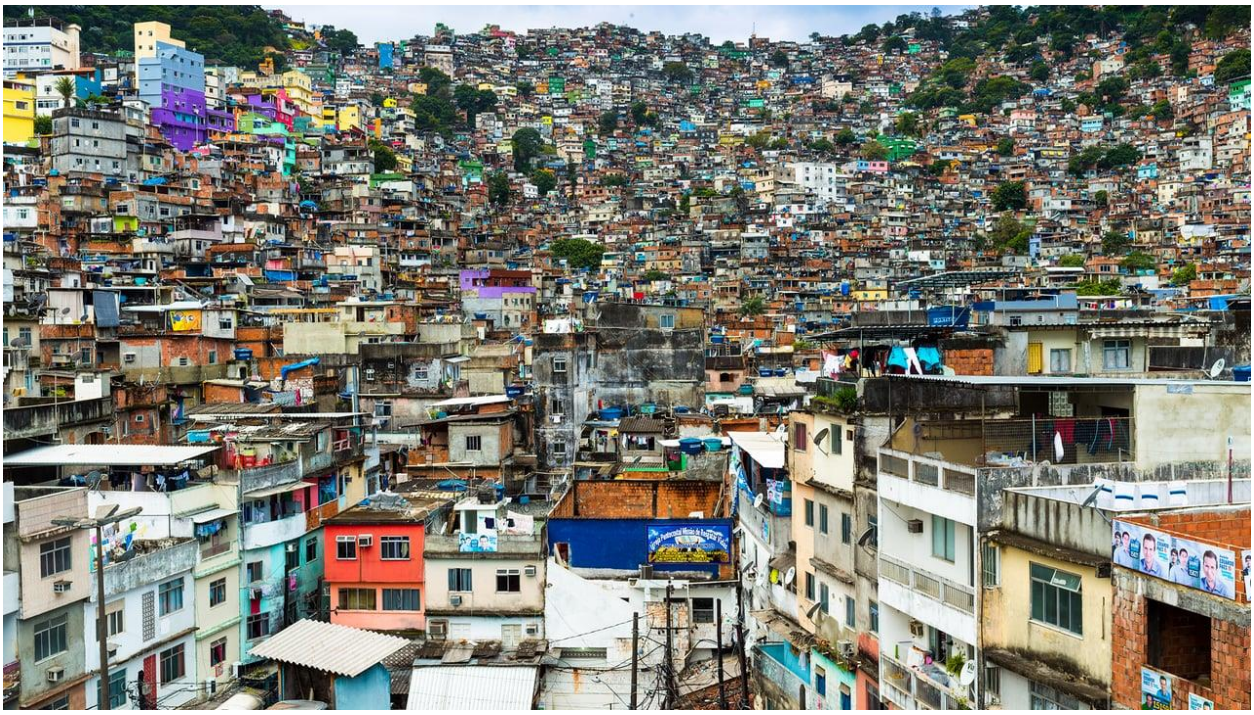


Master's Thesis

Theodoros Panagopoulos

Assessing the sustainability of Slum Tourism

Academic Advisor: Mogens Bjerre

Date of Submission: 01.12. 2016

Keystrokes: 179.679

MSc in Service Management

Department of Social Science

Copenhagen Business School

CBS COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Abstract

Slums have always tempted the imagination, portrayed as adventurous places that display authenticity, culture and diversity. The phenomenon of slum tourism first made its appearance in Victorian London and since then has been the focal center of journalists, academics and social reformers, raising questions about poverty, power and ethics. More recently, slum tourism reappeared in many cities of the Global South drawing the attention of the academia and international media, and while it is criticized for commodifying poverty and promoting voyeurism, its advocates stress the benefits it produces for the poor. The impact slum tourism has on local communities, however, remains relatively undocumented. Driven by the declaration of 2017 as the ''International Year for Sustainable Tourism Development'' by the United Nations, this paper explores the potential of slum tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation, focusing on the cases of Cape Town and Rio de Janeiro. The sustainability of this ''new'' phenomenon is examined in a post-developmental approach, through a lens of ethical controversies, conceptual ambiguities and asymmetrical power relations, in hope that slum tourism is a means to an end, and not an end in itself.

Contents

Introduction

Ever since the colonial times, curiosity about foreign civilizations and indigenous people has driven mankind to the four corners of the earth. In a similar way, tourism expanded beyond continental and national borders and allowed people to experience the most remote landscapes and witness the most exotic cultures. Amidst the endless possibilities tourism has to offer, a new phenomenon was observed: slum tourism, a phenomenon which expanded rapidly throughout the metropolises of the Global South and found its way into heated debates in international media, academic circles and the most updated travel guides. The scope of this paper is to examine and assess the sustainability of slum tourism and explore its role as a tool for poverty alleviation. In order to embark on this endeavor, the first segment of the paper will investigate the expansion of tourism in the Third World in the context of postmodernism and a globalized capitalist system.

Ensuing, the origins of slum tourism and its many stages will be explored in a historical context and the location of its reappearance will be presented. Following a wide range of academic literature, the next segment will address the nature of the slums and their definitions, as well as the reasons behind their charm and the construction of a new global tourist destination. Then, the definitions and different understandings of slum tourism will be showcased, followed by an analysis on its core conceptual elements. During the analysis, several issues will be addressed, such as the role of poverty as an attraction and a commodity, the ethical controversies around the slum tourism experience and the complex power relations it encapsulates. In the following next chapter, the main actors that are involved in slum tourism and their roles will be analyzed: the tourists, the slum dwellers, the tour operators, the policymakers and the media. In the second part, the main principles and tools of sustainability will be explored, along with their conceptual connections to tourism in the Third World.

Finally, in the last part, the current state of slum tourism will be examined through the cases of Cape Town and Rio de Janeiro and the findings will be used along with the theoretical framework to assess the sustainability of slum tourism.

Methodology.

In order to investigate the phenomenon of slum tourism in depth and gain a better understanding of its core elements and all the actors that shape it internally and externally, an exploratory approach was deemed suitable for first parts of the paper. The exploratory approach is frequently used when dealing with a process, group or activity regarding

which there is relatively little scientific knowledge, but is nonetheless worth of exploring (Stebbins 2008). The theoretical frameworks provided in literature review come from a wide range of academic fields, including both and state of the art slum tourism research. In the third part, two cases will be presented. The secondary data that will be used come from empirical field research in Cape Town (Rolfes et al. 2009; Koens 2012), an empirical qualitative research in Rio de Janeiro (Freire-Medeiros 2009) and a theoretical overview (Rolfes 2010). Lastly, the last part will be a comparative study between the two cases, the findings of which will be paired with the theory of sustainability and the post-developmental approach (Scheyvens 2011) to draw conclusions.

Literature Review

Tourism in the third world: globalization, developments and concepts.

During the past decades, the impression of the Third World in the collective mind of the West has metamorphosed from being a realm of war, famine, poverty and exclusion into a charming uncharted territory that promises adventure, beauty and originality. Following this transformation, travel in third world countries is now being massively promoted as an exciting trip into the unknown via ‘’off the beaten track’’ explorations of exotic cultures, peoples and landscapes. An interesting paradox can already be observed: that of the former representation of the Third World as a hazardous territory of disorder and its subsequent refashioning as an attractive destination (Mowforth & Munt 2009). Even though both of these aspects are crucial in examining third world tourism and ultimately slum tourism itself, a more profound comprehension of the development of tourism is needed in order to fully grasp the roots of this new phenomenon. In the words of Britton (2004:137) : *‘’Although over-simplifying, we could characterize the ‘geography of tourism’ as being primarily concerned with: the description of travel flows; microscale spatial structure and land use of tourist places and facilities; economic, social, cultural, and environmental impacts of tourist activity; impacts of tourism in third world countries; geographic patterns of recreation and leisure pastimes; and the planning implications of all these topics (...) These are vital elements of the study of travel and tourism. But these sections are dealt within descriptive and weakly theorized ways.’’* Therefore, this first chapter aims to serve as a brief glance into wider tourism literature that will provide essential insight for the investigation of slum tourism.

To begin with, in the attempt to examine tourism in the third world, an understanding of the relationship between the Third World and the tourism industry

seems fundamental. In order to achieve that, an analysis of the effects of globalization on tourism is inevitable. Globalization is what enabled tourism to expand its activity beyond national and continental borders, as it incorporated previously excluded communities to the global economy through ‘’new space-time combinations’’ (Hall 1992 :619) that made the world ‘shrink’. Moreover, it affected everyday social life, as it allowed people to imagine themselves as actors in international processes that traversed country borders (Appadurai 2001). Besides people, the concept of globalization includes capital, technology, ideologies and images (Appadurai 1996). Therefore, this global change can also be examined in terms of politics, economics and culture.

Mowforth and Munt (2009) identify and criticize several different aspects of the concept: cultural globalization as the manifestation of a global culture that is mainly influenced by American lifestyles, political globalization as the deterioration of the sovereignty of nations in favor of international politics and environmental globalization as the way in which lifestyles impact each other and which has consequently led to international discussions on the sustainability of tourism. However, they stress the fact that globalization, by nature, leads to uneven and unequal development, a fact that is especially apparent in the touristic context, considering that first world countries are the most visited destinations worldwide. Conclusively, through globalization, the First World was able to impose a western-centric approach to the rest of the world, in terms of politics, economy and culture.

As an aftermath of globalization and the expansion of the world market, a global economic system emerged that required the rearrangement of the global financial market and the international labor division. In turn, this led to the de-industrialization of the western world due to the competition with developing economies (Lash & Urry, 1987) and a simultaneous increase in the service sector. Consequently, western capitalism permeated throughout the Third World and assimilated smaller scale economies into the global system.

All these developments resulted in the establishment of an economic regime that was named Post-Fordism (Allen, 1992) and which is representative of a conversion of mass production towards more flexible organizational systems and also of the way that services are consumed, highlighting the role of niche markets and swift changes in consumer preferences (Mowforth and Munt 2009). This shift of production and consumption also became apparent in tourism, as new types of alternative travel appeared contrariwise to mass packaged forms of tourism, which mainly involved third world destinations (Lash and Urry 1994).

Harvey (1989) suggests that the force behind all these economic advancements is the notion of ‘’space-time compression’’. According to Harvey, the process of globalization involves a significant increase in terms of capital and information movement in quantity and pace alike, as capitalism practices become global. In order to avoid over-accumulation, accelerate the circulation and hence secure profit, there is a constant need

for new markets and new products as well as a need for flexible capital accumulation and new consumption patterns. Correspondingly, this endeavor is creating new products, new destinations and new opportunities within the field of tourism in the third world. The latter however, is greatly affected by the representations and the imageries tourists have of third world countries (Mowforth & Munt 2009).

As seen above, apart from the economic aspect, globalization also has a cultural impact. Accordingly, the capital accumulation crisis is mirrored in a crisis of representation that resulted in a new mode of representation: post-modernism. Postmodernism is a way to interpret and understand social and cultural change, a concept which can be found in several cultural expressions, such as music, fiction, literature, photography, film and is also prominent in sciences like architecture, philosophy and anthropology (Featherstone 2007).

The concept of postmodernism is of great importance in trying to understand the First World's consumer culture in the context of tourism. In the same way that globalization led to the formation of global economies, it has also produced a global culture in which third world populations are struggling to maintain their lifestyles, notwithstanding the mental enforcement of western values (Mowforth & Munt 2009). The inequality in cultural globalization in tourism is underlined by the fact that international travelers come predominantly from western countries.

In the wake of this global culture, common perceptions about commodities, cultures and people were challenged and eventually modified. Thus, the new mode of representation, along with the economic developments resulted in the emergence of what is called the ''new middle classes'' (Levy 1996), that would act as cultural intermediaries, construct new lifestyles and establish new consumer behavior motives. In tourism, this shift in perception is evident in the debates regarding mass tourism versus alternative tourism or tourists versus travelers. Notably, new middle class tourists were -and still are- the most significant consumers in third world tourism (Mowforth & Munt 2009).

Furthermore, in the context of political globalization, international organizations and institutions whose influence expanded beyond national borders appeared in the global scene, marking the dawn of global politics. Their role in tourism is indisputable as they have come to shape its formation and purpose not only in economic terms but also in terms of structure and representation. Such institutions include supranational organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, transnational organizations such as the World Tourism Organization and international non-governmental organizations. Once again, asymmetrical relations of power appear to define the correlations within global tourism.

It is worth noting however, that these political organizations are indicative of a global consciousness: *''a seemingly popularized and benevolent global collective or ombudsman that acts in the best global interests intervening to solve a myriad of problems from civil war and international crime cartels to the killing of whales and the destruction*

of rainforests.'' (Mowforth & Munt 2009: 35). One of these global problems is the sustainability of tourism in the third world, the notion of which this paper aims to examine.

Finally, the concepts of power and inequality were emphasized throughout this short chapter in all aspects of globalization: economics, culture and politics. Clearly, they are very relevant to the ways in which the tourism industry has penetrated the Third World, a fact which is reflected in many notions of the tourism literature. Firstly, there are connections between tourism and imperialism (Abbeele 1980) and the post-colonial character of tourism in the Third World (Hall & Tucker 2004) that examine new forms tourism as neo-colonialism. Secondly, in regards to the content and the objectives of the new forms of tourism, the viewpoints and motivations of tourists have been central to many discussions. Arguably, new middle class tourists are driven by a desire to witness reality and authenticity both in places and cultures (Mowforth & Munt 2009). This postmodern quest for authenticity has been contested to large extent by academics. MacCannell (1973) supports that tourism places are often purposely constructed to look real and thus attract visitors in what he calls ''staged authenticity''. With the term ''tourist gaze'' on the other hand, Urry (2002) argues that the perceptions of tourists are defined by their own expectations that are molded by their social environments, the tourism industry, governments and the media. In order to understand the tourists' perceptions, it is necessary to refer to the concept of ''Othering'', the process in which ''other'' cultures, peoples and places are represented and identified in the ''social imaginaire'' (Holslag 2015) and which shapes the relations between ''the West and the Rest'' (Hall 1992). Lastly, it is important to note that in the process of creating new markets and destinations in the Third World, tourism has resulted in the ''fetishization'' and the ''aestheticization'' of poverty, meaning an attempt to conceal the real social relations behind the product and an attempt to beautify the experiences around it respectively (Mowforth & Munt 2009).

Amidst all these complex developments and processes of globalization in tourism, a ''new'' phenomenon in the Global South is observed: Slum tourism; a phenomenon that has been gaining popularity in the academia in past few years, but is still considered to be inadequately researched. In slum tourism literature, all the concepts that were presented above are omnipresent. However, this is a tourism practice that is not trying to hide or transform poverty in favor of touristic appeal, but is rather commodifying its reality as a marketable attraction. Naturally, slum tourism has drawn the attention of international media that criticize its morally questionable ethics en bloc. Yet, before analyzing the practice of slum tourism, it is vital to investigate where, when and how it all began.

A brief history of slum tourism

Origins of Slum Tourism

The concept of ‘slumming’ is all but new, as it holds a history of one and a half centuries. It describes a certain social practice, according to which, members of the upper classes of a society decide to visit urban residential spaces of the poorer lower class citizens, in most cases for leisure purposes. The roots of this particular practice can be traced back to large northern cities, mainly in the United States or the United Kingdom, where modern urban tourism also evolved (Steinbrink 2012).

According to Steinbrink (2012), early nineteenth-century London was the birthplace of the phenomenon of ‘’slumming’’. During that time, the capital of the rapidly expanding British Empire ‘’developed into a demographic colossus’’, with its population expanding from one to six million inhabitants in just under one hundred years, primarily due to a large number of immigrants from Ireland and other rural British territories. This ‘urban population explosion’ prompted an imaginative paralysis in regards to urban density and topographical dispersion (Seaton 2012). Hence, the growing urban population resulted in not only high urbanization rates, but also in an expansion of the gap between the rich and the poor of the society (Steinbrink 2012). During those times of industrialization and urbanization, a geographical separation between the social classes of London ‘’appeared like the spatial configuration of the deeply split social order of the time’’, thus creating an ‘’imaginary geography’’ of the city. This massive urban growth, in turn, sparked the flame of curiosity among the wealthier Londoners, who started exploring the ‘’other’’ part of the town.

The word ‘’slumming’’ itself, however, made its first official appearance in 1884, when it was registered in the Oxford Dictionary, ‘’coinciding with a rising Victorian preoccupation that mixed philanthropy, social paranoia and voyeuristic titillation’’ (Saint-Upéry, 2010).

During the mid-nineteenth century, the more fortunate upper and middle class residents of London would arrange visits to poorer parts of the town, mainly in the East End, in neighborhoods like Shoreditch or Whitechapel, driven not only by their curiosity to see ‘’how the other half lives’’, but also by an opinion which was then growing in popularity among upper-class citizens , according to which, one had to experience the life of metropolitan poverty firsthand, in order to be in a position to claim any authority on social issues. According to Koven (2004) and Steinbrink (2012), the practice of slumming was first observed among philanthropists, journalists and clergymen, like William Booth, founder of the salvation army, who would visit the slums on ‘social expeditions’, often accompanied by policemen, and were ‘’wrapped in a cloak of concern, welfare and charity’’ (Koven 2004:15). Gradually, however, the practice of slumming turned into a popular pastime activity for the upper classes.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, large numbers of immigrants from Asia and southern Europe that had fled to the ‘’New World’’ in search of better life conditions, began occupying neighborhoods in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, the Five Points and the Bowery, marking their own territorial ‘other’ within the confines of New York (Steinbrink 2012). Concurrently, wealthy Londoner tourists that visited the city would take the time to explore these poor neighborhoods in order to compare them with ‘their’ slums at home (Frenzel & Koens 2012). According to Keeler (1902), the travel guides of the time even included some popular walking paths through the immigrants’ residential areas. Thus, the trend of slumming emerged in New York, following the ‘’latest London fashion’’, an idea that ‘’fell on fertile ground’’ (Steinbrink 2012). Not much later, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first travel tour companies and agencies that specialized in guided slum visits were set up in Chicago, San Francisco and Manhattan (Frenzel & Koens 2012), resulting in the first stage of ‘touristification’ of slumming (Steinbrink 2012).

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. It is no secret in certain circles that shortly before she left Mrs. Langtry and a party of friends made a nocturnal tour of the east side resorts in the Bowery. It is safe to conclude under the circumstances that "slumming" will become a form of fashionable dissipation this Winter among our belles, as our foreign cousins will always be ready to lead the way. The London "slumming" has brought to the notice of the rich much suffering, and led to many sanitary reforms. The old

The rebirth of slum tourism in the global south

The phenomenon of slum tourism presented itself once again, this time in the global south, in the early nineties and even though it had forerunners in the north, several academics (Butler 2010; Rolfes 2010) identify the cradle of its more recent form to be the apartheid-era South Africa. During the Apartheid era, and while the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa was gaining in popularity through global media, travelers from around the planet began visiting the places where the movement was born, the infamous ‘’non-white’’ territories of Cape Town, in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the situation. What was peculiar about this new trend, however, is that the tours were organized both by non-governmental organizations and international solidarity activist groups, seeking to raise awareness on the problems of the non-white populations of the country (Dondolo 2002; Frenzel 2012), but also by the Apartheid regime itself, which named these urban spaces ‘’official tourist attractions’’ (Steinbrink et. al 2012). Some argue that that was the time when slum tourism first developed into a ‘’formalized commercial offering’’ (Shepard 2016).

Indeed, in the early nineties, and after the resolution of international sanctions and the end of the Apartheid regime, ‘’township tourism’’ -as it is named in South Africa- expanded rapidly throughout the country’s major cities, beginning in Soweto (South Western Township) in Johannesburg, as a means for travelers who were interested in the country's political history to visit the houses of idolized figures of the resistance, such as Bishop Tutu and Nelson Mandela, and explore the place that had become an international symbol of the Apartheid oppression and the breeding ground of the anti-regime movement (Steinbrink 2012).

Thenceforth, township tourism evolved quickly and appeared in Cape Town, Durban and other places, with an increasingly number of tourists - predominantly from the global north and especially the United States, Britain and Germany - choosing to visit South Africa’s settlements and townships, resulting in the establishment of a large number of slum tour operators. It is worth noticing, however, that during the process of this ‘touristification’ the political and historical elements of these urban spaces that once had been the initial focus of the visits, gradually shifted to the background (Rolfes et al. 2009).

Academics estimate that today such tours are offered by at least forty different operators in Cape Town alone, currently engaging about eight hundred thousand tourists a year in township tours, making it more than clear that township tourism has developed into an integral part of urban tourism in South Africa (Steinbrink et. al 2012).

During the same period of time, slum tourism made its appearance -in altogether different conditions- in another southern continent. In Latin America, and specifically in Brazil, a phenomenon called ‘’favela tourism’’ was born alongside with the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that was held in Rio De Janeiro in 1992 (ibid.). In the context of this conference, activists and journalists were presented with the chance to be the first to visit Rocinha, the largest favela of Rio (Freire-Medeiros 2009), thus marking the beginning of a whole new commercial tourism branch, which was soon to be named ‘favela tourism’.

More than fifty thousand people participated in organized trips in Rocinha in 2011 alone, going through the city’s several different tour operators or independent local guides, a number which is expected to rise massively due to the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games of 2016, which both took place in Brazil. After the establishment of the trend of favela tourism in Rio de Janeiro, many tour operators decided to expand their practices in other Brazilian cities, such as Salvador de Bahia and Sao Paulo (ibid.).

Parallel to its occurrence in Brazil and South Africa, slum tourism has emerged in many other places of the global south and even though it is rather difficult to spot the all of the different locations in which it develops in a more organized context, the rest of this section will be dedicated to the endeavor of providing a few examples, accompanied by a graphic representation of contemporary established and emerging slum tourism destinations.

Manila, the capital of Philippines and the world's most densely populated city, was one of the very first locations for slum tourism in the south East Asian region. Within the city's limits, in the suburb of Payatas, there is a hill, where the city's garbage is dumped and openly incinerated. The visible fumes and constantly polluted air around the area, has gotten the hill the suiting nickname ''Smokey Mountain''. Even though originally there were plans for a landfill, the amassing garbage vastly outgrew the pit that was designated to hold it and has been flooding the surroundings for decades. As it so happens, the area around the Smokey Mountain, however, is home to more than eighty thousand Filipinos, people who live in shanties and try to make a living as scavengers, salvaging whatever can be saved from the garbage and sold as scrap or recyclables (Waddington 2004).

The area became relatively popular during the eighties as a symbol of poverty and wretchedness both in and out of the Philippines' borders. At the start of the next decade, there was already a tour operator offering bus and walking tours through the wasteland of Smokey Mountain to the public (Steinbrink et. al 2012), until 1995, when the dump was closed, after the officials announced a plan to build a new commercial center and housing complexing on the dump. After that, many of the scavengers moved to another dumpsite in Payatas, where a garbage landslide killed hundreds of people a few years later (Medina 2007). Today, in the same area and since 2011, a company named ''Smokey Tours'' is offering tours in the slums of Manila, which seem to be very popular among tourists, including specialized packages like cemetery tours, prison tours and cockfighting tours (Smokey Tours 2016).

Similarly to 'Smokey Mountain', there is another place where organized tours guide people to a garbage dump where they can witness the lives of local garbage collectors. In Mazatlán, Mexico, an American evangelist church community called ''La Vina'' is organizing these tours for tourists from all over the country, allowing them to visit some of Mexico's most underprivileged neighborhoods, tours that are ''designed to challenge Mazatlán's tourist image and intentionally highlight stark urban contrasts'' (Durr 2012). Lately, tour operators offering slum tours have also appeared in Mexico City, focusing on doing ''people safaris'', taking their customers to explore more dangerous and notorious areas of the city.

In the same concept as township tourism in South Africa, similar tours are offered in Namibia and specifically in Katutura, a township of Windhoek which was created during the Apartheid period with purpose to house the African citizens that were being evicted from their residencies. There is a tour for Katutura offered by the city council but there are also many different tour operators in both Katutura and Swakopmund (De Bruyn 2008)

In the case of India, slum tourism is regarded as a rapidly expanding phenomenon. It takes place mostly in Mumbai's slums called ''Dharavi'', the largest slums of Asia. Presently, around eight thousand tourists are estimated to visit the slums every year, after the founding of the popular ''Reality Tours and Travel'' company, whereas other tour

operators are gradually entering the market all over the country (Steinbrink et. al 2012). The case of slum tourism in India will be examined closer later in this paper.

In Nairobi, Kenya slum tourism industry started developing in the Kibera slum, the largest slum of Africa (Mowforth & Munt 2009) by non-governmental organizations and political activists, shortly after the World Social Forum (WSF) that was held in the capital city, who laid the foundations for all the slum tour companies that operate today.

Apart from all of the above, there are also examples of organized slum tourism in many other locations in the global south, such as Indonesia, Argentina, Egypt, Jamaica and Thailand. All of these examples serve to prove that slum tourism emerged in the dawn of the twentieth century in a more narrow sense, as slumming became an integral part of urban tourism (Cocks 2001), and it has since developed so much that 'the slum' has evolved into a new type of destination that seems to be a part of mainstream global tourism (Steinbrink et. al 2012).

Understanding the Slum

Defining the Slum

Up until the first years of this millennium there was no internationally agreed definition of what a slum is, resulting in the exclusion of slums from monitoring instruments, such as global, demographic and health surveys and population censuses. (UN Habitat) In the absence of a universal definition, slums in different cities have gotten different names like Shantytowns (South Africa), Barrios (Latin America), Favelas (Brazil), Bidonville (France), Kampung (Indonesia), Ghettos (USA) etc.

In the global report on human settlements of 2003 named ''the challenge of slums'' by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN Habitat), a generic definition of a slum is provided as: ''a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city''. However, in the same report it is stated that the effort to formulate a more qualitative definition of a slum is a challenging task due to several facts: the complexity of the concept, the relativity of the concept, meaning that what would be considered as a slum in a certain place might be considered as adequate in another, the local variations among slums and their populations that make the application of universal criteria difficult, the constant and fast changes of slums that prevent the validity of criteria for a long period of time and finally the spatial nature of slums, meaning that ''the size of particular slum areas is vulnerable to changes in jurisdiction or spatial aggregation''(United Nations 2003).

According to the ''Cities without slums'' action plan that was developed by the Cities Alliance, a global partnership that aims at urban poverty reduction, and launched

by Nelson Mandela in 1999 slums are defined as: ‘’neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high-density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities. Slums have various names, favelas, kampungs, bidonvilles, tugurios, yet share the same miserable living conditions’’. Eventually, this action plan was endorsed by the United Nations Millennium Summit of 2000 (Cities Alliance 2016).

According to UN Habitat, both of these definitions reflect the common perception of a slum but they cannot however be used as an operational definition of a slum, one that would allow the assertion of whether or not a certain area is a slum, due to the reasons stated above.

Later on, the United Nations Expert Group Meeting (EGM) recommended an operational definition for international usage in 2002, according to which a slum is ‘’an area that combines, to various extents, the following characteristics (restricted to the physical and legal characteristics of the settlement, and excluding the more difficult social dimensions): Inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status (United Nations 2013:12).

On the other hand, Gilbert (2007) argues that applying absolute measures to define a slum could prove to be problematic and even dangerous, emphasizing on the heterogeneity of slums and the relativity of the concept, which make a universal definition unrealistic. According to Gilbert(2007), the word ‘slum’ bears a series of negative associations, such as crime, ill-health, violence and the ‘’supposedly evil character of those who live there’’, while the slums and the slum dwellers are viewed as two parts of the same undifferentiated problem. For Yelling (2007), ‘slum’ has often been used as a political term rather than a scientific one, a term that carries a condemnation of existing conditions and, implicitly, a call for action. Lastly, Gilbert (2007) argues that the application of the word ‘slum’ might recreate old stereotypes, give birth to false hope or even be used manipulatively by governments, development agencies and urban planners.

Finally, the United Nations report provides a division of slums into two broad classes, which were first introduced by Stokes (1962): ‘Slums of hope’ and ‘Slums of Despair’. The former refers to ‘progressing’ settlements, which are characterized by new, normally self-built structures, usually illegal (e.g. squatters) that are in, or have recently been through, a process of development, consolidation and improvement, while the latter refers to ‘declining’ neighborhoods, in which environmental conditions and domestic services are undergoing a process of degeneration. (UN Habitat 2003)

The charm of the Slum and its ‘’Otherness’’

Throughout the course of history, ‘Other’ cultures have stimulated people's’ curiosity and prompted international travel to destinations that present distinct ethnic populations, religions, traditions, lifestyles and art (Khan 2015). This diversity and multiculturalism therefore have proved to be a mixed blessing for places where culturally diverse communities have been created, since they tend to enhance the tourism product by providing a thematic attraction (Conforti, 1996; Terzano, 2014; Wang, 1999), turning urban heterogeneity into a unique marketable asset (Henderson 2003).

Understanding the meaning of the ‘Other’ is crucial when it comes to examining the attractiveness, charm and interest it evokes. The concept of the ‘Other’ presupposes something that it is different than the commonplace, the conventional and the norm (Khan 2015). Particularly, in tourism the ‘Other’ is the object of observation of tourists, which is different from themselves and their background and hence entices curiosity.

However, in the context of tourism, the concept of otherness has been critiqued as representation that is ‘’Western-produced’’ (Echtner & Prasad, 2003), due to the fact that international tourists come predominantly from the West and are thus identifying themselves as the norm and reflecting upon anything else outside the ‘western realm’ as the ‘peripheral other’ (Khan 2015).

Moreover, Santos (2006) supports that the notion of ‘otherness’ contributes to the establishment of a hierarchy of superiority and inferiority, with the ‘Other’ being generally frowned upon as something inferior.

In regards to slum tourism, Steinbrink (2012:6) argues that ‘’from the bourgeois perspective, the poor urban areas, such as slums, have constantly been constructed as areas containing ‘the Other’’. However, he points out that the very definition of the concept of the ‘Other’ is highly dependent upon both the historical era and the social context in which it exists.

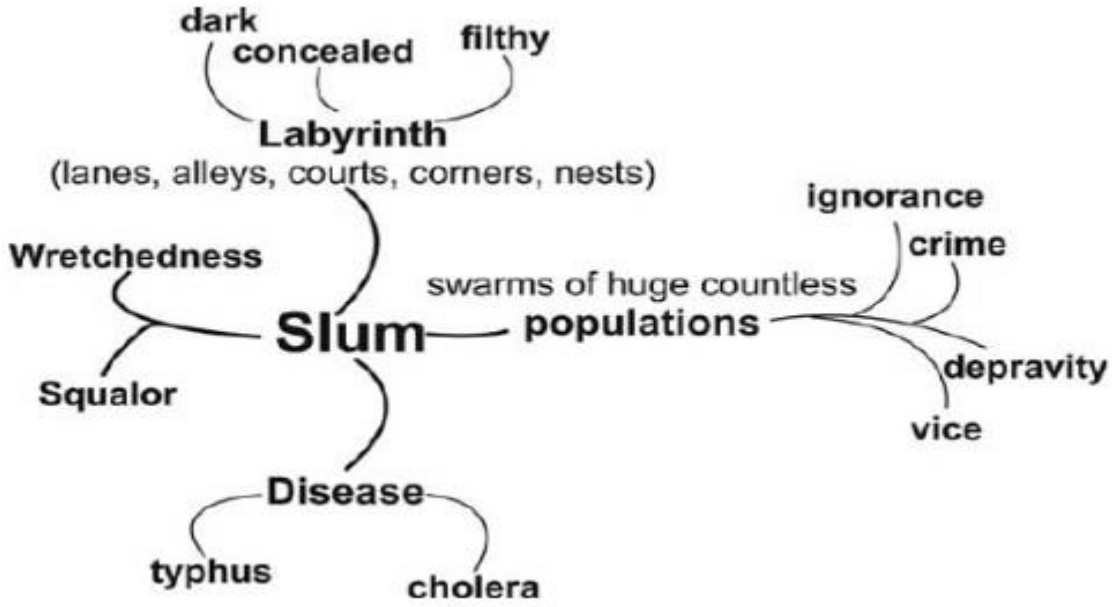
In order to better understand the phenomenon of slum tourism, one has to examine first what a slum actually is not only from a social perspective or the viewpoint of urban planning but also from the perspective of tourism.

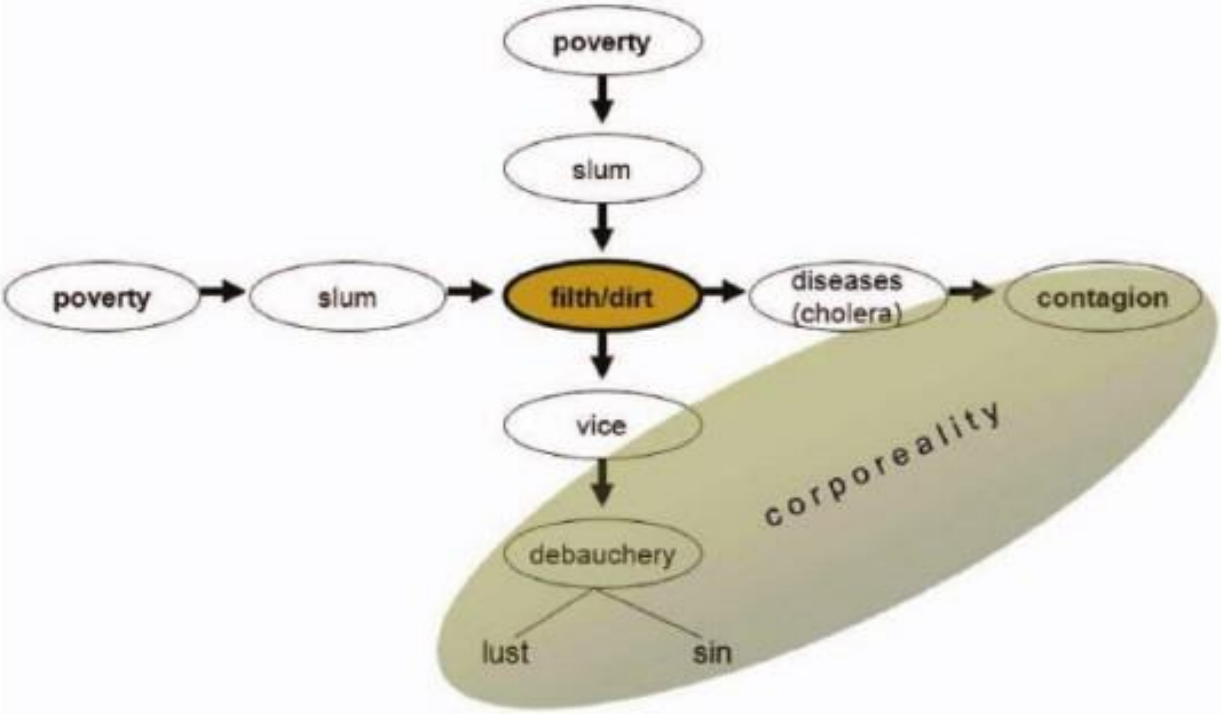
One of the earliest written documents to refer to an urban space of slums in the nineteenth century is that of Friedrich Engels’ (1844), as part of a book in which he describes his experience after visiting the slums of Manchester, England to observe the ‘evil’ life conditions of the working class populations, while connecting the causes to the capitalist economic system (Seaton 2015). Engels remarks that there was a visible geographic division between the working class and middle class districts of the city which was partly owed to an ‘’instinctive and tacit agreement between the two social groups’’. He also observes the poor life conditions of the workers living in the slums, how overpopulated the quarters are, how they can be a threat to human health, he speaks of

‘’revolting filth’’ and ‘’foul air’’ and finally ends the excerpt by saying that the condition of the Manchester slum in 1844 was no better than it was back in 1831, during the time of the cholera epidemic.

Etymologically, the word slum has been the subject of a lot of controversy (Steinbrink 2012). Mayne (1993) argues that slum was a slang term referring to lodgings or backyards, Cassidy (2007) argues that the term is of Irish origin, while the Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (2016) argues the word has a gipsy origin. Davis (2006: 21) argues that the first definition of the word was presented in James Hardy Vaux's ‘’Vocabulary of the Flash Language’’ (1812), ‘’where it is synonymous with ‘racket’ or ‘criminal trade’. According to Dyos and Wolf (1973) and Davis (2006), it was Cardinal Wiseman’s writings on urban reform that led to a wider use of the term, referring to ‘’labyrinths of lanes and courts and alleys of slum, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity and crime’’ (Yelling, 2007: 19).

Frenzel et al. (2015) provide a semantic field of the slum as it is described in Wiseman’s writings that illustrates the values that were most associated with slums and their inhabitants. These values often mentally transcended the economic inequality and established conceptual affiliations among slums, poverty, disease and vice. Indeed, by examining the results of a study regarding slum tourism in Cape Town (Rolfes et al 2009) it becomes clear that most of the dominant ascriptions of the term have not altered throughout time.





Even today, the slum is a symbol for a threatening, dark side of a city, a cause for concern and fear of the sanitary conditions, ‘’the loss of public control and the decline of civilization’’, while the imagined geography of the slum is ‘’chaotic’’ and ‘horrifying’’ (Frenzel et al 2015: 240). However, they argue that at the same time the slum is an ‘’urban terra incognita’’ that promises excitement and adventure.

Koven (2006) states that the visits of upper-class citizens in the more impoverished areas of Victorian London were called slumming as early as 1850 and therefore, the term ‘slumming’ is about as old as the term ‘slum’ itself (Steinbrink 2012). Koven (2006) also notes that the term ‘slumming’ was mostly used in a contemptuous, deprecatory manner by members of the society that were not involved in such activities themselves.

Steinbrink (2012) goes further into examining the roots of the practice of slumming and specifically into the slummers’ (i.e. those who practiced slumming) motivation to indulge in it, and observes that their curiosity about the slums has been subject to the general public’s suspicion from the very appearance of the phenomenon, as ‘’behind the lofty intentions transmitted outwardly, other, less noble, motives were suspected’’. These motives were often associated with indecent and abhorrent actions and sometimes even debauchery and sexual savagery. This explains, to a certain extent, why the so called ‘professional slummers’, such as clergymen, philanthropists and social reformers made efforts to differentiate themselves and their motives from the ‘casual slummers’ who were on the receiving end of that criticism (Koven 2006).

Steinbrink (2012) therefore concludes that there were many more aspects to this concept of the ‘unknown Other’ and the slums than just the association with the economic inferiority and poverty, aspects that stretched beyond the economic sphere. According to Steinbrink (2012:10), the close semantic relation between poverty, unsanitary conditions and immoralism combined with the allocation of poverty in specific urban areas, led to the establishment of a correlation between morality and urban chorography, which was ‘’tantamount to the construction of a moral topography of the city’.

Later on, the elements of spatial and moral difference were also observed in the practice of slumming in the social context of the USA (Heap, 2009). However, Steinbrink (2012) identifies several changes in the construction of the ‘Other’ in the case of USA and especially in New York, which eventually resulted in the *‘’touristification’’* of the phenomenon.

To begin with, Steinbrink (2012) finds that in New York the element of regional - and often cultural- comparison is introduced to slumming, an element that is a common characteristic of urban tourism, which is primarily based on spatial differentiation between ‘here’ and ‘there’. That was due to the fact that the concept of slumming was brought overseas by English tourists who naturally, after visiting the slums of New York, made the inevitable comparison with ‘their’ slums back home.

Secondly, Steinbrink (2012) supports that the attractiveness of slums as touristic sights was enhanced by the imagery of the ‘cosmopolitan metropolis’ which was gaining in popularity at the time, a concept that found expression in the trend of ‘slumming’, referring to multicultural diversity, as well as urban heterogeneity and its variety of contrasts: wealth and poverty, modernity and obsolescence, equality and spatial classification.

Moreover, Steinbrink (2012) identifies ‘Culture’ as a significant actor in the construction of the ‘Other’ as it was conceived in the USA, stating that it was a defining feature of the development of urban tourism and a prevalent mode of observation for tourists. One of the reasons behind Culture’s position in the focal center of urban tourism were the representations of different cultures co-existing within the city, in adjacent yet different urban spaces.

These representations, augmented by the concept of the ‘cosmopolitan metropolis’ mentioned above, and combined with a rise in xenophobia and racism that greatly affected urban planning (Cocks 2001), resulted in the creation of a new form of ‘immigrant quarters’, similar to the one Engels (1844) observed in Manchester in terms of spatial differentiation, poverty and poor living conditions, but with a focus on ethno-cultural differences rather than economic status (Steinbrink 2012).

Therefore, new ‘immigrant colonies’ appeared in several major cities of the USA, urban spaces that were characterized and named by the ethnic groups they were populated by, places like ‘’Little Italy’’, ‘’Chinatown’’, ‘’Russian Quarter’’, ‘’Jewish Quarter’’ etc.

According to a lot of academics, in terms of tourism, such an ethnic enclave bears sociological and economical significance as an attractive and ‘exotic’ destination that accentuates a cultural homogeneity and a sense of ‘sameness’. (Khan 2015).

Subsequently, from a touristic perspective, these places were colorful, exotic attractions (Conforti 1996), that emphasized the cultural ‘otherness’ of the metropolis. Accordingly, the cultural forms of expressions of the slum dwellers, such as music, craftwork, lifestyle, social structure and interactions were construed as manifestations of their race or national origin (Steinbrink 2012).

Slumming in the USA, consequently, focused on exploring different cultural identities, resulting in what Cocks (2001) called ‘ethnic slumming’, as the slum was now perceived as a place of the ‘’ethno-cultural Other’’ (Steinbrink 2012).

This ‘’*ethnicization”* of slumming empowered both international and local tourists to explore aesthetically distinct areas of a city, different cultures within them and the living conditions of their respective residents.

At the same time, the practice of slumming also fulfilled a need for the ‘’warmth, deceleration and communal togetherness’’ (Conforti 1996) of a pre-modern world, which had been caused by feelings of insecurity within America’s middle class towards the rapid pace of progress and pressure for modernity at the turn of the century (Steinbrink 2012). Hence, the immigrant enclaves were turned into touristic sights that would serve that purpose, symbolizing places that were filled with more ‘social meaning’ and a lifestyle that was distant to the ‘’cold and sterile’’ American way of life (Steinbrink 2012). As a result, slumming contributed to the ‘’*romanticization”* of urban poverty.

On the other hand, according to Steinbrink (2012), in order to satisfy the tourists’ demand for authenticity and meet their expectation for accentuated cultural differences, the tourist representations of the immigrant quarters heavily relied on stereotypes. Hence, this notion of culture in the context of urban tourism led to a racist-evolutionist mentality, as the slum was no longer perceived as a reflection of social inequality but rather as a cultural spatial arrangement of the modern city, in which every group was ‘’assigned to their place’’ both economically and socially. Ultimately, ‘ethnic slumming’ contributed to de-problematizing social disparities and reaffirming the social distance rather than reducing it.

Constructing the new ‘’Global Slum”

The ongoing globalization of the trend of ‘slumming’ which originated in big metropolises of the Global North can be viewed as a further stage of development of slum tourism as a whole, which now emerges in a worldwide context (Steinbrink et. al 2012). However, this new tourist form does not appear entirely unchanged in different regions, countries, cities and their respective socio-political and historical contexts. Therefore, through the historical cases examined above, one can identify certain continuities and changes in slum tourism and the notion of what a ‘slum’ is over the course of time.

These cases demonstrate how the slum was both semantically construed and touristically constructed as a place of the ‘Other’, which had often been connected with more than poverty, as it was also a projection of a societal ‘Other’.

Moreover, Steinbrink (2012) supports that the essential elements of its earlier forms, such as touristification, culturization and romantification as presented in the previous chapter, are now assimilated in its new forms, thus ensuring its continuation, while the observance and ‘gaze’ upon poverty remains the main scope. Furthermore, the cases of London and New York demonstrate how the ‘Otherness’ has always been based on stereotypes. Therefore, the same juxtapositional yet contradicting depictions of morality-immorality and modernity-premodernity can be observed in present day slum tourism.

Despite the continuities slum tourism presents, however, its rebirth in the Global South which will be examined below is evidently displaying defining changes to the phenomenon of slum tourism.

Steinbrink et al (2015) argue that the topographical assignment of the ‘Other’ appears as a constant, while its counterpart, the respective ‘Other’ is transformed according to the social context, a fact which is crucial to understanding and examining slum tourism on a global scale, as slumming in the Global South does not concern the ‘other side of the city’ but -essentially- the ‘other side of the world’, signifying the emergence of a ‘Northern-produced Other’. Hence, through this ‘glocalization’ (Robertson 1995) of slumming, a new world-societal ‘Other’ is constructed and a new worldwide universal destination type is developed: the Global Slum.

It seems that the ‘’slum’’ has always been a symbol for the ‘’dark, low and unknown’’ (Frenzel et al. 2015) part of a metropolitan area, a place that exists in a parallel way to the rest of the city and contains the ‘’Other’’. The word ‘slum’ itself may conjure up a picture that sometimes exceeds the physical reality of an urban space and enters the realm of imagination to draw a place that was left behind by progress, a place that does not conform with modern aesthetics, a place of questionable hygiene, a hub for crime and immoralism, a place of squalor and disorderly manners, a by-product of failed urbanization and poor town-planning, or even a place that is rather ‘tolerated’ than given

the opportunity to alter. It is the same place, however, that provoked the imagination of thousands through Charles Dickens' books, Jack London's narratives and Rudyard Kipling's stories, a place that emits a certain romanticism, the backstory to an adventure and real-life drama, a 'spectacular' place, a place through which people have chased change, lead rebellion and fought for their rights, a place where one can gaze upon ''the other half''. And nowadays this place is easier to reach than ever.

As stated in the online Slum Tourism Research Network's page (2016):

<<Slums (e.g. favelas, townships and other notations) have long tempted popular imagination. They have been and are scandalized, fought, bulldozed down and walled in. At the same time however, they are idealized and sought out as places displaying a more authentic humanity, flourishing culture and deviant, but inventive entrepreneurship>>

Understanding Slum Tourism

Defining Slum Tourism

Like the notion of the slum itself, slum tourism has been described by many terms: Township tourism (Steinbrink 2012, Rolfes 2010), Poverty Tourism (Freire-Medeiros 2009, Steinbrink 2012), Slumming (Rolfes 2010, Koven 2006), Slum Tourism (Frenzel et al. 2015, Frenzel & Koens 2012), Reality tourism (Freire-Medeiros 2008), Poorism (Rolfes 2010) etc. Behind all these different terminologies, there are different notions of slum tourism, all of which serving to the comprehension of the phenomenon.

Steinbrink (2012:218) gives his definition of slum tourism as ''visits to poor urban areas in big cities in the South (...), where poor urban settlements are marketed for tourism'', arguing that, being a relative concept, it highly depends on the territorial context of certain areas or city districts where ''poverty is located, where it can be expected and experienced''.

According to Freire-Medeiros (2009:582), slum tourism is an inherent part of reality tourism, that emerged as a counterargument to mainstream tourism, establishing underdeveloped countries and economically challenged urban spaces as new destinations and ''the identity of which is based on the supposedly authentic, interactive and extreme character of the type of encounter it promotes''.

For Outterson et al. (2012:39), poverty tourism ‘’refers to cases in which financially privileged tourists visit impoverished communities for the purpose of witnessing poverty firsthand’’.

Frenzel et al. (2015) point out that the practice of slum tourism seems to occasionally overlap with other forms of tourism, such as dark tourism, developmental tourism and volunteer tourism, while also arguing that the relationship between poverty and tourism is not ‘’restricted to the effects tourism may have on poverty, but equally concerns the reflection of poverty as an attraction, a theme of tourism (Frenzel 2012).

Furthermore, Frenzel and Koens (2012:4) emphasize that even though there are many areas that fall under the category of ‘slum’, they all developed in ‘’particular historical conditions and hence form distinct social and political spaces’’. Consequently, the forms of tourism that later developed in these areas may also present differences.

Dyson (2012:1) argues that organized slum tours give travelers the opportunity to ‘’experience otherwise inaccessible landscapes, see how people ‘really’ live and learn about the day-to-day challenges that millions of people across the world face’’. He also supports that such activities have the potential to change the predominant negative perceptions of slums.

After investigating slum tourism in Dharavi, India’s largest slum in Mumbai, Meschkank (2010) refers to slum tourism as a ‘’quest for authenticity’’, as she claims that the main scope of the tourists is to experience reality itself.

According to Rolfes (2010) this ‘’conceptual ambiguity’’ of this new form of tourism is attributed to the fact that setting a specific aim to slum tourism poses great difficulties. Specifically, it is difficult to assess what the main tourist attraction in a township or a favela tour is. Even though poverty, disorder and human wretchedness are in the center of the semantic fields associated with slum tours by both tourists and academics alike, and undoubtedly play an important role in the development of the phenomenon, the tours do not only focus on the experience of poverty as the term ‘’poverty tourism’’ may suggest. Nonetheless, the aspect of poverty can be seen as an element that links slum, township and favela tours, virtually forming the background of slum tourism.

A definition that combines several of the elements of slum tourism is that of Koven (2004:9) who says:

<<I have made mobility, not fixicity central to my definition of slumming. I use slumming to refer to activities undertaken by people of wealth, social standing or education in urban spaces inhabited by the poor. Because the desire to go slumming was bound up in the need to disavow it, my history of slumming includes the activities of men and women who used any word except slumming - charity, sociological research, Christian rescue, social work, investigative journalism- to explain why they entered the slums. My definition of slumming depends upon a movement, figured as some sort of ‘descent’ across urban and spatial class, gender and sexual boundaries. >>

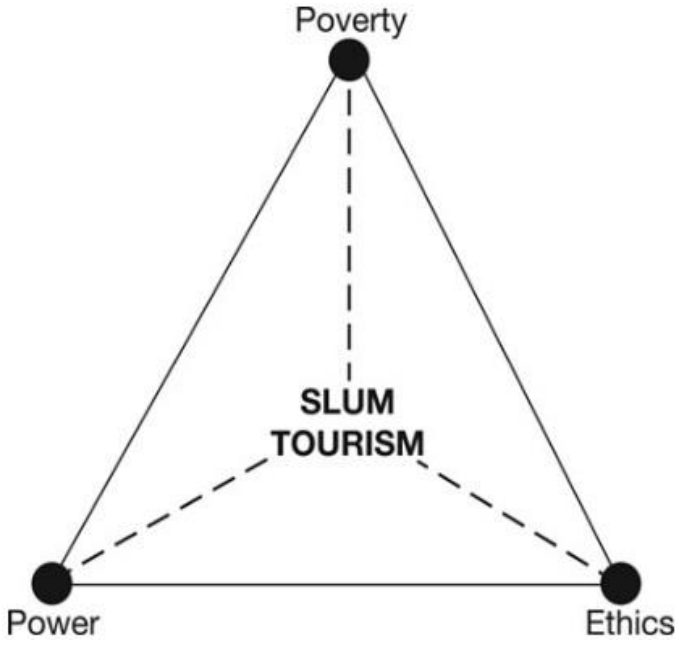
Core Concepts of Slum Tourism

Steinbrink (2012) makes an analogy between the colonial voyages of discovery of the nineteenth century in Africa, which was a ‘British passion’, and the awakening of the ‘explorer’s spirit’ in Victorian London to illustrate the emergence of social expeditions into the ‘urban terra incognita’. In a similar analogy, Cejas (2006) argues that ‘shantytown tourism’ is reminiscent of the ‘’possession by exploration’’ narrative as it was described by McClintock(1990), but with the differentiation that this time the ‘virgin lands’ are inner parts of modern cities, like Cape Town, Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro. According to Cejas (2006), these ‘lands’ are revamped through marketing strategies and made to visualize social disorder and destitution, while at the same time maintaining their exoticism.

The ‘Othering’ of places and people that was observed in the years of the European travels and conquests was very significant in the process of constructing and identifying the ‘West’ (Pratt 1999; Said 1977) is very similar to the process of ‘othering’ related to slum tourism (Seaton 2015).

According to Steinbrink et al. (2012:1), the main characteristic of the phenomenon of slum tourism is the ‘’touristic valorization of poverty-stricken urban areas of the metropolises in so-called developing or emerging nations, which are visited primarily by tourists from the Global North’’.

Moreover, they suggest that Power, Poverty and Ethics, as core issues of tourism research in general are equally important concepts when it comes to understanding and researching slum tourism.



Poverty and other attractions of the slum

The concept of poverty is determinedly related to slum tourism, as it is the defining feature and an essential shared element of urban spaces that are defined as ‘slums’ (UN 2003). Poverty also appears as the main attraction of slum tours, as the attractiveness of slums as tourist destinations is undoubtedly linked to the perceptions and correlations tourists have of those destinations.

Indeed, as seen above and according to other academics, poverty dwells in the very core of the semantic fields associated with the concept of a slum, a favela, or a township (Rolfes 2010; Steinbrink 2012; Meschkank 2010).

Cejas (2009) claims that ‘’poverty is once again rediscovered’’, as in contrast to late nineteenth century colloquy that constructed a ‘’cordon sanitaire’’, which established a border between the hazardous and poor and the higher class elites, nowadays the modern tourism narratives make visits to the slums feasible by re-portraying the slum dweller as a ‘’new kind of noble savage’’ (McClintock 1990) and turning their respective dwelling space into a marketable, exotic, touristic destination, which can be experienced as an inherent part of the ‘Third World urban reality’.

Apart from being the main attraction, poverty is also paramount to slum tourism as slum tours are often scrutinized and marketed as a tool for economic growth for local communities, a stimulus for new entrepreneurship and an opportunity for poverty alleviation. Frenzel (2015) also stresses the significance of the promotion of slum tours as part of regeneration and poverty elimination policies by various policymakers. However, if one accepts the role of slum tourism as a new kind of pro-poor tourism and an instrument for poverty reduction, then a paradox is inevitable: Slum tourism is actually trying to overcome its own attractiveness.

Another interesting conceptual approach to slum tourism is that of the commodification of poverty as a way of capitalist value creation (Frenzel and Koens 2012). In regards to this approach, Freire-Medeiros (2009) argues that circa the beginning of the millennium, poverty was molded into a touristic product for global consumption, through new ‘social arrangements’ and hence, poverty now bears ‘’a monetary value agreed upon by promoters and consumers’’. To highlight the extraordinariness of this ‘’unheard of’’ phenomenon, Freire-Medeiros (2009:586) cites a short excerpt from Marx’s theory of commodity fetishism:

<<Although under capitalism every single thing may be turned into a commodity, there is one thing which can never be bought or sold: poverty, for it has no use or exchange value.>>

The general concept of commodification in the context of tourism has been researched to a great extent (Hannam & Knox 2010). Nonetheless, the question of what is being commodified in the context of slum tourism and by extension what the actual product is, remains unanswered (Frenzel and Koens 2012). It would be logical to argue that poverty, being the main quality associated with slums, is also the main attraction (Rolfes et al. 2009). Research related to the slum tourist motivations however, has shown that curiosity for poverty is seldom mentioned as a reason for participation of a slum tour, for fear of it being considered immoral or voyeuristic (Frenzel and Koens 2012).

Furthermore, according to Brown (1979) phenomena, views and things only gain significance through the process of observational distinctions and are defined -as the world itself- by being observed and distinguished from other things.

Therefore, Rolfes (2010:424) argues that in slum tours both slum tourists and slum tour operators observe something as poverty, when opposed to wealth and thus ‘’poverty is being created and brought into being for the observers by being named and distinguished from wealth’’. Consequently, ‘’poverty cannot be defined ontologically, as it depends decisively on the observational perspective.

Could ‘poverty tourism’ therefore be used as the appropriate term for slum tourism? Rolfes (2010) points out that several academics refer to slum tours as ‘social’ or ‘reality’ tours, due to the fact that they have been advertised by the operators as ‘authentic’, ‘realistic’ and ‘interactive’, offering experiences ‘’off the beaten path’’. These traits are related to the term of ‘’staged authenticity’’ as presented by MacCannell (1973), which in the case of slum tourism can be understood as coming in contact with the natives, their surroundings and lifestyle (Freire-Medeiros 2009). Rolfes (2010) therefore argues that in the specific context of these ‘’reality tours’’, tourists explicitly seek authentic experiences.

Furthermore, according to Basu (2015), even though the labeling of tours as ‘’cultural’, ‘’ethnic’’’ (Ramchander 2004) or ‘’educational’’ (Rolfes et al. 2009) have been deemed appropriate for the practice of slum tourism, these terms seem to rarely be used by tour operators. Furthermore, Basu (2015) argues that describing slums tours as ‘reality’ or ‘authentic’ means to disregard a large part of the ‘’whole reality’’ and consequently to undermine other realities a destination has to offer, such as natural and built heritage and rich diverse cultures.

It is becoming clear therefore, that even though poverty might be the value most associated with slums and their tours, it is not the sole and perhaps in some cases not the most important attraction.

Several academics (Rolfes 2010; Meschkank 2010; Frenzel and Koens 2012; Butler 2010) have come to the conclusion that intermediaries like tour guides, operators and agencies play a momentous role in crafting a new narrative, ‘’a re-interpretation of poverty into something that is more easily told and sold’’ (Frenzel and Koens 2012), a fact

which is indicative of a significant shift of discourse in the way tours are promoted (Frenzel 2015).

After researching several tour operators, agencies and the narratives they employ to guide the ‘’tourists’ gaze’’, Cejas (2009:4) detects numerous other aspects of the slums that may attract tourism. For example, a ‘’culture of guns, drugs and lawlessness’’ in the favelas of Brazil, ‘’community spirit, vibrancy and exceptional hospitality’’ in the Townships of South Africa, interactions with the locals and their ‘’traditional values’’, rich cultural diversity, a strong ‘’sense of solidarity’’, culinary delights etc.

In addition, Cejas (2009) argues that the narratives of slums are frequently constructed by the tour providers in parallelism to the cities or countries in which they are located. Correspondingly, some favela tours are linked to the Brazilian carnival and romanticized Samba schools, tours in Argentina’s ‘’villas miserias’’ highlight the economic debt crisis of 2001, Mumbai’s slum features entrepreneurial spirit and diligence (Frenzel and Koens 2012) and township tours in South Africa use history and the anti-apartheid struggles as a core theme to reenact local experiences and turn memory into a commodity for external consumption.

Lastly, Frenzel and Koens (2012) suggest that the way in which slum tours and slum tourism in general are ‘packaged’ through the representations, forged by professionals, operators and companies, is essential to understanding the ethical aspects of the phenomenon, which will be more closely examined in the next chapter.

The ethics of slum tourism: Exploration or Exploitation?

In the previous chapter the main attractions of slum and their representations were discussed and analyzed. In that discourse, poverty seems to be crucial to slum tourism, not only as the main affiliation tourists make with slums but also as a major appeal. It is only natural that this supposed desire to witness poverty firsthand has raised concern regarding the morals of slum tourists and has been in the center of the ongoing ethical debate among academics and media; a debate which is in a lot of ways analogous to the debate regarding the creation, proliferation and mitigation of the slum itself (Basu 2012; Davis 2006).

The preeminent accusation directed towards slum tourists is that of voyeurism. Correspondingly, slum tourism is met with heavy criticism in academia, media and the public sphere in general, as terms like ‘’poorism’’, ‘’poverty porn’’ and ‘’people safaris’’ make their appearance in articles and reports, underlining the morally controversial ‘socio-voyeuristic’ angles of the phenomenon. (Rolfes 2010; Basu 2015)

Denunciation against slum tourism is particularly evident in touristic trade journals and daily press, who present slum tourists as ‘’immoral gawkers’’ and criticize the

valorization of settlements as tourist destinations (Weiner 2008; Gentleman 2006). Inescapably, in order to investigate the accusation of voyeurism, one has to invoke Urry's (2002) theory of the ''tourist gaze'' and the construction and charting of the 'Other' into the disquisition. The contemporary tourist conception of the 'Other' as well as the manifestation of the ''romantic gaze'' are greatly affected by the imaginaries of colonialism (Frenzel 2015), as the 'othering' of people and cultures confronted in the conquest voyages served in re-identifying the 'West' (Said 1977). At the same time, through colonialism, the West set an ideological foundation aimed at assuring the compliance of the colonies, with the exploitation of the natives being omnipresent (McMichael 2011).

Consequently, in modern international tourism practices, the 'Other' is entrenched in a postcolonial context, firmly linked to ''radical differences in income, power and mobility between the visitors and the visited'' (Frenzel 2015). Thus, the charge of voyeurism in slum tourism and tourism in general, is built by virtue of the tourists gazing upon the poor and powerless in their ''quest for authenticity'' (Meschkank 2011), while the 'Othered' receive no observable benefits.

In any case, slumming never was and cannot be entirely altruistic, as visits amidst the global poor can potentially be translated in a ''cultural capital'' which can be liquidated in social interactions as empirical knowledge and prestige (Seaton 2015; Koven 2004).

This ''voyeuristic curiosity'' of northern travelers has been transformed into touristic capital by travel agencies, who include the 'new' attraction of the slums in their packages for destinations in the Third World. In this manner, poverty-stricken populations and their habitats are becoming ''new commodities to be consumed by the North, fashioned as an exotic experience'' (Cejas 2006:1).

In addition, Cejas (2006) argues that through the purposefully dramatic narration of slums unfolded by travel agencies, slum dwellers are subjected to 'objectification', defined as an act of ''reducing a complex and multifaceted human being to a single part or function and of controlling it'' (Halnon 2002:504).

Furthermore, apart from the voyeuristic aspect, several similarities between slum tourism and dark tourism have been observed (Rolfes 2010). In this regard, some academics argue that akin to dark sites of tourism, slum tours advert to a tendency of 'consuming the others' pain' (Korstanje & George 2015). In this context, and if one regards capitalism as a cultural project that encompasses social Darwinism apart from an economic system (Korstanje 2016), it would be worthwhile to notice the link between slum tourism as a ''late capitalism product'' and ''disaster capitalism'' as described by Naomi Klein (2007), with the meaning of taking advantage of a disaster for business opportunities and profit. Therefore, instead of providing a solution to the problem of poverty, slum tourism may in fact be reproducing the conditions in which poverty thrives.

While critics of slum tourism seem to focus on voyeurism, social exclusion and the fallacies of the rhetoric of poverty reduction, its supporters speak of a ''valuable learning experience'' through cultural exchange. In this regard, Korstanje (2016) remarks that

<<Slum tourism seekers are not reaching a new more authentic experience, they need from the Other`s suffering to experience a sentiment of false happiness, delineating the boundaries of civilized society and backwardness. Tourists are there not to learn, but to reinforce a sentiment of supremacy>>.

On the other hand, even though slum tourism is regarded by some as an act of voyeurism, there is no evidence to back this accusation in the entirety of the academic slum tourism literature and thus its rejection on moral grounds can be deemed unjustifiable (Basu 2015; Frenzel 2015; Selinger and Outterson 2009). In fact, while trying to shed some more light onto this matter, Sellinger and Outterson (2009) point out that most of the criticism towards ‘’poorism’’ transpires in a journalistic framework, provided by media that ‘’perpetuate one-sided polemics and fail to satisfy the demands of communal justification’’. Ergo, the matters of superfluousness and subjectivity bring forth the need of the reorientation of the debate in furtherance of the cerebrations.

Williams (2008) recognizes that popularizing poverty may be fertile ground for the proliferations of voyeuristic activities, yet at the same time argues that engaging in such praxes is unavoidable when witnessing foreign surroundings, regardless of one’s motives and acclimatization. In a similar vein, Freire-Medeiros (2009) notes that albeit the voyeuristic impulse might be expected, researchers should rather fixate on evaluating slum tourism as an engine of economic development, visibility and social empowerment.

In this concern, one could argue that slum tourism is not much different than tourism itself. An abundance of literature suggests that tourism is the most prominent generator of wealth, an ‘’insidious form of consumptive activity’’ (McKercher 2010). It monetizes and commodifies landscapes, objects, culture, art and populations alike in a process of simultaneous production and consumption, in the same manner as slum tourism is supposed to commoditize poverty (Basu 2015; Smith & Duffy 2003)

Therefore, dismissing slum tourism as a means to poverty alleviation by reason of questionable practices and ethics, while at the same time advocating other forms of tourism for serving the same purpose seems illogical. Additionally, it would be unreasonable to oppose the access of tourists to the slums as unethical, when academics, media representatives and artists seem to participate in comparable endeavors, frequently without a tangible contribution to the communities (Basu 2015; Selinger and Outterson 2009).

Nonetheless, in contemplation of assessing slum tourism’s impact on local communities and delineating the ethical debate, one should take into consideration both the locals’ and the visitors’ viewpoints on the matter, the former’s perspective and the latter’s motivations and edification. Both of these aspects will be examined more thoroughly in the next chapter.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that a deterioration of the hostility against slum tourism has been observed as the destinations mature, which is indicative of a significant ‘’shift of discourse’’. Slum tourism is gaining ground in terms of public approval, as poverty

is now interpreted as cultural difference, slums and their diversity are redefined as a marketable asset rather than a problem, and slum tourists see a solution to the challenge of inequality in themselves. This newfound process of ‘’Othering’’ that places value on the slums, not only enables governments and policymakers to acknowledge and in some cases approve slum tourism, but it also induces the need to confront poverty and tackle issues that sustain it (Frenzel 2015).

Lastly, there is a third angle to the ethical debate of slum tourism. There are some who reject the ethical debate around slum tourism altogether, claiming that it is driving the public’s focus away from more critical political and moral issues concerning global injustice and the power relations between developed and developing countries (Selinger & Outterson 2009).

In conclusion, even though the magnitude of the benefits for local communities is still under debate (Basu 2015), an absolute repudiation of slum tourism may eventually lead to overshadowing the prospect of gaining a better understanding of urban poverty and its dynamics, and potentially contribute to its eradication through this new, ‘’extraordinary’’(Rolfes 2010) form of tourism.

In the short segment above it becomes clear that the ethical controversy is predominant in both the research and the practice of slum tourism. According to critics, slum tours are fashioning dwellers’ lives and hardships into a spectacle to be consumed by the masses. However, ‘’the spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images’’ (Debord 1967). Axiomatically, questions arise regarding the representations of the slum and how they affect slum tourism. Apart from tourism, portrayals of slums have found their way into popular culture through films, literature, travel blogs, articles and even ‘’poor chic’’ fashion (Freire-Medeiros 2009; Cejas 2006). These representations have indirect repercussions on slum tourism and their ethics are challenged to an equal extent. The way these representations are produced, in what ways the slums are showcased and the intentions behind them will be examined later in this paper.

Finally, in consideration of how the ongoing developments in slum tourism are re-affirming tourism’s post-colonial character (Urry 2002), the core ethical issues of the phenomenon can be pinpointed centered on vast power differences between tourists and their hosts (Frenzel 2015). The concept of power and the relationships it defines within slum tourism will be the subject of the next chapter.

Power relations in the slum

Apart from a channel for leisure activities, tourism is also “a productive system that fuses discourse, materiality and practice” (Franklin and Crang 2001) as well as ‘’a cause and a consequence of globalization’’ (Azaraya 2004). Tourism has expedited international communications and travel between the ‘’first’’ and the ‘’third’’ world, traversing cultural, geographical and political boundaries and constantly creating new ‘’contact zones’’ (Cejas 2006).

Thus, the newly constructed touristic attractions of slums can be viewed as such ‘’contact zones’’: <<*social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today*>> (Pratt 1992).

These asymmetrical power relations are especially noticeable in the context of slum tourism, highlighted by the vast differences between the origin countries of the visitors and the habitats of the visited and it can be argued that they essentially derive from their respective past power relations, molded by a history of colonialism, imperialism and conquest (Cejas 2006).

In the previous chapters, the commodification of poverty and the processes through which the ‘’newfound land’’ of slums has increased in value for the tourism industry were discussed. These observations have led the academia to another set of questions. If poverty is indeed valorized, then who is really creating the value and with what purpose? And more importantly, if the slums are being ‘consumed’ by modern day tourists, who does this value benefit?

Certainly, poverty is in most cases affiliated with social and economic powerlessness and ofttimes its definitions that are not limited to a ‘’numericized inscription’’ (Rose 1999) comprise of assumptions of cultural and political disempowerment (Scheyvens 2007; Mowforth and Munt 2009).

Themes of poverty and the people that dwell in it have been at the center of global societal intellections since time immemorial; yet poverty has been construed as a palpable social issue only after the latest part of the Industrial Revolution (Baptista 2015).

Thenceforth, as the discourse matured, perceptions of indigence were reconditioned and calculative methods of poverty came to be the most decisive determinants in its very characterization (Hagenaars 1988). Gradually, destitution in the consensus gentium metamorphosed into numerical cognizance which implied the necessity of external intervention in purpose of reaching a solution, a ‘’technocratic approach, which treated people and cultures as abstract objects, statistical figures to be moved up and down the charts of progress’’ (Escobar 1995: 44).

Still, the notion of poverty appears to be as controversial as ever, embroiled in socio-economic, political and historical contexts and interweaved in dissimilar approaches by dissonant ideological systems, that make a precise universal definition a challenging task.

However, this new discernment of poverty, its settings and dwellers, is creating new ‘’performance spaces and fields of agency’’ in the developing world within which socio-economic hierarchy becomes a norm and local deprivation represents business opportunities in a new market (Baptista 2015). Through this development, the economic periphery of the Global South is being moderately embodied to world neoliberal economies as both a producer and a product of poverty (Cejas 2006). In turn, this problem of poverty appears to be aesthetically corresponding to western representations and imagery and hence the burden of its solution tends to be ethically appointed to the external ‘’western expertise’’ (Baptista 2015). Indeed, promoted by international agencies and organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and UNESCO in an attempt to attain global sustainable development, tourism in third world regions is now flourishing.

Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that the powerful western world is exploiting less economically dominant regions to generate profits, as in some cases the globalization of the problem of poverty and its representations might empower local populations that were historically economically debilitated by enabling them to participate in an emerging industry. Arguably, slum tourism is one of those cases.

As discussed above, slums are by nature linked to and defined by poverty, and are widely considered as urban spaces for which a solution to the underdevelopment is a dire need, especially in the imaginaries of the global north (Taylor 2002). This linkage, combined with the slum dwellers’ supposed ‘’will to improve’’ (Li 2007) illustrate how slum tourism is potentially creating new opportunities for local communities and demonstrate how poverty may in fact be fathomed as valuable for the poor.

However, slum dwellers are not the sole actors engaging in such activities. In most -if not all- mature destinations of slum tourism, tours are conducted by specialized operators and agencies or even governments and non-governmental organizations. The question that resultantly arises is whether these intermediaries are providing any additional value that would morally legitimize their positioning in the supply chain and if so, whether their participation is benevolent to local populations in the form of financial gain or social opportunities (Steinbrink et al. 2012).

Moreover, the main relationship in which the concept of power is related to slum tourism is that of the privileged tourists contrasted with the powerless slum dwellers, which is highlighted by the issue of social voyeurism examined above.

In his historical narrative of policymakers’ interventions in impoverished urban spaces aimed at alleviating poverty, Koven (2004) describes the practices of governments, philanthropists and charity organizations along with the misappropriate

deeds that would ofttimes coincide with their activity. In that process, investigative journalists, charitable individuals, political figures and ‘professional slummers’ in general have also contributed to valorizing the slum and its inhabitants (Seaton 2015).

These conceptions are still relevant and apply to most modern slum tourism destinations, no longer limited to barren districts of massive northern metropolises but expanded on a global scale to include whole cities, regions and even countries in the developing world (Rolfes 2010)

Contemporary slum tours can be viewed as the continuation of century’s old practices of social transactions between the powerful and the powerless, the wealthy and the wretched, through which -theoretically- slum dwellers benefit in terms of economic progress and the slum tourists achieve self-esteem and authenticity by exploring the uncharted global ‘Other’. In that sense, slumming appears to be relatively unaltered by the course of time, since it still represents a ‘’transaction in which the poor enable the richer to ‘get real’’ (Seaton 2015).

Hence, it is clear that apart from slum dwellers, slum tourists and slum tour operators and agencies have also augmented the process of the commodification of poverty, further enhanced the value of the slums and invigorated the touristification mechanisms. The roles of slum dwellers, slum tourists and the tour operators in the touristic context will be analyzed to a greater extent in the next chapter.

Ostensibly, all the discourses concerning power relations in the context of slum tourism derive from a particular approach according to which the problem of poverty, its representations, its solutions and its socio-political impact alike have been fused with modern era globalization developments. Howbeit, in aspiration of attaining a more unequivocal understanding of slum tourism, one would have to examine it as a hereditary part of the local economic and political systems in which it is encapsulated.

Consequently, slum tourism and the commodified slums are highly interrelated with issues of gentrification, urban governance and spatial rejuvenation, as in some cases local authorities are exploring slum tourism as leverage for development or a generator of wealth or an instrument for social revision.

All three cases that will be presented and analyzed later in this paper can serve as characteristic examples of how politics are involved in the realm of slum tourism.
These cases of South Africa, Brazil and India share a common element: the omnipresent historical context of post colonialism in countries that are striving to elude their past as western colonies. All cases present economic scarcity and high levels of social and political inequality. During the past twenty years however, simultaneously to the emergence of slum tourism in the specific regions, these countries have undergone a period of democratization (Frenzel 2015). Correspondingly, their respective economies have shown signs of growth, with tourism being an important factor in their advancement. Yet, poverty still lingers as an incessant problem in all countries.

In South Africa, tours that were ‘unofficially’ offered during the Apartheid era by international political activists helped to raise awareness and assisted in the conflicts with the oppressive regime (Steinbrink 2012). After 1994 and the abolishment of the racial segregation system, the itineraries through the local townships grew in popularity and thus became the original township tours of the post-apartheid period primarily denoted as ‘’political tourism’’ (McEachern 2002). Gradually, these tours transformed into ‘’heritage tours’’, displaying the struggles and the function of townships in the past social clashes (Frenzel 2015) and are now commonly viewed as an engine of economic development and a catalyst for modern entrepreneurship (Rogerson 2004).

In the case of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, tourists first began wandering through Rocinha, the largest favela of the city at the same time Rio summit was taking place, marking the inception of the ‘’event-based political tourism’’ (Frenzel 2015). Not a long time passed before the city’s tour operators organized excursions for the summit’s ‘political tourists’ that expressed interest for the favela and hence the first -even though situational- favela tours were established. As an aftermath, this peculiar interest in the living conditions of the ‘favelados’ (Freire-Medeiros 2009) exposed a social disagreement for which the local authorities had not yet delivered a resolution. The stigmatization of the favela’s residents was met with heavy criticism by international tourists (Frisch 2012). Ensuingly, the country’s authorities repudiated the tourists’ interference with what they considered to be ‘their’ problem, frequently by displaying their motives as voyeurism. More recently however, even though the elites remain skeptical, a shift in the Brazilian public’s opinion has been observed, as the local authorities have started to accept the practice of slum tourism (Frenzel 2015). The intentions behind this change nevertheless might not be entirely out of concern for touristic development, since slum tourism has enabled the state to intervene in urban zones that were beforehand out of their sphere of influence in an attempt to fight crime and disintegrate drug cartels (Korstanje 2016) or assign police forces to ensure ‘pacification’ and security in light of large international events (Barrionuevo 2010).

Lastly, slum tourism has played a significant role in terms of raising awareness for the social and political inequalities in India (Basu 2015), where it supposedly first made its appearance much earlier than the critics recognize (Sellinger & Outterson 2009) In a country that is constantly competing for a place in the international scene as an emerging political and economic power, slums and their procreation may be viewed as a governance flaw. As a consequence, a ‘‘culture of denial’’ towards slums has been developed, whereas programmes for the improvement of living conditions within them have been scarce (Basu 2015). This denial is substantiated as lines of action by the government such as isolating the slums during international sports events or even legally opposing the circulation of documentaries that could potentially have a negative impact on the country’s tourism industry (Indian Express 2010).

All these aforementioned examples serve to show that local political systems of urban governance are indeed involved in the field of slum tourism to large extent for several different reasons.

In a more unconventional approach, Frenzel (2015) suggests that slum tourism as a commercialized activity might operate as an instrument with which local authorities may handle external interference in their political sphere of influence. According to Frenzel (2015), tourists that are socially conscious and politically motivated may potentially influence societal parameters by granting visibility to local populations and their struggles, as they essentially contest the state's will to act. Subsequently, the tourists' motives and authorities are morally and lawfully questioned, especially due to their origin countries' colonial past. Meanwhile, slum tourism serves to portray injustice as cultural diversity and poverty as an issue that is being countered in a new process of ''othering'' the slums. This approach might explain to a certain extent the current shift in the authorities' attitude towards slum tourism observed in two of the cases above.

In conclusion, it is apparent that power as a concept is highly relevant to slum tourism. Slums have come to bear value not only for tour operators and travel agencies but also for the slum dwellers themselves, for slum tourists, as well as for governments and international organizations. This accumulated value produces a field in which complex power relations among these groups develop and shape slum tourism as a phenomenon. Moreover, as discussed before, the power of the imaginaries and constructed narratives focalized around the slums are greatly affecting and regulating the tourism encounter within them. Yet despite the fact that slum tourism is undoubtedly operating amidst those narratives, it also presents an extraordinary potential to mold and recreate them (Steinbrink et al. 2012). What remains to be seen is what purpose will slum tourism ultimately serve and who will be there to reap its benefits when the dust of ambiguity settles.

Actors at play on the stage of Slum Tourism

Slum Tourists and their motivations

As discussed earlier, ever since the very first excursions of the Victorian-era London ''explorers'' into the uncharted areas of the slums, the practice of ''slumming'' has been the subject of criticism and controversy on moral grounds. This criticism derived primarily by the questionable motives of the visitors that drove them to indulge in such a

peculiar leisure activity (Koven 2004). On one hand, ‘slumming’ was nominally characterized as a charitable intervention aimed at lightening the burdens of the poor, while on the other, less altruistic motivations were attributed to the slummers (Seaton 2015). The controversy centered on tourists’ motivations to enter a slum is still relevant today and is prominent in the debates concerning modern slum tourism practices (Meschkank 2011).

Moreover, the tourism industry is by nature defined and shaped by representations (Mowforth and Munt 2009). The way that tourism activities, destinations and themes are affected by a continuous spiral of representations and interpretations is well reflected in the term ‘’geographical imagination’’ which is defined as the ‘’way we understand the geographical world, and the way in which we represent it, to ourselves and to others’’ (Allen & Massey, 1995:41). Hence, in order to gain a better understanding of slum tourism and what its actual product and attraction is, it is crucial to examine not only the slum tourists’ motivations but also their representations of slums and their inhabitants (Ma 2010).

According to the theory of post-modern tourism as presented by MacCannell (1973), tourists have come to reject touristic products that are designed aiming at mass-appeal and now exist in a constant search for meaning, individuality and authenticity, especially when travelling to remote or underdeveloped regions. Consequently, post-modern tourists seek escapades away from the superficiality and ingenuity of modern societies (Krippendorf, 1999: 3-19), in an attempt to rediscover their identity by comparing it with the ‘’Other’ ’and thus to reach a sense of ‘’self-actualization’’ (Ryan 2002).

Butcher (2002) argues that the post-modern tourism theory is a fundamental constituent of moral tourism as it highlights the prospect of self-edification. Hence this theory could serve to complement the assertion of cultural cultivation and awareness as the main advantages of slum tourism (Ma 2010).

Furthermore, by introducing the term ‘’tourist gaze’’, Urry (1990) presents another exegesis regarding the ‘’quest for authenticity’’ (Meschkank 2011) of slum tourists. According to Urry, tourists are driven by an eagerness to experience something different than their everyday lives and thus any extraordinary reality could entice the will to travel. However, this motivation is fueled by the tourists’ very own anticipation of the experience, which ‘’consists of a dialogue with the images of a given place, carried by several media products, images which create an interpretative and behavioral frame for the tourist’’ (Freire-Medeiros 2013:4).

Therefore, in order to examine what drives tourists to visit the slums, one would have to ask what they actually expect to encounter there, or rather, what images they have of the slums, as it is reasonable to assume that ‘’they want to see what they expect to see’’ (Rolfes 2010). As already discussed, the primary value semantically connected with slums is poverty. Ergo, slum tourism appears to coincide with a new form of ‘’negative sightseeing’’ (MacCannell 1976). Nevertheless, after analyzing the various attractions a

slum has to offer it would be unwise to assume that a ‘’socio-voyeuristic thrill’’ (Steinbrink 2012) or an ‘’insulated adventure’’ (Schmidt 1979) in an environment of ‘’controlled risk’’ (Freire-Medeiros 2007) could sufficiently describe the motives behind a visit in the slums.

In modern slum tourism, different forms of the tourist gaze (Urry 1990) can be detected such as the ‘’romantic gaze’’, expressed as a sense of locality and community, or the ‘’charitable gaze’’ reflected in terms of financial aid or political intervention (Frenzel et al 2012), resulting in the enticement of various types of tourists.

According to Rolfes (2010), the primary intention of slum tourists is to experience local culture and the dwellers’ harsh way of life first hand. Therefore, besides poverty, other equally important motives are unveiled, such as the historical aspect of township tourism (Ramchander 2004, 2007), and the attractive exoticism of the favelas (Freire-Medeiros 2007, 2009).

Moreover, Frenzel (2015) argues that slum tourism can also be viewed as political travel when it involves political activism, as was the case in South Africa and Rio de Janeiro. In that context, slum tourists can be regarded as ‘’political tourists’’ or even ‘’justice tourists’’. These terms refer to travelers who are driven by their political interests and it includes both interventionist and non-interventionist tourists, activists and volunteers (Frenzel 2015).

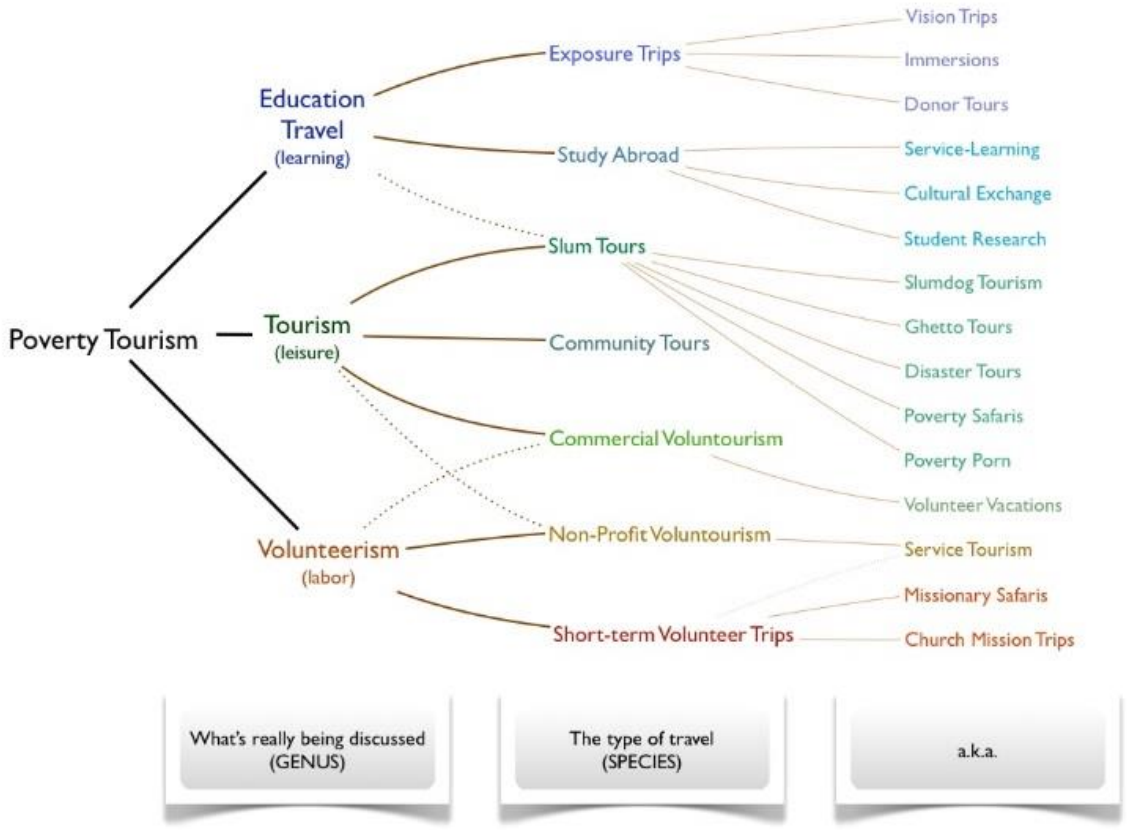
In this vein, one could argue that a certain subgroup of slum tourists may define their own engagement as ethically superior and hence more valuable than others (Frenzel and Koens 2012). This self-differentiation among slum tourists can be understood as a consumerist distinction which aims at defending and persevering social class positions (Bourdieu 1984) through the accumulation of symbolic or cultural capital (Mowforth and Munt 2009) by employing political or moral judgment (Frenzel and Koens 2012). This social class struggle and conceptual traveler-tourist distinction is inherent in slum tourism and can be observed for example in the way volunteer tourists (Crossley 2012) identify themselves as ‘’better travelers’’ (Hutnyk 1996).

On the other hand, the inevitable postcolonial character and representations of slum tourism as well as the impact of ‘development tourists’ (Salazar 2009) in the visited destinations have been broadly criticized by the academia. The post-colonial aspect of slum tourism is furtherly emphasized by the fact that most tourists that visit underdeveloped countries come predominantly from western countries which have a colonial past (Robinson & Picard 2006).

Clearly, not all slum tourists seek the same experiences and are motivated by the same intentions. It is worth noting that a primary historical categorization is that of ‘’professional slummers’’, a term which includes researchers, artists, journalists, urban planners, activists and clergymen who explored the slums due to professional reasons. In most cases, these individuals played an important part in the development of infrastructures, services and tour operations that later granted access to wider touristic

audiences and eventually established the slum on the tourists' ''must-do'' list (Frenzel et al 2015).

Naturally, all these observations and assumptions have triggered extensive research regarding the slum tourists' motives and perspectives. Parts of them will be presented later in the paper, when analyzing the three cases of Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town and Mumbai separately. However, it is worth noting that tourists who participated in said researches may refrain from declaring curiosity for poverty as their main motive for engaging in slum tours, as it would provoke ethical resentment and social criticism (Rolfes 2010). As previously mentioned, in the absence of a universal unambiguous definition, slum tourism is being described by many terms which in most cases derive from the tourists' motivations such as ''political travel'' (Frenzel 2015), ''voyeuristic safari'' (Burgold et al.2013), or even ''poverty porn'' (Jack 2009, Miles 2009). It is therefore arguable that the very definition of slum tourism is based on the tourists' intentions. In that regard, Ausland (2010) attempts to provide an illustrated taxonomy of ''poverty tourism'' in general.



In this taxonomy, Ausland (2010) identifies three types of poverty tourism: education, tourism and volunteerism, which correspond to learning, leisure and labor as main tourist

motivations respectively, while stating that these types are often interdependent and can rarely be mutually exclusive, as travel motivators are unquestionably complex.

Lastly, tourists and their motivations are relevant in investigating the phenomenon of slum tourism as they shape the ‘’touristic encounter’’ and through their actions may directly affect the lives of the ‘others’ (Robinson & Picard 2003). Categorically then, it is also crucial to examine the viewpoint of the ‘others’ in this interaction. The role and significance of the slum dwellers in the context of slum tourism will be the topic of the next segment of the chapter.

Slum Dwellers

Earlier in the paper it was analyzed how the manifestation of poverty as a ‘’total social fact’’ (Mauss 1990) and the inclusion of the problems of the third world in the global developmental agenda have incorporated the underdeveloped global south periphery into modern tourism economies, creating new ‘’performing spaces’’ and hence how poverty can bear value for the poor (Baptista 2015). Noteworthy, through this process, a homogenization of places of poverty in terms of global market economies and developmental ideologies has been observed (Mowforth and Munt 2009), an objectification which ultimately aimed at ‘’turning the poor into objects of knowledge and management’’ in order to create more consumers (Baptista 2015).

However, albeit the relationships among tourism organizations, tourists and the communities they visit are pivotal to touristic prosperity (Sharpley, 2014), the slum dwellers have not been in the focal center of much academic research, as most researchers are fixated at examining the financial benefits and social impact of slum tourism (Frenzel et al 2012).

Clearly, despite the obvious similarities, the slum dwellers cannot be viewed as a single social entity in the context of slum tourism as in most cases they have different perspectives (Harvey 2012). For example, touristic developments are identified as positive in Brazil’s favelas (Freire-Medeiros, 2008, 2009, 2012) and the slums of Katutura, Namibia (Steinbrink et al., 2015), whereas residents of Kibera in Nairobi, Kenya find that there are more disadvantages than profit to be gained in slum tourism (Kieti & Magio, 2013). In general, slum dwellers seem to agree that tourism is assisting at challenging tourists’ preexisting stereotypes and breaking sociocultural barriers (Chege & Mwisukha, 2013; Meschkank, 2011; OBrien, 2011; Steinbrink et al. 2015). The views and standpoints of slum dwellers will be examined more thoroughly later in the paper. In addition to the above, it is useful to examine how slum residents shape the encounter of slum tourism not only as a commodified spectacle but also as active participants and stakeholders. After examining the slum dwellers’ association with slum tourism in Canhane,

Mozambique, Baptista (2015) notes that the residents realize that the western tourists' notion of poverty is fundamentally different than theirs and yet they ''strategically validate'' and embrace this representation in the prospect of development. This observation may also hold significance in investigating other cases of constructed spaces of poverty. Baptista (2015) goes on to support that the incorporation of such destinations in contemporary tourism requires local communities to identify themselves as poor in conformity with external interests and to valorize themselves in consonance with global developmental politics, in an effort to capitalize on the development discourse, elicit feelings of moral responsibility to the visitors and to be eligible for financial aid, by representing not only the problem of poverty but also the potential for its resolution.

Conclusively, poverty may in some cases be understood as an opportunity and a trait rather than a detriment for the development of local communities. However, by endorsing external representations and western 'othering', locals are reproducing imaginaries of the tourism industry, becoming dependent to tourists' demands and extrinsic political domination. To highlight the importance of representations in the tourist-host encounter, (Freire-Medeiros 2009:587) states that a slum can be viewed as:

''a physical and symbolic territory wherein discursive layers accommodate each other in multiple representations of the favela and its inhabitants, as formulated by tourists; of tourists, as formulated by local inhabitants; of the favela, as formulated by local inhabitants for the tourists – in a continuous spiral of representations''.

It becomes apparent therefore that slum residents are actively involved in morphing the tourism practices. Moreover, when examining the effect of the tourist gaze (Urry 1990) upon slum dwellers, it is important to acknowledge that the counterpart 'Other' can also gaze back (Hendry 2000, Frenzel 2015) and interact with the visitors and their cultures, criticize them and exchange knowledge (Freire-Medeiros selling, Korstanje 2016). Moreover, this ''reversed gaze'' (Frenzel 2015) is complemented by the imaginary of the ''anti-slum'', representative of the dwellers' ''middle-class dreams'' for a better life away from the slums (King and Dovey 2015)

On the other hand, concern has been voiced regarding the residents' involvement and their liberties to interact directly with the visitors in several destinations (Meschkank, 2011; Dyson, 2012; Freire-Medeiros, 2012; Chege & Mwisukha, 2013;). This is not only due to the language barrier, but also due to the role of tour guides as intermediaries who in some cases disallow any encounters (Frenzel et al 2015). The disharmony between the residents' and the tour guides perspectives may potentially lead to a sense of local disempowerment (Basu 2012) and certainly draws attention to the ethical aspects of slum tourism, questioning who does the tourism exchange really benefit (Hall 2007). The significance of the role of tour guides in slum tourism will be the next topic of the chapter.

The role of tour guides

In the context of tourism, slums have been constructed as attractive and marketable destinations for international travelers not only by international organizations but also by agencies that operate within them. MacCannell (1976) argues that there are two elemental constituents of an attraction: a sight and a marker. Markers refer to services, activities and symbolic practices which are usually reflected in the tour guides' operations in terms of hospitality, access, infrastructure etc. (Frenzel and Blakeman 2015).

The role of tour operators in destination management has been the subject of many a research (Bruner 2005; Cohen 1985; Salazar 2005), which has shown that indeed tour guides play a significant part in enhancing and sustaining this attraction by reproducing and molding the constructed narratives and formulating the tourist experience. Their role is especially important in slum tourism, where tour operators are burdened with the task of marketing an untraditional destination which is affiliated with danger, crime and health risks (Frenzel and Blakeman 2015). According to Cohen (1985), the role of the tour guides can be distinguished in two categories: the ''leadership'' and ''mediatory'' roles. The former describes the operator's granting access to a sight, while the latter refers to tour guides as a social intermediary that connects tourists and locals and serves to reduce the cultural gaps between them.

The role of a tour guide as a mediator and their employed narratives are therefore crucial in relation to the representations produced through the tourist gaze (Urry 2002). In turn, this leads to questioning whether tour guides choose to showcase the more authentic side of the slums. With the term ''staged authenticity'', MacCannell (1976) suggests that -sheltered by tour guides- tourists ofttimes do not experience the reality of the destination but rather a constructed touristic site. Thereby, in order to protect the community's privacy from the touristic invasion while still reaping the commercial profit, tour guides may actually isolate and exclude locals from the business field (Ma 2010). Moreover, tour guides are regarded as a medium of knowledge for visitors and thus it is important that they are familiar with the local cultures and norms to avoid any misrepresentation of the host destination.

It is important to note at this point that in attempting to establish the attraction of a destination and capitalize on the value produced, tour operators are not always driven by monetary benefits, but are in some cases seeking to achieve a social impact (Cederholm&HUltman 2010). In this light it becomes clear that not all intermediaries operate in the same context. Some are individual entrepreneurs, others are employees of travel agencies and others just might happen to be taxi drivers, hotel staff or locals who find themselves in the role of a tour guide (UNESCO 2006). In addition to the distinction of tour guides between formal and informal (Jennings and Weiler 2006), a differentiation in terms of the profit motive could also prove to be useful when examining tour guiding in

slum tourism (Frenzel and Blakeman 2015), as they directly affect the narratives received by tourists and regulate the social ties they might develop with the hosts (Jensen 2010).

Another aspect that is prevalent in slum tourism is that of the accusation of voyeurism that was analyzed above. In regards to this moral issue, it is worth noting that tour operators frequently provide tourists with moral justifications through their narratives which are commonly based on presenting the tour as helpful for the community and the tourists themselves as ‘’agents of change’’ (Frenzel et al 2015).

Lastly, it is important to recognize that besides the relations with the locals, operators in slum tourism customarily develop social ties that expand beyond the borders of the slums, being supported by international organizations, NGO’s and non-residents, a fact which in some cases may translate to increased awareness and credibility (Frenzel and Blakeman 2015)

Governments, NGO’s and other policymakers

For the tourism industry, the concept of an attractive destination is defined by its broadness, including places around the globe ranging from whole continents to tiny towns and resorts, or even an African township or a Brazilian favela. However, the destinations marketed by tour operators, their populations and their socio-political existence are dictated by local governments that frequently express entirely different interests than those of the small communities (Mowforth and Munt 2009). So how are governments involved in the development of slum tourism or its rejection?

As shown before, governments are exploring slum tourism as a tool for development, financial profit or social rearrangement. In the case of South Africa, the government has played a crucial role in the emergence of slum tourism, as local authorities were the first to actually operate a township tour during the time of the Apartheid. Since then, the South African government have repeatedly expressed their support towards the new trend (Frenzel 2013). Similarly, after realizing the touristic potential and in anticipation of the Olympic games of 2016, the Brazilian government and the Ministry of Tourism decided to help boost the number of visitors in the favelas (Perkins 2013). But this does not necessarily mean that the authorities are accepting the imageries of slums.

With the term ‘’festi*favel*isation’’, Steinbrink (2013) describes the changes Rio’s favelas underwent before the Olympic Games, a process which included the ‘invisibilisation’, ‘pacification’ and ‘beautification’ of the favelas and sometimes even the demolition of houses or the evictions of residents. Through this process, the authorities aimed at deflecting the tourists’ gaze by transforming the semantics and aesthetics of the favela and deproblematizing social issues. Moreover, this process could be interpreted

as an attempt to gain the public's consent for otherwise controversial strategies such as regaining dominance over the pacified favela in order to attract private investments and increase real estate prices (Steinbrink 2013). The same notion of ''symbolic taming'' (Freeman 2012) of impoverished populations has been observed in several destinations like India (Basu 2015), South Korea and the Dominican Republic (Greene 2014) and it is only an example of how governments may use international tourism's influence to promote their agenda.

In other cases, slum tourism is straightforwardly rejected. In India, for example, a government minister threatened to shut down Mumbai's most popular slum tour operator due to their supposedly immoral practices (Richardson 2016).

All these examples serve to underline that while communities may sometimes benefit from the assistance of their governments, it is clear that these two interest groups do not necessarily share the same intentions even when partnerships and agreements between the two are established. It is important to note however that any divergence between the authorities' rhetoric and their actions may derive from extrinsic political pressure by international organizations.

Through the course of globalization, the political influence of supranational institutions like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization has surpassed national and continental boundaries, with their decisions directly affecting the actions of governments worldwide. The power of these institutions and by extension their social and economic impacts has grown significantly in the post-world war two era and their policies are in the center of the discourse for global development, a theme from which the tourism industry is rarely excluded. The impact of these supranational organizations in global tourism is better reflected by policies of the World Tourism Organization, the World Travel and Tourism Council or the United Nations that refer to sustainable tourism development and are mainly affecting third world states, such as the famous Agenda 21. These political relationships do not only accentuate the unevenness in touristic development and the asymmetrical power relations that exist within it, but also indicate the construction of a global communal conscience with an interventionist character and the objective to solve problems (Mowforth and Munt 2009).

As discussed before, poverty has been constructed as such a global social issue, a problem that hints at the necessity of external intervention in search for a solution and which finds its absolute embodiment in the notion of the slum. However, in the global political discourse, the perpetuation of the grim living conditions in the slums is attributed to the local governments' reluctance for interference. According to Baptista (2015), this fact enables a rearrangement of the power relations as the slums become ''non-governmental arenas'' in which international NGOs seek to contribute in promoting sustainable development and alleviating poverty. Do non-governmental organizations then fill in this role of external help and if so, how is that reflected in the context of slum tourism?

In many cases, in order to finance their activity, NGOs that operate in the slums are offering slum tours. Naturally, these tours are presented not only as glimpses of poverty but also as development projects that provide tourists with a moral cause for participation usually in the form of monetary aid, hence redefining slum tourism as charitable intervention. Moreover, in many cases, tour operators support and donate parts of their profits to local NGOs that help the communities in different ways. Two representative examples of the involvement of non-governmental organizations in slum tourism are ‘’Salaam Baalak Trust’’ (2016), an NGO that funnels profits from slum tours to educational projects and healthcare for children, and ‘’Reality Gives’’, an NGO that engages in local charity, founded by Reality Tours and Travels, one of the most popular slum tour agencies in Mumbai.

In conclusion, it is clear that tourism in third world destinations is shaped and defined not only by national governments but also by supranational organizations and political institutions. In a similar way, slum tourism as a tourism practice is directly affected by the policies of local authorities and the engagement of international and local non-governmental organizations in the slums.

The media (mis)conception and the literary ‘’slumming’’.

Throughout this paper, the role and power of representations in the development of slum tourism have been a recurring theme. The importance of imaginaries has been emphasized in the construction of poverty as an attraction, in the ethical debate of slum tourism and the power relations within it, in relation to government policies, tour guide operations, tourist motivations and the tourist gaze (Urry 1990). Clearly, apart from the global political discourse, images of slums and poverty are produced and circulated globally mainly through mainstream media (touring poverty).

Ever since the emergence of mass media as a communicative medium, images and language have been used to frame the identity and status quo of people groups, often challenging their social or political identities and mentally establishing them as the ‘’Other’’ (O’Donnell 2013). The persuasive power of the media has been well documented (Curran 2002) but its real impact on the public opinion can be summarized in Walter Lippman’s (1992: 44) words, who says: *‘’For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture’’.* To no surprise, in today’s globalized world, narratives about slums and their dwellers are produced and presented mainly through the movie industry or on the internet, in journalistic articles, travel blogs, documentaries and photography.

However, imageries of the slums were offered for public consumption way before the times of television and the World Wide Web. Therefore, before investigating the representations of slum tourism and the slums in general in contemporary media, it would be useful to understand their origins.

Seaton (2015) uses the term ‘’literary slumming’’ to refer to the representations of the slums in literature and the press in general. This phenomenon was first observed in the early seventeenth century but was significantly augmented in Paris and London of the nineteenth century, along with the evolution of the press and the popularization of newspapers and magazines that were printed en masse. In many cases, these publications featured articles of journalists credited as ‘’low-life specialists’’ that would explore the social lows of the slums, exposing their realities in pulp fiction, in the name of entertainment rather than. Later on however, and as the aftermaths of rapid urbanization and social segregation became progressively apparent, publications came to include social surveys of poverty, government reports on the life conditions of the poor and news of philanthropist initiatives, hence reconditioning slumming as a field for urban reform.

In the dawn of the twentieth century and after the touristification of the practice in the United States (Steinbrink 2012), slumming diversified into an upper-class social habit that involved cross-ethnic encounters, ‘’hedonistic Bohemianism and flâneurism’’ (Seaton 2015) as well as an interest in urban hobo culture. This diversification is reflected in literature by works of authors such as George Orwell, Jean-Paul Sartre and Jack Kerouac. Finally, in the mid-twentieth century, slumming became a prevalent theme in academia, mainly in the fields of anthropology and sociology.

The representations of slum and the notion of slumming in both its broader and its more spatially specific sense are still ubiquitous in today’s internet era of mass communication and are still framing the notion of the slums and their populations, and subsequently, the phenomenon of slum tourism.

Destinations where slum tourism has been established have reportedly shown a significant increase in tourist numbers after their portrayal in international films, books or documentaries (Frenzel et al 2015). Prominent examples of such cases are the films City of God (2002) and the documentary Favela Rising (2005) that contributed in ascertaining the favela’s place among the most popular sights of Rio, as well as the film Slumdog Millionaire (2008) that used Mumbai’s slums as a dramatic backdrop, among many other movies, articles, photographs, videos and journals.

Of course, all these aforementioned representations of slums have been ethically challenged at the same level as slum tourism itself. For example, Davis’ (2006) popular book ‘’Planet of Slums’’ that aimed at criticizing social inequalities, was itself criticized as a notional re-enforcement of apocalyptic otherness (Angotti 2006). In a similar fashion, mass media’s depictions are held responsible by the academia for the public’s associations of poverty, disarray, crime and violence with the slums (Rolfes 2010), while at the same time, slum tourism is on the receiving end of moral criticism by the media

(Baran 2008). Notably, in an article of the New York Times, Odede (2010) states: *''Aside from the occasional comment, there is no dialogue established, no conversation begun. Slum tourism is a one-way street: They get photos; we lose a piece of our dignity.''*

In conclusion, it has become clear how representations of the slums are affecting the discourse -and potentially the future- of slum tourism. Their origins can be traced all the way back to the seventeenth century and their evolution has incorporated the themes of urban governance, social reform, quest for authenticity and cultural exchange into the concept. Driven by the contemporary's media imageries of slums and all their controversies, people are engaging in slum tourism seeking the same thrills, myths and truths that slummers were seeking centuries ago, which were induced and valorized by literary slumming, an art that is older than slumming itself (Frenzel et al 2015).

Sustainability

Sustainable tourism can be defined as ''*Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities' (UNWTO 2005)'* and sustainable development as a ''*a dynamic process which enables all people to realize their potential and improve their quality of life in ways which simultaneously protect and enhance the Earth's life support systems*'' (Chambers et al. 2007).

As mentioned in the first segment of the present chapter, sustainability is a concept that has become commonplace in the global developmental discourse. Same as poverty, it describes a problem that calls for immediate action by international organizations and global expertise. The notion of sustainability has developed concurrently with globalization's new consumer behaviors and the two are semantically interconnected to justify the practices of tourism. Particularly in the context of tourism, the idea of sustainability has been not infrequently manipulated to vindicate and credit government policies, tourist activities and organizations. Therefore, the concept of 'sustainable tourism' was brought forth to the global scene and academic research began focusing on the impacts of tourism development, resulting in the appearance of the ''conservation ethics'' (Mowforth and Munt 2009).

What makes the need for sustainable tourism even more apparent is the undeniable countless problems the explosive growth of the industry has caused, such as environmental issues, cultural degradation, social segregation, economic inequality etc. All these issues might have contributed to the creation of new forms of alternative and more 'responsible' types of tourism. Can slum tourism be regarded as such a new form of tourism that aims at having a positive social impact in the communities it develops, and if so, how? Or in other words, is slum tourism sustainable?

The main principles of sustainability in tourism

Mowforth and Munt (2009) argue that sustainability is a concept that is hard to define and therefore in most cases researchers primarily examine the tourists' activities and their impact in order to assess it. Moreover, they identify several different aspects of the concept which will be briefly presented below.

Social Sustainability

This term refers to the extent in which communities are able to absorb the industry's inputs and host additional people within their society, without any implications in its function and its relationships such as social segregation or disharmony. Tourism in remote or secluded communities has often resulted in such malpractices, which have manifested as creation of new social divisions, marginalization and exclusion of the locals from the business field. If, as discussed above, unequal development and power asymmetry are inherent global tourism, the presumption of such implications does not seem unreasonable.

Cultural Sustainability

Apart from the impact of tourism on the societies of the host destinations, new business endeavors might also affect local cultures by altering or influencing the locals' lifestyles, traditions, customs, values, modes of interaction or exchange etc. Of course this is not always considered as a flaw of tourism development, but can also be interpreted as cultural adaptation or ''transculturation'' (Pratt 1992). Cultural sustainability serves to ensure that host communities are able to maintain their distinguishable cultural traits despite extrinsic influences and to avoid misconduct. Reasonably, estimating tourism's impact in terms of culture is a challenging task, yet signs of change of indigenous identities have been often documented (UNEP; De Kadt, 1979).

Economic sustainability

Economic sustainability refers to financial benefits that are secured through touristic development, whether those translate into additional income for the visited people, urban development, or simply into sufficient funds for the costs of the processes underwent to create touristic activity. This aspect is frequently regarded as the sole important aspect of sustainability by agents and companies that in many cases value the net benefits produced over any social or cultural impacts their activities might have. Moreover, the

matter of which group in on the receiving end of the benefits is used as a counterargument to issues regarding power and control. In this regard, Mowforth and Munt (2009) argue that even though it seems as financial gain may overshadow other aspects, it should not be deemed as a way to make other implications tolerable or less important, nor as a way to justify the unequal power relations that develop within the touristic field.

Ecological sustainability

This term reflects the need for natural resource conservation and preservation of the ecosystem and it may refer to waste emissions, litter, effects on biodiversity, the alteration of natural habitats etc. as effects of tourism (Weaver & Lawton 1999). While minimizing the damage done to the visited environments and preserving ecology is clearly of great importance, in many cases, ecological sustainability becomes synonymous with sustainability in the public sphere. One of the best ways to assess the ecological impact of tourism is the concept of carrying capacity (Robinson 2012) which will be examined below.

Local participation

The significance and the degree of local participation in tourism activity is apparent in the discussions for sustainability by both academics and international organizations. In that discourse, there is a differentiation between the role of locals as participants or mere objects of tourism, which is also indicative of the difference between new types of tourism and mass tourism (Mowforth and Munt 2009). Once again, the notion of control over the operations is eminent.

The educational element

Similarly to local participation, the element of education is another contrast between mass and alternative tourism. The term refers to the way tourists understand the environment, people and cultures of the places they visit and to the attempts made -if any- by tourist intermediaries challenge and broaden their perceptions by providing information, enriching the tourist encounter and underlining the importance of the values and norms of host destinations.

Tools for Sustainability

In order to analyze and assess sustainability researchers and organizations make use of certain techniques, several categories of which will be presented below.

Environmental impact assessment (EIA)

Environmental impact assessment techniques are among the most popular when it comes to estimating tourism's impact in terms of economic growth, social conditions and equitable use of natural resources. Moreover, the significance of education, knowledge sharing and stakeholder involvement are stressed by its practitioners (Weaver et al 2012). EIA is an anticipatory approach, meaning that its purpose is to estimate the impact a development has before the decision for its implementation is made.

Carrying capacity calculations

Carrying capacity can be perceived as ''the threshold up to which sustainable tourism can develop'' (Shirt 2012:22), referring to the maximum number of tourists that can be absorbed by a destination in physical, economic, socio-cultural, perceptual, infrastructural and environmental terms, before their presence results in the alteration of the environment or the dissatisfaction of the visitors.

Codes of conduct

This term refers to the establishment of sets of rules to be followed by the industry, the tourists and the host governments and communities. Even though the concept is most frequently used to describe the ethics of a tourist practice (Mason & Mowforth 1996) it might include a variety of issues about touristic development. However, this technique is arguably problematic, due to the fact that codes of conduct aim at influencing behavior and attitudes and are usually not set in a legal context, meaning their application is voluntary. Moreover, codes of conduct can potentially be used as marketing techniques and their differentiation, monitoring and evaluation is a difficult task (Mowforth and Munt 2009).

Participation techniques

The importance of the involvement of local communities for sustainable touristic developments has already been underlined. In order to analyze its extent, certain participation techniques are used. These techniques measure public opinion and promote and stakeholder involvement, education and information exchange in tourism activities through surveys, meetings, interviews, hearings, workshops etc. One of the most popular

tools to obtain local representational input is the ‘’Delphi technique’’ in which participants identify the most significant issues of a development (Pigram and Wahab 1999).

Sustainability indicators

The development of this technique is one of the results of the Rio Summit of 1992 which will be presented below. Sustainability indicators are ‘’measures of the existence or severity of current issues, signals of upcoming situations or problems, measures of risk and potential need for action, and means to identify and measure the results of our actions’’ (WTO 2004:8). Indicators might be quantitative or qualitative, can be categorized and are related to different aspects of a development: social, cultural, environmental, economical, management etc. (Weaver and Lawton 1999). The use of indicators in analyses unveils the relations between environmental and socio-cultural issues and the powers that lie behind them and thus necessitates the active participation of local communities in their selection and formulation (Mowforth and Munt 1997).

Apart from all the above, there are several other categories of techniques: ‘’area protection’’ that refers to sustaining protected areas like reserves and parks, ‘’visitor management techniques’’ that aim at regulating tourist and transportation flows, and ‘’industry regulation’’, referring to policies and legislations of local governments and international organizations. However, it is important to note that all techniques might be abused by the industry or other stakeholders for marketing, political or other purposes (Mowforth and Munt 1997).

Sustainability as a global discourse

As previously discussed, along with the rapid pace of globalization and the development of the industry in the third world, tourism has been the focal centre of many international organizations. Accordingly, sustainable development has entered the global discourse as a means to analyze, assess and prevent its impact. Perhaps the most significant manifestation of this discourse is the ‘’Agenda 21’’ that was a result of Rio’s 1999 United Nations Earth Summit, an action plan that aimed at sustainable development in ‘’every area in which human impacts on the environment’’ (United Nations). Later, the role and objectives of the agenda were analyzed in the context of tourism by the World Tourism Organization (WTO), the World Travel and Tourism Council and the Earth Council (WTO). However, the focus of the objectives was set mainly on environmental sustainability, treated arguably as a necessity for the marketing of the tourist product, while not much emphasis was given to social development, community participation or the vast inequalities the industry creates. Thus, Agenda 21 was criticized as being First World and profit oriented, delivering guidelines, rather than exchanging information (Mowforth and Munt 1999). More recently, the United Nations announced the 2030

Agenda for sustainable development on which the number one goal (SDG) states ‘’end poverty in all its forms everywhere’’. In addition, WTO declared 2017 as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development, aiming at creating jobs, promoting local culture and products and increasing the economic benefits of least developed countries among other objectives.

Sustainability in the context of slum tourism

Slum tourism is undoubtedly a new ‘’extraordinary’’ form of tourism (Rolfes 2010) and its research has proven thus far to be ‘’undisciplined’’ (Frenzel and Koens 2012). As such, it would not be illogical to assume that it would not adhere to traditional approaches of measuring tourism sustainability. Indeed, the -mostly quantitative- techniques presented above do not seem suitable for this type of tourism. Examining the area protection, the carrying capacity or the tourist flows in destinations that are defined by nature by overpopulation, poor environmental conditions and squalor seems rather illogical. On the other hand, as seen above, the primary goal of sustainable development -especially in LDC’s- is poverty alleviation. Could slum tourism then be examined as a means for reducing poverty? In the ethical controversy slum tourism is accused for voyeurism on one hand, but on the other is presented as beneficial to the poor, and it is on that basis that operators and sometimes governments encourage its practice. However the notion of tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation has been often challenged (Scheyvens 2007), as generalizations distort the potentials of niche markets and specific initiatives (Scheyvens 2011). According to Frenzel (2013), slum tourism is a phenomenon that appears under very specific circumstances and creates niche markets that commodify and valorize poverty. Could it be then that slum tourism normalizes and de-problematizes poverty? Also, as discussed before, slum tourism has emerged in very politically active places and times, pursuing visibility and empowerment of the locals. If poverty is also a political problem rather than a social one (Scheyvens 2011), should not poverty alleviation be also a political target?

Scheyvens (2007,2011) identifies four historically consecutive different approaches to the poverty-tourism nexus. In the early *liberal approach*, tourism was seen as merely a means for economic development that would consequently result in poverty reduction (Zhao and Ritchie 2000) and thus poverty was conceptualized as an issue of underdevelopment. Later on, in the *critical approach,* tourism as a tool for development was criticized for its social and cultural costs and its financial benefits were questioned. As new alternative forms of tourism in undeveloped countries appeared as a response, new *alternative approaches* were observed in the form of community based tourism (CBT) that aimed at increasing the locals’ participation and development which was however

also met with criticism for its genuine motives. This led to the emergence of pro-poor tourism (PPT), which mainly aimed at providing net benefits to the poor, in a neoliberal approach. Accordingly, this led to the ‘’quantification of poverty’’ (Frenzel 2013), apparent in global organizations like UNWTO and the World Bank that measured tourism’s benefits in absolute numbers, linking growth to prosperity and poverty reduction, even if it was the richest people that ultimately benefited from tourism (Schilcher 2007). Finally, in the *post-developmental approach* poverty is viewed as a multi-faceted phenomenon which cannot be examined by quantitative indicators only, and even though PPT and CBT researchers still prioritize net benefits (eg. Goodwin and Santilli 2009), tourism should be viewed as a social force that can advocate social and political empowerment, rather than an industry (Higgins-Desbiolles 2009). Therefore, Zhao and Ritchie (2008) propose a set of qualitative indicators based on the notions of opportunity, participation, empowerment and security of the locals.

In accordance to this approach, slum tourism researchers call for a more qualitative approach that examines poverty as something more than the absence of monetary income and poverty reduction as more than financial gain (Frenzel and Koens 2012, Frenzel et al 2015), as slum tourism may bear social, symbolic, cultural or educational value for the tourists and visited populations. In that sense, it can be perceived as a communicative tool that may alter the place semantics and perceptions of poverty or even provide political capital by means of international recognition, as tourists co-create the destination. Moreover these indicators might refer to the NGO’s, activists and researchers that operate in slum tourism in relation to how they valorize and represent poverty. Qualitative indicators, in conclusion, enable an approach in which tourism is understood as a social force, and in which, rather than ‘’colonizing our understanding of poverty’’ (Frenzel 2013:126), its valorization is examined in terms of communicative processes.

Slum tourism today: The cases of Rio de Janeiro and Cape Town

Township Tourism in Cape Town

Historical background

The first township tours were conducted by the Apartheid regime as a means of propaganda (Ludvigsen 2002). Commercial township tourism first came to life in the early post-Apartheid era (Frenzel et al 2015) and were designed for international ‘’struggle junkies’’ that wished to witness the realities and life conditions of the townships (Ludvigsen 2002). In the early nineties and along with the tourism boom in South Africa , township tours became more popular, the market expanded and key locations of the freedom fight against Apartheid, like Soweto in Johannesburg and Langa in Cape Town, saw a significant rise in tourist numbers, as township tourism became a mass phenomenon (Rolfes 2010). Through this popularization however, the focus of the tours has shifted from the political struggles and the exclusion of poverty to the rich cultural diversity and other social aspects (Frenzel 2015), like the socio-spatial segregation which is highlighted by the inaccessibility of the sites (Ludvigsen 2002). Moreover, tours are now being organized by large operators rather than the residents themselves, promoting and marketing township tourism and contributing into making it an international success (Rolfes 2010). Notably, in 2006, a number of 300,000 tourists were reported to participate in township tours in Cape Town, accounting for a quarter of the city’s total visitors (AP 2007). After the FIFA World Cup of 2010, more investments went into township tourism, creating new routes and accommodation offers.

The existing offer-Tour operators

The number of companies operating in township tourism is estimated to be between 40 and 50, varying in methods and level of professionalism (Rolfes et al 2009). After researching 20 different tours, Rolfes et al (2009) found that the average duration of a township tour is about 4 hours, with an average cost of 200 rand, most of them conducted by township residents. Moreover, they detected several similarities among all tours. Firstly, all tours focused on ‘’black townships’’, places that highlight the history of apartheid struggles and included visits in: the ‘’district 6’’ museum, migrant hostels, pre-school institutions, informal settlements, a pub, a traditional healer and private homes. Secondly, all tours urged tourists to donate to local institutions and buy souvenirs or local artcraft, and lastly, enabled contact between tourists and residents in the pubs.

Furthermore, after interviewing the tour operators, Rolfes et al. (2009) state that all companies rank commercial motives as their first reason for activity. However, several other reasons were underlined: the portrayal of ‘real’ life and history of the townships and an ‘authentic’ view of the country’s culture, as well as the potential for economic and social development that township tourism has for the communities. It is important to note that the social aspect of the tours was mostly emphasized by the smaller companies. Also, some operators expressed the need for sharing the profits to support projects in the communities.

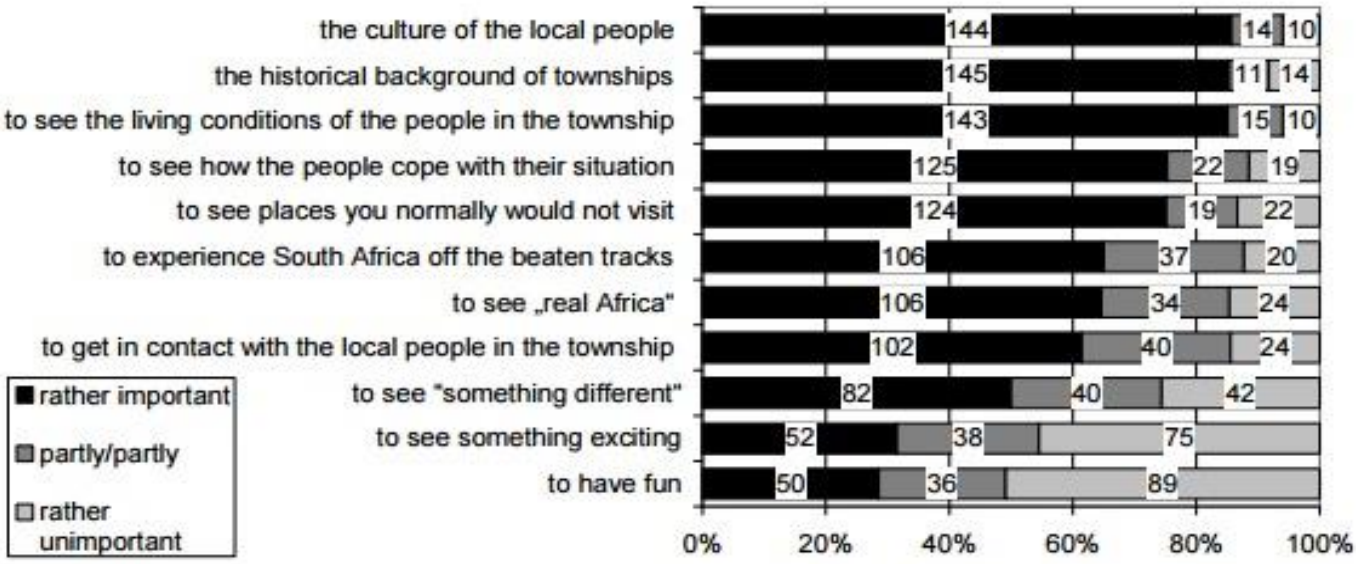
In regards to the visitors, tour operators stated that township tourists were primarily interested in familiarizing with local culture and interacting with the locals and therefore the tours offered reflect their expectations and include stops at community projects, schools and places of historical interest, all of which exemplify life in the ‘’black community’’. Moreover, most operators intentionally highlight townships’ poverty and the potential for development at the same time, while others focus on the more positive side and purposely avoid exposing the tourists to more distressing images.

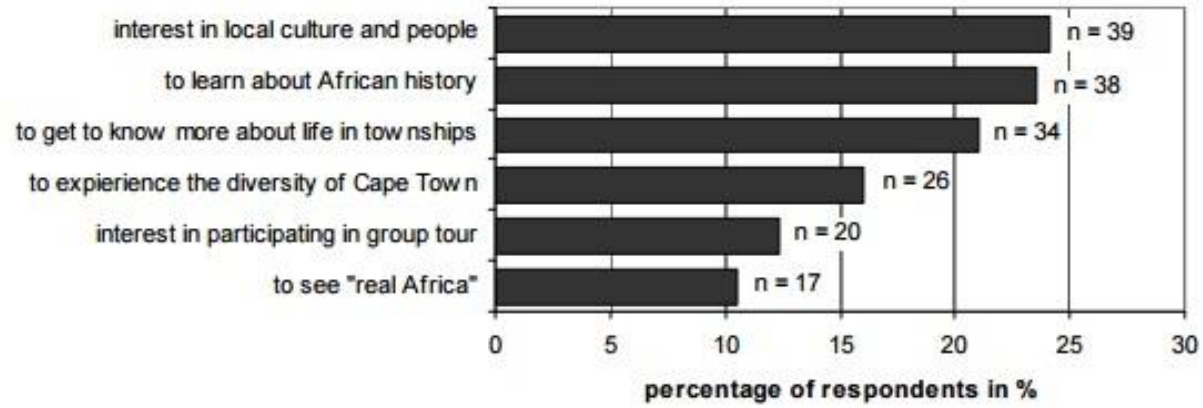
Township Tourists

Before examining the findings of the research regarding township tourists, it is important to note that they originate predominantly from western countries, mainly USA, Germany, UK and Scandinavia. As such, it is reasonable to assume that their conceptions have been affected by the portrayal of Africa and by extension South Africa and the townships in western education and mass media, which usually employ a western-centric approach that was molded by centuries of colonial history and results in generalizations and misrepresentations. In this approach, Africa is frequently portrayed as a place that is in great need of help and Africans themselves as noble savages (Cejas 2006) which contributes to the attraction of the destination.

Before the tour

Rolfes et al (2009) examined a sample of 179 tourists that participated in tours by 17 different companies. The findings are presented below. Cape Town’s townships were found to be the third most popular attraction of the city surpassing more conventional sights. When asked about their associations of townships, tourists identified ‘’poverty’’ as a predominant value (65%), followed by ‘’black inhabitants’’, ‘’Apartheid’’, ‘’delinquency’’, ‘’poor housing conditions’’ and ‘’segregation’. In regards to the reason they chose to participate in a tour, interviewees ranked ‘’interest in local culture and people’’ (24%) and ‘’African history’’ (23%) as their top two responses, followed by an interest in life in the townships and the cultural diversity of Cape Town.
Moreover, visitors were asked to assess how important each aspect of the township tour is, with the results in the graph below. Finally the tourists filled out a semantic profile that aimed at examining their expectations of townships. Clearly, tourists’ perceptions lean towards the more negative associations, such as underdeveloped, segregated, dirty and ugly.

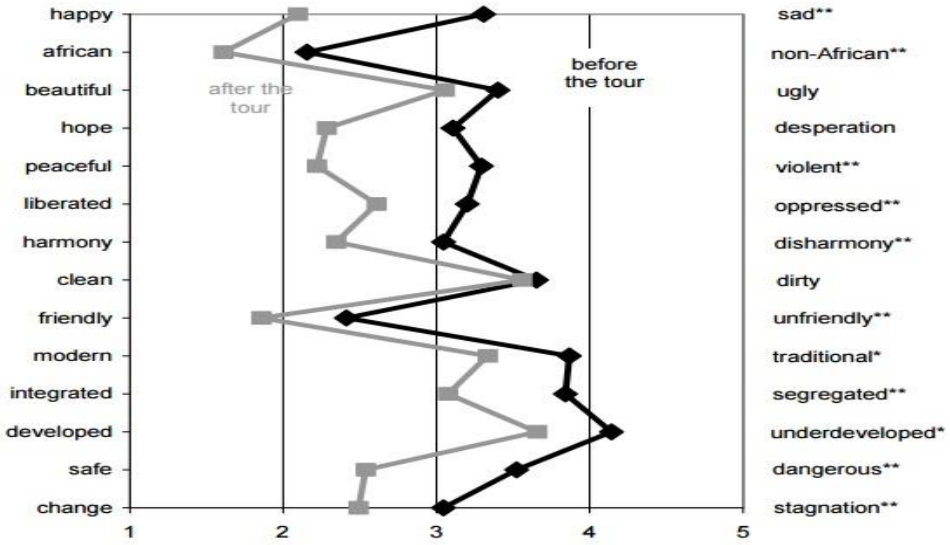




After the tour

In an attempt to examine whether the tourists' perception altered after the visit and in what way, the tourists were asked to evaluate the tour. The answers, provided by 79 respondents, are presented below. In regards to what impressed them the most, most tourists mentioned the friendliness of the residents and the existence of public and commercial infrastructure, followed by the standard of technology and the narrations of residents . Moreover, tourists stated that during the tours they felt comfortable safe and welcome and 90% percent of them stated that they had the chance to come to direct contact with the residents. In regards to what tourists believe the main focus of a township

tour is, the most popular answers were: to present African life and culture, to upgrade the image of the townships, to show development and change and lastly to give political and historical background. Finally, a comparison of the semantic profiles before and after the tour (GRAPH) illustrates how tourists' perception of the slums were challenged and altered thought the experience.



Township Residents

Apart from the tourists, the study also included interviews with the township residents that are directly involved with the tour operations, like the owners of the pubs and restaurants, the souvenir traders and the street artists. As they reported, townships are impressive in the sense that people of vastly different ethnic, religious and social backgrounds can coexist in harmony. Moreover, the rich cultural and historical dimension of townships were emphasized. However, locals stressed the fact that townships are mainly characterized by poverty and crime and accentuated the need for development. In addition, they claimed that the tours had local support from the residents and that they were in most cases willing to communicate with the visitors and present their viewpoints and thus to challenge the negative images promoted by the media. Furthermore, residents appeared to be well aware of the developing market of township tourism and its potential for creating job opportunities and generate income and expected future developments. Finally, in relation to the tourists, interviewees believed that their attraction to townships can be explained as an attraction to a different way of life, something they cannot experience back home.

Government

According to Koens (2015), the South African government is viewing small businesses of township tourism as a tool for local economic development and entrepreneurship with the potential to challenge racial inequalities in the tourism industry, a fact which is reflected in its main policies for responsible tourism. However, even if the local authorities' approaches to slum tourism are well-intended, their projects have yet to succeed. Local governments launched two initiatives in 2008 in Langa, Cape Town, aiming at stimulating development, both of which were later abandoned. The first one was ''Langa Walking Tour'', which aimed at establishing a new itinerary with the collaboration of tour guides so that they can compete with external companies and set fixed prices. Not long after however, the tour guides that participated were trying to control and represent the others and the tour operators from Langa were expressing their concern in fear of a cheaper substitute. The second one was the ''Langa Tourism Forum'' an attempt to set up a representative body of all businesses in the township, which would give locals negotiating power in discussions with competitors, make them eligible for funds and enable them to control the market more easily. In practice however, it was a difficult task, as the responsible people for creating the forum were inexperienced and failed to make contact with all the businesses, which in turn caused mistrust about their motives and thus the idea was eventually abandoned. Koens (2015) argues that both these collaborative initiatives failed due to the authorities' inefficiency in understanding the competition and power relations among township businesses.

Favela Tourism in Rio de Janeiro

Historical background

The dawn of favela tourism in Rio de Janeiro is traced back to the early nineties and the Rio Conference of Environment and Sustainable Development, during which, international visitors expressed interest for the living conditions of the favelas and their dwellers, making the first guided favela tours a reality. This interest was augmented by the fact that during the conference, access to favelas was restricted by military and police forces. Since then, favela tourism developed into a significant tourism market, with an estimated forty thousand visitors in Rocinha (the largest favela of the city) alone every year (FM transits). However, favela tourism is clearly less developed and popularized than township tourism in Cape Town.

The existing offer- Tour operators

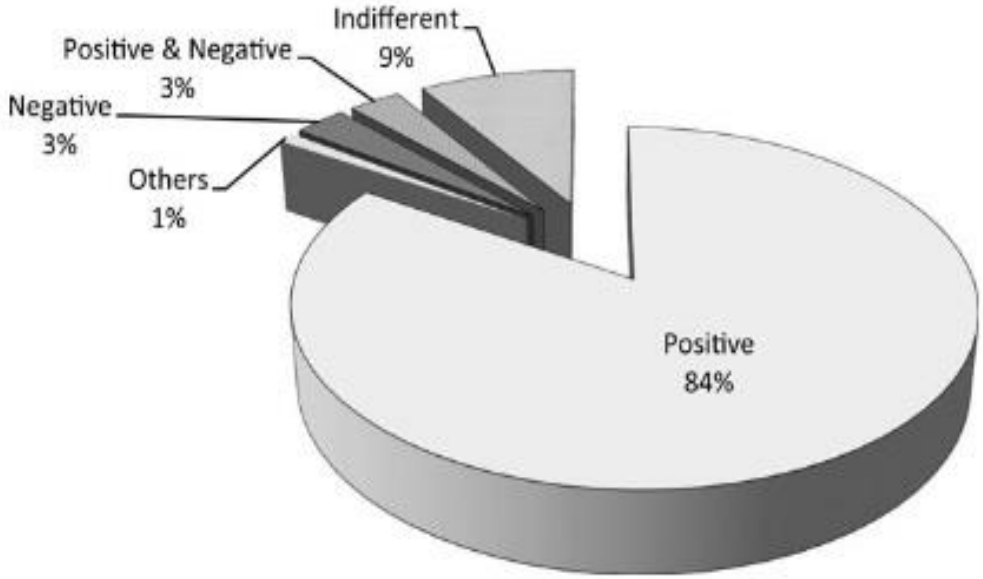
In contrast to Cape Town, only seven or eight companies were found to offer favela tours in Rio, most of them concentrating on Rocinha. However, in several cases, more informal tours were observed (eg. private guides, taxi drivers etc) (FM transits). The average cost of a favela tour lies between 50 and 80 Reals and they last between three and six hours. Even though the tours are conducted by very different operators, they all share some common points: explanations for the socio-spatial disparities within a favela, information on the urban and technological infrastructure, visits to social projects and meetings with the workers, visits to schools, visits to residences and meetings with the inhabitants, and visits to local restaurants and cafes (Rolfes 2010). Many operators claim that part of their profits is channeled back to the communities. During the visits to schools and social projects, visitors are encouraged to donate money to the cause or buy local products and souvenirs. Moreover, two operators are involved in social projects themselves, a daycare center and a training course for new tour guides. However, the rest do not seem to produce any kind of financial gain for the locals (transit). Rolfes (2010) concludes that the main scope of the operators is to broaden the business field and secure their profits.

In relation to how tour operators choose to portray and represent the favela, Freire-Medeiros (transit) states that the promotion of the tours (websites, leaflets etc) highlights the prospect of challenging negative stereotypes of the favelas, through showing tourists the ‘real image’. Rofes (2010) observes a different narrative however, stating that operators stress the advanced level of infrastructure and services and the ‘unexpectedly’ high standard of living, in an attempt to depict life in the favelas as normal and attractive, a fact which is reflected in the guides’ remarks about brazilian joyousness and lively lifestyles. Lastly, another interesting aspect of favela tourism is the relationship between operators and local drug dealers. According to Freire-Medeiros (transit) tours do not pass through streets where drugs are circulated and they prohibit photos in certain areas. Also, the subjects of drug trafficking, violence and weapons are often discussed during the tours as an everyday theme in the favelas. At the same time, tourists are reassured about their personal safety. In this way, operators are using danger as an attraction, in addition to poverty.

Finally , during research in another favela, Santa Marta , Freire-Medeiros et al (2013) observed tension in the business field among local and external guides and the shopkeepers. Local guides believe that favela tourism should be a field for community members only, while agency owners claim that residents are not qualified enough to conduct tours, but they are willing to hire and train locals. In turn, the shop owners believe their businesses would be more profitable if they cooperated with local guides.

Favela Tourists

Freire-Medeiros et al (2013) conducted a research in Santa-Marta -a favela that competes with Rocinha for the most visited favela in Rio- interviewing 400 international tourists, almost 70% of whom came from more developed countries (APP). The tourists evaluated the security within the favela on a 0-10 scale to be 7.9 and even those that felt the favela is unsecure still decided to participate in a tour. The visitors recognized the physical aspects of Santa Marta to be the main attraction, like architecture (56%), the view (41%), while social projects were in the third place (35%).



However, when asked about what they think would be the most important aspect of the tour, tourists identified historical information as being of high importance (76%), followed by visits to social projects (66%). Notably, visits to residents' houses were deemed as noe of the least valued options (42.7%). Additionally, tourists were questioned about several aspects of favela tourism (GRAPH), and lastly visitors perceptions before and after visiting the favela were compared (GRAPH). Tourists seem to believe that tourism does bring benefits to favelas, both social and economic and also appear to dismiss the voyeuristic aspect. Moreover it becomes clear that visitors' perceptions changed significantly after the tours, with the changes being more apparent in the terms of ''tranquility'', ''disorder'' and ''poverty''.

The 'Favelados'

Freire-Medeiros (2015) also did an extensive research regarding favela residents in different parts of Rocinha, including 178 interviewees. In contrast to global media's

perspectives, the research showed that residents are not hostile towards tourists but rather welcome them. A dominant 84% of the interviewed residents were in favor of tourism (GRAPH), and the need for more interaction was stressed by many. They do recognize however that the economic impact of tourism is very limited, as profits are not distributed and any benefits come in the form of charity. Hence, a need for an alternative favela tourism is expressed. Apart from the financial aspect, residents also noted that tourism could contribute to counter the stigmatization of violence and drugs caused by the media, through demonstrating the authentic side of the favelas to tourists. In answer to what they would change if they were the tour operators, 79% answered that they would prioritize the local markets and social projects, and leave all the negative aspects of poverty out of the itinerary. Notably, 70% claimed that they would not charge for the tours at all. Finally, the researchers noted that in many cases there was an inversion in the tourist-host encounters, in which the tourists became the attraction for locals, who observed and commented on them.

Furthermore, it is interesting to mention that in 2006 a few members of the Rocinha Inhabitants Improvement Union established a partnership with a travel agency that intended to get involved in the favela, designing a tour that would be conducted by young locals, and which would highlight the history and culture of the community, while ensuring their participation. This endeavor was endorsed by the Ministry of Culture, but never became reality, due to the lack of interest of external agents who doubted the locals' competence and knowledge of business.

Government

Onwards from the Earth Summit conference in 1992, the betterment of life conditions and infrastructure in favelas was incorporated in official policies of Rio de Janeiro's authorities. Since then, the favelas were recognized as official tourism destinations and the local government began promoting favela tourism. In 2005, the Mayor's office even attempted to turn a whole favela into an open air museum (menezes 2015). Later on, the state's governor made an agreement with the government regarding the favelas' renovation, that included constructing new houses, schools, roads, and most notably new tourist accommodation infrastructure. All these examples do not necessarily mean that favelas are now politically empowered, as the case of ''festivalization'' above has shown. However, a shift in the political discourse has been observed (Frenzel 2015), as ''new politics of visibility'' (transits 587) come at play. In 2010, Rocinha was inducted in the government's Growth Acceleration Programme, corresponding to a 120 USD million investment.

Analysis

As expected, the different actors that participate in the making of the slum tourism product often employ very different opinions about the impact of tourism and the industry's motivations as well as about the slums themselves as urban spaces and the poverty that characterizes them. In this chapter, the research findings will be analyzed from the perspectives of the operators, the tourists, the residents and the local authorities, the two cases will be compared, and finally, the sustainability of slum tourism will be examined.

Observations on Township Tourism in Cape Town

As discussed previously, township tourism has become a mass phenomenon in South Africa and has established townships as popular attractions in the eyes of international tourists. The increasing interest in the townships has, in turn, resulted in the emergence of numerous formal and informal agents that offer tours. Most of the tours share the same characteristics. In their narrative, tour operators stress the historical and cultural aspects of townships, which is reflected in the choice to conduct the tours in the ''black'' townships and include visits at museums, social projects and places of historical interests and not to focus on aspects that would reaffirm the tourists' expectations. However, it is clear that operators adhere to the commercial character of the tourism industry and interpret the function of their service in financial terms. Thus, they purposefully depict poverty within the townships alongside with the potential for economic development and urge visitors to contribute with monetary aid in the form of donations. Moreover, many tour operators expressed the wish to share their profits with projects that would be beneficial for the community, yet there is no evidence to suggest that this wish will soon become reality. Residents, on the other hand, claimed that the tours had local support and even encouraged the broadening of the encounters between tourists and the community, which is limited to short discussions during visits at the pubs. Again, it is important to note that the residents that were interviewed were people that were involved with township tourism, as local shop owners, souvenir vendors or street artists.

Perhaps to no surprise, township tourist groups seem to comprise mostly of international tourists, primarily from western countries. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the impressions they have of townships and their inhabitants are heavily influenced by the representations of western media, films and literature as they were shaped through centuries of 'othering'. Indeed, when asked about their views on townships before the tour, tourists described them as ugly, violent and dangerous. In that light, and if one considers that tourists 'want to see what they expect to see', it seems like township tourism is not but another new touristic form of negative sightseeing.

Nevertheless, the main goal of the tourists appears to be to experience local culture and learn the history behind the townships, reaffirming the concept of the 'quest for authenticity'. The experiences with the 'real life' of the townships indeed seems to have a significant impact on the tourists' mindset, as after the tour they seem to think of these spaces as less dangerous and more peaceful. Moreover, after interacting with the residents, tourists identify townships as more happy and friendly than they did before. Lastly, it is worth to mention that the aspect of 'having fun' in the context of townships tours was deemed to be rather unimportant, a fact that further accentuates the 'extraordinariness' of the phenomenon.

Observations on Favela Tourism in Rio de Janeiro

Ever since 1992 and the first international visitors that explored the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, favela tourism has been consistently growing in size, favelas became official attractions recognized by the authorities, they were popularized by globally successful movies, and thus found their way into the must-do lists of travel guides and most of Rio de Janeiro's tourists. The favela tours seem to share common elements, with the most prominent being the depiction of social segregation both in comparison to the rest of the city and within the favelas, the highlights of recent technological and infrastructural advancements, and visits to homes, schools and projects. Two of the social projects are run by operators, but in general there appears to be no sense of commitment or responsibility by the companies to address problems of poverty. Rather, the 'real image' that is promoted by tour guides is the one that show how favelas are transforming for the better, in what is arguably an attempt to reconstruct their image as 'normal' places which do not display the horrid realities the media claim, but rather better living conditions than what would be expected. In a paradoxical way, guides discuss the influence and presence of drug traffickers in the areas and at the same time guarantee the visitors' safety. This could be interpreted as a way to increase the attractive value of their operation, by adding an element of danger in the mixture.

Tourists that visit the favelas come predominantly from western countries and appear to be attracted more by the imageries of the favelas, such as the views from the rooftops and the colorful architecture rather than the socio-cultural aspects. When asked however, visitors express a strong interest in history and the on-going community projects, which while seem to be also the priority of the operators in their marketing material, their practices do not seem to prioritize. Moreover, they generally expressed the opinion that favela tourism is beneficial to the community, both in social and economic terms. Lastly, the visitors' perceptions appear significantly altered after the completion of the tour, especially in terms of the poverty they encountered and the disorder they

expected. In that sense, the prospect of tour guides to present a more ‘developed’ favela, seems to be fruitful.

One of the most important aspects the research highlighted is the viewpoint of the locals. The ‘favelados’ confirmed the assumption that little of the monetary profit finds its way back to the community and that financial benefits are generally enjoyed by few. However, the residents -with a few exceptions- appeared to be excited about the touristic development in hopes that it will overturn all the negative prejudice about poverty, crime and drugs. Furthermore, they expressed the same curiosity about visitors, as the one they are subject to, and hence the need for more interaction. Astonishingly, many of the local interviewees claimed they would conduct tour guides for free and try to give visitors a good impression of the favela and challenge stereotypes.

Similarities and differences between the two cases

To begin with, slum tourism in both cases emerged in a highly political environment. In one case, by the ‘struggle junkies’ trying to raise awareness about the anti-Apartheid movement and the cruel life conditions in the townships of Cape Town, and in the other, by politically and socially conscious travelers that tried to cross the border of military lines into the lands of poverty that were so visibly separated by the rest of the city, during the Earth Summit of Rio de Janeiro. Slum tourism destinations in the two cities matured and ‘slumming’ became a mass phenomenon that attracts thousands hundreds of visitors yearly that seek to find authenticity. Even though poverty is the main value of the slums and arguably the main motivation for a tourist to visit such a space, tour operators seem to divert the visitors’ gaze from explicit poverty issues in an attempt to change the negative imaginary of the slum in the public collective view. Consequently, tours in Cape Town focus more on the history of townships and the cultural diversity they display, while favela tours in Rio de Janeiro depict the infrastructure as a sign of progress. In both cases, the tour operators stress the potential for development and in most -if not all- cases include visits to social projects, schools and working spaces. However, the economic factor is omnipresent in all aspects of the tour operator companies. As reported, apart from the social benefits, the agencies are driven by monetary gain, only little of which is rechanneled into the communities, with a few exceptions of operators that have started their own projects. This is also reflected in the way operators perceive ‘external help’: as small donations to the locals or a few souvenir purchases from local shops. This is important in understanding the way operators view themselves as actors of slum tourism. While they seem to be fully aware of their role as social and cultural intermediaries and the power they have from this position to shape opinions and influence the semantic field of the slums, in practice, they try to translate the touristic activity into -possibly insignificant- monetary benefits. However, it is also worth noticing that tour operators do

not adopt the tourists' representations, meaning, they do not try to 'match' their expectations by highlighting poor people and poverty alone, just to make their product more attractive.

The tourists of the two cases share an abundance of similarities. Firstly, they come from mostly developed countries, which should be no surprise considering the income differences and mobility divergence in tourism. As such, it would be reasonably safe to assume that at some point in their lives they have come across slum imageries, through media, literature, the internet etc. Their viewpoints about slums before the tours take place seem to be in agreement with this assumption. In both cases, tourists view slums as places of poverty, disorder and filth. Their curiosity hence seems to be produced by these representations. If that is their 'anticipation of experience' then the accusation of voyeurism does not seem too illogical. Yet, they state different reasons for their visit: the authentic side of culture, history and the local societies. This authenticity is indeed provided to a certain extent by the tours, which expose them to the 'slum life' and can be an explanation as to how tourists justify their visits. However, the most important aspect of the encounter, the 'intercultural dialogue' between hosts and visitors, presents some questionable practices. It seems that tour operators are setting up miniature 'contact zones' to enhance the realness of the tour. In township tours communication is limited to short visits in the local pubs and souvenir shops. Similarly, in favela tours tourists are encouraged to come in contact with the locals during visits to schools or homes. In the latter case, it is important to consider the psychological factor. When tourists are presented with narratives of guns, drugs and crime in the favela, it is only logical that they will try to minimize their presence, unless told otherwise by the guide. This can be indicative of an element of 'staged authenticity' in both cases. Nevertheless, in both cases, the operators seem to be successful in challenging the tourists' perceptions of the slums, as described above.

The residents' impressions of slum tourism do not appear to be all too different either. Township residents as well as favela dwellers state that tourism in their areas has great potential to change the impressions that the media are trying to promote and stress the necessity of more interaction with the foreigners in order to contribute by telling 'their own side of the story'. Furthermore, similar to tour operators, residents also hope for economic development through tourism, while stating that the benefits so far are not of great importance.

Finally, the respective local and national governments of the destinations have taken steps to using slum tourism in order to attract more visitors but the outcome in both cases has been questionable.

On the other hand, apart from similarities, the research also points out a significant number of differences. Even decades later, township tours are in line with their origins,

still emphasizing the troubled history of the settlements and the dwellers during times of political conflicts, reflecting not only life in the slums but also South African life in general. The fact that tours are conducted almost exclusively in the 'black' townships of the city serves to illustrate the not only economic disparities but also the ethnic and cultural segregation, in a similar way to New York 'slumming'. In another approach, favela tours provide visitors with a different view. Favelas are presented as fields of developing infrastructure and service, urban spaces that are evolving and dealing with their problems in the attempt to be re-imaged. This narrative however may result in de-problematizing the social issues and preventing visitors from motivating to help.

Moreover, the incorporation of the 'real danger' of drug trafficking in the tours might make the product more attractive but is definitely not contributory to the cause the claim to work towards: changing the favelas' image. The same cause is emphasized by the residents in both cases. However, interviewed township residents were directly involved to the field, in contrast to the interviewees of the favela. The main difference in their response was related to the economic aspect of tourism. The 'Favelados' were much more concerned about the images their home is producing than the potential income tourism may generate. Lastly, even though local governments are involved with slum tourism in both cases, they are employing different tactics to achieve different goals. For the Brazilian authorities, favela tourism appears to be primarily a tool for touristic development, despite their initial opposition. Favelas are now marketed as touristic assets and promoted officially. At the same time, several projects and agreements aim at investing money in the favelas to make new schools, roads and tourist accommodation facilities. As seen with the example of 'festivalization' however, the motives behind those actions are questionable and require further investigation. For South African authorities on the other hand, township tourism is viewed as a way to enable racial diversity into the business field, rather than merely a 'passport for development'. The outcome or the motives behind this approach cannot be evaluated, as both the initiatives started by the government never came to exist.

Slum Tourism and Sustainability

As discussed in the chapter regarding sustainability in the context of slum tourism, the leading academics in slum tourism call for a more qualitative approach that examines tourism as a social force that may bear cultural, symbolic, political or educational value for the actors involved. Accordingly, this segment will examine whether slum tourism can fulfill that role by referring to the core principles of sustainability generally and four qualitative indicators specifically: empowerment, opportunity, participation, education.

Opportunity

Previously in the paper it was discussed how the discourse of the impact of sustainability is focusing on the economic benefits host communities may derive from new touristic developments and niche tourism markets. Especially in the discussions of pro-poor tourism and community-based tourism in emerging markets in the Third World, research usually refers to the number of job openings and amount of income a new development is offering. When dealing with such large communities however, and so few and small businesses, assessing the number of job opportunities or income does not seem to make much sense. Even if every agent employed multiple locals and all the company profits were funneled back to the community, it still would not make a tremendous difference. Rather, considering the stigmatization and the socio-spatial segregation that identifies the locals, it would make sense to first determine *if* this market is providing opportunities at all. As seen in the cases, most tours are now provided by larger operators than in earlier years, who do however often employ local people. This does not necessarily mean that they provide local youth with opportunities but rather that they are trying to optimize their product by making it more authentic. At the same time, the presence of informal agents in the field was observed. Taxi drivers, private guides or even random by-passers may well serve the role of a guide, thus there is also unofficial possibilities for a lucky few. Apart from those that engage with tour operators, there are also those who are less directly involved. All tours provide the chance and urge the tourists to buy local art and souvenirs and have stops at local pubs and restaurants in their routine. Still, the impact of slum tourism in that sense does not seem too broad. Notably, local guides have expressed the opinion that residents do not have the required qualifications to conduct the tours and thus should not be considered for such positions. The latter on the other hand are discussing the possibilities the market has and are expecting further development. Furthermore, the ‘Rocinha Inhabitants Improvement Union’s’’ attempt to establish a tour that would be operated by residents, as well as the South African government’s initiatives that would ensure local participation were both terminated before they even began operating.

Participation

Throughout the paper several concepts and theories of how the slums came to bear value for the residents, apart from the travel companies and tourists were presented. Slum dwellers then, are linked to the new forms of tourism on two different levels. Firstly, they are by nature part of the tourism product, themselves as objects of observation and their everyday lives as manifestation of the poverty that is so inherently connected with their living space. Secondly, through the encounter with the tourists, they become cultural

ambassadors of the slums, able to provide their own side of the ‘real story’ and shape the impressions and representations of the visitors. However, as discussed, the time and space for such encounters is very limited and includes only selected margins of the host population. It seems that the tour operators have made the encounters part of their routines in order to enhance their attractivity, rather than promoting dialogue and cultural exchange. Furthermore, there is no evidence in neither cases to indicate that residents are participating in any way in the decision making process for the designing of a route, the images it portrays and the places it includes, which is peculiar considering that their lives and homes are frequently parts of it. The enabling of local participation in such decisions would mean not only the rejection of any ethical accusations but also would allow the hosts to decide what the ‘real thing’ is, which would also benefit tour operators, since authenticity is stated as the main attraction. Again, the initiatives that would allow host participation failed to reach their purpose.

Education

The way representations define and mold the phenomenon of slum tourism has been repeatedly emphasized in previous chapters. Also, it was stressed that these representations are in constant conflict and alteration, influenced by a variety of factors. How do the visitors’ impressions alter after the experience of slum tour then? The cases studies have shown that the visitors’ predominantly negative image of the slums and their inhabitants change significantly towards a more positive view of friendliness, community, tradition, safety etc. Through the quest for authenticity -that can be understood as an aspiration for cultural sustainability-, visitors seem to obtain a better understanding of slums and to adopt a more constructive approach towards them. In that sense, the tours that aim at questioning prejudice and stereotypes are quite successful. Of course it should not be assumed that visitors have clear knowledge of the complex relations within a slum after simply participating in a tour that showcases selected spaces.

Moreover, in a very broad sense, the theme of education could also include the tourist-host encounter. As discussed, residents are not the sole object of observation in slum tourism. They are also capable of ‘gazing back’ at the visitors and observe their actions. Thus, given the inequality of mobilities in the tourism industry, one could assume that apart from sharing their stories when coming in contact with tourists, they also take the chance to hear theirs and understand them better.

Empowerment

The education of the tourists mentioned above regarding the true nature of the urban spaces the visit and the consequent changes in their collective semantic field regarding slums and the recognition of poverty as a palpable social issue and not as an exclusive dominating attribute of slums, can be understood as social empowerment, perhaps the most important outcome this encounter has to exhibit. Through dismissing the idea that all slums are a homogenous entity with poverty and misery as their main attributes, international visitors of the slums may come to the realization that these urban spaces are characterized by complex socio-economic relations, cultural diversity and human life, elements that are frequently devalued in generalized terms and definitions of the slum that numericize poverty, such as the United Nations definition. Furthermore, the cases make clear that governments are willing to actively participate not only in promoting but also organizing and funding slum tourism. This rise in political visibility raises a lot of questions about the expected outcomes. In the case of South Africa, township tourism is considered as a tool for promoting racial diversity in the field of tourism, stimulating new entrepreneurship and enabling local participation. In Rio de Janeiro, favela tourism is considered as a significant engine of tourism development that could provide opportunities and is promoted along with action plans for upgrading life in the favelas. While there is no evidence that guarantee the genuine intentions of the authorities, the inclusion of a large marginalized and stigmatized population in the government's' agendas and the incorporation of the socio-spatial problem of poverty in the political discourse alone, can be perceived as political empowerment.

Conclusion

This paper aimed at examining the 'new' practice of slum tourism in the Global South as a global phenomenon that potentially encapsulates inequalities on a global scale more completely than any other touristic development. By investigating the origins and developments of slum tourism, it became clear that the same debates and controversies were central to its manifestation from the very beginning. Through examining the current state of slum tourism in the two cases of Rio de Janeiro and Cape Town and assessing its sustainability and its potential role as a tool for poverty reduction, the author aimed at providing a better understanding of the phenomenon and contribute to the current literature. To summarize the findings of this attempt, slum tourism does indeed seem to follow many patterns over space and time. Accordingly, the two cases presented many similarities that showcase tour operators practises, the slum dwellers' perceptions, the tourists' participation and the governments' policies. By looking at these findings in the context of sustainability from a post-developmental view, slum tourism appears to have

high potential for producing value for the poor but in its current state is deeply problematic. There are virtually no opportunities for the economic involvement of the locals and their participation is limited to a great extent. On the other hand, slum tourism has challenged existing stereotypes and has brought the problems of marginalized people to the foreground of the international political scene, serving as the ‘voice of the voiceless’, and while it is not the solution to global social problems of inequality, its manifestation indicates a growing interest in finding it.

References

- Abbele G. (1980) Sightseers: The tourist as a theorist. Diacritics Vol.10 (pp. 02-14)
- Alex Weaver , Jenny Pope , Angus Morrison-Saunders & Paul Lochner (2008) Contributing to sustainability as an environmental impact assessment practitioner, Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal, 26:2, 91-98, DOI: 10.3152/146155108X316423
- Allen J. & Massey D.B (1995). Geographical Worlds. Open University.
- Allen, J. (1992) 'Post-industrialisation and Post-fordism', in S. Hall, D. Held and T. McGrew (eds) Modernity and Its Future, Oxford: Polity Press. Routledge
- Angotti, T. (2006), Apocalyptic anti-urbanism: Mike Davis and his planet of slums. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 30: 961–967. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00705.x
- Appadurai A. (1996) Modernity at Large: Cultural dimensions of globalization. Public Worlds Vol.1, University of Minessota Press.
- Appadurai A. (2001). Globalization: a public culture book. Duke University Press
- Ausland A. (2011). Poverty Tourism Taxonomy 2.0. The Huffington Post. Available online at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/aaron-ausland/poverty-tourism-taxonomy-_b_697399.html
- Azarya V (2004). Globalization and International Tourism in Developing Countries: Marginality as a Commercial Commodity. Current Sociology vol. 52 no. 6 949-967. doi:10.1177/0011392104046617.
- Azarya V. (2004) Globalization and International Tourism in Developing Countries: Marginality as a Commercial Commodity. Current Sociology November 2004 vol. 52 no. 6 949-967
- Baptista J.A. (2012). Tourism of poverty: the value of being poor in the non-governmental order. In Fabian F. & Koens K. & Steinbrink M. (Eds) Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics (pp.125-144). New York: Routledge
- Baran M. (2008). Poorism: The economics of exploitation. Travel Weekly. Available online at: http://www.travelweekly.com/Travel-News/Tour-Operators/Poorism-The-economics-of-exploitation
- Barrionuevo, A. (2010) 'In rough slum, Brazil's police try soft touch', The New York Times . Available online at www.nytimes.com/2010/10/11/world/americas/11brazil.html?
- Basu K. (2012) Slum Tourism: for the poor, by the poor. In Fabian F. & Koens K. & Steinbrink M. (Eds) Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics (pp. 66-83). New York: Routledge

- Britton S. (2004) Tourism, Capital and Place: Towards a critical geography of tourism. In Williams S. (Ed) Tourism: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences (pp.137-153). London: Routledge.
- Brown G.S. (1972). Law of Form. Julian Press Inc: New York.
- Bruner E. (2002). Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel. University of Chicago Press
- Burgold, J., Frenzel F. and Rolfes M. (2013). Editorial: Observations on slums and their touristification. DIE ERDE 144 (2): 99-104. DOI: 10.12854/erde-144-7
- Butcher J. (2002) The Moralisation of Tourism: Sun, Sand... and Saving the World?. Taylor & Francis
- Butler S.R (2010). Should I stay or should I go? Negotiating township tours in post-apartheid South Africa. Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change vol 8 Iss. 1-2 (pp. 15-29).
- Butler, S.R. (2010) 'Should I stay or should I go? Negotiating township tours in post-apartheid South Africa', Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change , 8(1–2): 15–29.
- Cassidy D. (2007) How the Irish Invented Slang: The Secret Language of the Crossroads. California: CounterPunch
- Cederholm E., Hultman J. (2010). The Value of Intimacy – Negotiating Commercial Relationships in Lifestyle Entrepreneurship. Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Volume 10, 2010 - Issue 1, pp. 16-32.
- Cejas M. (2006). Tourism in Shantytowns and Slums: A New "Contact Zone" in the Era of Globalization (2006), Intercultural Communication Studies XV: 2, El Colegio de México. Available online at: https://www.academia.edu/7110465/Tourism_in_Shantytowns_and_Slums_A_New_Contact_Zone_in_the_Era_of_Globalization_2006_?auto=download
- Chambers T., Porritt J., Thomas P. (2007). Sustainable Wealth Creation. London: Forum for the Future
- Chege P., Mwisukha A. (2013). Benefits of slum tourism in Kibera slum in Nairobi, Kenya. International Journal of Arts and Commerce Vol. 2, No4, pp 94-102
- Cities Alliance (2016). Cities without slums action plan. Retrieved from: http://www.citiesalliance.org/cws-action-plan
- Cocks, C. (2001) Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915 , Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cohen E. (1985). The tourist guide: The origins, structure and dynamics of a role. Annals of Tourism Research 12(1):5-29. DOI: 10.1016/0160-7383(85)90037-4

- Colsen. K.,(2007). Township tourism booming as visitors want to see 'real' South Africa. USA Today. Available online: http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/travel/destinations/2007-01-04-south-africa-township-tourism_x.htm
- Conforti, J. (1996) 'Ghettos as tourism attractions', Annals of Tourism Research , 23(4): 830
- Conforti, J. M. (1996). Ghettos as tourism attraction, Annals of Tourism Research, 23, p. 842
- Crossley E. (2012). Poor but Happy: Volunteer Tourists' Encounters with Poverty. Journal Tourism Geographies An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment Volume 14, 2012 - Issue 2: Global Perspectives on Slum Tourism. Pp. 235-253
- Curran J. (2002) Media and Power. London: Routledge
- Davis, M. (2006) Planet of Slums , London: Verso.
- De Bruyn, E. (2008) 'Township tours – the other Africa', Allgemeine Zeitung , 23 May.
- De Kadt (1979). Tourism: Passport to development? Oxford University Press.
- Debord G. (1967). The society of spectacle. Rebel Press
- doi: 10.2753PIN1099-9922140103.
- Dondolo, L. (2002) The Construction of Public History and Tourism Destinations in Cape Town's Townships: A Study of Routes, Sites and Heritage , Cape Town: University of the Western Cape.
- DÜRR, E. (2012), Urban Poverty, Spatial Representation and Mobility: Touring a Slum in Mexico. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 36: 706–724. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01123.x
- Dyos, H.J. and Wolf, M. (1973) The Victorian City: Images and Realities , 2 vols, London: Routledge
- Dyson P. (2012). Slum Tourism: Representing and Interpreting 'Reality' in Dharavi, Mumbai. Tourism Geographies, 14 (2). pp 254-274.
- Dyson P. (2012): Slum Tourism: Representing and Interpreting Reality' in Dharavi, Mumbai, Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment, DOI:10.1080/14616688.2011.609900
- Echtner, C., & Prasad, P. (2003). The context of third world marketing. Annals of Tourism Research, 30(3), 660–682.
- Engels, F. (1844) The Condition of the Working Class in England , W.O. Henderson and W.H. Chaloner, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Escobar, A. (1995) Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World , Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Featherstone M. (2007) Consumer Culture and Postmodernism. SAGE Publications

- Franklin A. & Crang M (2001) The trouble with tourism and travel theory? Tourist studies Vol 1 (1) 5-22
- Franklin A., & Crang M (2001). The trouble with Tourism and travel theory?. London: SAGE.
- Freire-Medeiros B. (2012). Favela tourism: listening to local voices. In Fabian F. & Koens K. & Steinbrink M. (Eds) Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics (pp.175-191). New York: Routledge
- Freire-Medeiros B. (2013) Touring poverty. Routledge
- Freire-Medeiros, B. (2009) 'The favela and its touristic transits', Geoforum , 40(4): 580–8.
- Freire-Medeiros, B. (2009) 'The favela and its touristic transits', Geoforum , 40(4): 580–8.
- Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. (2008). Selling the favela: thoughts and polemics about a tourist destination. Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais, 4(se) Retrieved November 02, 2016, from http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0102-69092008000100001&lng=en&tlng=en
- Frenzel F. (2013). Slum tourism in the context of the tourism and poverty (relief) debate. Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin, Vol. 144, No. 2, pp. 117-128. DOI: 10.12854/erde-144-9
- Frenzel F., Blakeman S. (2015) Making Slums Into Attractions: The Role of Tour Guiding in the Slum Tourism Development in Kibera and Dharavi. Tourism Review International, Vol.19, pp 87-100
- Frenzel F., Koens K. (2012) Slum Tourism: Developments in a Young Field of Interdisciplinary Tourism Research. Tourism Geographies, 14 (2). 195-212.
- Frenzel F., Koens.K., Steinbrink M.,&. Rogerson C.M (2015). Slum Tourism: State of the Art. Tourism Review International 18 (4).
- Frenzel, F. and Koens, K. (2012) Slum Tourism: Developments in a young field of interdisciplinary tourism research. Tourism geographies, 14 (2). pp. 195-212.
- Frisch T. (2012) Glimpses of Another World: The Favela as a Tourist Attraction. An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment Volume 14: pp 320-338
- Gentleman, A. (2006). Slum tours: a day trip too far? The Observer, 7 May 2006.
- Gilbert A. (2007). The Return of the Slum: Does Language Matter? International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 31: 697-713. DOI:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2007.00754.x
- Goodwin H.,& Santilli R. (2009). Community-Based Tourism: a success?
- Greene, Solomon J. (2003) "Staged Cities: Mega-events, Slum Clearance, and Global Capital," Yale Human Rights and Development Journal: Vol. 6: Iss. 1, Article 6. Available at: http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yhrdlj/vol6/iss1/6

- Hagenaars A.& Vos K. (1988). The Definition and Measurement of Poverty. The Journal of Human Resources Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring, 1988), 211-221. University of Wisconsin Press doi: 10.2307/145776.
- Hagenaars, A., & De Vos, K. (1988). The Definition and Measurement of Poverty. The Journal of Human Resources, 23(2), 211-221. doi:10.2307/145776
- Hall M. & Tucker H. (2004) Tourism and Post colonialism: Contested discourses, identities
- Hall M. (2008). Pro-Poor Tourism: Do 'Tourism Exchanges Benefit Primarily the Countries of the South'? Current Issues in Tourism Volume 10, 2007 - Issue 2-3, pp. 111-118
- Hall S. (1995). Time-space compression and identity. In Hall S. & Held D. & Hubert D. &
- Hall, S. (1992) 'The question of cultural identity', in S. Hall, D. Held and T. McGrew (eds) Modernity and Its Future, Oxford: Polity Press.
- Halnon, K. B. (2002). Poor Chic: The Rational Consumption of Poverty. Current Sociology . 50(4), 501-516
- Hannam K., Knox D. (2010). Understanding Tourism: A Critical Introduction. SAGE.
- Harvey D. (1989). The Condition of postmodernity. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Harvey R. (2012). Tourism is Everyone's Business: The Participants and Places of Township Tourism in Cape Town, South Africa. UMI
- Heap C. (2008). Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940. University of Chicago Press.
- Heap, C. (2009) Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885–1940 , Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Heap, C. (2009) Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife,1885–1940 , Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Heinemann J.K (1988). The holiday makers: Understanding the impact of leisure and travel. Doi: 10.1016/0261-5177(88)90065-9.
- Henderson, J. (2003). Ethnic heritage as a tourist attraction. The Peranakans of Singapore. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 9, 27–44.
- Henderson, J. (2003). Ethnic heritage as a tourist attraction. The Peranakans of Singapore. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 9, 27–44.
- Hendry J. (2002). The Orient Strikes Back: A Global View of Cultural Display. The Journal of Japanese Studies Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter, 2002), pp. 250-254
- Higgins F., (2009). Capitalist Globalisation, Corporated Tourism and Their Alternatives. Nova Science.

- Holslag, Anthonie (2015) "The Process of Othering from the “Social Imaginaire” to Physical Acts: An Anthropological Approach," Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal: Vol. 9: Iss. 1: 96-113. DOI:http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.9.1.1290
- Home of the slum tourism network (2016). What is slum tourism. Official website: http://slumtourism.net/what-is-slum-tourism/
- Hutnyk, J., 1996. The Rumour of Calcutta: Tourism, Charity and the Poverty of Representation. Zed Books, London/New Jersey.
- Indian Express (2010) ‘India to complain about BBC’s “poverty porn” Mumbai film’, Indian Express , 25 January. Available online at www.indianexpress.com/news/india-to-complain-about-bbcs-poverty-porn/571514
- Indicators of Sustainable Development for Tourism Destinations: A Guidebook (2004). Spain: World Tourism Organization.
- Jack I. (2009). Some say it's poverty porn - but not many. The guardian. Available online at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/jan/24/oscars-india-slumdog-millionaire-ian-jack
- Jennings G., Weiler B. (2006). Mediating Meaning: Perspectives on Brokering Quality Tourist Experiences. in G. Jennings and N. Nickerson, Editors (2004) Quality Tourism Experiences. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Jensen O. (2010). Social mediation in remote developing world tourism locations – the significance of social ties between local guides and host communities in sustainable tourism development. Journal of Sustainable Tourism Volume 18, Issue 5, pp.615-633
- Keeler, C. (1902) San Francisco and Thereabout , San Francisco, CA: California Promotion Committee.
- Keeler, C. (1902) San Francisco and Thereabout , San Francisco, CA: California Promotion Committee.
- Khan, S. (2015). “Otherness” of ethnic enclave attractions in multicultural cities: A study of Chinatown and Little India. Asia-Pacific Journal of Innovation in Hospitality and Tourism, 4(1), 63-76.
- Kieti D., Magio K. (2013). The ethical and local resident perspectives of slum tourism in Kenya. Advances in Hospitality and Tourism Research (AHTR), 1(1): 1-21, 2013 An International Journal of Akdeniz University Tourism Faculty
- King R., Dovey K. (2012). Reading the Bangkok slum. In Fabian F. & Koens K. & Steinbrink M. (Eds) Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics (pp.159-171). New York: Routledge
- Klein, N. (2007). The shock doctrine: The rise of disaster capitalism. London, Macmillan.

- Koens K. (2012). Competition, cooperation and collaboration: business relations and power in township tourism. In Fabian F. & Koens K. & Steinbrink M. (Eds) Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics (pp. 103-120). New York: Routledge
- Korstanje E. M. (2016). The ethical borders of slum tourism in the mobile capitalism: a conceptual discussion. Journal of tourism, Issue 21. Available online at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305080619_The_ethic_border_of_Slum_Tourism
- Korstanje, M. E., & George, B. (2015). Dark Tourism: Revisiting Some Philosophical Issues. E-review of Tourism Research, 12 (1-3): 127-136
- Koven, S. (2004) Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London , Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Krippendorf J. (1999). The Holiday Makers: Understanding the Impact of Leisure and Travel. Butterworth-Heinemann
- Lash S. & Urry J. (1987) The End of Organized Capitalism. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Lash S. & Urry J. (1994) Economies of Signs and Space, London: Sage.
- Levy, G. (1996). The New Middle Classes. International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, 9(4), 611-621. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20019862
- Li.T.M., (2007). The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics. Duke University Press.
- Lippmann (1992) Public Opinion. New York : Dover Publications
- Ma, B. (2010) 'A trip into the controversy: a study of slum tourism travel motivations', Undergraduate Humanities Forum 2009–2010: Connections , Penn Arts & Sciences. Available online at http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf_2010/12
- MacCannell D. (1973). Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings. The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 79, No. 3, 589-603.
- Malte Steinbrink (2012): 'We did the Slum!' – Urban Poverty Tourismin Historical Perspective, Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of TourismSpace, Place and Environment, DOI:10.1080/14616688.2012.63321
- Marc Saint-Upéry (21 Oct, 2010) Left at the Crossroads: Ogling the poor. Retrieved from: https://sputniknews.com/analysis/20101021161035393
- Mason, P. and Mowforth, M. (1996), Codes of conduct in tourism. Progr. Tourism Hospit. Res., 2: 151–167. doi:10.1002/pth.6070020204
- Mauss, M. (1990) The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies , New York: W.W. Norton.

- Mayne A. (1994). The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities 1870–1914. Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press
- McCannell D. (1976). The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. University of California Press.
- McClintock, A. (1990). Maidens, Maps and Mines: King Solomon's Mines and the Reinvention of Patriarchy in Colonial South Africa. in Cheryl Walker (Ed.). Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945 . (pp. 97-124). London: James Currey
- McClintock, A. (1990). Maidens, Maps and Mines: King Solomon's Mines and the Reinvention of Patriarchy in Colonial South Africa. in Cheryl Walker (Ed.). Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945. (pp. 97-124). London: James Currey.
- McClintock, A. (1990). Maidens, Maps and Mines: King Solomon's Mines and the Reinvention of Patriarchy in Colonial South Africa. in Cheryl Walker (Ed.). Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945. (pp. 97-124). London: James Currey.
- McEachern, C. (2002) Narratives of Nation: Media, Memory and Representation in the Making of the New South Africa , Cape Nova.
- McKercher B. (2010). Some Fundamental Truths About Tourism: Understanding Tourism's Social and Environmental Impacts. Journal of Sustainable Tourism vol 1, 6-16.
- McMichael P. (2011). Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective: A Global Perspective. United States of America: SAGE.
- Medina M. (2007). The World's Scavengers: Salvaging for Sustainable Consumption and Production. Rowman Altamira
- Menezes P. (2012). A forgotten place to remember: reflections on the attempt to turn a favela into a museum. In Fabian F. & Koens K. & Steinbrink M. (Eds) Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics (pp.103-125). New York: Routledge
- Meschkank J. (2011). Investigations into Slum Tourism in Mumbai: Poverty Tourism and the Tensions between Different Constructions of Reality. GeoJournal 76(1). 47-62. Doi: 10.1007/s10708-010-9401-7.
- Meschkank, J. (2010) 'Investigations into slum tourism in Mumbai: poverty tourism and the tensions between different constructions of reality', GeoJournal , 76(1): 47–62.
- Miles A. (2009). Shocked by Slumdog's poverty porn. The Times. Available online: http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/law/columnists/article2048284.ece
- Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (2009) Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalisation and New Tourism in the Third World , 3rd edn, Abingdon: Routledge.

- Naidoo (An investigation into the sustainability of township tourism post the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ - the case of Soweto
- O' Donnell C. (2013). Visual Persuasion: The Media's Use of Images in Framing People Groups. The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications • Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 94-107
- OBrien P. (2011) "Business, Management and Poverty Reduction: A Role for Slum Tourism?," Journal of Business Diversity, Vol.11, Iss. 1, pp. 33 - 46
- Odede K. (2010) Slumdog Tourism. The New York Times. Available online at:http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/10/opinion/10odede.html
- Outterson K., Selinger E., & Whyte K. (2012). Poverty Tourism, Justice, and Policy Can Ethical Ideals Form the Basis of New Regulations? Public Integrity, vol. 14, no. 1, 39–50.
- Perkins G. (2013). Favela Tourism in Brazil. The Brazil Business. Available online at: http://thebrazilbusiness.com/article/favela-tourism-in-brazil
- Pigram J. , Wahab S. (1997). Tourism, development and Growth: The challenge of sustainability. London: Routledge
- Pratt M.L. (2008). Imperial Eyes Travel Writing and Transculturation. London: Routledge.
- Pratt M.L.(1999). Arts of the Contact Zone. Ways of Reading, 5th edition, ed. David Bartholomae and Anthony Petroksky. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Ramchander, P. (2004). Towards the responsible management of the socio-cultural impact of township tourism. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Department of Tourism Management.
- Ramchander, P., 2007. Soweto set to lure tourists. In: Bennett, A., George, R. (Eds.), South African Travel and Tourism Cases. Van Schaik, Pretoria.
- Reality Gives (2016). Official website: http://www.realitygives.org/
- Richardson N. (2016). Are Mumbai slum tours ethical? The telegraph. Available online at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/asia/india/articles/mumbai-slum-tours-ethical-or-not/
- Robertson, R. (1995) 'Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity', in M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds) Global Modernities , London: Sage.
- Robinson P. (2012). Tourism: the key concepts. London: Routledge.
- Robinson, M. and Picard, D. (2006) Tourism, Culture and Sustainable Development, Division of Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue, Culture Sector, UNESCO.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2004) 'Transforming the South African tourism industry: the emerging black-owned bed and breakfast economy', Geojournal , 60(3): 273–81.

- Rolfes M. & Steinbrink M. & Uhl C. (2009). Townships as Attraction: An Empirical Study of Township Tourism in Cape Town. Universitätsverlag Potsdam
- Rolfes M. (2010). Poverty tourism: Theoretical reflections and empirical findings regarding an extraordinary form of tourism, GeoJournal 75(5):421-442. DOI: 10.1007/s10708-009-9311-8
- Rolfes M., Steinbrink M.,& Uhl C. (2009). Townships as Attraction: An Empirical Study of Township Tourism in Cape Town. Universitätsverlag Potsdam.
- Rose N.(1999). Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ryan C. (2002). The Tourist Experience. Continuum.
- Said E. (1977). Orientalism. London: Penguin Group.
- Salaam Balaak Trust (2016). Official website: http://www.salaambaalaktrust.com/
- Salazar, N. (2009) 'Developmental tourists vs. development tourism: a case study', in A. Raj (ed.) Tourist Behaviour: A Psychological Perspective , New Delhi: Kanishka.
- Santos, C. A. (2006). Cultural politics in contemporary travel writing. Annals of Tourism Research, 33(3), 624–644.
- Scheyvens R. (2007). Exploring the Tourism-Poverty Nexus. Current Issues in Tourism 10(2) pp. 231-254. DOI: 10.2167/cit318.0
- Scheyvens R. (2010). Tourism and Poverty. Taylor & Francis.
- Scheyvens, R. (2007) 'Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus', Current Issues in Tourism , 10(2): 231. Available online at www.informaworld.com/10.2167/cit318.0
- Schmidt (1979) The guided tour: insulated adventure. Routledge
- Seaton (2012). Wanting to live with common people …? The literary evolution of slumming. In Fabian F. & Koens K. & Steinbrink M. (Eds) Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics (pp. 103-120). New York: Routledge
- Sellinger E., Outterson K. (2009). The ethics of poverty tourism. Boston University School of Law Working Paper No. 09-29
- Sharpley R. (2014). Host perceptions of tourism: A review of the research. Tourism Management Volume 42, June 2014, Pages 37–49
- Shepard W. (Jul 16, 2016). Slum Tourism: How it began, the impact it has, and why it became so popular. Retrieved from: http://www.forbes.com/sites/wadeshepard/2016/07/16/slum-tourism-how-it-began-the-impact-it-has-and-why-its-become-so-popular/#39d61d59db86
- Shirt (2012) Carrying Capacity. In Robinson P. (ed) Tourism: the key concepts. London: Routledge.
- Slumming in this town (1884, September 14). The New York Times p. A4.

- Smith M., Duffy R.(2003). The Ethics of Tourism Development. London:Routledge.
- Smokey Tours (2016). Official website: http://www.smokeytours.com/#home-1
- Stebbins R. (2001). Exploratory Research in the Social Sciences: Volume 48 of Qualitative Research Methods, SAGE Publications
- Steinbrink M., Buning M., Legant M., Schauwinhold B., Sugenguth T. (2016) TOURING KATUTURA! Poverty, Tourism, and Poverty Tourism in Windhoek, Namibia. Potsdam University
- Steinbrink M., Fabian F., Koens K. (2012). Development and Globalization of a new trend in tourism. In Fabian F. & Koens K. & Steinbrink M. (Eds) Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics (pp. 1-19). New York: Routledge
- Stokes, C. (1962) A theory of slums. Land Economics 8, 187–97.
- Stokes, C. (1962) A theory of slums. Land Economics 8, 187–97.
- Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform. Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Available online: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld
- Taylor C. (2002) Modern Social Imaginaries. Public Culture 14.1 (2002) 91-124
- Taylor C. Modern (2002). Social Imaginaries. Public Culture Vol 14.1, 91-124. Duke University Press.
- Terzano, K. (2014). Commodification of transitioning ethnic enclaves. Behavioural Sciences, 4, 341–351.
- The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology. "slum." . Retrieved December 01, 2016 from Encyclopedia.com: http://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/slum-1
- The Indian Express, (2010 January 25). India to complain about BBC's 'poverty porn' Mumbai film. Retrieved from The Indian Express website: http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/india-to-complain-about-bbcs-poverty-porn/571514
- Thompson K. (Eds). Modernity: An introduction to modern societies (pp.619-621). Blackwell Publishers
- UN (United Nations) (2003) The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements, 2003 , London: Earthscan.
- UN (United Nations) (2003) The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements, 2003 , London: Earthscan.
- United Nations Environment Programme (2016). Official website: http://www.unep.org/resourceefficiency/Business/SectoralActivities/Tourism/FactsandFigure

saboutTourism/ImpactsofTourism/Socio-CulturalImpacts/NegativeSocio-CulturalImpactsFromTourism/tabid/78781/Default.aspx

- UNWTO (2005) Making Tourism More Sustainable - A Guide for Policy Makers,, p.11-12
- Urry, J. (2002) The Tourist Gaze , 2nd edn, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Waddington, R., (2004) People Who Live by Garbage. The Peoples of the World Foundation. Retrieved December 2, 2016, from The Peoples of the World Foundation.
- Wang, N. (1999). Re-thinking authenticity in tourism experience. Annals of Tourism Research, 26, 349–370.
- Weaver D.& Lauton L. (1999). Sustainable Tourism: A critical Analysis.
- Weaver D., Lawton L. (1999). Sustainable Tourism: a critical analysis. Cooperative Research Centre for Sustainable Tourism Research report series. Rolf Bernklev.
- Weiner, E. (2009) 'Slumming it: can slum tourism be done right?' Available online at www.worldhum.com/features/eric-weiner/slum-tourism-the-responsible-way-20090312.
- What is Slum Tourism. Retrieved from Home of the Slum Tourism Network website: http://slumtourism.net/what-is-slum-tourism/.
- Williams, C. (2008) 'Ghettourism and voyeurism, or challenging stereotypes and raising consciousness? Literary and non-literary forays into the favelas of Rio de Janeiro', Bulletin of Latin American Research , 27(4): 483–500.
- World Tourism Organization UNWTO (2015). Press release. United Nations declares 2017 as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development.. Available online: http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2015-12-07/united-nations-declares-2017-international-year-sustainable-tourism-develop
- World Travel & Tourism Council., World Tourism Organization., Earth Council (1995). Agenda 21 for the travel & tourism industry : towards environmentally sustainable development. London : World Travel & Tourism Council ; Madrid : World Tourism Organization ; San José, Costa Rica : Earth Council.
- Yelling J.A. (2007). Slums and Slum Clearance in Victorian London. London: Routledge Library Editions- the City.
- Zhao W.,& Ritchie Brent J.R., (2008). Tourism and Poverty Alleviation: An Integrative Research Framework. Journal Current Issues in Tourism Volume 10, Issue 2-3.