

Exploring favelas: a study of the different uses of slum tourism in addressing poverty narratives and their impacts on placemaking.



“Favela is a place of peace”

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I hereby declare that this research is wholly the work of Ana Carolina Antunes Brandão. Any other contributors or sources have either been referenced in the prescribed manner or are listed in the acknowledgements together with the nature and the scope of their contribution.

Preface

“Poverty is the worst form of violence.” – Mahatma Ghandi.

The paper you are about to read is nothing more than a collection of million thoughts of a woman who grew up in a peripheral neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro. I used to say I was always straddling between two different worlds: home, the chaotic and unequal context of a Latin American metropolis, and journey, within the privileges of the European continent. That is how this thesis came to life and slum tourism became a topic.

Once I joined this master, my intention was to write about study abroad programs and the importance of education in fostering a more inclusive and equal society. What I did not know was the reasoning behind about what my passion actually is. Despite considering myself a privileged woman who had the opportunity to travel to various destinations and encounter different realities, I cannot ignore my close connection with poverty and social inequalities. It became evident to me that I needed to write something that would reflect my pride and genuine concern. From where I come from, the daily aspiration is for improved living conditions. Poverty serves a driver force to strive for a better sense of belonging. Where tourism and poverty meet, I find my place to talk.

I express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Harald Buijtendijk, for more than just providing academic assistance. Thank you for actively engaging in insightful conversations and for supporting me during times when I believed I was not in a position to address this research.

I would like to extend my appreciation to all my professors at Breda University, with a special mention to Dr. Celiane Borges, who served as my initial mentor. Having a Brazilian mentor made me feel a sense of representation. Thank you.

To my mom, for loving and listening to me from the other side of the world. For believing in me more than myself. But especially, for always fighting to give me the best education I could ever ask for. This thesis is ours.

Obrigada!

Ana Carolina Antunes Brandão.

Executive Summary

Slum tourism is a rapidly expanding phenomenon that has faced criticism for exploitation and commodification of poverty due to its practices in impoverished areas. In Brazil, slum tourism takes place in favelas, where perceptions have shifted from a social issue into touristic destinations. This shift in perception opened up new avenues for these communities to use tourism as means to assert their rights and advance their positions, resulting in different slum tourism approaches. Nevertheless, there is limited research on the variations among these different uses and the real changes they bring to these communities. This study aims to address this research gap by investigating how slum tourism actors address narratives of poverty and their placemaking effects in favelas. The main objective is to explore how slum tourism relates to placemaking, determining if it can be a viable strategy for empowering local communities and overcoming their challenges.

To provide a comprehensive understanding of the topic, the research methodology includes an explanatory case study going beyond a singular focus on Rio de Janeiro's favelas, including one in São Paulo. This broader scope aims to capture the diversity of approaches and experiences in different regions. Qualitative methods, including document analysis, interviews and focus group were used for data collection, followed by thematic analysis. The results are showcased by providing a context of the communities, a description of the interviews, and an analytical section with five fundamental themes: territorial reclamations, poverty and placemaking challenges, slum tourism realities, tourism uses and placemaking, and future expectations.

The findings illustrate that slum tourism uses are driven by different objectives, including income generation and increased accessibility, and its initiatives also come in diverse forms, like guided tours and cultural workshops. Poverty narratives expand beyond urban infrastructure issues but covers social inclusion and gaps in culture and leisure opportunities. Effective placemaking occurs when locals are empowered, leading to positive outcomes like entrepreneurship and jobs creation. However, it also brings challenges that might disrupt their environment, such as the loss of authenticity and gentrification. These outcomes are analyzed through discursive and material effects. The historical context of territorial conflicts and government neglect presents the main challenges for the developments of these favelas. The

controversy at the core of slum tourism lies around a dual perspective: either it is seen as a temporary tool for income generation and identity recognition or as an spectacle for tourists.

The findings have significant implications for stakeholders, underscoring the need for collaborative efforts and community involvement for slum tourism initiatives. Governments should recognize their role in addressing urban development issues rather than solely relying on tourism resources. This study holds particular value for scholars and stakeholders engaged in slum tourism as it fills the gaps in understanding this phenomenon in the Brazilian context, providing a diverse range of perspectives. For future research, it is suggested to study a broader range of communities across Brazil to gain a better understanding of slum tourism reasons in different areas. Additionally, it is recommended to investigate the level of tourism involvement in these communities to ensure they meet the necessary criteria for analyzing their outcomes related to placemaking.

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Table of Abbreviations

Covid-19 – Corona virus disease 2019 (SARS-CoV-2)

DMO – Destination Marketing Organization

ECO-92 – United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

UN – United Nations

Rio – Rio de Janeiro

Sesc – Social Service of Commerce (*Serviço social do comércio*)

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1. Introduction

Tourism has evolved into a significant socio-economic activity with the potential to influence the lives of people around the world, particularly in relation to broader objectives such as poverty reduction (Rogerson & Saarinen, 2018). In the realm of tourism, poverty can become a touristic product, an attraction, which although may bring some economic benefits to a destination, can also foster and/or reinforce stereotypes and stigmatization.

A new form of mass tourism had arisen in the 20th Century in cities across developing countries, offering visits to the most marginalized sides of the city: slums (O'Brien, 2011). Slum tourism occurs in economically disadvantaged areas such as favelas in Brazil and townships in South Africa. Even though there is no consensus on what slum tourism is, the objective relies on the connection between tourism and urban misery, in which tourists visit low-income settlements (Henry, 2020). According to Frenzel (2013), poverty in slum tourism is seen as a normalized and accepted product by societies.

As we delve into the Brazilian context, given its reputation as a popular destination for favela tours, this study will address the unique socio-economic characteristics and challenges of these areas. Rocinha, for example, the largest Brazilian favela, attracts a significant influx of tourists due to its association with poverty and violence (Frenzel, 2012). Slum tourism in Brazil started during the ECO-92 held in Rio de Janeiro, attracting politicians, activists, etc (De Melo & Bottino, 2018). Prior to this event, favelas were seen as a significant social problem, highlighting government inadequacies and challenges, being its focus eradicating them. Consequently, the interpretation of poverty in favelas have undergone transformation, and to this end, the concept of reality effects (Van Assche, Beunen, Duineveld & Gruzbacher, 2020) will be further addressed to investigate the different social meanings of favelas and slum tourism in this context.

The proliferation of slum tourism raises concerns related to the perpetuation of poverty, as many individuals tend to normalize it instead of confronting their consequences (Koenig, Frenzel, & Steinbrink, 2012). Can slum tourism offer a solution to poverty in favelas, despite the potential for exploitation? As an example, there is a concern that the incentives to eliminate favelas as part of a broader urban development may be marginalized. If tourism actors make

use of slum tourism as a strategy to tackle poverty, the fundamental issue of the existence of slums itself remains unquestioned.

Some studies highlighted negative impacts of slum tourism, including insights into poverty, challenges faced by locals, limited local benefits from profits, and potential urban implications, like gentrification and real estate speculation (Bob, 2010; Frenzel, 2012;2013; Miranda & Fortunato, 2016). On the contrary, some researchers defend slum tourism citing its positive economic and social benefits (Booyens & Rogerson 2019). For instance, Comuna 13 in Medellin, Colombia, transformed from a notorious neighborhood involved in drug trafficking through public-driven initiatives focused on urban development projects (Jiménez, 2016). Similarly, Kampong Pelangi, the Rainbow Village in Semarang, Indonesia, is nowadays considered a tourist attraction due to its sustainable initiatives and colourful houses, supported by a Government initiative for community development in tourism (Sari, Hendro, & Muhammad, 2020).

Therefore, slum tourism reasonings can be associated to fundamentals of placemaking. Placemaking involves residents designing the local community and creating public spaces to enhance the quality of living and working environments (Razali & Ismail, 2014). There is space for further examination on the connection between slum tourism and placemaking, to determine if it can be a realistic tool to empower residents to shape their own public spaces. The main issue to address is how slum tourism actors tackle poverty narratives, and what actual changes and improvements are made for the community. Favelas have long been associated with violence and urban issues, and therefore, it becomes crucial to investigate if slum tourism can be a viable strategy for placemaking in these urban areas.

Literature lacks information on how poverty and urban development issues have been addressed in favelas over time amidst diverse tourism activities, along with their impact on the interpretation of favelas. Despite challenges and persistent stigmatization linked to violence and crime, domestic visitors remain hesitant to engage in slum tourism due to fear and reservations among Brazilians. Another area of literature that remains underexplored pertains to favelas outside Rio de Janeiro. Brazil is home to favelas scattered throughout the entire country and travel agencies are already offering new guided tours in favelas in São Paulo and other regions (Agência Estado, 2010). Thus, this study aims to fill this research gap by examining two communities. Cerro Corá & Guararapes are two small favelas in Rio, situated

nearby the Christ the Redeemer statue, and therefore, many residents work with tourism in the surrounding area. There are no official guided tours developed inside the favela, but a local ongoing initiative is trying to implement it. Perus is a community located in the northwest zone of São Paulo, where locals created a non-profit organization that develops cultural activities within the community.

This research intends to investigate diverse tourism narratives implemented to resist the reality of the slums by examining their underlying intentions ranging from business-oriented to social movement-driven. It is crucial to explore the potential coexistence, overlapping aspects, and potential tensions between these narratives.

Therefore, the following research question is addressed in this thesis: *How do different uses of slum tourism address poverty narratives and impact placemaking in favelas?*

The 3 sub-research questions that help answering the main one are: *(1) to what specific ends do slum tourism actors use tourism in favelas, (2) how is poverty portrayed in slum tourism and (3) what are the new effects of different uses of slum tourism on placemaking in favelas?*

These questions will be addressed by conducting explanatory case studies that compare the similarities and differences between the two favelas located in distinct Brazilian states and at different stages of development. A combination of in-depth online interviews, a focus group, and analysis of social media content will be employed as the chosen methods.

The research relevancy finds itself in raising awareness about how slum tourism actors strategically make use of different tourism approaches to address poverty. Consequently, it is relevant to understand the role that poverty plays in these activities, by exploring the narratives behind their reasoning. And, examining if and how slum tourism brings new effects on urban development matters in different neighborhoods in Brazil.

This study begins by conducting a comprehensive literature review, followed by a contextual analysis of the research topic. Further, the methodology of this study is outlined. Subsequently, the findings are presented and a discussion chapter. Finally, conclusions, limitations and implications for future research and stakeholders are given.

2. Literature review

This chapter will address the main concepts of this study: poverty and placemaking. Initially, it will cover the definition of poverty and its various uses within tourism context. Subsequently, a comprehensive exploration of slum tourism will be undertaken, encompassing its historical background. The chapter will also delve into the notion of placemaking as an essential element of slum tourism practices. Finally, a theoretical framework that is firmly rooted in the research questions will be presented.

2.1 Conceptualizing poverty

To begin with, it becomes relevant to understand what poverty means. Poverty can be defined as a human condition in which individuals are deprived of resources, capabilities, security, and power for enjoyment of an adequate state of living and social rights (Council of Europe, n.d). Poverty is then understood as an undesirable condition that poses a threat to one's existence.

Usually, income serves as the commonly utilized indicator for measuring well-being, implying that the absence of income is directly associated with other causes of poverty, leading to future challenges of deprivation (Wratten, 1995). Geographically, poverty is associated with developing countries across Africa, Asia, and Latin America as it is shown in the image below of the World Bank quoted in Kan et al., (2017), that represents the geographical distribution of the population below poverty line.

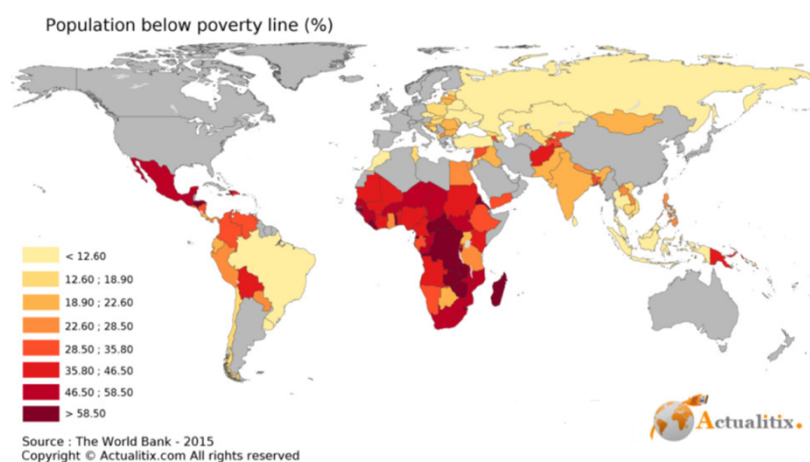


Figure 1 – World map and distribution of the population by countries (The World Bank, 2015).

In the 1980s and 1990s, urban settlements experienced a concentration of poverty mainly due to economic crises and the implementation of structural adjustment policies in the Third World (Wratten, 1995). These policies had a disproportionate effect on urban poverty, coupled with demographic factors. Additionally, some writers believed that the depth of poverty is worse in deprived city slums than in rural communities (Harpham, Lusty & Vaughan, 1988). Nonetheless, it is important to note that urban poverty is usually not a separate concept within its broader context of poverty.

According to Holden (2013), poverty comprehends more than the lack of fulfillment of basic needs: it also encompasses the absence of opportunities and freedom. Some indicators of poverty are access to health care, education, security and restricted opportunities for personal growth, violation of human rights, etc. This way, it can be said that poverty might be a cause and/or a result of human rights violations. Additionally, as argued by Sen (1995), poverty can be seen as a form of inequality, revealing where factors like social exclusion and discrimination can perpetuate poverty.

A concept that is linked to poverty is powerlessness. When poverty is defined beyond mere monetary indicators, it typically encompasses the concept of disempowerment across political, cultural, and social dimensions (Scheyvens 2009). If poverty can be summarized as lack of power, then poverty and power relations are intrinsically connected. The lack of power for some might indicate that others have more. Sen (1995) also analyses the relationship between poverty and powerlessness, arguing that the lack of voice among the poor can contribute to their vulnerability and difficulties to escape poverty.

2.2 Poverty uses in tourism

Much of the non-Western world has historically experienced the consequences of the colonial domination by European countries. Postcolonial scholarships delve into the impact of colonial encounters and power dynamics, contributing to our understand of the contemporary world, characterized by global interdependencies (Castree et al., 2020). It is known that tourism has a close relationship to post-colonialism since countries that were colonies are now one of the favorite destinations for the Global North tourists, as a way of exploring exotic people and habits (Hall & Tucker, 2004).

Consequently, within the realm of tourism research, discussions surrounding poverty and power dynamics have become central concerns (Frenzel, 2012). However, the connection between poverty and tourism first emerged from the "slumming" movement in London, when the upper class started to visit less privileged areas of the city (Shepard, 2016). As time passed, this movement extended its influence to various destinations across the globe with different approaches.

As Scheyvens (2001) stated, the term "poverty tourism" lacks an official definition but can be employed to describe travel activities to poorer regions that align with the principles of alternative tourism. Even though there is no agreement on terms, there are studies approaching several types of poverty tourism. For example, Holden (2013), highlights some strategies that aim to maximize the positive impacts of tourism on poverty alleviation, such as community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism initiatives and responsible tourism practices. Scheyvens (2001) categorizes different case studies related to poverty tourism as: 1) tours which set out to improve tourists' understanding of poverty issues, 2) tourism which involves voluntary work, and 3) tours which are based on 'hosts' telling their own stories of past oppression. Hutnyk (2016) also discusses volunteer work as a type of poverty tourism. He states that tourists that do volunteer work in poor regions display the perspective of unequal relationships, positioning the West as the provider of solutions to the developmental challenges faced by the third world. However, it fails to recognize their participation in either creating or perpetuating these problems.

With the global prominence of slum tourism, the question that emerges pertains to whether slum tourism should be considered as a form of poverty tourism or if it has established its own distinctive niche within the travel industry. Frenzel (2012) states that the significance of poverty within the realm of slum tourism is embedded in the sense of the slum's visit being driven by people's curiosity. There is no doubt that visits to poverty-stricken locations can often be voyeuristic and lack sensitivity towards local needs and interests. Poverty tourism encompasses various approaches and perspectives when engaging with impoverished areas. Key concerns revolve around the manner in which poverty is approached, the power dynamics involved, and the potential for meaningful interactions between local residents and tourists.

2.3 Slum tourism

Before diving into slum tourism, it is essential to have a clear understanding of what constitutes a slum. First and foremost, slums are a home for a large number of citizens of non-developed countries and over one billion of the world's society live in slums, hoping for a future development (Koens et al., 2017). According to the UN Human Settlements Programme (2003), a slum is “a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor”.

It can be said then that slums are not an isolated phenomenon but rather a manifestation of the larger systemic issues of wealth inequality. These areas have their origins in a singular historical situation that differs from other political and social spaces (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). The development of slums is unique to their context and cannot be generalized to other types of areas. Factors like migration, rapid urbanization, colonial legacies, and economic inequalities contribute to the emergence of slums as they exist today. The citizens of slums deal on their daily routines with issues regarding sanitary services, electricity, clean water supply, etc (Gips, 2017). There are many reasons that explain the growth of the slum's extension in political, economic, social, and demographic contexts, such as uncontrolled rural-urban migration, political instability, social conflicts, and poverty (Gips, 2017)

Bauman (1998) stated that slums are positioned in a capitalist context where 90% of the wealth is within the hands of a selective elite of 2% of total population. Therefore, the discussion around slums highlights the relevance of the unequal distribution of wealth within capitalism and its connection to their proliferation worldwide. Rapid urbanization for example leads to an increase in rural-to-urban migration, resulting in the spontaneous formation of settlements. Economic inequalities and limited access to resources perpetuate these settlements, leaving their communities marginalized and deprived of basic necessities such as healthcare and education (Bauman, 1998). Is it possible that slums are a result of capitalism, where slum tourism is used to showcase the non-wealth aspects of the world, presented in a context of urban chaos and misery, for the purpose of highlighting the negative effects of capitalism on society?

The main offer of slum tourism consists in guided tours that usually have an itinerary of no more than two hours, and the tourists can also visit local restaurants, cultural hubs and sometimes, the houses of the residents (Henry, 2020). The range of tours is currently expanding, encompassing various modes of transportation such as vans, jeeps and walking. Townships tourism in South Africa and favela tourism in Brazil are two of the most famous labels for slum tourism across the globe and it can be estimated that 90% of slum tourists go to one of these destinations (Steinbrink et al., 2016).

As slum tourism is one of the fastest growing niche markets, new destinations are also arising offering touristic activities in the slums. The picture below from Steinbrink (2016) shows the most famous destinations for slum tourism throughout the years, starting in South Africa and Brazil till 2013. It is shown that from 2005 onwards there is an expansive growth, with new Asian and African destinations such as Indonesia and Zambia adhering to slum tourism activities.

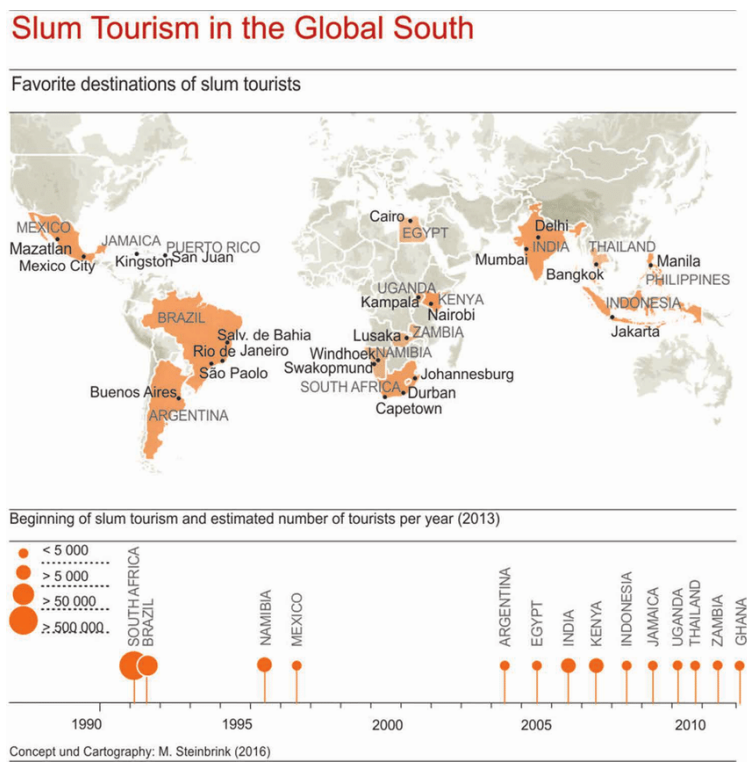


Figure 2 - Slum tourism in the Global South. (Steinbrink, 2016)

This form of tourism can be considered a controversial niche segment that has received both positive and negative critiques. One of the topics surrounding this type of tourism relates to its underlying purpose: the exploitation of poverty for the entertainment of tourists (Paul, 2016). Slum tourism is increasingly seen as a questionable social activity, as it appears to have shifted

from addressing poverty to commodifying it. According to Frenzel (2013), the crucial role of poverty in slum tourism is the poverty's appeal, directly allied to the romanticised idea of being poor, and the authenticity of the travelers' expectations of a simple life.

The argument used by most of the slum tour operators is that they are mainly trying to educate tourists about the realities of the slums and they are helping to fight against negative stereotypes (Whyte, Selinger & Outterson, 2011). One can argue that the issue in slum tourism lies on observing poor individuals. The significance of power dynamics in slum tourism arises from the belief that slum's residents are relatively powerless compared to the tourists (the ones who actually hold power in the condition of visiting). Furthermore, slum tourism and the "glamourization" of slums, as cited by the Lonely Planet, are connected to a larger debate on urban governance, urban renewal, and gentrification within the same context (Koens et al., 2012.). However, it is undeniable that its rapid growth can largely be attributed to the unique insights into poverty and the living conditions of individuals (Bob, 2010).

According to Frenzel's (2012) proposal, a developmental model of slum tourism suggests that political events and specific scenarios serve as preconditions for the development of slum tourism. Frenzel (2012) examines three distinct cases and asserts that these slums are characterized by cultural disparities. The underlying concept is that once a slum is perceived as culturally distinct, it gains visibility and becomes appealing to tourists who previously dismissed such locations. One of the cases in the model are the favelas in Rio de Janeiro. As mentioned earlier, in the Brazilian context, slum tourism emerged during the ECO 92, a significant large-scale political event. This event facilitated the creation of various tours in the city, including the *favela tour*, which was subsequently featured in the city's tourist guides, increasing its popularity and accessibility (De Melo & Bottino, 2018).

2.3.1 Historical context

"Slum" was first recognized in 1884 by the Oxford English Dictionary (Loftus, 2009). In the middle of the 19th Century, some poor establishments in France, India and the United States were also started to be called as slums (David, 2006). Prior to this, the word slum was considered a slang expression related to individual lodgings, and afterwards, to urban quarters (Mayne 1993).

London was one of the most influential cities during the 19th century and had experienced a significant growth in population and rapid urbanization. This is basically explained due to immigration and rural exodus, what led to a gap between affluent and impoverished areas, resulting in urban segregation (Steinbrink, 2012). As London expanded, its residents became unfamiliar with certain parts of the city, and from the perspective of the wealthy, the slums of the East End were seen as a gloomy abyss—a place where they would venture to witness the lives of the Other (Steinbrink, 2012). As a result, certain neighborhoods in London, like Whitechapel, began to attract tourists interested in observing the lives of the less privileged (Loftus, 2009).

SLUMMING IN THIS TOWN

*A FASHIONABLE LONDON MANIA
REACHES NEW-YORK.*

SLUMMING PARTIES TO BE THE RAGE THIS
WINTER—GOOD DISTRICTS TO VISIT—
MRS. LANGTRY AS A SLUMMER.

“Slumming,” the latest fashionable idiosyncrasy in London—i. e., the visiting of the slums of the great city by parties of ladies and gentlemen for sightseeing—is mildly practiced here by our foreign visitors by a tour of the Bowery, winding up with a visit to an opium joint or Harry Hill’s.

Figure 3 – “Slumming in this Town.” (New York Times, 1884).

These areas were not necessarily as extreme as the existing slums nowadays, but back then, they were considered the poorest locations and sparked interest amongst the wealthy individuals, who are still the most interested demographic today (Delic, 2011).

Township phenomenon, for example, started in 1980 in the urban centers of South Africa where tours were created to educate white local policymakers, attracting tourists that were interested in the history of the apartheid (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). The townships now are a big source of economic revenue being supported by the Government with policies to develop activity in the area (Frenzel & Koens, 2012).

Slum activities arises from the tourist's interest and demand, creating the starting point for the slum tour infrastructure (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). Consequently, the slums are the materialization of poverty and inequality, and even though people are interested in visiting it, slums act as a forceful warning of where they do not wish to belong or be (Steinbrink, Frenzel, & Koens, 2017). Even though postcolonial theories have proven their critical helpfulness in several disciplines, international tourism studies did not really make a lot of use of them, lacking in perspectives such as in with what consequences the slum tourism phenomenon in the Global South is ingrained in postcolonial discourses (Steinbrink, 2012).

2.4 Slum tourism strategies for urban development and placemaking

According to Cresswell (2009), geography gives a significant emphasis on the concept of "places", which includes the elements of location, locale, and sense of place. Since the 1970s, the notion of meaning has been crucial to the understanding of places within the field of Human Geography. Furthermore, Cresswell (2009) argues that places are not merely static entities, but rather dynamic practices in which people actively engage. The actions and activities carried out within a place contribute to the meanings associated with that particular place.

Placemaking is considered the process to create quality places where people would like to live and work, where residents design the local community, creating public spaces with social and urban perspectives (Razali & Ismael, 2014). Moreover, places involve awareness that placemaking may result from substantial cooperation and that some activities might be based on mutual commitment to accomplishing some form of moral progress (Entrikin, 2002). Thomas (2016) explores another aspect of placemaking, highlighting that it is often influenced by the priorities of influential individuals and various external factors. Consequently, he argues for the adoption of a more inclusive and process-oriented model. Thomas (2016) also recognizes the significance of community participation in obtaining valuable perspectives and guidance to address the cultural requirements of the community when organizing communal public spaces.

According to Wyckoff (2014), placemaking improves the quality of several places in a neighborhood and their communities. The idea of placemaking, which involves transforming spaces into places, has a significant connection to tourism development and shaping

destinations. In this context, governance plays a crucial role as it is closely intertwined with the social construction of meaning by public actors who are involved in tourism-related intentions.

Cruz Moscarelli's (2023) study focuses on the use of placemaking to revitalize deteriorated public spaces, demonstrating that the community involved in the case study grew weary of the promises made by the public authorities regarding improvements in those areas. The study emphasizes that the most knowledgeable individuals regarding urban spaces are the users and residents themselves, thereby advocating for active community involvement in the process of designing projects. One of the community's initiatives included the restoration or repainting of vandalized furniture, showcasing their proactive engagement in enhancing the space.

Palermo & Ponzini (2014) argue that placemaking offers a unique perspective on urban challenges and potential solutions. The central focus of placemaking revolves around creating livable and sustainable environments, requiring a specific set of practices to achieve this objective. However, one notable limitation of placemaking is its integration with development management aspects such as housing, transportation, and community services provision (Palermo & Ponzini 2014).

In their study, Osbourne and Vodovipec (2014), delve into the concept of slums as tourist destinations and explore the various advancements associated with slum tourism. While not explicitly focusing on placemaking, the authors address important aspects related to community participation in planning and developing slum tourism initiatives, discussing the potential of tourism in enhancing the resident's quality of life.

Placemaking can be used as a strategy to boost the tourism industry by actively engaging the local community, empowering them, and improving their overall quality of life (Razali & Ismail, 2014). One wonders about the efficacy of utilizing slum tourism as a placemaking strategy in developing regions. By engaging the local community in shaping and improving their surroundings, placemaking can provide a novel outlook on the area's physical and emotional essence. Nevertheless, this approach carries the risk of compromising authenticity, as the destination may undergo alterations or adjustments to cater to tourist expectations.

Podlaszewska (2017) made an analysis of placemaking in the context of urban destinations, specifically focusing on Palembang, a city in Indonesia. The article emphasizes the necessity for Palembang to adapt its tourism offerings and experiences to align with the local context while still appealing to tourists. However, it also highlights the challenges and tensions that arise during this process, particularly in maintaining the authenticity and integrity of the place when catering to tourists' expectations. However, it raises a crucial question regarding the goals of placemaking, particularly when associated with slum tourism. Is it the primary objective to enhance the residents' quality of life by improving the physical aspects, or is it primarily focused on fulfilling the needs of tourists?

Furthermore, Podlaszewska (2017) explores the commoditization of cultural and natural assets into marketable products or experiences. It notes the development of infrastructure, tour packages, and hospitality services aimed at facilitating the demands of tourism. However, the article also raises concerns about how these processes intersect with slum tourism. Does the commodification of natural aspects and the portrayal of poverty in slums inadvertently pique foreign curiosity?

Booyens & Rogerson (2019) illustrate the process of re-creating slum tourism through placemaking in South-Africa, arguing that slum tourism is a dynamic and evolving practice shaped by multiple actors and forces. They implemented a conceptual framework that has four key elements: stakeholders, narratives, destinations and images. Their study emphasizes that stakeholders (residents, tour operators and tourists) play an important role implementing placemaking in slum tourism. The two highlights of their study are: the significance of residents actively shape the narrative and representation of their communities, and the influential role that tour operators and other actors have on shaping perceptions of poverty, development, and authenticity (Booyens & Rogerson, 2019).

Rocha Franco (2019) also conducts a study examining the role of placemaking in Brazilian urban spaces, specifically focusing on favelas in Rio de Janeiro and townships in Johannesburg. The study highlights how racial divisions significantly influence placemaking practices and the sense of belonging within these communities. According to Rocha Franco (2019) racism and discrimination are everyday realities that must be taken into account when considering placemaking approaches. Another finding of his study is that in the Brazilian society, there is often a perception that favelas are isolated from the city. This perception restricts the

understanding of belonging and placemaking, contributing to a significant disparity in urban spaces throughout Brazil. It demonstrates that racial divisions shape the experiences and lives of individuals within these places. Furthermore, the research uncovers that in Brazil, the emergence of multicultural familial connections promotes the advancement of placemaking activities and nurtures a feeling of belongingness (Rocha Franco, 2019).

Sotto's (2018) case study conducted in São Paulo, Brazil, explores a particular urban revitalization project based on placemaking approaches and its potential consequences in terms of gentrification and spatial injustice. However, his study also revealed that due to this project, locals gained access to recreational areas, dividing the community in two sides: some advocated for transforming the spaces into a park, the others wanted to demolish the existing structure. Sotto (2018) explains that in cities where public leisure and recreational spaces are typically rare, especially for disadvantaged individuals, this area served as a shared space for cultural expressions, sports, graffiti art, etc.

Through an examination of placemaking, it becomes evident that tourism, under various governance approaches, organizes the activities according to a shared logic (Hultman & Hall, 2012). For example, the utilization of city branding as a governance strategy has gained significant traction, aiming to cultivate positive city images and appeal to diverse target audiences (Hannigan & Richards, 2017). City branding has emerged as an urban governance approach to shape perceptions of places. Considering this, one may question whether slum tourism can be seen as a cause of a governance strategy employed to create a favorable image of the reality within these communities.

The present study aims to delve deeper into the various approaches taken towards placemaking in urban contexts, specifically within favelas. The term “generic city” refers to a city lacking history and memory, constantly adaptable to the immediate needs (Palermo & Ponzini, 2014). Consequently, this concept denies the possibility of new urban spaces emerging, which contradicts the belief that slum tourism can bring challenges in favelas through placemaking. However, despite being urban areas, favela prove this notion wrong. Originating from the needs of impoverished communities unable to afford housing within the formal city, favelas are urban spaces that retain a rich history and memory, with their social significance continuously

evolving. Unlike a generic city, a favela has the ability to transform its physical layout and public functions, thereby creating new urban spaces.

All being said, when applied to urban development and the reduction of urban poverty in the context of slum tourism, the concept of placemaking highlights various instances where actors utilize it as a rationale to support their claims. In Brazilian urban landscapes, these efforts not only address issues related to urban development but also aim to enhance the quality of life and living conditions of these communities. Additionally, it can be argued that placemaking, as mentioned in the previous example, can contribute to fulfill the gap of access to cultural institutions and establishments.

2.5 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework presented in this study centers around the concept of reality effects. This framework will be utilized to delve deeper into the analysis of the study's methods, including interviews and focus groups, to examine the data and explore the evolving perception of slum tourism in favelas and its implications over time. Additionally, it will help to investigate how actors involved in slum tourism express varying discourses regarding the impact of placemaking in these areas.

According to Vann Assche et al., (2020), reality effects refer to the ways in which our understanding of the world can be transformed. In examining the functioning of innovation in the Dutch outbound travel industry, Buijtendijk (2021) describes that narratives about change and innovation can have self-fulfilling effects, suggesting that ideas can trigger lasting reality effects. This study seeks to analyze those effects within slum tourism in Brazilian favelas. Favelas were once regarded as the undesirable aspect of the city but with the emerge of media promotion, it sparked the curiosity of foreigners, changing its perceptions. Likewise, favelas are now featured in the country's tourism offerings, with businesses globally using the term to create an "exotic" ambiance (Freire-Medeiros, 2008).

The concept of reality effects is closely tied to the varied outcomes of governance strategies, with certain effects having long-lasting implications on action and communication, continually evolving in their meaning (Weick, 2012). Governance, in turn, entails intricate relationships with diverse environments and actors, leading to the potential interpretation and reuse of

strategies (Miller, 1986). Reality effects, encompassing the significance of words and concepts, shape our perception of phenomena and their impact on individuals and society as a whole (Weick, 2012). In the context of slum tourism in favelas, this illustrates how the Government, for instance, may utilize favelas as a tool to achieve broader political and social objectives, strategically manipulating their connotation over time to suit their convenience. Favelas can socially function as a government strategy with specific aims, and the actors involved in planning and communicating these new ideas play a pivotal role in influencing the effects of such persuasion. Nevertheless, since favelas are impoverished urban areas, slum tourism inadvertently carries with it a cascading effect of these understandings, akin to a domino effect.

Reality effects can have its manifestation in different forms that have a basic distinction between them. The manifestation of reality effects can then be categorized into two types: material and discursive (Van Assche et al., 2020). Material reality effects manifest as changes in the physical environment and social systems, while discursive reality effects involve shifts in understanding. This study explores how favelas have undergone significant transformations both in their social significance and in physical aspects across multiple spheres.

The discursive reality effects also have an impact on governance and power dynamics in shaping different realities (Van Assche et al., 2014). This means that society overall might start to see various elements and understand their meanings with different perceptions. This suggests that the construction of these reality effects within our society, which is influenced by governance, can contribute to their acceptance and subsequently influence the community. For instance, the discourse surrounding the identity of actors, the territory, and the governance approach, as perceived both internally and externally, can have tangible consequences (Van Assche et al., 2014).

The discursive effect concerning favelas and slum tourism begins with the very manifestation of their meaning. The Government, the private sector and the local community all perceive and utilize favelas in different ways, with varying interpretations. With the influence of tourism development, the social significance of favelas experiences a shift, particularly for the Government, which no longer feels the need to conceal this aspect of the city. Instead, favelas are promoted as touristic products with the support of private tourist companies that view them as profitable ventures. Material effects can also be observed, such as the ongoing process of gentrification and real estate speculation (Miranda & Fortunato, 2016).

2.5.1 Slum tourism model

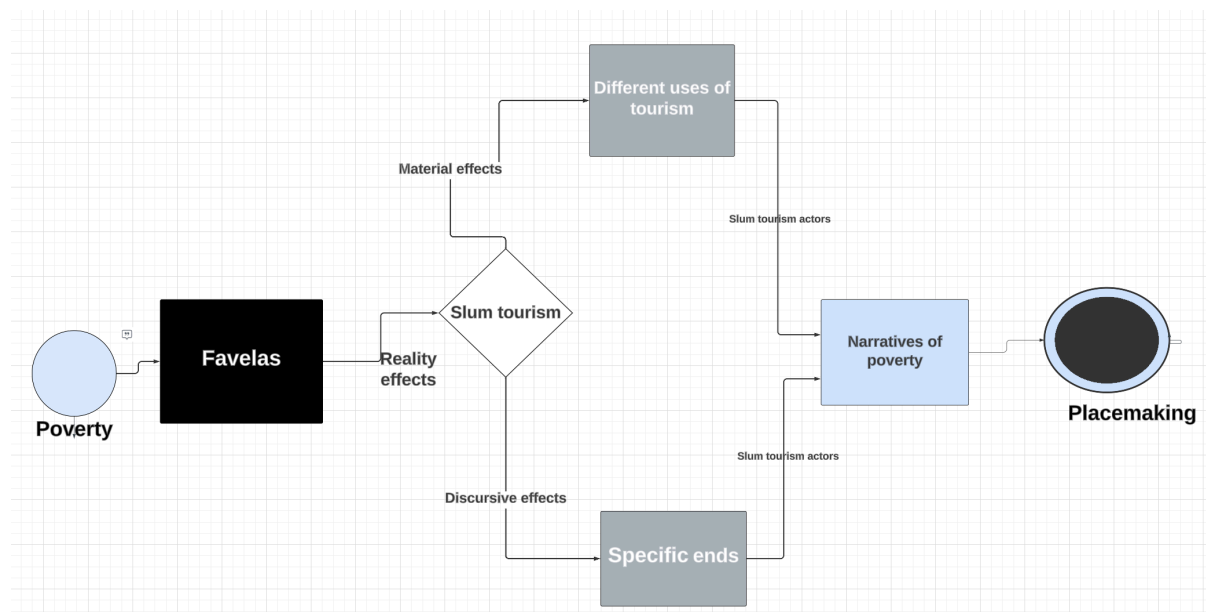


Figure 4 – Slum tourism model

In order to elucidate the relationship and logical progression of the concepts outlined in the research questions, a personalized model was developed specifically tailored for this research. It represents the relationship between poverty, slum tourism, reality effects and placemaking, and it is basically split in two parts. At first, it explores the process of reality effects that happen in favelas, which will further influence slum tourism activities and how elements are perceived by society. Afterwards, it emphasizes the strategic utilization of slum tourism by different actors and the implications it has on how poverty is portrayed and perceived within these contexts. The end of the model then shows placemaking integrated as a result of the previous line of thinking.

The poverty issue is intertwined with the occurrence of slum tourism in these favelas. Slum tourism actors are the stakeholders involved in activity, such as tour operators, governmental institutions, locals and tourists. These actors advocate for the use of tourism in slums, each with varying levels of influence depending on their physical location in different favelas in Brazil and their background. Consequently, they make distinct uses of tourism with specific objects in mind. This study primarily focuses on how narratives of poverty are addressed within these different uses of tourism, and to what extent they contribute to the process of placemaking in favelas.

3. Contextual Analysis

This chapter will provide a contextual analysis of slum tourism in Brazil. Firstly, a brief overview of favelas and their historical background will be presented, followed by an exploration of the challenges faced in these areas. Subsequently, the transformation of favelas from a social issue to a tourist attraction over time will be introduced, alongside with the emergence of an international favela brand.

3.1 Favelas: where does this word come from?

Slums in Brazil are known as favelas. Favelas are considered illegal settlements in urban areas that consist of houses on often irregular and high-risk land, where access to services and urban infrastructure is precarious (Guitarra, n.d.). However, this definition is no longer completely accurate, as the landscape has evolved significantly. Currently, there is a flourishing real estate market where houses in favelas are being bought and sold, with prices varying based on the specific favela and desired location within it (Miranda & Rafael, 2016).



Figure 5 - Favela in Rio de Janeiro (Forbes, 2022)

The advance of favelas is a complex and versatile phenomenon, as they are usually excluded from urban planning and infrastructure development. Even though the Government made several efforts to eradicate favelas, such as forced evictions and demolitions, they persisted, and today, favelas are home to approximately 1.5 million people, which corresponds to 23-24% of the population of Rio de Janeiro (Catalytic Communities, n.d.). Favela's residents kept on

building their homes on public and private lands, usually without the legal right to do it. It can be said that favelas are a side effect of urban development, emerging as a consequence of population growth, urbanization and lack of affordable housing.

To comprehend the initial development of favelas, numerous socio-historical factors need to be understood as they are a result of a broader political context (Davis, 2006). During the early periods of colonization, the relationship between Brazil and Portugal was mainly characterized by economic trades. With the increase of sugar economy, black slaves were purchased from Africa as they were cheaper than local slaves (Van Rompu, 2016). When slavery was abolished in 1888, ex-slaves migrated throughout Brazil and because of the racism integrated in the society, they suffered social disadvantages, what led to a large scale-migration to Rio de Janeiro, the previous capital of the country (Fausto, 1986). This influx of migrants resulted in the development of informal settlements in the surroundings of the city, initially populated by former slaves and rural migrants that were in search of better opportunities.

The first slum of Rio de Janeiro was called Morro da Providência and it was established in 1887 on a hillside overlooking the city center (Pino, 1997). Two historical factors played a significant role in the initial settlements in the region: the migratory flow of former slaves following the abolition of slavery in 1888, as previously mentioned, and the large influx of homeless soldiers from the War of Canudos who arrived in Rio de Janeiro (Van Rompu, 2016). The War of Canudos was one of the key conflicts that occurred during the transition period between the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republican regime in Brazil, between 1896 and 1897 (Barbosa, n.d.). The soldiers involved in this war, in addition to not receiving recognition, also found themselves without employment, and housing, being compelled to seek help in emerging communities. Over time, other slums also came to be recognized as favelas, in reference to the Morro da Providência.

3.2 Current challenges

Salazar (2019) explains that favelas are an outcome of development, highlighting the difficulties it brings. According to him, development aims to improve society but can also lead to problems like poverty, pollution and violence. Development functions as a two-sided sword, and favelas are the visible wounds where the first and third worlds meet (Salazar, 2019).

Brazil is a country that showcases high levels of inequality and Rio de Janeiro is considered the city of contrasts. While Rio is basically the postcard image of the country, with famous sites, such as Copacabana Beach and the Christ the Redeemer statue, the city also has a struggling hidden side of struggle. In favelas, people suffer significantly with the lack of access to proper urban infrastructure, like inadequate housing, unsanitary water conditions, limited waste management, among other basic needs. These challenging conditions further marginalize favela residents, excluding them from essential city services.

Regarding the economic sector in favelas, it is crucial to understand its dynamics. Individuals facing unemployment consider favelas as a highly conducive environment for their survival. The popular economy that characterizes these communities, where low-income residents establish informal networks of commerce and services to sustain themselves, becomes their only viable means of consumption (Cerbasi, 2016). This economy is characterized by offering limited prospects offers for those who work in it and by informality, as they do not pay taxes which results in lower prices for products and services compared to businesses operating within the market economy (Cerbasi, 2016).

Nevertheless, in certain situations, the economic reality can worsen due to the lack of adequate government support. For example, the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated the existing structural issues in the favelas. During the pandemic, thousands of people lost their jobs and reported a lack of proper medical treatment in public healthcare facilities for two main reasons: overwhelming number of patients, and deterioration of the facilities (Garcia, 2021a).

3.3 From social issue to tourist attraction: the beginning of slum tourism.

There has been a shift in the perception of favelas over time, and in Rio de Janeiro, they became popular as touristic attraction, having tour operators providing guided visits to these areas. The media had played a significant role in this transformation, bringing international attention to these communities, increasing the curiosity of foreigners. Furthermore, visits from politicians, artists and famous movies have drawn attention to these urban areas. However, in the past, favelas were often stigmatized and while Brazilians may have previously avoided these areas, these events helped challenging the narratives of the use of these spaces.

To understand this progression, it is crucial to establish a timeline of the visits made to these communities. In the 1990s, favelas were used to describe any area with irregular occupation, extending beyond Morro da Providência (De Melo Bottino, 2018b). During this period, excursions to slums aimed to comprehend the social space in order to identify solutions and alternatives to curb their expansion and eradicate them. In 1930, Rio de Janeiro experienced a change in government that focused on representing the interests of the popular (poor) class. This administration believed in establishing a public responsibility for poverty, aiming to eliminate the associated stigma of inferiority (Valladares, 2005). Consequently, there was a shift in the perception of slums during this period. Favelas started to represent new opportunities for improvement.

De Melo Bottino (2018b) conducted an analysis of significant visits to favelas starting from the 1970s. In 1975, Jacques Corbon, the mayor of Paris, visited Cidade de Deus and Rocinha, two of the most famous favelas. In 1980, the Pope visited Vidigal, which was considered one of the most dangerous favelas at the time, and expressed the Catholic Church's commitment to serving the poor. In 1986, Cantagalo received a visit from Princess Anne of the Royal Family. As previously mentioned, the ECO-92 in 1992 marked the official initiation of slum tourism in the country.

Following that, in 1996, Michael Jackson visited Dona Marta and recorded the music video for "They Don't Care About Us," which caught significant attention from the international media and brought favelas into the spotlight (De Melo Bottino, 2018b). In 1999, Queen Margrethe II of Denmark visited Morro do Pereirão, and Rio also hosted the Cimeira, an UN Conference that aimed to evaluate the progress since ECO-92. Other prominent figures, such as Madonna in 2009 and the former United States President Barack Obama, have also visited favelas. This extensive list of politicians and celebrities has played a significant role in disseminating their visits and increasing awareness.

It is also worth noticing the significant impact of movies, such as "City of God" (Cidade de Deus, 2002), which provides a critical depiction of the difficult realities of the lives of favelas' residents, and "Elite Squad" (Tropa de Elite, 2007), a crime drama that highlighted the challenges faced by the police in tackling drug traffic in favelas. Nevertheless, in contemporary times, the majority of visits in favelas occur through paid tours with predefined itineraries, which are different conditions than the cases mentioned above.

3.4 Favelas as a new (international) brand

“It is based on these pillars, which construct favelas as a territory of imagination and serve as a receptacle for various anxieties and desires, that the favela can be elaborated as a tourist destination.” (Freire-Medeiros, 2008). As Phillips (2003) stated, favelas in Brazil are considered “exotic” and these ideas are now influencing the development of products that bring this “tropical” energy from them to new touristic destinations.

According to Freire-Medeiros (2008), slum tourism is nowadays contributing to the dissemination and consumption, at an international level, of a new brand, that trademarks favelas. There are several examples that showcase this new trend in the international scenario. Favela Chic Club, for example, is a luxury restaurant decorated in a tropical style that serves Brazilian food in cities like Paris, Miami, London, and others. Favela Restaurant in Tokyo also has the same approach as Favela Chic Club. It is also possible to find businesses that does not necessarily offer Brazilian products and/or services but appropriate their names using favela, such as Sidney’s Favela, that only serves Asian food.



Figure 6 - Favela Chic Club in Paris (Favela Chic, n.d.)

Miranda & Fortunato (2016) also conducted an exploratory analysis of tourism specifically in Morro do Vidigal, finding that certain national news channels such as "Globo News," "O Globo," and "Rede Bandeirantes" featured news articles about favelas mentioning words such as “chic”. This led to an increase of interest from foreigners and nationals in exploring Morro do Vidigal, resulting in territorial conflicts. Following its police pacification, there was

also an urge in information-seeking about favelas, leading some individuals to develop a sense of "admiration" for it despite never having visited the area.

As Freire-Medeiros (2008) stated, the development of a new brand based on the slum's reality is transcending territories and as posted on Lonely Planet, there is now a "glamourization of slums" that is being promoted by the media. While certain residents view slum tourism as an opportunity to gain visibility in the eyes of outsiders, demonstrating that favelas encompass more than just violence and criminality, others express displeasure at the possibility of tourists highlighting the less favorable aspects of their hometown (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Nevertheless, the media has played a significant role in fueling interest in favelas and promoting tourist activities (Miranda & Fortunato, 2016).

4. Methodology

This chapter will present the methods used in this study. It starts with the research design, followed by the data collection methods and sampling procedures. The data analysis process and the steps of the thematic analysis are also outlined. The results are reported in the next chapter by five main themes, based on the similarities and differences of the two Brazilian communities. Additionally, a research ethics explanation is included.

4.1 Research design

The research design followed a systematic approach using case studies. It employed an explanatory case study to compare two different cases and uncover shared patterns, differences, and contextual factors that influence a specific phenomenon. According to Yin (2018), explanatory case studies aims to comprehend relationships and the underlying mechanisms behind observed outcomes. By comparing two favelas in different regions of Brazil it becomes possible to elucidate the causes and processes involved in the occurrence of tourism activities in these urban areas. Perus in São Paulo has reached a mature stage, boasting its own locally run Travel Agency that emphasizes resistance and cultural aspects, while Cerro Corá & Guararapes in Rio de Janeiro are currently in the initial stages of developing a favela tour. Comparative case studies prove to be particularly valuable in comprehending how contextual factors affect the effectiveness of interventions, and in generating knowledge about causality - the mechanisms and reasons why certain policies either succeed or fail. (Goodrick, n.d.).

The aim of this comparison is to better understand which narratives of poverty are addressed and portrayed in these favelas (and how favelas are portrayed itself). Also, the reasoning behind the decision to introduce tourism in favelas and explore the different approaches adopted in these two communities. By doing so, it becomes possible to explore motivations driving these initiatives and to test theoretical explanations pertaining to slum tourism in Brazil.

4.2 Data collection methods and sampling

The qualitative data collection was based on mixed methods to enable opinions of several actors. Different methods complement each other, serving as a valuable tool to enhance the richness and depth of the research (Heale & Forbes, 2013, p98). The wide range of methods included document analysis, qualitative in-depth interviews, focus group and a social media content analysis. While document analysis examines relevant documents, in-depth interviews engage with stakeholders for insights, as well as focus groups explore shared perspectives; and social media content analysis reveals opinions on the topic in the digital sphere.

4.2.1 Document analysis

To undertake a critical analysis of the current scenario and the implications of slum tourism's development, comprehensive desk research was conducted utilizing document analysis. Secondary data, sourced from books, academic articles, and websites, was collected, enabling an analysis of the discourses and perspectives regarding slum tourism in various locations of the world and about the role of favelas in the Brazilian context.

4.2.2 Qualitative in-depth interviews

The use of qualitative research is a valuable tool for uncovering the political dimensions of tourism, and interviews offer a means to engage with participants in extensive and open-ended discussions (Belsky, 2004). Therefore, 12 in-depth interviews were conducted, combining structure with flexibility. In-depth interviews utilize an interview guide to outline the topics that will be covered, yet the order of these topics remains adaptable to suit the interviewees' preferences, encouraging interactive conversations and allowing them to talk freely when answering the questions (Legard et al., 2003). The interviews were conducted online via Zoom, with a duration ranging from 40 minutes to 1h30min and most of them were in Portuguese. The interview structure was tailored to each favela and its respondents, considering their unique backgrounds and levels of involvement. Since the communities are in different stages of development, there was a variation in the interviews' format. However certain questions, such as whether tourism initiatives effectively address the primary urban issues of favelas, were addressed to all participants. The interview guided is presented in appendix B.

4.2.3 Sampling

This study's methodology used a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Purposive sampling is used to select participants with specific slum tourism characteristics and experience. This includes individuals, such as community organizers and external agents, like strategic advisors. Nevertheless, a sizable portion of the respondents consists of residents. The purposive sampling approach allows for targeted and informed selection of participants that can provide in-depth insights into this phenomenon. Subsequently, the snowball sampling method is used to expand the participant pool, incorporating domestic and international tourists, content creators and others based on suggestions from pre-interviewees.

Favela	Initial	Gender	Occupation	Date	Duration	Reference
CG	M.	F	Work at a national tourism concessionaire company – Supervisor of J.	27 th May	1h	R1 - CG
Perus	R.	F	Local, Co-founder of Quilombaque and Chef	06 th June	40 min	R2 - P
CG	D.	M	Travel Agent and Filmmaker	26 th May	40min	R3 - CG
CG	A.	F	American tourist	06 th June	50 min	R4 - CG
Perus	C.	F	Local, Marketing & Social Media Manager of Queixadas Agency	06 th June	1h	R5 - P
Perus	R.	M	Local, Coordinator of Queixadas Agency	31 st May	40min	R6- P
CG	Focus Group.	Mix	Brazilian students	24 th May	1h	FG (1,2,3,4)
CG	T.	M	University Professor, Strategic Advisor	22 nd May	1h15min	R7 - CG
CG	G.	M	Local, tour guide	22 nd May	1h30min	R8 - CG
CG	J.	M	Local, student and intern at the national tourism concessionaire company	21 st May	1h30min	R9 - CG
Perus	V.	F	Brazilian tourist	16 th June	40 min	R10 – P
Perus	D.	M.	Local, works with graffiti	12 th June	40min	R11 - P
Perus	M.	F.	Local, artist	17 th June	30min	R12 - P

Table 1 - Interviewees Appointments and Information

(F=Female; M= Male) (CG – Cerro Corá & Guararapes; P – Perus)

4.2.4 Focus group

A focus group is also conducted in this study. This method involved four participants who have experienced favela tours trials developed in Cerro Corá & Guararapes and was used to gather collective insights from the experience. This method is relevant because it allows the participants to discuss their thoughts and observations about the tour, the locality, and their prior expectations. Important questions were addressed related to the previous images they had about favelas and if they had done slum tourism before. The interview guide for the focus group is presented in appendix B.

4.2.5 Social media analysis

This method was chosen due to the participants' mentions on social media posts and videos, making it important to gather additional insights from these impressions. Thus, this study uses the Qualitative E-Research Framework developed by Salmons (2017) to analyze social media data and extract meaningful insights from participants' online interactions. The focus of the analysis is dedicated to the Queixadas Agency profile, the local travel agency of Perus, as well as the profile of a prominent actor involved in favela tours in Rio de Janeiro. YouTube videos are also analyzed to provide visual cues and additional information about the area.

The social media analysis also utilizes a combination of purposive and snowball techniques. It begins with identifying the main Instagram accounts promoting the projects of these communities by analyzing their content, followed by an exploration of the profiles of the individuals managing these accounts. Additional Instagram users engaging with their posts are also explored. YouTube videos are reviewed, including suggested videos, to gain further insights into the community beyond tourism activities. In appendix G, there are screenshots of the social media content analysis and links to the videos featured on YouTube.

4.3 Data analysis

The data analysis process was centered around thematic analysis with coding techniques. The thematic analysis was used to identify patterns, themes, and concepts within the collected data. Firstly, the transcriptions of the interviews are imported through Word. Below each transcription, there are notes that were taken during the interviews and notes of the social media

analysis. Before coding, some deductive codes were created, based in the research questions and the framework. Subsequently, the highlight of important extracts is done, followed by open coding, where initial labels with explanations representing meaningful segments of the data were generated.

The codes are descriptive and in vivo, as some words in Portuguese did not have a proper translation. This process involved identifying key highlights and significant patterns that emerged from the data. The codes were split into categories in which they had similarities or a causal connection and finally, the categories were emerged to further refine the themes, ensuring they accurately addressed the research objectives. The themes provided a comprehensive understanding of of slum tourism in different favelas, shedding light on concepts of the research questions, such as poverty implications in tourism uses and placemaking.

Codebooks were created to illustrate the different themes, categories and their corresponding codes. Excerpts were selected to highlight the significance of these codes, and each code was accompanied by multiple identified extracts. Appendix E contains a link presenting the initial coding process, along with translations, code descriptions, and selected extracts. It is important to note that this example refers specifically to the first theme, as demonstrated in Table 1 below, while the complete CodeBook for all themes can be found in appendix D.

Theme 1	Categories	Codes	Extracts
Territorial reclamations	Land Rights	territorial disputes	“Cerro Corá understands that due to this lack of regulation, these conflicts were generated”
		possession of land	“the locals they are fighting for the possession of the land”
		occupation movements	“So, from the period of colonization until now, yes, more recent things, like occupations of public spaces”
		expelling	The associative is mentioned a lot of times since they fought against being expelled from their houses
		quilombos	“It is the construction of the identity of a quilombola”
		identity	“appreciation of the identity, the idea of appreciating yours, the occupation of that space”

	Afro and Indigenous Brazilian Identity	black people	“we do not work to show the misery and do not work to say poor peripheral people, poor black people”
		african	We receive, for example, we are in the neighborhood that has a lot of Indian immigrants and a lot of African immigrants
		white people	“Why did the white ones stole this dish?”
		slaves	“receipts that were created by slaves, right” “the first locals were all ex slaves from quilombos”
	Environmental resistance	resistance tourism	“called resistance tourism, because here our collection basically talks about struggles and movements of diverse. It's periods”
		preservation/conservation	“But that already discussed this issue of, not having cultural equipment this preservation of this territory and list the spaces of memory, affection, cultural spaces”
		indigenous	“Some of their products are indigenous trails to show their history”
		parks	“And in other national parks, the guides are locals”
		biodiversity	“He will talk about biodiversity, the remnants of native vegetation”

Table 2 - Codebook 1 for Data Analysis

4.4 Research Ethics

As a Brazilian woman, I have a personal and ethical connection to the topic of slum tourism. Growing up in Rio de Janeiro and witnessing the less favorable aspects of my country, I became intrigued by why people are drawn to visit places associated to urban poverty. This led me to embark on a study exploring slum tourism and its implications with the local communities. To provide a comprehensive view, I included a favela in São Paulo, highlighting that this phenomenon is not exclusive to Rio de Janeiro but extends throughout the country. It is important to acknowledge that my awareness of this topic may introduce bias, as it is derived from an internal perspective. Despite that, I have tried to remain as unbiased as possible throughout the study's process.

5. Findings

In the upcoming chapter, the findings will be presented. The aim is to investigate how tourism actors utilize slum tourism to address different narratives of poverty and examine its impact on placemaking in favelas. This chapter is split in three parts. The first one provides a more comprehensive context of the case studies, presenting an overview of the two communities in study. The second one consists of a descriptive analysis of the data, addressing the research questions and examining how people discuss the concepts explored in this study. Lastly, the third part delves into the themes uncovered in the research.

5.1 Context

5.1.1 Case Study: Perus, São Paulo.



Figure 7 – World Leisure Congress in Perus (World Leisure Organization, 2018).

Perus, located in São Paulo, is home to the Quilombaque Cultural Community. Established in 2005 by local youth, they are a non-profit organization that promotes arts and cultural activities in their community. In response to the government's incomplete implementation of the right to leisure, they occupied public spaces and introduced practices that affirm their cultural resistance. The founders of Quilombaque have also established the Queixadas Agency, a community-managed travel agency, whose main objective is to stimulate the local economy through cultural tourism rooted in the community's historical heritage. Through the Queixadas Agency, visitors can partake in authentic experiences that showcase the community's unique qualities, including the Pandora Theater and Hip Hop House.

5.1.2 Case Study: Cerro Corá e Guararapes, Rio de Janeiro.



Figure 8 - Residents of Cerro Corá protesting for favela rights (Rio On Watch, 2014)

Situated between Tijuca National Park and Rio de Janeiro, Cerro Corá and Guararapes are two small favelas that have been involved in territorial disputes regarding access and the development of tourist services in the Corcovado area, which is in close proximity to the iconic Christ the Redeemer statue. Unlike popular slum tourism destinations like Rocinha and Vidigal, Cerro Corá and Guararapes currently do not offer official tours and do not attract a significant number of visitors. The residents have limited influence over tourism activities in the Corcovado Sector and mainly work as laborers for tourism companies operating in the area. However, there is a recent socio-environmental initiative led by a local collective in partnership with other stakeholders, aiming to develop sustainable tourism routes within the community.

As both communities are located very close to each other and fall under the same socio-environment, this research will consider the entire area of both favelas as a single one.

5.2 Descriptive

“Everything can become a touristic product, just depends the way you frame it and the story you tell.” - Interviewee R3-CG.

This section presents an overview of the interviews conducted and the diverse range of responses obtained. These responses serve to elaborate on the research questions, exploring the specific intentions of slum tourism actors involved in implementing tourism within their communities (*sub-research question 1*), the different narratives and portrayal of poverty (*sub-research question 2*) and the effects of placemaking in favelas (*sub-research question 3*). The figure below demonstrates the three main concepts present in the research questions with a summary of the findings.

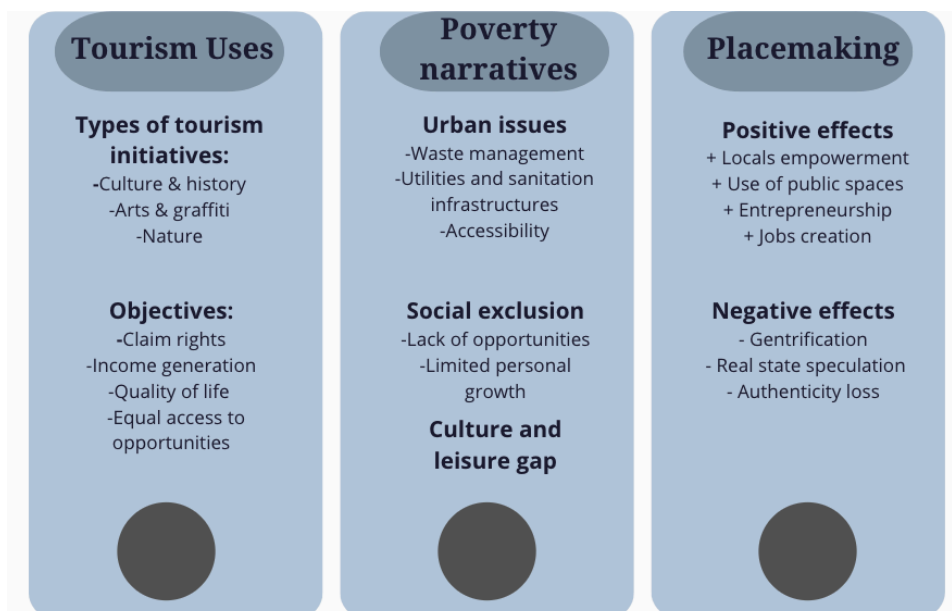


Figure 9 - Relationship between the main concepts of research questions

As previously mentioned, this study involved conducting 12 interviews and one focus group to delve into the complexities surrounding slum tourism. The interviews elucidate on the stereotypes around it, with contrasting opinions between interviewees. Some understand it as an exploitative niche and do not wish to be associated with, arguing that slum tourism is a spectacle that perpetuates poverty. However, others perceive it as a positive tool for income generation and cease stereotypes about favelas and its residents. They defend that locals should be actively involved in the activities, ensuring that the concern of exploitation is mitigated and

that guided tours foster empathy and contribute to a sense of peace within the slum communities.

5.2.1 Poverty narratives

The role of poverty in slum tourism was also discussed during the interviews. It becomes evident that tourists are primarily drawn to favelas due to their stark contrast with their own reality, with poverty being a central factor. Additionally, the media was identified as a driver, shaping tourists' perceptions by portraying these spaces, which in turn, creates fear and stereotypes amongst Brazilians.

The perceptions of poverty varied between the participants. Usually, when asked about poverty, tourists often mentioned visual urban elements such as garbage, sewage, the types of the houses, and also the odors in some areas. Favelas were frequently compared to other developing areas around the world and also to other favelas within Brazil. Participants highlighted varying levels of poverty and misery, recognizing that some favelas are more impoverished than others. In contrast, locals primarily identified it as their exclusion from the rest of the city. They highlighted the government's inadequate attention and care towards these areas, resulting in limited opportunities and leisure spaces compared to the broader society.

Both communities share a common history of territorial disputes against the government over land ownership and occupations. Additionally, they have strong connections to indigenous and quilombo settlements (explanation can be found in appendix F). This history has prompted social movements aimed at asserting their rights, as they have felt neglected by the government. Since the beginning, local residents have seen the government as their opponent, even though they understand that their needs should be taken care by them. Some interviewees showed no interest in receiving public support, as they have never received any help from them.

Furthermore, there is a belief among some interviewees that the government intentionally maintains favelas in their current state and does not prioritize their improvement. As a result, tourism is viewed from one perspective as a means to support these communities and empower them to take charge of their own development. On the other hand, there is a contrasting viewpoint suggesting that tourism could be used by governments as pretext to maintain the *status quo* and avoid making improvements within these urban areas.

5.2.2 Tourism uses

In terms of showcasing these realities through tourism, Perus takes a cultural-driven approach, emphasizing social movements and land preservation as an integral aspects. On the other hand, Cerro Corá & Guararapes adopted a profit-oriented mindset while also highlighting their territorial movements and the significance of embracing their identity. Strategic external actors demonstrated their intention to provide support and assistance to these communities, with the help often viewed as a strategic means to enhance income generation through various tourism avenues.

The implementation of tourism and its underlying motivations in these communities vary from income generation to equal accessibility to cultural and leisure spaces. In Cerro Corá & Guararapes, many locals were already engaged in tourism-related activities due to their proximity to Christ the Redeemer. However, their involvement was primarily limited to providing essential services such as taxis and food and beverage sales. They recognized tourism as an industry and they were inspired by the growth of slum tourism in larger favelas like Rocinha and Vidigal, which made them offer guided tours in their own communities. These tours show specific sites like natural landscapes and local establishments, as a way of encouraging tourism expenditure.

In contrast, Perus was primarily motivated by the lack of cultural establishments and accessibility challenges. As the community is located far from the city center, residents had to spend significant time on transportation to access cultural spaces. To address this issue, they made a collective decision to reinvent their spaces, appreciating their territory. This transformation aimed to enhance local appreciation and understanding of their own heritage. They have their own open museum with different trails, visits to indigenous communities and cultural spaces with workshops.

The interviewees highlighted a series of positive and negative effects that were driven by their tourism initiatives, but they also brought examples from other favelas. Empowerment of locals seems to be the main positive outcome as they are the ones in charge of the activities, which helps them financially, and provides more opportunities. However, gentrification is cited as the downside, and some worry that it might make the place lose its original character.

5.3 Analytical

This section presents the five main themes of the interviews and social media analysis, analytically addressing the research questions, with more detailed explanation about the effects of placemaking in favelas. The five themes are: (1) Territorial reclamations, (2) Poverty and placemaking challenges, (3) Slum tourism realities, (4) Tourism uses and placemaking and (5) Future expectations.

5.3.1 Territorial reclamations

This theme is based on the main categories of codes: Afro-Brazilian identity, land rights and environmental resistance. This theme focuses on how different ways of reclaiming land, due to territorial conflicts contribute to further influence tourism initiatives that emphasize historical events.

Numerous interviews conducted with members from both communities reveal that territorial disputes and occupation movements for land rights have played a significant role in shaping the identities of these territories (Interviewees R5-P, R6-P, R7-CG, R9-CG). Consequently, these historical narratives exert a profound influence on the tourism approaches adopted. Both communities united to reclaim their lands, as the government intended to seize and relocate them. Interviewee R9-CG empathized that "locals had fought for the possession of the land and because of the lack of governmental regulations, those conflicts were generated." Through donations, they purchased their land rights, as interviewee R6-P stated "we did a movement and in three weeks we bought the rights of the territory, all basically with donations." Notably, these communities are among the few that possess their land rights of their territory (Interviewees R3-CG, R7-CG, R9-CG).

Perus

During the interviews with participants from Perus, the government project known as Ribeirão Preto Linear Park was frequently mentioned (Interviewees R6-P, R5-P, R11-P). This project aimed to expropriate numerous houses, including the building where Quilombaque was located. The participants expressed their concern about being left without a place to go and responded by initiating a resistance movement in the streets to oppose this action. Through their collective efforts, they garnered support from a public university in São Paulo, which

enabled them to study and comprehend their own territory, engaging in a process of territory mapping (Interviewees R5-P, R6-P).

Locals of Perus then started engaging in tourism activities to signify their territory. Interviewee R2-P states: "we are the ones who bring tourism here (...) You will learn and visit new places, but then you will learn the story as it truly is. Not the way the rich guy (...) not the way the internet will tell you". It becomes clear that their movement's purpose is to amplify the voices of those who were previously unheard, and to enable tourists to experience it firsthand.

Perus also has an indigenous perspective, as the Jaraguá Indigenous Land, inhabited by the Guarani people, features a preserved area of native vegetation. Guided trails through these areas focus on their resistance history about their territory, where they show to tourists the smallest indigenous village with a demarcated territory in Brazil. Interviewee R5-P emphasized the need to understand "how it is to live in a territory where your own country does not protect the indigenous life". They use tourism to tell their stories in their own words and to conserve through tourism and avoid negative impacts, and that is why they call their initiative resistance tourism (Interviewees R6-P, R5-P, R2-P).

When questioned about her tourism experience in the community, interviewee R10-P stated that, at first, community members explained all the struggles with the government for land purposes in the beginning of the activity and that she remembered that the government of São Paulo some years ago began to make several land appropriations. "Their tourism was for the preservation of indigenous culture (...) otherwise, government would come up with excuses for occupation and expropriation" (interviewee R11-P). Interviews highlight the significance of this matter for the community and how they make sure to impart this knowledge to tourists before embarking on any kind of experience (Interviewees R2-P, R6-P, R11-P).

Cerro Corá & Guararapes

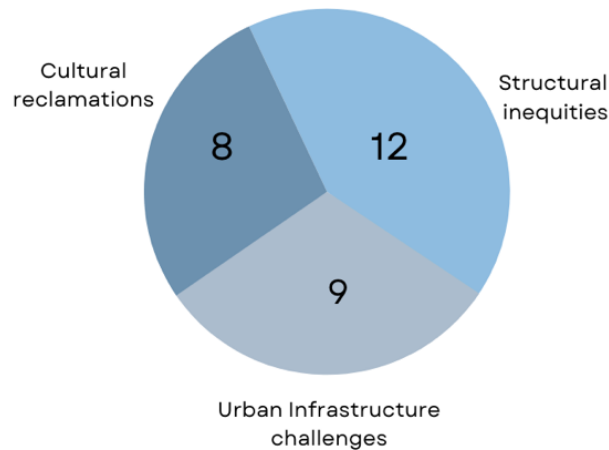
This community has two different moments of fighting for land rights: on the 60's, enduring struggles for basic needs, such as water, electricity, and housing; and on 80's they fought for the right to work with tourism on their lands, as the government attempted to restrict their activities. Interviewees stress the importance of adding these stories to the guided tours, as the project is still in an initial phase of development with trial tours (Interviewees R9-CG, -R8CG).

The community is in a privileged position close to the Christ, which explains that a high percentage of the locals work with tourism nowadays. Interviewee R9-CG recalled "Everything the tourists needed by that time was supplied by the locals: from water and food to luxury transportation." However, the government's involvement limited their autonomy, impacting their sources of income. The interviewee mentioned that after a public concession take part in the park nearby, locals did not have more rights to work with tourists. Their strategies for highlighting their resistance and fight for territory are not explicitly stated. However, interviewee FG1- CG, when asked about the tourism experience, highlighted "they tried their best for us to have a proper experience, to really learn about their history, about their past."

In conclusion, both communities express their territorial struggles through tourism, fostering a sense of belonging and valorization of quilombos and indigenous villages (Interviewees R6-P, R5-P, R9-CG, R7-CG). Social media provides a platform for these communities to present their stories and perspectives. YouTube videos are an example, where slum tourism actors post content about the historical significance of Cerro Corá & Guararapes, highlighting their origins as quilombos, which underscores the long-standing experience of territorial movements and social exclusion. In the case of Perus, they use their Instagram posts to raise awareness about ongoing struggles for land occupation in indigenous territories, aiming to disseminate knowledge to a wider Brazilian audience. Examples of social media content can be found in appendix G.

5.3.2 Poverty and placemaking challenges

This theme is based on the main categories of codes: Government neglect, structural inequities, urban infrastructure challenges and cultural reclamations. The graph below demonstrates these categories and the number of participants who expressed concerns or dissatisfaction with each of them.



Graph 1 - Placemaking challenges

The line of thinking for this theme highlights the central ideas of government neglect and the lens of the community in relation to placemaking challenges. This showcases the structural and cultural inequities that persist in favelas, despite the presence of slum tourism. It explores how the government's lack of investment and attention perpetuates the socio-economic disparities within these communities.

Interviewees R3-CG and R11-P highlighted the same opinion about the intentions of the government towards these peripheral regions. They feel that the government aims to maintain the *status quo* and keep their residents in the same conditions. To illustrate, "There is no governmental initiative to improve the favelas (...) It is a spectacle for tourists" (Interviewee R3-CG) and "It is hard to change due to the lack of support from our dear government (...) As long as more people are left abandoned there, without information, without anything (...) the plan is working" (Interviewee R11-P). They perceive a lack of genuine efforts to improve the living conditions and a sense that these regions are merely being presented as tourist attractions rather than receiving substantial support and resources.

Several interviewees (R11-P, R5-P, R8-CG, R9-CG) bring to light the daily struggles faced in their communities. Structural inequities, including drug traffic, violence, and poverty overall are mentioned as significant challenges. Urban infrastructure issues are mentioned as essential services, such as water, electricity, garbage disposal, sewage, and tragic events, such as landslides (R9-CG, R5-P). Cultural reclamations highlight their movements to have access to culture and leisure spaces due to the lack of Government's investment in peripheral areas (R2-P, R9-CG).

Urban infrastructure and structural inequities challenges

Accessibility is referred as one of their main urban problems that manifests differently in various narratives due to the communities' peripheral status, often dictated by being located far from the center (Interviewees R10-P, R5-P). Interviewee R5-P emphasizes a comparison regarding favelas in Rio: "Unlike Rio, here in São Paulo, the peripheries are not central; they are well hidden." However, interviewees R3-CG, R1-CG, FG2-CG, amongst others, highlight that Cerro Corá & Guararapes still face accessibility challenges and remain marginalized despite their privileged position close to the Christ the redeemer. This statement reveals that the perception of the periphery differs in terms of geographical positioning, but both contexts share experiences of exclusion from the broader society.

Interviewee R8-CG highlights the close link between drug traffic and social exclusion, emphasizing that it may be the only means of generating income for some locals. Interestingly, some interviewees pointed out that drug traffic also functions as a driver for slum tourism (Interviewee R9-CG, R7-CG). Interviewee R8-CG pointed out that favelas like Rocinha and Vidigal are deemed successful in slum tourism precisely because of their reputation for danger, which attracts more tourists. To illustrate, "I believe it was better in other favelas because at a certain time it was very violent with a lot of guns and shots". He reveals that he used to showcase Cerro Corá & Guararapes beforehand to tourists to enhance security measures before taking them to tours in Rocinha and Vidigal. By breaking certain stereotypes, he was able to offer favela tour packages. Interviewee R3-CG remarked, "The favelas are viewed as dangerous and are already marginalized by their own neighbors."

"Piscininha," as referred to by multiple interviewees (R9-CG, FG3-CG, R8-CG, etc.), serves as a recreational area for locals. The government had previously planned to construct a train line to provide its access without entering the favela. However, drug dealers opposed the project, asserting that it belonged exclusively to the favela (Interviewee R8-CG, R9-CG). This incident highlighted the influential power of this group in determining who is allowed to enter and who is not. Currently, access to Piscininha is not restricted for tourists, as mentioned by interviewee R7-CG, but potential conflicts of interest in the future remain uncertain. The connection between drug trafficking and social exclusion adds to the complexities of the situation and influences the dynamics of tourism in these favelas.

Violence then emerged as a recurring topic, prompting questions about the viability of developing tourism in areas considered dangerous (Interviewees R3-CG, R7-CG, R10-P). However, an intriguing discovery was made regarding tourism in Morro da Providência, the first favela in history. Despite its notorious violence, interviewee R7-CG mentioned that tourism actually benefits the favelas by bringing about a sense of peace. He explained that “when the tourists are here in the community, the police do not enter because there are bodies that cannot be killed” (Interviewee R7-CG). This expression highlights the notion that outsiders, specifically white tourists, are considered invulnerable, resulting in the police refraining from entering their space. Therefore, tourism is perceived as a temporary benefit, not only in terms of financial gain but also in fostering a sense of peace inside favelas.

Despite the reputation of favelas as dangerous, one of the main aspects repeatedly mentioned by tourists regarding their experiences was the warm hospitality of the locals (Interviewees R4-CG, FG1/2/3, R10-P). To illustrate, interviewee FG3-CG mentioned: "they were all so receptive, some even opened the doors of their houses," while FG1-CG stated: "they tried to please us a lot (...) the guides were also very welcoming." Similarly, in Perus, they emphasize the intention of creating an affectionate atmosphere for tourists, with the hope that they will want to return (Interviewee R2-P). One of the memories shared from interviewee R2-P was the visit of a Dutch tourist who told her he misses the food she used to make.

Regarding urban infrastructure issues, interviewee R4-CG pointed out, "It was definitely poor, with a lot of garbage. You can tell that the government doesn't take care of it." Similarly, interviewee R10-P, "The smell was really uncomfortable, and it was full of garbage". These excerpts provide perspectives from the tourists' point of view on the aspects of poverty, and this reality is authentically showcased during the tours, as acknowledged by other interviewees (FG2- CG, R10-P).

The available YouTube videos provide insights into the communities of Cerro Corá & Guararapes, showcasing their natural surroundings while also revealing the precarious state of the urban infrastructure. The videos depict houses situated closely together and a significant presence of garbage. Similarly, Perus shares pictures showcasing the city's overall landscape, offering glimpses of the housing situation. Additionally, there are videos showcasing abandoned spaces within the area, expressing the community's desire to revitalize them and calling for collaboration from other locals.

Cultural claims

Lack of cultural establishments is often mentioned within the discussion of social exclusion due to government's negligence. Interviewee R6-P reveal that São Paulo's government allocates 0.8% of its funds to culture, with 70% of that allocation remaining in the city center, despite the majority of the population residing in peripheral areas. This stark reality propelled them to initiate a movement aimed at bringing cultural activities to their community. Several participants (interviewees R11-P, R12-P) mentioned that specific spaces of culture and leisure were too far from their houses. To illustrate, interviewee R6-P mentioned "two friends of mine starting to learn how to play maracatu and they used to spend two hours in traffic to get there." Consequently, during their tourism-related activities, they address these challenges of lacking cultural facilities.

Interestingly, in Cerro Corá and Guararapes, it is noteworthy that the locals also developed initiatives on their own to create recreational spaces. They emphasize that they established a soccer area as well as a community museum and a library (Interviewee R9-CG). The soccer area was built after a landslide caused by the construction of a public railway to provide access to the Christ the redeemer. Due to its proximity, the landslide killed three people from the community. Interviewee R3-CG mentioned "The support took too long to arrive, so the locals had to clean and fix everything around themselves."

5.3.3 Slum tourism realities

This theme is based on the main categories of codes: tourism contrasted realities, visual promotion and the problematic around the interpretations of what it is favela tourism. The basis of this discovery lies in the direct correlation between slum tourism and the media's influence in portraying favelas. Through the examination of the two communities, it becomes evident that the term "favela" carries significant connotations in the present context, particularly in Rio de Janeiro.

Favela Realities

Both communities acknowledge the existence of realities within favelas. One reality is what they consider the optimal spaces of their territories. Both communities strive to create positive touristic experiences that highlight their potentialities. Perus places greater emphasis on

showcasing the cultural and art sites of the area, presenting the spaces where resistance movements happened (Interviewees R5-P, R6-P, R11-P). Cerro Corá & Guararapes focus more on the natural aspects of their communities, introducing landscapes, views and also common establishments of their daily lives (Interviewees R7-CG, R8-CG, R9-CG). However, interviewees explain about the importance of showing the “other reality” of favelas to ensure an authentic experience (Interviewees R3-CG, R8-CG). To illustrate, "I think the smartest way of doing tourism is being real" (Interviewee R8-CG). He also mentioned that this touristic initiative differs from others as it focuses on the genuine aspects of favela life.

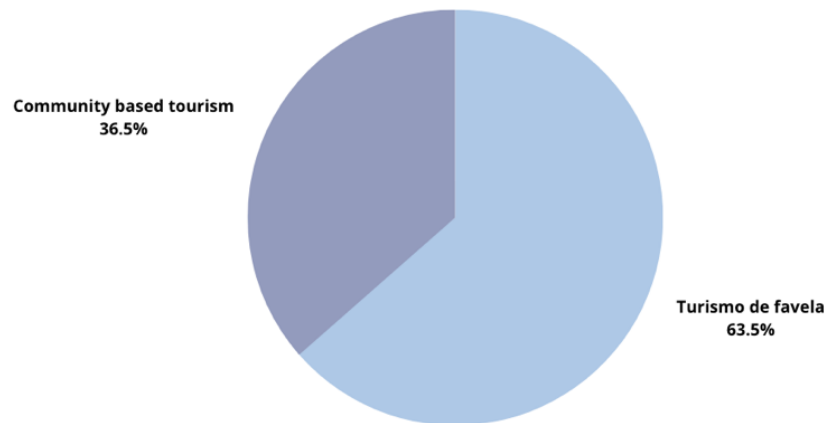
The other reality varies depending on the challenges faced by these communities. Interviewee R8-CG remarked, "Here they will see it all: someone smoking weed, the sewage on the streets... they will see the reality." This way, he explains that his reality is embedded around the challenges mentioned in the previous theme. Although these realities are not the primary focus of the tours, they are still present and observable in both communities (Interviewees R4-CG, FG3, R10-P).

There is a problematic in Cerro Corá & Guararapes aligned to these favela realities. Locals often held differing positions on slum tourism development and what to show/sell to the tourists. Some participants were primarily focused only on the financial benefits aiming to create a profitable product out of the tours (Interviewees R9-CG, R7-CG). On the other hand, other participants adopted more socially oriented discourses, emphasizing that such activities contribute to humanizing the residents of favelas (Interviewees R3-CG, R8-CG). Interviewee R9-CG affirms that, different than other actors that believe that tourists should go there to see poverty and drug traffic, his aim is to show the other positive sides of the favelas. To illustrate, “tourists will end up seeing the poor sides here, but you do not need to focus on that (..) for example, some of them do not know that we have a day care”. The intentions of the ones portraying the experiences also vary based on the realities they would like to show.

Tourism labels

First and foremost, it is essential to note that the type of tourism practiced in both communities is perceived differently by various individuals. While some refer to it as community-based tourism (Interviewees R1-CG, R5-P, etc.) others label it as “turismo de favela” (R7-CG, R9-CG, R10-P). These distinctions arise from the diverse interpretations of the term "favela" and

"turismo de favela" among the interviewees. Furthermore, there is a divergence of opinions among participants regarding the elements that should be integrated into touristic activities. The graph below demonstrates the percentage of participants who use the specific labels.



Graph 2 - Tourism labels

As previously mentioned, both communities use tourism approaches to share their history characterized by resistance movements against the government. However, they diverge in terms of the specific tourism niche they are associated with, and their objectives appear to differ as well. They employ different labels such as community-based tourism, turismo de favela, resistance tourism, etc, to describe their offerings. Cerro Corá & Guararapes place a stronger emphasis on the potential income that can be generated through favela tours (Interviewees R8-CG, R9-CG). On the other hand, Perus aims to preserve their territory and enhance their quality of life by establishing cultural and recreational spaces for their community, calling their initiative as resistance tourism. (R11-P, R2-P).

These differences are also noticed in their social media accounts. Official Instagram accounts of Perus, such as Queixadas Agency and Quilombaque, label themselves in their bio as resistance tourism and some individuals actively engaging in their content on the internet also express their opposition to the concept of slum tourism and its associated implications. In contrast, videos on YouTube about Cerro Corá & Guararapes explicitly refer to the tours within the community as "turismo de favela" and highlight specific points of interest visited during the guided tours.

Turismo de favela stereotype and types of tourists

Interviewees from Cerro Corá & Guararapes use the term "turismo de favela" to further promote an official guided tour highlighting specific points of interest and supporting local products (Interviewees R8-CG, R9-CG, R4-CG). However, interviewees from Perus expresses opposition to "turismo de favela", perceiving it as detrimental to people's dignity and characterizing it as a distressing experience (Interviewees R3-P, R5-P, R6-P). They view it as an exploitative form of tourism that focuses on showcasing aspects of poverty and the suffering endured by individuals. Notably, interviewee R5-P pointed out that they have a bad impression of slum tourism due to the negatives examples from Rio de Janeiro. Also, interviewee R6-P mentioned that their intention is not necessarily to meet people's expectations of visiting a well-known impoverished area, but showcase the community's efforts and movements that have led to improvements in their lives during recent times.

Nevertheless, interviewee R7-CG brought to light that slum tourism is currently experiencing a second wave. Participants believe that, if slum tourism is approached in collaboration with locals, it has the potential to foster entrepreneurship addressing the social exclusion that currently exists (Interviewee R9-CG). Interestingly, when tourists, both domestic and international, who had experienced trial tours were asked about their impressions, some also highlighted this aspect. They emphasized that the type of tourism they encountered in these favelas was distinct from the typical perception of slum tourism in Rio (Interviewees R4-CG, FG1/FG3-CG). To illustrate, "This experience was completely different from what slum tourism is usually known for, this sort of safari" (Interviewee R4-CG) and "It was not like the safari that people usually do" (FG1-CG). This highlights the negative image of exploitation associated with favela tourism and that individuals who participate in these activities are already aware of the difference from the outset.

The type of tourist was also a significant aspect mentioned about slum tourism. Some interviewees believe that the whole experience depends on the type of people you are taking to favelas and what their expectations are (Interviewees FG2-CG, R9-CG, R1-CG). An interesting statement is made by interviewee R7-CG associating slum tourism to dark tourism. To illustrate, "favelas also have products to offer to this dark tourism tourist, they have tours that focus on these aspects". Interviewee R7-CG explains that there are tourists that go to favelas searching for poverty and urban misery, and this is an offer that is currently on the market of

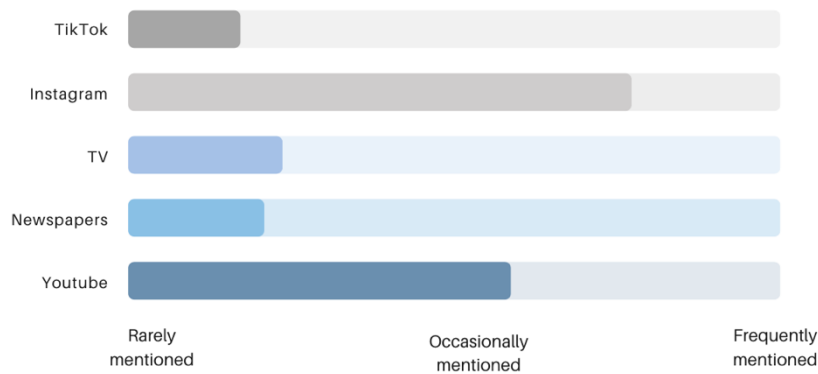
slum tourism. However, the initial plan of Cerro Corá & Guararapes is to target tourists who are already visiting the Christ the Redeemer statue, rather than specifically attracting tourists interested in favelas. Their intention is to offer an additional activity inside the favelas, while tourists are already nearby (Interviewees R8-CG, R1-CG).

Interviewee R9-CG mentioned that once he thought about organizing tourism activities in his community, he wanted to do it in a different way than others in Rio: “if one day we would do slum tourism in Cerro Corá, it shouldn’t be that way”. He refers to the common knowledge understood as the safari in favelas such as Rocinha and Vidigal. However, interviewee R8-CG points out, for example, that he does not like to use other words, like community, to describe favelas as it loses the real meaning it has. To illustrate, “favela is what is sold”. He means that by using the word favela to describe his region, it is easier to sell his packages as people seem to be more interested about it. Both interviewees address it as “turismo de favela” but seem to disagree in the aspect of how to sell the product.

Interviewee R7-CG acknowledges that when it comes to "turismo de favela", Brazil tends to attract a larger number of foreign visitors. Thus, this curiosity appears to be one of the driving factors behind slums tours. When asked about their experience, interviewee R4-CG expressed, "It met my expectations (...) really interesting to see that for myself rather than just the picture that I had created in my mind". However, interviewee R8-CG asserts that the majority of clients purchasing his favela tour packages are actually Brazilians, and besides the negative stereotypes about violence in favelas, they are also curious about it.

The role of media

The discussions about slum tourism and its image often revolved around two key factors: the type of tourists and the media. The media's role is predominantly seen before the actual visit. The graph below demonstrates the frequency that different media channels were mentioned by the participants.



Graph 3 - Media channels frequency

Interviewees R8-CG, R9-CG believe that their favela lacks tourism because it lacks attractions that generate attention on the internet. To illustrate, "Here we don't have a spot for Instagram pictures" (Interviewee R8-CG). In this case, the media is primarily responsible for the underdevelopment of tourism in their area. During the focus group, interviewee FG3-CG mentioned that her Spanish friend expressed a desire to visit Vidigal, the largest Brazilian favela, due to some TikTok reels, thus confirming interviewee R8-CG perspective.

On the other hand, interviewees R2-CG, R5-P, R4-CG and others, highlighted that the media, particularly national new channels and newspapers, perpetuate negative stereotypes and create a negative perception of favelas. Interviewee R5-P stated: "We need to understand that there are many bad things here too, but the sensationalist newspapers already talk about them." They emphasized that the type of tourism they aim for is not aligned with what is portrayed on the internet (Interviewees R5-P, R2-P). Interestingly, there was little mention of movies and video clips, which are often recognized for promoting certain images of favelas.

All being said, it is clear that "turismo de favela" is widely perceived as a problematic niche, related to labor exploitation and the perpetuation of stereotypes. It is also associated with safari activities and many actors are reluctant to be associated with it. However, locals of Cerro Corá & Guararapes take pride in their communities and believe that slum tourism has potential if it is conducted in a way that involves and benefits the local community.

5.3.4 Tourism uses and placemaking

This theme is based on the main categories of codes: people centered tourism, community space-led transformation, collaboration and tourism industry aspects. The logical line of

thinking for this theme is that different types of tourism and social initiatives are discussed in order to claim their rights, especially driven to the transformation of public spaces.

Tourism: cultural offers

Even though their objectives may vary, both communities in terms of touristic offering, have similar experiences, by showcasing to tourists' unique sites and cultural movements in their areas. The main difference is that Cerro Corá & Guararapes benefits more from its proximity to The Christ, the Redeemer, having the view itself as an attraction (Interviewees R9-CG, R3CG, R1-CG).

Both communities have established museums within their favelas, recognizing the lack of nearby museums with affordable access for residents of peripheral areas. However, the significance attributed to museum differs between them. In Perus, interviewee R5-P affirms that the museum holds greater importance, pre-dating the creation of their tourism agency. To illustrate, "Before the agency, we already worked with museology, and we developed an urban plan called TICP: territory of interest of culture and landscape." The community also emphasizes the proximity of their territory to three parks and the importance of understanding the preservation of biodiversity, along with spaces of memory, affection, and culture (Interviewees R2-P, R5-P, R6-P). They view their museum as an expression of social museology. They also mentioned historical sites that have not yet received proper attention. They emphasize their cement factory, which was the first in Brazil and played a role in the construction of Brasilia, the country's current capital (Interviewees R5-P, R6-P). Additionally, they mention a cemetery where a mass grave from the dictatorship era was discovered, containing hundreds of bodies. They express that this information is not widely available on Brazilian platforms and aim to bring awareness to these places by including them in their tours.

In contrast, in Cerro Corá & Guararapes, interviewee R9-CG was the only one who mentioned the existence of a museum in his community. The museum does not seem to be placed as a touristic product to be used within tourism activities. However, during the focus group session, when participants were asked about their preferred points of visitation, both interviewees FG1/FG2-CG expressed a strong interest on the cultural and religious aspects in the area. They highlighted the unique experience of witnessing the coexistence of a Catholic church in front of a *candomblé* yard (explanation can be found in appendix F), To illustrate, "You have a

catholic church in front of a candomblé yard, that is so crazy" (Interviewee FG1-CG). Moreover, it is worth noting that interviewees R1-CG, R7-CG also expressed similar opinions as the focus group respondents regarding this point. They found fascinating that two religious' sites from different religions were so close in the same space, something they have never seen before.

On their official Instagram travel agency account, Perus posts predominantly feature announcements and updates about upcoming courses and activities, some of which are offered free of charge. They also have two highlight sections called "Our knowledge" and "Voices," featuring their own posts as well as reposts from followers engaging in their courses and activities. Another highlight section named "Museum" provides historical insights into the agency's origins. Their content includes videos of local residents sharing their aspirations and photographs of their spaces. In contrast, Cerro Corá & Guararapes have recently launched their official social media account, which is still in its early stages and has limited posts available. The current content primarily features photographs capturing tourists in the area, highlighting the views of Christ the Redeemer.

Tourism: the importance of graffiti

Similarly to the observation made by the interviewees R5-P, R6-P in Perus about the lack of attention given to important historical sites and the neglect from the government in maintaining them, interviewee R9-CG discussed the graffiti gallery. Both communities also have a strong connection to graffiti, and they proudly showcase this aspect to tourists. Their social media accounts also feature videos of graffiti arts made by the locals. In Perus, they have the graffiti trail, officially known as the trail of redefinition, which aims to give meaning to public spaces (Interviewee R11-P). In Cerro Corá & Guararapes, they have a gallery dedicated to graffiti and a wall adorned with various graffiti pieces that tell the stories of the locals (Interviewee R9-CG).

Interviewee R9-CG explained that the community acquired the gallery in 2015 as part of a project to create several graffiti murals throughout the city, with the aim of enhancing its value. To illustrate, "After the community obtained this gallery, it was featured in graffiti magazines worldwide (...) and then, many tourists like foreigners, started coming here to see the gallery". Unfortunately, the gallery is currently considered outdated and is no longer attracting tourists

as graffiti is a form of art that naturally fades over time, and the gallery requires refurbishment (Interviewee R9-CG). The graffiti wall was also mentioned a few times by the tourists interviewed (Interviewees FG1/3-CG).

Another intriguing perspective on the graffiti scene in Brazil was raised by interviewee R6-P. He highlights that graffiti in Brazil can be seen through the lens of society as an act of vandalism, simply because it gives visibility to black people and residents from marginalized areas. To illustrate, "Because when someone from the favela does graffiti on a wall, it's considered vandalism, but when someone from outside comes to take photos, it's considered cool" (Interviewee R6-P). This sentiment also resonates with the earlier comment made by interviewee R9-CG, where foreigners visited the graffiti gallery. It becomes evident that this form of art is often more appreciated by international visitors, while marginalized by the Brazilian society.

Placemaking effects

Many interviewees discussed about the impacts of tourism in favelas (Interviewees R8-CG, R9-CG, R5-P, R2-P, R6-P). Interviewee R8-CC noted that some favelas have lost their authenticity and have experienced significant changes to attract tourists. This is evident in the emergence of new sightseeing spots, rooftops restaurants, and alterations to the original layout of the narrow streets. When questioned whether this was positive or negative, he responded: "It is good because it brings more [income], and if we need to put some sort of makeup on the favelas, then we do it". Moreover, it is also associated to this loss of authenticity, that tourism has led to a decrease in police confrontation with drug traffic, which has a positive effect for locals. With reduced police presence, residents feel freer to invest in their own businesses. In the case of Rocinha, it is observed that during favela tours, police officers can now be seen patrolling the main streets, which was previously uncommon due to conflicts with drug traffickers who were unwelcoming towards the police. (Interviewee R8-CG)

In contrast, in Perus, where the community is already in a more advanced stage of development, interviewees primarily mentioned about the effects on their physical and educational needs due to tourism. Interviewee R5-P mentioned that "there were people who made an extra room at home to accommodate visitors from outside," and "a demand that also emerged from the community was the English course." These effects allowed them to expand their spaces and

respond to the need for education, including learning a new language, as there was interest from people in visiting the area.

Locals empowerment

Another common aspect observed in both favelas is that all the initiatives are driven by the locals themselves (R1-CG, R8-CG, R2-P). During the interviews with participants from Cerro Corá & Guararapes, it was emphasized that these activities aim to "humanize" locals and are distinct from exploitative practices. Interviewee R4-CG expressed, "It kind of brings that, like, human peace to the slums." This sentiment echoes the previous episode mentioned in Morro da Providência, where the presence of tourists created a more relaxed atmosphere free from confrontations between police and drug dealers (Interviewee R7-CG).

However, in this case, the context is about challenging preconceived stereotypes of locals as tourists are able to perceive them as ordinary individuals. To illustrate, as mentioned by interviewee R4-CG: "it also just makes it a lot more like human (...) you have a lot more empathy for like what's going on because there are just regular people,". For instance, the concept of a safari tour in other communities evokes treating the locals as if they were animals in their natural habitat (Interviewees R7-CG, FG1, R5-P). Both communities assure to develop their activities in a respectful and informative manner. It was also repeatedly mentioned that having locals as guides makes a significant difference in the overall experience, mitigating concerns of exploitation (Interviewees R4-P, FG2, R10-P).

Community-based tourism was a term mentioned by participants from both communities (R1-CG, R-P, R9-CG, R5-P). In Cerro Corá & Guararapes, they identify themselves as "turismo de favela" but express a desire to engage more in community-based tourism (Interviewees R8-CG, R9-CG). Their guided tour itinerary is based on community involvement, highlighting the importance of local initiatives and businesses. Similarly, in Perus, they mention that some tourists stay with them for two weeks, considering it an authentic experience of community-based tourism (Interviewee R6-P).

In Cerro Corá & Guararapes, interviewees R1-CG, R7-CG emphasize the organization of a series of meetings involving the community and other stakeholders, allowing everyone to have a voice in shaping the tour and expressing their opinions. They refer to this process as a

participatory diagnosis, highlighting the importance of community participation in decision-making (Interviewee R7-P). In Perus, all the interviewees emphasize that their activities are carried out by members of the local community, including the operation of the travel agency itself (Interviewees R2-P, R5-P, R6-P, R11-P). This showcases the commitment to community empowerment and the recognition of the value of local knowledge and involvement in tourism initiatives.

When questioned about their experiences in these communities, interviewees R4-CG, G2/3, R10-P expressed a sense of comfort in participating in the activities, knowing that locals would directly benefit from their visit rather than an outsider. To illustrate, "knowing you are supporting someone local rather than just being a spectator" (Interviewee R4-CG). Similarly, in Perus, interviewee R10-P highlights that the locals themselves organized and provided explanations about the exhibition's history. This aspect appears to be a significant point of interest for tourists, as it enhances their connection and engagement with the community.

Interviewees R2-P, R5-P, R6-P also shared that they have been very busy with the various activities, including their trails and organizing free events for people associated with social movements. They mentioned that until August, they do not have more free weekends as each weekend is occupied with a new activity, and sometimes on weekdays too. They collaborate with schools and private nonprofit institutions like Sesc, which offers a range of social services, cultural, educational and recreation activities for workers in the commerce and service sectors. Furthermore, interviewee R5-P also mentions that the members of Quilombaque are occasionally invited to give lectures across Brazil to share insights about their initiatives and their territory. Additionally, they have a significant niche of training in information and territoriality.

Use of urban spaces

Community space-led transformation is one of the categories related to the initiatives both communities developed in order to use and transform their public spaces. These initiatives aim the leveraging of the potential of favelas, with the intention of developing them into touristic destinations (Interviewees R7-CG, R8-CG, R6-P). By undertaking these initiatives, the communities are able to identify and capitalize on the economic and social advantages that arise from these transformations.

In response to the neglect of the government of Perus in regards to public spaces, they mentioned that they started occupying and revitalizing abandoned spaces, imbuing them with new significance (Interviewee R11-P). These initiatives, e.g. HipHop House and Pandora Theater, were mentioned with the aim of providing cultural and recreational opportunities for the local community (Interviewees R6-P, R5-P, R11-P). Previously, these spaces were perceived as violent areas, as mentioned by interviewee R11-P "We were trying to organize ourselves to break everything down because we cannot handle all that violence and no one does anything." It appears that these areas were being utilized by homeless individuals and for the consumption of alcohol and drugs. However, after the occupation and transformation by Quilombaque, the atmosphere of these spaces began to change, leading to the opening of new businesses in the area.

Interestingly, both communities have undertaken educational projects addressing the lack of investment in educational establishments by the government (Interviewees R5-P, R8-CG). These initiatives include language courses, preparation courses for university entrance exams, and the establishment of accessible libraries. Another shared aspect is the provision of training courses to equip locals with knowledge and skills for employment opportunities. However, there is a notable difference in terms of timing and approach.

As interviewees R7-CG, R9-CG stated, locals were already engaged in informal tourism activities in the surrounding areas prior to receiving an opportunity in 2018 to participate in a government-sponsored capacity-building course. The objective of this course was to train the residents as local guides, allowing them to generate income, and the training was facilitated by external instructors. On the other hand, in Perus, the local community took the initiative to organize their own courses. These courses focused on understanding the concept of a community-based agency and territoriality (Interviewees R2-P, R5-P).

This shows that locals are aware of the impact of tourism in their communities and its potential effects. Both communities engage in similar discussions about how they can use their spaces and break stereotypes by showing the human side of their people.

5.3.5 Future expectations

This theme is based on the main category of codes future expectations. This theme delves into the findings of local's expectations with slum tourism, focusing on the long-term prospects and implications in shaping placemaking in favelas. However, before moving to the future expectations, the figure below demonstrates the commonalities and the different aspects of both communities regarding their current tourism approaches, objectives and historical background.

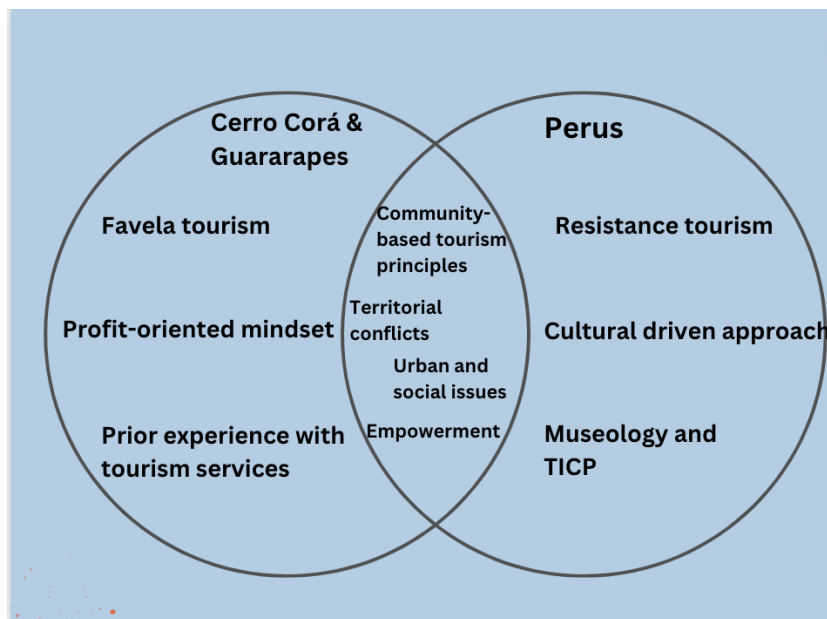


Figure 10 - Comparative model based on findings

The analysis of both communities reveals their utilization of tourism to assert their positions and advocate for their rights. They share similar stories of territorial conflicts with governments and face daily struggles with urban and social issues. Both communities aim to empower their residents through tourism, embracing principles of community-based tourism. Cerro Corá & Guararapes concentrate on organizing favela guided tours, actively involving local residents, promoting longer stays and support for local businesses. In contrast, Perus focuses on cultural activities and improving urban public spaces for the well-being of its community.

Cerro Corá & Guararapes

Interviewees R8-CG, R9-CG expressed their longstanding desire to introduce tourism to their own community as they already informally brought visitors to the area. To elaborate, "Since I completed the guided tour course in 2012, my brother and I have been discussing the idea of

implementing it here (...) but after observing the success of Rocinha and other slums in tourism, we realized that we lacked the necessary resources" (Interviewee R9-CG). These resources are explained as organized groups, guided tours and financial support. They elaborated that the focus for now is targeting tourists that visit the Christ, the redeemer. However, in the future, they would like to extend it and promote the guided tours to tourists who have planned to visit favelas (Interviewees R7-CG, R8-CG).

When asked what they would like to achieve for the community, interviewees R1-CG, R7-CG, R9-CG mentioned that their goal is to help the community by generating income. "Whether it's selling water or parking cars, individuals will be able to earn some money" (interviewee R9-CG). Interviewee R8-CG elaborates that more income opens opportunities for investment in education as well. Likewise, interviewee R7-CG mentions that the expectations of the community center around a more accessible future for the succeeding, including culture and traveling.

Perus

Interestingly, when discussing tourism prospections in Perus, the primary emphasis is not on the income generated. Instead, the focus lies on the aspiration for enhance living conditions and the creation of vibrant leisure and cultural spaces within the community, fostering a sense of pride (interviewees R2-P, R6-P, R11-P). To elaborate, "Because we live are so distant from the center, we needed to create this cultural movement (...) and I hope in the future more people will be interested on us and our story" (Interviewee R12-P). The participant indicates that if tourists come to visit their neighborhood, there will be more spaces and opportunities of cultural movements for residents too. Additionally, some interviewees express tourism entrepreneurship aspirations: "It is my dream to eventually establish gastronomy tourism in the community" (Interviewee R2-P)

Interviewee R6-P acknowledges positive changes in the community and expects for more in the future, being this the reason why he is engaged in the tourism initiative: "I am actively involved in this resistance tourism because I genuinely believe it holds the potential to bring real change within the community (...) If there weren't real possibilities for positive transformation, I would have pursued other opportunities instead."

6. Discussion

The objective of this research is to analyze the various applications of slum tourism to better understand how slum tourism actors address narratives of poverty and the resulting effects on placemaking in favelas. The debate surrounding the commodification of poverty in slum tourism has been a central topic amongst researchers (Frenzel, 2012, 2013; Henry, 2020; Paul, 2016), making it relevant to examine how these different uses address poverty, without romanticizing it and the potential changes they entail. By exploring favelas in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo through interviews and a focus group, this study bridges the gap in existing research, which primarily focuses on slum tourism in Rio de Janeiro, despite it being a prevalent phenomenon across the entire country. Adopting Yin's (2018) explanatory case study approach, this research facilitates a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences between these communities.

The five themes presented in the previous chapter serve as key points of discussion that directly addressed the sub-research questions, particularly concerning the role of poverty and the specific objectives pursued by actors engaged in slum tourism and elucidate on the effects of placemaking. These findings provided further insights into how these communities may differ in relation to these topics, and their implications will now be discussed.

The findings reveal the existence of diverse realities within favelas, with stakeholders having different relationships with them. One reality encompasses the challenges associated with urban development issues and the experience of poverty. While locals directly confront this reality, the media portrays it, and it requires attention from government bodies. Some interviewees' quotes provide different perspectives on the aspects of poverty that characterize favelas, and this reality is authentically showcased during the guided tours and activities developed in these communities. However, there is a lack of mentions regarding possible future solutions to the urban struggles and poverty related aspects that tourists have observed.

Critics of slum tourism often emphasize its focus on showcasing urban poverty, which is perceived by tourists and attracts their attention (Outtersson et al., 2011, Delic, 2011, Freire-Medeiros, 2009). They argue that by using poverty in guided tours it creates a romanticized perception of the poor (Scheyvens 2001, Hall & Tucker, 2014). However, the interviews conducted revealed that poverty cannot be solely defined by what meets the eye but

encompasses the deprivation of opportunities that have been taken away from these communities.

Holden (2013) and Sen (1995) both emphasize that poverty goes beyond the lack of basic needs and covers broader dimensions, including limited access to education, opportunities, and personal growth. Sen (1995) further argues that social exclusion and discrimination contribute to the perpetuation and deepening of poverty. The examples of the two communities discussed elucidate on the fact that tourism is employed as a means to create more equal access to human rights, culture, leisure, and personal growth. While poverty is often perceived by tourists and academics through visual manifestations, the narratives and stories shared by the locals reveal different dimensions of their experiences.

The interviews highlighted the significant role of government neglect and the lack of support in perpetuating the consequences faced by these areas. Tourism becomes a means through which locals advocate for their rights and positions. However, it is worth considering that governments may have reasons for maintaining the favelas as tourist spectacles, as stated by some interviewees. The poor infrastructure prevalent in these peripheral communities serves as a stark reminder of the disinterest in their improvement. Interviewees from both communities perceive a lack of genuine efforts to improve living conditions and a sense that these regions are merely being presented as tourist attractions rather than receiving substantial support and resources.

6.1 Reality effects

This chapter also adopts a framework that encompasses both discursive and material reality effects in the context of slum tourism. The aim is to explore the evolving social significance of favelas and favela tourism over time and its implications for placemaking practices. Reality effects within the framework of governance theory, refer to the ways in which governance processes and practices shape our understanding of reality (Van Assche et al., 2014; 2020). This will elaborate on the discursive and material reality effects of these urban areas, and the implications within slum tourism, acknowledging the historical exploitation associated with its earlier approaches and examining contemporary perceptions.

Buijtendijk (2021) through an analysis of reality effects, explores how innovation is contingent, resulting from multiple interpretations of material and social environments. Similarly, this theory supports this research as it allows the understanding that favelas and favela tourism are not an isolated process, as it is influenced by perceptions of realities from different slum actors. In the context of slum tourism, the concept of reality effects provides valuable insights into how discursive and material factors influence our perceptions of these marginalized urban areas.

The following figure illustrates the theoretical framework of this discussion, presenting the connection between discursive and material effects and their relation to the main findings.

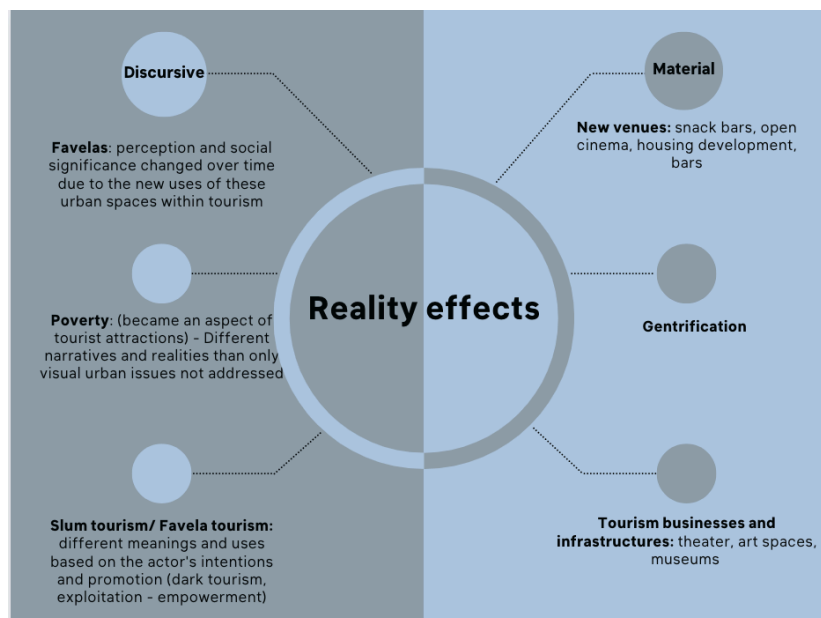


Figure 11 - Reality effects model based on the findings

6.1.1 Discursive reality effects

Discursive reality effects refer to the ways in which language, narratives, and discourses shape our perceptions and interpretations of reality (Weick, 2012). They can influence meanings assigned to phenomena, shape identities, and legitimize knowledge and power relations. In the context of governance processes, these discursive effects are manifested through the use of narratives and framing, which influence how stakeholders understand and address various issues. This is particularly relevant in relation to the concept of favela. As previously discussed, favelas were once perceived as problematic areas to be eradicated, but they have now become spaces of interest for tourism. It might be argued that by turning favelas into touristic spaces,

the government evades its responsibility to address the issues within these areas and instead maintains the *status quo*.

The label of "turismo de favela", which refers to slum tourism, has faced challenges and resistance from certain actors who do not wish to be associated with it. This indicates that the discursive reality surrounding the meaning of favela affects the entire industry and the actors involved in slum tourism. However, there is a growing argument that a "second wave" of slum tourism is emerging, characterized by increased participation and decision-making by local residents. This shift underscores the importance of exploring how this form of tourism can bring long-term benefits to the community and empower its residents.

The negative reputation associated with favela tourism stems from its association with dark tourism, which is viewed by many stakeholders as unethical and exploitative. The perception of the discourses around slum tourism might differ if it was reframed as "tourism in slums" – "turismo em favelas". This reframing would emphasize that these activities occur within these urban areas and highlight shared urban focus and government neglect addressed by slum tourism actors in different favelas. By reevaluating the terminology and reframing it, it may be possible to shift the narrative and foster a different debate about this phenomenon.

Favelas initially started as a social issue but have transformed into touristic attractions where slum tourism takes place. The term favela tourism carries the connotation of an exploitative reality that many do not want to be associated with. Despite the prevalence of tourism activities in these urban areas, different labels are used to distance themselves from this activity, as for example, community-based tourism.

6.1.2 Material reality effects

Material reality effects refer to tangible and observable outcomes that arise from governance practices, as described by Van Assche et al. (2014; 2020). These effects are seen in the physical world through changes in the environment and social structures, and can be identified in policies and actions, such as land use and development of infrastructure. In the context of this study, numerous interviewees mentioned experiencing material effects in their urban areas that can be attributed to placemaking, encompassing both positive and negative outcomes.

The theme of authenticity loss in favelas emerged prominently from the interviews conducted with participants from Cerro Corá & Guararapes. In response to the preferences of tourists, there has been a noticeable increase in the establishment of new businesses and infrastructure within these communities in Rio de Janeiro. This trend of placemaking, as Podlaszewska (2017) discusses in the context of Palembang, often introduces tensions between preserving the authenticity of a place and meeting the expectations of tourists. It is important to consider the potential consequences, such as the risk of gentrification and territorial conflicts, as evidenced by the rising housing prices driven by tourism in Vidigal, as explored by Miranda & Fortunato (2016). Additionally, Sotto's (2018) study also highlights the possibility of gentrification and spatial injustices due to an urban revitalization project based on placemaking.

Booyens & Rogerson (2019) illustrate the process of re-creating slum tourism through placemaking in South-Africa, arguing that slum tourism is a dynamic and evolving practice shaped by multiple actors and forces. They implemented a conceptual framework that has four key elements: stakeholders, narratives, destinations and images. Their study emphasizes that stakeholders (residents, tour operators and tourists) play an important role implementing placemaking in slum tourism. The two highlights of their study are: the significance of residents actively shape the narrative and representation of their communities, and the influential role that tour operators and other actors have on shaping perceptions of poverty, development, and authenticity (Booyens & Rogerson, 2019).

However, it is worth noting that some interviewees from Perus identified a positive material outcome resulting from the increased tourist influx. They mentioned that the rise in demand enabled them to expand their homes and build additional rooms, which they considered a beneficial development.

Furthermore, the material effects of placemaking in these favelas are evident in the transformation and utilization of urban public spaces. The study conducted by Cruz Moscarelli (2023) highlights that communities, tired of waiting for government promises and actions, took it upon themselves to revitalize these spaces. Previously abandoned spaces, once perceived as violent, are now being repurposed by slum actors in Perus for various art activities, such as exhibitions, cultural workshops, open cinemas, etc. Also, the establishment of new snack bars and bars in the neighborhood. This revitalization provides opportunities for locals to generate

additional income, empowering them and fostering entrepreneurship. It is crucial to acknowledge the positive aspects that emerge from such initiatives, even in the context of potential gentrification. Locals gain access to leisure spaces for activities like graffiti and sports, as illustrated in Sotto's (2018) research in São Paulo.

Additionally, the establishment of guided tours in areas historically associated with violence, clashes between drug dealers and law enforcement agencies in favelas in Rio de Janeiro has brought a sense of peace and fostered cultural exchange between residents and tourists. Local communities perceived this outcome positively, as they have long felt geographically and socially isolated from the rest of the city. Rocha Franco's study (2019) aligns with this perspective, as it highlights the understanding that favelas are excluded from the city. This perception leads to a limited sense of belonging and placemaking, contributing to a significant disparity in Brazilian urban spaces. Interestingly, the presence of tourists plays an important role in breaking stereotype. Through these interactions, locals feel more appreciated and recognized, which helps bridging gaps and fostering a more comprehensive understanding of these spaces.

This raises the question of whether slum tourism can serve as a viable strategy for placemaking. The issue surrounding slum tourism is not a matter of right or wrong, but rather a collection of perspectives from various actors involved in the industry. However, it is essential to remember that the most significant stakeholders in these realities are the local residents who directly experience the effects. Currently, locals are actively engaged in promoting their communities and advocating for change.

While it is important to recognize that tourism alone cannot be the ultimate solution to address the complex urban issues faced by these areas, it does serve as a tool to empower the local population and revitalize public spaces, as the examples of Cerro Corá & Guararapes and Perus demonstrate. The utilization of these spaces encourages visits from tourists, fostering a sense of community and opening avenues for temporary urban development. As highlighted earlier, the discursive and material elements of these realities are subject to change and have a direct impact on the lives of the locals.

Favelas, as previously mentioned, cover diverse realities that can coexist within the same community. The transformations range from the loss of authenticity and the construction of

new establishments catering to tourists, to a sense of peace brought about by tourists and the potential for cultural exchange. However, one common thread emerges from all these realities: the government is perceived as the adversary across the board.

Both communities demonstrate elements of empowerment, with locals taking a leading role in the projects, participating in decision-making, and having a voice in planning. Urban development opportunities have also emerged, as previously unused urban spaces are being reimaged and given new meaning. However, it remains clear that some urban challenges, including problems with waste management, sanitation, and more, have yet to be adequately addressed. Additionally, locals have taken it upon themselves to address inequality issues related to education, social exclusion and lack of access to culture and leisure establishments. Through various initiatives, they strive to fill these gaps left unattended by the government.

These matters should be of significant political concern. Despite variations in their tourism labels and niches, both communities face territorial disputes and experience government's neglect, presenting challenges to the implementation of placemaking initiatives and collaborative tourism approaches. The government's inaction is a major factor behind their decision to implement different uses of tourism tourism in their areas. It is evident that the community aspires for more, and the government continues to hold significant responsibility in addressing their needs.

7. Conclusion

This chapter concludes this study, summarizing the research findings in alignment with the research aim. Additionally, it discusses the value of the research, its limitations, and provides suggestions for future research.

This study aimed to explore how different uses of slum tourism address narratives of poverty and what are the effects of these uses on placemaking in favelas. The findings suggest that slum tourism initiatives in these communities are driven by various motivations, ranging from income generation to the assertion of culture and leisure rights. Poverty narratives expand beyond urban issues such as waste management and infrastructure, but also social exclusion and limitation of opportunities. These different tourism initiatives in favelas, such as guided trails, workshops and cultural movements, like graffiti serve as platforms for advancing community claims and addressing multidimensional aspects of poverty beyond what is visible to tourists.

The results also indicate that effective placemaking occurs when locals are empowered and involved in decision-making processes within their communities. Placemaking can yield positive outcomes, such as establishment of culture and leisure spaces and increased access to education and personal needs. However, it can also lead to challenges such as gentrification and loss of authenticity. Ultimately, the residents of these communities envision a brighter future where urban issues are effectively addressed. Thus, the historical context of territorial conflicts, government neglect and social inequities present the main challenges for their development.

The controversy at the core of slum tourism (to be linked to favela tourism) revolves around a dual perspective: it is seen either as a temporary tool for income generation and identity recognition, or as an exploitative activity that accentuates poverty. One might wonder whether the concept of slum tourism could be redefined as “tourism in slums”, encompassing the various tourism initiatives, that address narratives of poverty by explicitly explaining to tourists the underlying reasons for the visual issues they may observe.

In conclusion, regardless of the labels used, whether it is called favela tourism, resistance tourism, or any other new term, all these activities take place in slums and showcase the challenges faced by marginalized urban areas that are overlooked by the governments. Cerro Corá

& Guararapes offer favela tours, utilizing the social image of favelas for marketing and income generation, while Perus focuses on a more sustainable cultural experience. Both are forms of slum tourism, showcasing aspects of resistance and poverty, even if unintentionally.

7.1 Limitations & Recommendations for future research

The limitations of this study will be presented alongside suggestions for future research. Firstly, all data collection methods were conducted online, which restricts the ability to gather personal information through firsthand observations and participation in field activities. For this, it is recommended to incorporate in-person data collection that allows engagement with the community as alternative perspectives of the discussed phenomenon may emerge.

This study explored only two favelas. Nevertheless, for future research, it is crucial to encompass a broader range of communities throughout the country. This expansion would allow for a comprehensive portrayal of slum tourism across Brazil and shed the light on whether and how locals use tourism to address their needs in regions beyond Rio de Janeiro. Furthermore, including more perspectives from various states in the national context would provide insights into how favelas and favela tourism, which are primarily associated with Rio, are perceived elsewhere.

The different stages of development of these communities can also be considered a limitation. Consequently, the interview guides for each community differed in terms of themes covered, as not all questions could be addressed uniformly. This discrepancy is due to Cerro Corá & Guararapes being in an initial phase, with the tour details still in the planning and trial phases. This reliance on future assumptions regarding actual outcomes presents a challenge. Therefore, for future research, it would be relevant to conduct an investigation into the level of engagement with tourism in these communities. This would enable the establishment of pre-defined criteria for evaluation.

Another limitation associated with the methodology is that only one focus group of Brazilian students is employed. Consequently, it is recommended for future research to enhance the organization of diverse focus groups. For instance, including locals who are not directly involved in tourism activities could provide more insights on their perceptions regarding slum tourism.

Additionally, it should be taken into account that 90% of the data collection was done in Portuguese, while the data analysis was conducted in English. This could lead to a loss of meaning and data quality as some expressions do not have a proper translation. Despite the interviewees being open and able to express themselves in their native language, the data analysis may not have been as accurate as it would have been in Portuguese.

7.2 Recommendations for stakeholders

For slum tourism actors, it is encouraged the adoption of a long-term vision for tourism development and collaborative efforts are essential to co-create tourism activities aligned with their values and aspirations. As the example of Cerro Corá & Guararapes, locals were not in accordance within guidelines and goals for what exactly they would like to showcase in their guided tours. Therefore, community-wide agreement is crucial, necessitating pre-defined discussions through community meetings or similar forums. For tourism operators and strategic advisors involved, it is crucial to understand their role as facilitators and mediators. They should act as unbiased third parties, offering guidance. By respecting and valuing the perspectives of the communities, these actors can ensure that tourism initiatives are more respectful and beneficial.

Governments should recognize their role in addressing urban development challenges faced by these communities. Slum tourism should complement urban development policies, not replace them. There is a clear need for improvement in these areas regarding infrastructure and services. Adequate access to education and transportation is crucial for locals, which also ensures a positive tourism experience. Social programs including community centers and libraries can serve as hubs for workshops and training programs. Interventions such as escalators or cable cars might serve as efficient public transportation, enhancing mobility and breaking down physical barriers that isolate favelas from the rest of the city. The example of Comuna 13 showcase how escalators can bring a shift in accessibility and also promote the practice of arts and graffiti as the areas surround the escalators are covered with street art (Jiménez, 2016).

Additionally, infrastructure development should focus on renovating public spaces and communal areas to enhance their physical environment. The example of Kampong Pelangi demonstrates how a slum village turned into a tourism attraction through a public thematic

project (Saari, Hendro & Muhamad, 2020). This initiative involved giving each slum a unique and creative theme. Lastly, data collection and research are necessary to assess the benefits and challenges of slum tourism in these areas, as it helps in formulating better policies and strategies.

As discussed in previous chapters, the media influences the perception of favelas and slum tourism. Nowadays, it has become more challenging to control how these images are portrayed, mainly due to tourists having more freedom to share their opinions on social media platforms. However, there is an opportunity for national news channels and newspapers to alter their narratives when discussing favelas. Instead of portraying slum tourism as a homogenous entity, they should avoid generalizations and recognize the diversity of communities and their initiatives, each with distinct purposes and approaches. It is crucial to provide a platform for locals to share their perspectives and present their initiatives in the way they deem most accurate. Additionally, the media alongside with DMOs can play a role in promoting slum tourism initiatives, the local culture and artistic movements instead of only advertising favela tours in the famous favelas of Rio. The example of Kampong Pelangi also showcases that the slums became famous through public marketing campaigns about the new Rainbow Village (Sari, Hendro & Muhammad, 2020). DMOs can also support these communities encouraging responsible tourist behavior, by developing educational campaigns about their social and economic contexts, as tourists will be more mindful about their boundaries and behave appropriately.

Favelas, before functioning as touristic spaces, serve as homes for millions of people in Brazil. The communities addressed in this study showcase that tourism was initially perceived as a means to advance their social positions and address existing gaps. Historical conflicts and urban development challenges have shaped the landscapes of favelas, making them authentic places that have captured the attention of visitors around the world. It is important for more people to look at slum tourism and recognize its potential for positive long-term change. The spectacle of slums should not perpetuate an urban scenario of misery, but rather highlight the resistance movements and resilience of these communities in transforming these areas into a better place to live.

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Appendices

A. Interviews Table Schedule and Participants Information

<i>Favela</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Reference</i>
CG	M.	F	Work at a national tourism concessionaire company – Supervisor of J.	27 th May	1h	R1 - CG
Perus	R.	F	Local, Co-founder of Quilombaque and Chef	06 th June	40 min	R2 - P
CG	D.	M	Travel Agent and Filmmaker	26 th May	40min	R3 - CG
CG	A.	F	American tourist	06 th June	50 min	R4 - CG
Perus	C.	F	Local, Marketing & Social Media Manager of Queixadas Agency	06 th June	1h	R5 - P
Perus	R.	M	Local, Coordinator of Queixadas Agency	31 st May	40min	R6- P
CG	Focus Group.	Mix	Brazilian students	24 th May	1h	FG (1,2,3,4)
CG	T.	M	University Professor, Strategic Advisor	22 nd May	1h15min	R7 - CG
CG	G.	M	Local, tour guide	22 nd May	1h30min	R8 - CG
CG	J.	M	Local, student and intern at the national tourism concessionaire company	21 st May	1h30min	R9 - CG
Perus	V.	F	Brazilian tourist	16 th June	40 min	R10 – P
Perus	D.	M.	Local, works with graffiti	12 th June	40min	R11 - P
Perus	M.	F.	Local, artist	17 th June	30min	R12 - P

(F=Female; M= Male) (CG – Cerro Corá & Guararapes; P – Perus)

The table above is referent to the appointments list of the interviews including the dates and duration. As mentioned before, all the interviews and focus groups were done online via Zoom. The interview also shows some interviewees' key information, such as their gender and their occupation. The 1st interviews were with the participants of the favelas Cerro Corá & Guararapes as they are still in an initial phase of development.

It is crucial to highlight both the successful practices and the shortcomings of this research. One limitation to consider is that the interviews were conducted online. Oftentimes, interviewees had to reschedule due to forgetfulness or time constraints, which inevitably impacted the research's quality since adhering strictly to the schedule was not feasible. Therefore, there was less time available for data analysis and interpretation of results.

On the other hand, it is important to mention that all the interviews were conducted in the participants' mother tongue, which allowed for in-depth discussions with a considerable duration. However, maintaining focus on the pre-established questions proved challenging at times. Interviewees would occasionally delve into personal aspects of their lives, causing the interviews to deviate from their intended course. Additionally, dealing with two distinct communities from different Brazilian states posed difficulties in designing the questionnaire guides. These communities were in varying stages of development, which necessitated tailoring the questions to accommodate their unique narratives.

Due to the online nature of the interviews, direct observations were not feasible, which posed a limitation to the research. To compensate for this constraint, online research methods were employed, including the analysis of social media content and the examination of various YouTube videos from different channels that focused on the communities under study. These sources were utilized to form an initial personal impression and understanding of the areas prior to conducting the interviews.

B. Interviews Guide – Questionnaires

Each interview was customized to suit the individual participants from both communities. As the communities were at different stages of development, the questions were tailored accordingly. Furthermore, the level of engagement varied among the interviewees, which also influenced the nature of the questions asked. The interviews encompassed both tourists and locals. For instance, the questions posed to tourists focused more on their experiences and the lessons they had learned from them. On the other hand, the questions directed towards locals were centered around how and why they became involved in these tourism initiatives, their main product offerings, and their specific goals for utilizing tourism within their communities.

Additionally, participants from the Perus community were asked questions regarding whether they perceive their communities as favelas or not, and their reasons behind such perceptions. This line of inquiry aimed to gain insights into how these São Paulo locations position themselves within the social and economic landscape of urban infrastructure issues, considering that favelas are primarily associated with Rio de Janeiro. Furthermore, based on previous data analysis from document sources, it was revealed that this community opposes the current concept of "favela tourism." As a result, these findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the portrayal of slum tourism in Brazil and the associated complexities discussed in earlier sections.

Presented below are two examples of prototype interview guides for Cerro Corá & Guararapes and Perus. It should be noted that only one interview was conducted in English, while the rest of interviews were conducted in Portuguese. Consequently, the questions provided below are originally in Portuguese and have been translated to English, which may introduce potential misunderstandings in their intended meaning.

Thank you so much for your time and for helping me with my research. This interview should last around 40 min and I have some questions that I would like to address regarding the new Socio-Environmental Tourism Project of Cerro Corá & Guararapes. I also need to record the call for further analysis, is that ok?

1. *Qual é o seu envolvimento com esse projeto? (What is your involvement with this project?)*
2. *Quais são os pontos de interesse para visitar? O itinerário já está pronto ou ainda na fase de planejamento? (What are the points of interest to visit? Is the itinerary already prepared or is it in the planning phase?)*
3. *Como surgiu esse projeto ou quando você ouviu falar dele pela primeira vez? Qual é o objetivo/finalidade desse projeto? É mais para benefício financeiro da comunidade ou para aumentar a autoestima? (How did this project come about or when did you first hear about it? What is the objective/purpose of this project? Is it for the community's financial benefit (job opportunities and income) or self-esteem?)*
4. *Qual é a maior diferença entre o Cerro Corá e outras favelas e o tipo de turismo que está sendo desenvolvido aqui? (What is the main difference between Cerro Corá & Guararapes and other favelas where you work, and the type of tourism being developed here?)*
5. *Em quais aspectos você pretende focar? Você também deseja mostrar a parte menos desenvolvida da favela? (In which aspects do you intend to display? Do you also want to show the less developed part of the favela?)*
6. *Como você vê esse projeto beneficiando a sua região? (How do you see this project benefiting this area?)*
7. *Como você imagina a favela no futuro? (How do you envision the favela to be in the future?)*

Well, I guess all the questions were covered. Thank you once again for your time and for your participation!

Thank you so much for your time and for helping me with my research. This interview should last around 40 min and I have some questions that I would like to address regarding Comunidade Cultural Quilombaque and Queixadas Agency. I also need to record the call for further analysis, is that ok?

1. *Para começar, você poderia me explicar melhor sobre a história de resistência da Quilombaque, como surgiu o movimento e porquê? (To start, could you give me a brief explanation of the resistance history of Quilombaque, how did the movement arise, and why?)*
2. *Você pode me explicar como a Agência Queixadas surgiu? Quanto tempo depois do Quilombaque? Qual era o principal objetivo naquela época? (Can you then explain to me how Queixadas Agency emerged? How long after Quilombaque? What was the main objective at that time?)*
3. *Que tipo de produto turístico você oferece? Como você descreveria o tipo de turismo em que você se envolve? Você poderia elaborar mais? (What kind of tourism product do you offer? How would you describe the type of tourism you engage in? Is it cultural, natural, creative? Could you elaborate further?)*
4. *Você considera Perus uma favela? (Do you consider Perus as a favela?)*
5. *Anteriormente, você mencionou que não considera o que você faz em Perus como turismo de favela. Você poderia explicar porquê? Ou como vocês se diferenciam do turismo em favelas? Como você percebe o turismo em favelas? (Earlier, you mentioned that you do not consider what you do in Perus as slum tourism. Could you explain why? Or how you differentiate yourselves from favela tourism? How do you perceive favela tourism?)*
6. *Uma parte substancial dos seus turistas é nacional, mas vocês também recebem muitos turistas internacionais? (A substantial portion of your tourists are domestic, but do you also receive many international tourists?)*
7. *Desde a existência do Quilombaque e da Queixadas, como você vê o turismo beneficiando Perus? Você acha que o turismo trouxe mudanças estruturais significativas para a comunidade? Ou como você imagina esse potencial no futuro? (Since the existence of Quilombaque and Queixadas, how do you see tourism benefiting*

Perus? Do you think tourism has brought significant structural changes to the community? Or how do you envision this potential in the future?)

Well, I guess all the questions were covered. Thank you once again for your time and for your participation!

Focus Group Interview Guide (Portuguese – English)

Thank you so much for your time and for helping me with my research. This interview should last around 40 min and I have some questions that I would like to address regarding your experience at Cerro Corá & Guararapes. I also need to record the call for further analysis, is that ok?

1. *O que você achou do passeio?* (What did you think of the tour?)
2. *Como foi o itinerário? Quanto tempo durou?* (How was the itinerary? How long did it last?)
3. *Quais foram os pontos que você mais gostou de visitar e achou interessante?* (What were the points of interest that you liked the most to visit?)
4. *Você já fez turismo de favela antes? O que achou?* (Have you done favela tourism before? What did you think?)
5. *Se sim, você notou alguma diferença nesse roteiro?* (If yes, was there any difference in this itinerary?)
6. *O que você achou da comunidade de entorno? Você chegou a ter contacto com os moradores durante o passeio?* (What did you think of the surrounding community? Did you have contact with the community during the tour?)
7. *Você recomendaria esse itinerário para alguém?* (Would you recommend this itinerary to someone?)

Well, I guess all the questions were covered. Thank you once again for your time and for your participation!

C. In-depth interviews transcript

Interview – R4-CG

Interviewer: Yeah, so let me ask you, hum, like, first of all, how did you know about the tool, was Monise that invited you to participate, like, how that that work? Did you need to pay for it or how did it work?

Interviewee: So, uh, my understanding was it's still kind of **in the trial phase** like with Monise. So she was the one who told us about it. She we did not have to pay. It was like like, wanting to get our opinion and see, you know, if it is something **that is going to take off and get our thoughts**. So we did not have to pay.

Interviewer: OK, that is nice. So it was more like choose your friend and she just like, hey, come here and and what you think about the experience, I mean, what did you like about the tour and what you didn't like? Yes, how was?

Interviewee: I really liked it like I thought it was just interesting to see the guide was informative. For us it **was difficult because it was in Portuguese**, so Monise like translated bits. You know, I do not think **we got the full experience**, but like, that is completely understandable. I love that **the tour guide was somebody who lives in the favela**. We stopped **at a little shop** and got, you know, anybody could get what they want and got some *açaí* that was really nice, like as an outsider, just kind of felt nice, **like knowing you were supporting like somebody local rather than just kind of coming in and like gawking and**, you know, like, that kind of thing. So it felt nice. **It felt very respectful. It did not feel like it was being intrusive from like an outsider's point of view.** I think the only part I was not a huge fan of is we did sit in like this one classroom area for a little while and and they talked for a little while, but again, **not being able to understand Portuguese**. I do not not know what they were talking about, but I am sure **it was super informative and interesting**, but that was my least favorite part.

Interviewer: Yes, so the problem for you was like the lack of language skills that were not there, right? Yeah, OK, I get it. But I believe maybe because it is in the beginning, like they are still on trial. So you know. So overall, like the experience, you liked it and you think that is per as per what you are saying, the fact that the locals were guiding made like a difference on the on the experience?

Interviewee: I really, really liked that. And I think too, like the only other thing. And like **obviously there is no way that this can really be changed is just that it is not accessible like physically to everybody just because there are a lot of steps and like steep, you know inclines**

and declines. And I think the only thing of like if this is advertised to like the average tourist, just making sure that that is like explicitly clear that like. Unfortunately, like accommodations, just like cannot be made and it can be hard and there is a lot of walking.

Interviewer: Because you mean the accessibility to the favelas and there. It is not the easiest way, right? Have you ever been to another like favela, another slum in Rio or somewhere else? Or this was the first time?

AL: Yes, this was the first time.

Interviewer: And did you find it like it poor? Because, I mean, you come from? The United States, right, which like the back political, economical background is quite a huge gap. Did you find it? Like, poor. Did you have a image you had before like how you know the image you had before and when you arrived there did not meet the expectations or like how how was it?

AL: I thought it would be like much more. Like I thought I was going to feel a lot more in danger, like I did think that it was going to be a lot more, like, unsafe, unsettling, kind of feeling. And I did not feel that at all. And I think yes, it met my expectation as like far as how like underdeveloped, I kind of expected it to be, but it was really interesting like to see that for my myself rather than just kind of like the picture that I had created in my mind.

Interviewer: Yeah, I get it, but did you find it like very? Because like, there are different like layers, you know, of underdeveloped cause I think, I do not know. I have been to the US, but only to like New York or Orlando. So like where tourists you go? And I think there is like, you know, when you come from like, for example, my neighborhood and you go to the US. It is something that works here and is super clean. Did you find the area itself, like, pour a lot of garbage or you found that it was actually not that bad? I mean, as an American citizen going there, you find it was like, more positive? Or?

AL: Yeah, it was definitely poor and like definitely like a lot of garbage like. You can tell it is not cared for by the government. Like, you know, we talked about that as well. I think it's different for me because I am somebody who travels a lot. So I have been to places too like like Guatemala for example. So it is quite a unique experience because this was more. Like an urban feel of like a poor area, whereas like when I had gone to Guatemala, it was like small like huts and like the entire family would live there. So like also poor. So I feel like, me personally, I was not, like, wildly shocked by it. Just because I have had experience in like underdeveloped areas. But it was like a stark difference compared to the United States, and I think somebody who is just your average tourist who does not experience like, if this is their first time experiencing like a a favela or just like a underdeveloped area, I think it would be like a stark like.

Interviewer: Yes, because the thing is, when you travel a lot, right, you see a lot of differences, like from where you come from, depending on your background and where you are, but I think. If you are very. Like, if you are the type of person that just go to like resort for example, you go to to being Copacabana. I believe that when you arrive in a slum, like in a favela, it can be shocking, like the difference in in Urban Development areas. Also like culture. It can be a like, I'm in Indonesia right now, for example. And I mean, it's beautiful. You have beautiful beaches, but when you go down the road, it can be like really, really, really, poor. And the thing is, the favelas, it's like I consider it's a neighborhood, like it's an area where you have this, like, conglomeration of houses and people live in. But here is just. Out of the place like I am in a nice accommodation nearby and then two minutes when I leave the hotel by bike. It's just people with barely like a roof.

Interviewee: Right, yeah, exactly!

Interviewer: It's a different type of poverty around and when I got here I was like, OK, this is a little bit weird because it was different from I what I used to was like this area is wealth, this area is poor and then, you know, you have people separated, but here is just crazy. If you travel to other like poor destinations, I imagine that you were not. Like surprised, but would you recommend this tour to like your friends? You know, people that never been to Brazil, would you say like you should do this or?

Interviewee: Yeah, I absolutely would, because I do think like you know, me being like from the United States like. Of course, like to a degree. You know my parents were nervous about me going to Brazil just because, like, it is no, like, talked about like high crime and things like that. And they didn't. They didn't have an idea of like, where I'd be staying like I was in Ipanema. So I was like, you know, all great and whatever. But I think if I were to have told them. Like before taking the tour that I was going to favela, they would have like been so scared and like as soon that I wouldn't come back. And I think. Like it's nice to break down those barriers and like realize that like, that is a wildly like traumatized idea. And I understand. Of course you don't want to wander in at night or like, you know, like, there's so precautions that need to be taken. And I think that's also important to share in. The like tour, and I'm sure they did, but. Like it also just makes it a lot more like human and it makes it a lot more like you have a lot more empathy for like what's going on because these are just regular people, right, like they're. So I think it was a big eye opener. I think it takes a certain person to kind of be interested in the tour. I don't think your standard person who just goes to resorts is the right clientele, but I think more of like an adventurous person interested in culture, who wants to

experience what life can be like in different areas. And like, that's what they get out of travel.

I think it was a great tour.

Interviewer: OK. So you think it depends also more, for example on how the person is and what the tourist is looking for than what actually the favela has to offer, right? Because in the end you go after what you want to experience and that's why I asked you like, because some tourists, when they go actually to like favelas. I think in your case is different because a friend of you invited you and it's different. But I think for example when you go to, I don't know if you've been to Rocinha or Vidigal when where they have like. Yeah, they have these Mirante do Arvrão and Bar da Laje, which are famous now. I've been there like years ago when I was living in Brazil. And you don't actually know or learn anything about the favela, you just. You know, for like the party or. And you don't know or learn about the favela. So you don't like interact with the local community or anything. But do you think like from your experience with this slum, do you think this negative stereotype right. I think especially in the US, Brazil has a negative stereotype because of what you mentioned criminality. Like, do you think this type of tours could Benefit to change this image like you know, because now you experience that emotion of you tell your friends what you did. You think this is like this slum tourism happening there? It's a good step to fight against it?

Interviewee: I really do. And I think, like I said, it brings that human peace to the slums. Being able to relate to the fact that, quite honestly, like it is a governmental issue, that the government isn't helping this area and like we can relate to that too. You know, like there are areas in the United States where the government, just like, messes up and forgets about people and. Realizing that it's not necessarily, like the individuals who live there that are like the reason why, you know, they're stuck here and. I think it can help take down those stereotypes.

Interviewer: OK. That's that's nice to hear because sometimes like when you are in, you know the the background like like me you can be bias and I think having different approaches it can be good. And that's why I'm doing. If the the favela that Monise, let's put it in charge, right? Because she has a like role model task and whatever she's doing and it's good to see from like an outsider perspective how it gave you a nice overview because like you're an American citizen let's put it like that. And you already are aware that favelas are a governmental issue. So I think that's already, you know, a step ahead that someone from the outside is not blaming the people that live there. And you know that that's great to hear. You were there with your boyfriend, right?

Interviewee: Yeah, my partner.

Interviewer: :So did he like the tour too? If I may ask. Like, if you talked about it afterwards, like about the experience or if you had any like change about it.

Interviewee: They also really enjoyed it. I think again, it was just the mutual like **we didn't get the full experience just because we, you know, didn't speak Portuguese and**. We got like tidbits too, just from like, other people who were on the tour, like one of them was a professor, I believe, and was just like adding little anecdotal pieces and stuff.

Interviewer: Thiago, right?

Interviewee: Yes, that's right.

Interviewer: He was my professor too. He's so funny, but I didn't know he speaks English.

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah! Pretty well, yeah. So yeah, I just. I thought it was great. We both did. Yeah, I'm like, just trying to think back to like any like exact comments that they made. But yeah, again overall just I think we both enjoyed it. **We found it informational and good to see and I did like consider the fact of it being exploitative as well.** And I think I felt good **knowing our tour guide lives in a favela. Knowing that like they felt comfortable sharing this, they were the ones who, you know, at some point will be benefiting like by, you know, the tour, the people on the tour are paying them for the tour.** So to me like because of those aspects, I think if it was an outsider coming in and just saying like. Ohh, look at the people who are here. I wouldn't have liked it as much. **But I think they did a respectable job with how they approached it.**

Interviewer: OK, that's nice. So it gave you a good feeling. And one thing that. Uh, because I also talked with some students that did the tour. I don't know if in the same day as you, but they mentioned to me that the tour was awfully long, that if they started in the morning and they left, I think end of afternoon something like that. They said, yeah, this didn't work because it was warm. So you were feeling like, you know, tired and some people felt bad. I don't know if it was the same tour because I know it had some different day. So I'm not aware, but then I was wondering what exactly did you do? Like if because a tour can last like I don't know an hour or two hours, you know? But if you stay there the entire day, I'm like, what were these people doing? What took you to do it? Or what are the points that you're like, called more of your attention? Like you know?

Interviewee: We started at **like that waterfall kind of like waterfall kind it like a bath, like communal space**, which actually I would consider like I think this might be an added step where like maybe there's **safety** involved or you know, some people would have to sign a waiver, but I think it could be cool to end with that. And like if people wanted to swim like that, could be the attraction, like people can wear their swimsuits or something like that. I'd consider maybe

like trying that out. See how people feel about that. But so we started there, we got some information about that. Walk to effective ways saw like. We were up tire and so **we were able to see a really nice view**. And then just, yeah, **a lot of walking** through different neighborhoods, we did stop and talk about one of the like **bigger drug dealers like the criminals who does, who do live there**. Like I think his exact house was pointed out. I think he's got like a cross, like in his yard or something and. We kind of talked about that We talked about that. We went to that **schoolhouse area**, which I think is great to see, but because it was a little bit smaller, we did it in two chunks. So like half the group stayed in one room and like was talking half kind of got a tour of it and then switch. So I think that that part took quite a while and I think that one could maybe be like shortened a bit. And then when we stopped at the kind **of convenience shop**. That just took a long time because, like people ordered a bunch of stuff. So we were there for a long time and I do feel like that was like, could have done without cause it was like at the end and it had been a long long like **walking and like lots of steps**. So kind of waiting around for all of that was just a little like I was getting antsy to go back. Ohh the very first thing we did, the the place that we started was like. **The old like water treatment or like water. Like water plant group.**

Interviewer: Yeah, I think I know what you mean!

Interviewee: So we started there and then went to that kind of like swimming pool area.

Interviewer: So you couldn't just because you as per what you're mentioning, it was more like visualizing than interacting. For example you walked around and then you had the explanations of A, points A,B and C, But you didn't also because I guess because of. Of course you cannot. Participate or communicate with people because most of like the residence, I believe they do not speak English, right, like properly to be able to interact with you. But did you miss this part of like what you said that you could have ended and the waterfall and just like swim like 2-3 hours, whatever. Did you miss this part of like just? You know, using the space because in the end you are walking through the space but not really having leisure time there. If if you understand me.

Interviewee: Yeah. Yeah, I think so. And I think too, thinking from an outsider's perspective, like if you were **to advertise this on a tour platform or something like** that. I think having like a picture of that and like mentioning that you can end at this like swimming hole and it's like optional swimming and you know you can leave and like go off on your or like leave like and the tours over or you can stay for as long as you want kind of thing. You could just see that being a draw to it as well. And like you said. Being able to. **Yeah, make it a little bit like. So it**

wasn't strictly educational. Like you said, having a little bit more of that like leisure piece to it as well.

Interviewer: Yeah, because that's what I felt from your explanation of the two and the students. But of course they're also students. So you end up being more critical and like I was telling them, guys, I just wanted tourist perspective like you know you don't need to explain about the history because of course for example. I went to Australia in February, and sometimes when I went to tours, I just wanted to enjoy, you know, the space. Of course, I think in, in, in the Brazilian context is different because it's important. You need to know the story, like the history first to like be able to change your mind. And I think that's the whole purpose of the tour. But sometimes you just wanna enjoy the space like I just wanted to enjoy the beach, or like the vineyards and just stay there between. Graves, you know, and I felt like this. This part of, like, tours enjoying the space. The social space was not really explored. And one other thing that I wanted to ask, did you have like free for example, I don't know an hour that they say now you can just walk by yourselves and see it or you needed to stay strictly with the group.

Interviewee: I don't know if it was explicit that it was like strict. We had to stay with the group, but there was never like an offer to, like, go ahead and enjoy and I will say from an outsiders perspective. While I do feel like the two are helped to alleviate some of the like stereotypes that that it's unsafe, I don't know if I would have wandered off on my own just because there's still is that feeling of like I don't know how safe it is. Like again, I'm. I'm a redhead, like I look very white. Like, it's not like. Ohh baby I look like a Brazilian!

Interviewer: Yeah, but that's nice. Thing like these were my questions are just it was more like a chat conversation than anything else. But just to let you know, I needed to record this meeting because afterwards I need to do as I told you, The transcriptions, and then it was really, nice. Thank you very much for taking your time to talk to me and tell me your like perceptions about it. I hope it was not boring for you!

Interviewee: No, not at all. And feel free to message me if you have any more questions and you just want me to like type you and answer anything like I'm happy to. Like I love the work you're doing.

Interview– R8-CG

Interviewer: Perfect! Then thank you so much for participating in this online interview. I know life's been busy and sometimes talking to someone that is on the other side of the world... can be a challenge

Interviewee: Yes, a bit! Is it 9pm there?

Interviewer: Yeah, here it's 9pm, my day is almost over. We have 11h difference now. It's like I'm in the future!

Interviewee: True! But glad to help, today is my day off so it's better to talk!

Interviewer: Ah, your day off is today? You explained to me you have some crazy work times right? You go to the Christ around sunset/sunrise? How's that work?

Interviewee: Usually they want to see sunrise at Mirante Dona Marta and I pick them up, I wake up around 3am. I prepare their breakfast, because at these hours nothing is open. Then I pick them up and we go to the Mirante, because of the sunrise. We arrive there around 5am and the sun appears in like 20 min, it depends.

Interviewer: Very interesting what you do! Some people talked me about you in previous interviews, that you are a local guide and you take some photos. They sent me your instagram too, that's how I could reach you.

Interviewee: Yes, exactly! **The intention of my clients is to go the Christ when there is no one there.**

Interviewer: Yeah, Thiago told me about it and about the project of Cerro Corá e Guararapes, that Janderson is the head, who is also a local, right? Then Janderson also told me about you, that you are one of the local guides that are most active. You're also a local from Corás?

Interviewee: Yeah, **I am local, I am *cria***

Interviewer: And can you tell me how did your relationship with the project start? I mean how did you get to know about it? How did you get into it?

Interviewee: So, **in the beginning it was not a project**, project... Like, I was raised only by my mom, so **I was used to spend a lot of time alone at home and so on**. Especially during vacation time! When I had school it was fine, but imagine during school break? I **used to be alone all the time because my mom needed to go to work**.

Interviewer: Me too, I was also only raised by my mom but I used to spent my days at my grandpa's shop, they had a small shop in our neighbourhood!

Interviewee: Oh really? So you understand a bit! So yeah I used to be very alone at home not doing anything. So when my mom used to leave to work, I would go to piscininha (small pool), it's like a water area with running water! That comes from **the Mãe d'Água waterfall!** And then I spent my time there with some friends. We used to stay swimming at the waterfall, then when we were hungry, we ate some fruit. But at this school break, it was also peak season in Rio for tourism. And **at that time Google maps really didn't exist or people didn't know how to use it. So the tourists used to be lost inside of the favelas**. And then, we would know when they were

there, that they were tourists. I was a kid, we were kids and then we used to say: “Ok so you give some Money and I take you to the Christ!” Once I went up with a car, crazy!

Interviewer: Oh God!

Interviewee: Yeah, the first time I took a tourist to the Christ I was 11 years old. A kid, right? And as crazy as it sounds, it was the first time I went up in the Christ. Even though I was living so close, I’d never been there! So this was my first time! Basically to make some money. I remember I made around 4,50 brazilian reais at the end of the “tour”, cause I took them to some more places around. But to me, that money when I was just a kid, it was a lot! And then we started doing that. We waited for the tourists at a spot we knew that they would pass very lost, and then I could approach them and guide them there in the Christ, around the surroundings. And from that, they started to get interested and ask: “Ok but how is your slum? Do you have a microwave? You know? These type of questions! And then I used to say: “Whenever you want, I’ll take you there!” And then when they would be inside of the favela, they were super excited because everything was quite different. So I started understanding that actually the favela could be a possible tourist product, an attractive place. And then I started doing this. After that, the mobilization in other favelas started: Rocinha, Vidigal and so on. I believe it was better in other favelas because at a certain time it was very violent with a lot of guns and shots. So it called attention in another way and their location is like, south zone (the wealthy area of Rio). So all this violence didn’t harm the bourgeoisie. So obviously, for them it was much more interesting because it was full of police there. For example, the favela where I live, since it’s so close to the Christ, has a beautiful view. But here it didn’t work because we didn’t have police and so on. But coming back to my case. The national Park of Tijuca started doing something, trying to empower some people there in the área. They saw a necessity because there were some young people doing this “business” and even some older guys wanted to join. And then, the national Park came with this idea do empower, teach us something. And we saw it as a problem. What are we going to become? Which type of empowerment? Because here in the Tijuca National Forest, it’s an environmental protection area. And in other national parks, the guides are locals. So it was convenient for both: like that, we could become more professional and so on. I think the first course was in 2018.

Interviewer: Sorry, 2018 or 2008?

Interviewee: 2008! I was 19, I think, and the second one was in 2011 but like the, product itself, it started in 2018, if I am not wrong. The first official course that went to the capital (Brasilia) was approved in 2018. And after that I think, this project with the professor Thiago started. And in one of the renovations of these courses he gave us some classes. And then, the

company, that acts inside of National Forest is Paineiras Corcovado. They were the ones who decided to support the projects in favelas, especially this one we are doing now. But the idea was mine. I gave the idea as a guide, because I even thought before about doing a partnership with them, bringing the tourists inside of the favela, because I was already doing that!

Interviewer: Since you were a kid you mean?

Interviewee: Exactly, long ago. I used to take the tourists inside of the favela. But like, you really need to trust the person to pass through favelas and so on. The idea is then to bring the tourist inside of the favela that is already in Paineiras (up in the Christ). The idea was then if we could find something to sell to them in the community, show them the waterfall and then finish it inside of the favela till the train. This was my idea but they expanded it very well. Because they started identifying possible touristic spots inside of the favela. And I needed to agree with them because they were right.

Interviewer: Ok, I think I get it! You used to do that before since you were a kid for some money. So it was an idea of the Paineiras to insert tourism in Coras e Guararapes?

Interviewee: No, no! They didn't have the idea, they just wanted to help. Well, not even help because it's their obligation since they are acting inside of the Forest and they need to watch their impact in the local community on the surroundings. They should promote a project that comes from inside of the favela. The idea is actually a social movement from myself. And this project of mine I won, but they also had other projects that were approved.

Interviewer: Ok, yeah, and do you have an idea of what exactly you are going to show to the tourists? What is the focus of the tour inside of the favela?

Interviewee: Yes, so... when I used to do it, I usually do it via the streets. And then I stop in some points with a view to take pictures. So then, they hired Janderson and the other girl that are responsible to map some possible spots. And these 2 swimming pools with the waterfall I told you about are in the plan. There is also a curious story. These pools are a common leisure space right? And to have access you need to pass inside of the favela, even though it is close to the street. And the government at that time tried to to build some stairs that people could access without coming here. And the drug dealer at that time didn't like the idea and forced them to stop the construction. He said: "This is not for everybody. It belongs to the favela!" But I think the biggest concern is how quick the police would get there. So we will also tell this story to the tourists, Then we show them a football area.

Interviewer: Oh that's nice!

Interviewee: Yeah, and then we have the Locals Association where we also show them. Just so you know, our favela is one of the few that the land belongs to us. The locals organized themselves to do it.

Interviewer: I think I read something about that. The locals now have the right of the land, correct?

Interviewee: Exactly, the possession of the land. Therefore, the first local's association of Rio de Janeiro. So we as a community bought it. Well, I don't like community that much. I prefer to say favela!

Interviewer: Instead of community?

Interviewee: Yeah, I prefer favela. Some people say community but I don't like it. I feel like it loses the touch a little bit.

Interviewer: You mean the authenticity? This was something I wanted to ask you about. Because some people mention it as slum tourism (turismo de favela)... Oh sorry, just a minute, my mom is calling me! Ok, so, you believe that using favela tourism calls more attention than community-based tourism? Because some people take it as different things since some poor neighborhoods don't consider themselves favelas. But overall, as I understood, the significant difference between Cerro Cora e Guararapes and other favelas is the privileged location, right? So tourists are already there because of the Christ. So in the end you are not really selling the favela itself?

Interviewee: Yeah, well the favela itself sells (the term favela)! For example, we wanted to use tourism only because it is a way of making money. The reality is that some people are lost. And other people, I think 40% of the locals here, work with tourism.

Interviewer: Yeah, that's quite a lot!

Interviewee: Right? 40% work with tourism but I do believe, that the drug traffic here is not so strong because of tourism. There is not much workforce for the traffic. Different than other favelas, most of their locals work with drug traffic.

Interviewer: Yeah, the traffic is their employment somehow. So you believe that tourism benefits your favela because people have other opportunities to work?

Interviewee: No doubt! It benefits a lot! For example, some people here they started being thugs because of lack of opportunity! And then, this ends up being the easy way! People don't have money, look at one side, look at the other and yea, they choose this way. Like, here, I understand that the ones that joined the crime is because they had a very difficult childhood, some because they didn't have much knowledge of the world. Because no one is crazy right? No ones wants to be there in danger!

Interviewer: Yes, sometimes people do not really have a choice. But you all, with this project, you do not want to attract new tourists, right? Because you already have the tourists close by. I believe most of them are Brazilians or you also have foreigners?

Interviewee: Yeah, there are some, but most of them are Brazilians. I think tourism overall in Rio 80% are Brazilians. Rio is the face of Brazil. Brazilians are delighted by Rio de Janeiro. And I had this knowledge because of movies, soap novels, etc. And us “cariocas” (people from Rio), we are different so they value us a lot. So most of the tourists I bring to favelas are Brazilians but there are also some gringos.

Interviewer: Yeah, something else I wanted to ask you. Some tourists are curious about favelas because they want to see something different, another reality. And a lot of like, foreigners usually go to see poverty, right? But as per what you’re telling me, your favela, even though it has drug traffic, it is not that big right? If you compare to Rocinha and Vidigal. And usually tourists go to these favelas just because of that. Do you believe that, when you start the tours and if it goes well, do you think people will end up being more interested in seeing this part? The poorest side, the daily life? Or you think it will keep with the touristic spots previously mapped? Because in your case, people will go to Cora e Guararapes because they were close, they were at the Christ and it is nearby. And people usually go to Rocinha and Vidigal because of the favelas themselves, right?

Interviewee: Yes, but the thing is that here, we don’t have this demand of “I wanna go to Cora and Guararapes”. They go because they know someone that tells them to pass through the favela to have a look. And I think this happens because we don’t have an attraction that calls attention on the internet. Rocinha and Vidigal had a lot of visibility in the previous years. Here we don’t have an instagrammable spot. Because in the end, people that go to Rocinha, I believe 80% don’t pass through the favela. They just wanna go to one spot for the picture. I also have a package that I bring them around Rocinha and just a few people want to do that.

Interviewer: Really? Why? Because they are scared?

Interviewee: No, not really scared. But instagram right? Now for exemple, in Vidigal, no one goes to see the favela. They go to Bar da Laje (a famous bar) by mototaxi and go straight to the bar.

Interviewer: Yeah, I know this one! I’ve been there too!

Interviewee: Or to Mirante do Arvrão in Vidigal. So they get there, take the mototaxi and straight to the bar. They don’t walk in the favela, They already have a place to go and return. Just a few go inside.

Interviewer: Yeah, they don’t really go inside anymore!

Interviewee: Yeah, a lot of people do that these days. Because they are only used to see thugs there and Bar da Laje is the only place where they have security!

Interviewer: That's crazy!

Interviewee: Yeah, and the tourists go with this mindset: go straight to that place, but don't see anything else, even though some are curious. So in Rocinha and in Vidigal most of the clients are like that, they don't have this direct contact with the favela. Here it's different because the locals didn't really understand that this is a touristic place so everything is fine. Here they see the whole, they will see how it actually is. Someone smoking weed, they will see the sewage on the streets... They will see the reality!

Interviewer: So you think that in Rocinha and Vidigal is more superficial? That people now actually go for pictures?

Interviewee: Yeah, it ended up being like that now. I think from 5 years already there is no police activity and this makes a whole difference. If there is no police activity, the locals are free to invest. And people try to remove the authenticity of the favela. Wanting it or not, a lot of people do that. This thing of the real favela (favela raiz – from its origins) is being changed. In Rocinha right now you easily see police walking in peace in the main streets where there is tourism.

Interviewer: Yeah, you see that this changed a lot already since we were kids!

Interviewee: Really a lot! In Rocinha, there is now a viewpoint, Mirante Rocinha. People go there a lot and now there is a new restaurant there and you don't need to pass through the favela, you can go through Gávea (another wealthy neighbourhood). You do just in the beginning of the Rocinha and you don't see anything like before anymore. There is not a normal street!

Interviewer: That's crazy, yeah! But then, tell me your opinion. Do you think that tourism, overall, it always has a good and a bad side, right? For example, you mentioned that tourism in your favela is positive because people have more opportunities to work than drug traffic. But like, there is also this side now you mentioned, that tourism is taking out the authenticity of the favela? Because people are using to renovate the infrastructures to sell it to the tourists. What do you think about that? Since you are both a local and someone that works in tourism?

Interviewee: Looking from a superficial point of view, it is not that good to lose the essence of the favela to please tourists. But obviously it is good because it brings money. If we need to make up the favelas then, we do it. Because the most important thing is that people are not joining drug traffic! But yes of course, wanting it or not, it is a way to make up the favela. It changes, it does change yeah but I do believe that, if it goes well in Rio and in other favelas, this is the consequence: change, and grow.

Interviewer: So in the end you believe that this “make up” is positive?

Interviewee: Yes, wanting it or not right? **If this is the spectacle that they want**, we give it to them!

Interviewer: If it is a paid spectacle?

Interviewee: Yes, **paid**, yes! But our tour we did like this... It has a difference because **we focused much more on the real things that happen in the favela**. One of the places we included in a umbanda center (space for african religion practices). This center is in front of a catholic church, like door to door. So **it shows the diversity of culture, of religion. I believe that this should be what calls attention**, I mean... When I am with tourists, I speak a lot of **dialect from Rio** so they see that I am from here. And I think **the smartest way of doing tourism is being real. I think this makes a difference.**

Interviewer: Yeah, I agree 100% with you. Janderson also told me like this story too, and that his was also like you regarding seeing lost tourists in your favela. He said by that time he understood it could be something to bring income to the locals. But now I will ask you a question, another one right?

Interviewee: Right!

Interviewer: There are some of these companies that bring tourists in big cars, in jeeps and show them the favela in those jeeps. I think this attracts more international tourists though because they don't really know where it is, or don't speak the language. So, so you believe, if this project, goes well, don't you think that this type of person will appear in your favela? I mean people from outside of the community? Because right now all of you are basically locals right? So the movement is more from inside to outsider! Do you think this can open some doors for these types of people, this type of jeep tour with a completely different approach? Or do you think the locals wouldn't allow that? Do you have any type of regulation?

Interviewee: So I believe that if this grows, possibly, **some business owners, most of them never really went to a favela, you understand?** But they most probably will see that **to make money**. But like, this is an **initiative from the locals, we are in front**. But **I don't see this as a problem if they want to bring tourists**. The problem **is like what they do in Rocinha: just passing by**. He needs to **learn the arts from someone, the snack bar, the souvenirs**. Like this, it will be very welcome. But just passing by no. I talked about this with the professor. What's his name again?

Interviewer: Thiago!

Interviewee: Yes, I always forget. We talked about that, we were questioning it. **The favela gaining visibility, there is no problem for me that other guides will come here with tourists.**

Because I see this as growth for the favela, right? But it needs to be done properly. It is not like: “Look, this is the house of some poor people” or “Oh, look at that kid”. The person needs to walk and consume in the places. Consuming and walking is fine.

Interviewer: Then it’s fine, right?

Interviewee: Yeah, I believe so. But I find it horrible this type of tourist that people just pass and look!

Interviewer: You mentioned something before about if it’s needed to “make up” the favela, that is fine. I have just one more question about that. You as a local, would you like to change something in the favela? I mean, something that you would like to be different.

Interviewee: Change in what sense?

Interviewer: You mentioned make up the favela, and like that, if people can make some money to not go to drug trafficking is fine. So you mention this make up as a change in the authenticity. What do you mean with this change then? More in an opportunity way for people?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean. If it brings money, it’s fine. “Higher income is synonymous with access” Access to culture, to trips, to improve the life of a “favelado” (someone who lives in the favela). Because in the end, we have a very closed minded here. We basically just see the drug traffic as a possible source of income. So if you have a better condition, making some more money and you are able to invest in your education, I think it’s already good.

Interviewer: Yeah, of course

Interviewee: Because for example, when the tourist enters the favela, he is having some knowledge about it. I agree with the contact with the tourist. Since you are here, there is also an exchange that is not only about the money. You exchange knowledge about life and so on. And what we are doing here is also an exchange. Through you, I can also see that the world is bigger than that. You are from São Gonçalo and you had the opportunity to study in Portugal and the Netherlands. So to me, that is impressive. Maybe this is something I cannot do, but for my son it will be possible. Do you understand me? So it is an exchange. What really opened my mind about the world was the tourists. And the guy, maybe like me, come here by car, by bus, an old car and is here doing some tourism. Like the first time I could travel by plane I was 26, but my kid already was 5.

Interviewer: That’s nice to hear! I understand exactly what you are saying about having opportunities for your son that you didn’t have. That’s what my mom always said to me.

Interviewee: And do you think what is even more crazy? This type of job when I was young was really seen as a negative thing. It was synonymous with a lazy person.

Interviewer: Oh really? Why? Because they don’t see it as work?

Interviewee: It's like if you don't have a contract, it's not a job. But I could understand afterwards. We were young, making some money without even having maturity for that. And then a lot went to drug trafficking. Some were like by moto and then people see it very negative. Now it is different though. **With instagam and so on, people find it cool!**

Interviewer: Yeah, then you see how the perspectives change about a lot of things! Now I just wanted to say thank you very much for participating and everything. It was helpful! And just so you know I need to record this ok? For transcriptions to analyse the data and so on.

Interviewee: No worries, thank you too! We keep in touch!

Interview – R5-P

Interviewer: So, Camila, to start like this, just to see how is your, your version, right? Because I asked Raul too, if you can explain to me how this story of the resistance of the Quilombaue began! That just how did this movement begin? Because what was it? Do you know your participation? Because, from what Raul told me, he came in later. So he explained it to me more or less that he's got into the movement, then when he came back from Ireland and everything. I don't know how it went, I wanted to hear from you, how, how did you witness it, experience it.

Interviewee: It's okay, Quilombaue, who is 18 years old, right? The same Quilombaue is 18 years old, **I'm in Quilombaue which is like this for 5 years.** I've been coming to this whole story for 5 years. **When the agency was founded.** So the Quilombaue that is this organization, right? We often say that the Quilombaue, **is a great umbrella and an especially important cultural pole here within our territory, but about Quilombaue,** that there you will talk to the Fofão, right?

Interviewer: Yes, he doesn't answer me, right? So I guess I don't know.

Interviewee: Oh he's terrible about it, I'll give him a save.

Interviewer: Okay, thank you!

Interviewee: Yes, but he's one of the founders, right? So, specifically, from Quilombaue, I think it's cooler for you to talk to him. But the Quillombaue she appears here in the territory and then I usually say that here Lombard that she already **discussed cultural politics and territoriality before understanding what it was,** it is not because everyone was young. I think Fofão must now be 37 years old, so the guys aren't even 40 yet, right? So, 18 years ago, I was a noticeably young kid. But that already discussed **this issue of, not having cultural equipment, right?** We're talking **about a territory that has a library to serve 3 neighborhoods,** right? Peru,

Anhanguera, Jaraguá. So the Quilombaque that it comes first, with a cultural movement and extremely focused on drumming. It's not so much that Quilombo, a thud of beat, are carrying this ancestry because the gang left here from Perus and went to Ibirapuera Park. This is a journey that should take around 1 hour and a half, almost 2 Sunday, about 2 hours, to learn to play at the time that was maracatu, right? And it was a city hall project. But this project is over and here comes everyone here for the territory. Then join the guys who play percussion with the circus crowd, the theater crowd and create a cultural movement, right? That after the name that is given this is Quilombaque cultural community. But the Quilombaque when it appeared, right? The first house here Quilombaque that was in the backyard of the house of the fluffy, DD and Clebinho, right? Which are 3 brothers. yes, and then this movement was growing and the class was getting bigger, bigger, right? And then today, it's there, it went to the place that we are today and such that we've been in this space for 15 years. Wow, so it was a walk like that, right? Until one day today.

Interviewer: Yes, I get it, it's, and you then, and how did this Quixadas agency come about? So, in the middle of this story, what was the bigger goal so, at the time, you decided, let's create a travel agency, you know, support, for Quilombaque. That I believe the trips came later, right?

Interviewee: That. So what? 2018, we unite the agency, founded it with the structure it has today when we went and received the World Leisure Congress, right? yes, and then the field school, you know, World Leisure was going to happen here in our territory and then the people who are founds the agency along these lines, right? Because in fact, before the agency we already worked on museology and before working on the museology of our territory, we are, we developed an urban plan, right? Which is the TICP, is the territory of interest of culture and landscape. It's just that it's one, it's an urban plan that it's difficult. It's for, for people to understand, right? It was approved in the master plan. He will talk about biodiversity, the remnants of native vegetation that we have here in our territory. Here we are surrounded by 3 parks, right? That is the Serra da Cantareira, the park of Jaraguá and the park Anhanguera and then the TICP he will talk about this preservation of this territory and list the spaces of memory, affection, cultural spaces. It is material memory, immaterial, in short. But these are all very technical things, right? And then, thinking of a city like São Paulo, which has a lot of museums and none in the peripheral region, no museum of the favelas that is in the center of the city is, we founded the territorial museum, there very much based on the theoretical line of Mário Chagas, who is a guy from Rio de Janeiro. In fact, he's an amazing teacher. So you're going to talk about social museology. So, and part of this principle of us showing the viability of TICP,

founding a museum in our territory and then, to organize these visits in our museum, we have 7. It's our collection, right? Museological are 7 spaces that are especially important for our territory and such. Then we found a tourism agency and then I usually say that here we work in a hacking process, right? A social hack, like this, so we first hack architecture, urbanism. Thinking about this model of territorial development, we will hack the, the museology after and we hack there the tourism thinking about this tourism that we called this in 2018, called resistance tourism, because here our collection talks about struggles and movements of diverse. It's periods, right, of? Brazil's name is passing, right? Period of colonization there with the indigenous people here in Jaraguás, the GuaraniBia, going through the period of the industrial revolution, going through the dictatorship, occupation movements, right to agrarian reform in the MST, right? So all of this is our museum and agency does this role of looking at this territory as a powerhouse! People who wait there, let me close this here that these children so that so!

Interviewer: I'm not listening to anything by chance.

Interviewee: I'm standing by the window, then I hear them screaming.

Interviewer: Here on my side, you'll hear frogs, but they happen to be quiet.

Interviewee: Well, and then there it is. I was talking about the agency, so it gives that organicity to that territory and has a vital role in looking at that. And to talk like that, look how we talk about these stories that the story chose to tell, right? Talk about a story, a strike that lasted 7 years in a region, right? In a peripheral neighborhood of the city, the largest city that is known as being a city with the highest GDP (Gross Domestic Product), then we talk, gee, everyone is capitalist, right? For the capitalist world that we talk about, look, is there a possibility of a workers' organization that this does not pass through the workers? And that's why we go is in. It's just going through the workers, right? In fact, it is and then we understand these historical processes that happen, you know, that happened in our territory. And that will lead to several things of people is there with the PL of the Temporal Framework, right? 490. And the indigenous people here in our territory closed the Bandeirantes highway last week. It's now too, right? On Sunday, he held a march. Anyway, this is all that involves our territory. And then the resistance tourism comes to do this preservation as well. Along with these museological issues and also with these issues of us understanding that the management model that has within the city of São Paulo, it is a model that no longer gives, there are a lot of people in the city, a lot of people on the street, a lot of abandoned house, a lot of hungry people, in short, all it involves is living in a metropolis. This is a peripheral subject within this metropolis, being a black person within this metropolis, right? So we think, it is in this tourism that it will be the b side of the b side of the city of São Paulo, right that when you give a Google: places

to visit in São Paulo, will be Paulista, will be Vila Mariana will be downtown. Anyway, important places also for the city, but that does not portray the totality of the city, right? That unlike Rio de Janeiro, the periphery is in our face, you are seeing Christ the Redeemer, you are seeing the periphery, right? Not here.

Interviewer: Sure, sure, but that's now, right, Camila? But also like this, when we talk about the periphery, in Rio de Janeiro, we also only see the one in the south zone, because by.

Interviewee: Whoa!

Interviewer: For example, I grew up in a suburb. And no one visits! I grew up in São Gonçalo and then I said, uh, why were they visiting there and here they are visiting? So they're not visiting because the periphery they're visiting, because it's in the south zone and it's different from what they're used to. See, got it? I think the difference between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, he can make up, you know? The favela, which is close to the south zone for being in a privileged location because.

Interviewee: Because you see right, it's not an option.

Interviewer: No, it is, unfortunately!

Interviewee: Here, here you don't have the peripheries, even central ones, they are very hidden. And here the city geographically has another configuration, right? Which is, it's quite different. So we stay, Perus, for example, is a neighborhood that it is on the border, it is the last neighborhood of the north zone of the city of São Paulo, so pass here the next train station, you are already in another municipality. Right? So, we talk about resistance tourism. Precisely for several reasons, it is not to put these stories within the map of the city to city, to understand that in the periphery the tourist possibility, for people to know what these stories are that we tell who these people are. Tony was a guy who discovered a mass grave. 1059 people were buried in the same grave at the time of the dictatorship, right? How come no one knows who this guy is? How is this guy not in the textbook for everyone to know who he is, to know who his face is, right? So we work with this type of tourism, which will talk about this affective, territorial belonging, will talk about the people who are the as, the oldest, who live with us, right? People who held a strike for 7 years, people who directly confront agrarian reform, right? yes, so it's these people and these agents, and then it's very much in line, right? What Tiaraju talks about in his thesis of recognition, empowerment of peripheral subjects. Living in a periphery quite different from you having dimension of what it is to be a peripheral subject, to be proud of living in a peripheral territory, to understand that you have power in your territory, right? Understand that there is a lot of bad too, but then the sensationalist newspapers already talk, right? Here we talk, yes, we're going to talk about the potentialities. Like it's time you live

with a girl, occupy a public space, make the hip hop house enter a girl there who was a child and is now in the first break selection like this.

Interviewer: Raul spoke!

Interviewee: That goes to the Olympics, right!

Interviewer: Awesome stuff, right? Heck, it's impressive.

Interviewee: Man, it's then, it's. This is important first because tourism is a useful tool. I had a sense of it, studying it anyway. Although it is a great tourist. But working with tourism right?

Interviewer: Who doesn't like it?

Interviewee: Working with tourism is another stop like that, right? And then, you understand that it can take you to many places, diverse ways of thinking about how to transit, right? While and then it changes life, even. Right? I'm going to Rio on the holiday, and then my friend sent me, like a mega script, I've been a few times, but I don't tourism so mega side A of Rio, you know? Then I said, oh friend, there will be several things that we will not do alone, because I love it all, but I can no longer ta in another place and such, and does not see tourism in a way that humanizes people more. It is and I think it is pre beyond that of that of the reality of the people, but of humanizing the people who live in this place.

Interviewer: No, absolutely.

Interviewee: It's great to be a tourist. Tourist will see beautiful thing, eat in a place, cool, kiss on the mouth, do everything, everything tourist does is not because the guys know that you will leave tomorrow, do not have, will not leave you any headache. You're going to do what you must do, you go away, you know, and you're going to come back who knows how long after.

Interviewee: But the people who live there is another stop, right?

Interviewer: Not exactly, that's what you said. I found interesting the term you used to humanize, right? Because sometimes tourism is the only tool people must exist, right? To show themselves like that. They live in a large government neglect structure, that if you do not show yourself to another for tourism, you do not feel that you do not exist, right? But let me just see if I understood, Camila so it's you said that started with museology, right? Did you already have a museum before you understood tourism and tourism? He stayed to explain these stories, right? That's it. This background that you have of social struggles and the strike that was happening and everything else. The question of occupation, then, is more of a tourism, isn't it cultural? So, more explanatory, right than what you went through, correct?

Interviewee: Aham, it is. It's along those lines, right? As if, he thinks of the structure of a museum that has a collection. And then in a museum, you go in, there will be the educational staff. We thought that, but in a way that this educational is more is in this niche of tourism,

right? We think about this in educational trails, because here we tell stories of Brazil. So, from the period of colonization until now, yes, more recent things, like occupations of public spaces. So, there are many things that have here in our territory, and tourism comes to boost this whole stop like this.

Interviewer: Got it, and you have a lot of visitation, Camila. That's how it is in terms, right? Monetary, because it ends up being important too, right? To generate, it's the local economy, income for economy. You see a difference, for example, since you started, right? In 2018, so more structured for now, do you see that there was a big growth of tourists and that, like, generated a lot of income? Or how is it, what kind of thing is going on? Since then, since its inception?

Interviewee: Aham. So we, even when the pandemic started, we already had an agenda like this, crowded, crowded. Nothing. And then it was a sad grindstone, wasn't it? Anyway, cancel, anyway. yes, and then now we're going back to this place like this a lot, because we do this tourist part, right? Like, I don't, I have an agenda now from mid-July to August, so I don't have an agenda anymore. Every weekend there will be activity, some in the week as well. So a lot is going on. It's been cool. So we have worked a lot with SESC, a lot with school. We charge, obviously, right? Of these organizations, but we do many too, many trails and many free activities for schools and people of social movements here, in our territory or not too, right? yes, so we do a lot. But we also have this part of training. As we are talking about tourism, while the right to the city as well. This gets another proportion, so we are very invited to give a lecture. Anyway, Fofão was last week at the architecture biennial. I was invited, now I'm going to Brasilia, there in the federal aa of Brasilia, in tourism. So we have, we have a large niche of training. In information and territoriality, such, and tourism was this niche that we understood is to boost even this. Museology too, right? Because as this part of Quilombaque, obviously, wants to have some connection with the culture, right? There's no way like that, right?

Interviewer: Sure, there's no way. But so, you think Camila that tourism he ended like this, dynamizing the territorial space of you, right? And like, if I had to ask a question, what was the biggest benefit? Like that? The 3 biggest, 2 biggest benefits that you feel that tourism has brought, for example, to the community of Perus, to yours, to your reality, to reality, to your family. That was it, OPA, dynamization of the territory, right? It was the question of now the territory existing and, in addition to existing, receiving people, right? And like, do you have the right to voice or do you have some other factor so that I'm that I'm forgetting? In relation to tourism and how has tourism brought such structural changes to the community?

Interviewee: I think that's for sure, like, right? To put Peru in this place, which is a particularly major place. It's to think of another management model, right? That the people of the neighborhood are really listened to, anyway, city management I say, so that was important. The issue of education and research we receive a lot of researchers here. This is also a very massive thing, because obviously, you must do this, your study such, but for us it is also important. It's having an article in another country that talks about our work here. Right? So I think that this dimension of education, than education in general like this is a positive gain, which came with the agency, right? yes, what's up? Changes that were significant in the lives of the people here, right? We receive, for example, we are in the neighborhood that has a lot of Indian immigrants and a lot of African immigrants. And then when we receive people from other countries, we can discuss with our territory that these people who also live here are also tourists. They are also gringos. They are migrants.

Interviewer: yes, um!

Interviewee: And they don't and they, you know, the people. Brazil, in general, sees as gringo the person who comes from Europe, usually blonde, usually white, and we live surrounded by gringo.

Interviewer: Exactly, it is!

Interviewee: So we were able to have this discussion. You're going to talk then, but it's that you're a neighbor of a Gringo person, then you don't recognize that person because they're black people, because they came, or from Haiti, or they came from Africa, so that's a gain in debate, right? Of territoriality as well. And this question of ah, of more physics like that, right? So, there were people who made an extra room at home to receive people from outside. A demand that also came from the territory was the English course. We did. Raul and Ju that his sister, including them, had a class, I think more than 1 year of the English course, is a headquarters, right? From the agency, which is in the Recanto dos Humildes, which is an occupation movement, so the physical things that we are also building, which are important, right? This is from being able to make a raffle and buy a stove there, for MST ladies. And you know, then. So these physical things are also important. We received a staff that was namastê, inclusive, and then I said, oh, Silvana will receive us, she is pregnant and was a SESC class. No one knew her, right? yes, and we were seeing each other for the first time and the guys got organized. So we got there, they were in diapers, with baby clothes, so there's a lot of stuff like that, which is super important for the territory. yes, and the money, right? Circulate here the money, in this money that we receive from these places, there is Everything here to buy from

the I know there of lettuce, which will sell **here in our territory**, the need for sheet when people come from outside, you know? So I think so too.

Interviewer: But that's cool. It's good because it was cool that you said the guys who built an extra room in the house to receive tourists. This is one-by-one, an important thing, like the person, building another room in her house, because she knows what people will come. Like, it really shows how kind of thing the tourism industry is taking a big space, right? In the community, ahem, you mentioned Recanto dos Humildes and I wanted to ask you why before I talk to you people, everything else? Obviously I played on YouTube, right Perus to see video. Because you like it, when Google isn't the same thing and I've never been, right? And as you said, I went to São Paulo, I did all that tourist clowning, but I didn't go to Perus, nor did I know it existed. I found out that it existed because of my teacher from Celiane who told me and everything. And then I saw that there was one, there's some videos, right? And there was a video that spoke like this, speaks favela, corner of the humble. The Recanto dos Humildes then is a favela because I asked Raul, he said that it is not considered a favela, but I was very confused by the video. I, then I can even send you here, it looks like it was a resident who did. Then I said, people, but is there a favela? So why was I a little confused by the Geography of space?

Interviewee: So if you do, **it depends on what favela is. Here's what we call quebrada, right? In Rio, a favela for me, it's all the same.**

Interviewer: Um, that's why I was confused!

Interviewee: **At the end of the day, all Perus is.** What happens is that in Perus, here is a valley, right? So there are several. When you come here, you will understand. **The region has a lot of greenery, so it has a lot of mountains.** And then within the neighborhood, which is a **neighborhood of the periphery,** right? A favela, a broken one, a ghetto, in short, a name for it, yes. **There are several hills within the same neighborhood.** And then there is Vila malvina, Vila hungareza, Vila caiuba, Russian and the corner of the humble is one of them.

Interviewer: I got it inside turkeys, didn't I?

Interviewee: It's inside Perus, but that's it, the guys talk, this lives where I live, in the nook, I live in the Falklands. Everyone lives in Perus, but it's an internal division. So inside the neighborhood you know?

Interviewer: Got it! Where I live is like that too. For example, I live, right? In São Gonçalo, which is very far from Rio de Janeiro, after Niterói, in this thing, a bridge of almost 2 hours of traffic and, for example, I live in Trindade, right, which is a neighborhood that they consider not a favela, but, for example, my best friend, she lives on a hill that is already considered a

favela, Did you understand?? So it's very much how the person himself is, I don't know, right? No, because it doesn't yet have a formal definition, let's say, what is it? But then I was very confused, like, if it was you, it wasn't having Perus anymore, it's a neighborhood, right? That's what. Me, I think I get better because. It's a neighborhood of the city of Caieiras, right? But it looks too big.

Interviewee: It's huge. We have a neighborhood, right? From 200000 inhabitants. It's one. I was born in a city with 200,000 inhabitants, it's a medium-sized city like that, right? **It's big like that the neighborhood and there's a lot.** I remember that when I moved here, I changed and already started working at Quilombaque. And I was like, people, here's everything. The only thing you won't think is Santander. I just remember that I knew about it because I had an account at Santander that I don't have today anymore, because the rest, my, have everything here like this, like.

Interviewer: It's too big.

Interviewee: Huge!

Interviewer: But then, Camila, these questions more in relation to the agency of peccaries, were the ones I had to ask, right? Because mine, my thesis, it also talks a lot about this issue, about the dynamization of spaces, you know? Urban areas are public spaces. And how do we? It can turn it into a social space, right? Of type of interaction between people. So it kind of was answered, thank you, but I have one last final question for you, because I had one thing on my mind when we talked about the other time, if you said it, we don't call it favela tourism here. Then, like this, he introduced me to the term resistance tourism and all that. Why do you then say that you say that you do not consider yourself, it is not a tourism of favelas, what do you understand so? So, like favela tourism, for you to say no, that's not what we do, you know? Like, why can't you say what tourism you do? In your community, in your broken, right? What we also call in Rio de Janeiro, isn't it favela tourism?

Interviewee: Okay because here's what we have, right? **What we know of examples of favela tourism, which is this derogatory tourism of what a community is. Right? What are poor people, what are black people, to have that, favelas tour there in Rio de Janeiro, what is the safari? Right? In Brooklyn, also in the United States, there are people who do this. It is, and here we do not work to show the misery and do not work to say poor peripheral people, poor black people, who are there suffering where they live. Here we work with potentiality.** So, a person who comes here, any group, any group that comes like this, **we will talk about our territorial development plan before we start doing tourism.** So, people already go, right? **Pro for the spaces, already go with us to walk through our territory. They have already understood that we**

will not be talking about the polluted river that passes here. Although we have the know-how for this, right? That in TIPC we studied all this, right? So, it is the Rio Beirão, Perus, which rises in the Na... We know how to talk about it, but we won't keep talking about it. We will talk about these potentialities that exist in our territory and not about this is a cat of light, you know? That is, we won't. Won't say that because these things you can see, I don't need to keep talking, right?

Interviewer: Sure, it's a light cat was great.

Interviewee: It's because mine is very stupid, doing this to people, you destroy people's dignity, it's terrible like that. And that's why we don't call ourselves favela tourism.

Interviewer: Ok, that's very clear! I think all my questions were covered! Thank you so much for your time! It was very nice conversation, thank you very much! And just so you know I need to record this ok? For transcriptions to analyse the data and so on.

Interviewee: Oh, good. Imagine, I hope we can contribute there with you, with everyone.

D. Code books for thematic analysis

The code book used for thematic analysis is divided into five sections, corresponding to the five themes of this study. Theme 1 has already been presented in the methodology. Each section of the code book includes the theme, the categories that together formed the theme, main codes that are further merged into categories, and an example of code extracts. In this thematic analysis, no specific colors were used to distinguish each theme. Instead, all the highlights in the document are marked in yellow. However, some highlights are in red, indicating their increased relevance to certain topics that received further attention.

Codebook 2

Theme 2	Categories	Codes	Extracts
Poverty and placemaking challenges	Government neglect	income	“The income generation that will lead to possibilities”
		financial resources	“that would bring financial resources and benefits for the communities nearby”
		support	“assistance took too long to arrive from them, and locals needed to fix by themselves”
		Government	“You can definitely tell that it's not cared for by the government, you know at all”
		political power	“He used from someone’s space from the community, from the local power to be able to establish himself!”
		resources	“It could improve the quality of life of an indigenous person if the government would provide more resources”
	Structural Inequities	violence	“there was a tourist that had a gunshot in Rocinha while doing a tour”
		drugtraffic	“this matter of drug traffic so far it is ok”
		exclusion	“the own neighborhood excludes the favelas”
		misery/poverty	“He will see, of course, poverty, poverty is part of that product”
		preconception	“It is a type of tourism that is fighting alone against preconceptions”
		marginalized	“I consider as favela first because of the infrastructure”

		masonry/cobwall	“we passed through a lot of masonry houses”
		knowledge	“You exchange knowledges about life”
	Urban Infrastructure Challenges	infraestructure	“they are used to a different urban infraestructure than the Brazilian one”
		garbage	“it was definitely poor and like definitely like a lot of garbage”
		sewage	“people need to come here and see the reality, of the traffic, of the sewage”
		water/ electricity issues	“there were only electricity in Mirante do Arvrão”
		accessibility	“And I think this matter of the access of the rest of the population to the city!”
		smell	“It had a very uncomfrotable smell”
		land slides	“A land slide that killed 3 people in the community”
	Cultural reclamations	culture	“We are the ones who bring culture here”
		traditions	“we want to keep our tradictions”
		history	“So yo will learn about the history thw way it is”
		stories	“We think about this in educational trails, because here we tell stories of Brazil.”
		maracactu	“aprender a tocar maracatu”
		hip hop/graffiti	“It was to see the community, the graffiti, hiphop house”
memories		“bring these memories from the past!”	
empowerment	“of recognition, empowerment of peripheral subjects.”		

Table 3 - Codebook 2 for Data Analysis

Codebook 3

Theme 3	Categories	Codes	Extracts
Slum tourism realities	Tourism Contrasted Realities	favela	“favelas, they are made to generate this type of violence”
		curiosity	“They had this good experience because they had first of all curiosity about it and could see from their eyes”
		slum tourism	“for slum tourism we receive more foreigners”
		expectations	“it met my expectations as like far as how like underdeveloped, I kind of expected it to be”
		differences	“It has a difference because we focused much more on the real things that happen in the favela”
		realities	“It is and I think it is pre beyond that of that of the reality of the people, but of humanizing the people who live in this place”
		safari	“it was not that type of safari tourism”
	Visual Promotion	photos + views	“And then I stop in some points with a view to make the pictures”
		promotion	“they make banners, promotional videos, all of that”
		marketing	“for the promotion of the product we are also thinking about a sales platform”
		instagram	“instagram does not represent all that we are”
		instagrammable	“Here we don’t have an instgramable spot”
		media	“Understand that there is a lot of bad too, but then the sensationalist newspapers already talk, right” “unfortunately ebcause of tv and propaganda, we have this more negative view of favelas”

Table 4 - Codebook 3 for Data Analysis

Theme 4	Categories	Codes	Extracts
Tourism uses and placemaking	Community space-led transformation	Initiatives (use of space)	“a soccer space made by the own community”
		benefits	“that would bring financial resources and benefits for the communities nearby”
		opportunities	“and then they started to realize some potential that they didn’t even identify themselves inside of the community”
		change/transformation	“Changes that were significant in the lives of the people here, right?”
		associativism	“and they created three associations, but one does not exist anymore”
		community involvement	“So we called that as participative diagnosis”
		training	“So, we have, we have a very large niche of training”
	People-centered tourism	humans	“kind of brings that, like, human peace to the slums”
		respectful	“It felt very respectful. It didn't feel like it was being intrusive from like an outsider's point of view.”
		community based tourism	“they stayed here two weeks and it was definitely this type of community based tourism”
		Visibility	“Rocinha and Vidigal had a lot of visibility in the previous years.”
		Ethic	“any type of ethical questions, so this is even a debate inside the community too of course as people want to do different things”
		Locals	“The locals organized themselves to do it”
		Quality of life	“Access to culture, to trips, to improve the life of a “favelado”
	Collaboration	link	“I am a good person to be this link between them”
		debate	“we need, in fact, create a debate about what tourism can bring as structural changes within the community”
		partnerships	“ “but more things were happening, we started having partnerships with universities and so on”
		communication/ approach	“the dialogue between wider society and favelas” “But I think they did a good job with how they approached it.”

Tourism industry aspects	tour guides	“Eu sou formado em guias de turismo”
	activities duration	“it lasted more or less the whole day”
	hospitality	“the guides were also very welcoming”
	gringo	“we receive gringos from all over the world”
	graffiti	“I speak a lot about graffiti and soo n”
	type of tourists	“it will dpend a lot on the person you are taking there”
touristic products /resources	“the Christ” “pandora theater, hip hop house”	

Table 5 - Codebook 4 for Data Analysis

Codebook 5

Theme 5	Categories	Codes	Extracts
Future expectations	Future expectations	Dreams - Wishes	“he identified a way to making this dream come true” “it is my dream to work with gastronomy tourism in the community” “They wish to grow inside through creative economy”
		Work conditions	“the ones who work with tourism are going to have a way better financial condition” “Guararapes think about generating income and better quality of life”
		Entrepreneurship	“slum tourism, if done with the community, you have the chance to create local entrepreneurs” “Locals need to be entrepreneurs” “with tourism, it can be a way to start being entrepreneurs” “we will be able to have more chances of entrepreneurship with tourism”

Table 6 - Codebook 5 for Data Analysis

E. Coding process link

Below is the link that provide full access to the entire data analysis process. The coding process consisted of three main steps, with three tables containing codes and all the extracts are highlighted only in yellow and red. Please note that the themes are not identified by colors.

https://edubuas-my.sharepoint.com/:w:/g/personal/224099_buas_nl/EfEA2zI7unhOui9YcESnnc4BiApy0oZo_dcsuG0aAZtbYXQ?e=oZHEaf

F. Definitions

Quilombos:

Quilombolas, also known as remnants of quilombos, are the descendants of self-liberated slaves. Brazil is estimated to have around 4.000 quilombo descendant communities in the whole territory (Kenny, 2011). Despite the Brazilian constitution since 1988 to grant titles and lands to quilombolas, certain regions suffered from turbulent conflicts and accusations of racism due to the reclamation of these quilombolas lands (Kenny, 2011).

Candomblé:

Candomblé is the practice of African believes that were brought to Brazil by African slaves. Therefore, candomblé, is not an African religion, but rather Afro-Brazilian. Candomblé is originally from Salvador, the capital of Bahia, but over time it has spread to other cities, like Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, etc. (Segato, 1993). The essence of Candomblé rituals lies in singing and dancing.

G. Social Media Analysis examples

YouTube Links

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rCzke_kPIYo&t=187s&ab_channel=StephanieAlves

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRAnVg5zXKA&ab_channel=DouglasCamilo

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LkcxrKlpV9o&ab_channel=AgenciaQueixadas

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_8EKcoTGHw4&ab_channel=AgenciaQueixadas

Instagram screenshots

