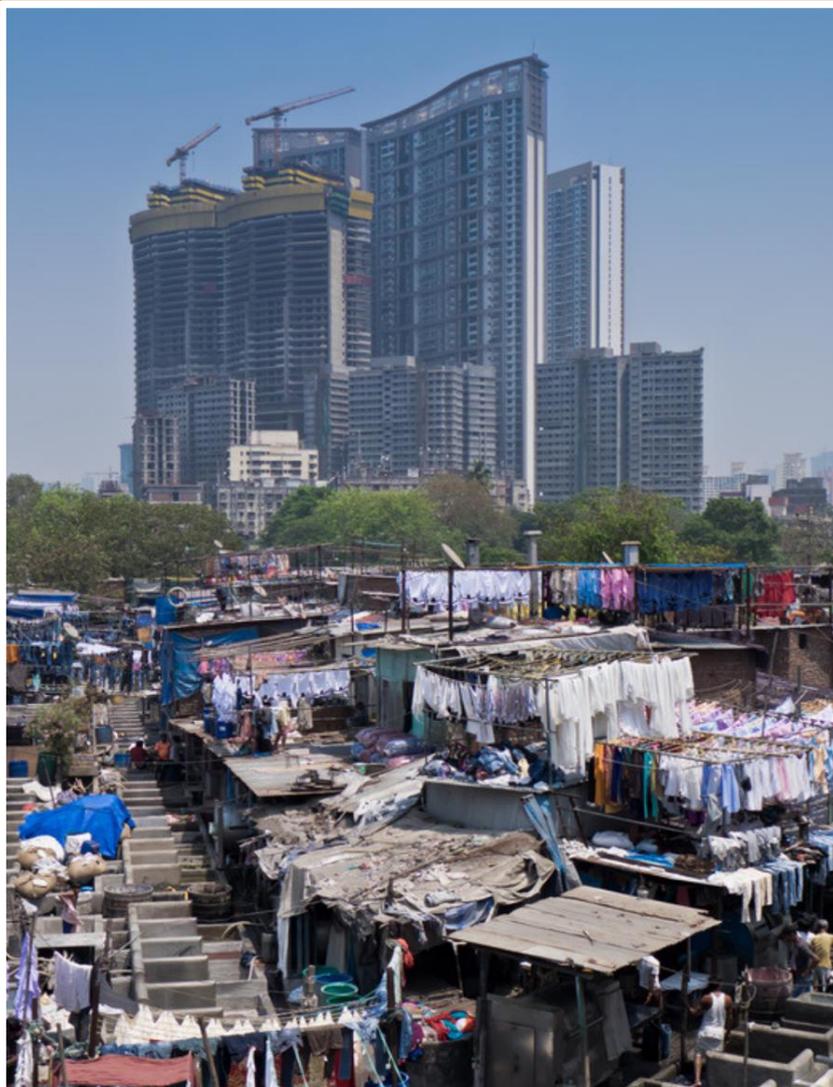


# Representing slum dwellers as the inferior Other: a critical discourse analysis



Exploring how online slum tourism discourse relates to representations of slum dwellers as the Other

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## Foreword

This master thesis is part of the MSc study program Tourism, Society and Environment within the specialisation of cultural geography at Wageningen University and Research. This study program has been very educational, inspiring and allowed me to develop my specific interests in tourism. My main drive for studying tourism is that I believe tourism is, or should be, a way to improve the lives of those less fortunate. Choosing a related topic for my thesis was an easy decision, as I have found slum tourism an intriguing topic for some time. To me, being able to completely immerse myself in this topic has been the most interesting part of the past few months.

The process of writing this thesis has been nothing like I would have imagined before starting this master program. Due to the covid-19 pandemic, the research options were limited, fieldwork at location impossible and even my free time besides writing this thesis could not be spend as I would have liked. Writing this thesis has been a time-fulfilling and challenging experience, and I'm proud to have finished it. I want to thank Trista Lin, my supervisor, for her time, feedback and knowledge that has helped me to think more deeply and critically throughout writing this thesis.

This thesis marks the end of the study program, my time at Wageningen University and, most importantly, my time as a student.

Elena Peeters

Utrecht, August 2021

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## Summary

This study has explored in what ways tour operators and tourists support or challenge representations of slum dwellers as the Other. The **purpose** of this study is to get a more detailed insight into the Othering of slum dwellers within slum tourism discourse. This research contributes to research on Othering in slum tourism by focussing specifically on the online discourse of multiple actors involved and keeping slum tourism research updated. Additionally, as this research sets out how Othering can be done, it can be helpful in specifying how the Othering of slum dwellers and the related implications could be reduced.

Existing literature on slum tourism and Othering have been reviewed to frame this research theoretically and specify the necessary concepts. Following this **theoretical framework**, a detailed and extensive framework of Othering mechanisms has been set up. A total of 117 texts on slum tours have been gathered online from tour operators' websites and tourists' blogs. The **analysis** of the texts has been based on a combination of a critical discourse analysis and the extensive framework of Othering that derived from the existing literature.

Setting out the **results**, it has become clear that tour operators both support and challenge the Othering of slum dwellers on their websites. The main used mechanisms to support Othering are using binary oppositions and creating partial representations of the slum dwellers' lives. To oppose Othering the tour operators explicitly challenge negative stereotypes and provided a broader insight into the slum dwellers' reality. The tourists address slum dwellers in their blogs, also both supporting and challenging the representations of slum dwellers as the Other. The main mechanisms used are the use of binary oppositions, negatively framing the slum dwellers and ignoring their hardships. Challenging the idea of slum dwellers as the Other is done through disregarding any suggested structure of inferiority and superiority and creating a broad reality and insight into the slum dwellers' lives.

From this study, the **conclusion** is that the Othering of slum dwellers is mostly based on geographical difference between slum dwellers and tourists and portraying slums as a tourist destination. These differences are used to claim slum dwellers are inferior to tourists. In contrast, the representations of slum dwellers as the Other that are challenged are mostly based on economic and social differences. These differences are then used to show the hardships of the slum dwellers, provide a broader insight into their reality and call tourists to action to address the inequality between them and the slum dwellers. It is **recommended** for slum tourism research to no longer adopt a poverty discourse approach but consider it a part reality tourism. Moreover, discourse of actors involved in slum tourism should be more attentive of the various ways slum dwellers are Othered and change accordingly.

# Introduction

## 1.1 Topic and problem statement

The disadvantaged urban areas referred to as slums have been attracting relatively wealthier tourists for over two centuries (Steinbrink, 2012). Over the last four decades, an increasing amount of slums worldwide have become a tourism destination with commercially organised tours. This has made slum tourism a distinct niche in the global tourism industry (Frenzel and Koens, 2012; Frenzel et al., 2015). The number of tourists partaking in slum tourism has also been growing and as a result slum tourism has even become a mass tourism phenomenon at certain destinations. To some tourists, slum tours are considered a must-do attraction. With this growth of slum tourism additionally came diversification. Although slums worldwide are considered the result of socioeconomic segregation, each slum and its tours are based on specific local context (Rolfes, 2010). Due to the contextual diversity there is no typical set up or content for a slum tour but most tours do bring about a discussion on poverty, inequality and power relations (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012).

Slum tourism is argued to be based on tourists' curiosity about the lives of people in other parts of the world (Frenzel et al., 2015). For tourists, slum tourism turns insecurity, a sense of danger and the unknown into an adventurous activity. A slum is thus considered to be the place of *the Other* and is constructed and represented that way through *Othering*. This Othering entails the ways that tourists use discourse to oppose themselves from slum dwellers and make them to be inferior (Jensen, 2011). Dichotomous thinking lies at the base of Othering as the slum dwellers only gain meaning by opposing tourists and the touristic world. Through Othering, a distinction is created between tourists and slum dwellers that can be based on economic, social, ethno-cultural, historical, political or geographical differences (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). What the Other exactly entails differs per situation and time, but tourists mostly construct themselves as wealthy, mobile and powerful while the slum dwellers are perceived as dirty, poor and inferior (Steinbrink, 2012). With slum tourism growing into a global phenomenon, the distinction between Western tourists that visit non-Western slum dwellers and tourists from the Global North visiting slums in the Global South have gained importance.

Besides the oppositions, Othering and slum tourism are both based on a stereotypical representations. In the case of slum tourism, the stereotypical representations created by the media consist of a mainly negative discourse linking slum dwellers to violence, exploitation and deprivation (Dürr, Jaffe and Jones, 2012). These stereotypical representations of slum dwellers are important as they impact tourists' decision to visit a slum or not. In addition, many tour operators and their guides aim to challenge these stereotypical and negative

representations created by the media (Meschkank, 2011). However, with the rise of the internet it has become possible for both tour operators and tourists to create and share their own discourse on slum dwellers and slums online. Through this, both can challenge, change or support the dominant representations of slum dwellers and slums that consist worldwide (Milano, Baggio and Piattelli, 2011).

The construction and support of the representations of slum dwellers as the Other is a problem as these representations have real-life implications (Pritchard and Morgen, 2000). In sustaining the distinctions between tourists and slum dwellers, unequal relations between the two are kept in place. For the Other, in this case the slum dwellers, it can result in exclusion, marginalization and discrimination within the globalizing world (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). To establish to what extent and how slum tourism contributes to the unequal relations between tourists and slum dwellers, this research will examine how online slum tourism discourse supports or challenges a structure of inferiority and superiority by representing slum dwellers as the Other. To get an insight in the ways this Othering of slum dwellers is done, this research examines representations of slum dwellers from various slums worldwide, including the most researched slum destinations in Cape Town, Rio de Janeiro and Mumbai.

## 1.2 Research objective and questions

This research's main objective is to set out more precisely online slum tourism discourse relates to representations of slum dwellers as the Other. This is done by setting up a detailed and extensive framework of Othering mechanisms and applying it to online slum tourism discourse of both tour operators and tourists. This will provide an insight into how both groups support or challenge the representations of slum dwellers as the Other. As slum tourism has become a global phenomenon, this research will include the Othering of slum dwellers from various regions of the world. The main research question is formulated as:

*In what ways does the online discourse on slum tourism written by tour operators and tourists relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*

To be able to answer the multi-facet main research question, it has been set out in two sub-questions:

1. *How does the online discourse on slum tourism of tour operators relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*
2. *How does the online discourse on slum tourism of tourists relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*

These research questions follow from the problem statement and will guide this research. The next chapters place the research question in context and will show how the questions are answered.

### 1.3 Research relevance

This research has an academic and societal relevance. Academically, this research contributes to the framework of Othering within slum tourism. Besides a peak of interest around 2012, research on this topic has remained relatively limited. By focusing on the underexposed online discourse that includes Othering, this research makes a more recent contribution and moves beyond the more researched Othering as done by tour guides. Moreover, the field of slum tourism research consists mostly of single case studies while this research adopts a global scope (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). Although the extent and set up of this research are not designed for making generalisations, this wider scope will give an insight into the online Othering of slum dwellers from various slums. Lastly, this research is in line with Frenzel et al.'s (2015) call for more research addressing the relationship between slum tourism and tourists' perspective of slums, but with a specific focus on Othering.

Additionally, this research has a societal relevance. It has been pointed out that Othering has been integrated in slum tourism (Frenzel, 2012). This research will examine in more detail in what ways the online discourse on slum tourism supports or challenges the Othering of slum dwellers. By doing so, it will become possible to suggest how this Othering discourse could be adjusted in order to minimize the real-life impact on the slum dwellers.

### 1.4 Thesis outline

This thesis is structured into chapters to logically report on this research. Chapter 2 gives an overview of existing academic literature on slum tourism and Othering that form the theoretical framework at the base of this research. Then Chapter 3 elaborates on the relevant research methodology and methods, in this case a critical discourse analysis, used to answer the research questions. After, Chapter 4 describes and discusses the research outcomes based on the analysis that is done. In Chapter 5 the results of the research are discussed in relation to the theoretical framework constructed in Chapter 2. The last section, Chapter 6, provides the concluding remarks of this research as well as related recommendations.

## 2. Theoretical framing and literature

In this chapter the theoretical foundation is build that will lead the research, provide basis for answering the research questions and place this research withing the already existing literature on slum tourism and Othering. The aim of tis research is to apply an extended framework of Othering to slum tourism in order to explore how the online representations of slum dwellers supports or challenges the idea of them as the Other. Therefore, the concepts of slum tourism and Othering will be set out theoretically in this chapter. Firstly the general background to slums and slum tourism are addressed in order to explain this research's definition and use of both. After, building on the general background that is given, varying perspectives on slum tourism are discussed to be able to indicate the implications of these perspectives on the Othering of the slum dwellers. Then, the importance of online representations of the slum dwellers is elaborated on next by examining how these representations are created, shared and consumed. These representations result from the different perspectives on slum tourism and form the base of Othering. The last section will specify the process of Othering and the multiple ways in which slum dwellers have been constructed as the Other.

### 2.1 Slums as a tourists destination

#### 2.1.1 Defining a slum

Although tourism in slums is a worldwide phenomenon, in becomes clear form examining literature that the term *slum* lacks a clear and universally agreed upon definition (Dürr and Jaffe, 2012; Gilbert, 2007; Lilford et al., 2019). As a result the term slum has multiple interpretations and is used in various ways. In their articles, authors do explain their interpretation of slums. Kalandides and Hernandez-Garcia (2013) refer to the areas as informal settlements that are built by people themselves. Slum areas are also referred to as sites of deprivation (Linke, 2012) or urban areas characterized by poverty, squalor and violence (Dürr and Jaffe, 2012). Lilford et al. (2019) take the term broader and sees slums as spatial concentrations of poverty. Moreover, Dyson (2012) argues that the term *slum* is used inaccurately and almost automatically to refer to any place and its population considered problematic. An example is the Indian neighbourhood Dharavi that is generally referred to as slum, also by the UN. However, unlike other slums in India and worldwide, the area is characterised by relatively low unemployment and exceptionally high turnovers.

Despite the ambiguity surrounding the term slum, one definition that is cited regularly is that of the UN-Habitat from 2003 (Rolfes, 2010; Dyson, 2012). This definition sets out five characteristics for a slum, being inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructures, poor structural quality of housing, over-crowding and,

lastly, insecure residential status. With this definition the UN attempts to create absolute measures for defining a minimal level of physical needs and thus whether an area is regarded as slum. However, as pointed out by Gilbert (2007), this definition presents some problems. For one, it does not take into account the diversity of provisions, services and infrastructure within a so-called slum. It is also noted that, besides an absolute definition and measures, there is the relative aspect to the concept of slums. In being relative, slums are context-specific and are viewed differently per culture, social class and period of time (Dürr and Jaffe, 2012).

The many factors influencing the interpretation of slums showcase the difficulty in concretely defining a slum area. Specifically defining the term *slum* as a allocated bordered areas with specific characteristics is beyond the scope of this research and not considered necessary. Although a consensus on what a slum entails can be useful for distinguishing slums from non-slum areas (Lilford et al., 2019), such a geographic dichotomy does not adequately address the different social processes incorporated in urban spaces. This research is therefore not concerned with providing such an objective definition but rather focusses how people perceive and represent slums and slum dwellers. The relative interpretation will thus be the centre of this research, additional to, in accordance to what Steinbrink (2012) states is important, interpreting the slum and it dwellers within a tourism context. Therefore, this research will address all areas with its inhabitants that are referred to as being a slum in multitude by actors involved in tourism.

### 2.1.2 The base of slum tourism

Just as tourism in general, slum tourism is based on what is different and unknown (Steinbrink, 2012). Slum tourism fits this thought as wealthy tourists have been attracted by, to them, unknown disadvantaged areas since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then, the upper(-middle) class inhabitants of London, United Kingdom, visited the poorer areas of the city in their free time (Koven, 2006). This leisure activity, named *slumming*, was primarily aimed at discovering the other unknown parts of the city and interacting with poorer people. Back then, social groups were thus separated mainly on an economic base. The social practice of slumming expanded to North America towards the end of the nineteenth century. Here, slumming was still aimed at discovering unknown parts of the city and but, instead of focussing on economically lower classes, slumming was an activity for western Americans wanting to visit non-western groups. So in this specific time and place, slumming was mainly based on the ethnic Other.

Since the 1990's the activity of slumming has become more global as it has spread further across both the northern and southern hemisphere. The tourists, still being mostly Western,

expanded their curiosity in other people's lives across the globe and slum tourism has gotten increasingly organized and commercialized (Rolfes, 2010; Linke, 2012). These developments arguably mark the emerge of the type of slum tourism that is still known nowadays. Both the number of slum tourism destinations and the amount of tourists partaking in slum tourism has been growing. Therefore, slum tourism is argued to no longer be a marginal activity but instead a global trend (Frenzel and Koens, 2013). With the growth of slum tourism globally it can be said slum destinations have diversified and slum tourism is now a mass tourism phenomenon at some destinations while remaining a niche at others (Frenzel et al., 2015).

## 2.2 Slum dwellers as the Other

This growth and diversification of slum tourism worldwide has led to an increasing amount of perspectives on the nature of slum tourism and respective representations of the phenomenon have risen (Rolfes, 2010) also affecting the Othering of slum dwellers and their slums. This uncertainty regarding the nature of slum tourism can at least partially be ascribed to the fact that most research on slum tourism is based on unique case studies from which transferring broader concepts and theoretical angles is difficult (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). Due to different authors taking a contrasting perspective, slum tourism is still considered to be part of various forms of tourism in the literature. Amongst others, slum tourism is claimed to be part of dark or disaster tourism (Linke, 2012), responsible tourism (Dürr and Jaffe, 2012), ethnic or cultural tourism (Steinbrink, 2012), pro-poor tourism (Burgold, Frenzel and Rolfes, 2013), poverty tourism (Dürr, Jaffe and Jones, 2020; Whyte, Sellinger and Outterson, 2011; Meschkank, 2011) and reality tourism (Meschkank, 2011; Rolfes, 2010; Dyson, 2012). Although arguments are given to claim slum tourism to be part of each of these forms of tourism the latter two are considered by most authors and have been written about most extensively. Therefore, the approaches of poverty tourism and reality tourism will now be set out in order to determine the implications of these approaches for the Othering of the slum dwellers.

Slum tourism is often classified as poverty tourism as many authors perceive it to be a phenomenon solely about experiencing the exotic poor (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). In their article, Dürr, Jaffe and Jones (2020) claim that slum tourism enhances and relies on the commodification of poverty and urban deprivation. It is even suggested that, instead of slum tourism, a more appropriate name for the phenomenon would be urban poverty tourism. To Meschkank (2011) slum tourism is also part of poverty tourism because tourists' main expectations of slum tours are poverty and an insight into the lives of the other poorer population. This commodification of poverty is criticized as being exploitative and voyeuristic and as a result slum tourism is also referred to as negative sightseeing. Whyte, Sellinger and Outterson (2011) agree slum tourism to be part of poverty tourism. This is so as the discourse

of slum tourism centres around poverty and the commodification of it during tours. Poverty has gained value and has become a must-do attraction for tourists.

Other authors contest slum tourism to simply be presented as experiencing the lives of the poor population and recognize its complexity in also drawing attention to violence, inequality, ethics, power and subjectivity. Rolfes (2010) argues that by referring to slum tourism as poverty tourism or poorism, poverty and squalor are placed at the centre of this form of tourism. Although this appears to align with the tourists' expectations of slum tourism, it arguably does not match with the content of the tours and their promotion. Even though these tours do portray slums as the other side of a destination, they do focus on other aspects of society while poverty and misery are only present in the background. Examples are tours focussing on economic activity, which is done in the Indian neighbourhood Dharavi, or on ethnicity, like visiting the ethnic Other in South African townships.

Steinbrink (2012) points out that even though slums are represented as places of poverty this does not mean slum tourism is part of poverty tourism. Tourists visiting slums is more about visiting places of 'the unknown Other' and therefore reaches beyond solely economic differences, for example into social aspects like culture as well. Slum tourism is therefore also represented as a part of reality tourism (Meschkank, 2011), implying that slum tourism inherently challenges any form of Othering of the slum dwellers and their slums. This is arguably done by tour operators and guides portraying them in a more realistic and authentic way in order to condemn any stereotypes or false representations of slum dwellers known to tourists. Various ways to create a more realistic and authentic representations will be discussed in §2.3.1. It can thus be argued that these tour operators and guides reject any form of Othering through presenting slum dwellers to tourists in a real and authentic way that does not allow for the slum dwellers to be any type of Other.

It is shown that contesting perspectives on slum tourism lead to the reinforcing or rejecting of certain representations of slum dwellers. The separation between poverty and reality is based on the assumed nature of slum tourism, how tour operators present slum dwellers in their tours and what tourists expect of slums. In this sense, different actors thus have a different take on what slum tourism entails and what lies at its base and therefore will also have a different perspective of slum dwellers as the Other. This ambiguity is reinforced by the varying slum tourism destination that all have their own tour operators challenging such Othering. Taking it more general, Dyson (2012) adopts a critical perspective in questioning if and how reality can ever be presented in slum tourism. His interpretive approach to reality

acknowledges the existence of multiple realities, meaning there will always be multiple representations of the slum dwellers, and also of the slum dwellers as the Other.

## 2.3 Creating and distributing representations

The previous section has shown varying perspectives on slum tourism, through representations, allow for either reinforcing or rejecting representations of slum dwellers as the Other. Currently these, to some extent stereotypical, representations of slum dwellers and their slums circulate globally on the internet. As these representations form the base of Othering, it is important to understand how they are created, shared and consumed within slum tourism.

### 2.3.1 The contested representations of slum dwellers

According to Hall (1997, p.45), representation is “*an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture, it involves the use of language, or signs and images which stand for or represent things*”. In short, representation can thus be understood as meaning that is being created and attached to things through written and spoken language and images. According to Pritchard and Morgen (2000) representation does not exist in isolation but can have real-life implications and can change through economic, social, political and historical context. In tourism, representations are especially linked to culture and have the power to form, change or reject identities. The consequences of tourism representations will be mostly for the destination and population that is being represented, in this case the slum dwellers (Pritchard and Morgen, 2000). Tourists are affected by destination representations as well (Meschkank, 2011). Before their trip, the destination representations can make tourists curious about slums as other part of the world and affects their decision to visit slum or not. During the trip, the tourists either aspire to have a real-life experience of the slum images they have seen represented or explicitly aim to compare images to the actual situation of the slum dwellers.

Crucial to creating any representation is said to be discourse (Fairclough, Muldering and Wodak, 2011). Discourse can be explained as a group of statements that represent specific knowledge or a particular way of thinking in text as well as in behaviour. Public slum discourse is illustrated to be led by negative words like negative sightseeing, poverty, violence, sordidness, inequality, voyeurism and exploitation. Resulting from this, the most familiar global representations of slums in the twenty first century is argued to be that of violence and deprivation (Dürr, Jaffe and Jones, 2020). As many people are said to be aware of this discourse, using these words creates segregation, for example between people from the global

north and south, and places a stigma on the slum dwellers (Meschkank, 2011; Steinbrink, 2012; Rolfes, 2010).

Multiple actors have the power to influence the representations of slum dwellers. It is argued the media create a particular stereotypical representation by continuously linking poverty, crime and illness to slum discourse (Dürr, Jaffe and Jones, 2020). However, as mentioned before, tour operators also have an influence by creating their own representations of the slum dwellers and convey these preferred representations both online and at the destination (Rolfes, 2010). Dürr, Jaffe and Jones (2020) notice how tour operators and guides adjust their tours to the preconceptions and expectations of the tourists. For example, poverty and violence are exaggerated so the representations contributes to establishing a particular image and brand that attracts tourists. In such cases, tourists are led to believe the slum tours can provide them with exclusive access into the violent lives of the poor urban Other while this could be staged.

Opposed to highlighting what tourists expect, more tour operators and guides choose their representations carefully in an attempt to challenge traditional and stereotypical representations of slum dwellers and their slums as the Other that have been created by the media (Dürr, Jaffe and Jones, 2020; Meschkank, 2011). The tour operators and guides consider these media representations to be exaggerated and unnecessarily negative. In response, the tour operators aim to create the notion of reality and authenticity around their tours by offering a local tour guide, claiming an insight into private life of the slum dwellers, showing the economic situation and realizing conversational contact between the tourists and the slum dwellers (Rolfes, 2010). In taking such particular approach, the guides can put the focus of the tour on several aspects of the lives in the slum while implicitly underexposing others.

Another way that guides try to challenge the dominant representations is by attempting to turn tourists' negative connotations of poverty and slum dwellers more positive during a tour (Rolfes, 2010). The more negatively associated aspects of slums, like living conditions, poverty and violence, are not or only limitedly named in the online content. A different way to challenge generally stereotypical representations is by setting out multidimensional representations of the slum dwellers lives to surpass a focus solely on them as the economic Other. Such an explicitly chosen more positive narrative is realized through focusing on aspects like cultural heritage, economic activity of the slum dwellers and development projects. However, trying to challenge negative stereotypes of slum dwellers through only focusing on positive aspects is argued to lead to a simplification of poverty (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). Although such a

simplification makes it easier to sell poverty to tourists, it does downplay the despair and hardships related to it.

Although it has been shown that tour operators and guides can create a particular representation, reality remains to be observer-dependent (Meschkank, 2011). Therefore, the representations of slum dwellers, for example of them as the unknown Other, is created by tour operators and guides but the interpretation still lies with the tourists (Dyson, 2012). This recognises that tourists do not just accept representations, but have agency in actively interpreting them. Each tourist is thought to interpret a slum tour differently depending at least partially on their preconceptions. Tourists' personal prior knowledge and perception of slum dwellers and their slums can be obtained through various representations, like the media, other tourists or tourism businesses. This preconceived image determines the gaze that each tourist adopts during their visit to a slum. The reality that these tourists construct for themselves during the tour can later be shared with others, possibly providing an adjusted reality of that of the tour operators.

### 2.3.2 The impact of the internet

Destination representations in the tourism industry, including the contested stereotypical representations of slum dwellers as the Other, are being strengthened by digital communication of globally linked networks. Just as Urry (2002) has suggested that '*Not only do tourists travel but so too do objects, cultures, and images*'. In line with this statement, Dürr, Jaffe and Jones (2020) argue that imaginaries of people and places being (re)produced through representations that circulate globally as well as through local interaction. The global circulation of representations is possible through films, pictures and texts. The communication channels allowing for such representations take many forms, like books, video's, websites, exhibitions and music. According to Meschkank (2011) the interest of tourists in visiting slums has increased at least partially due to the increased, mostly western, media and entertainment representations of slums. The main example which also named by many other authors is the film *Slumdog Millionaire* (Dyson, 2012; Frenzel and Koens, 2012; Meschkank, 2011; Rolfes, 2010). This award-winning film is set in an Indian slum and portrays local life. After the film came out the number of tourists in India partaking in a slum tour trebled.

One of the global communication channels allowing representations of any destination to circulate is the internet. The internet is said to have fundamentally changed the way tourism representations are searched for, distributed and consumed (Xiang, Magnini and Fesenmaier, 2015). In the first decade of the internet, from around 1992 to 2002, businesses and organizations within the travel industry took the opportunity to set up information for tourists.

Over the last two decades the internet has changed with the rise of Web2.0, which has allowed tourists to create online content themselves (Milano, Baggio and Piattelli, 2011). Individual tourists got the opportunity to show their own trip online in their own preferred way. This means, besides traditional mouth-to-mouth contact, tourists have now additionally become a big group that influences the representations of slum dwellers and their slums worldwide. The internet can thus be seen as providing a digital mouth-to-mouth communication that has greater reach and, even though other tourists' opinions are subjective, are believed by other tourists to be reliable. Although many formats for sharing information are available on the internet, often used are video's or text supported by photos (Pudliner, 2007). These texts with corresponding photos could for example be on review sites or in blogs.

Xiang, Wöber and Fesenmeier (2008) point out that a difference is found in how the tourism industry, either in real life or online, portrays its products and how tourists represent their experiences of these products. For example, the description of a tour given by the tour operator can differ from tourists reviews afterwards. However, as this research adopts an interpretive approach, it is assumed viable that both can have a different perception of the tourism product and how they construct this into a representation later. The more important issue is to realize any representation created of slum dwellers are personal and always will be only partial. According to Hunter (2008) representations are not objective and only exist within the specific context of the creator and receiver's social reality. Each individual has its own social reality and therefore creates and interprets representations in a unique way. This means the representations of slum dwellers as the Other can generally circulate globally, but exact interpretations are individual.

## 2.4 Othering the slum dwellers

The representations discussed before form the base for the process of Othering. This Othering is an important process in tourism and is said to be inherently part of slum tourism (Frenzel, 2012). This section will set out various ways of Othering and different type of Others that have been related to slum tourism in order to develop a more extensive framework on Othering.

### 2.4.1 The process of Othering

Tourism is based on marketing differences that partially exist through Othering. Various definitions of Othering have risen based on Edward Said's social construction of Orientalism. The most extensive definition refers to Othering as '*a process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between "us" and "them" – between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained*' (Jensen, 2011). In other words, the more powerful group constructs something or someone as inferior,

and oppose themselves from this inferiority. Othering is thus the construction of the identity of the inferior Other (them) by the superior Self (us). A relatively well-known example is that of nonindigenous groups Othering the indigenous populations in colonialised countries, like Australia and Canada (Bresner, 2010). According to Todorov (1984) the relationship between the Other and the Self is based on multiple dimensions:

1. Social distance, the Other is thought to be far away physically as well as psychologically
2. Value judgments, values are placed on the Other based on perception
3. Knowledge, the Other's culture and history are mostly unknown

Dichotomies and stereotypical representations are argued to form the base for Othering. Aitchison (2001) points out that dichotomies, or binary oppositions, are part of constructing people and places as the Other. Such dichotomies portray how something gains meaning merely by opposing something else. In the case of Othering, the Other is solely constructed and meaningful in opposition of the Self. Besides the us-them and powerful-powerless opposites mentioned in the given definition, Othering can involve any related dichotomy, like inside-outside, core-periphery, authentic-unauthentic and local-global. As mentioned, stereotypes that are created through representations a part of Othering. These mass generalizations offer a simplistic representation of the Other by not accounting for context or individual differences. Therefore, stereotypical representations are seen as a way to highlight the Otherness of the Other. Through discourse, the Other is being reduced to stereotypical representations of mostly negative characteristics (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019).

Aside from dichotomies and stereotypical representations, Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) have identified four mechanisms of Othering. Firstly, in line with the previous paragraph, the individuals considered as the Other are objectified into stereotypes. Secondly, behaviour of the Other is decontextualized and therefore can seem irrational. Thirdly, relevant historical implications are ignored when addressing the Other. Fourth, and last, is not taking into consideration the perspective of the Other when Othering. Although these dichotomies and mechanisms are thought to create a symbolic border between the Self and the Other, the effects of this separation are real. The Others are argued to be silenced and their representations of themselves is overruled by the representations of the powerful. In addition, exclusion, marginalization and discrimination can result from Othering.

#### 2.4.2 Slum dwellers as the Other through time

Othering is based on different stereotypes and dichotomies and has taken on multiple forms within a tourism context. According to Frenzel (2012) current international tourism is fixed within a post-colonial structure combining Othering specifically with the differences in power,

mobility and income between the Other and the tourists. This difference is particularly great in slum tourism, which is why the process of Othering is argued to be a mechanism inherent to slum tourism. Slums are considered to be places of the unknown Other often represented as being uncivilized, chaotic and shocking (Frenzel et al., 2015). According to Steinbrink (2012) tourists visiting a slum has always been motivated by wanting to experience the Other. However, it is pointed out that what the Other exactly entails varies throughout different periods in time depending on the corresponding social context. Therefore, Steinbrink classifies slum tourism and related Othering into three main phases.

The first phase of slum tourism, and also Othering, was back in 19th-century London and is named Moral slumming by Steinbrink (2012). Then, visiting the side of the city considered a slum was based on the cultural differences between economic classes. In this period, the Other was constructed as being poor, dirty and sinful. The second phase slum tourism, in early 20<sup>th</sup>-century America, is named Ethnic slumming. Again, visiting the other side of a city was the main activity. This time however, the Other is based on differences between immigrant cultures, like Italian or Chinese, and thus ethno-cultural. It is said visiting slums became tourism in this period due to commercialisation. These commercial tours additionally emphasized the spatial difference between the slums and non-slums. The third phase of slum tourism and Othering lasts from the early 21<sup>st</sup> century up until today and is considered Global slumming. This phase of slum tourism includes characteristics of the previous phases but has evolved through globalization. Instead of focussing on the other side of a city, slum tourism is now based on differences around the world. The Other is constructed as being more authentic and local opposing the global tourists.

The Western world has been considered one of the powerful groups constructing the non-Western world as the Other in multiple ways for a longer period. According to Harmer and Lumsden (2019) these constructions of the non-Western Others are mostly based on imaginative representations, like generalizations of entire population groups. However, as slum tourism and Othering have mainly been changing through globalisation within the recent phase of Global slumming, other distinction besides Western and non-Western have gained importance. As suggested by Steinbrink (2012), the local-global opposition has become the main separation for Othering in current slum tourism. The tourists are considered to symbolise the global, while the slum dwellers are characterised as local. In addition, the distinction between tourists coming from the Northern hemisphere while most slums are situated on the Southern hemisphere has gained importance.

Although the tourism industry is said to be a one-way structure allowing Western tourists to visit slums, it is also argued to have the power to reinforce or challenge the structural and cultural power relations that facilitate Othering (Aitchison, 2001). Tourism organizations can choose to market destinations and its population either in line with the dominant representations of the Other or not. Tour operators and their guides choose the narrative of a tour and its specific marketing which challenges or accepts the common representations of the Other. The tourists themselves consume the Other at the destination and afterwards either reproduce or challenge the common representations (Dürri et al., 2020). This way, tourism organization, tour operators and tourists all have their impact on the construction and representations of the Other in specific destinations.

A point of critique concerning the process of Othering is the lack of agency ascribed to the Others (Jensen, 2011; Harmer and Lumsden, 2019). It is argued the Others are actively involved in the process of Othering instead of being passive bystanders. With their agency, the Others can either refuse or accept the common representations constructed of them. In slum tourism's context, the local Others can attempt to oppose the representations of themselves as the Other but might also accept and capitalise on it. Accepting the representations of the Other can help attracting tourists and be economically beneficial. In addition, Steinbrink (2012) insists that neither the tourists nor the Others should be considered fixed to their cultural and societal role within the tourism industry. As this is more open to change, the power relations between the local population and tourists can also shift.

## 2.5 Concluding on the theoretical framework

This chapter has shown how the process of Othering is embedded in slum tourism and how this has developed since the start of slum tourism. Discourse, stereotypical representations and dichotomies are elaborated to be crucial to the construction and representations of slum dwellers as the Other. At the same time, the global network of the internet has supported and shared such dominant representations throughout the world. Altogether, this chapter has set out the various forms of the Other that have been ascribed to slum dwellers and through which mechanisms these forms of the Other are constructed. Gathering all these forms of Othering and the mechanisms to do so has resulted in an extensive framework of Othering, see figure 1 below. Such a framework has not yet been found in the literature and can be applied to slum tourism discourse to analyse Othering of slum dwellers extensively.

Othering mechanisms
Placing value judgement on the Other
Creating social distance between the Self and the Other
Lack of cultural and historical knowledge of the Other
Objectifying the Other into a stereotype
Decontextualising behaviour of the Other
Ignoring the perspective of the Other (silencing)
Generalizing individuals into a group
Using binary oppositions

Binary oppositions	
Economic Other	
Poor	Not poor
Ethnic/Cultural Other	
Western	Non-western
Traditional	Untraditional
Geographical Other	
Global	Local
North	South
Front region	Back region
Core	Periphery
Slum	Non-slum
Urban	Nonurban
Valuable	Worthless
Historical Other	
Coloniser	Colonialised
Social Other	
Powerful	Powerless
Us	Them
Inside	Outside
Touristic Other	
Real	Unreal
Authentic	Unauthentic
Unique	Not unique

Figure 1: Extensive framework of Othering

### 3. Methodology and research methods

The aim of this research is to contribute to a better understanding of how the representations of slum dwellers as the Other are reinforced or challenged in online discourse of tourists and tour operators. This will be realized through applying an extensive framework of Othering to online slum tourism discourse. In this chapter the methodological underpinning as well as used methods for this research are discussed. Firstly, the research design is set out, elaborating on the paradigm, the type of research and the approach. After that the research methods are discussed that set out the operationalization and data collection plan. Lastly, the researcher's positionality and research constraints are debated.

#### 3.1 Research Design

##### 3.1.1 Constructionism

As this research is conducted within the field of social sciences, it is imperative to adopt a research paradigm. Such a paradigm provides directions for research to ensure knowledge is created adequately (Guba and Lincoln, 1988). A constructionist research approach suits studies aimed at understanding how meaning is attached through language. The is that the material world does not have meaning, but humans attach meaning to it through language (Hall, 2011).

An important aspect of the constructionist paradigm is the denial of one fixed reality by asserting that multiple realities exist. It is argued that reality is deemed to be both socially constructed and context dependent. People are thus considered co-constructors of their own reality, in which language plays an important role (Scotland, 2012). For slum tourism, this implies that slum tours are experienced differently by each individual that understands the addressed topics in their own personal and unique way. The tourists are therefore said to be co-constructors of slum tourism experiences.

##### 3.1.2 Exploratory qualitative research

Slum tourism is a specific form of tourism and has gained most attention around the year 2012. Although publications are still made, the academic research on slum tourism has remained limited. The studies done mostly address the ethics surrounding this form of tourism, the development of slums as tourism destinations and the role of tour guides in slum tours. So far, the online representations of slum dwellers, both in general and as the Other, through slum tour discourse has been academically underexplored. Due to the minimal information available on online slum tourism discourse and the representations of slum dwellers as the Other, this study is considered to be exploratory.

Moreover, as this research centres around representations created in slum tourism, qualitative research methods are found most appropriate and in line with the research paradigm. As Boeije (2010) states “*The purpose of qualitative research is to describe and understand social phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them*”. Such a qualitative approach allows for a more in-depth understanding of peoples’ experiences, thoughts and feelings.

## 3.2 Methodological framework

### 3.2.1 Language, meaning and discourse

As mentioned before, representation is “*an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture, it involves the use of language, or signs and images which stand for or represent things*” (Hall, 1997, p.45). In short, representations can thus be understood as meaning that is being created and attached to things through language. Here, language is interpreted openly and includes both our writing and speaking language as well as images. More specifically, meaning is constructed through two systems of representation; mental representations and this broad form of language. The former encompasses concepts created in the mind that organize all things into meaningful categories. This makes it possible to produce and exchange representations within cultures. The latter allows for representations to be shared through language. It can thus be said that meaning consists of representations and representations consist of written and spoken language as well as images. Therefore, it is essential to understand both when addressing representations and meaning.

Saussure (in Hall, 1997) takes a semiotic approach and argues language to be made up of the relationship between and combinations of signs. Such signs consists of the *signifier*, being the forms of expression of language (e.g. words or images) and the *signified*, the mental concepts related to these signs. To actually construct meaning the *signifier* and the *signified* should be together and be defined in relation to other signs. Critiquing this thought, Hall (2011) considers language to be a practice made up of signs like words, images, meanings etcetera. It is argued that semiotics presents language as a closed system while it should be considered as a more open system connected to social knowledge and power. When embedding the signs of language into a broader context, especially the *signified* are argued to stand in relation to culture, knowledge and history.

Moving to a more open system, Foucault claims discourse is at the centre of representations. Discourse is a considered a group of statements that represent specific knowledge or a particular way of thinking in text as well as in behaviour (Fairclough, Muldering and Wodak,

2011). Foucault's ideas on discourse have been influential in the social sciences (Hall, 1997). The focus of his perspective was how knowledge and power are created within social practices. Discourse is "*a group of statements which provide a language for talking about, and (thus) a way of representing the knowledge about, a particular topic at a particular historical moment, discourse is (then) about the production of knowledge through language*" (in Hall, 1997, p. 44).

In this Foucauldian approach, people or social groups attached meaning to the material world within a specific time and culture. Outside of this time and culture, the discourse will have no meaning. Therefore, it is argued that everything in people's lives is socially constructed. Language, again both written and spoken as well as images, is considered to help compose discourse (Hall, 1997). Discourse thus defines the knowledge people have of a particular topic and how this knowledge is shared. The foundation of the constructionist theory on representations and meaning is the idea that physical things and actions exist but only acquire meaning and become objects of knowledge through discourse (Hall, 2011).

### 3.2.2 Critical discourse analysis

Discourse analysis recognizes that language shapes people's perspective on the world and reality. Feighery (2006) states that the relation between discourse, society and culture is reciprocal. Discourse is created of culture and society but at the same time society and culture are shaped by discourse. An analysis of discourse can therefore not be done without taking into account society and culture. It can thus be said that discourse is useful in analysing how people understand themselves, especially within their culture, and how knowledge about shared meanings is produced through written and spoken language as well as images (Hall, 2011). Although discourse is said to consist of both text and images, CDA is mostly aimed solely at the textual part of discourse. Due to the limited time available, this research will also only consider textual discourse.

Qualitative and textual data has the potential to portray how groups of people make sense of and reflect on their world and that of others. Discourse analysis allows for examining such data (Hannam and Knox, 2005). With a discourse analysis one can try to find out what is in the text, but, more importantly, also look at less obvious hidden meanings. The analysis in detail deconstructs the in-depth meanings of texts within a specific social context. More specifically, it is stated that "*researchers are asked to examine the relationships between the object and its representation, the representation and the interpreter and the interpreter and the object.*" (Hannam and Knox, 2005)

A specific form of discourse analysis is the critical discourse analysis (from now on CDA). CDA is not seen as much as method but rather as an approach for analysing texts. The main aim of CDA is to uncover transparent as well as more blurry structural relationships of power, dominance and control that are revealed in texts (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). In addition, CDA can point out how discourse can normalize and legitimize certain ideologies and help understand complex phenomena in society (Qian, Wei and Law, 2018). For this research, the contested power relations and underlying ideologies of slum tourism will thus be explored through texts. However, simply exploring the power relations will not be sufficient as a CDA is expected to bring forth proposals to correct certain discourses and change the social issue it centres.

Another important characteristic of CDA is that it goes beyond merely describing realities. A CDA reviews existing realities through current values and explains why these realities exist. Although a CDA is a relatively difficult analysis, it will provide valuable insights into the relation between texts and society (Qian, Wei and Law, 2018). One aspect to consider regarding the representations of such realities is the power embedded in it. Power determines who's reality is denied or silenced and who's reality is accepted and more widely recognized (Muldoon and Mair, 2016). In taking a deeper and more critical approach, CDA is argued to contribute to developing more nuanced understanding of discourse. As a result, this creates the opportunity to include a relatively critical perspective to tourism research (Hannam and Knox, 2005) which in this case will be specifically on slum tourism.

On top of viewing reality as socially constructed, CDA differs from textual analysis in multiple ways (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002 ). For one, CDA is context specific as it assumes texts are produced and read within a complex real-world context. Then, it addresses societal issues within broader a culture, politics and society. Additionally, in addressing societal issues, CDA researchers mostly take an ethical stand and call readers to action. Lastly, CDA attempts to show how the three different levels of analysis are interconnected when analyzing a text. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) elaborate on these interconnected levels of analysis, being the text, the discursive practice and the social practice (see figure 2). First, discourse at text level examines the linguistic organization and features of a text like vocabulary, structure and grammar. The second level considers discourse as a discursive practice and explores the production, distribution, circulation and consumption of the texts within society. Lastly, discourse as social practice delves into the way discourse is embedded in a wider context, ideologies and powerful processes.

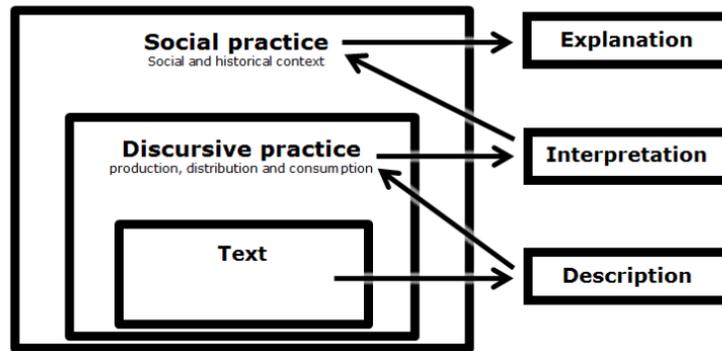


Figure 2: Three-dimensional model of discourse (Fairclough in Jorgenson and Phillips, 2002)

Even though CDA is argued to contribute to research on discourse, power and in this case tourism, it has been critiqued much. A major point addressed is that the researcher will analyse the discourse from his or her own reality including biases and prejudices (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). Moreover, the texts being analysed are part of a wider discourse that portray a certain phenomenon. As a result the discourses analysed will always be partial as selected texts are unable to convey the whole story on any cultural phenomenon, including tourism (Hannam and Knox, 2005). Criticism specifically on Fairclough's model that is represented in Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) points out that data is overanalysed due to the fact that the discursive practice and social practice cannot fully be separated. A bigger critique is how the model lacks the inclusion of the aforementioned mental representation of the system of representations (Hall, 1997).

### 3.3 Data collection

It has become clear from the previous sections that reality is not thought to be captured fully in this research, or any research for that matter. However, as mentioned before, CDA is still valuable as it aims to explain why realities exist through analyzing context-specific text and addressing broader cultural, political and societal aspects. As this research aims to contribute to a better understanding of the Othering of slum dwellers of different locations worldwide, it is relevant to provide some context on the research areas, being slums in South Africa, Brazil, India, Kenya and the Philippines. This will be done through examining how and why slum and slum tourism are set up for each destination specifically. Moreover, in order to get a valuable insight in the how the representations of slum dwellers as the Other in online tourism discourse, both the perspective of the tour operators and the tourists will be examined. This will be done through a critical discourse analysis of online texts. In this section, the research areas, the data collection and all included decisions are set out.

### 3.3.1 The research areas

Rolfes (2010) distinguishes three main slum destinations worldwide, being South Africa, Brazil and India. Although the slums in these countries, as well as slums elsewhere, are all being characterized by socio-economic segregation, they all have their own unique background and social processes from which tourism is built. In light of broadening the scope of slum tourism, this research also examines slums in Kenya and the Philippines.

In Brazil, slum tourism, or in this case also specifically named favela tourism, in Brazil is mainly situated in the city Rio de Janeiro (Frenzel et al., 2015). With their own specific historical and political background, the favela tours centre around crime and violence, especially in relation to drug trade (Rolfes, 2010). Although these themes are contrasting a safe tourism environment, they are thought to give favelas a more exotic, lively and adventurous atmosphere that tourists seem to seek. Many different tour operators organise various favela tours. As Rio de Janeiro matures as a slum destination, more specialised tours, like ne specifically for funk music tours, have risen (Frenzel et al., 2015). Over the decades, the favela tours are said to have contributed to a more positive images of favelas (Frenzel and Koens, 2012).

Another popular slum destination is South Africa. Here, slum tourism, or specifically named township tourism, has become mass-tourism spread across the country (Frenzel et al., 2015). The township tours in South Africa are based on the historical and political background of the country in relation to ethnic diversity (Rolfes, 2010). The base was formed on the ethnic segregation of the South African Apartheid, which separated black and white inhabitants of South Africa physically, culturally and politically. Back then, the tours were led by residents of the townships. Although by now Apartheid has officially ended, the current post-apartheid townships show that the segregation has not ended. The current focus of these tours therefore remains socio-critical but additionally portrays culture and local lifestyle. Additionally, the tours are now mostly organized by large tour operators. Burgold and Rolfes (2013) argue that most of these tour operators assume tourists to want to experience the real and Other side of South Africa, in this case non-white, and therefore adjust their marketing to this. Instead of emphasising poverty and suffering the tour operators focus on the positive, like community and development projects.

More recently than in Brazil and South Africa, slum tourism has grown in India. The largest slum in Asia, situated in Mumbai, is named Dharavi and attracts many tourists (Rolfes, 2010). The Indian slum tours in Dharavi show the everyday lives of the slum dwellers and focus on the divers economic activity in the area. The slum is characterises by a uncharacteristically low

unemployment rate as industry provides most slum dwellers with a job. However, still meeting tourists expectations, the poor local working and living conditions of the community are portrayed as being authentic and real (Meschkank, 2010). Due to Dharavi having some unconventional characteristics, the slum can be understood and represented in various ways (Dyson, 2012). Unlike the other two destinations, slum tourism in Dharavi is organised almost solely by one tour operator (Frenzel et al., 2015).

As slum tourism has grown over the past three decades, so has the number of slum destinations. Although the previous named slums remain the most visited, other slums have increasingly attracted visitors too (Frenzel et al, 2015). Amongst others, countries where slum tourism has grown are Mexico, Jamaica (Dürr and Jaffe, 2012), Argentina, Egypt, Indonesia, Thailand, Zambia (Steinbrink, 2012), Colombia (Kalandides and Hernandez-Garcia, 2013), Kenya and the Philippines (Burgold and Rolfes, 2013). Due to relatively much online representations, the context of the Kenyan and Filipino slums will now be discussed shortly.

The slum Kibera is situated in Nairobi in Kenya and attracts tourism. According to Chege and Mwisukha (2013) most of the tours are organised by one tour operator. The main idea behind the tours is to create awareness around the hardships of the poor that inhabit the slum. Most of the slum dwellers in Kibera earn money by informal activities involved in tourism, like dancing, singing or selling souvenirs to tourists. Then, in Manila, Philippines, multiple slums have tours. Due to a lack of academic research, the nature of the tours and its specific context given cannot be discovered. Therefore, based on the contexts provided in this chapter for other slum tours, a more general slum context is expected for slum tourism in Manila.

### 3.3.2 Othering discourse of tour operators

The previous section has shown that each slum location has its own background and relation to tourism. According to Govers and Go (2004), the online marketing of tourism products, thus also that of the slum tours at various locations, is said to form a destination image through text and photographic material. These destination representations created through the online discourse are not necessarily true as it can emphasize parts of a destination while underlighting other. Therefore, it can thus be argued that these tour operators convey their specific perspective, in this case on slum dwellers as the Other, through their website. Such an online destination image still impact on potential tourists as the majority of the adult internet users search and shop for travel related services online. Therefore, websites of tour operators are considered a relevant source of data for this research, conducted in June and July in 2021.

The internet offers many ways to search for information. It is decided to search for relevant online discourse on slum tourism through Google.com, as in 2021 this is the most used search engine internationally (Law, 2020). The online discourse on slum dwellers of tour operators is sought on websites where these operators offer and advertise their slum tours. To search for relevant content, various combinations of terms that address slum tourism in the research area are used. A complete overview of the search terms can be found in appendix A. Each search results in a list websites that address slum tourism, of which the site an specific parts offering and selling a slum tour in English or Dutch were chosen. It is important to note that only the personal websites of the tour operators are included, meaning other platforms and social media, like TripAdvisor and Instagram or Facebook, are excluded from this research. The list of websites resulting from the searches in Google.com was examined until no new websites came up, being the point of saturation. This has led to a total of 53 websites of tour operators included in this research. See appendix B for the full list of websites and appendix C for additional background information per website.

### 3.3.3 Tourists' online Othering discourse

To get a broader perspective, the discourse of tourists is analyzed in addition to that of the tour operators. As mentioned before, tourists have gotten the opportunity to share their perceptions and perspective, in this case on slum dwellers as the Other, through the internet. Such content created by internet user is referred to as User Generated Content (UGC) (Akehurst, 2009). One of the ways that UGC allows for digital mouth-to-mouth communication of tourists is through blogs. These blogs are webpages that include text and sometimes also images referring to slum dwellers in the context of a commercial and organized slum tour. Travel blogs created by tourists are considered to portray tourists perceptions and experiences of a destinations and are available to anyone with open internet. In examining how the representations of slum dwellers as the Other online is supported or challenged, blogs are therefore considered relevant sources for this research.

Finding blogs to examine discourse including the Othering slum dwellers has been done similarly to the search for that of the tour operators. Again in June and July 2021, a combination of terms was used in Google.com to get to relevant websites that have the tourists discourse (see Appendix A). The advertised websites on top of the result list in Google.com are also ignored and only personal websites are included in this research, thus excluding platforms like TripAdvisor and social media like Instagram or Facebook. For this method the list of websites provided by Google.com that provide a blog website discussing a slum tour in English or Dutch was examined until the point of saturation. This has led to a total of 64 blogs of tourists that are included in this research. See appendix D for the full list.

### 3.4 Data analysis

After the data has been collected, an analysis will be done on all 117 texts. As pointed out by Huckin (1997), there is not one standardized way of doing a critical discourse analysis and therefore the approach used in this research will be set out clearly. In the data analysis the extended framework of Othering of slum dwellers is incorporated. Figure 1 gives an overview of the forms of Othering as found in the literature and Othering mechanisms as discussed in Chapter 2.

Due to the unstandardized way of doing an CDA, the analysis will be discussed in detail. Huckin (1997) has set out ways to critically analyze discourse as researcher. In the table below Huckin's (1997) way of doing an CDA is placed within Fairclough's three-dimensional model as presented by Jorgenson and Philips (2002) and adapted to fit this the process of Othering as set out in Chapter 2. The CDA done for this research will follow this table as it provides an extensive and relevant framework that can be used for analyzing Othering mechanisms and types of Other constructed in online slum tourism discourse.

<b>Dimension 1: Text</b>	
<b>Text as a whole</b>	
Genre	What type of text is it?
Framing	How is the text presented? What perspective is taken? Are visuals included?
Foregrounding	Are certain concepts emphasized through the use of headings or keywords?
Backgrounding	Are certain concepts minimized through a lack of attention given to them?
Omission	Are certain concepts ignored by being left out of the text completely?
Presupposition	Are ideas or perspective taken for granted and represented as the truth with no alternative?
<b>Sentence by sentence</b>	
Topicalization	What is being contrasted as the topic in most sentences?
Agency	Which agents are constructed to have agency and to which agents is no agency ascribed?
Presupposition	Are statements taken for granted and represented as the truth with no alternative?
Insinuation	Are any comments made that have a double meaning and can therefore be difficult to challenge?
<b>Words and phrases</b>	
Connotations	Do any words or phrases have a special meaning attached to them? Any labels or metaphors?
Register	How is the text structured in regards to the degree of formality, technicality and linguistics?
Modality	What level of authority is conveyed by using specific words?
<b>Dimension 2: Discursive practice</b>	
Production	Who produced this text? (see also appendix C)

Distribution	How is the text distributed?
Consumption	Who is the intent audience for the text?
<b>Dimension 3: Social practice</b>	
How can the relationship between the text, its discursive practice and the social and historical context of the process of Othering be explained? As what kind of Other are slum dwellers presented and how is this done within it specific slum tourism context? (See the extensive framework in Figure 1)	

Table 1 Steps textual CDA

The output gotten from following table 3.2 as an CDA analysis will show how mechanisms are used for supporting or challenging the representations of slum dwellers as the Other in online texts.

### 3.5 Reflections and positionality

In this chapter the research activities have been set out as detailed as possible in order to ensure methodological accountability (Boeije, 2010). However, there are still some aspects that need consideration and reflection.

The specific choice for methods in this research inherently results in challenges and limitations. In a research that mainly revolves around discourse, one of the main limitations results from the missing language skills of the researcher. I, as the researcher, am only able to sufficiently understand Dutch and English spoken or written. The native languages in the research areas reach beyond these two and so does the online discourse of tourists and tour operators that was gathered online. Due to this lack of skills, certain text have been excluded from this research while they did come up in the search and could have included valuable data.

Another important aspect to reflect on is the positionality of myself as the researcher. According to Boeije (2010) a study cannot be objective as it will always be at least partially influenced by the researcher's experiences, opinions, ideas and worldviews. This is especially so for this research as it is qualitative and, as mentioned before, CDA requires the researcher to be the research tool. It can thus be said that, despite the structural outset of the methods, my personal life affects the interpretation and meaning given to texts that have been analyzed.

Additionally, as a Western researcher addressing tourism in non-Western countries, it is especially important to be wary of Said's (1978) appropriation. This refers to a powerful group sustaining a dominant perspective of the 'Other' through text. This research aims to show the representations of slum dwellers as the Other is supported or challenged from multiple perspectives that have their own reality, while being aware of my bias as a researcher.

## 4. Results

As mentioned before, Othering is considered a problem as it can result in exclusion, marginalization and discrimination for the group that is constructed and represented as the Other thus as the inferior group (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Resulting from this problem, the research questions are:

*In what ways does the online discourse on slum tourism written by tour operators and tourists relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*

- 1. How does the online discourse on slum tourism of tour operators relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*
- 2. How does the online discourse on slum tourism of tourists relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*

This chapter will answer the first and second sub-question based on the results from the discourse analysis.

### 4.1 Tour operators' representation of slum dwellers as the Other

This section will address the role of tour operators in supporting or challenging the representations of slum dwellers. Although sometimes tour operators are slum residents, they are the mediators between tourists and slum dwellers in general (Dürr, Jaffe and Jones, 2020). Being the link between the two groups and a source that tourists get information from, it is relevant to know their discourse on the slum dwellers in relation to Othering. Therefore, the texts that tour operators share via their website for potential tourists to read are analysed. This will provide answers to the first sub-question, that reads *How does the online discourse on slum tourism of tour operators relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*

#### 4.1.1 The economic Other

Economic Othering is, as discussed in §2.4.2, people constructing themselves as superior based on financial means by distinguishing themselves from people that is made to be inferior (Steinbrink, 2012). Per location the relevant exposing or supporting of economic Othering will be set out.

##### Brazil

On their websites, four tour operators in Brazil address the poverty of the slum dwellers. This displays the economic structure between the slum dwellers and the tourism industry.

These social projects are financed by FAVELA TOUR. Besides regular classes, the school teaches local kids initial computer skills, English classes, music, capoeira, ballet classes etc... These projects have no financial support from Brazilian government and relies on FAVELA TOUR to be properly financed. (OB8)

The quote indicates how the lack of financial support from the government makes the slum dwellers dependent on the money of tourists for education. This shows the slum dwellers to be in an economic lesser position and be dependent on tourism money. However, no value judgment was placed on this dependency as it only highlights this unequal relation to contextualizes the complex economic reality (Todorov, 1984). Through not suggesting the tourists to be superior, economic Othering of the slum dwellers can thus be said not to be exposed or discouraged. This tour operator also calls for a different perspective on slums.

Why Should You Go? Most people relate to Rio's favelas with poverty & violence, but this tour shows a different perspective of hope and beauty! (OB8)

This tour takes you to Rocinha, the largest favela in the country. Picturesque from a distance, the favela reveals a complex architecture, developing commerce and friendly people (OB8)

This statement does not deny any poverty and violence in the slum dwellers' lives but aims to diversify this stereotypical representation by taking a more positive perspective of 'hope and beauty' (Rolfes, 2010). In doing so, the tour operator provides a broader insight in to the slum dwellers lives, address the knowledge lack of tourists and moves away from reducing the slum dweller to a negative stereotype at the base of economic Othering (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Todorov, 1984; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). This could thus also hinder possible financial exclusion or discrimination. Another website also addresses the stereotypical perspective of slum dwellers and places the poverty into perspective.

Some favelas are poorer than others, but nobody is starving, homeless or begging money. 90% of its inhabitants do have a job. If the favela can be poor, it is not that miserable. (OB16)

Here, poverty within the slums is recognized but argued to be different than what most tourists expect. This is done by explicitly stating the perception of slum dwellers to be 'starving, homeless or begging for money' is untrue because most slum dwellers have jobs. Moreover, the tour operator suggests that being poor does not inherently mean the slum dwellers are

miserable. Bringing a nuance to the perception of lives in poverty and the negative stereotyping of slum dwellers and therefore oppose the mechanisms for economic Othering the slum dwellers as suggested by Harmer and Lumsden (2019) and Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012).

### South Africa

Three tour operators in South African slums mention the economic difference between tourists and slum dwellers on their websites. In part, this inequality is addressed to indicate how tourists can help the slum dwellers economically.

The local residents in townships welcome you and encourage tours to take place in their communities, as it is one way in which they have an opportunity to get involved in the tourism sector. The tours are operated on a non profit basis and a fee goes directly to the people we visit who make this tour possible. (OSA2)

The AWOL tourism project in Masiphumelele has generated significant, sustainable benefits and has proven to provide real, lasting benefits for the local people. To make an additional donation to our partner charity, Masicorp please click on the donate button below. (OSA2)

Fair Mundo Travel works together closely with local communities to improve their living conditions. If you book this bicycle tour, you contribute directly to this. This is the way that the township tour creates employment for local guides, bicycle repair workers, restaurants and shebeens. (OSA11, author's translation from Dutch)

These statements show that a connection with tourists can be beneficial for the slum dwellers in terms of financial development. The presence of tourists in the slums creates jobs and earnings for the slum dwellers. Although this indicates the slum dwellers to be somewhat financially dependent on tourists and tourism, a structure of superiority and inferiority, exclusion or discrimination is not claimed or exposed (Jensen, 2011; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Also, no other mechanism of Othering are applied in these statements, so economic Othering of the slum dwellers is not confirmed.

### India

On three websites of Indian slum tour operators the economic situation of the slum dwellers is included. In these cases, the tour operators state their aim to challenge the negative stereotype on poverty of the slum dwellers.

Our friendly tour operators do take you the spot where Slumdog millionaire was actually filmed. The tour is primarily focused to reflect the income generating side of Dharavi and with the expansions breaking all the stereotype negativity. (OI4)

Here it is noted that the focus of the tour is on showing tourists the economic activity generated by the slum dwellers with the aim of 'breaking all the stereotype negativity'. The negative stereotypes that form the base of economic Othering of the slum dwellers are thus being replaced with a more realistic and positive perspective (Rolfes, 2010). This could challenge the idea of Indian slum dwellers as the economic Other and could mitigate financial exclusion and discrimination (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). However, it should be noted that only focusing on the positive and omitting any hardships and poverty in place can again create a false reality for tourists (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). Another website does acknowledge poverty in the slum.

Normally people think slum is all poor people left there, but we are trying to show the different set of Dharavi slums which is a sense of community and friendly and hard work hard-working people. That is a place where many different kinds of people live, there are very poor people and also very very rich. (OI6)

This tour operator does recognize poverty of the slum dwellers but still opts for challenging the solely negative stereotype. Creating such a broader perspective of the complex reality and also focusing also on positive aspects provides an alternative for the mechanisms of reducing slum dwellers to a negative stereotype (Rolfes, 2010; Harmer and Lumsden, 2019). These stereotypes form the base of economic Othering and possible consequences, which are thus challenged here .

### Kenya

The tour operators involved in the Kenyan slums also consider the economic situation of the slum dwellers. Two tour operators indicate an unequal financial structure to be in place between tourists and slum dwellers.

Avoid giving out money, which furthers the perception that tourists equals to money (OK6)

Avoid donating cash – instead consider supporting Kibera initiatives you visit by offering tangible goods such as food or supplies or through the purchase of products and services. This will ensure that the intent of your support is realized immediately. Examples of items for donation include: children's books, fruits, snacks, and other

children essentials. School supplies such as pencils, pens, crayons, and notebooks.  
(OK7)

The above statements make clear there is a structure in the Kibera slums in which the tourists are superior to the slum dwellers based on their financial means. It is suggested that the tourists are keeping this structure in place by handing out money to the slum dwellers and therefore indirectly cause them to be the economic Other (Aitchison, 2001). In this case the Othering can result in a loss of dignity for the slum dwellers. Although the notion of slum dwellers as the economic Other is currently in place, the tour calls for a change.

### Philippines

References to economic Othering of Filipino slum dwellers is not included on the websites of tour operators active in the Philippines. Although poverty is mentioned on some websites, there is no relation of superiority or inferiority suggested.

#### 4.1.2 The geographical Other

Geographical Othering is, as discussed in §2.4.2, people claiming power and superiority based on their place of home or living by distinguishing themselves from others attached to another geographical place that is made to be inferior (Van Houtum and Naerssen, 2002). For example, the global North is often thought to be more powerful than the global South. As shown in the extensive framework in figure 1, geographic Othering can take on binaries of local-global, global South-North, periphery-core, slum-non-slum, urban-nonurban and valuable-worthless. According to Frenzel et al. (2015) and Aitchison (2001), slums represent the places of the unknown Other and will be included in the analysis in this section due to its geographical nature.

### Brazil

Of the Brazilian tour operators, one discusses a geographical distinction between slums and non-slums on their website.

Please do not think that a favela is a dangerous slum. Poor people had to do everything by their own due to the lack of urban policy in the 50s and 60s. They took the land available and started to create this second world... Nowadays, people in favelas do have access to drinkable water, electricity, sewage system, houses are built with bricks and concrete... (OB16)

You are more than welcome to do this tour so you can change your mind if you have some bad stereotypes about the favelas. It is not at all what you can read in some (ignorant?) guide books. Moreover, people are very nice and warm, there is a very friendly atmosphere, you feel like if you were in a village. There are a lot of life, kids playing, neighbors speaking on their entrance door (OB16)

The first quote addresses slums as a 'second world' through which they are separated from non-slum areas. Although the quote refers to slums ranking second behind non-slums, the discourse does not imply the slums and its dwellers to be inferior. This is not the case because the geographical separation is contextualized and shows the complex reality in the slum, thus opposing Othering mechanism as argued by Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012). The second quote distinguishes slums as separate areas like 'in a village', which provides a positive connotation to the separation of slums and non-slum areas. In both quotes the tour operators attempt to challenge the negative stereotypes of slums by stating positive aspects and developments that have been realized. This hinders the possibility for slums to be reduced to negative stereotypes that form the base of geographical Othering (Rolfes, 2010; Harmer and Lumsden, 2019). Another tour operator stresses the importance of slums for the surrounding area.

You will access the community and see a side of Rio beyond the traditional postcards. Our tour guides are has a strong knowledge. You'll learn about the history of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, industrialization and how the favelas of Rio always played an important role in the expansion of the city. (OB5)

This tour operator argues slums to be valuable by pointing out their 'important role' in the expansion of Rio de Janeiro. In doing so, the slums are distinguished from non-slum areas in the city but are important rather than inferior (Jensen, 2011). Therefore, this quote implicitly contributes to countering the idea of slums as the geographical Other as well as related exclusion.

### South Africa

Of the South African tour operators, six have written about a geographical distinction between slums and non-slums on their websites. One tour operator gives a nuanced image of the lives in the slums.

On the face of it, townships seem to be sprawling, chaotic zones, overflowing with South Africa's most disadvantaged citizens. This is true to some extent, but come on our Emzini Township Tour and you will delve deeper and recognize that townships are also

places of great strength, courage, song, dance, survival, love and yes, happiness. (OSA10)

In the mornings we visit a Pre-School, teeming with exuberant, laughing children, where you will be given the most amazing welcome, and you will have no choice but to interact with them and for that, they will sing their joyous songs! (OSA10)

Although the negative side to slums are acknowledge in this statement, the focus is on expanding this stereotypical representation of the areas to a more positive perspective (Rolfes, 2010). By characterizing slums as places with positive notions, like strength, love, dance and happiness, a more divers scope of the slums is provided which stops the reduction to a negative stereotype (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Here, human emotion and traits are used to describe the slum as a place in general. This aligns with Chatterjee (2012) argument that Othering is place contingent. Therefore, explicitly highlighting this positive part of reality in slums challenges negative stereotypes and goes against both geographical Othering of the slum and social Othering of its dwellers. On the website of another tour operator, living in the slums is seen as something positive.

What to expect? Cape Town's born local Guides who know their Township very well. Join us for a 3 to 4 hour Cape Town township tour with a local tour guide. The tour consists of minimal walking for a better experience to interact with the locals. (OSA4)

Eat, walk and talk to the locals, enjoy the diversity of cultures of our amazing people and country. Embark on this private township tour cape town and experience beautiful africa's way of living at a full length. (OSA4)

Cape Town is home to one of the oldest of these so called "Black Townships" and we will take you into the heart of one of them with an experienced local guide who was born and raised in Langa Township. (OSA7)

Both quotes show how the slum dwellers are characterized as being local and are distinguished from international tourists (Steinbrink, 2012). This distinguishes slum dwellers both geographically and socially, but does not attain any inferiority to slums or slum dwellers. Opposingly, the localness of the slum and its dwellers ascribes them knowledge and authority over the tourists. This means that the idea of slum dweller as the inferior Other is implicitly challenged by valuing their geographical localness as a group.

### India

References to geographical Othering of Indian slums or slum dwellers is not included on the websites of tour operators. Although slums are distinguished as specific separated area on some websites, this is not compared non-slum areas. Other binaries used in Othering discourse are neither included.

### Kenya

One of the Kenyan tour operators discusses the geographical position of the Kibera compared to the rest of the city Nairobi. It is debated if a distinction of the slum compared to non-slum areas can be made.

On the outskirts of Nairobi, Kibera is at once part of one of Africa's most developed cities and at the same times stands apart from it. Yes, there is a lot of poverty here, but there's also a sense of freedom. This fringe metropolis is not bound by the same rules as the rest of the city. It is an organic and sprawling free space where social and artistic enterprises can evolve outside the confines of more formal settlement. (OK4)

The tour operator claims the slum is both part of the surrounding city as well as separated from it. The slum is described as 'an organic and sprawling free space' that has advantages compared to the non-slum parts of the city. The quote indicates the complex reality of a slum and its surroundings. In addressing this complex reality and framing the area positively, the reduction of the slum into a negative stereotype is hindered. This hampers the notion of Kenyan slums as the Other based on geographical characteristics (Rolfes, 2010; Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Additionally, the tour operator's discourse can go against excluding or discriminating the slums as a specific place.

### Philippines

Addressing the Filipino slums on their website, four tour operators mention a geographical distinction between slums and non-slum areas.

See the other side of Manila. See Manila's slums. We are running eye-opening day tours around Metro Manila, done by our tourleaders from underprivileged communities (OP1)

It is stated that the slums are 'the other side of Manila', which suggests they only gain meaning by opposing non-slum areas and do not have touristic value on their own. This indicates slums are separated areas and referring to the 'underprivileged communities' enables the negative

stereotypes tourists have of slums and their dwellers. In doing so, the tour operators supports the idea that slums are inferior to non-slums and thus the representation of slums as the geographical Other (Jensen, 2011). The slum and its dwellers are not being addressed with dignity and such a representation can be exclusionary and discriminatory. Another tour operator takes a different perspective to slums.

These tours may take you to the “ugly” sides of the Philippines, but they will leave a great impact on you. We can’t tell what will be your own personal impression, but be sure you’ll be challenged. These tours are all important, interesting, fun and more than everything, essential to your full Philippines experience. (OP2)

The neighborhoods where the tours visit were considered dangerous, and still aren’t very pleasant. They are dirty, poor, and seriously overcrowded. It’s still ill-advised for tourists to visit these places by themselves because it’s extremely hectic easy to get lost. This is why most people avoid them altogether, and miss an important part of local culture. (OP2)

Here the tour operator acknowledges the popular notion that slums are the ugly part of the Philippines, which distinguishes the slums as particular inferior areas. However, the perspective on slums is expanded to provide a broader insight into slums (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Stating that slums are essential for tourists to have a ‘full Philippines experience’ and are ‘an important part of local culture’ implies slums are a crucial part of the country and hold value for tourists (Frenzel, 2012). This lessens the idea of slums as inferior to non-slums and with that also hinders geographical Othering of the slums. More tour operators agree that slums are particular distinctive areas.

Have you ever been to slums? Slums are totally another world that appears to be a stark contrast to our own lives. You will have the chance to see how scavengers strive for a living through recycling goods and making food from leftovers found in garbage bins. (OP6)

Slums are a whole other world. A world which at first glance seems so different to what the majority of our visitors are used to. We see people working hard peeling garlic, scavenging for recyclable goods and making food out of leftovers from garbage bins. (...) Life is tough, it's dirty but it's not a depressing place. People are smiling and getting on with life. Visit one of Manila's poorest areas where people try to live and work and call home. (OP5)

Both these quotes admit to slums being a different world than non-slums and that the lives of slum dwellers differs much from that of tourists. Although this distinction shows social distance, it does not claim any a structure of superiority and inferiority between slum dwellers and tourists based on geographic differences (Jensen, 2011). In the second quote, the positive aspect of slums and slum dwellers lives are highlighted to create a more holistic geographical and social approach to representing slums and their dwellers (Rolfes, 2010). As an explicit call is also made for tourists to better understand the slum dwellers' lives, as better knowledge between the two group and positive framing will object to the negative stereotypes. The tour operator thus implicitly contributes to limiting the representations of slums as the geographical Other and slum dwellers as the social Other based on geographic differences (Todorov, 1984). This could limit exclusion and discrimination of slums and their dwellers.

#### 4.1.3 The social Other

Social Othering is, as discussed in §2.4, people from a social group constructing themselves as superior by distinguishing themselves from people in another, then inferior, social group based on power differences. The tour operators could both challenge and reenforce the representation of slum dwellers as the social Other.

#### Brazil

On their websites, two tour operators in the Brazilian slums mention a distinction between slum dwellers and tourists based on being part of a different society.

Visitors get to see first hand the lifestyle of this community Rocinha. If you are looking for an insider point of brazilian view, the Favela Tourism Workshop will introduce you to another Rio. Be assured this in an absolutely safe tour as the locals welcome tourists and visitors alike. (OB10)

The Favela Tour is an illuminating experience if you look for an insider point of view of Brazil. The tour introduces you to Rio's favelas (950 in the city). Mostly placed on former public areas on the hillsides, they are now home to 20% of Rio's population. The tour is not only to explain favelas but to give you a whole new understanding about different aspects of Brazilian society. (OB8)

The tour operators make a distinction between slum dwellers as the insiders and the tourists as the outsiders. Although the slum dwellers have an insider perspective that tourist can seek,

there is not a difference in power between the two groups that can point to social Othering. Additionally, the tour operator explicitly suggests tourists to learn about slums and Brazilian society in the tour, which could counter the Othering mechanisms as argued by (Todorov, 1984) of maintaining a lack of knowledge and creating social distance.

### South Africa

The South African tour operators also address the slum dwellers and tourists to be part of different groups.

The local residents in townships welcome you and encourage tours to take place in their communities, as it is one way in which they have an opportunity to get involved in the tourism sector. (OSA2)

Here, it becomes clear the slum dwellers are part of a community that the tourists are outside of. This again creates an insider versus outsider separation between the two groups. However, there is no power difference suggested thus social Othering is not included.

### India and Kenya

The Indian and Kenyan tour operators have not made references to social Othering on their websites. Although the distinction between 'residents' and 'tourists' is used to address the slum dwellers and tourist there is no power structure implied.

### Philippines

One tour operator active in the Filipino slums mentions the different communities on the Philippines and how tourists relate to them.

For this reason we have partnered up with Smokey Tours, an NGO committed to raising awareness to social issues, and bridging the gap between communities in the Philippines. Their expertise in these areas allows us to bring tourists to the more authentic parts of Manila. All profits from these tours go back to the weakest communities in the Philippines, very much like the ones you'll visit. (OP2)

Here, it is acknowledge that tourists have the power to visit slums and provide help. However, this power difference is addressed in order to shed light on the inequality within the Philippines and recognizes the complex reality of Manila (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). The tour operator explicitly states the aim to bring 'awareness to social issues, and bridging the gap between communities'. By setting out this broader reality and calling for action, the tour operator

hinders the social Othering of the slum dwellers. Moreover, combined with countering the social Othering, the tour operator refers to the slums as ‘the more authentic parts of Manila’. This geographically distinguishes the slums from the non-slums. As this statement adheres value to the Filipino slums rather than to non-slum, it opposes the idea of them as the geographical Other.

#### 4.1.4 The touristic Other

Touristic Othering can, as discussed in §2.3.1, take on more forms. One is tourists constructing a simplified positive representation of other people and denying their hardship or negative aspects. The other is tourists constructing themselves as superior by distinguishing themselves from non-tourists that are made to be inferior. This section examines Othering of slum dweller also through the slum as an area, as slums represent the places of the unknown Other (Frenzel et al., 2015).

##### Brazil

On their websites, three Brazilian tour operators refer to slums and their dwellers as being authentic, real and the back region to tourism. For one, it is stated that visiting a slum and meeting the slum dwellers will mean moving away from the touristic path.

For many Rio de Janeiro means going to the beach and enjoying the Brazilian nightlife. If you are looking for a more authentic experience with the local residents, try exploring a favela with Favela Adventures (OB6, author’s translation from Dutch)

This tour operator argues visiting slums and meeting slum dwellers is ‘more authentic’ and different from other activities tourists undertake on vacation. Although the quote does create a distinction between slums and other touristic areas, it does not suggest the slums or the other touristic sites to be superior to one another (Jensen, 2011). Therefore, it does not engage with touristic Othering of slums. Additionally, a tour operator states slums are one of multiple realities.

The biggest purpose of our tour is to show another reality of Rio de Janeiro and along with that, give opportunity of work for those who lives in the community. We do not say we help, we show it to you as the guide lives inside the favela (OB10)

Your visit will create work opportunities within the community (...) This not only give to them work and education as improves both, their knowledge and their self-esteem. (OB10)

This tour operator takes a perspective that both slums and non-slums are real but simply different. By also addressing the slum dwellers' need for help, the tour operators sets out the more complex situation of the slum dwellers lives and hinders reducing the slum and its dwellers to a negative stereotype (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Also, no simplified representation of the slums is given through denying hardship and thus no touristic Othering is included here (Frenzel and Koens, 2012).

### South Africa

Of the tour operators in South African slums, one has mentioned slums to be a tourist attraction.

Cape Town as a destination has many wonderful attractions, for instance Table Mountain, Cape Point, Robben Island, and the Winelands. Many visitors to our shores do not realize that there is another side to Cape Town, and it is also an attraction that should be up there with the best of them and that is the Townships! (OSA7)

You will experience the unique and vibrant community that Langa has created through interacting with the people that call Langa home. Each day the Tour offers a different experience. Visit on a Sunday, and you may attend a church service. Come on a Friday, and you might end up dancing with locals at a bar! Whatever happens, it will be something that you will remember and talk about for many years to come (OSA 7)

This statement argues slums are similar to other touristic attractions. By reducing slums to an attraction and comparing them to areas such as a mountain and 'the Winelands', the more complex reality of the slum dwellers lives is ignored (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). Not mentioning the hardship of slum dwellers or other negative characteristics of slums provides a one-sided simplified representation of the slum which allows for touristic Othering of the slums.

### India

The tour operators in the Indian slums describe the slums to be the reality in India which opposes other parts of the country.

Experience the real side of Mumbai with a tour to Dharavi, one of the largest slums in the world. Find out how migrants from across India come here, bringing a unique blend of cultures. (OI3)

Once you cross the tracks into Dharavi, you're in for one of Mumbai's most interesting experiences. The slums are more than meets the eye, behind there is an unbreakable spirit amongst the local communities of Dharavi. The neighborhood bustles with industrial workers, artisans, and kids at play (OI3)

This experience will show you a side of Mumbai away from the touristy path. Discover the local way of life and how recycling plants are incredibly efficient at recycling all types of material. Hear how other members of the community spend time with the kids and teaching them the spirit of hip hop music. (OI3)

Slums are represented as the 'real side of Mumbai' away from the touristy path by this tour operator. Such a statement suggest that that slum dwellers' lives are the reality. Throughout the website, the tour operator focusses on positive aspects of the slum dwellers' lives, like referring to the 'unique blend of cultures', stating it is 'one of Mumbai's most interesting experiences' and their work being 'incredibly efficient'. An overall positive representation is created of the slums and its dwellers (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). However, although this tour operator does not address hardships of the slum dwellers, it does set many different parts of the society within the slums that tourists can relate to. Therefore, it both enables and challenges the touristic Othering of the slum dwellers.

### Kenya and Philippines

On the websites, the Kenya and Filipino slums and slum dwellers are not discussed in relation to touristic Othering. No distinction are made between slums and non-slum in regards to being real, unique or opposing a touristic front versus back region.

## 4.2 Tourists' representation of slums as the Other

Following the tour operators, this section will address the role of tourists in reinforcing or challenging the Othering of slum dwellers. The tourists have created these blogs to share their perspective on slum tours and tourism and for anyone interested in slum tourism or taking a tour to read. These blogs will be analyzed to answer the second sub-question: *How does the online discourse on slum tourism of tourists relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?* This section is based on the results of the discourse analysis.

### 4.2.1 The economic Other

Economic Othering is, as discussed in §2.4.2, people from a higher economic class constructing themselves as superior by distinguishing themselves from people from a lower economic class

that is made to be inferior (Steinbrink, 2012). Contributing to or challenging of the representation of slum dwellers as the economic Other will be discussed per slum locations when relevant.

### Brazil

The Brazilian slum dwellers are mentioned in seven blogs in relation to their economic situation by the tourists. Explaining the economic structure in Brazil, BB12 writes:

“While tanned sunbathers soak up the sun on the infamous beaches of Ipanema and Cocacabana, the other side of Rio de Janeiro rises up into the surrounding mountains. An estimated 750 favelas, or shanty towns, are found inside and around the city – the poor, crowded masses that service the city’s wealthy elite and thriving tourism industry.” (BB12)

This description of the Brazilian economic structure shows how the slums dwellers, the elite and tourists, as part of the tourism industry, are positioned relative to each other. The slum dwellers must work and service the wealthy tourists, which indicates the difference between their economic situation. The tourist criticizes this exposed structure as well as the role of tourism in enforcing it (Aitchison, 2001). Despite their lower economic position, the slum dwellers are indicated to be a crucial aspect in society. This shows the complex reality surrounding the Brazilian economy that includes slum dwellers and implicitly challenges the idea of them being inferior. Another tourists offers a nuance to stereotypical representations.

“I want to demystify the favela,” Russo said. “Yes, there are bad things here. But there are more good things.” When windows open onto neighborhoods once considered off limits, there’s an opportunity to shift perceptions from objectified narratives of poverty and danger to the humanized ones of residents making their way.” (BB8)

“I used to see guides from other places taking travelers around the favela,” Russo, our local guide, said as he began his story at the entrance to Vidigal favela. “What are they saying about my community if they don’t actually live here? I thought I could be a better guide. This favela is my home. I’ve spent my whole life here.” (BB8)

This statement displays how a slum dwellers perspective is included in a blog. The slum dweller perceives the ‘objectified narratives of poverty’ surrounding slums to be a problem and suggest shifting the focus to a more human narrative about the slum dwellers. Including this perspective implicitly opposes Othering, as it does not silence the slum dwellers (Krumer-Nevo

and Sidi, 2012). The tourist shows respect to the slum dweller by valuing the opinion and sharing it in the blog. Moreover, economic Othering of the slum dwellers is pointed out to be based on false assumptions.

“Upon hearing the buzzword ‘slum,’ the majority of people throughout the world would automatically assume that the residents did not work and lived in extreme poverty. I will admit that I naively fell into this category (...) I was surprised during the tour to learn that many of the people had jobs and a steady income” (BB7)

Here, the tourist admits to perceiving the stereotypical representations of slums dwellers’ living in ‘extreme poverty’ and be unemployed to be true before visiting a slum. Due to a lack of knowledge the stereotype was accepted. However, after the slum visit, it is argued the actual economic situation was better. As a result, the stereotypical representation is replaced with a truth that dignifies the slum dwellers work. This hinders the reduction of slum dwellers into a negative stereotype that forms the base of Othering (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019) and related exclusion. Both addressing the perspective from a slum dweller and challenging stereotypical representations oppose the mechanisms that can be used for portraying slum dwellers as the economic Other (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012).

### South Africa

The blogs on the South African slum dwellers address poverty and how wealth is divided within the country. Three blogs address the stark economic contrasts within the country related to skin colour.

The people most affected in these hard times are obviously the poor, meaning mostly black people; because although we do have white poverty (and it is growing rapidly), this is hardly the reality for most white South Africans. (BSA5)

Sure, there are still problems and challenges. No tour, bicycle or otherwise, will single-handedly fix that. After all, that’s life anywhere. With the legacy of apartheid, townships are still almost exclusively composed of poorer black South Africans and employment-anxious immigrants from further up the continent. (BSA3)

Townships were the places where the then South African apartheid government dictated black South Africans should live segregated from the rich white community. Ghettos, basically. (BSA12)

The tourists describe the past and present economic inequality in South Africa. By pointing out this financial difference based on skin colour, the blogs highlight the segregation and exclusion going on in the country. By referring to the processes in the past leading up to this segregation and poverty, mechanisms of Othering such as reducing slum dwellers into a negative stereotype and decontextualizing their situation are implicitly challenged (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012)

### India

The economic difference between Indian slum dwellers and tourists is mentioned in the blogs written by the tourists. In two blogs, this economic difference is recognized but instead of basing Othering on it, the blogs contextualize the economic difference and give a nuance to the representation of slum dwellers as the economic Other.

Most of us don't have the riches to afford a private jet and we often travel on public transport. Are we sad because we can't afford a private jet? No. Sad because we don't have a chauffeur driven limousine? Sad because we don't live in a 12 bedroom mansion? No. It's simply not part of our existence, our standard of living. In fact, we don't even know what we're missing. Likewise, the residents of Dharavi are not feeling depressed because they don't have the same standard of living as us. They're far too busy making the most of what they have, not dwelling on what they don't have (BI2)

This fragment presents a comparison between the tourist and the slum dwellers and places the economic differences within a broader context of living standards. It is stated that although the financial means of slum dwellers is lower than that of tourists, it does not mean there is a structure of superiority and inferiority in place. This limits social distance between slum dwellers and the tourists and can, as argued by Todorov (1984), implicitly deter the idea of slum dwellers as the economic Other as well as related economic discrimination. Additionally, any assumed structure of inferiority and superiority is criticized in BI6:

Everyone should go on a Dharavi tour and experience it for themselves. In my view, anyone who is reluctant to do so because they're worried about "poverty tourism" needs to examine their egos and false sense of superiority. The people in Dharavi are not ashamed of how they live, nor are they miserable. (BI6)

I had just entered what is often labeled as Asia's largest slum. Yes, THAT slum, which rose to fame in the movie Slumdog Millionaire and angered many Indians for its portrayal of poverty. The movie has been referred to as an example of "poverty porn", one that

encourages perverse western voyeurism and promotes slum tourism and volunteering. And, there I was, about to embark on a two hour "slum tour" of Dharavi. But, if you think I was indulging in any kind of poverty voyeurism, think again (BI6)

Here it is stated that there is a 'false sense of superiority' amongst tourists based on being part of a higher economic class than slum dwellers and slum tourism is not 'poverty voyeurism'. This thus implicitly denies a structure of superiority and inferiority as embedded in Othering (Jensen, 2011) and hinders possible marginalization. Moreover, the tourist claims the slum dwellers are 'not ashamed' of their live and economic situation. This idea is strengthened in BI2:

It's important for everyone to come to Dharavi and see how it functions, see the industry going on here. This is not a place where poor people are depressed. Look around. Do you see any beggars? (BI2)

This statement includes a slum dweller's perspective and thus importantly does not silence them. It also challenges tourists' stereotypical perception of slum dwellers in extreme poverty (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). The acceptance of this false representation by tourists can be due to their lacking knowledge on the slums' economy (Todorov, 1984). Both focusing on a slum dwellers' perspective and explicitly challenging the stereotypes of slum dwellers can replace the notion of the slum dwellers being the inferior economic Other with a more dignifying perspective.

### Kenya

The economic situation of the Kenyan slum dwellers is discussed in five blogs, of which two support the idea of the slum dwellers as the economic Other. One way is by emphasizing their dependency on richer tourists and organizations for improvements or development.

Another volunteer organisation that I visited was a kind of community centre. (...) One of their biggest ventures is a training program they run for selected Kibera residents to learn how to use computers and run a cyber cafe. The program is offered for free to participants and is funded through the UN and Google. This is another great initiative which is contributing to improving the lives of others who would otherwise have no prospects. (BK3)

In this statement, the slum dwellers are claimed to 'have no prospects' without financial help from foreign tourists or organizations. Insinuating slum dwellers lack the ability to realize

development by themselves makes them seem dependent on others, can be marginalizing and degrading. This suggests an economic structure where slum dwellers are inferior to tourists and donating organizations, thus highlighting the economic Othering of the slum dwellers. It also shows the way tourism can keep the power relations in place, in this case between the superior tourist and inferior slum dweller (Aitchison, 2001). In addition, the Othering of slum dwellers is related to their ability to purchase things.

We also went to Kibera Town Centre, a building with offices, public showers and a small coffee shop where local people could buy their espressos and lattes and have some dignity, knowing that they were having the same experiences as their richer cousins in the city centre. (BK1)

In a side room was a bank of computers; these are free to use, and enable Kibera's residents to have email and Facebook accounts, and all the other things needed in the modern world to communicate and look for employment. It was a fabulous place. (BK1)

Here, the tourist states that the slum dwellers can 'have some dignity' when their behaviour and experiences equal that of richer people. The norm for having dignity is financial and buying product will get the slum dwellers dignity. This suggests that slum dwellers with lesser means do not have the same dignity as richer people, which implies the slum dweller to have an inferior position based on their lesser financial position (Steinbrink, 2012). The second quote shows the tourist does not think slum dwellers can afford to be part of the 'modern world' and need a centre with facilities to equal tourists. Both statements strengthen the unequal relation between poorer and richer people in the blog. This contributes to the notion of slum dwellers as the economic Other and related discrimination and marginalization.

### Philippines

Five blogs about the Filipino slums address the poverty of the slum dwellers. The economic difference between the slum dwellers and tourists is recognized in part of the blogs but mostly provides context for the economic situation of the slum dwellers without suggesting a structure of inferiority and superiority. In BP4 the economic difference between the slum dwellers and tourists is recognized without attaching any negative connotation or inferiority to it (Harmer and Lumsden, 2012).

Explaining the Manila slums and the people that live there is a tough job and one I've struggled to convey. Most of what I saw can simply not be explained. Life seems very unfair, I really wish there was not such a huge divide on this planet of rich and poor.

But from this experience I take away so much, and mostly the ability to smile in the toughest times and that happiness really has nothing to do with how much money is in your back pocket. (BP4)

I wasn't scared anymore, I felt calm inside and actually not shaken up or nervous but in awe of people's determination to live and their ability to smile. In no way am I saying the slum is a nice place, it is devastating, the conditions they live in are life threatening and I am all too aware that behind their smiles are years of pain and suffering. I wish we as westerner/ people living in 1st world countries had the determination to go and change this all but the truth is it cannot be done in one go. (BP4)

Throughout the blog, this tourist describes poverty as a circumstance in which the slum dwellers live multiple times. It is recognized slum dwellers live in poverty, dirt and 'devastating' living conditions. The tourist also emphasizes poverty does not stop the slum dwellers from being happy or smiling. Although this might downplay the hardships of poverty, it also humanizes the slum dwellers and challenges the solely negative stereotypes of slum dwellers (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012) . On the other hand, the tourist states that 'westerner/ people living in 1st world countries' have the power and economic ability to change the poverty for the slums dwellers. This suggests the slum dwellers to be economically inferior, as they cannot create economic change themselves (Jensen, 2011). Therefore, the idea of slum dwellers as the economic Other is both challenged and reinforced in this blog.

#### 4.2.2 The social Other

Social Othering is, as discussed in §2.4, people from a social group constructing themselves as superior by distinguishing themselves from people in another, then inferior, social group based on power differences (Frenzel, 2012). For each slum location the reinforcing or challenging of the representation of the social Other is discussed when present.

##### Brazil

In six blogs, the relation between Brazilian slum dwellers and tourists is addressed. The tourists have included slum dwellers' opinions on the power balance in this relation and the impact of slum tourism on it:

Tour guides will walk tourists through slums and villages so that they can gawp at local people and their way of life as if they are exhibitions in a human zoo. There is often no interaction or conversation with the community that lives there, no attempt to

understand local life. In the worst cases, companies will drive paying customers through Favelas in armoured cars as if the neighbourhoods are an urban extension of Knowsley Safari Park. (BB2)

What I do NOT like about the tours...the tours made in jeeps or trucks is the worst because it presents us like a zoo. The tourists have no contact with the locals and this reinforces a sense of possible danger. Tours or visits where the guests walk in the favela are more welcome. There is one company that tells their guests not to interact with the locals if they are approached. This is wrong. (BB17)

These statements describe the power structure between tourists and slum dwellers that is facilitated by tour operators. The slum dwellers admit to feeling like 'exhibitions in a human zoo' as tourists come to visit them in the slums, which shows the slum dwellers as the powerless while the tourists are the powerful. By highlighting this relationship and the role tourism has in it, the Othering of the slum dwellers is critically examined. Additionally, ways to mitigate this Othering are mentioned, like teaching the tourists more about the slum dwellers lives and establishing contact between slum dwellers and tourists. Both would reduce Todorov's (1984) social distance and hinder the social Othering of the slum dwellers and possible marginalization. Moreover, the tourists show they value the slum dwellers opinion by sharing their perspective in their blogs. As this opposes Krumer-Nevo and Sidi's (2012) silencing of the Other, it implicitly goes against the representation of slum dwellers as the social Other.

### South Africa

The tourists writing about the South African slums in their blogs distinct the tourists and slum dwellers into two separate groups, but there is no mention of a power structure between them. One tourist has written:

Some people shook our hands, gave us high fives. Many were just as curious about us as we were about them. (BSA4)

Although the quote shows the distinction being made between the social group of the tourists and the slum dwellers by using the terms 'us' and 'them', there is no power difference or structure of superiority and inferiority exposed (Jensen, 2011). The idea of South African slum dwellers as the social Other is thus neither reinforced or challenged here.

## India

In the blogs, the tourists and Indian slum dwellers are presented as two distinct groups. However, only two tourists discuss an unequal power structure and the role of slum tourism in strengthening this.

Yet the idea of a “slum tour” has never felt right to me. It reeks of racism and elitism: the slum’s inhabitants in the same position as animals in the zoo. The poor as freaks in a circus. (BI6)

This statement shows the tourist’s negative opinion on slum tourism due to the negative position of the slum dwellers. It is implied that the tourists are the powerful group that willingly put slum dwellers in a powerless position and cause them to be ‘animals in the zoo’ as well as ‘freaks in a circus’. By being critical of the role of tourism and tourists in maintaining such a power structure, the tourist judges the Othering of Indian slum dwellers and possible marginalization of this group. However, it must be noted that the tourist writing the blog has partaken in a slum tour, therefore is part of the tourism industry that supports the Othering of the slum dwellers. Moreover, the blog does not attempt to capture a broader and complex reality of slum tourism but rather focusses solely on the negative side by decontextualizing the tours (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012) and backgrounding potential positive aspects of slum tourism (Huckin, 1997). Two other blogs mention the power relation between slum dwellers and the tourists. Here the emphasis is on the restrictions that prevent tourists from taking pictures of the slum dwellers.

The guide, a native of another Mumbai slum, spoke excellent English and answered all questions. There’s a strict no-camera policy on the tour to protect the privacy of the residents (and prevent things from turning into a zoo) (BI1)

..picture-taking is strictly forbidden, except at one point when we climbed up for a rooftop view. While my travel blogger hands were itching to take pictures, forbidding photography shows respect for the dignity and privacy of the people living in the slum. (BI6)

In their blogs, the tourists show that the slum dwellers, here also the tour guide, have created restrictions surrounding camera use while in the slum. The slum dwellers thus have the power to create rules and restrictions that the tourists have to follow. This opposes the idea that slum dwellers are less powerful than the tourists, at least while being in the slum (Jensen, 2011; Steinbrink, 2012). Therefore, these blogs implicitly contribute to challenging the idea of the

dwellers as the social Other by recognizing their power. In addition, specifically acknowledging the importance of slum dwellers' privacy and valuing their dignity shows that the tourists do not agree to a structure of inferiority and superiority.

### Kenya

The tourists writing about the Kenyan slums in their blogs distinct the tourists and slum dwellers into two separate groups, but there is no mention of the power relation between them.

Life in Kibera is a struggle but it also has many positives (ex. cheap food and housing, talented youth, a strong community) that people outside don't know about. Those who see this disconnect explain people outside are ignorant of what life is truly like in Kibera or blame the media for covering only the negative stories of Kibera. (BK9)

Let them come and see how Kibera looks like and maybe interact with the people a little bit socially. And then they will know that the people of Kibera, they are very lovely people...When [the visitors] go back to where they came from, they will not have that negative perspective in their minds. So now the same-same visitors, outsiders, will help in preaching that Kibera is not a bad place (BK9)

These statements show how slum dwellers and tourists are addressed as separate social groups using the terms 'us' and 'them' (Jensen, 2011) and naming the tourists 'visitors' and 'outsiders'. However, there is no relation of power or structure of superiority and inferiority addressed in the blogs. What is mentioned is the negative perspective tourists have of slum dwellers and their lives. It is suggested that a visit to the slum is a way to change this negative stereotype into a more positive perspective and that tourists have the power to spread this new positive view later on outside the slum as well. Through providing a nuance to the stereotypical representations of slum dwellers and acknowledging tourists can be helpful in doing so, the tourist implicitly challenges the idea of slum dweller as the social Other.

### Philippines

One tourist examines the power structure between tourists and slum dwellers in the Filipino slums. In the blog, the perspective of a Filipino slum dweller on slum tourism is incorporated.

"I was outside my 100-square-foot house washing dishes, looking at the utensils with longing because I hadn't eaten in two days. Suddenly, a white woman was taking my picture. I felt like a tiger in a cage. Before I could say anything, she had moved on... Slum tourism is a one-way street: They get photos; we lose a piece of our dignity." (BP1)

Here, it is shown how the behavior of the tourists, facilitated by the tour guides, cause slum dwellers to feel like they lose their dignity without being able to do anything about it. This implies the tourists are the powerful group while the slum dwellers are powerless. In the blog, this unequal power structure between tourists and slum dwellers is critiqued and so is the role tourism has in keeping it in place (Aitchison, 2001). However, at the same time the tourist that wrote the blog did partake in a slum tour, thus also supporting the way tourism contributes to maintaining that unequal power structure. Next to highlighting this social Othering of the Filipino slum dwellers, it becomes apparent how this Othering could be stopped. The blog exactly explains how tourists can stop diminish slum dwellers: by not taking unwanted photographs. By including a slum dweller's perspective in the blog, the dwellers are not being silenced but instead their opinion is valued and dignified (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). A more complex reality to slum tourism is exposed that confronts the idea of slum dwellers as the social Other.

#### 4.2.3 The geographical Other

Geographical Othering is, as discussed in §2.4.2, people claiming power and superiority based on their place of home or living by distinguishing themselves from others attached to another geographical place that is made to be inferior (Van Houtum and Naerssen, 2002). For example, the global North is often thought to be more powerful than the global South. According to Frenzel et al. (2015), slums are considered places of the unknown Other and will be included in the analysis in this section due to its geographical nature. As shown in the extensive framework in figure 1, geographic Othering can take binaries of local-global, global South-North, periphery-core, slum-nonslum and urban-nonurban

#### Brazil

Most of the blogs on the Brazilian slums mention the geographical differentiating between tourists and slum dwellers by referring to the 'residents' and the 'foreigners'.

Our group was welcomed and lead by a woman who worked at one of the NGOs in the favela. One of the first things she told us was that the favela residents appreciated when foreigners toured their community because it often changed negative stereotypes associated with the slums (BB7)

Upon hearing the buzzword 'slum,' the majority of people throughout the world would automatically assume that the residents did not work and lived in extreme poverty. I

will admit that I naively fell into this category before shortly witnessing what life was like in the slum, through the eyes of a visitor, of course (BB7)

The media always made the slums appear disgusting and menacing, but I was pleasantly surprised to see other people calmly enjoying a meal during what appeared to be their lunch break from work. After we ate, we waited for the vans to come and pick us up. (BB7)

Although the first statement distinguishes the slum dwellers and tourists based on their nationality, there are no implications of a structure of inferiority and superiority. It is indicated that slum dwellers prefer to have the 'negative stereotypes associated with the slums' changed for the better. By including the slum dwellers perspective in the blog, the slum dwellers are not silenced and their opinion is valued. This implicitly counters Krumer-Nevo and Sidi's (2012) Othering mechanisms. The second and third statement show the tourist supports the slum dweller's intent to change the negative stereotype by claiming the stereotypical representation is incorrect and replace it with a more realistic notion. In one of the blogs, the Brazilian slums are described in line with this generally known negative stereotype.

Rio de Janeiro is world renowned for it's beautiful beaches and stunning landscapes, but you only need to look to the hills for a reminder of another, lesser known side to Rio. Brazil's slum areas, know as favelas, are a colourful but grim reminder of the poverty and violence that have famously plagued the city's past. (BB9)

Here, the slums are linked to poverty and violence while being opposed to other areas in the same city that are described as 'beautiful' and 'stunning'. This contrast highlights the negative stereotype of slums and supports the idea that slums are inferior to other non-slum areas in their surroundings. Only considering the negative stereotypical aspects of the slums does not allow for a nuanced reality. Therefore, the blog implicitly contributes to the geographical Othering of the slums and related exclusion (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Opposingly, one tourist compares the Brazilian slums to other areas in the country to demonstrate similarities and show how slums connect to their surroundings.

Favelas are as much a part of Rio de Janeiro as Cristo Redentor and Copacabana beach. They have a reputation worldwide as hotbeds of violence and unrest. The truth is, they are filled with regular, hard-working residents. A quarter of the cities population still lives in these neighbourhoods and chances are that many of the people you will interact

with within the city – bartenders, clerks, hotel staff, bus drivers – will live in one of the city's 800 favelas. (BB2)

This quote indicates that the negative reputation of 'violence' and 'unrest' related slums worldwide. However, the tourists argued these slums should not be differentiated from other areas in the same cities or countries as there is no structure of inferiority and superiority (Jensen, 2011). The main reason all areas should be equal is the connection that slum dwellers have with surrounding non-slum areas and tourists. A more human approach to slums and their dwellers is called for to replace the existing negative representations (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012).. With this argument, the tourist refutes the stereotypes and differentiation at the base of both geographical Othering of the slums and the social Othering of the slum dwellers. Additionally, possible exclusion resulting from the Othering is hindered.

### South Africa

The South African slums are distinguished as particular areas within the country with a negative connotation by two tourists in their blogs.

Langa township is 10 kilometres from the five-star hotels of Victoria and Alfred Wharf, and a million miles from the stuff that makes Cape Town one of the world's most beautiful cities. It's flat, a little bigger than Sydney's Centennial Parklands, and home to 80,000 people (the population of Launceston) (BSA11)

Drive in any direction from Cape Town airport and chances are you'll be met by a glare emanating from the shining tin roofs of shacks spreading by the thousand to the horizon. Other than this brief cold dose of reality, (...) the average tourist does not often venture further to explore this more unsettling side of South Africa (BSA14)

These quotes frame the slum with negatively by describing them as 'unsettling' and opposing them to everything that 'makes Cape Town one of the world's most beautiful cities'. In doing so, the tourists place negative judgement on the slums and imply them to be inferior to the non-slum places in South Africa. Both reducing the slums to a negative stereotype and representing them as inferior exposes the geographical Othering as done by tourists which may result in exclusion and discrimination of the slums (Jensen, 2011; Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012).

## India

Geographical Othering of the Indian slums or slum dwellers is not included in the blogs written by the tourists. Only one tourist mentions the geographical distinction referring to 'residents' as the local slum dwellers and global 'foreigners' (Steinbrink, 2012). As no blogs include an implication of a structure of inferiority and superiority between slum dwellers and tourists based on their nationality or country of residence.

## Kenya

Addressing the Kenyan slums as areas, one tourist focusses on the similarities between slums and other urban areas.

Slums are just parts of cities. They are neighborhoods. In my mind, taking a stroll through a slum is no different from taking a walk in the city center. Of course, you should be respectful of the residents just as you would in any other neighborhood (BK8)

As you walk through the narrow streets of the slum you that life here can be pretty normal. People run small businesses such as convenience stores and barber shops. Children run around laughing and playing with balls made from nothing but trash wrapped in string. People are just living their lives the best way they can under the circumstances. (BK8)

The argument made here is that slums and non-slum areas are similar and the lives of slum dwellers is similar to that of people not living in slum. By stating this similarity, any structure of inferiority and superiority amongst slum and non-slum areas and slum dwellers and non-slum inhabitants is dismissed (Jensen, 2011). This thus implicitly hinders geographical Othering of the slums and social Othering of the slum dwellers. However, it must be noted that this comparison made between slums and non-slum ignores specific social, historical and cultural differences between areas and can simplify reality.

## Philippines

Discussing the Filipino slums, one tourist distinguishes slums as particular areas within a city and places negative judgement on them.

I'm even more lucky that my friend who is hosting me these days in Manila is living in the fancy neighborhood Makati, Metro Manila's central business district. He lives in a beautiful apartment in a high-rise tower. Makati is nice, if you stay inside. But today

I'm leaving Makati to see another side of Manila. The other side of Manila. Smokey Mountain. Manila's slums. (BP5)

In this quote the slum are being referred to as 'The other side of Manilla', placing the slums in a lesser position than non-slums. Through this description it is suggested the slums gain meaning by being the inferior opposing side of a destination rather than a slum having its own independent meaning and value for tourists (Frenzel, 2012). By describing the relation between the inferior slums and the superior rest of the city this way, the process of geographical Othering the slums as done by tourists is shown. However, another tourist oppose the idea of hierarchy amongst the slum and non-slum areas in regard to touristic visits.

In many people's imagination, slums are lifeless places full of sick, starving people, fighting to survive, but surprisingly it's quite the opposite here. People are up and about early, getting on with their day, cooking, washing, cleaning, working. It's actually a rather lively place. (BP3)

Here, it is acknowledged that the general stereotype of slums and their dwellers is negative. The slum according to this stereotype would be 'a lifeless place', but the tourist contradicts this representation. The stereotypical negative notion of the slums and the slum dwellers' lives is replaced with a more positive discourse stating the slum is 'a rather lively place'. This more positive perspective explicitly challenges the stereotypical representations at base of the geographical Othering of the slums (Rolfes, 2010; Harmer and Lumsden, 2019; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Another tourist indicates the unpopularity of slums amongst tourists.

When in Manila, many tourists and locals are quick to think of escaping to beaches, large malls, or the remains of colonial influences. The slums of Manila would probably be the last thing on their minds. Why would it be? This is a question Smokey Tours seeks to challenge through providing original tours unlike any other (BP10)

Though a tour around the slums isn't the first thing that comes to mind, it definitely shouldn't be the last. Try it today! (BP10)

These quotes exposes a common thought that slums are 'the last thing' on tourists minds when on holiday. In this thought, slums are inferior to more traditional touristic areas for tourists. However, by critiquing this thinking and explicitly aiming to challenge it, the tourist contributes to countering the geographical Othering of slums (Jensen, 2011). The slums are ascribed touristic value and possible exclusion is hindered.

#### 4.2.4 The touristic Other

Touristic Othering can, as discussed in §2.3.1, take on more forms. Firstly, tourists constructing a simplified positive representation of other people and denying their hardship or negative aspects. Secondly, tourists constructing themselves as superior by distinguishing themselves from non-tourists that are made to be inferior

##### Brazil

The Brazilian slum dwellers are represented as being real or unique three blogs. The most used way is by claiming the slum dwellers to be the real part of Brazil. However, this does not directly link to touristic Othering.

When traveling, it is very important to me to walk through a local district off the normal tourist path and to have the opportunity to take a look behind the scenes of the major sights and the perfect tourist world. Here live the locals who do not focus on tourism and who stage productions in some way. Everything is “real” here. (BB11)

Copacabana and cocktails sipping under the Christ statue? No, this is a different Rio. A Rio that you should experience. But what I tell you, it’s best to convince yourself! (BB11)

These quotes demonstrate that the tourist addresses the slum dwellers lives inside the slums different from non-slum areas and is thinking ‘Everything is “real” here’. This statement suggest that slum dwellers’ lives are unstaged while other areas in Brazil are staged and part of the ‘perfect tourist world’ (Meschkank, 2011). Although this sheds a positive perspective on the slum dwellers, the tourist does imply that nothing is staged by slum dwellers. This over-emphasizes the authenticity of the slum dwellers, which might not necessarily be true, and thus presents a simplified positive representation to some extent (Huckin, 1997). Therefore, this tourists somewhat support the touristic Othering of the slum dwellers and their slum.

##### South Africa

In one blog, the South African slums are portrayed as being a tourist attraction. This insinuates that the slum Soweto has become a touristic front region.

Soweto has risen from its notorious collection of tin shacks to become, not just a thriving Black African community, but also a massive tourist hub with museums, postcard shops and all too frequent bus tours. Soweto even has cafes serving cappuccinos decorated with coffee art. (BSA9)

The statement describes the development the slum dwellers have undergone to becoming a 'thriving Black community' and argues the slum area now has independent touristic value for visitors. Although this is a positive approach to the slums that acknowledges the situation was not always positive, it does seem to background hardships or negative aspects that are still present (Huckin, 1997). Therefore, to some extent, the tourist recognizes the complex reality of slum lives in the past but also creates a somewhat simplified version of reality in the slums at the moment.

### Kenya

The blogs of tourists that have visited the Kenyan slums claim the slums dwellers' lives to be the daily reality in the country. Although the distinction is made between slum and non-slum inhabitants, it does not necessarily link to representing the slum dwellers as the touristic Other.

It is really important to me to learn about everyday life in the countries I visit. It doesn't matter whether the country is affluent or impoverished, I want to see behind the tourist veneer and get a glimpse into how people live, the reality of normal life. (BK1)

I'd like to think that as a travel devotee I do my best to step out of the tourist bubble and immerse myself (as best I can anyway) into local daily life wherever I go. (BK2)

These statements indicate slums are the back regions to the touristic world and slum dwellers therefore represent the reality of daily life. Although this distinction is made, the blogs do not only focus on positive aspects of slum dwellers' lives nor claim the slum dweller to be inferior to tourists. By not providing a structure of inferiority and superiority or presenting a simplified positive representation of slum dweller, the tourists are not related to touristic Othering (Jensen, 2011; Frenzel and Koens, 2012).

### India and Philippines

In the blogs, both the Indian and Filipino slum dwellers are not discussed in relation to touristic Othering. No distinction are made between slums and non-slum in regards to being real, unique or opposing a front versus back region.

#### 4.2.5 The ethnic Other

Ethnic Othering is, as discussed in §2.4.2, people claiming superiority over others by distinguishing themselves based on ethno-cultural differences (Steinbrink, 2012).

### Brazil and Kenya

In the blogs, both the Brazilian and Kenyan slum dwellers are not discussed in relation to ethnic Othering. No distinction are based on the skin colour of slum dwellers and tourists or the western or non-western descent.

### South Africa

In three blogs on South African slums ethnic differentiation is an included topic. These tourists discuss the ethnic difference between tourists and slum dwellers and the role of tourism has in their relationship.

For years people in Langa associated the white man with police and oppression. Tourism has changed that. They see a different white man. One that engages with them, is curious to discover about their lives in a peaceful and polite manner. And one that leaves a tip. (BSA2)

The above quote demonstrates how a racial structure in which the white people where superior to the black people in the past has diminished to a certain extent. Speaking for the slum dwellers, it is claimed their perception of white people has improved due to tourism facilitated contact and there is less social distance between the tourists and slum dwellers. Tourism is thus claimed to have changed the relation between them (Aitchison, 2001). In stating the structure of superiority and inferiority based on skin colour has declined, the idea of slum dwellers as the ethnic Other is also replaced by more human interaction. Another blog also addresses differences in skin colour within tourism.

Many visitors find the idea of a township tour uncomfortable, believing them to be voyeuristic at best and racially insensitive at worst. For those that have never experienced them, the concept seems to involve little more than encouraging rich white folks in minivans to swoop in and look at poor Black folks, take their pictures and move on. However, the reality is a little different. Township tours are perhaps the only way that first world visitors can begin to appreciate the hardships that South Africa's poorer residents have to contend with. They promote education and an increased sense of empathy between people of all cultures and colors (BSA3)

Here, the difference between the white tourists and the black slum dwellers is addressed. The tourist highlights this difference in an attempt to show how tourism could increase empathy and education 'between people of all cultures and colours'. It is thus implied that the Todorov's (1984) Othering mechanisms of creating social distance and lacking knowledge could be

decreased. Through this, the stereotypes that form the base of ethnic Othering of the slum dwellers and consequent discrimination could be hindered.

### India

The tourists that have visited the Indian slums distinguish Western tourists from non-western slum dwellers. Yet, this is not in line with ethnic Othering.

Have you ever seen the movie “Slumdog Millionaire”? Privileged Westerners like me are curious about slums like the one in that film. We want to know how people live, how they deal with adversity, how they ended up in a slum, and how we can help. (BI6)

The quote shows how the tourist refers to its own Western privilege and how that differs from the lives of the non-western slum dwellers. The difference in lives is thus ascribed to being western or not (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019). However, the tourist admits to being willing to learn from the slum dwellers, understand them better and help them. Therefore, this does not reinforce or challenge ethnic Othering.

### Philippines

In the blogs on the Filipino slums, the difference in skin colour between the tourist and the slum dwellers is mentioned once. In this case, the difference between white and non-white people is related to their presence in and around the city of Manila.

I was very aware I was alone, travelling to an unknown place, in my pre-conceived ideas; a dangerous place. I didn't see another white person from the moment I left the city. Arriving at the arranged station poverty hit hard straight away. The traffic was heavy, the fumes more powerful. I felt completely vulnerable. I felt scared. (BP4)

In this statement, the tourist indicates that white people are present within the city centre while the non-white people are found outside of the city centre. The area which is ascribed to the non-white people, the slum, evokes a sense of fear and vulnerability for the tourist. Negative connotations and judgement thus negatively frame the slum dwellers (Todorov, 1984; Huckin, 1997). By explicitly including the remark on the difference in skin colour, the blog strengthens the notion of the slum dwellers as ethnic Other and shows how the tourist can discriminate slum dwellers based on prejudice.

## 5. Discussing the findings

In line with the aim of this study, namely gaining an insight into the Othering of slum dwellers, the previous sections have set out representations of Othering by tour operators and tourists. Following the extensive framework that has been set up, the results specify as what type of Other the slum dwellers can be represented and how this is supported or hindered by specifically chosen discourse. Important to note is that although different categories of Othering have been set out, it does not mean these Otherings do not overlap. In this section the results will be discussed in relation to available background information (appendix C and D) and the theoretical concepts and framework from Chapter 2.

### 5.1 Various types of Othering

#### Economic Othering

From the analysis it has become clear that the economic difference between tourists and slum dwellers is addressed most by tour operators from Brazil, South Africa and India in order to oppose the Othering of the slum dwellers. In line with what Steinbrink (2012) and Meschkank (2011) argue, they attempt to represent the complex reality of the slum dwellers' lives to move beyond the poverty that can be found in slums (OB8, OB16, OSA2, OI6, OP2). These tour operators are active on a regional or national level, allowing them to specialize in a specific area and go deeper into broader social aspects, like the slum dwellers' culture. In doing so, these tour operators refrain from placing the economic position of the slum dwellers at the centre of the representations. Providing this broader perspective allows for a nuanced perspective on reality and with that goes against the Othering mechanism of objectifying the Other into a stereotype as proposed by Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) and Harmer and Lumsden (2019). Where slum tourism is argued by some to be part of poverty tourism (Frenzel and Koens, 2012; Dürr, Jaffe and Jones, 2020; Meschkank, 2011; Whyte, Sellinger and Outtersson, 2011), almost all tour operators that address the economic lesser position of slum dwellers do so to bring attention to financial inequality and object economic Othering.

Just like in the tour operators' discourse, most tourists discuss the economic position of the slum dwellers compared to themselves or to tourists in general. In doing so, the tourists draw attention to the unequal structure between slum dwellers and tourists and confirm Aitchison's (2001) claim that tourism contributes to maintaining this structure. Additionally, tourists include Brazilian and Indian slum dweller's opinion in their blogs (BB8, BI2). This shows the tourists do not ignore the slum dwellers' perspective on their economic situation but rather shows their opinion is valued and therefore opposes the mechanism of silencing the Other as suggested by Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012). Some tourists state the Kenyan and Filipino slum

dwellers lack dignity due to their lesser economic means (BK1, BP4) while another tourist addressing the Indian slum tour explicitly goes against Othering through stating tourists are not superior over slum dwellers based on the economic difference (BI6; Jensen, 2011). It can be said that the tourists address the financial situation of the South African and Kenyan slum dwellers to show their economic position is a problem (BSA3, BSA5, BK1). For Brazil and the Philippines, the unequal economic structure between tourists and slum dwellers is acknowledged as a problem (BB12, BP4). Noting this would indirectly challenge the economic Othering of the slum dwellers.

### Geographic Othering

Representations of the slums and their dwellers as geographic Other are included on most websites, either supported and challenged, thus showing geographic difference are important in the phase of Global slumming (Steinbrink, 2012). On their websites, the tour operators in Brazil, South Africa, Kenya and the Philippines use binary oppositions to specifically distinguish slums from non-slum areas (OB5, OB16, OSA10, OK4, OP1, OP2, Op5, OP6). Of these tour operators, most are operating locally in the slum or regionally. Confirming what Aitchison (2001) argues, such binary oppositions are used to support the representations of slums as the geographical Other. Using the binary of valuable versus worthless, a local Filipino tour operator and international tour operator in South Africa imply that slums have no independent worth for tourists, but only gain value through opposing non-slums (OSA1, OP1). Such claims allow for Othering the slums. On the contrary, a regional Filipino tour operator and international operator in Brazil claim that slums are a crucial part of the tourist destination for tourists (Frenzel, 2012; OB5, OP2). This suggests they hold value for tourists and rejects the geographic Othering of slums. Moreover, this Othering is also hindered by labelling the slum dwellers 'local' (OSA2, OSA4, OSA7, OSA11, OB6, OB8, OB10, OI3). As stated by Steinbrink (2012) this characteristic opposes them from the 'global' tourists, and is used mostly by the tour operators from Brazil and South Africa, that operate on various scale levels from local, to ascribe the slum dwellers authority and dignity. Lastly, the by Frenzel et al. (2015) claimed negative stereotypes of slums at the base of geographic Othering are challenged by the tour operators in Brazil, South Africa and the Philippines. This is done through creating a more holistic representation of slums and their dwellers by stating positive aspects (OB16, OSA10, OP5, Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012; Harmer and Lumsden, 2019).

In line with the tour operators, the tourists also distinguish slums from the non-slum areas. Some tourists demonstrate Aitchison's (2001) binary oppositions by using this distinction to support geographic Othering of Brazilian and South African slums and their dwellers in various ways (BB2, BSA4). Slums are framed negatively, negative aspects are highlighted and value

judgement is placed on the slums (BSA 11, BSA4, BB9). In accordance to the mechanisms stated by Todorov (1984), Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) and Harmer and Lumsden (2019), this strengthens the negative stereotypes at the base of geographic Othering of the slums and their dwellers. Opposingly, other tourists addressing the Filipino slums challenge these negative stereotypical representations, for example through replacing them with a more positive representation (BP3, BP10), just as tour operators have done. Tourists refer to the South African and Filipino slums as 'the other side', suggesting slums have no independent touristic value and are inferior to non-slum areas (BSA11, BP5). Where the tourists in blog BSA11 has written this explicit Othering of the slum in 2019, the tourist of blog BP5 has referred to the Filipino slum as the Other side in 2014. This shows explicitly naming slums the Other has been happening for an extended time. Naming these slums 'the Other side' is in line with Jensen's (2011) idea of Othering and the binary opposition of valuable versus worthless (Frenzel, 2012), a tourists reject this idea of inferiority for Kenyan slums. This is done by claiming that slums and non-slum areas are equally valuable for tourists to visit (BK8). The geographic distinction between slums and non-slums areas is thus used by tourists to support the Othering of slum dwellers at various locations, while other tourists explicitly reject this separation of areas.

### Social Othering

Local and regional tour operators in Brazil, South Africa and the Philippines also address the difference between tourists and slum dwellers as separate social groups (OB8, OB10, OSA2, OP2). This distinction can partly also be noted as geographical Othering, as for some geographic characteristics in combination with social aspects determine the Othering. Although the binary opposition of insiders versus outsiders is used to distinguish Brazilian and Kenyan slum dwellers as social group from that of tourists (OB8, OB10, BK9), it does not contribute to the Othering of the slum dwellers as suggested by Aitchison (2001). Instead, these tour operators argue slum dwellers to have an insider point of view that tourists cannot have. This ascribes the slum dwellers touristic value and with that hinders reducing them to a negative stereotype followed by social Othering. On top of this, Brazilian and Filipino tour operators counter the Othering mechanisms as stated by Todorov (1984) through aiming reduce social distance between the social groups of slum dwellers and tourists and educate tourists to limit their knowledge gap (OP6, OB8). Lastly, in their discourse, the tour operators in South Africa and the Philippines provide a broader insight into complex reality of slum dwellers' lives (OSA10, OP2). This challenges the reduction of slum dwellers into a negative stereotype and subsequent social Othering as argued by Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) and Harmer and Lumsden (2019).

For all five slum locations, the tourists distinguish slum dwellers from themselves or tourists in general based on being part of a different social group (BB2, BB17, BSA4, BI6, BI1, BK9, BP1). Similar to the tour operators, this distinction is not made to contribute to the representations of slum dwellers as the Other but to expose and critique the unequal power relation between tourists and slum dwellers. The blogs addressing this social difference between tourists and slum dwellers date back from 2010 until 2020, showing the distinction has been in place for a while. This critique highlights a problem and defends the slum dwellers to not be the social Other (Todorov, 1984). In addition, tourists have included the perspective of the Brazilian, Kenyan and Filipino slum dwellers in their blogs by quoting them (BB17, BK, BP1). This opposes Krumer-Nevo and Sidi's (2012) Othering mechanism of silencing the Other and shows tourists value the slum dwellers' opinions. Furthermore, to counter the binary opposition of slum dwellers as the powerless and tourists as the powerful, tourists that visited the Indian or Filipino slums emphasize the rules and restrictions slum dwellers have set up for tourists to follow (BP1, BI6). In doing so, it becomes apparent the slum dwellers also have power over the tourists. Altogether, the slum dwellers are recognized as a different social group as the tourists but neither one is deemed to be the inferior Other.

### Touristic Othering

The representations of slum dwellers and slums as the touristic Other are present in the online slum tourism discourse by tour operators active in South Africa and India. On the websites, slums are equal to other activities that tourist undertake while on vacation (OSA7, OI3). In doing so, these respectively national and international tour operators ignore relevant historical, political and economic context of the slum dwellers' lives. This allows for reducing the slum dwellers to a negative stereotype and, as argued by Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) and Harmer and Lumsden (2019), supports the idea of slum dwellers as the touristic Other. Opposingly, the representations of slums and their dwellers as touristic Other are also contested. Other tour operators, those active in Brazil and the Philippines, refer to slums as 'more authentic' than other parts of a destination (OP2) or other touristic activities (OB6). Claiming more authenticity adheres touristic value to slums and describes them with dignity. This indicates the slums are not considered inferior to non-slums and therefore does not align with touristic Othering (Jensen, 2011).

In the blogs, the tourists have contesting perspective of how slums and their dwellers relate to the tourism industry. A tourist that visited South Africa presents slums as touristic sites (BSA9) while tourists writing about Brazil and Kenya claim slums to be areas away from the touristic path (BB11, BK1, BK2). This means slums are argued to be both sides of the binary opposition touristic front regions versus back region depending on the specific slum (Aitchison, 2001).

Besides this, tourists occasionally focus only on good aspects of slum dwellers’ lives and their slums when describing Brazilian and South African slums as authentic and real. The tourists are thus taking a positive perspective without acknowledging any hardships or negative aspects of slum dwellers’ lives (BB11, BSA9). This can, according to Huckin’s (1997), contribute to a simplified representation of slums which allows for stereotyping and potentially also Othering. However, such representations do support the claims made that slum tourism is not part of poverty tourism but rather falls under reality tourism (Meschkank, 2011; Rolfes, 2010; Dyson, 2012) and therefore, through showing a broader reality, hinders Othering.

Ethnic Othering

Where only three tour operators merely mention skin colour as a characteristic of the South African slum dwellers (OSA4, OSA6, OSA7), tourists have used the difference between black or coloured slum dwellers and white tourists more often in their blogs. Besides one tourists addressing the Filipino slum dwellers, the darker skin colour of the slum dwellers is especially noted when discussing the historic segregation of the South African slum dwellers from non-slum inhabitants (BSA2, BSA3, BSA5, BSA9, BSA10, BSA11). However, tourism is stated to have improved the relation between black slum dwellers and white tourists as it contested the cultural power structure from the past (BSA2). This thus opposes the Aitchison’s (2001) remarks on tourism enforcing unequal power structures and could thus reduce social distance and ethnic Othering. Although ethnic Othering is also related to geographic Othering, ethnic Othering based on skin colour or being Western or non-Western has not been included for the Other slum locations.

In the table below, an overview is given of each type of Other that slum dwellers can be represented as. The discourse of tour operators and tourists is combined to give an insight into the overall support or challenge for each type of Other. Additionally, it shows the main mechanisms used or opposed to do so and for which slum locations.

Type of Other	Supported or challenged	Main mechanisms used to support or challenge	Slum locations
Economic	Challenged	Creating broader reality to stop the objectification of the Other into a stereotype	Brazil, South Africa, India, Kenya and the Philippines
Geographic	Supported	Binary oppositions and creating a simplified representations of reality to allow objectification of the Other into a stereotype	Brazil, South Africa, India, Kenya and the Philippines

Social	Challenged	Critiquing the unequal power relation between tourists and slum dwellers, thus not placing judgement and creating broader reality to stop the objectification of the Other into a stereotype	Brazil, South Africa, India, Kenya and the Philippines
Touristic	Supported	Creating a simplified representations of reality to allow objectification of the Other into a stereotype	Brazil, South Africa and India
Ethnic	Challenged	Showing cultural and historical knowledge of the Other and contextualising behaviour	South Africa

Table 2 Overall most supported or challenged representations per type of Other

## 5.2 Limitations of this research

The previous section has contextualized the findings of this research by linking them to already existing literature on Othering and slum tourism. In addition, it is relevant to discuss in what ways the findings have been shaped by choosing CDA as research method.

The findings of this research are based on the slum tourism discourse accessible on the internet. The discourse includes the perspective of tour operators and tourists. It is important to note these blogs and websites show a snapshot in time, as the tourists and tour operators can change their online content at any time. This especially relates to this research being conducted during the corona pandemic. During 2020 and parts of 2021, travel has mostly been restricted. This means the blogs address experiences from before of over a year ago, and slum tourism discourse and the existence of the tour operators might be different when the pandemic has passed.

Moreover, when considering the perspective of tourists and tour operators, it needs to be noted that the blogs and websites are written with the purpose of other people reading them. According to Govers and Go (2004) this might affect the chosen discourse. Furthermore, only the written texts have been analysed, while it has become clear that discourse also involved images (Hall, 1997). Due to time constraints, it has been decided to only analyse the texts as they form the main part of the discourse. However, this does mean the discourse is not fully captured and this research thus shows partial findings.

## 6. Conclusion and recommendations

This study has been conducted to gain a better insight into the ways Othering is included in online slum tourism discourse. This section will provide concluding remarks on the research by answering the sub-questions and the main research question. Then, these outcomes will be related to the academic and societal objective. Finally, recommendation for future research are given.

### 6.1 Conclusion

Slum tourism has been a growing phenomenon and is part of the global tourism industry (Frenzel and Koens, 2012; Frenzel et al., 2015). An important part of the discourse surrounding slum tourism includes the representations of slum dwellers. Focusing on Othering in the online discourse, the blogs of tourists and websites of tour operators related to slum tours have been analysed. This is done through setting up an extensive framework of Othering (see figure 1) and performing a critical discourse analysis. Considering the outcomes of the analysis, conclusions can be drawn answering the sub-questions that have guided this research.

*Sub-question 1: How does the online discourse on slum tourism of tour operators relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*

The analysis of tour operators' websites has shown that tour operators from the five different slum locations both support and challenge the representations of slum dwellers as the Other. The poverty of slum dwellers has been a debated aspect in academic literature on slum tourism and is also part of the discourse of the tour operators active in Brazil, South Africa, India, Kenya and the Philippines (Frenzel and Koens, 2012; Dürr, Jaffe and Jones, 2020; Meschkank, 2011; Whyte, Sellinger and Outterson, 2011; OB8, OB16, OSA2, OI6, OK1, OP2). The economic difference between slum dwellers and tourists is addressed to draw attention to the financial inequality between the two and acknowledge the complex and lesser economic situation of the slum dwellers. This contests mechanisms of Othering as it acknowledges hardships, provides a broader scope on the reality of the slum dwellers' lives, addresses the slum dwellers with respect and ascribes touristic value to the slum dwellers and their slums. This way, the tour operators in Brazil, South Africa, India, Kenya and the Philippines challenge the stereotyping at the base of economic Othering the slum dwellers and contest negative framing (Huckin, 1997).

However, it is also noted that tour operators do contribute to the Othering of the slum dwellers in their online discourse in other ways. The Brazilian, South African and Indian slum dwellers

are distinguished from tourists by highlighting their immobility while tourists do have the power and means to travel (OSA2, OSA4, OSA7, OSA11, OB6, OB8, OB10, OI3). This creates the representations of slum dwellers as the inferior social Other (Jensen, 2011). Other times, a partial reality of the South African and Indian slum dwellers lives is presented by only focusing on positive aspects. This denies their hardships and ignores a broader complex representation of their reality, thus allowing the Othering mechanism that reduces slum dwellers to a stereotype (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019). Moreover, using the binary opposition of valuable versus worthless, some tour operators imply the South African and Indian slums have no independent worth for tourists, but only gain value through opposing non-slums. Through this, various statements on the websites of tour operators support the negative stereotypes of slum dwellers and contribute to the process of Othering.

*Sub-question 2: How does the online discourse on slum tourism of tourists relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*

The analysis of blogs written by tourists has shown that they both support and challenge the representations of slum dwellers as the Other. The slum dwellers are socially distinguished from tourists for all locations (BB2, BB17, BSA4, BI6, BI1, BK9, BP1), while the economic situation of the slum dwellers is included in the blogs of South Africa, India, Kenya and Philippines to critique the economic inequality between tourists and slum dwellers (BB12, BSA3, BSA5, BK1, BP4). The economic situation in the Indian slums is thus not mentioned here. Furthermore, tourism is said to be helpful in decreasing social distance between South African slum dwellers and tourists based on ethnic differences (BSA2). The representations of slum dwellers as the Other are thus challenged by critiquing the unequal structure between tourists and slum dwellers and rejecting slum dwellers to be inferior. The tourists oppose some mechanisms from the extensive framework as they include the Brazilian, Indian, Kenyan and Filipino slum dwellers' opinions in the blogs, thus not silencing them (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Moreover, on top of acknowledging the hardships of the slum dwellers and expose inequality, the tourists represent a broader reality of the Brazilian, South African and Filipino slum dwellers' lives through also mentioning positive aspects (BB11, BSA9, BP3, BP10).

In contrast, the tourists do also support the representations of slum dwellers as the Other. The Brazilian and South African slums are mostly geographically distinguished from non-slums and claimed to be inferior (BB2, BSA4). By separating slum as specific areas and suggesting they only gain meaning through opposing non-slum areas, it is claimed slums have no independent value for tourists. Other times, the South African slums are compared to other tourist attraction which ignores relevant historical, political and economic context of the slum

dwellers lives (BSA9). Showing a partial reality, either over-emphasizing the positive or negative, contributes to Othering as this either allows for reducing the slum dwellers to a stereotype (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012; Harmer and Lumsden, 2019). Additionally, negative framing and binary oppositions are used to suggest South African and Filipino slums do not have independent worth as a site for tourists but only gain value through opposing non-slum places (BSA11, BP5), thus supporting the Othering.

Answering both the sub-questions allows for also answering the main research questions.

*In what ways does the online discourse on slum tourism written by tour operators and tourists relate to representations of slum dwellers as the Other?*

Representations that support the idea of slum dwellers as the Other are included in the online slum tourism discourse by both tour operators and tourists. For all five slum locations, this Othering is mainly focussed on claiming an inferior position for slum dwellers in relation to tourists based on geographical differences. Additionally, simplifying slums by portraying them as a touristic site is Othering the Brazilian, South African and Indian slums. Several mechanisms are included in the blogs and websites that results in this contribution to Othering of the slum dwellers. Creating distinctions based on binary oppositions is mostly done for geographic, touristic and social Othering of the slum dwellers. Especially South African and Filipino slums dwellers are Othered by referring to slums as 'the other side'. This explicit Othering relates to the opposition of valuable versus worthless and suggests slums have no independent value for tourists themselves but gain it through opposing non-slums. Moreover, both tour operators and tourists tend to provide a simplified representation of the reality of the Brazilian, South African and Filipino slum dwellers' lives in their online discourse. This allows for reducing slum dwellers into a negative stereotypes that forms the base for Othering (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019). However, it should be noted there are differences in Othering by tourists and tour operators. Tourists oftentimes create a partial representation by only noting positives about slum dwellers' lives, thus denying their hardships and inequality. Tour operators also frame slum dwellers positively but do include the negative aspects of their lives, thus setting out a broader perspective. Additionally, tourists use more negative framing in their blogs and place value judgement on slum dwellers, especially on South African slum dwellers, creating the notion of the slum dwellers as the inferior.

In addition, both tour operators and tourists also challenged the notion of slum dwellers as the Other in their online discourse. The economic situation of the slum dwellers is addresses by tour operators and tourists in order to critique the unequal economic structure between slum

dwellers and the rest of the world and social Othering is also limited. Although the tourists and slum dwellers are distinguished based on financial means and separate social groups in all five slum locations, such distinctions do not suggest a structure of inferiority and superiority. In challenging the representations of slum dwellers as the Other, the tour operators and tourists provide a broad insight into the complex reality of the slum dwellers' lives for all locations . This means hardships and inequality are recognized, but representations move beyond this to expand on the general stereotypical representations. This hinders reducing the slum dwellers to a stereotype that forms the base of Othering (Harmer and Lumsden, 2019). Moreover, both tour operators and tourists address slum dwellers with dignity and respect, showing they are valued. Then, different between the tour operators and the tourists is that the tourists use and oppose more mechanisms. Only in the blogs, the Brazilian, Indian, Kenyan and Filipino slum dwellers are quoted to include their opinions, which opposes the silencing of the Other (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Tour operators, although often slum dwellers themselves, do not include such quotes of slum dwellers that are outside of the tourism industry.

It can thus be concluded that both tour operators and tourists do not always specifically take one perspective to the Othering, as they sometimes both support and challenge the representations of slum dwellers as the Other. The Othering of the slum dwellers and thus portraying them as inferior is mainly based on difference in place of birth or living for all slum locations and displaying the Brazilian, South African and Indian slums as touristic sites. In contrast, challenging the idea of slums dwellers as the Other is done for all five slum locations through exposing an unequal structure between slum dwellers and tourists based on economic means and power. The mechanisms used to support or challenge the representations of slum dwellers as the Other are somewhat similar for both groups. Contributing to the Othering is mainly done through providing a simplified representation of the slums dwellers' lives. Additionally, the representations of South African, Indian and Filipino slums were Othered through denying they have independent value for tourists. Challenging the Othering of slum dwellers from all five locations is done through providing a broader insight into the complex reality of the slum dwellers' lives. For the Kenyan slum dwellers specifically, any suggested structure of inferiority and superiority is explicitly disregarded. Overall, it has also become apparent that the tourists use and oppose more mechanisms that have been as set out in figure 1 to support or challenge the Othering of the slum dwellers than the tour operators do.

This research has contributed to research on Othering in slum tourism by setting up an extensive framework of Othering (figure 1) and moving away from the regularly research Othering by tour guides at the location (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). The extensive framework has shown to be applicable to slum tourism discourse and can be combined with a critical

discourse analysis. The framework allows for setting out the Othering of slum dwellers into various types of Othering and can result in a detailed analysis of slum tourism discourse of both tour operators and tourists. Through considering five slum locations worldwide, this research adopts a unusual global scope (Frenzel and Koens, 2012). Lastly this research responds to Frenzel et al.'s (2015) call for more research on the relationship between slum tourism and tourists' perspective of slums.

The practical application of this research relates to the real-life implications that slum dwellers can experience due to Othering. Consequences of the Othering of slum dwellers can be marginalization, discrimination, exclusion and a loss of dignity (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). This research has highlighted what representations of slum dwellers as the Other are created in slum tourism discourse and how this is done. It has become apparent that the Othering nowadays relates mainly to geographical Othering and displaying slums as a touristic site. A proposal for reducing the Othering results from this analysis and can be made for both tour operators and tourists. The tour operators should not represent the slums dwellers as their slums as the Other though stopping the use of binary oppositions, stop the creation of a partial reality of slum dwellers' lives and not oppose slum dwellers to non-slum dwellers. The tourists can reduce their Othering by avoiding negative framing, not using binary oppositions and stop presenting a partial reality of the slum dwellers' lives.

## 6.2 Recommendations

One recommendation for future research is to repeat this research in time. As established by Hall (1997), discourse changes over time and therefore repeating this research would allow for discovering if and how slum tourism discourse changes. In doing so, it will become possible to stay updated on the ways in which slum dwellers are represented as the Other in slum tourism discourse. This can then be of value in attempts to mitigate the effects of Othering.

Another recommendation for research on Othering is to include the perspective of the so called Other in the research. This research has focused on the discourse of tour operators and tourists, but has left out the discourse, and thus perspective, of slum dwellers themselves. As suggested by Jensen (2011), Frenzel and Koens (2012) and Harmer and Lumsden (2019), the group presented as the Other is actively involved in the process of Othering and can thus not be considered passive bystanders. This makes the perspective of the slum dwellers important in the process of Othering and should therefore be included in future research.

In line with Rolfes (2010) and Frenzel and Koens (2012) it is recommended to move away from examining slum tourism through poverty tourism discourse. Focussing on such discourse

creates certain biases and does not contribute to addressing the cultural and political aspects of slum tourism. As this research has confirmed that slum dwellers' lives and slum tourism do not centre around poverty but contribute to a broader insight into slums, slum dwellers' lives and slum tourism, it is recommended for actors involved in slum tourism to take an approach of reality tourism thus writing or speaking about a range of aspects that compose slum dwellers' lives.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: Search terms

### Brazil

- Brazil favela tours
- Rio de Janeiro favela tour
- Rio de Janeiro Rocinha tour
- Favela tours Vidigal
- Vidigal tour experience

### South Africa

- South Africa township tours
- Soweto township tours
- Township tour experience

### India

- Slum tours India
- Slum tours Mumbai
- Dharavi tour review
- Dharavi tour experience

### Philippines

- Slum tours Philipphines
- Slum tours Manilla
- Slum tourism Manilla
- Slum tours Baseco

### Kenya

- Slum tour Nairobi
- Slum tour Kibera
- Kibera tour experience

## Appendix B: List of the websites of tour operators

Brazil		
	Website	Title
OB1	GreenToad Bus	Rio Favela Tour
OB2	Mauricio Travels	Favela tour – Sloppenwijken – Krottenwijken Brazilië
OB3	Sao Paulo Executive Drivers	5-hour Favela São Paulo City Tour - (Slum)
OB4	Gregtur	Tour at São Paulo's Second Largest Favela – Paraisópolis (Slum)
OB5	iSouthAmerica.com	Favela Tour Rio de Janeiro
OB6	Go Nomad	Favela-tours bieden een glimp van de sloppenwijken
OB7	Go Local	Favelas: the heart and soul of Rio
OB8	Rio All Access	Rio de Janeiro Favela Tour
OB9	Favela Phoenix	Information about the Favela tours
OB10	Exotic Tours	Rocinha – Favela Tourism Workshop
OB11	C2Rio	Favela Tour in Rocinha - Local Social Experience
OB12	Brazilian Expedition	FAVELA TOUR- A WALK INSIDE THE BIGGEST FAVELA IN LATIN AMERICA
OB13	Favelatour.org	Types of Rocinha Visits
OB14	Favelatour	Two tours a day: 9:00AM / 2:00PM
OB15	Favela INC	Vidigal Tours
OB16	Rio Autentico Tours	TWO BROTHERS PEAK & VIDIGAL FAVELA
OB17	Peerless Travel	VIDIGAL & TWO BROTHERS MOUNTAIN HIKING TOUR (2 IRMÃOS) - The amazing views of the Favelas in Rio
OB18	HomeFans	Morro do Vidigal Football & Graffiti Tour
OB19	LaVacanzaTravel	EXPERIENCE FAVELA: TWO BROTHERS HIKE AND VIDIGAL TOUR
South Africa		
OSA1	CitySpotters	Kaapstad Township Tour
OSA2	AWOL tours	Bicycle Township Tour
OSA3	Cape Town Travel	CAPE TOWN TOWNSHIP TOURS
OSA4	Travelade	Private Township Tour Cape Town
OSA5	SuedAfrika	TOWNSHIP TOURS SA

OSA6	Mile by Mile Tours	Cape Town Township Tours
OSA7	Seascape Tours	THE REAL TOWNSHIP TOUR
OSA8	Cape by Design	Township Tours
OSA9	Detour Africa	Half Day Township Cultural Tour - Cape Town
OSA10	Emzini Tours	Tour the Knysa Township
OSA11	Fair Mundo Travel	Soweto Township Tour
OSA12	Mount Zion Tours and Travels	Guided Soweto Day Tour
OSA13	CitySpotters	Soweto
<b>India</b>		
OI1	Reality Tours and Travel	Dharavi Tour
OI2	i-likelocal	Experience the Dharavi Slum in Mumbai
OI3	Withlocals	The Real Side of Dharavi: Mumbai Slums Tour
OI4	Mystical Mumbai	Slum Tour
OI5	The Indian Trip	Dharavi Slum Tour: A Walk Through The Narrow Lanes Of Mumbai
OI6	Mumbai dreamtours	Visit Asia's Largest Slum, DHARAVI: The Heart of Mumbai.
OI7	Trip Indicator	Dharavi Slum Tour
OI8	Travellers Leezair	Dharavi Tour And Street Art Walk
<b>Kenya</b>		
OK1	Kibera Tours	Kibera slum tours
OK2	Kevin's Kibera slumtours	Slum tours
OK3	Globe from home	Life Stories from the largest slum in Africa.
OK4	Kibera slumtours	Diddy's Kibera Tours
OK5	i-likelocal	Experience Kibera Slum from the Inside
OK6	YonderTours	Kibera Slum Guided Tour from Nairobi
OK7	Explore Kibera Tours	The Tour
<b>Philippines</b>		
OP1	Smokey Tours	Slum Tour
OP2	YGD Travel	Manila City Tours
OP3	Inspitrip	Slum tour in Manila
OP4	Filipino Travel Center	Slum Private Tour
OP5	The world of Joho	Slum tour
OP6	i-likelocal	Experience a Manila Slum in a Different Way

## Appendix C: Background information on the tour operators

	Operating scale	Only slum tours or variety of tours	Type or organisation
OB1	International	Variety of tours	Business linked to a NGO
OB2	National	Variety of tours	Business
OB3	Regional	Variety of tours	Business
OB4	National	Variety of tours	Business
OB5	International	Variety of tours	Business
OB6	International	Variety of tours	Business
OB7	Regional	Variety of tours	Business
OB8	Regional	Variety of tours	Business
OB9	Local	Only slum tours	Business linked to a NGO
OB10	Local	Only slum tours	Business
OB11	Regional	Variety of tours	Business
OB12	Regional	Variety of tours	Business linked to a NGO
OB13	Local	Variety of tours	NGO
OB14	Local	Only slum tours	Business
OB15	Local	Only slum tours	Business linked to a NGO
OB16	Regional	Only slum tours	Business
OB17	International	Variety of tours	Business
OB18	International	Variety of tours	Business
OB19	International	Variety of tours	Business

	Operating scale	Only slum tours or wide range of product offered	Type or organisation
OSA1	International	Variety of tours	Business
OSA2	National	Variety of tours	Business linked to a NGO
OSA3	Regional	Variety of tours	Business
OSA4	International	Variety of tours	Business
OSA5	Local	Only slum tours	Business
OSA6	National	Variety of tours	Business
OSA7	National	Variety of tours	Business
OSA8	National	Variety of tours	Business

OSA9	International	Variety of tours	Business
OSA10	Regional	Only slum tours	Business
OSA11	International	Variety of tours	Business
OSA12	International	Variety of tours	Business
OSA13	International	Variety of tours	Business

	Operating scale	Only slum tours or wide range of product offered	Type or organisation
OI1	National	Variety of tours	Business linked to a NGO
OI2	International	Variety of tours	Business linked to a NGO
OI3	International	Variety of tours	Business
OI4	Regional	Variety of tours	Business
OI5	National	Variety of tours	Business linked to a NGO
OI6	National	Variety of tours	Business
OI7	International	Variety of tours	Business
OI8	Local	Only slum tours	NGO

	Operating scale	Only slum tours or wide range of product offered	Type or organisation
OK1	Local	Only slum tours	Business linked to a NGO
OK2	Local	Only slum tours	Business linked to a NGO
OK3	International	Variety of tours	Business
OK4	Local	Only slum tours	Business
OK5	International	Variety of tours	Business
OK6	International	Variety of tours	Business
OK7	Local	Only slum tours	Business linked to a NGO

	Operating scale	Only slum tours or wide range of product offered	Type or organisation
OP1	Local	Only slum tours	NGO
OP2	Regional	Variety of tours	Business
OP3	International	Variety of tours	Business
OP4	National	Variety of tours	Business

OP5	International	Variety of tours	Business linked to a NGO
OP6	International	Variety of tours	Business

## Appendix D: List of the blogs written by tourists

Brazil			
	Website	Title	Year publication
BB1	The Brazil Business	Favela tourism in Brazil	2013
BB2	Man vs Globe	Santa Marta Favela Tour - Can 'Poverty Tourism' be Positive?	2017
BB3	Rio On Watch	Looking for a Favela Tour? Skip the Jeeps – Find an Activist	2020
BB4	Gadventures	Changing the narrative in the favelas of Brazil	2019
BB5	Strawberry Tours	Top tips for Exploring a Favela in Rio de Janeiro	No date
BB6	The Culture Trip	Vidigal, the Favela That's Rio's Newest Up-and-Coming Neighbourhood	2019
BB7	Medium	A Day in the Life of a Favela: Tourist Edition	No date
BB8	Uncornered Market	A Favela Tour in Vidigal, Rio de Janeiro: How to Do One Respectfully and Responsibly	2020, updated 2021
BB9	Eclipse Travel	Exploring the favelas of Brazil	2014
BB10	Now in Rio	Favela tours in Rio de Janeiro	2018
BB11	Journication	Rocinha Tour – Visit the largest favela of Rio de Janeiro	2020
BB12	The Great Global Bucketlist	A Rocinha Favela Tour in Rio de Janeiro	No date
BB13	Sugartravelblog	Favela tours in Rio de Janeiro: the good, bad and ugly	No date
BB14	RioDeJaneiro	A Tour to the Famous Rocinha Favela of Rio	2017
BB15	Travelosophy	Rio de Janeiro's donkere kant: een tour door favela Rocinha	2016
BB16	Traveljunks	Bekijk met een favela tour het andere Rio	2010
BB17	BrazilianGringo	A Tour to the Famous Rocinha Favela of Rio	2020
BB18	Estrela da Favela	Een favela tour in Mangueria	No date
BB19	ImpactPass	Private Rio de Janeiro Favela Tour	No date
BB20	Time Travel Turtle	Life in one of Rio's favelas	2019
BB21	Travel With Winny	Favela Walking Tour- A Visit to Rio de Janeiro's Slum	2016

BB22	Amateur Traveler	Favela Tours in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	No date
BB23	Divergent Travelers	The Best Favela Tour in Rio: Defeating the Stigma	2019
BB24	Travel-Stained	Our week in the Brazilian slum: favela Vidigal	2012
<b>South Africa</b>			
BSA1	Mywanderlust	Life in Townships. Is it worth to visit townships in South Africa?	2014, updated 2020
BSA2	Anywhere we roam	Should you take a township tour in Cape Town?	2018
BSA3	Tripsavvy	What to Expect on a Cape Town Township Tour	2019
BSA4	Uncornered Market	Masiphumelele Township By Bicycle: Getting Up Close	2013, updated 2018
BSA5	Khaya	Township tourism: cultural immersion or poverty tourism?	2016
BSA6	Borders of Adventure	Visiting a Township in South Africa – A Guided Tour of Kayamandi in Stellenbosch	2020
BSA7	Hand Luggage Only	Visiting A South African Township In Port Elizabeth	2016, updated 2021
BSA8	Expeditie Aardbol	Fiets dwars door Soweto en ervaar de townships van Zuid-Afrika	2020
BSA9	2foodtrippers	Soweto Day Trip in Johannesburg	2017, updated 2021
BSA10	Traveldicted	Tip: Fietstour door Township Soweto in Johannesburg	2019
BSA11	Traveller	A tour of Cape Town's Langa township	2019
BSA12	LandLopers	The Other Side: Biking Through a Township in Cape Town	2012
BSA13	Responsible Travel	Township Tours in South Africa	No date
BSA14	What's on in Cape Town	Review: Township Tour with a Difference	2009
<b>India</b>			
BI1	Lost with purpose	Is it weird to go on a slum tour in Mumbai, India?	2017, updated 2021
BI2	Tripsavvy	Mumbai Dharavi Slum Tours: Options and Why Go on One	2019
BI3	Holidify	Move Over Taj Mahal! Dharavi Is Now India's Favourite Travel Experience	2019

BI4	Soultravel blog	Should I go on a Dharavi slum tour in Mumbai?	2019
BI5	Little Big Welt	A review of our visit of Dharavi, Mumbai's largest slum	2017
BI6	Rachel's Ruminations	Is a Dharavi slum tour a good idea?	2017
<b>Kenya</b>			
BK1	Reading the Book Travel	Kibera slum tour: Real life in an African slum	2018
BK2	The Beauty Backpacker	Touring the Kibera Slums in Nairobi, Kenya	2017
BK3	TravelBlog	Kibera Slum	2012
BK4	Fulltime Adventurer	Inside Kibera, Africa's biggest Slum	2020
BK5	ShareTraveler	Peer-to-Peer Tour of Nairobi Slums	2016, updated 2019
BK6	Spin the Globe Project	A Day in the Kibera Slums	2015, updated 2020
BK7	Hello my love	Africa: the slums and the children	2019
BK8	Where the Road Forks	How to visit Kibera slum for free without a tour	2019
BK9	Brian Ekdale	Slum Tourism in Kibera: Education or Exploitation?	2010
BK10	Pink Pangea	A Day in Nairobi's Kibera Slums: Seeing Immense Poverty Up Close	2015, updated 2019
<b>Philippines</b>			
BP1	Jon to the World Travel Blog	The 2 Faces of Slum Tourism in Manila	2015
BP2	De wereld van Lily	Manilla: Slum tour en Intramuros	2017
BP3	Bren on the Road	Inside Manila: A Walk Through The Slums Of The Philippine Capital	2014
BP4	Coffee with a slice of life	The Slums of Manila, Philippines	2015
BP5	Justonewayticket.com	Smokey Mountain: a walk through the slums of Manila, Philippines	2014
BP6	Turistaboy	What I have learned from my first Slum Tour	2019
BP7	Land of Size	Ethical travel: Visiting Manila's Baseco Slum in the Philippines	2019
BP8	Tina in Manila	Slum living in Baseco Manila	No date

BP9	Filipina Explorer	Implications and intentions: a day in Manila's biggest slum	2019
BP10	When in Manila	This Unique Manila Tour is One That You Won't Forget Anytime Soon	2017