, but on the*

other hand Armstrong had shown us a positive and optimistic view, albeit of a selective minority that helped balance the dramatic image more often shown in the media.” In other sentence he expresses how he buys something, to benefit the community: *“For 1.50 \$ I bought a small fridge magnet of a bottom in a bikini. Not exactly educational, but all in good cause.”*

There are many different reactions to tourism in Vila Canoas. Most people are positive about the tourists: they are friendly, smile and greet. Other positive reactions are that they make pictures of everything that they apparently find beautiful. Not one of the residents I interviewed had problems with tourists, except some inconvenience with tourists taking pictures without asking beforehand. Most people find tourists friendly and respectful. This attitude of residents can also be seen as a resource used by Favela Tour. Residents also find it beneficial that tourists buy things in Vila Canoas. As tourists see how quiet and peaceful it is in Vila Canoas, many residents see it as positive that tourist can tell about their experience in their home country. There are also some negative comments. Sometimes tourists take pictures without asking. Several people said that this is disturbing for them. They have no problems with people taking pictures, but they would like them to ask permission. Other comments are that tourists stay only very shortly and see only a few things, so there is little time to sell things for the benefit of the community or to interact with tourists. Residents would like tourist to have a lunch in Vila Canoas or show them Pedra Bonita, Pedra da Gavea or the launch place for hang gliding. Tourists also could get a better idea of the community when they stay longer, enabling more interaction. Some residents have the idea that now they are only showing the ugly part, the poor part. When I asked about what people know about or think about the tourists coming here, they tell that they do not know why tourists are coming and that they would like to know it. They wonder what tourists think about Vila Canoas. People also do not know what is told about them. It is mentioned a lot that they would like to know. Other residents are negative about Favela Tour, seeing it as a safari, as an exhibition of their lives, mainly because a lack of interaction and participation of the community.

As Favela Tour is for a large part responsible for the possibility of interaction, it is also important to look at the discourse of Favela Tour about the interaction *between* residents and tourists. Marcelo Armstrong says there is no time for a longer stay as this would slow down the tour and would make the experience less attractive for tourists. He also will not visit a house out of respect for privacy. He doesn't like it and he thinks some tourists would be uncomfortable to do this. To visit a workplace of an artisan is not an option as they already visit a place where arts are made in Rocinha. Favela Tour doesn't offer a lunch as this would take too much time and that according to him it is at the wrong hour (about 12.00 and about 17.00). In addition, he doesn't want to feel responsible for the food as he is not qualified in doing this.

Interactions between Favela Tour and Residents from Different Perspectives

According to Favela Tour, tourism benefits the community and it is also an aim of him. He made the comment that other favela tour organizations may say that they benefit the community, in the sense that they sell the art of local people and that tourists support local businesses by buying drinks or snacks, but Armstrong says this is not enough for him. Therefore, he also invests in the school Para Ti. Favela Tour pays 80% of the budget of the school with a contribution of about 4000 R\$ a month. The reason to fund the school is that he finds education very important. In Rocinha he supports the people by for example paying the owner of the house where tourists can go on the rooftop to make pictures. Other benefits are the commerce and money resulting from it in the handicraft area and in the commercial area. Furthermore, Marcelo said he made many donations throughout the years. He explains that his only reason for not using local guides is that he cannot find qualified people. He expects guides to have a rich cultural background and fluency in English. He does not give trainings in tourism as he doesn't want to give residents an illusion of once becoming a tour guide, he said. He cannot teach them how to become a guide, but if they fit the profile, it is possible they become a guide. I asked him again if he could not support some people to become professional guides. The answer was that this would mean support for some individuals and he rather supports an institution. Personally, he helped a child in Vila Canoas, but that was the decision of Marcelo Armstrong, not

Favela Tour. He also told he is not a social worker, although he finds it important to benefit the people socially. He refers to a company that educates local residents to become a guide and says those guides are very young, not professional and underpaid. He does not agree that this is good. According to Armstrong, suggestions are welcome but he does not have special meetings with residents. He does not evaluate the tour with them to improve the tour as he says residents have very little understanding about what tourists want and how tourism is organized. I asked if it would not be interesting to explain residents more about it. He answered that:

“the community is quite receptive for tourism, some know the benefits, some don’t. If I ever feel people wondering about what are the benefits or showing doubts on these benefits I would be totally available to explain clearly about these benefits. I don’t want to make publicity of a social involvement.”

He also thinks there is little interest in the community for tourism and he explains this as follows:

“Many local people really don’t have much idea about tourism, no matter they witness it every day next to their homes/ places. Just because they don’t ask, they don’t seem interested. If they were, if I had that feeling, I would be totally available to explain whatever is necessary to whoever might ask about our involvement and benefits to the community. As you mentioned (note of author: I didn’t put it in these words), many people seem indifferent about it, what may be worse, they don’t seem to wonder about it. For them and for the others we could be transparent about all the process.”

Many residents do not know much about tourism. Some people do not know the organization of Favela Tour. Many people do not know why or how tourists are coming. Asking about the benefits of Favela Tour to the community, most people do not know really how it benefits the community. Most people do know or think to know that it benefits Para Ti in some way, but many do not know how. In addition, most people do not know that the resident organization benefits. Most who do know or think that some money goes to Para Ti, think the work of Para Ti is positive, but many say that the support to Para Ti is not equal to supporting the community. Furthermore, the quality of the school is low, but everyone rewards the opportunity for children to go there. Some find that there is only very little space in Para Ti to sell all the art of the community. In addition, there is no possibility to show how the art is made. The residents of Vila Canoas would like to see that Favela Tour would train young people to become a professional guide and providing them the opportunity to learn English. One of the drivers of Favela Tour I spoke to (*Interview, 15-05-2009*) thinks Favela Tour benefits the community with Para Ti by providing the opportunity to have a school for the children. He doesn’t think it is the responsibility of Favela Tour to train the people of Vila Canoas to become a guide, but thinks the municipality or federal government could do a good job by offering courses for example with the help of SEBRAE and SENAC. His experience is that tourists are going away with a different image about favelas than the image spread by the media. He knows part of the story told by the guides, as sometimes they tell the story in Portuguese.

In short, favela residents are not involved in the organization of Favela Tour. Using the participation ladder of Pretty (*See e.g. Mowforth, Clive and Munt, 2008: p 77-79*) there is thus a very limited involvement. Residents would like to be more involved, as a guide and with more interaction with tourists. Armstrong doesn’t want this. He is available to answer any questions of residents, but he does not agree with suggestions of residents, for example to let tourists stay longer, to let them have a lunch or to teach them to become a guide.

Overlaps and Conflicts in Discourses, Interests and Values

The interface analysis shows that Favela Tour does not succeed to link up with everybody. Not all the hotels want to offer the possibility of Favela Tour. Some tourists have ethical doubts about doing a Favela Tour and not all residents are happy with the way in which Favela Tour is organized. That he

succeeds to enroll directly or indirectly those actors, demonstrates power and also some mutual interest. A point of agreement between almost all actors involved is that favela tourism provides the opportunity to create a more positive image of the favelas. Most tourists as Coleman (2005) confirms have a positive image after a visit. However, it can be doubted if tourists would give their real opinion if they found it dirty or poor. In addition, some residents of Vila Canoas have doubts, as some think they only make pictures of what is ugly. In comparison to other tour operators active in Rocinha, Favela Tour is considered to give the most balanced image. (Coleman, 2005; Dwek, 2004) Another point of conflict is the interaction between residents and tourists, both residents and tourists would like to see more interaction. Because of a lack of interaction, some residents and tourists make a comparison with a zoo. Residents would like to stay tourists for a longer time and would like to have local guides. Armstrong however doesn't agree with these ideas and still is able to do the tour and give a satisfying experience to most of the tourists.

4.3 Exotic Tours in Vila Canoas

Rejane Reis started the company Exotic Tour. On her website she promotes her tour as a kind of sustainable tourism as she uses local guides and runs social projects. I heard about Exotic Tours as a friend in Vila Canoas told me that he has been a guide for that company when he was at the age of about 15. He remembered it was only for a short period and that it was very low paid. At that time it was a nice job though, practicing English, making jokes with tourists, asking them about their favorite football team. Now he thinks he was exploited. (Interview, 20-04-2009)

There were other young people in Vila Canoas that worked for Exotic Tours. Another boy I talked to told me he would like to work in tourism, but he also complained about the low amount of money earned with Exotic Tours.

As young kids they liked to earn some amount of money and they like the contact with the visitors. Some even had language courses which are appreciated. However, they also complain about the amount that was paid to them. As I heard this story I was interested to talk to Rejane Reis herself. Unfortunately it turned out to be very difficult to talk to her, but I got some answers by email from an employee. In response to the criticism that the guides get paid a low amount of money, the employee responded that:

- ❖ They don't pay anything to study in the Tourism Workshop
- ❖ They have English, Spanish and Tourism classes as also trips to touristic sights of Rio
- ❖ They are used to work for one hour each tour. If they only do two tours a day, in the end of the month they will have much more than a minimum salary, working just two hours a day (at home) and they always work together with a professional guide that must be paid as well.
- ❖ They don't even need to spend money with transportation or lunch. Everything is paid by the project.
- ❖ Rejane Reis left Vila Canoas because it was very expensive to maintain the tourism workshop and she wasn't able to continue in two favelas.

As in the actor-network of Favela Tour, favela residents are in the periphery of this actor-network. They don't make the decisions about the organization. Residents in Vila Canoas are positive about the opportunity to become a guide, but they were also critical towards Exotic Tours.

4.4 Project Vila Canoas

Project Vila Canoas started as part of the 'InfoDev work program' of the World Bank. Within this project tourism popped up as an opportunity for entrepreneurship. The aim of the work program of the World Bank was to create an audiovisual park in the regions of Rocinha, Gávea, Jardim Botânico and Humaitá, "to increase social and human development and foster economic and technological development through ICT and business incubation." (Humala, 2009) As part of this project the World Bank worked together with Gênesis, the institute for innovation and entrepreneurial action, which is a non-profit foundation of PUC-Rio. The Gênesis Institute has the aim to "transfer knowledge from

the university to society through the formation of entrepreneurs and the creation of ventures to contribute to the improvement of the life quality of the region where it is inserted" (InfoDev, 2009a). The Gênesis Institute consists of five units; one of them is the Social Incubator of Community. The purpose of this unit is to *"fortify local communities and cities through the entrepreneur's formation and entrepreneurship generation, using the social technology."* (InfoDev, 2009a) As part of the project of the World Bank, Gênesis started the Media ICT project in Vila Canoas. Vila Canoas was selected as it is a small community without the presence of drugs networks, as in many other favelas. Furthermore the director of Gênesis knows the director of NGO Para Ti. (Interview Denise Fonseca) Gênesis formulated the objective of the project as follows: *"to create solid enterprises that use Information and Communication Technologies through the application of Local Development and the Gênesis Workshops methodologies."* (InfoDev, 2009b) Gênesis asked PUC-NIMA to see in what way Gênesis could help Vila Canoas. The objective of NIMA is described as follows: *"to realize, together with members of the community, a social environmental survey with the objective to know their history, social formation and ecological and cultural patrimony"* (Proposta NIMA, In: Machado, 2007). Within the project of PUC-NIMA, tourism popped up as an issue, as people were not satisfied with the organization of Favela Tour. PUC-NIMA organized workshops in which some of the residents worked on the idea to create an alternative tour that would be more beneficial for the residents of Vila Canoas. This case study will show how some residents of Vila Canoas would like to create a new kind of tourism, but also that they need support to realize it. It also shows how different and sometimes conflicting interests determine the outcome of a development project.

The information here is based on an interview with the coordinator of Project Vila Canoas of NIMA, residents of Vila Canoas, like three of the four coordinators of the offices and other participants of the offices and with artisans. I also used the *'relatorios'* (Fonseca, 2005a, b) of PUC-NIMA that they allowed me to read. Furthermore, I read documents on the internet about the project.

The Actor-Network of Project Vila Canoas

The implementation of the project can be described in three phases. The first phase started with a visit of PUC-NIMA, PUC-Gênesis and ITCP/UFRJ to Vila Canoas on 9 March 2005. Next, ITCP/ UFRJ carried out a socio-economic survey. Meanwhile NIMA identified spaces for development based on this first meeting. The second phase of the project started in April by NIMA. They organized eight meetings, four of them only with the technical staff of NIMA and four of them with volunteers of the community. Three themes of tension were identified: tourism, water and identity. On this basis four offices were established: *Tourism, History and Memory, Media and Communication and Environment*. For every office a coordinator of Vila Canoas was appointed and workshops were given. The coordinators of the community were selected on the basis of their involvement in the workshops and understanding of the project proposal. Some of them were students of PUC-Rio, which guaranteed a double commitment. (Machado, 2007)

In May 2005 the four workshops started to function. The tourism office was coordinated by Daniela Santos Machado, a master's student of PUC-Rio. She was supported by João Helton Lima Santos, a former resident of Vila Canoas. The tourism office realized four meetings, each with about five participants. The office wanted to develop a tourism project for Vila Canoas in which the community would be directly involved, that would maximize the profit for the community and that would give a positive image of the community. They carried out two surveys: one about the tourist agencies exploring tourism in the community to know with which image the tourism agencies in Vila Canoas work and one about the profile of the visitors. They thought about the creation of an alternative tour, with a visit to the Atlantic Forest or the hang gliders ramp on Pedra Bonita.

Between the 7th and 10th of June 2005 the participants of the project got the opportunity to show their work at the *'Feira de Valores Universitários da PUC-Rio'* (FEVUC). The aim was to make the project visible and to make people enthusiastic for the workshops. As it gave artisans the opportunity to sell their work, the artisans of the women's association wanted to participate as well. NIMA found that a reason for the women's association not to participate earlier was that they thought the project

was linked to Para Ti and that through this the women's organization was linked to the project as well.

After the FEVUC, NIMA worked on the mapping of the labor capacity, the identification and discussion of tensions within the community and the continuation of the workshops. They realized five meetings to discuss the social relations and expressions of subalternity and clientalism/paternalism, its actual state and possible treatments, the socio-spatial dichotomies between Pedra Bonita and Vila Canoas and the fragility of local identity and ways of construction and reinforcement of belonging. In this same period, the tourism office organized eight meetings with about ten participants each. (Fonseca, 2005b)

After the FEVUC, the amount of participants in the tourism office increased a lot. There was an idea to create a cooperative, but they were not able to find twenty participants. According to NIMA (Fonseca, 2005b) the participation of the artisans after the FEVUC, meant that themes as identity and water disappeared of the agenda of the tourism office. The artisans were mostly interested in the selling of art. Although the idea of a cooperative didn't succeed, Gênesis supported four of the artisans: 'Artesanato da Guiné' (a candle-maker), 'Canoarte' (a shop selling art made of old paper) and ARITIMA (a group of sewers).

Different than expected the most faithful participants turned out to be the elderly people. In the first meeting there was a lot of interest with twenty participants, this turned down to ten in the second and about five in other meetings. (Fonseca, 2005b)

The participants of the tourism workshops designed a tour for tourists, and organized a pilot tour for students of PUC. They also did research about the tourists participating in Favela Tour and they identified possible guides in the community. At the end of the project in August 2005 PUC-NIMA identified areas and activities relevant for business development. With respect to tourism, NIMA suggested to support a tourism association or cooperation to create a packaged tour as they already identified a tour, carried out surveys of business and identified possible guides. Failing was the juridical and start-up investments. Opportunities are to use the info of the history office, include artisans and a redistribution of power. (Fonseca, 2005b)

Box 3 Fala Canoa!

Part of Project Vila Canoas consisted of the creation of a newsletter. The first issue of Fala Canoa! appeared in June 2005. Fala Canoa! created the possibility to inform residents about the project and other issues in the community. In the issue of Fala Canoa! of March 2006 they had two articles about tourism. They had an interview with Marcelo Armstrong, with two tourists and with two residents, one positive and one negative about tourism in Vila Canoas. The other article was an interview with Daniela Machado, presented as a tourismologist of PUC. Marcelo Armstrong was not happy with the content of this interview as the header of one of the articles was: *'Turismo não traz nenhum benefício pela Comunidade'* (Tourism doesn't bring any benefit to the community). As a reaction, Armstrong hung papers with a text like: *'in response to the interview issued in the newspaper FAVELA TOUR informs that since 1996 it has been financing the educational project of Para Ti and that is benefiting close to 60 kids from Vila Canoas.'* Fala Canoa! provided an opportunity to discuss issues in the community. Residents liked the newspaper and it was a way of providing information.

In the third phase, the incubator Gênesis started to support the set up of the selected businesses. In a document published on InfoDev Incubator Support Centre (2009b) the packaged tour, which was the main activity of the tourism office was not mentioned on the list of detected opportunities. The tour thus was not one of the ventures that got support. The following ventures were supported: 1) Mass Community Media 'Fala Canoa!', 2) Favela Receptiva: initiative of Bed and Breakfast, 3) Decorative Candles Enterprise, 4) Artisan Sewing's Enterprise and 5) Initiative of Newspaper and Magazines Recycling Art. So they decided to support the bed and breakfast of Santos. Santos was as a resident, one of the regular participants in the tourism office. The actor-network of Favela Receptiva will be analyzed in the next chapter. During the tourism office of PUC-NIMA Santos already

proposed NIMA to support the bed and breakfast she started, but then her idea got little support of NIMA. One of the participants felt betrayed as he put a lot of his time in this project and he didn't see the results of it, although he likes the idea of Favela Receptiva to host tourists as well. I asked Gênesis about the reasons for them to support the initiative of a bed and breakfast and not the idea to create a different tour, which was also an idea of the tourism office. Unfortunately, I was not able to talk to them, although I tried several times.

Analysis of Project Vila Canoas

The project shows that residents are not satisfied with the way in which tourism is organized. It popped up as an issue and a group of people worked in tourism workshops actively to create an alternative tour. As was said by PUC-NIMA, residents needed support in the realization of an alternative tour. However, Gênesis decided not to support this project. Instead they chose to support Favela Receptiva. In the documents of Gênesis that can be found on the internet they don't say a word about plans for a packaged tour.

Within the project of PUC-NIMA residents had the ability to get involved in several ways. First, they were informed in the first meeting, where they had a discussion. On this basis three themes were identified and four offices started. This was decided by NIMA based on the discussion. During the workshops there was appointed a coordinator from the community. The idea was to look for about 20 interested people and offer them the possibility for education. In the offices they discussed about the themes, gave information in workshops and residents could work on their ideas, as the idea to create a packaged tour. Although residents were involved in a strong way in the project, involvement is not neutral, as this project demonstrates. PUC-NIMA identified the workshop themes and in the end it was PUC-Gênesis who decided to support another project. So, despite the strong involvement, there was no result, at least not in the eyes of the people who wanted to create an alternative tour. Although there were not many residents active in the workshops, they were enthusiastic. As one of the participants of Project Vila Canoas explained, they carried out surveys to see which businesses could be involved in the tour and who could be the guide (*Interview, 15-04-2009*). Consequently, PUC-NIMA identified a packaged tour as one of the opportunities of incubations as the tourism office already identified a tour, carried out surveys and identified possible guides. The tourism office still needed juridical support and start-up investments to realize the tour, but they didn't get the support from Gênesis to realize this. This shows the power of the project planner.

Many people were interested in the project at the first meeting. The following meetings got fewer participants, despite the opportunity for a professional education at the university. PUC-NIMA was surprised to see that only few young people remained interested. For some residents economic incentives were important to join the project. This is reflected in the increased amount of participants after the FEVUC, where artisans were able to sell their products. There were also people with other motivations. One woman wanted to work on environmental topics and another on the history of Vila Canoas and the creation of an alternative tour.

So Favela Receptiva was one of the initiatives that received support from Gênesis. This meant Santos got support from students and professionals of Gênesis. Santos was rather disappointed about the quality of this support. She explained how she had to do a lot of work, which later turned out to be not very useful. She was mainly supported in publication material as they designed a logo and printed leaflets. All together she found that the 50.000 R\$ available was poorly spend. In the following chapter the actor-network of Favela Receptiva will be analyzed in more detail.

In project Vila Canoas local residents and a coordinator from PUC-NIMA worked on an alternative tour through Vila Canoas. Besides workshops they carried out questionnaires and made a proposal. However, the tourism office was not able to realize their ideas. In the report of PUC-NIMA they explained that they needed support in different areas. Gênesis, the organization supposed to give that support, chose for another organization: Favela Receptiva. This project shows how residents have a different opinion about favela tourism than Favela Tour, as they wanted to create a

different tour that would benefit local residents. It also shows how difficult it is for residents to link up with the tourism network without support.

With respect to tourism the project had the aim to let residents benefit more from tourism, socially and economically. The problem was that Favela Tour didn't provide a lot of benefits, according to the residents who participated in the workshops. NIMA tried to get people interested for the project. So, the project succeeded to link up with the residents. However, to realize the tour they had in mind they needed to link up with the tourism industry and tourists as well. Gênesis was supposed to support them, but they decided to support Favela Receptiva. It is not sure what the reason was that Gênesis didn't support the tour proposed by the residents.

In comparison to the actor-network of Favela Tour, residents were more involved in this project. They were able to work on their own ideas. In the realization however, they were dependent upon the support from other actor, Gênesis specifically. This is because the residents lack some resources to create an actor-network, like start capital, knowledge about tourism, connections and time. As Gênesis decided to support Favela Receptiva, the initiative stopped. Gênesis didn't answer my questions for the reasons to support Favela Receptiva instead of the alternative tour. According to Santos, Gênesis saw her initiative as more viable. Also in this project, favela residents were in the periphery of the actor-network as they were not in the position of decision-making.

In Conclusion

Favela Tour looks like a rather stabilized network as every day about thirty tourists participate in the tour. The founder, Armstrong, is able to enroll all kinds of actors in the actor-network. He links up with hotels and tourists and some residents benefit from this type of tourism as well. Favela Tour and similar organizations seems to be an obligatory point of passage for tourists to visit a favela and for residents it does benefit in some way, although it could be more. Residents would like to be more involved, but until now they are not able to realize this. There are also tensions, especially about the way in which Favela Tourism is organized and residents are involved. The involvement of residents is limited to the selling of art and snacks, benefits through a local school and eventually some small talk with tourist. Residents would like to be more involved. As this seems to be a concern of tourists as well, and as the main concern of tourist agencies is the quality of the service offered and the commission they can earn, it may be possible for residents to start their own tour. In project Vila Canoas residents worked on this idea, but they were not able to realize this idea. Although they were strongly involved in the project, ultimately they were dependent on the support of Gênesis that they didn't receive. In the next chapter the actor-network of Favela Receptiva will be analyzed to see how favela residents are involved in this tourism activity.

5 CASE STUDY FAVELA RECEPTIVA

This chapter has about the same outline as the previous chapter. It starts with a description of the actor-network of Favela Receptiva. Then follows an analysis of the interfaces between different actors of the actor-network from different perspectives to see where discourses, interests and values overlap or conflict. Next, I will describe the actor-network of an independent host and I will mention some other ways in which residents of Vila Canoas are involved in tourism (in favelas) to analyze their role in the actor-network and to look at this role from different perspectives. The information in this chapter is based on interviews with the founder of Favela Receptiva, residents and tourists, websites and participant observation.

5.1 The Actor-Network of Favela Receptiva

To describe and analyze the actor-network, I will start with some background information about the founder Eneida Santos. Then, I describe the development of the organization and I will go on with a description of the performance of this actor-network.

Mobilization of the Actor-Network

Eneida Santos is the founder of the bed and breakfast Favela Receptiva. She started the company in 2004. Santos is born in Rio de Janeiro and lives in Vila Canoas for nine years. She knew some friends there who were hang gliders. In fact, she is a resident of Vila Canoas, but there are some differences with other residents. Her parents are middle-classers, so she had the opportunity to follow a good education. Furthermore, it was her choice to live in Vila Canoas and she hires, not owns, a house. In contrast to the majority of people, she has no other family there. As a resident of Vila Canoas, she knows people in an informal way. When walking around the street there are many greetings. In the interviews I had, she is a respected person and in general the residents like the idea to host tourists. There is however also some criticism to the organization. Santos studied business administration and at the moment she does a post-graduation in '*Gestão Social*' (Social Management) at the University of Castelo Branco. She worked until about 2006/2007 in a hotel in Rio.

She got the idea to host tourists in Vila Canoas because of a friend who hosted tourists. She talked with people in Vila Canoas about the idea and eventually she found two people who were seriously interested to host tourists. She told there was a lot of fear in first instance to receive tourists at home. Fear for tourists breaking their possessions, robbing things or even losing the key. (ANPROTEC, 2007) After she found two host families willing and suitable to receive tourists, she posted a message on the website of '*rede de hospedagem*', an international portal for hostels and backpackers. One hour later, she was booked out.

In the beginning, Santos used the computer at her university. The reception of tourists took place in the street and she was happy when tourists found the way to Vila Canoas. At the first carnival she hosted tourists in 2005 there were four places to stay; three of them in host families and one private room. The maximum capacity was ten tourists. During this time she hosted tourists to gain some experience. It was not an officially registered business by that time. In 2005, she also started consultations with the '*Incubadora Afro Brasília*'. The '*Incubadora Afro Brasília*' is an NGO who helps businesses to start. They helped Santos to do business, by consultations and commercial contacts. This service was free of charge and is made possible by Petrobras. The '*Incubadora Afro Brasília*' also advised her about seminars she could attend. These seminars helped her to build a network and to get more business.

In 2006, the capacity of Favela Receptiva grew from ten to thirty tourists a day. There were ten host families at carnival that year. That year the amount of tourists increased, as the selling of art and local commerce. In the same year, Favela Receptiva also assisted in the parade of the local carnival group '*a furiosa*'. This carnival group was not active for ten years. According to the website, it is a way of '*total integration in which tourists took part in the party*' (Website Favela Receptiva). This parade now takes place every year in cooperation with the residents associations of Vila Canoas

and Pedra Bonita. This year PUC-Gênesis started Project Vila Canoas, which saw the involvement of tourism as a pillar of other businesses in the community. First, the idea of this project was to create a tourism product, like a tour from and by the community. Santos, as a resident of Vila Canoas, also participated in the workshops. She did not attend all the workshops as she had another job at the time. Although residents mainly worked on an alternative tour during the workshop, Gênesis decided to support Favela Receptiva instead. PUC-Gênesis got R\$ 50.000 funding from the Municipality to help Santos to set up Favela Receptiva. From the money they made the graphic design and the folders for Favela Receptiva and she got assistance by some young professionals of Gênesis, which was not always of great help to Santos. One of the consultants for example made her a lot of administration work that turned out to be not useful. Santos was critical about PUC in how they spend the money.

Eneida Santos told that the community started to structure itself to better attend tourists. For example, residents made their houses more comfortable by buying chairs, tables. With the help of the secretary of tourism (part of the municipality of Rio), reports about Favela Receptiva were broadcasted on different Brazilian channels. There were also a series of reports on '*Rede de Globo*'. This did not increase the amount of tourists as Brazilians are still not receptive to the idea of staying in a favela, Santos explained. In this year she also participated in different seminars and congresses. She participated at the international seminar for Domestic Accommodations, promoted by the municipality of RJ and in an event organized by ABAV.

2007 was the year of the Pan American Games. With help of the Municipality and as a member of '*Rede Carioca de Anfitriões*', Favela Receptiva became one of three '*redes*' of home stays that were officially accredited to host tourists, coming to assist the Pan American games in the city. The maximum capacity of tourists grew this year to sixty tourists, hosted by twenty host families. After carnival this year, hosts had to follow and complete the course: '*Gestão de Pequenos Meios de Hospedagem*' developed by ABIH (Brazilian Association of the Hotel Industry) and SEBRAE (The Brazilian Service of Support for Micro and Small Enterprises). Santos invited professionals to give guest lecturers voluntary. The host family had to pay a small amount of ten reais to do the whole course. Initially some thirty people applied, four of them completed the course. Other families stopped, as the course for them took too much time, but there is also a woman who could not pass the exam. In the end, three hosts and Santos herself completed the course. There are also rehearsals of the courses. Now there are no courses for all the people in Vila Canoas. In the past, between 2001 and 2006 she gave courses English herself. Every course took about seven until eight months. In the beginning, she gave only courses in English, later the courses were complemented with classes about tourism for which she also invited other people. Although these courses often received a lot of interest in the beginning, many people stopped with the course after a few times. Now, Santos gives daily courses in English to the hosts, so they can better attend English-speaking tourists. This year Favela Receptiva also took part in the '*Empreender é Show*', organized by ANPROTEC (Association of Science Parks and Business Incubators). Only nine companies were selected from all over Brazil and Favela Receptiva got the fifth place. Furthermore, Favela Receptiva started to participate as a member of the ACTA (Carioca Association of Adventure Tourism) to find more information about security norms in forest tours and the capacity of their collaborators. The idea was to organize tours through the forests for groups of tourists, but the idea has been cancelled now because of different reasons: it is somewhat similar to what Favela Tour is doing and she does not want to do the same thing. In addition, the president of the resident association of Pedra Bonita is critical to the idea and will have a proof of how it will benefit the residents. More specifically, he asks a monthly amount of money to invest in social projects. A third reason to postpone the ideas of a tour is that she should educate guides from the community or find other guides and that will cost a lot of money and effort. In 2007, also the consultancies of Gênesis started for a period of 18 months.

In 2008, Favela Receptiva became connected to the '*Polo Turístico de São Conrado*'. Here, entrepreneurs of different segments in the region of São Conrado come together, with the objective to create better tourist conditions, businesses and social projects. Many organizations and businesses are connected and they are supported by for example the special secretary of tourism

and other entities within the sector like ABAV (Brazilian Association of Travel Agencies) , TurisRio (Tourism Company of Rio de Janeiro State), Sindetur, Sebrae, Les Clef's d' Or (association of professional hotel concierges) and the municipality of Rio de Janeiro.

Since 2009, Favela Receptiva is officially registered. The most important now is publicity. She would like to have more visibility on the internet, by being linked to more databases. On the website, it says that plans for the future are to lower the costs and increase the capacity of local people by intensifying trainings. On the moment of writing she gives courses in English to the three host families, practicing five minutes a day.

Performance of the Actor-Network

At the moment there are three host families and there is one private room in Vila Canoas and Pedra Bonita for tourists to stay. The maximum capacity is about ten tourists. Tourists pay 55 reais for a night, which includes breakfast. In the period of Carnival, the price is 90 reais. The hosts get 65% of the amount that tourists pay for the accommodation. To become a host there are some prerequisites: the host must like to receive guests and not only do it for the money. Furthermore, it is important that the houses are nice: they must have windows, be ventilated, have protection against the sun, and there must be heater for warm water and preferably, but it is not necessary to have internet. All the hosts sign a contract that they are a host of Favela Receptiva. They may not host other people and ask money for it. In this case, they will risk exclusion of the project. Santos did some research about the acceptance of the residents of Vila Canoas and Pedra Bonita of tourism, as part of her course work in university. The questionnaires were completed in July 2006. Furthermore, she has informal contacts with people in Vila Canoas, greeting them and having small talks.

Tourists can know Favela Receptiva because of the website (*Website Favela Receptiva*) or her offer at the website of '*rede de hospedagem*'. Santos also spreads leaflets in kiosks on the beach of Sao Conrado. Furthermore, people know about Favela Receptiva mouth-to-mouth. The hang gliders I met for example heard about the possibility by a friend of them, later another girl was advised by her boyfriend to stay in Vila Canoas.

In box 5 there is an overview of the services that Favela Receptiva offers to tourists. Tourists mainly come in the period of Carnival. The rest of the year there are less people. The amount of tourists increases every year, but the amount of tourists this year so far is about the same (or less) then the year before.

In general, tourists stay in Vila Canoas for a period of one night up until about four months. However, most of the 120 tourists that completed the questionnaire stayed shorter than a week. As tourists stay for a longer period in Vila Canoas in comparison to a tour, they spend in general more money, for example by drinking a beer, lunching in a restaurant or buying souvenirs. However, most tourists come during high season when other hostels become full. Many tourists do not spend a lot of time in Vila Canoas and visit other places in Rio de Janeiro. As people stay with a host family there is interaction between them. The communication is limited, as the hosts don't speak English very well. However, some tourists do speak Portuguese and have a drink in one of the '*botecos*' (bars). When I talked to the president of the resident organizations about what he thinks about tourists and tourism he said he liked tourists and he reminded a drink with a German tourist which he liked very much. Some of the tourists or students coming to Vila Canoas keep in touch or try to support Vila Canoas in some way or another. As tourists stay within a family they build up social contacts. Some may even become friends and return more often. There are different entities for which you could do voluntary work: the women's association, the community centre, the NGO Para Ti and the resident organization of Vila Canoas or Pedra Bonita. In effect only CIC had some voluntaries.

Santos places tourists in one of the four houses on the wishes of tourists and the amount of time available to prepare the room. If she needs someone fast for example, Maria's house is fastest available. She will also allocate more tourists to a host who works the longest period for her. In the period from December 2004 until March 2009, a total amount of 120 tourists visited Vila Canoas with Favela Receptiva.

When there are tourists hosted, she has a lot of contact with the hosts to check if everything is all right and to take care that the house is clean and that the hosts are ready to receive tourists. In the time of my stay when there was a group of hang gliders she also visited the hosts to see if the tourists were happy with breakfast. Santos welcomes tourists and introduces them to the host family, in case they are not hosted in her house. She gives all the tourists a small tour through Vila Canoas to show them where to find supermarket, the bakery, the bars, where to buy açaí (*a kind of ice-cream made of fruit from the Amazon*), the CIC and she tells something about Vila Canoas and their residents. This is a moment for the tourists to make pictures. When I accompanied the introduction tour with a group of three hang gliders, the hang gliders made pictures of almost everything: the alleys, the electricity cables, the stairs, the pieces of mosaic etcetera. When I asked them what they thought about it, they searched for words, as they could not speak English very well. One of them said it seemed exotic to her. Santos emphasizes during this tour that it is absolutely safe here, also by night. She also offers excursion to for example Pedra Bonita and Pedra da Gavea, dance classes and she can arrange excursions to other parts of the city. There is not a reception, but she is always available by mobile phone.

Objectives of Favela Receptiva are to create a social cultural exchange by hosting tourists in the community or in a host family. She wants tourists to give the opportunity of getting to know the community.

Box 4 Services Offered by Favela Receptiva

All the accommodations have: bed with duvet, bathroom, toilet, heater with hot water, television (not true), radio, kitchen, ventilator and in some houses there is free internet.

The services offered are breakfast between 8.00 and 13.00, for hosts who stay more than five nights there is a free tour to Pedra Bonita and a dancing class in Samba and Forro for one hour and there is concierge service and cleaning.

Optional services available are a transfer in and out of Vila Canoas, tours and activities like Pedra da Gávea, Pedra Bonita, City Tours, Tijuca National Park; Dance classes in Samba and Forro, hang gliding and parapenting; washing; beauty and relaxation like hairdressers, massage, manicure and pedicure. There is internet: besides internet in the room, there are also two internet cafes with broadband internet at a very low cost. (Two reais for one hour, compared to four reais in the city centre); combi-microbuses up to Vila Canoas; bars, shops and restaurants for lunch and dinner.

There are four restaurants and several bars. For around seven reais you can get a dinner that serves two people. There is a bakery, a small supermarket. In São Conrado at twenty minutes walking, there is the Fashion Mall, where you can eat Japanese, where there are the best bars of the city.

(Information derived from the website of Favela Receptiva)

Analysis of the Actor-Network of Favela Receptiva

Favela Receptiva is a mobilized network, as the possibility exists to stay in Vila Canoas. However, there are difficulties to enrol tourists in the network. In the process of translation, Favela Receptiva first provides tourists the opportunity to stay in a favela in a rather comfortable way and she provides residents the opportunity to gain some money and to have more interaction with tourists. This phase of the translation process is a combination of problematization and interessement. As there are not many opportunities for tourists to stay in a favela in such a way, Favela Receptiva addresses this 'problem'. She tries to interest tourists by saying that you can experience the way of life in a favela, which benefits the local community. For residents she addresses the problem that with Favela Tour there is almost no interaction with tourists and that tourists stay for only a very short period. Reasons for the residents to become a host are the opportunity to gain some money and the experience to host tourists. Therefore, Santos succeeded to enrol residents in the network as a host. Santos also created links with media, the municipality and other organizations. However, the enrolment of tourists still is difficult. One reason is that tourists don't know about the possibility.

Most of the tourists know Favela Receptiva by means of her website and by recommendations of acquaintances. When I stayed for a few weeks in a hostel and later when I travelled for some weeks through Brazil and spoke to other tourists, many of these tourists were interested in favelas, but they also had ethical doubts about tourism in favelas. When I told them about the possibility to stay in Vila Canoas they were very interested and with two of them I visited Vila Canoas. A problem thus seems to be that many tourists don't know about the opportunity. Many young people may want to stay there for some nights. However, when tourists are in another hostel in Rio they will be offered to do a favela tour. Among backpackers the company '*Be a Local*' is popular. In previous research about favela tourism this company is described as sensationalizing and despite ethical doubts many backpackers do a tour or go to a Favela Funk party. In a hostel they won't easily hear about Favela Receptiva as it is not in the interest of hostels that people sleep in Vila Canoas. Another factor may be the costs. According to Santos the costs cannot be lowered. Even if people want to host tourists by themselves they will face the same costs she makes: like leaflets and the services offered.

Residents are more involved in this actor-network than in the actor-network of Favela Tour. As a host, residents benefit directly from tourism. Furthermore, there is more interaction between tourists and residents as tourists stay for a longer period in Vila Canoas and often with a host family. Santos also tries to involve people by offering them courses and she carried out some questionnaires. However, the role of residents in this network is still peripheral, as they don't make the decisions. Santos does the organizational work. She does the promotion, the website, the administration etcetera. Santos told she doesn't earn much with it, only in case she rents out her own room, as was the case when I stayed there. Most residents don't know a lot about tourism, how it works or what it could bring them. For Santos this is a reason to don't organize general meetings.

5.2 The Actor-Network of Favela Receptiva from Different Perspectives

I will first describe the relation between Favela Receptiva and tourists, second the relation between Favela Receptiva and the residents of Vila Canoas and third the relation between the residents of Vila Canoas and tourists. Then I will discuss the conflicts and overlaps between the perceptions.

The Interactions between Favela Receptiva and Tourists from Different Perspectives

Although the amount of tourists grows for Favela Receptiva, Santos thinks promotion is very important. In addition, host families would like to have more tourists. They have the impression that tourists like the stay. Outside high season only a few tourists come. Santos says the price cannot be lower, as the costs are too high. Furthermore, she thinks it is worth the money in comparison to other accommodations. One of the tourists made a comment about the high price. It would be interesting for future research to see if tourists would like to stay in a favela, why or why not, for how long, for what price, etcetera.

I read some of the evaluation forms of 120 tourists that visited Vila Canoas and they are in general very positive about Vila Canoas and Favela Receptiva. They mention the hospitality of Santos and the friendliness of the community. Somebody mentioned Santos was a little pushy. Some residents also talked about this. They mentioned Santos wants to sell tourists things and ask an extra price for it. She would for example arrange a taxi or some other activity for some extra money. Although this is common practice in many tourist companies, several residents expressed their discontent about these practices. Santos explained these practices as being professional.

The interaction between Favela Receptiva and Tourists may lack intermediaries, which can be human or non-human elements. Tourists may not get the leaflets and don't get to know the opportunity if they not actively search for it.

Interaction between Favela Residents and Tourists from Different Perspectives

Santos presents Favela Receptiva on the website as an opportunity to experience to be a local resident with a high quality of life, simplicity and Carioca style. Santos also says tourists motivate young people to learn English and it makes them interested in tourism.

Residents like the idea of Favela Receptiva in that tourists stay for a longer time which make it possible to interact and which leaves more benefits to the people in Vila Canoas, as the host families are directly benefited and that people buy things in shops or going to a bar. The contact or the interchange as some call it is also appreciated. Several (ex-) hosts talked about their positive experiences with hosts. One hosts for example remembered when a family stayed in their house that they joined dinner and a home party and were having a very nice time. All the residents I spoke to would like more tourists to stay in the Vila Canoas. During my stay in Rio de Janeiro I talked to several tourists and many were positive about the idea of a hostel as this would mean more interactions. However, for people who don't speak Portuguese it is more uncomfortable. The hang gliders also liked the place as it was in between the start place and landing place.

Interactions between Favela Receptiva and Favela Residents from Different Perspectives

One of the objectives of Favela Receptiva is to involve local people in tourism. Santos says that by hosting tourists there is already an exchange of ideas from which both tourists and hosts can learn. Santos tries to involve people, but she also says it is very difficult in practice. She offered several trainings to the residents of Vila Canoas: in English, tourism and a course to become a host. Although there is interest, many people stop after a few times. Santos explains this by saying that most residents are somewhat 'simple-minded': they are not concerned about the future and they don't want to put a lot of effort for some future benefit. Some people for example did a course in tourism with her. Santos had confidence in them but then one of them got pregnant and stopped. Another did a course in tourism, but decided to do another job. She didn't find it useful to have a general meeting to discuss ideas about tourism and hear the opinions of the residents, because she says residents do not have the knowledge about tourism.

As in the case of Favela Tour, residents of Vila Canoas know little about how Favela Receptiva works. The president of the women's organization says (*Interview, 27-04-2009*) Santos has the will to involve the people of Vila Canoas, but she also says that it is difficult as she is still in the start-up phase. People like it that Santos offers trainings, but often they stopped courses after some time. The most mentioned reason of residents to stop with a course was time. Many people have a (fulltime) job or have their children or other family to take care off or follow other courses. They thought the benefits would not compensate for it. Somebody explained (*Interview, 13-04-2009*) that the result of doing a course is not clear, for example in the case of courses in English. The courses were given with adults and younger people together, while older people in general have more difficulties to learn a language. Therefore, an improvement could be to offer professional trainings, with tests and a certificate in the end, as was the case for the hosts. In the case of the course for host families, three of the thirty participants finished the course. Many had another job and the course would be a lot of effort without a guarantee of a good return as tourists mainly come in the period of carnival. One host stopped for the reason that she didn't like to host gay couples because of her religion. One of the artisans in Vila Canoas (*Interview, 15-04-2009*) told that Favela Receptiva was a good initiative, but that it is a pity that Santos wants to do everything herself: being a teacher English, being a guide, giving dance classes and that she should ask help of others. When I asked people about the possibilities of evaluation they don't really mention it, although there were various evaluations. The hosts would like to see more tourists, as most tourists come in the month of February. One of the former hosts (*Interview, 09-04-2009*) told she found it difficult she couldn't communicate well with tourists as she didn't speak English. It happened that Santos told that some tourists complained about the house, while she thought they were having a great time.

Conflicts and Overlaps in Discourses, Interests and Values

Both residents, tourists, and other organizations are positive about the interaction between tourists and residents with this type of activity. In addition, all the host families perceive the direct benefits that go to the host families as very positive. Another positive point is that tourists stay for a longer period in Vila Canoas, spending more money. Furthermore, the host families directly benefit because of the money they earn with hosting tourists. There are also conflicts in discourses. There were

various residents for example, who talked about the commercial attitude of Santos, but who didn't agree with this attitude. Santos in contrast says that this is professional and that the people in Vila Canoas don't understand this yet. Another point is the participation in trainings that Santos offers. Although many people are interested in learning English there are only a few people who follow a whole course. Santos explains this as a lack of motivation and a lack of willingness to invest in the future, but also recognizing that people have other priorities as they have for example a job and that they cannot directly see what they are doing it for. Both residents and Favela Receptiva regret that there not more tourists visit Vila Canoas. Santos however emphasizes that the amount of tourists grows every year.

5.3 An Independent Host Family

The second month in Vila Canoas I stayed with Penha, a mother with two kids of 7 and 11 years old. Penha rents a room to tourists and other people who would like to stay there for a while, like foreign students. She stays in a small house in the part of Vila Canoas known as Favelinha. (See annex 1 for a map) Everyday tourists of Favela Tour pass the alleyway in front of her house. In fact it is her sister's house, but her sister married a German man and lives there. Her sister started to host students she got to know in Lapa (a neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro with many restaurants, bars and clubs). Penha continued to host students. She already knew them as they had some parties together. Most of them return ones in a while. This case will show that there are other ways to be involved in tourism than the formal tourism network.

The Actor-Network of Lar Receptivo

Penha was born in a village near Espiritu Santo, a state to the north of Rio de Janeiro. Her mother still lives there. The children of Penha also lived there for several periods and Penha thinks about letting them stay there again as she thinks it is a better environment to grow up. The first week I was in her house I got to know her mother as she was going to visit her daughter in Germany, as she expected a baby soon. It was the first time flying for her.

When I stayed in the house of Penha, Penha had a job in a luxurious furniture shop. She had to work from 10.00 to 19.00, 6 days a week. On the one hand, she complained about the job as it was hard work and as it earned not so much. The good thing however was the social security fund. She worked there as a cleaner.

Penha has another house in Alta da Boa Vista (a favela near to Vila Canoas) where more family of her lives. She rents out the house. Furthermore, she renovates the house and she would like to live there again. She thinks it is a nicer place to live for the children who have more friends there. Furthermore, the house is lighter and open then the house in Vila Canoas. Her children go to the public school for half a day. It was not accidental that they stayed in home if a teacher was not there or if there was a holiday. The children didn't go to the supplementary classes of Para Ti. However, Penha didn't allow her children to hang out in the street.



Figure 2- Leaflet of Lar Receptivo



Figure 3- Dinner in Penha's house, before going to the shopping mall

Lar Receptivo

Penha's house has three levels. The upper floor she rents to a mother and her daughter. The ground floor is her living room, with a kitchen separated by a small wall and a shower with toilet. Downstairs there are two rooms: one with a bed and the other with a mattress. When she has guests, she sleeps on a mattress on the ground floor. Penha waved away my offer there. She said it was no problem as it is less warm there.

I got to know Penha through a friend of mine, a son of a host family that works with Favela Receptiva. The first month I had to pay 990 reais for a room with Favela Receptiva. This was even more expensive than the hostel in Botafogo where I stayed. In that hostel I paid about 700 reais, breakfast included. As I told I might want to stay for another month, a friend told me about Penha. He knew she rented out her room several times. He asked her about it and I looked there. She told the extra money would be very welcome, as she had to pay some bills. Although I agreed to pay 25 reais a night, she said if I stayed the whole month, I only had to pay 300 reais and a hundred extra for food. I told the hundred for food was not enough, but she insisted. So I compensated by buying things through the month.

Tourism for Penha is not her main business. It is an extra income and she likes to know other people. She would like to have more tourists coming to her. Most of the people who stay in her house now, know her sister. She started actively to offer a room to tourists by handing out leaflets (*See Figure 2*) However, it turned out to be hard to reach tourists that way. Although Lar Receptivo sounds similar to La Receptiva, Penha know that Santos' company is called that way.

To stay in her house is very informal. You are free to do what you want and you get to know the place on a different way than when doing a tour. She offers a cheap price and Santos talked about that with her. However, Penha might earn more than the hosts of Favela Receptiva as all of the money goes directly to her and as she can make the arrangements with the guests herself, it is more flexible.

Penha doesn't work with Santos. First, because Santos didn't invite her, but also because Penha likes to know whom she hosts and she prefers no boys, because of her two daughters. Nevertheless, the students were all men.

Analysis of the Actor-Network of Lar Receptivo

The Actor-Network of Penha with respect to tourists started with her sister who hosted students she got to know in Lapa. Penha continued to host tourists. She said she likes to host (foreign) people, but that she preferred girls. She tried to get more tourists by spreading leaflets, but this was not successful. In first instance, it was not Penha's intention to host tourists. As she hosted some students and other people and as she liked that, she saw it as a nice opportunity to earn some extra money. The problematization can be described as the need for some extra money as her regular job doesn't provide sufficient money. In the phase of interessement she mainly builds on her social network: the students she already hosted and people in Vila Canoas she knows. She tried to interest other tourists by a leaflet, but this has not been successful so far. She partly succeeds to enrol people in her actor-network. Regularly she hosts students and via a friend in Vila Canoas I became her guest. Favela Receptiva thus is a partly mobilized network, as there is the opportunity to stay, but as there is not a consistent flow of tourists.

With respect to the involvement, Penha is at the centre of the network. She makes the decisions, hosts the guests, and earns the money, etcetera. Penha's involvement in the actor-network is also a result of her low wage as a cleaner in a furniture shop. As many other residents, she has to work a lot for a low amount of money.

5.4 Other Experiences with Tourism

Although few people work in Vila Canoas in tourism they do work in tourism in other parts of Rio, mainly in restaurants as a cleaner or a waiter. They have to work many hours for a small amount of money. In the hostel in Botafogo where I stayed, there was for example a cleaner of Rocinha. She

was a mother alone with her two kids. She rented a room in Rocinha. What she gained in the hostel was not sufficient to cover her costs, although she worked 6 days a week from 7 A.M. until 4 P.M. Also in Vila Canoas people worked in restaurants for a low wage. In this way they are connected to the tourism network, although in a marginal position.

In Summary

At first hand the experiences of Vila Canoas with tourism seem to be limited to the bed and breakfast of Favela Receptiva and a tour of Favela Tour. If you take a closer look there are some other experiences with (favela) tourism, like Project Vila Canoas and the guides of Exotic Tour, mentioned in the previous chapter and an independent host and residents who work in tourism in other parts of the city discussed in this chapter.

The actor-network of Favela Receptiva partly succeeds in the mobilization of a network. All the residents I spoke to like the idea to host tourists in the favela as they like the financial benefit of being a host, to interact with tourists and that tourists stay for a longer period. Also many tourists are interested in this idea, based on the conversations I had with people in the hostel and other tourists I spoke to in Brazil, but also here in the Netherlands. Until now Favela Receptiva doesn't have many connections to reach tourists. Both residents and Santos would like to receive more tourists. This example shows how a network not only needs people that are willing and able to take part in the network, it also needs non-human elements to stabilize relations. For example Favela Receptiva could use publication on more websites or spread leaflets in more places. Just the goodwill of all (human) actors is not enough.

Although the idea of Favela Receptiva is liked by most residents, residents are still limited involved. They are involved as a host family or selling art and they had the possibility to participate in different courses that Santos offered, but they are not involved in the decision-making process or in the organization itself. Some people complained about this. Another conflict that some former-hosts talked about was that communication with tourists was sometimes difficult because of the language barrier. Although the host thought that the tourists had a good time, one host got complaints afterwards of Santos that the tourists were not happy with her house.

As I stayed for a period of more than two months in Vila Canoas I heard about other experiences with tourism then that of Favela Tour and Favela Receptiva. I heard about '*Project Vila Canoas*' of PUC, but I also got to know that Exotic Tours worked in Vila Canoas for some period. Furthermore there are people like my host during the second month that provides a room independently. Furthermore there are people working in mostly low-paid tourist jobs like in restaurants.

6 OTHER TOURISM ACTIVITIES IN THE FAVELAS OF RIO DE JANEIRO

In the case studies next I will describe and analyze some tourist activities in other favelas of Rio de Janeiro. I will mainly use the actor-network theory, as I was not able to stay for a longer period in those favelas to talk with residents and other actors involved in those projects to do an interface analysis. The chapter starts with the case of Coop Babilônia, a tourism activity organized by a cooperative of residents. Then project Tourism Morrinho will be analyzed, which is an initiative from an NGO. Third, some other tourism activities in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro will be discussed, with special attention for Rocinha.

6.1 Case Study Morro de Babilônia

This case study about tourism in Morro de Babilônia shows how residents of Morro de Babilônia try to create a tourism network with the intention to let tourism benefit the residents and not mainly an outside company. It also shows that tourism in favelas can be about more than poverty. In the case of Morro de Babilônia they show the Atlantic Rainforest to tourists. I had semi-structured and unstructured interviews with guides and other employees of Coop Babilônia and I visited Coop Babilônia three times. The first time I did a tour with two local guides. The second time, I participated in a free tour together with some two hundred other interested people and the third time I was supposed to speak to the coordinator, but I turned out to spend a whole day there talking with the secretary Deisy Milet, the guide Cécar Zerbinato and other guides and participants of the projects. That day I also participated in a tour offered to students of a university in the province of São Paulo. During this third visit, there were many police in Morro de Babilônia because the government installed a Pacification Police Unit (UPP). I will first give some background information about Morro de Babilônia, Coop Babilônia and the start of reforestation project. Then, I will describe the start of tourism in Morro de Babilônia to end with an analysis of the actor-network.

Background Information about Morro de Babilônia

Morro de Babilônia is located in the Southern Zone of Rio in Leme, between Copacabana, Urca and Botafogo. (See the map in annex 1) When I went there and asked a passerby how to reach Coop Babilônia, the passerby asked me concerned if I was going there alone. I explained they organized an open day for a tour through the Atlantic Rainforest. Still, she wasn't convinced and told me to take care. She asked if I had an appointment and if they could not pick me up. As I had an appointment and as it was an open day I was not worried, but I got some sense of the fear of Cariocas (the popular name of the residents of RJ) for the favelas.

During my first tour through Morro de Babilônia with two local guides, the guides told me that the community consists of about five thousand residents with some 1200 families. There is an Area of Protected Atlantic Rainforest (APA) with a rich biodiversity. This favela has been the scene for at least two movies: *'Orpheu Negro'* (Black Orpheus, 1959) and *'Tropa de Elite'* (Elite Squad, 2007) In May 2009, the government installed a special 'Pacification Police Unit' (PPU). The installment of such a unit started as a pilot project in the favela of Santa Marta and extended to Batán and Cidade de Deus. There are doubts about the effectiveness of the project. (Frayssinet, 2009) See box 5 for background information about the PPU. In Morro de Babilônia there is a school *'Tia Percília'*, where there are supplemental classes, supported by a Swedish NGO. There are two crèches and there is a health post. Project *'Bairrinho'* started in Morro de Babilônia, but many projects have not been finished because of changes in the municipal government.

Box 5 Police Pacification Unit

The government describes PPU as a plan to pacify the favelas. Bad experiences with programmes in the past make residents fear that as the police will leave, drug traffickers will come back and *“settle scores with them as they established a good relationship with the police”*, according to sociologist Ramos, coordinator of the Centre for Studies on Public Security and Citizenship at the Candido Mendes University. Furthermore, people have deep-rooted fear of the police, because of police brutality in the past.

The information in this box is derived from a newspaper article of Frayssinet (2009)

Coop Babilônia

In 1989, the state government of RJ started a reforestation project. As part of this project, the government created different APA's. In 1995, the municipality of Rio created the first permanent reforestation project *‘Mutirao Reforestamento Comunitario’*. In this way, Coop Babilônia was founded. After a change of the government, the cooperative was inactive for some period. In 2001, the cooperative restarted with support from *‘Shopping Rio Sul’*. Shopping Rio Sul adopted the APA since 2005. This made the continuation of the reforestation project and environmental education possible and fifty residents followed a reforestation course. Within the reforestation project, they reforested the area with Atlantic Rainforest species only, as these species are less susceptible for fires. Fires have not hit the area the last seven years and some bird species returned to the area. Some people of the communities (Morro de Babilônia and Chapelo de Mangueira) have found their job in the maintenance of the reforestation project. Coop Babilônia is thus a cooperative of residents of Morro de Babilônia. It has 21 members. The main aim of Coop Babilônia is to create environmental consciousness.

The Actor-Network of Tourism in Morro de Babilônia

The development of ecotourism by Coop Babilônia started in 2007 with the signing of tracks. It was an idea of the current president Carlos Pereira. It started with a vision of sustainable tourism, environmentally and socially, to generate employment for the community. Furthermore, visitors would be able to see the importance of the projects. With the support of Setur and the ministry of tourism in 2008, seven people became a professional guide by Embratur with the course *‘Escola Técnica Protur’*. The support consisted also in the realization of an information centre, the creation of leaflets, internal courses about the environment, ecotourism and reforestation and history. The aim of Coop Babilônia with respect to tourism is to create ecotourism with social responsibility. Now they try to promote a van-tour to tourist agencies and hostels. They offer a guided tour. The cooperative can count on seven professional guides; some of them speak English fairly good. There already takes place some kind of tourism for about twenty years (*Interview Edson, guide Coop Babilônia, 17-03-2009*), but officially tourism only started this year.

Presently, tourism in Morro de Babilônia takes place on a small scale. About three times a year they organize a free tour for everyone who is interested. They have a mailing list that they send to people who are possibly interested. The 29th of March for example there participated about two hundred people. Sometimes groups of students come, like the students of a university in the province of Sao Paula who visited the area. Furthermore Coop Babilônia knows a teacher in Santa Teresa, a neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro. Sometimes tourists that are recommended by her visit the project.

The 9th of June 2009 Coop Babilônia organized a day for travel agencies to show them their product. Coop Babilônia wants to work with its own guides, while tourist agencies want to work with their guides. They are in negotiation to have at least one guide of Coop Babilônia for every group of tourists. There are also negotiations about prices. For the future Coop Babilônia would like to develop packaged tours: so combinations with other activities in Rio. They also will consider other activities like fishing.

Now, Coop Babilônia offers a guided tour of about three hours. The price used to be around twenty reais (*Dwek, 2004*), but there is no official price. They want to make it more professional now by offering a van-tour to tourist agencies and hostels they think about a price of around fifty reais without transport. Coop Babilônia received proposals from other companies for the organization of tourism in Morro de Babilônia, but Coop Babilônia rejected the proposals as the benefits for the community would be very low.

The coordinator of ecotourism in Morro de Babilônia is Rafael Raine. He has his own company CurtiRio. With his education and professional background, he can support Coop Babilônia to organize tourism. He writes for example project proposals to the government. The focus of Coop Babilônia with respect to tourism lies on the environment. In their advertisement, they emphasize the many plant species, the success of the reforestation project and the beautiful views over Rio de Janeiro as you can see the Sugarloaf and Christ the Redeemer at the same point.

I asked RioTur their opinion about tourism in Morro de Babilônia. The person I interviewed answered that RioTur is not negative towards the project in Coop Babilônia, but before they will promote the activity, the service has to be of a high quality and they think the security of this area needs to be improved. RioTur has some safety concerns as only in June this year a Pacification Unit (see box 5) was installed. In another favela where a pacification unit was installed, Dona Marta, RioTur supported a tourism project. The employee of RioTur told me that the residents were very positive about tourism and that Jeep Tour, one of the operators in Rocinha, will realize this. To the question how residents are involved in the project she said they may become a guide and sell handicrafts. She didn't tell that were involved in the organization. This is an example of how RioTur takes a neo-liberal approach to tourism and poverty in combination with an alternative discourse, as they say they find it important that residents benefit, but with respect to the benefits of tourism they find it sufficient that there is the possibility to become a guide or to sell art. In contrast, Coop Babilônia rejected the proposals from outside companies as they thought it would not benefit the community enough.

Box 6 Tour in Morro de Babilônia

This description is based on three tours I made in Morro de Babilônia. The first time I was with two guides and no other tourists. The second time I visited Morro de Babilônia with the open day, together with about two hundred other interested people, mainly from Rio de Janeiro and the third time was together with students from a university in the province of Sao Paulo.

The tour starts at a little square in front of the office of Coop Babilônia. Then the guides (the amount depending on the amount of tourists) bring the tourists to the forest. The guides stop at a house that is made of wood and is presented as a traditional house, they explain about the reforestation project, they show historical ruins from Colonial Brazil and of the period of the second world war and there are several points where they stop to be able to make some photos of the views. They also can provide information about the social works done in the community. When I was there, they showed me for example a green roof in conjunction with rainwater catchment on school of Tia Percília that was made by students.

Some special points are:

- ❖ View over Rio de Janeiro with strategic points to take pictures
- ❖ Ruines of the Colonial Period
- ❖ 'Casamata' of the period of the second world war
- ❖ Native species of the Atlantic Rainforest
- ❖ Social works of the community like the school Tia Percília and art of recycled material.

Analysis of the Actor-Network of Tourism in Morro de Babilônia

Coop Babilônia tries to link up with the official tourism network of tourist agencies, hostels and hotels. The future will show if they will succeed. However if they can create a professional tour which implies that they should be reliable and if they offer a nice experience to tourists in combination with a good commission for the tourist agencies, then there is no reason why this cannot be a possibility.

With respect to the enrolment of actors and process of translation they address the problem that residents often are limited involved in tourism activities. They try to interest tourists for this activity to point to the reforestation project. To reach tourists they try to interest tourist agencies, tour operators, hostels and hotels for their van-tour. Until now, Coop Babilônia doesn't have a stabilized actor-network for tourism as there are almost no paying tourists who come to the favela. However, the possibilities are there.

Residents are involved in this project as the organizers and decision-makers. However, they also get support from someone from outside the favela, Rafael Raine. The professional background of Raine and his experience in tourism can facilitate the realization of tourism as he already has a tourism company and connections in the tourism industry. Furthermore they got financial support from the government for a course to become a professional guide, for leaflets and other material. In Morro de Babilônia they didn't want tourism companies like Jeep Tour to come as they think this will not benefit the community much.

Although tourism in favelas often relates towards the showing of the favela as a poor area, the example of Coop Babilônia shows that tourism in favelas can be about more than this. In fact, the main topic of the tour is the protection of the Atlantic Rainforest.

6.2 Case Study Tourism Morrinho

Morrinho is a reconstruction of bricks created by children in Vila Pereira da Silva. This favela is located in Laranjeiras and consists of about 5000 inhabitants. (See annex 1 for a map) The aim of this case study is to see how the actor-network of this tourism activity in the favela looks like. An NGO, with links to the tourism industry supports this tourism activity. This case study is based on a visit to the project, interviews with Nelcirlan Souza de Oliveira the one who started to build the construction of bricks, Daniela from Cama é Café, the website of ONG Morrinho and other articles. First, I will describe the actor-network of Tourism Morrinho and then I will give an analysis of this actor-network.

The Actor-Network of Tourism Morrinho

Nelcirlan Souza de Oliveira started to build Morrinho. On the website of ONG Morrinho they describe how Nelcirlan arrived in Rio in 1998 at the age of 14, impressed by the architecture and the style of the favelas. He decided to reproduce this reality in his own backyard. This reality got so much of his attention that he worked on it every day. Another seven boys got attracted to the game and together they are responsible for what is now a 300 m² model of a favela. According to the website Morrinho reproduces, through the utilization of bricks and recycled material a complex favela of Rio de Janeiro, complex in both form and content. Numerous dolls made of Lego blocks inhabit the model.

Box 7 Visit to ONG Morrinho

I got to know ONG Morrinho by the article of Dwek (2004). By Google I found their website. I wanted to visit this project, as I am interested in the different tourism activities in favelas. As I couldn't contact them easily I decided just to go there and find out. It was on walking distance from my hostel in the neighborhood of Laranjeiras, right next to Botafogo where I stayed in a hostel. Arriving at the address, I asked people where I could find ONG Morrinho. A passer-by helped me to find the place. Then, they introduced me to Nelcirlan. We talked on the place where he built the model. Children played with helicopters and cars, simulating a fight with the police. There was also an anthropologist of the United States who did PhD research there.

In 2001, the film directors Fábio Gaviao, Marco Oliveira and Francisco Franca visited the reconstruction to make a documentary about it. They invited the boys to participate in their '*image captivation work*'. With this initiative, a partnership was born and an NGO was created (*Website ONG Morrinho*). NGO Morrinho is involved in the development of four enterprises, of which three already

function. TV Morrinho produces independent and or contracted audiovisual material, Tourism Morrinho guides tourists through the Morrinho model and Morrinho Exhibition exhibits a reduced-sized replica of the original 300 m² model. The fourth enterprise Social Morrinho has not found a sponsor so far. It intends to offer professional qualification workshops to the people in Vila Pereira da Silva. The aim of NGO Morrinho is to realize the entry of its professional enterprises in to an increasingly globalized market. Besides, they offer the opportunity of professional qualifications to the youth and adolescents of the community, thus contributing directly to the socio-cultural and economic development of the surrounding area. They give workshops in various areas like audiovisual production, art-education, Brazilian culture, and youth and citizenship.

João Vergara took in 2007 the initiative for Tourism Morrinho. In 2003, he founded NGO Lunuz. Later he became one of the founders of Cama é Café ('Bed and Breakfast'), the private enterprise that grew out of NGO Lunuz. The objective of Cama é Café is to realize a social and environmental sustainable tourism enterprise. With a sustainable tourism enterprise they mean a social responsible activity that help the community to get involved in the activity, that give an income opportunity to them and that benefit the community. He got to know about the reconstruction and thought it might be a good idea for tourists to visit.

Cama é Café started to organize Tourism Morrinho with the help of other organizations. For example, Caixa (a bank) provided financially support to realize a study. As part of this study, NGO Morrinho consulted 24 community leaders, shopkeepers and a local council member about their opinion of the tourism project. This led to a workshop that started a process of participatory planning for tourism in the area, which enabled the local community and other stakeholders to be involved. Most of the residents in the area had seen tourists before, but it was the first time they were consulted. One person considered tourism to have a negative impact. Most regarded it as beneficial for the community, as well as a means to improve the image of the place. (*Tourism Concern, 2008*)

Tourism Morrinho guides tourist through the 300m² model. The number of tourists that visit Morrinho is low, but growing. During high season there can be fifty visitors a month, while in low season it may be zero. Most tourists are European, about seventy percent. People of all ages are coming. A tour costs thirty reais per person. The focus of the tourism project is to support controlled community tourism activities and provide income-generating opportunities for local people. The project still depends on the help of institutions, government and volunteers. The vision is that by 2012, the Pereirão community will be recognized as a community that has achieved sustainable development through tourism.

Analysis of the Actor-Network of Tourism Morrinho

Tourism Morrinho is an initiative of an NGO. The coordinators of this project are Daniella Greco from Cama e Café and Nelcirilan, the men who started to build Morrinho. The objective is to let tourism benefit the local community. The project partly succeeds in the mobilization of a network. It is possible for tourists to go there, but only a few tourists visit the project now. Tourists can know about Morrinho because of the website or the articles written about the project or by Cama e Café. There are also connections with Iko Poran, an NGO that provides tourists the opportunity to do voluntary work in the favela. More information about Iko Poran follows in the next part of this chapter. There are no connections with other tourist agencies, hostels and hotels. This means that many tourists don't know about this tourism activity. It was also difficult for me to know how to reach them. (See box 7) The project seems to be largely dependent on the connection with Cama é Café. Through them, this project is connected to the larger tourism industry. There is a website and there are different articles about the project. Another link to tourists may be established as Morrinho gives shows all over the world with a miniature replica of the favela, accompanied by a movie that takes place in Morrinho with the Lego-inhabitants. It can make people interested and decide to go there.

Although various institutions support the project, few tourists visit the project. As tourism was an idea of Lunuz they have the support of this NGO as well as of Cama é Café. The municipality also supports the project. They made it possible for people to become a professional guide. Iko

Poran, another NGO provided various volunteers that helped to give classes in English for example. Other tourists visit the project by Santa Teresa Tour.

Tourism Morrinho, as tourism in Morro Babilônia, is not only about the visit of the favela itself. Morrinho shows a construction created by children of this favela. It is their reflection of life in the favela. The guides that are used are partly local and all of the guides have their own story.

In this activity residents don't have a very central position in the tourism actor-network, although they are involved in it as coordinator and guides. It is mainly Cama e Café who tries to attract tourists. Furthermore, Iko Poran sends volunteers to the project to teach English.

6.3 Other Tourism Activities in Rio's Favelas

There are many more tourism activities in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro than I will describe in this thesis. Now I will give an overview of only some of the other tourism activities. First, I will give an overview of the different, mostly outside tour companies in Rocinha, but also recent initiatives in the favela to let tourism benefit more to the local residents. Then I will mention some tourism initiatives in other favelas. I will end with a look upon future tourism activities in favelas.

Tourism in Rocinha

Rocinha is known to be one of the biggest favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Estimates about the amount of residents vary between 60.000 and 300.000. Every month about 3000 tourists visit Rocinha. Since 2006, it has become an official touristic attraction by the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. At least seven outside tour companies work in Rocinha. These companies work differently as the articles of Dwek (2004) and Coleman (2005) show. Recently there are initiatives to let tourism benefit more the local population. In June 2009, a tourism forum started with the support of Sebrae and a resident, Zezinho started a tour company in April this year: Favela Adventures.

In 1992, the first outside tour operators started with tours in Rocinha. Coleman (2005) and Dwek (2004) make a distinction between different tour operators. Besides differences, there are also similarities in the way they organize the tours. Some of the operators do a walking tour, others go by motor-bike, by van or by jeep. Mostly the guides are outsiders, although Exotic Tours uses local guides. They differ in the story they tell, as some emphasize the danger element and some give false information. Favela Tour is known to give a balanced story. Some of the operators support social projects. A characteristic of them all is that the organization is in the hand of outsiders.

This year a tourism forum is created in Rocinha with the support of Sebrae after a study about the tourist potential of Rocinha that was coordinated by Sebrae. The forum will facilitate consultancies and maintain the project '*Rocinha Empreendedora*' (Rocinha entrepreneurship). The residents of Rocinha chose the executive secretary of the forum. The aim of the forum is to integrate residents in the local economy and in that of Rio de Janeiro. Tourism in Rocinha takes place for many years but they are aware that the benefits not always remain within the community. Therefore they think it is necessary to create alternatives. (*Jornal de Turismo, 2009*)

In June 2009 Favela Adventures started. Favela Adventures is created by a resident of Rocinha, Zezinho. The information about Favela Adventures I derived from its website. Zezinho was born in Rocinha of Brazilian father and an American mother. He already started to give tours four years ago, but that time he was also busy as a DJ. He emphasizes that the guides are all born and raised in Rocinha. Furthermore they are flexible in time. They won't charge if you want to spend more time in Rocinha. In contrast to other tours through Rocinha Zezinho prefers to talk about a visit and part of the tour includes a visit to friends and family of Zezinho. Armstrong in contrast uses the argument of privacy to not visit private houses.

Other Tourism Activities in Favelas

There are many other options for tourists in favelas. One of the possibilities is to do voluntary work. An organization in Rio that provides such an opportunity is Iko Poran. Volunteers pay 1500 R\$ for the first four weeks and 180 R\$ for each additional week, including accommodation, excluding food. The cultural exchange is the great strength of this kind of tourism, but the high program fee makes it not something for everyone and also the use of the different projects can be questioned. Iko Poran Association is a civil association of private right, non-profit purposes, independent of any political party or religious link, based on the principles of democracy, peace, citizen's rights, human rights, and non-discrimination against beliefs, race, color or gender. Iko Poran describes its purpose as *'to fight against many forms of social exclusion, to organize the national and international volunteers, from the most various areas, to promote the social assistance to infancy and teens, and to the population on social exclusion phases, take care to rescue citizenship and social reintegration. Volunteers act in programs which are developed and operated by their own organizations and their community councils that provide the volunteers a unique experience of participate actively on the development of the assisted communities and on the construction of a fairer world.'* Iko Poran thus uses a story about how this kind of tourism benefits the community to interest tourists. As local residents are not involved in the organization it is questionable to what extent this project will benefit residents. Iko Poran is recommended by different guidebook. Despite this positive story, there is also criticism towards this organization, for example by Nanko van Buuren, the founder of IBISS. See box 8.

In September 2009, the first official tour of Jeep Tour took place in Dona Marta. This is a favela in Botafogo where a pacification unit has been installed, as in Morro de Babilônia. The tour takes about two hours. I heard about this initiative when I talked with an employee of RioTur. RioTur supported tourism in Dona Marta. I asked about the involvement of residents in this project. The employee of RioTur talked about selling handicrafts, more commerce and the possibility to become a guide. However, this project will be run by Jeep Tour, an outside company. The question remains if this project will change the unequal power relations as residents are not involved in the organization of this activity. Jeep Tour asked Coop Babilônia if they could organize a tour in Morro de Babilônia. Coop Babilônia rejected as they thought it would only benefit the residents very little.

Box 8 A Critical Voice

In the first two weeks I talked with Nanko van Buuren, the founder of the organization IBISS (*'Instituto Brasileiro de Inovações em Saúde Social'* – Brazilian Institute for innovations in Social Healthcare). This NGO stimulates its target groups in a way that motivates them to improve their current situation on their own. They try out new methods through a number of different pilot projects. (*Website IBISS*)

I asked Van Buuren his opinion about favela tourism as he has a lot of experience with favelas. He was very critical towards Favela Tour and called Marcelo Armstrong because of supposed links with drugs gangs and the limited benefits of this activity for the local community. He was critical towards Iko Poran as they let volunteers pay a huge amount of money to volunteer and he has doubts about the benefits for the residents.

IBISS works on the idea to realize tourism in the favelas in the neighbourhood of Maracana, the famous football stadium. Points of interest could be the project Favela Painting*, a church and Maracana. They want to realize the project before the World Championships football in 2014, by offering a good product and capacitation of the residents.

* *Favela Painting is a huge project to paint the hillsides of Vila Cruzeiro. See www.favelapainting.com*

Analysis of the Actor-Network of Other Tourism Activities in the Favelas of Rio

There are many tourism activities in favelas. The tourist activities are concentrated in the Southern Zone of Rio de Janeiro, especially Rocinha. At present, organizations from outside the favela run the most popular tourist activities in favelas. They have created rather stabilized networks, although they are vulnerable, for example for external forces like a gang war or bad publicity.

There are different tourism initiatives initiated by NGOs, like ONG Morrinho, Cama é Café, and Iko Poran. All of them have created their own networks. They work mainly as a kind of alternative tourism, emphasizing the benefits for local people. Every initiative has to be evaluated individually to make judgment. To be an NGO doesn't necessarily mean that it benefits local residents very much, whether or not they have good intentions.

In the attempt to enroll other actors into the network, there is a difference in problematization between the organizations. Private companies in Rocinha emphasize the opportunity for tourists to see a favela. NGOs and initiatives of residents emphasize the little benefits tourism now brings to the people in the favelas. They try to interest people, saying that their initiative will benefit local people. However, the word benefit has different meanings. For Coop Babilônia it means that residents will directly receive the money from tourists, local people are employed as a guide and that social project can be supported. The private companies that operate in Rocinha try to interest tour companies by offering an interesting experience to tourists, but they also point to the benefits tourism brings to the local community. In the enrolment of other actors, the private companies that operate in Rocinha succeed best to attract tourists.

Tourism in favelas also touches upon other issues in development aid as many tourism initiatives in favelas support some social project. Although those projects benefit in some way, it is doubtful if it will really change the situation. Probably residents would benefit more if they were included in the organization of tourism initiatives. In this way, they would not be in a peripheral position in the actor-network as they are now in many cases.

It is hard to tell what the future will bring. Tourists are interested in favelas be it because they like the danger element that is emphasized in some tours (as is described by Dwek, 2004 and Freire-Medeiros, 2006) or for a social, cultural or environmental interest. Anyway, favelas have tourists more to offer than poverty. In Morro de Babilônia they show tourists the Atlantic Rainforest for example, in Morrinho a reconstruction of the favela made by bricks is the focus.

It would be interesting to do an interface analysis for the initiatives in this chapter as well as it could explain why Dona Marta for example accepts a company like Jeep Tour and Morro de Babilônia doesn't. As the time was limited and as a good interface analysis takes time, I only did an interface analysis for Vila Canoas.

In Summary

Although organizations like Iko Poran emphasize the benefits that tourism brings to the community, I think it is necessary to take a critical look at what is mentioned with benefits. Despite good intentions and the support of social projects, residents are not always involved in the organization of tourism. Without the involvement of residents in the organization of tourist activities the unequal power relation will not change.

In Morro de Babilônia, a cooperative of residents tries to organize a kind of tourism that will benefit the residents more. They had offers from outside tour companies who were already active in Rocinha. They are supported by a professional in tourism, but also by the government in courses for the guides. They now try to link up with the tourism network. They need to gain confidence to show that they can offer a safe and attractive tour to tourists. Tourism Morrinho is about a reproduction of a favela made by bricks by local children. They are supported by the NGO Cama é Café. Despite this support, few tourists visit the project. The project shows something different than poverty.

The most popular tours in Rocinha are organized by outsiders and the residents are limited involved. They differ in their story and the kind of tourists they attract. There are more and more tourism initiatives in favelas that are created to benefit more the residents. Important are the modes

of ordering that underlie these activities, that is, the role of residents in the actor-network. The actor-network of the activities show that the tourism initiatives in which residents are involved in the organization do not yet succeed very well in the enrollment of tourists. As tourists seem to find it important that residents benefit this seems to be possible in the future. They need the support from others to realize this. This is because an actor-network needs more than a positive attitude of the different actors involved. It also needs things to make possible a tourist activity: tourists need information about the activity; they need to be able to contact and book the activity in an easy way and to make tourists satisfied they have to provide an interesting tour. In other words, a network needs to be created that consists of both people and things.

7 CONCLUSION

This final chapter will provide an answer to the main question, based on the previous chapters that provided an answer to the sub-questions. First, I will give a summary of the answers to the sub-questions. I will go on with an answer to the main question. First, by a consideration of the role of residents in the actor-network of the different tourism activities in favelas and second by a look at differences and overlaps in discourses, interests and values in the case of tourism activities in Vila Canoas. Then I will mention some opportunities and limitations of favela tourism and I will finish with some concluding remarks.

The sub-questions of this research are:

1 What is the background of favelas and favela tourism?

Favelas arose in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the nineteenth century. Through the twentieth century, they grew rapidly. There exists a fascination for favelas since a long time. They have both a romantic as notorious image. Since 1992, it is possible to do a tour through the favela as a tourist activity. The most popular tours are organized by people from outside the favela. There is a lot of debate about the ethics of favela tourism.

2 What is the relation between the involvement of local residents and sustainable tourism development?

Many institutions embrace the idea of tourism as a tool to alleviate poverty, but there are different approaches. Previous research about favela tourism is in a many cases informed by a critical perspective. They point for example to the few benefits favela tourism provides to the residents. Policy of the government is often, as in the case of Brazil, informed by the neo-liberal approach. From this approach tourism is seen as a way to generate foreign currency and to increase employment. In the different organizations that organize favela tourism can be recognized different perspectives upon the relation between tourism and development. The most popular tour operators in Rocinha take a neo-liberal perspective, although often using an alternative discourse. Others use more the logic of the alternative approach, like Favela Receptiva and Tourism Morrinho. As these initiatives are not linked to mass-tourism, they only receive a small amount of tourists. The initiative of Coop Babilônia is more in line with a post-structural perspective as they try to link up with the tourism agencies. In this way they, as favela residents, have a more central role in the actor-network than in the case of most tour operators in Rocinha. The strategy of the municipality of Rio is a mix of different approaches. They support the initiative of Coop Babilônia, but in Dona Marta they work together with Jeep Tour, an operator from outside the favela. One of the aims of RioTur is to get foreign currency, which is in line with the neo-liberal logic. The perspective of this research is most in line with a post-structural perspective, as this doesn't make a-priori judgements about good or bad things about tourism. A post-structural perspective can give the most balanced view of how tourism is organized as it looks at tourism from different perspectives and as it recognizes the existence of different interests, discourses and values. As involvement and sustainable development are both political concepts it is important to pay attention to the different ideas and meanings of these concepts.

3 What kind of tourists activities exist in favelas?

There are many different activities in the favelas. The most popular are the tours in Rocinha, but it is also possible to do voluntary work, to stay in a bed and breakfast, have a tour through the forest, etcetera. See for an overview annex 3.

4 What is the background of Vila Canoas?

This research is focused upon Vila Canoas, a small favela in the Southern Zone of Rio de Janeiro. It is also a relatively well-off favela. Vila Canoas is interesting because there are different tourism

experiences in this favela. Previous research showed that residents here are positive about tourism, but not with the way in which it is organized. Therefore, it was interesting to see how favela residents are actually involved by giving an analysis of the actor-network of the different tourist activities and an interface analysis of the conflicts and overlaps between discourses, interests and values.

5 How does the actor-network of tourism activities in favelas look like and what is the role of favela residents in these actor-networks?

In this research, I use the actor-network theory and the actor-oriented approach for the theoretical framework. The actor-network theory looks at how the actor-network of favela tourism is organized. Actors are defined as an effect of a network and are materially heterogeneous. ANT looks at how these actors are mobilized in a network. ANT takes a topological view of space. Therefore, distance is not a matter of geographical distance, but about how actors are linked within a network. From this perspective, favelas are not separated from the rest of society, but integrated. The way favelas connect to the rest of society implies power relations. ANT looks at how associations come into being and how the role and function of objects, actors and intermediaries are attributed and stabilized. In other words, it looks at the process of translation: the methods by which actors form associations with other actors and how actor-networks are stabilized. The actor-networks can be unfolded by looking at different modes of ordering (discourses, practices and interactions) that make up an actor network.

Favela residents are hardly involved in the actor-network of the most popular tourist activities in favelas. The role of residents is limited to the selling of art and snacks, the support of a school that gives supplementary classes to children and eventually some small talk with tourists during a tour. Mostly outsiders tell a story about the favela that the residents don't know. This makes Dwek compare it to neo-colonialism as in colonial time it was also outsiders who spoke for other people who didn't have a voice. There are many differences between the different tour operators. Tours can be by bike, van, jeep or on foot and show different parts of the favela. There are also some places that are visited by more tour operators. The story they tell is also different as some emphasize the element of danger, some give false information and others tell a more informative story about the favela. The benefits they give to residents also differ. Some use local guides and support local projects and Favela Tour uses the support he gives to the school by saying that the tour is benefiting the community. However these kinds of benefits don't change the existing unequal power relations. Favela Tour has developed a rather stabilized actor-network as around thirty people participate in his tour every day. He succeeded to translate the favela in a tourism site.

Recently there are tourism initiatives in which residents are more involved, as in the case of Coop Babilônia where a cooperative of residents started to create tourism activities and Favela Adventures that is created by a resident from Rocinha. Mostly those initiatives are supported by outsiders. In the case of Coop Babilônia for example there is a professional in tourism who helps with writing project proposals and the government gives support by offering courses for the guides for example. There are also tourism initiatives from NGOs or private companies that aim to benefit the local community. Despite good intentions however, those initiatives not always change the unequal power relations. In the case of Iko Poran for example, residents are not involved in the organization of tourism. They provide tourists the opportunity to do voluntary work in the favelas. In this way it supports the local community and with a financial contribution to the projects, but the question remains if it changes the unequal power relations.

The initiatives where residents are more involved in don't attract many tourists yet, but it seems to have a good chance to attract more tourists in the future as tourists find it important that local residents are benefited. Furthermore in these initiatives there is more interaction between residents and tourists and it often shows something special, like a tour through the Atlantic rainforest and the reconstruction of bricks made by children. If residents can organize their own tourism activities, tourism can provide a way for inclusion into the rest of the city.

6 What are differences and overlaps in discourses, interests and values regarding favela tourism in Vila Canoas or in terms of the actor-oriented approach what are the interfaces in favela tourism?

The actor-oriented approach looks at tourism as a social field. Favela tourism is just one social field in which actors are involved. This makes it possible to pay more attention to alternative discourses or in the words of the actor-network theory at alternative modes of ordering as it looks at the interfaces. It is at the interfaces where *“you can explore how discrepancies of social interest and cultural interpretation knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed at critical points of linkage and confrontation”*. (Long, 1991)

In Vila Canoas I looked at the involvement of residents from an actor-oriented approach using an interface analysis to see where discourses, interests and values of the different (human) actors conflict and overlap. This allows looking at the discourse, values and interests of all the actors involved in the network.

Residents are hardly involved in Favela Tour. Although Armstrong finds it important to benefit the residents, which he does by supporting a local NGO, most residents don't feel it benefit them, although they think the supplementary classes of Para Ti are important. Although most residents are positive about tourism, other people compared it to a zoo. In Project Canoas some residents proposed an alternative, but without further support it was not possible to carry out this plan. In Project Canoas residents were much involved. This project shows how, despite discourses of interactions and participation, residents still depend on the decisions of outsiders.

Residents are also little involved in Favela Receptiva, but most people are positive about the idea to host tourist, as they like the interactions with tourists and the direct benefits to the host families. There are differences in values, interests and discourses with respect to favela tourism. While Santos, the initiator of Favela Receptiva has a professional and commercial attitude, some residents criticize this commercial attitude. There are difficulties to link up with the wider tourism network as there are limited tourists outside high season. This may be because few people know about this option. Tourists may have doubts about the safety and for backpackers it may be too expensive to stay there for a couple of nights. On the other hand this shows that although interests, discourses and values may seem overlap, this is not enough to create a stabilized network. This confirms the idea of the ANT that the mobilization of non-human elements are necessary for a network to function. The individual host is also connected to the tourism network, although in an informal way. She is able to earn some extra money, organized in a different way than the formal tourism network.

The main question of this research is:

How are favela residents, especially the residents of Vila Canoas, involved in favela tourism and how does this relate to sustainable tourism development?

In general residents are little involved in favela tourism as they have mostly a peripheral role in the actor-network. They are dependent on support from outside to be able to realize a network as was the case in Project Canoas, but also in the case of Coop Babilônia. Sustainable tourism development is difficult to define, as it is a political concept. Most institutions are positive about the idea, but there are different approaches towards it. I mentioned some of the approaches with the help of Scheyvens. I argued that this thesis is in line with a post-structural perspective as it allows to look at favela tourism from different perspectives. Favela tourism can be related to sustainable tourism development, but you should be critical about the claims of the organizers as it is political concept. The actor-network theory and the actor-oriented approach can give a better understanding of the power issues involved. My findings are that residents are in general marginally involved in favela tourism. There are initiatives in which residents are more involved, but as these initiatives have difficulties to create a mobilized network, I think it is important to support them to organize favela tourism.

Opportunities and Limitations of Favela Tourism

As mentioned tourism is not an option for everybody, but even within the favela, tourism cannot benefit everybody to the same extent. Furthermore, tourism may not only have positive impacts. These impacts should be discussed to make sure that the externalities created by tourism are included and to make sure that tourism wouldn't create an internal divide.

Concluding Remarks

I am critical towards many of the existing favela tours in Rocinha, although I do not condemn their possible noble motivations to support an NGO, social projects or educating local guides. I only say that the power relations in the tours organized by outsiders are unequal, as residents only benefit in a marginal way. Recently there are tourism initiatives in favelas in which residents are involved in the organization or are the initiator of it. It will be interesting for further researcher to do an interface analysis of these projects, to see where interest, values and discourses between the different actors involved in these projects overlap or conflict. My data suggests that favela residents would like to give a more positive image of the favela to show that there is a lot of creativity. The residents I spoke to also liked tourists to stay for a longer time to see more things of the favela and so they can have a better understanding of it, but also that residents can know tourists a little bit better. The tourists I spoke to, also like the idea of interaction. Some wondered what the idea of a tour is. They would consider a visit for something like a special building or a museum. This is in line with the discourse of residents that want tourists to show some special things about the favela. Coop Babilônia offers a tour through the Atlantic Rainforest, ONG Morrinho shows the replication of a favela made of bricks and IBISS is thinking about to organize a tour to visit a church, favela painting and the football in combination with a visit to the Maracana football stadium. In the end, the favela is not only about poverty, but it has to offer a lot more.

The World championships Soccer in 2014 organized in Brazil will generate a lot of tourists from all over the world to Rio de Janeiro. Furthermore Rio is going to organize the Olympic games of 2016. With the many tourists that these activities will generate and the interest they might have in the favelas it would be interesting to follow the development of tourism in favelas and the way residents will be involved in it.

REFERENCES

- ANPROTEC (2007). *A Empresa – Favela Receptiva*, Retrieved from <http://www.anprotec.org.br/publicacaoemp.php?idpublicacao=239>, 15-09-2009
- ANPROTEC (2009). *Empreender e show, Empresas participantes – Favela Receptiva*, retrieved from <http://www.anprotec.org.br/secaoempresasfavela.php>, 15-09-2009
- Ashley, Caroline. Boyd, Charlotte. and Goodwin, Harold. (2000). Pro-Poor Tourism: Putting poverty at the heart of the tourism agenda, *Natural Resource Perspectives*, Nr. 51, Overseas Development Institute
- Bauman, Zygmunt (2004). *Wasted Lives – Modernity and its outcasts*, Polity Press, Cambridge
- Broudehoux, Anne-Marie. (2001). Image making, city marketing and the aesthetization of social inequality in Rio de Janeiro, In: Nezar, Alsayyad, *Consuming tradition, manufacturing heritage – Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Global Tourism*, Routledge, London
- Burns, Peter. and Novelli, Marina. (2008). *Tourism development – Growth, myths and inequalities*, Centre for Tourism Policy Studies, University of Brighton, UK
- Butcher, J. (2008). The myth of agency through community participation in ecotourism, Chapter 2, In: Burns, Peter. Novelli, Marina. *Tourism Development – Growth, Myths and Inequalities*, pp. 11-27, CAB International, University of Brighton, UK
- Callon, M. (1986). Some elements of sociology of translation domestication of the scallops and the fisherman of St. Brieuc Bay, In: Law, John (ed.) *Power, action and belief – A new sociology of knowledge?*, Routledge, London
- Coleman Carter, Joseph. (2005). *An outsider's view of the favela of Rocinha and its people*, Thesis Master of Arts, The University of Texas, Austin
- Duim, René van der. (2005). *Tourismscapes – An actor-network perspective on sustainable tourism development*, Dissertation Wageningen University
- Duim, René van der. Peters, Karin. and Akama, John. (2006). Cultural tourism in African communities: A comparison between cultural Manyatta in Kenya and the cultural tourism project in Tanzania, In: Smith, Melanie K. and Robinson, Mike. (2006). *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World*, pp. 104-123, Channel View, Clevedon
- Dwek, Deborah. (2004). *Favela tourism: Innocent fascination or inevitable exploitation?*, ILS MA Area Studies, 2003-2004
- Fonseca, Denise Pini Rosalem, Da. (2005a). *A construção de uma cidadania ambiental em Vila Canoa a partir da identidade cultural local*, Relatório Parcial Projeto NIMA/ Gênesis
- Fonseca, Denise Pini Rosalem, Da. (2005b). *A construção de uma cidadania ambiental em Vila Canoa a partir da identidade cultural local*, Relatório final Projeto NIMA/Gênesis
- Frayssinet, Fabiana. (2009). Brazil: Mixed reviews for 'community policing' in slums, *IPS*, May 22, Retrieved from <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=46951>, 22-07-2009
- Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. (2006). *A construção da favela carioca como destino turístico*, CPDOC, Rio de Janeiro
- Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. (2009). The favela and its touristic transits, *Geoforum, Elsevier*, 40-4, pp. 580-588
- Gentleman, A. (2006). Slum tourism: A day trip too far, Sunday May 7 2006, *The Observer*, Retrieved from: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2006/may/07/delhi.india.ethicalliving>, 02-05-2008

- Gössling, S. Schumacher, K. Morelle, M. Berger, R. Heck, N. (2004) Tourism and street children in Antananarivo, Madagascar, *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 5:2, p 131-149
- InfoDev Incubator Support Centre (2009a). *Gênesis institute of PUC-RIO*, Retrieved from <http://www.idisc.net/en/Incubator.47.html>, 21-08-2009
- Info Dev Incubator Support Centre (2009b). *The workshop methodology in the social incubation of communities*, by Gênesis Institute, Brazil, Retrieved from <http://www.idisc.net/en/Article.38696.html>, 21-08-2009
- Hart, Harm 't. Dijk, Jan van. Jansen, Wim. and Teunissen, Joop. (1998). *Onderzoeksmethoden*, Boom, Amsterdam, Vijfde druk
- Hebinck, Paul. Verschoor, Gerard. (2001). *Resonances and dissonances in development – Actors, networks and cultural repertoires*, Royal van Gorcum
- Hillier, J. (2002). *Shadows of power – An allegory of prudence in land-use planning*, Routledge, New York
- Holden, Andrew. (2008). *Environment and tourism – 2nd edition*, Routledge, Londen
- Humala, Heidi. (2009). *Incubator network Latin América and the Caribbean*, InfoDev, Retrieved from <http://www.infodev.org/en/Project.75.html>, 21-08-2009
- Jafari, J. (2001). The scientification of tourism. In: V.L. Smith and M. Brent (eds) *Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century* (pp. 28-41), New York: Cognizant
- Jennings, Gayle. (2001). *Tourism research*, Central Queensland University,
- Jornal de Turismo. (2009). *Moradores criam o fórum de turismo da Rocinha no Rio*, 27 de Maio de 2009, Retrieved from <http://www.jornaldeturismo.com.br/noticias/riodejaneiro/24681-forumturismorocinha.html>, 15-10-2009
- Kadt, Emanuel De. (1979). *Tourism – Passport to development, perspectives of the social and cultural effects of tourism in developing countries*, Oxford University Press, New York
- Kendle, A. (2008). *Poverty Tourism: Exploring the slums of Brazil, India and South Africa*, Vagabondish, February 7, 2008
- Koster, Martijn. (2009). *In fear of abandonment – Slum life, community leaders and politics in Recife, Brazil*, Thesis Wageningen University
- Latour, Bruno. (2005). *Reassembling the social – An introduction to actor-network theory*, Oxford University Press Inc. New York
- Law, John. (1992). Notes on the theory of actor-network: ordering strategy and heterogeneity, *Systems Practice*, Vol 5, Nr 4, Retrieved from <http://www.springerlink.com/content/k3250570778u53u5/fulltext.pdf>, 29-09-2009
- Law, John. (1994). *Organizing modernity*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford
- Law John. (1999). After ANT: complexity, naming and topology, In Law J. and Hassard J. (1999) *Actor Network Theory and after*, Blackwell Publishers/ The Sociological Review, Oxford
- Long, Norman. (1989). *Encounters at the interface: A perspective on social discontinuities in rural development*, Wageningen: WAU. 276p.
Chapter IX: 'Conclusion: Theoretical reflections on actor, structure and interface', pp. 221-244
- Long, Norman. (2001). *Development Sociology – Actor perspectives*, Routledge, London
- Machado, Daniela Santos. (2007). *Turismo de favela e desenvolvimento sustentável*, PUC-Rio, Departamento de Serviço Social

- Melander, I. (2007). *Poverty tourism brings cash to South-African townships*, Reuters UK (<http://uk.reuters.com/article/featuresNews/idUKL2133353720070823?sp=true>)
- Ministry of Tourism (2007). *National tourism plan 2007-2010 – A journey towards inclusion*, Retrieved from http://www.turismo.gov.br/export/sites/default/turismo/o_ministerio/plano_nacional/downloads_plano_nacional/PNT_Ingles.pdf
- Mowforth, Martin. Charlton, Clive. and Munt, Ian. (2008). *Tourism and Responsibility – Perspectives from Latin America and the Caribbean*, Routledge
- Murdoch, Jonathan. (1998). The spaces of actor-network theory, *Geoforum*, Vol 28, Nr 4, p357-374
- Öniş, Z. and Şenses, F. (2005). Rethinking the emerging post-Washington consensus, *Development and Change*, 36-2, p 263-290
- Pels, D. Hetherington, K. and Vandenberghe, F. (2002). The status of the object – Performances, mediations and techniques, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19: 5/6, p 1-21
- Perlman, Janice E. (1976). *The myth of marginality*, University of California Press
- Perlman, Janice E. (2005). *The myth of marginality revisited – The case of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, 1969 -2003*, World Bank, Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/urban/symposium2005/papers/perlman.pdf>, 02-02-2009
- Perlman, Janice E. (2006). The metamorphosis of marginality: four generations in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 606 Annals 154:10
- Perlman, Janice E. (2007). Marginality from myth to reality – The favelas of Rio de Janeiro 1968-2005, Retrieved from http://www.megacitiesproject.org/Marginality_from_Myth_to_Reality.pdf
- Philips, Tom. (2003). *Brazil: How favelas went chic*, [WWW-Document] Retrieved from <http://www.brazil.com/2003/html/articles/dec03/p105dec03.htm>, 18-08-2009
- Rolfes, Manfred. Steinbrink, Malte. and Uhl, Christina. (2009). Townships as attraction – An empirical study of township tourism in Cape Town, *Praxis Kultur- und Sozialgeographie*, PKS 46, Universität Potsdam, Retrieved from <http://books.google.nl/books?hl=nl&lr=&id=HijmcjJ25uwC&oi=fnd&pg=PT8&dq=tourism+township+involvement&ots=KNkYDWzhFP&sig=IGOYexww-1BZKo7PrR40PHLOXW0#v=onepage&q=tourism%20township%20involvement&f=false>, 07-09-2009
- Scheyvens, Regina. (2007). Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10:2, pp. 231-254
- Selinger, Evan. and Outtersson, Kevin. (2009). The ethics of poverty tourism, *Boston University School of Law Working Paper No. 09-29*, Retrieved from <http://ssm.com/abstract=1413149>, June 2, 2009
- Sing, S., Dallen, J. and Dowling, R.K. (2003). *Tourism in destination communities*, CABI Publishing, Oxon, UK, p. 276
- Smith, K. and Robinson, M. (2006). *Cultural tourism in a changing world – Politics, participation and (re)presentation*, Tourism and Cultural Change 7, Channel View Publications
- St. Louis, Regis. (2008). *Lonely Planet – Brazil*, 7th Edition, 768p.
- Sweeney, T. (2007). *Why we need micro loans instead of slum tourism*, Politics, Retrieved from <http://www.bravenewtraveler.com/2007/03/07/why-we-need-micro-loans-instead-of-slum-tourism/>, May 3 2008

- Teo, P. (2003). Striking a balance for sustainable tourism: implications of the discourse on globalization. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 4:4, p 183-200
- Tosun, Cevat. (2000). Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries, *Tourism Management*, 21, pp. 613-633
- Urry, John. (2002). *Tourist gaze – Second Edition*, Sage Publications, Londen
- Tourism Concern (2008). *Slum tourism or voyeurism, travel dilemma's*, Retrieved from <http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/index.php?mact=News,cntnt01,detail,0&cntnt01articleid=53&cntnt01origid=198&cntnt01detailtemplate=newscomment.tpl&cntnt01returnid=198>, 03-12-2009
- Verbole, Alenka. (1999). *Negotiating rural tourism development at the local level – A case study in Pišce, Slovenia*, PhD Thesis Wageningen Agricultural University
- Verschoor, Gerard. (1997). *Tacos, tiendas and mezcal – An actor-network perspective on small-scale entrepreneurial projects in Western Mexico*, Thesis Wageningen University
- Verschuren, Piet. and Doorewaard, Hans. (2004). *Het ontwerpen van een onderzoek*, Lemma, Utrecht, derde druk
- Wearing, S. McDonald, M. and Ponting, J. (2005). Building a decommodified research paradigm in tourism – The contribution of NGOs, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 13: 5, p 424-439
- Weiner, Eric. (2008). *Slum visits: tourism or voyeurism?*, The New York Times, March 9th, Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/09/travel/09heads.html>
- Williams, Claire. (2008). Ghetttourism and voyeurism, or challenging stereotypes and raising consciousness? Literary and non-literary forays into the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 27 – 4 , pp. 483 – 500

Websites

Be a Local, www.bealocal.com

Blogspot Coop Babilônia, www.coopbabilonia.blogspot.com

Brazilian Tourism Portal, www.braziltour.com

Coop Babilônia, www.coopbabilonia.com.br

Exotic Tours, www.exotictours.com

Favela Receptiva, www.favelareceptiva.com.br

Favela Tour, www.favelatour.com.br

Jeep Tour, www.jeeptour.com.br

Ministry of tourism, www.turismo.gov.br

ONG Morrinho, www.ongmorrinho

Para Ti, www.parati.inf.br

Portal da Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, <http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/>

RioTur, <http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/riotur/en/>

ANNEX 1: MAPS

1.1 Brazil in the world (left)

1.2 Brazil (right)



Retrieved from:
<http://blogs.sun.com/arungupta/resource/images/brazil-on-world-map.png>



Retrieved from www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/south-america/brazil/

1.3 Rio de Janeiro



Retrieved from mapage.noos.fr/mbsoares/index_br.htm

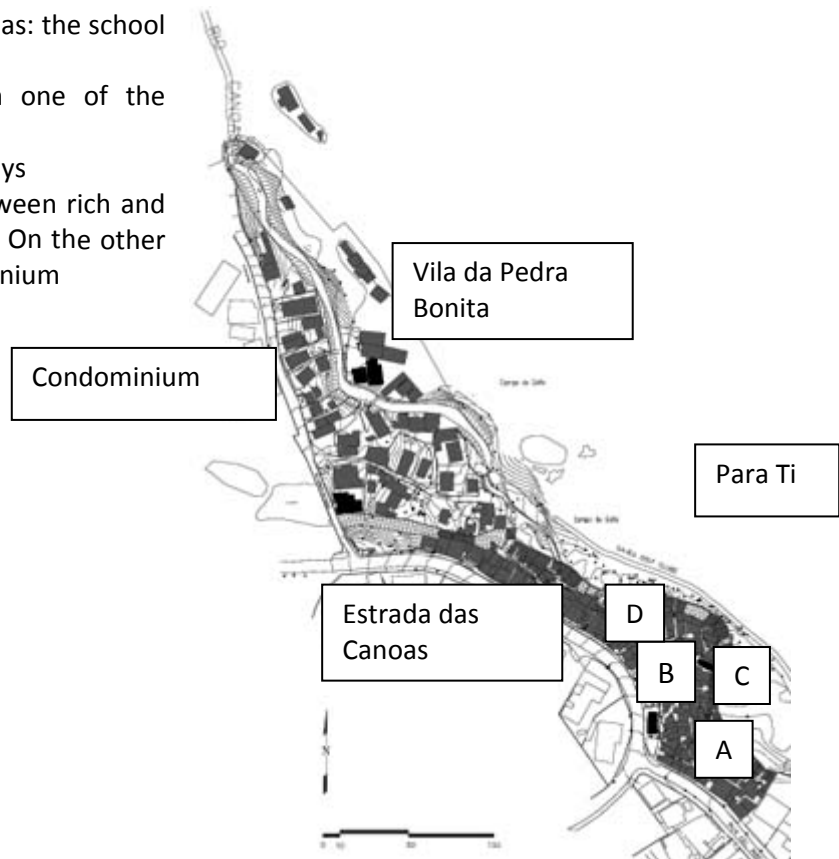
1.4 Vila Canoas

A Start of the Tour in Vila Canoas: the school of Para Ti

B Tourists having a drink in one of the botecos of Vila Canoas

C A walk down through the alleys

D Talk about the contrast between rich and poor living next to each other. On the other side of the road is the condominium



Retrieved from <http://www.parati.inf.br/Img/vila/mapa.jpg>



ANNEX 2: TOPIC LISTS OF INTERVIEWS

This annex provides information of the interviews I carried out. This is not an extensive list as I didn't count all the informal conversations about favela tourism with tourists, residents and others. The topic lists is not a complete list of all the topics that were mentioned in the interviews as sometimes a topic popped up during a conversation.

2.1 Residents of Vila Canoas

Amount of interviews with residents: 35

1. Name
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Work
5. Education
6. Place of birth
7. How many years do you live in Vila Canoas?
8. a. Have you or someone in your family worked in tourism like being a guide, as host for tourist, selling art or any other activity related to tourism?
If yes:
 - b. What type of activity?
 - c. Is tourism there only income generating activity?If not
 - d. Would you like to work in Tourism?
If so
 - e. Why don't you work in Tourism?
9. a. Have you followed courses English and tourism offered by Eneida Santos?
If yes
 - b. Have you completed the course?If no
 - c. What were the reasons for not finishing the course?
10. a. Do you think tourism in Vila Canoas benefits the community?
If so
 - b. In what way?c. What about social services, income possibilities and training possibilities?
11. a. Do you think tourism in Vila Canoas could be more beneficial to the community?
If so
 - b. In what way?
12. What do you think is negative about tourism in Vila Canoas?
13. a. What do you think about tourists coming to Vila Canoas?
 - b. Why do you think they come here?
 - c. What do you think they think about the community?
 - d. What would you like them to know about Vila Canoas?
14. a. What do you know about tourism in Vila Canoas?
 - b. What do you know the organizers? / do you have contact with them?
 - c. What do you know about the tourists? / do you have contact with them?
15. a. What do you think about the involvement of residents in tourism?
 - b. Are you as a resident being informed?
If so

- c. how?
- If not
- d. do you think it is important?
- If so
- e. how?
- f. Are there or has there been training possibilities?
- If so
- g. what kind?
- If not
- h. do you think it is important?
- If so
- i. what kind?
- j. Is there room for evaluation?
- If so
- k. in what way?
- If not
- l. do you think it is important?
- If so
- m. how could it be done?
- 16. a. Would you like to be more involved in tourism?
- If so
- b. In what way?
- 17. a. Is there something you would like to change in tourism?
- If so
- b. What?
- 18. a. Are there any other comments you want to make about tourism here and the involvement of residents?
- b. Is there anything you want to say or ask about my research?

Other questions to residents

- A. What image do you hope tourists will have of Vila Canoas after their visit?
- B. Do you have any idea how much tourists pay to do the tour?
- C. Do you think a price of 60 reais is fair price?
- D. Would you consider to take tourists in your house? Why or why not?
- E. What do you think is fair price for a night?
- F. What do you think about Favela Tours, who is organising tours in Vila Canoas?

Questions to ex-hosts

- A. How many guests did you receive?
- B. How much do you earn from it?
- C. What kind of contact do you have with tourists in general?
- D. For how long do tourists stay in your house?
- E. What kind of activities did tourist do during their stay in your house?
- F. What do you like about the contact with tourists?
- G. What don't you like about the contact with tourists?
- H. Can you give some example of tourists or guests and their contact with the community?

Questions to Artisans

- A. What kind of art do you sell?
- B. How much do you earn by selling art?
- C. Do you have other income generating activities?
- D. When did you start selling art?

Questions to owners of a company like restaurants, shops, bars etc

- A. Company name
- B. Kind of company
- C. How many employees
- D.
 - i. Does the company has any profit from tourism?
 - ii. In what way?
 - iii. To what extent?

Interviews with social organizations in Vila Canoas and Vila da Pedra Bonita

- A. Type of organizations
- B. Aims of organization
- C. How long does the organization exists?
- D. How many employers/ volunteers does the organization have?
- E. How many participants does the organization have?
- F.
 - a Is the organization connected to tourism in any way?
 - b What about volunteers, receiving funds, being showed to tourists etc.
 - c Would the organization like to be more involved in tourism?
 - If yes
 - d in what way

2.2 Questions to tourists

Amount of semi-structured interviews: 7

- 1. Name
- 2. Age
- 3. Gender
- 4. Nationality
- 5. Education
- 6. Participated in favela tour?
 - 7. If yes:
 - a. With which organizations?
 - b. Why this organizations?
 - c. How did you come into contact with this organizations?
 - d. Why did you want to go?
 - e. What did you think about the tour?
 - f. Contact with residents?
 - g. What was told?
 - h. Benefited it the community
 - i. Would you recommend it to others? Why or why not?
 - j. Did the tour changed your idea of a favela? Why or why not?

If not

- 8 a. Are you planning to do a favela tour?
- 9. If yes:
 - a. With which organization?
 - b. How did you come into contact/ will you find an organizations?
 - c. What is important in your choice: money, benefits to the community, security, type of activity
 - d. Why do you want to go: interest, exiting, heard good stories, saw of movie
- 10. If not
 - a. Why don't you want to participate?

Not any interest in favelas

11. What do you think about favelas and their residents in general?

2.3 Tourist Organizations Operating in the favelas

Amount of semi-structured interviews: 7

Date, time, place, name of the company

The person interviewed

1. Name
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Place of birth
Place of residence
5. Education
Work experience
6. Address
7. Other income generating activities

The organization

8. Type of tourist activity?
9. What distinguishes your company from others offering favela tours?
10. Where does the tour takes place?
11. What price is the activity?
12. How many employees?
13. How many of the employees live in the favela?
14. How many tourists approximately take part in this activity?
15. How were and are your contacts with the favela?
16. How many tourists and what kind of tourists were and are taking part?
17. What is the aim of the organization
18. How are the roles divided within the organization?
19. How do or can tourists know about the project?
20. To which organizations is the company connected?
 - a. Which travel agencies?
 - b. Which government organizations?
 - c. Which guidebooks?
 - d. Which community organizations?

Development of the organization

21. When did it start?
22. What were the reasons to start?
23. What were the first steps to realize the activity?
24. How did you finance it?
25. What were the reactions of tour operators, hostels, hotels and the like?
26. Are there any changes in the kind of activity you offer now from the past?

Involvement of Favela Residents

27. How do you involve residents in favela tourism?
 - a. In the sense of giving information:
 - b. In the sense of being open for suggestions:

- c. In the sense of capacity building:
- 28. Do you think tourism benefits the community?
 - a. If so, in what sense?
- 29. Do you ask favela residents how to improve benefits of them?
- 30. Why do or don't you make use of local guides?
- 31. If you do make use of local guides? How many?
- 32. Are there any other comments you want to make about favela tourism and the involvement of favela residents in tourism?
- 33. Do you have any comments or questions about this research?

2.4 Questionnaires to Hotels, Hostels and Travel Agencies

Amount of interviews carried out:

2 hotels, 2 hostels and 3 travel agencies

It was to get a rough idea about their story of offering favela tours

1. Name of the company
2. Name of the person being interviewed
3. Are you offering tours through a favela?

If not

4. What is your reason for not offering a tour through a favela?

Probing:

- a. Security? specify
- b. Ethical doubts about visiting a favela?
- c. Not found a suitable companies?

5. What would be your requirements for offer an activity organized in a favela?

Probing:

Security? > specify

Local Benefits

Type of activity: cultural, ecological

Commission earned

Other

If yes

6. With which organization(s) are you working together?
7. How long are you working with this organization?
8. What are your reasons to work with this organization and not another? Could you explain?
 - Security
 - Type of activity
 - Commission earned
 - Local benefits
 - The organizer
 - Professionalism/ experience of the organization

9. What kind of interaction is there between this hotel/ hostel/ travel agency and the tour operator?

Information

Money

Personal contacts

10. How many persons approximately take part on a favela tour monthly (in high/low season)?
11. How would you describe the kind of tourists taking part in favela tours

ANNEX 3 TOURISM ACTIVITIES IN THE FAVELAS OF RIO DE JANEIRO

<i>Tourism Organization</i>	<i>Type of Organization</i>	<i>Type of Activity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Costs of Activity</i>	<i>Involvement of Residents</i>	<i>Other comments</i>
Adventure Tours	Private Company	Guided Tour	Rocinha	59 US\$-69 US\$?	-
Be a Local	Private Company	Guided Tour	Rocinha	65 R\$?	-
Coop Babilônia	Cooperative of Residents	Guided Tour	Morro de Babilônia	?	In the organization and as guides	-
Iko Poran	Civil, private association for non-profit purposes	Guided Tour Voluntary work	Favelas near Santa Teresa	First 4 weeks 2100 R\$	Financial support and support from volunteers	-
Favela Adventures	Private Company	Visit, Lodging, Other Activities	Rocinha	From 60 R\$	In the Organization and as guides	-
Favela Receptiva	Private Company	Bed and Breakfast	Vila Canoas	55-90 R\$ per night	As hosts Participants in courses	-
Exotic Tours	Private Company	Guided Tour	Rocinha	30 to 45 US\$	As guides	-
Jeep Tour	Private Company	Guided Tour	Rocinha Dona Marta	85 R\$	Selling of art, might be as a guide	-
Turismo Alternativo	Private Company	Guided Tour	Vidigal	75 R\$	Organization and as a guide	-
Open Air Museum	Public Initiative	Guided Tour	Morro de Providência	?	?	Project stopped
The Maze Inn	Private company	Bed and Breakfast	Catete	50 to 60 US\$ a day	?	-
Pousada Favelinha	Private Company	Bed and breakfast	Vila Pereira da Silva	Dorm: 35 R\$ Private: 75 R\$?	-
Favela Tour	Private Company	Guided Tour	Rocinha	65 R\$	Selling of art, Sponsoring of NGO, providing supplementary classes	-
Tourism Morrinho	NGO	Guided tour	Vila Pereira da Silva	?	Organizers Professional guides	-
Santa Teresa Tour	Private Company	Guided Tour	Santa Teresa and Vila Pereira da Silva	30 R\$	Guides	-