



**PLACING FAVELAS ON THE TOURIST CITY MAP: BETWEEN COMMODIFICATION AND
LEGITIMISATION
BETWEEN COMMODIFICATION AND LEGITIMISATION**

Maria Eugenia Altamirano

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Placing favelas on the tourist city map

Between commodification and legitimisation

MARIA EUGENIA ALTAMIRANO



DOCTORAL THESIS
2023

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**Placing favelas on the tourist city map:
Between commodification and
legitimation**

PhD Dissertation

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UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA i VIRGILI

2023



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

HAGO CONSTAR que el presente trabajo, titulado “Localizando a las favelas en el mapa de la ciudad turística: entre la mercantilización y la legitimación”, que presenta Maria Eugenia Altamirano para la obtención del título de Doctor, ha sido realizado bajo mi dirección en el Departamento de Geografía de esta universidad.

I STATE that the present study, entitled “Placing favelas on the tourist city map: Between commodification and legitimisation”, presented by Maria Eugenia Altamirano for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under my supervision at the Department of Geography of this university.

Vila-seca, February 1st , 2023

Doctoral Thesis Supervisor/s

A mis Matriarcas,

Celia y Catalina.

Por ser fuente inagotable de amor, fortaleza y valentía.

A Rio de Janeiro y los cariocas.

Y a todas y todos les que Resisten.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Preface

This research was born as a Master's thesis and grew out of mere curiosity, up to become a career path and a source of unmeasurable personal and professional growth. I was a slum-slash-dark tourist long before I conceptualised it as an academic field of study. During my young and adventurous years, I visited the colourful *comunas* of Medellín, commanded by Pablo Escobar, tasted the best tacos of *cochinita pibil* and drank sticky *Micheladas* in Tepitos, the alleged most dangerous neighbourhood in the heart of Mexico City, and crawled through the dark tunnels of the Cerro Potosí to witness the daily horrors of Bolivian miners. Although I have always been drawn by the culture at the margins of society, I have never visited a slum in my own hometown or anywhere else in Argentina. I did not even recognise the *villas miseria*, Argentinian slums, as an intriguing cultural destination. Resistencia, my city of birth, was one of the last territories to incorporate into the Argentinian Republic. Before the occupation, it was home to the Qom tribe, later dominated and almost erased by the new European and *criollos* tenants. Qom descendants still live in marginalised and stigmatised neighbourhoods on the city's edges and co-exist in constant conflict with the hegemonic (white and middle-class) urban population. In my view, and the opinions of local tourism managers, there is *nothing* to see there. That got me thinking, what is it about some marginalised places and communities that make them attractive and potential tourist destinations? And how does this foreign (and oblivious) interest affect them?

When I dived into this academic journey, what surprised me the most, was seeing how many scholars and other people with whom I discussed this topic, were so sceptical and against slum tourism. As a naïve and optimistic young academic, I made it my mission to discover the bright side of slums tourism, devoted to all those communities that (re)encounter their cultural value through the outsiders' appreciation.

Rio de Janeiro, September 2019

I had the most surreal day, like almost every day since I landed in Rio not long ago. Today I met with Fumaça, my 'go-to person' in the favela Santa Marta. A few weeks before

travelling to Brazil, I was listening to a chill jazz band at the Big Bang Bar, my favourite in Barcelona. That night, I ended up having drinks with a guy who caught my attention for his afro hair. He was a tour guide from Rio de Janeiro. After mentioning I was going to Rio to research favela tourism, he said I should call his friend Fumaça, who was very active in the community and one of the first tour guides in Santa Marta.

I met Fumaça on a chirpy afternoon on Copacabana Beach. The beach in Rio stands as a common social ground where everybody is welcome, so I thought it was poetic. I noticed right away how passionate, committed and eloquent he was. We didn't spend much time with small talk and went straight to the point. I explained to him my ideas on the thesis and that I was looking for a favela with a bottom-up approach to tourism. He was immediately on board. Fumaça suggested that Santa Marta perfectly fulfilled those criteria, and he was willing to help me with everything I needed.

Beers went down as well as the sun, and we got carried away philosophising about life, plotting projects to change the world; he is a dreamer too...He shared his life story and how he got away from drug trafficking to start a tourism venture ten years ago. At the top of his tourism career, he was invited to Madrid to give a seminar about community-based tourism in conflict zones. Out of nowhere, a music band started playing on the beach, and the conversation turned into an improvised and sandy dance.

Late in the afternoon, Fumaça invited me to Santa Marta for a *funk* party, which I happily accepted. On arrival, he introduced me to everyone that stepped our way. Some girls gave me a *funk* dance tutorial, but my hips weren't as loose as theirs, and my shorts weren't as short. Everyone had fun watching my clumsy attempts, and more than one person caught me on video for Facebook, Instagram or whatever. I also met the 'old wise men' of the community. We shared more Brahmas to soften their rough stories involving traffic gangs, police raids, anger and death. At this point, my head was bursting with information (and probably something else), and I was struggling to understand this new language, a heavily slanged version of Portuguese that would become most of the Portuguese I ever spoke.

By the night's end, I felt the 'gringa' of the day and a friend of the house.

Acknowledgements

I started this PhD journey mainly because I thought it would be *fun*. Indeed, this project has granted me the most challenging and exciting experiences of my life...so far; it was an emotional and intellectual rollercoaster that I will never forget. So, I would like to thank first the people that inspired and enabled me to become (or to realise I always was) a researcher. I am forever grateful to my parents, Silvia and Tulio, for having always nurtured my curiosity and for the unconditional love and support to pursue whatever random project or goal I ever set for myself, even when these were beyond their approval. You are the biggest role models for perseverance and generosity.

Nothing would have been the same without my legendary supervisor, Paolo Russo. Thank you for sharing your brilliance, always paired with the finest humour, humbleness and great food; also, for having had confidence in me, mostly when I didn't have it for myself. I feel very lucky to have had you guiding me through this process. Also, to Claudio Milano, my first mentor in Spain, for his contagious passion for researching and teaching.

To the collective of tour guides in Santa Marta, especially Fumaça, Salete, Marco, and Sheila, who opened their doors and hearts to me. To Ze Mario, President of the Residents Association, and all the people from Santa Marta who greeted me during my stay. I feel absolutely humbled by their resilience, kindness and hard work. I have learnt from and with them life lessons that go far beyond the scope of this research. I hope they receive all the respect they deserve.

By far, getting to know Rio de Janeiro and its vibrant culture was the most exciting part of this work. I am very grateful for having had such an amazing group of people to share these moments that I cherish so deeply. Fabio Palma, who, that time and again, was the bridge of the cultures. My partner in crime Alejandra, *mi ñeri!* The best roomies, Gabi and Gabriel; the king of coffee shops and *sambinhas*, Felipe; the philosophical team *os chicos*, Arthur and Renato; to Celia and Leo, and Giuseppe Cocco and Barbara Szaniecki for kindly receiving me and making me part of their circles. To the interviewees for their patience and availability, especially Monica Rodrigues and Duda Mattar.

Without my global community of friends and family, I would not have made it with sanity (if that's even the case). I love you all so much. A global thanks to those who were supporting me every step of the way, celebrating from the smallest to the boldest achievements,

and to those that came in the very last period and provided much-needed comfort. To my sister Florencia and very first editor, my grandma Celia and biggest inspiration, and my large extended family, who, even thousands of kilometres away, are fiercely present. To the former Barcelona crew and acquired family, Victoria (la Dulci), Zvonko, Giulia, Lucia (la Tía), and Ana (la Mari), you are my rock. Tayna and Selene, the research dream team, with you, I discovered that slum tourism is fascinating and that researching can be fun. To Lyn and Kez, my personal cheerleaders. Lucia, Dahyana, Agu and Vani, *las de siempre*.

To my colleagues and friends at URV, thanks for the fun trips and mutual support: Fiammetta, Alan, Narcís, Ana, Maisaa, Alba, Sole, and Cate. Also, to Jordi, Cristina, and Ruben for all the admin work. And to all the inspiring researchers that take part in the GRATET team. I am also grateful to all the students I have had over these years; most of them have heard about this research with curiosity and were keen to discuss and provide valuable insights.

Goes without saying that I am deeply grateful to the thesis' external reviewers, Rene van der Duim and Thiago Allis, for their helpful comments and suggestions. Also, I am honoured to have had Fabian Frenzel, Asunción Blanco Romero and Marta Nello as part of the evaluation committee. Thanks to all of you for your time and commitment.

Last but not least, thanks to my feline companion, Guacho, who has quietly endured more hugs and kisses than usual while I was coping with the stress of juggling classes, meetings, events, and writing this thesis. He can finally sleep through the day now.

The following financing has been obtained to carry out this thesis:

Ajuts destinats a universitats, centres de recerca i fundacions hospitalàries per contractar personal investigador novell (FI) per a l'any 2019 (Ref.BDNS 417789)

Amb els suport de la Secretaria d'Universitats i Recerca de la Generalitat de Catalunya i del Fons Social Europeu.



Generalitat de Catalunya
Departament d'Empresa i Coneixement
Secretaria d'Universitats i Recerca



Unió Europea
Fons social europeu
L'FSE inverteix en el teu futur

This thesis has been developed within the framework of the following projects:

Análisis del papel de las políticas territoriales en la gestión de los destinos turísticos en la época de las movilidades (POLITUR)

Reference: CSO2017-82156-R

Principal researcher: Dr. Salvador Anton Clavé (1) URV & Antonio Russo (2) URV

Financing entity: Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades.

Duration: 01/01/2018 - 31/12/2020

The adaptability of complex tourist destinations in the present era of social, economic and environmental transformations: innovative paths towards destination resilience. (ADAPTOUR)

Principal researcher: Dr. Salvador Anton Clavé (1) URV & Dr. Aaron Gutiérrez Palomero (2) URV

Reference: PID2020-112525RB-I00

Financing entity: Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación.

Duration: 01/09/2021 - 31/08/2024

RELATION OF OUTPUTS

Compendium of publications

PUBLICATION 1 (article)

Altamirano, E. (2021). **Gringa tales in favela Santa Marta**. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 20(1–2), 286–303.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2021.1953513>

JCR Impact Factor: 1.967 (2021)

- Citation index: 0.51 (Q4) in Hospitality, Leisure, Sports and Tourism 50/58

SJR Impact Factor: 0.633 (2021)

- Citation index: 31 (Q1) in Cultural Studies

PUBLICATION 2 (article)

Altamirano, E. (2022). **Overcoming urban frontiers: Ordering Favela tourism actor-networks**. *Tourist Studies*, 22(2), 200–222.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687976221090738>

JCR Impact Factor: 2.759 (2021)

- Citation index: 0.62 (Q3) in Hospitality, Leisure, Sports and Tourism 39/58

SJR Impact Factor: 0.928 (2021)

- Citation index: 50 (Q1) in Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management

PUBLICATION 3 (article)

Altamirano, M. E. (2022) **Legitimizing discourses within favela tourism**. *Tourism Geographies*.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2022.2154380>

JCR Impact Factor: 11.355 (2021)

- Citation index: 2.47 (Q1) in Hospitality, Leisure, Sports and Tourism 4/58

SJR Impact Factor: 2.273 (2021)

- Citation index: 73 (Q1) in Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Management

Research Stay

Universidad Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Brasil)

Stay supervisor: Professor Fabio Palma

Duration: 180 days

Conferences Presentations

AAG Annual Meeting

Altamirano, M Eugenia (03/01/22). Tourists' Potential to Legitimize Favela's
Cognitive Capital: A Critical Discourse Analysis.

Online

VIII Congreso Nacional de Geografía de Universidades Públicas de la República Argentina

Altamirano, M Eugenia (30/11/21). Ordenando Las Redes De Actores En La Favela
Turística Santa Marta

Online

POLITUR International Workshop Webinar: Conference Mobilities Transforming Destinations. Urban and regional policies, digital regulatory mechanisms, and place prosperity and sustainability

Altamirano, M Eugenia (26/11/20). Overcoming urban frontiers: the case of Santa
Marta

Online

Anthropology and Geography: Dialogues Past, Present and Future (RAI2020)

Altamirano, M Eugenia (14/09/20). Overcoming urban frontiers: the case of tourist
favela Santa Marta.

Online

Seminario Internacional a Economia Política do Turismo (ECOPOLTUR)

Altamirano, M Eugenia (26/10/19). Placing Favelas on the Tourist City Map.

São Paulo

AESOP Annual Congress

Altamirano, M Eugenia (09/07/19). Placing Favelas on the Tourist City Map:
Between commodification and representation.”
Venice

IV Jornadas de Investigadores en Formación: Fomentado la Interdisciplinariedad (JIFFI)

Altamirano, M Eugenia (26/06/19). Poster: Localizando a las Favelas en la Ciudad
Turística.
Granada

7º Jornada d’Investigadors Pre-doctorals Interdisciplinaria (JIPI)

Altamirano, M Eugenia (04/02/19). Poster: Localizando a las Favelas en la Ciudad
Turística.
Barcelona

ATLAS SIG Conference ‘Space, Place, Mobilities in Tourism meeting mobilities and bodies at play

Altamirano, M Eugenia (17/10/17). Touring slums in Rio de Janeiro favelas:
challenges and controversies.
Vila-Seca.

ATLAS Annual Conference. Destinations past, present and future

Altamirano, M Eugenia (12/09/17). Touring slums in Rio de Janeiro favelas:
challenges and controversies.
Viana do Castelo

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RESUMEN

Esta tesis tiene como objetivo explicar hasta qué punto las prácticas y actuaciones de los turistas pueden influir en la (re)producción de espacios y representaciones de comunidades marginales a múltiples escalas. A lo largo de la investigación, reflexionamos sobre si el turismo podría ser una vía para legitimar a las culturas y los lugares marginalizados en las sociedades urbanas del Sur Global. Examinamos los efectos de estructuración y configuración que ejerce el turismo para encontrar que las prácticas turísticas no siempre funcionan a favor de la legitimación cultural y el empoderamiento, sino para legitimar procesos neoliberales de desarrollo, control y fiscalización.

Enmarcamos esta investigación dentro de las Teorías no Representacionales (NRT) (Thrift, 1996; 2008). Este grupo postestructuralista de teorías, conceptos, ideas y métodos enfatiza la agencia del cuerpo sensible y en movimiento y la falta de jerarquía entre humanos y cosas no humanas y centra el análisis en cómo los actores híbridos interactúan, coexisten y se afectan entre sí para producir realidades y significados. La aplicación de NRT a los estudios del turismo en barrios marginales implica partir de los rastros simbólicos o mitos y, en cambio, insta a seguir las prácticas acuerpadas de los turistas en espacios comunes y las consiguientes relaciones que se entretujan con otras personas, espacios, objetos e ideas, para crear diferentes versiones del destino turístico. Dentro de estos procesos, argumentamos que los turistas tienen agencia en la co-creación de significados que potencialmente pueden valorar los espacios y la cultura de los barrios marginales y proporcionar a sus habitantes nuevos valores y poder.

La tesis explora el caso de la favela turística Santa Marta en Río de Janeiro, que ha sido una de las favelas más visitadas de esa ciudad desde principios de la década de 1990. Utilizamos tres enfoques metodológicos para analizar los procesos de valorización y legitimación de los turistas. En primer lugar, elaboramos un relato autoetnográfico, que analiza la experiencia personal del investigador para aprovechar los problemas y los actores que intervienen durante los recorridos por las favelas. En segundo lugar, recreamos dos redes de actores entrelazadas después de dos recorridos antagónicos en Santa Marta para rastrear cómo se producen y consumen las realidades sociomateriales. Por último, llevamos a cabo un análisis del discurso de artículos en medios, para lo cual proponemos tres categorías de legitimación para analizar los discursos en disputa dentro del turismo de favela.

RESUMO

Esta tese pretende explicar em que medida as práticas e ações dos turistas podem influenciar a (re)produção de espaços e representações de comunidades marginais em múltiplas escalas. Ao longo da pesquisa, refletimos sobre se o turismo poderia ser uma forma de legitimar culturas e lugares marginalizados nas sociedades urbanas do Sul Global. Examinamos os efeitos de estruturação e configuração exercidos pelo turismo para descobrir que as práticas turísticas nem sempre funcionam em favor da legitimação e do empoderamento cultural, mas sim para legitimar os processos neoliberais de desenvolvimento, controle e supervisão.

Enquadramos esta pesquisa nas Teorias Não-Representacionais (NRT) (Thrift, 1996; 2008). Este grupo pós-estruturalista de teorias, conceitos, ideias e métodos enfatiza a agência do corpo senciante e móvel e a falta de hierarquia entre humanos e coisas não humanas, e concentra a análise em como os atores híbridos interagem, coexistem e afetam uns aos outros. outro para produzir realidades e significados. A aplicação da NRT aos estudos do turismo em favelas implica partir de vestígios simbólicos ou mitos e, em vez disso, exige seguir as práticas acordadas dos turistas em espaços comuns e o consequente entrelaçamento de relações com outras pessoas, espaços, objetos e ideias, para criar diferentes versões do destino turístico. Dentro desses processos, argumentamos que os turistas têm agência na cocriação de significados que podem potencialmente valorizar os espaços e a cultura da favela e fornecer aos seus habitantes novos valores e poder.

A tese explora o caso da favela turística Santa Marta no Rio de Janeiro, uma das favelas mais visitadas da cidade desde o início dos anos 1990. Utilizamos três abordagens metodológicas para analisar os processos de valorização e legitimação dos turistas. Em primeiro lugar, elaboramos um relato autoetnográfico, que analisa a experiência pessoal da pesquisadora para aproveitar os problemas e os atores que intervêm durante os passeios pelas favelas. Em segundo lugar, recriamos duas redes de atores entrelaçados após dois passeios antagônicos em Santa Marta para rastrear como as realidades sociomateriais são produzidas e consumidas. Por fim, realizamos uma análise discursiva de artigos da mídia, para os quais propomos três categorias de legitimação para analisar os discursos em disputa no turismo de favela.

ABSTRACT

This PhD thesis aims to explain the extent to which tourists' practices and performances can become enmeshed with the production or reproduction of slummed spaces and communities. Throughout the research, we reflect on whether tourism could be an avenue to legitimise marginalised people and places at various scales in the broader society of the Global urban South. We examined tourism's structuring and shaping effects over marginalised places and communities to find that tourist practices do not always work in favour of slums' cultural legitimization and empowerment but for legitimising neoliberal development, control and fiscalization processes.

We frame this investigation within Non-representational Theories (Thrift, 1996; 2008), or rather, more-than-representational ones. This post-structuralist group of theories, concepts, ideas and methods emphasise the agency of the moving and sentient body and the lack of hierarchy between humans and non-human things and centres the analysis on how hybrid actors interact, coexist and affect each other to produce realities and make sense of the world. Applying NRT to slum tourism's studies entails departing from symbolic traces of meaning, branding or myth creations of slums and instead urges to follow tourists' embodied practices enacted on space and the consequent relations interwoven with other people, spaces, objects, and ideas, to create different versions of the tourist slum. Within these processes, we argue that tourists have agency in co-creating meanings that can potentially value slums' spaces and culture and provide slum dwellers with new values and power.

The dissertation explores the case of tourist favela Santa Marta in Rio de Janeiro, which has been one of the most visited slums in that city since the early 1990s. We use three methodological approaches to analyse tourists' valorisation and legitimisation processes. First, we elaborate an autoethnographic account, which analyses the researcher's personal experience to draw on the issues and actors at play during favela tours. Second, we recreate two actor-networks interwoven after two antagonistic tours in Santa Marta to trace how socio-material realities are produced and consumed. Lastly, we undertake a discourse analysis of media articles, for which we propose three legitimation categories to analyse contested discourses within favela tourism.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Presentation of the research project

Visiting a slum is probably not on most tourists' bucket lists. However, slum tourism is a growing niche in many urban destinations worldwide. Defining a 'slum' is a complex endeavour because its characteristics and aesthetics are far from homogeneous from one slum to another. The UN-Habitat (2016) defines slums as populated urban areas that are essentially found wanting. These communities lack durable housing, security of tenure, sufficient living space, access to safe and affordable water, and public or private sanitation. Frequently, slummed people and places carry stigmas and prejudices that point them as dirty, unstable, and unsafe. Moreover, slums are usually, but not necessarily, associated as the place for the material poor and the cultural 'Other'. Throughout this research, we will try to demonstrate how slums open to tourist visitation can find a way to be resignified beyond 'the lack of.'

The concept of slum tourism is as fuzzy as that of slums because the boundaries between what slum tourism is and other practices that defy traditional tourism are unclear and subjective (Frenzel, 2018). Hence, researchers have used different nomenclatures depending on the case study or the approach they will use, like "extraordinary tourism" (Rolfes, 2010), "poorism," or "ghetto tourism" (Williams, 2008; Tzanelli, 2018). However, an in-depth critique of that issue is beyond the scope of this research (see Frenzel, 2018, for a more elaborated discussion). We take Heap's conceptualisation of slum tourism as a "type of mobility where tourists venture to an area beneath their social category and beyond their geographical place (2009:103)" (From Dürr, 2012b:710). Freire-Medeiros (2009) adds that slum tourism is a kind of tourist practice under the broad umbrella of alternative tourism, which promises authentic, interactive and extreme experiences involving an exoticised Other.

In its primitive version, slum tourism was closely related to the industrialisation processes that took place primarily in urban centres in the 19th century. At the time, many cities in the Global North went through rapid demographic growth and a hierarchisation by social classes, followed by a restructuring of urban spaces to afford new activities and populations. The heavy migration flows, combined with the stratification of social life, fostered a dramatic expansion of urban poverty. New actors, like governmental entities and charities, attempted to manage the moral and physical crisis brought about by the proliferation of slums (Seaton, 2012). In Victorian London, which by the late 1800s was the most powerful city in the world, the elites would often visit the East End either with a philanthropic agenda, impelled by social

paranoia or mere curiosity to observe how people lived in the chaos of impoverished conditions (Steinbrink, 2012). Hence, experiencing the cultural Other is the first reason for visiting slums. Modern historians recognise that these early encounters between social clusters were crucial for improving the understanding and developing empathy among urban citizens (O'Brien, 2011).

With the turn of the century and the advent of Neoliberalism, industrial hubs were displaced from urban centres, leaving space for a new phase in capitalist development. In addition, the world was on the verge of becoming more interconnected than ever, thanks to the accelerated evolution of communication technologies. People, objects, and ideas experienced a vertiginous global expansion, moving throughout space and gradually creating a homogenous global culture. The entertainment business, cultural production, and the experience economy took over urban centres to turn them into places of production and consumption of culture, technology and information-based goods and services (Zukin, 2009). These changes shook up the basis of the reach and forms of capitalist processes, opening the ground to what some researchers call cognitive capitalism or knowledge-based capitalism (Cocco & Szaniecki, 2015). These processes exacerbated urban inequalities, turning cities into consumerism hubs for the rich and powerful and expelling the poor to the city's margins or encapsulating slums, not without extensive use of violence, evictions and oppression of target populations (Davis, 2006).

Amid cities' rebranding and restructuring processes, tourists became the most suitable users and consumers for cultural products and the growing services industry. Thus, tourism gained relevance in the political economy of many cities worldwide, which compete with each other to attract visitors and investors by allowing and creating new spaces, infrastructures, and narratives to stand out (Judd & Fainstein, 1999). Tourists' behaviour and expectations have also evolved, following the trends of Postmodernity, which is characterised by the de-differentiation of the various cultural spheres (Lash, 1990). Only a few places in the world still manage to escape globalisation, the voracious capitalist expansion, and the consequent hybridisation of cultures. The seemingly 'authentic' cultures and landscapes, perceived as pristine or unchanged, are highly valued by post-modern tourists, eager to 'discover' people and places radically different from their everyday life (Cohen, 2008). Thus, primarily Western tourists drift away from massified tourist destinations and washed-out attractions to flock to less developed destinations, mainly in the Global South, to experience some 'authentic'

encounters (Urry & Larsen, 2011). For these post-modern tourists, “the everyday and mundane activities of city residents take on significance as markers of the real and off-the-beaten-track” (Maitland, 2010: 176). This shift in tourist behaviour paved the way for some slums in the Global Urban South to become tourist attractions.

A more or less formal version of organised slum tours started in South African Townships at the beginning of the 1990s, with a socio-political scope towards the Apartheid regime (Rogerson 2004). This format was replicated in Brazilian *favelas* shortly after by Marcelo Armstrong, who was inspired by his own tourist experience in a South African township (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). A growing number of tourists visit slums worldwide, looking for unconventional and exciting ways to experience cities, and tour operators have mushroomed, turning slum tourism into a global phenomenon. Yet it is still quite a niche tourist practice within alternative urban tourism.

In a context of extensive and frenetic flows of people, capital, goods, and ideas facilitated by the sophistication of communications and technologies, the mobility of some ‘things’ occur to the detriment of the immobility of others (Sheller & Urry, 2006). In other words, some entities have better conditions and availability to move in and through space. In contrast, other entities are fixed and tied to their place of origin for various reasons. Slum tourism makes for a radical representation of unequal power relations between mobile and immobile subjects, which is why slum tourism has always been surrounded by controversies and heated moral debates (Frenzel et al., 2012). While North-western (white, middle to upper-class) people have the means and freedom to move and consume, Southern marginalised, and poor communities are moored to their localities and showcased as cultural products. The commodification of slums as tourist attractions, sometimes without the involvement of local communities, prompts some researchers to refer to tourism as voyeuristic and demining (Scheyvens, 2007). However, Williams (2008) states that as long as tours are complicit between hosts and guests, respectful of one another, and mediated by local tour guides, the process of mutual recognition can be highly enriching for all the actors involved. In this regard, Frenzel (2014; 2017) theorised how tourist practices produce value and values to slummed places and communities, which can empower them. We follow this vein and try to disentangle the extent to which tourists’ practices and performances can become enmeshed with the production and reproduction of slum’s spaces and narratives, even beyond the slum and at multiple scales.

We explore the case of tourist favelas in Rio de Janeiro, particularly favela Santa Marta, to grasp how tourism may bring cultural legitimacy to slummed people and places. Santa Marta was chosen for an in-depth examination, firstly, because it is one of the most visited favelas; secondly, for having a consolidated community-based tourism development; and, lastly, because several public and private entities targeted this favela for tourism-related policies and projects, which had several physical, political and social effects. Most of the data were collected during six months of fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro, from September 2019 to February 2020, where I stayed as an invited researcher at UNIRIO. During this time, I undertook participant observations in tours in Santa Marta; I carried out semi-structured interviews and had informal conversations with most of the thirteen local tour guides, policymakers, artists, entrepreneurs, and project managers from the public and private sectors.

This investigation is framed within Non-representational Theories (NRT) (Thrift, 1996; 2008), or rather, more-than-representational (see chapter 2.2). This post-structuralist group of theories, concepts, ideas and methods emphasise the agency of the moving and sentient body and the lack of hierarchy between humans and non-human things and centres the analysis on how hybrid actors interact, coexist and affect each other to create a moment in the social world. NRT acknowledges that reality is multiple and a never-ending process of connections and disconnections. Under this scope, tourism can be conceptualised as an encounter between people and spaces through a sensual set of doings supported by multiple and heterogeneous practices and materials (Crouch 2004). These encounters are traversed by power relations that shape and bend their forms and outcomes.

Applying NRT to slum tourism's studies entails departing from only symbolic traces of meaning, branding or myth creations of slums and instead urges to follow tourists' embodied and spatialised practices and the consequent relations interwoven with other people, places, objects, and discourses, which create different versions of slums (Dewsbury et al., 2002; Crouch 2011). The practices and performances during tours in Santa Marta were our first string of inquiry, which we addressed in the first paper that makes for this compendium of articles (see chapter 4.1). This paper, published in the *Journal of Tourism and Social Change*, provides an auto-ethnographic account that sets forth the different actors at play as they are made visible or invisible, questioned or altered. The paper's main contribution is, on the one hand, very personal, for it helped me to deepen my understanding and reflect on the research problem. As for the academic community, the paper contributes to widening the use of autoethnography as a method, which is relatively unusual and often criticised for not being rigorous enough.

Autoethnography places the researcher at the centre of the questions and analysis and requires connecting their personal background and experiences with the theoretical framework that structures the research (Chang, 2008; Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

Spatialised and bodily-performed practices trigger associative ramifications between human and non-human, hence hybrid, actors. Different ordering modes emerge within these associations, shaping realities and power relations. These orderings refer to "how relational-gone-solid categories or entities are stabilised and become durable in relations and how they are simultaneously questioned, altered or made absent through their performance 'in, by and through those relations' (Law, 1999: 4)" (from Ren, 2001: 865). The socio-material temporal assemblages being produced and reproduced within favela tours are the interest of the second paper published in the *Tourist Studies Journal* (see chapter 4.2). In this case, we experimented with the ethnomethodological set of tools offered by Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Law & Hassard, 1999; Van der Duim et al., 2012) to follow hybrid actors as they intertwine to shape two versions of the 'real' Santa Marta (Ren, 2011). This paper assesses the relational processes that create and signify Santa Marta as a tourist space during two antagonistic tours. The main contribution of this publication is the visual account that reveals how the favela can be portrayed in radically different representations, highlighting the actors and stories that produced these versions of reality. Moreover, the paper advances the methodological application of ANT by adding innovative visual tools to unravel and trace socio-material networks.

The last dimension of analysis is dedicated to arguably the most influential of practices to order and make sense of the world: discursive practices. Frenzel and Frisch (2020) point out that tourists have agency in co-creating meanings that can potentially value slums' spaces and culture and provide slum dwellers with political power. The third and last paper of this compendium (see chapter 4.3), published in *Tourism Geographies*, argues that within the processes of value co-creation embedded in favela tourism, slums' cultural capital may acquire new values that can legitimise their existence and cultural production. We propose an analytical framework consisting of three legitimisation categories to assess more than seventy media articles and posts from five different sources reporting on favela tourism. This account deepens our theoretical understanding of cultural legitimisation through tourists' practices and how to trace it in media discourses.

1.2 Research questions and objectives

GENERAL OBJECTIVE

Most research concerning slum tourism has tackled issues related to the social production and reproduction of slums' representations through tourism, followed by the moral debate questioning the asymmetry between hosts and guests during these interactions. Although we do not entirely depart from these standpoints, we approach slum tourism through a multidimensional and relational lens to analyse the transformative potential of tourism to a broader extent. The general goal of this thesis is:

To examine the potential of tourist practices and performances to resignify and transform slummed places and communities at a physical, cultural and political scale.

SUB-OBJECTIVES

1. To examine the relational processes that produce favelas as tourist places, challenging existing approaches.
2. To identify the actors at play and their relational practices in tourist favela Santa Marta.
3. To chart the hybrid constellations produced by tourists' practices and performances during antagonistic favela tours.
4. To assess the role of actors' discursive practices in legitimising favelas' cultural capital.
5. To generalise our findings by looking at tourism's potential to re-signify and legitimise the compound of the element at cultural tourist destinations.

Table 1, in the following section, illustrates the correspondence between each sub-objective, the research questions that structure this thesis, and the articles that tackle such questions.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis stands as a compendium of three articles, presented in chapter 4, each corresponding to two sub-objectives and addressing different research questions (see Table 1). However, these outputs are compounded within an overarching theoretical framework and

literature review that unfolds in chapter 2. We address the processes of production of space and representations, emphasising the marginalisation of some in a globalized and neoliberal era. Section 2.1.2 breaks down the effects of tourism development within these processes and how they shape urban spaces. The following title analyses the practices that produce spaces and socio-material realities. And lastly, we tackle how power is performed through everyday practices and also in slums tourism practices.

Chapter 3 gives an overview of the fieldwork and methods used throughout the research, although a thorough description of them can be found within the papers. We provide details about the informants and the data processing and analysis. Section 3.3 introduces the case study; therefore, it provides a descriptive account of the Brazilian social, economic and political situation, mainly regarding historically marginalised communities and territories.

Following the compendium of articles, chapter 5 provides an analysis that compounds the different approaches and learnings seized throughout the papers. Section 5.1 ties together the research questions with the overall analysis, and then we propose future research lines that could enrich this debate.

Sub-Objectives	Research question	Output
SUB-OBJECTIVE 1 SUB-OBJECTIVE 2	What is the current and potential role of slum tourists' practices and performances in renegotiating slums' social, political, and economic realities?	<u>Article 1</u> Altamirano, M.E. (2021): Gringa tales in favela Santa Marta, <i>Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change</i> , DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2021.1953513
SUB-OBJECTIVE 2 SUB-OBJECTIVE 3	Which are the actors at play in Santa Marta tours and what are their relational ramifications? What issues, stories, places, and cultures are made visible or	<u>Article 2</u> Altamirano, M.E. (2022): Overcoming urban frontiers: Ordering Favela tourism actor-networks, <i>Tourist Studies</i> , DOI:

	invisible, questioned or altered during tourist encounters?	10.1177/1468797622109073 8
SUB-OBJECTIVE 4 SUB-OBJECTIVE 5	What is the agency that discursive practices have in legitimizing favelas' cultural capital?	<u>Article 3</u> Altamirano, M.E. (2022): Legitimizing discourses within favela tourism, <i>Tourism Geographies</i> , DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2022.2154380

Table 1. Correspondence between objectives, research questions and publications.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Moving through space

2.1.1 The production of space in a Globalized era

Everything happens in and through space, and every social interaction has a spatial dimension. Society builds relationships and dynamics biased and conditioned by space, moulding it to all human needs and desires. These interactions result in what Lefebvre (1974, 1976) theorised as the *social space*, a lived place charged with ideologies and representations. Soja reflected on Lefebvre's conception of the social space, and he elaborates his theory of a 'third space':

“Space is the most general of products...is simultaneously objective and subjective, material and metaphorical, a medium and an outcome of social life; actively both an immediate milieu and an originating presupposition, empirical and theorise, instrumental, strategic, essential” (Soja, 1999: 45).

Social practices produce and reproduce social spaces; however, society is by no means a homogenous whole but a fragmented kaleidoscope of groups of individuals with unequal rights and obligations “differentiated according to gender, race, and ethnicity (Gouws, 2005; Lister, 1997)” (Miraftab, 2009:40). Hence, we cannot think of spaces as a homogenous product, but rather as a complex, fluid, and conflicted arena. The question that we need to reflect on is whose practices have more agency in the (re)production of social spaces. Building on Lefebvre's spatial theorisation, the practices that produce spaces, and imprint an identity on them, are defined by power, knowledge and ideology. Thus, he differentiates two social clusters: the dominant bourgeois and the passive and submitted proletariat (Lefebvre, 1991).

The dynamics in the production of space differ radically in the North and South of the world. No other researcher reflected on the production of social space in -so-called- underdeveloped countries like the Brazilian geographer Milton Santos. Santos (1979) states that the income disparity among social clusters essentially defines space in such countries. On a regional scale, these inequalities lead to ranking economic and social activities between places, while on the local scale, activities coexist on different levels. The groups of individuals from one level and the other have different access and representation in these unequal spaces.

Santos identifies two circuits in which spatialised economic practices create different dynamics and social spaces. On the one hand, there is the *upper circuit*, a space of intensive technological production that fosters capitalist accumulation, where individuals have a high capacity for production and consumption, and the economy has an international projection, be it for export or global users. This circuit is lived and reproduced by the powered and hegemonic social clusters and receives aid and support from the public administrations. On the other end, the inferior circuit feeds on low quality and quantity of products with less technological development, which boosts a subsistence economy for a marginalised cluster. The activities and the individuals that reproduce this circuit usually move in informal grounds, and the government has either absent or mildly involved. Given that the individuals operating in the inferior circuit have fewer production capacities, they do not have access to the consumption of high-end goods; hence, they will have limited access to the upper circuit spaces. In sum, for Santos, the uses of space are primarily subjected to individuals' production and consumption capacities.

The messy and uneven process of the production of space finds an apex of complexity in cities. A report by the UN (2016) states that 54,5% of the world's population lives in urban areas today, and it is expected to increase to 68% by 2050. A limited physical space needs to afford a growing number of social and economic activities, for many users, with myriad contested identities and interests. Moreover, after the 1980s, cities underwent a deindustrialisation process that caused profound changes in their content, forms and aesthetics. The work of David Harvey is key to understanding the production of urban space in a globalised world under an economic and geopolitical lens. The concept of globalisation compounds the restructuring processes, which began roughly around the 1970s that opened and expanded capitalist production and consumption systems across the globe. Most of these transformations were enabled by technological innovations in communications and transport. The new forms and methods of globalised capitalism (re)produce spaces to ensure capital's systematic growth. In Harvey's words, globalisation has been the product of geographically grounded processes:

It consequently entails a geographical restructuring of capitalist activity (deindustrialisation here and reindustrialisation there, for example) across the face of planet earth, the production of new forms of uneven geographical development, a recalibration and even re-centring of global power (with far greater emphasis upon the Pacific and newly industrialising countries) and a shift in the geographical scale at which capitalism is organised (symbolised by the growth of supra-state organisational

forms such as the European Union and a more prominent role for institutions of global governance such as the WTO, the IMF, the G8, the UN and the like). (Harvey, 2001:24)

Capital's global expansion and growth have the potential to transform, create and reshape geopolitical realities, and empower new economic sectors. This can be explained by what Harvey (2006a, 2001) coined the "spatial fix". Capitalism constantly needs to place surplus in activities that will allow capital's reproduction; otherwise, surplus becomes stationary. In other words, the geographical expansion of capital becomes desirable and necessary to prevent the system from an over-accumulation crisis of uninvested surplus. This need for capital allocation reached the areas of transport and communications first, which fostered the innovations that conducted and enabled globalisation.

Thus, to study the production of social (urban) space, we need to think about an interconnected system of parts on the move. To examine this idea further, we need to elaborate on how mobilities drive the production of space and representations. For that endeavour, we need to go to the seminal work of the sociologist John Urry.

"'Mobilities' refer not just to movement but to this broader project of establishing a 'movement-driven' social science in which movement, potential movement, and blocked movement, as well as voluntary/temporary immobility, practices of dwelling and 'nomadic' place-making are all viewed as constitutive of economic, social and political relations." (Urry et al., 2011:4)

For the New Mobilities paradigm (see also Chapter 2.2.1), the fast-paced patterns of movement "create zones of connectivity, centrality, and empowerment in some cases, and disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility in other cases (Graham & Marvin, 2001)." (Urry & Sheller, 2006:210). With many things on the move, embedded infrastructures are needed to support these mobilities. As it had been said, cities are prime spaces for fixing capital. Hence, surplus is allocated to cities' infrastructure to facilitate the growing flows of global mobility. These investments are highly speculative because their profitability depends on the continuity of those mobility patterns, and some spaces become more desirable locations to be developed. In contrast, other spaces are neglected and underdeveloped.

State power plays a decisive role in defining the direction of urban development, although limited by the hegemony of global finances. Policies allow or deny the spatial allocation of capital through regulations and planning tools, and they are highly dependent on

the hegemonic power and current ideology. Within the states where Neoliberalism is the predominant ideology, the policies are inclined to prioritise capitalist reproduction. But Neoliberalism is more than just accumulating surplus; it is a “network of policies, ideologies, values and rationalities that work together to achieve capital’s hegemonic power (Brown, 2003)” (Miraftab, 2009:34). The mobile global finances are the “new colonial Empire without any flag or face” (Rolnik, 2019:21). Hence, public administrations loose power to the private sector, who praise individualistic desires and profits, or in Santos’ view:

Through the mentioned points of the spaces of flows, the macro companies gain a role in regulating the space as a whole. Added to this control is the explicit or covert action of the State at all its territorial levels. This regulation is often subordinate because, in many cases, it is designed to favour hegemonic actors. Taking into account a particular area, the space of flows has the role of integration with broader economic and spatial levels. Such integration, however, is vertical, dependent and alienating since the essential decisions concerning local processes are foreign to the place and obey distant motivations. Under these conditions, the tendency is for corporate interests to prevail over public interests regarding the evolution of the territory, the economy and local societies. Within this framework, company policy – that is, its policy – aspires to and manages, through governance, to become policy; in fact, a blind policy, as it leaves the construction of the destiny of an area to the private interests of a company that has no commitments to local society. (Santos, 2001:52, originally in Portuguese, own translation)

Neoliberal-driven policies accelerate cities' polarisation and increase wealth and power inequalities among citizens, pushing populations to encapsulate slums and marginalised urban areas (Davis, 2006). According to the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), about 827 million people, or about one-sixth of the world's population, lived in urban slums in 2018; this makes up roughly 12% of the global urban population. Besides its pervasive outcomes upon some populations' livelihood conditions and experiences, to achieve hegemonic power, Neoliberalism “relies on legitimation and citizens’ perception of inclusion”(Miraftab, 2009:33). In other words, planning for a Neoliberal city requires some inclusion policies to assure the system’s acceptance and to enable the market’s expansion. Many of these policies for alleged inclusion involve urban refurbishing projects in informal settlements and marginalised areas, which represent the spatial manifestation of the material poor. The expected result of having physical spaces upgraded is to improve marginalised

populations' livelihoods and enhance their civil rights. Even though this may happen to some extent, the backlash is often dwellers' loss of financial capacity since rent prices soar and expenses rise to match the wider city. As a result, inclusive Neoliberal policies end up as another form of exclusion.

The State's control and the Neoliberal agenda usually encounter resistance as a response to urban inequalities. Some spatial thinkers often rely on the romantic ideal that the working class is the one who will rise to conquest their right to the city (Lefebvre, 1991). Nonetheless, this desire often lacks further guidance on accomplishing it (Garnier, 2012). In Soja's Third space, the author proposes that social movements should take ownership of urban spaces. While Harvey relies on squatters, and their creative survival, to resist the rise of capitalist forces. Miraftab (2009) calls these resistance practices 'insurgent citizenship.' Rebellious social movements to re-configure urban spaces exist worldwide to find alternatives to relate with territories outside the hegemonic logic of Neoliberal capitalism (Rolnik, 2019). The most marginalised groups in the Global Urban South are communities dwelling in informal settlements, and insurgent citizenship encompasses all of these subversive groups and the practices that promote a radical, disruptive and participatory approach to city planning aiming for real inclusion (Miraftab, 2009).

Holston (2008) conceptualises Brazil's informal settlements as arenas of insurgent citizenship that both stabilise state-citizen relations and destabilise them. Squatters' insurgent practices in Brazil use universal citizenship and a rights-based discourse to destabilise the old formations of differentiated citizenship. Differentiated citizenship, Holston explains, offers equal rights to equal people and, correspondingly, unequal rights to unequal people – only the literate have the right to vote. On the other hand, Insurgent citizenship uses Brazil's recently mandated universal citizenship – whereby all people have equal rights – to disrupt the normalised relations produced through differentiated citizenship (Miraftab, 2009:35).

Urban planning is instrumental in igniting the spatial relations between capital, power and society. Cities are designed to afford economic activities and social practices, valorising certain spaces and communities to the detriment of others. This process of territories' valorisation usually comes in hand with the use of violence, evictions and displacements of slummed communities occupying central or aesthetic urban localities (Roy & Rolnik, 2020). In Rio de Janeiro, several cases of evictions and securitisation policies took place when the city

was preparing for the sports mega-events, with the excuse of bringing economic growth, safety and sanitisation to the broader city (Rolnik, 2019). In this case, private and real state parties had a leading role in the re-structuring of the city, facilitated by state interventions. In counterpart, social movements mushroomed in Brazil to re-occupy public and private spaces, highlighting the strategic alliance between roof-less movements, cultural collectives and the art sectors.

Turning favelas into tourist attractions was a planned and premeditated move from the state government in Brazil in sight of sports-mega events. However, some favelas had already ventured into tourism businesses before and continued after that. We propose to think about favela tourism as an insurgent citizenship practice, in the sense that tourist practices, managed by local dwellers, can destabilise and create a new stable order in the relations between favela dwellers and their culture, the hegemonic urban actors, and the political elites. Resuming the categorisation made by Santos, the more traditional forms of tourism could be associated with the upper circuit. This is because tourism requires technological mediums to operate, and spaces must cater to the desires of medium/high-income and global users. However, when tourism unfolds in spaces traditionally associated with inferior circuits, like favelas, it triggers a string of multi-scale changes. To start, there was a physical transformation through urban refurbishing programs. Favelas needed to be fitted to accommodate visitors, from the basics like proper stairways and paved walking lanes, to others with a clear touristy aim like viewpoints. To explore the favelas' potential to transcend the boundaries of the inferior circuits and to empower insurgent citizens, in the next section, we elaborate on the role of tourism in ordering and changing urban landscapes.

2.1.2 Tourism and urban landscapes

Cities all around the world compete to attract mobile capital, highly skilled residents and visitors to the extent that almost every aspect of everyday life can work as a commodity, having tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries and the non-stop entertainment business as the bases of the city's economic growth machinery (Zukin, 1995; Van Der Borg and Russo, 2008). Hence, tourism is a significant component of the political economy of many cities in the world. To thrive as tourist destinations, cities needed to go from goods and services manufacture and distribution centres to sanitised, safe, comfortable and service-oriented places, particularly affecting downtown areas (Judd & Fainstein, 1999).

Spaces such as heritage centres, inner-city areas (see Füller & Michel, 2014 on the case of Berlin-Kreuzberg) and former industrial neighbourhoods (see Degen, 2003 for the case of Raval in Barcelona and Castlefield in Manchester) are restructured and beautified to become ‘tourist bubbles’ (Judd & Fainstein, 1999). This entails that places specialise in the consumption of leisure and cultural experiences, turning spaces into hip and modern cultural hubs full of art galleries, trendy shops, and gastronomic enclaves, which create a bohemian atmosphere attractive for tourists, commerce and real estate developments, usually with the undercover aim of attracting dwellers from the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2005). The discourses of local administrations to promote these *tourismification* processes praise tourism's economic and cultural benefits.

The downside of the *tourismification* of urban landscapes is that it is mainly made to the detriment of the locals’ needs and desires. The production and reproduction of *touristscapes*, which Edensor (2007) defines as spaces that were structured to accommodate tourists’ activities and practices, foster the rise in the cost of living, gentrification processes and the displacement of traditional local businesses, consequently creating not only new urban spaces but also new capitalist conglomerates (Yrigoy, 2014). Adding tourism to the already complex process of social space production drags a new set of conflicts, as they have evoked resistance movements among local populations in the most heavily touristified cities worldwide. However, tourism also has creative and inventive agency in the production of cultures and places. Over time, tourism can have a constitutive and normalising effect on what comes to be known about populations and places (Hollinshead et al., 2009). Moreover, tourism also may create new values and meanings for the elements that sustain and support tourist practices.

Slums would not be traditionally considered places to provide global visitors with a background for joy, diversion, and relaxation. Informal settlements have historically embodied the ‘dark’, the ‘low’, and the ‘unknown’, which the hegemonic and urban elites constructed as the place of the Other. However, the construction of Otherness is circumstantial to the contextual frame; as Steinbrink (2012) stays, every constructed otherness will exist as a mirror of current societal issues, targeting or forgiving certain social groups. In the case of some slums, they no longer represent the place of the Other solely but also the place of the ‘authentic’ (Frisch, 2012), and this resignification can be framed within globalisation processes. As previously asserted, globalisation processes directly or indirectly affect every corner of our

existence. It acts as a unifying vertical force that influences every mundane practice, our relationships and creations, and even our thoughts and ways of being in the world. In the case of cultures, these forces tend to encompass them all to create a hegemonic culture for the masses, which favours the expansion of markets across the globe (Santos, 2001). The result of this cultural collision is the hybridisation of cultural subjects that gradually incorporate some facets of global cultures and mix them with popular cultural elements.

Popular culture, like that of some slummed communities in the Global South, finds a way to prevail, for instance, when “it spreads through the use of instruments that originally belong to mass culture” (Santos, 2001:70). We can think of traditional tours (a two or three hours-long walking tour with a -local- guide sharing a well-crafted narrative about a place) as instruments to share culture, and places in a standardised fashion for the masses. In the case of slum tours, the communities’ mundane everyday life represents the principal cultural element and provides the tour with content. This recognisable format serves as a medium for popular cultures to be seen and heard by a global audience. As previously asserted, the elements brought about by traditional ways of life make for authentic experiences for post-modern tourists, very different from the homogenous and globalised urbanites. A growing number of informal urban settlements, mainly in the Global South, are often advertised by tour operators as an exciting opportunity to experience the ‘complete’ and ‘real’ life of the city. South African *townships*, slums in India and Kenya, Brazilian *favelas*, Medellin *comunas*, the Parisian *banlieue* and the Neukölln district in Berlin are some cases where informality was targeted by tourism stakeholders' pursuing the benefits expected from the tourist capital gear.

As aforementioned, slums’ forms and contents are pretty singular; hence, there are no identical slums even within the same city, as they are compelled to the particular historical and physical context in which the slum is embedded. Thus, slum tourism products differ (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). Despite these singularities, the sprouting of slum tourism destinations follows a pattern, highlighting the importance of mainstream events in the global projection of slums (Frenzel, 2012). The earliest slum tours emerged in South African townships around the 1990s and were projected for anti-apartheid activists and politically motivated visitors. By the beginning of the 2000s, township tours would become a ‘must-see’ attraction for South African tourists (Rogerson, 2004). Almost simultaneously, attendees to the 1992 Earth Summit on Environment and Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro insisted on visiting favelas. After this event, Marcello Armstrong, who had also experienced township tours, started the business

Favela Tour, followed by a growing number of similar tour operators (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Similarly, Nairobi's massive slum Kibera was first toured by the attendees of the 2007 World Social Forum (Chege & Mwisukha, 2013). Whilst in Dharavi, an English entrepreneur and his Indian partner opened Dharavi Tours and Travel in 2006, inspired by favela tours (Meschkank, 2011).

All in all, not every slum has the potential to become a tourist attraction. As Linke (2012) asserts, the success and expansion of slum tourism are connected to the mobile images and representations of the slums. The media is responsible for creating images and myths and has successfully boosted interest in some slums' cultural landscapes (Ma 2010). Brazilian favelas, for example, experienced a popularity outbreak after the shooting of the polemic video of Michael Jackson's single "They Don't Care About Us" (1994) in favela Santa Marta; also, after documentaries such as *Favela Rising* (Jeff Zimbalist and Matt Mochary, 2005); mainstream movies like *Cidade de Deus* (Fernando Meirelles, 2003) and *Tropa de Elite* (Jose Padilha, 2008). These productions helped craft an exotic, sexy, cool image of favelas that transcended geographical and political borders (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Similar was the case of the movie *Slumdog Millionaire* (Danny Boyle, 2009), firing the number of visitors in Dharavi, India (Meschkank, 2011). Travel book guides promoting slum tours also contributed; most tourists in Dharavi were drawn by the featuring of the tour on *Lonely Planet* (Ma, 2010). With the advent of Internet platforms and the high reach of social media, tourists have become the most suitable agents for producing new narratives based on their unique experiences and understandings and reproducing them globally (Williams, 2008).

2.2 The relational process that shape places

2.2.1 The more-than-representational approach

Space, then, is an outcome of the interconnected practices and the relations between a variety of 'things' (as in people, ideas, objects, movement, and so on). As stated, we take a 'more-than-representational' approach to study the processes that produce slums as tourist places and the enmeshed potentialities that slums' cultural elements have to be resignified within these processes. Non-representational thinking was first introduced by the geographer Nigel Thrift (1996; 1997; 1999) in an attempt to engage with "the geography of what happens" (Thrift 2008: 2), or in Simpson's words:

Non-representational thinking sought to re-orientate geographic analyses beyond what was, at the time, perceived as an over-emphasis on representations (images, texts, and so on) and instead emphasise practice, embodiment, materiality, and process. (Simpson, 2021:4)

Cultural geographers embraced this approach, asserting that they should depart from mere representations and go ‘towards understanding the micro-geographies of habitual practices’ (Nash, 2000:656). NRT was set forth by Nigel Thrift and expanded with the work of Anderson & Harrison (2010b), Lorimer (2005), Cresswell (2012), and Dewsbury (2010a), and extended to tourism studies through the work of Edensor, Wyle, and Merriman, among other. As Lorimer (2005) suggested, the key ideas encompassed under what came to be known as NRT focused:

(...)on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, pre-cognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions ... which escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgment and ultimate representation. (Simpson, 2021:5)

NRT urges us to think of individuals as thinking agents, bodily engaged with the world they inhabit, who create places and realities as they unravel their daily routines and habits. These agents’ doings, moves, and thoughts are irremediably surrounded by space, objects, and others, and they have the inherent capacity to condition and modify each other (Crouch, 2000) simultaneously. Hence, the proposal is to look beyond images of representations and posited meanings towards the daily practices and performances of bodies on the move.

At first, the prefix -non- called for misunderstandings and critiques towards NRT. For the promoters of this theory, the ‘non-representational’ meant that the *main concern* was intended to move away from texts and images (Nash, 2000). Some proposed that the name should change to be more inclusive and less radical; thus, some researchers also use ‘more-than-visual’ (Edensor, 2018), ‘after-’, or ‘post-representational’ (Castree & MacMillan 2004). Under this scope, discourses and visual accounts are also considered performances in themselves in the way that their relational properties can affect others (Anderson, 2019; Simpson, 2021). However, representations’ meanings are not placed in the centre of the overall analysis, or in Desburry et al. (2002:438) words:

The non-representational theory takes representations seriously; representation not as a code to be broken or as an illusion to be dispelled; rather, representations are apprehended as performative in themselves, as doings. The point here is to redirect attention from the posited meaning towards the material compositions and conduct of representations.

NRT is interested first in *embodiment*; *this* is how human bodies interact and co-evolve with other non-human things. Daily bodily routines are closely intertwined with objects and technologies; it is enough to lose our mobile phones to realise just how much our productive and personal lives are dependent and inextricably attached to certain things. “As a result of such embodied relations with things, NRT argues that “bodies and things are not easily separated terms” (Thrift 1996:13 from Simpson, 2021:10). Being that said, NRT does not assume hard borders between humans and things or animals, it emphasises on the *agency* that, especially, non-humans have when they relate with bodies within ‘heterogeneous networks.’ At last, NRT aims to address how hybrid actants relate to and *affect* each other. Apart from the emotional or personal sense, the idea of affect refers to the influence that an interaction, be it between a human, a cat, a chair, or a tree, exerts over the body and its capacity to react (Thrift, 2008).

More than a strict theory, NRT is an umbrella for an array of ideas, concepts, theories and methods that attempt to pin down the processes that emerge from everyday life and depart from fixed structures, models and orders. Thus, NRT is only going to be able to give an incomplete account, a picture of a moment in time, about a certain process (Simpson, 2021). To capture this dynamic, ongoing and fluid nature of the entanglements, NRT calls for developing alternative and creative methods. These methods are often experimental attempts and offer open-ended accounts of the issues they sought to explore (Dewsbury 2010a). We developed three methods to grasp the multiplicity of entanglements during favela tours (see chapter 3.2).

2.2.2 Mobile practices and performances

The complex patterns of either too much or too little movement, and their effects on people and places, are central to the ‘Mobility Turn’ in the social sciences, which counts with contributions from anthropology (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Appadurai, 1996), cultural

studies (Cresswell, 2001; Lübbren & Crouch, 2003), tourism studies (Urry & Larsen, 2011; Sheller & Urry, 2004), and sociology (Mol & Law, 1994; Pascoe, 2001; Sheller & Urry, 2006).

The Mobility Turn suggests that all places are connected at least by thin and sporadic networks, and it builds around the precepts proposed by other theories that emerged at the turn of the century. To start, it acknowledges the decentralisation and deterritorialization of the centres of power, which are no longer managed only by nation-states but by a single system of mobile power, an 'Empire', "with no fixed boundaries or barriers (Hardt and Negri, 2000, page 136)" (Sheller & Urry, 2006:209) (see also chapter 2.1.1). This theoretical development challenges scale logic, such as global/local and home/away. In addition, the mobilities paradigm takes from theories of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000) the aim to go beyond static structures to explain how the social entities that create the modern world comprise people, images, information, and technologies on the move. More than a single theory, the mobilities paradigm entails a series of approaches, methodologies, and questions to disentangle the patterns of rapid movements as they create areas of "connectivity, centrality, and empowerment in some cases, and of disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility in others" (Graham & Marvin, 2001; from Sheller & Urry, 2006:2010). Although mobilities appear as a core feature in modern society, the ability to move is conditioned by subjective circumstances:

Mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power. Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship" (Skeggs, 2004, page 49; Morley, 2000). It is not a question of privileging a 'mobile subjectivity' but of tracking the power of discourses and practices of mobility in creating both movement and stasis. (Sheller & Urry, 2006: 201)

Framed within the mobilities paradigm, places are not seen as fixed entities but as nodes in complex socio-material networks. Hence, the study of tourist mobilities entails tracing how these fleeting networks are (re)produced and shaped by flows of multiple mobilities. Franklin (2004; 2008) proposes rethinking tourism and tourists' practices in modern and global societies as a part of an *ordering*, departing from the long-standing, binary paradigm built around the thought of tourism as a break from daily routines and the conceptualisation of tourism social space as places to deliver "extraordinary experiences that are missing and missed in everyday life" (Franklin, 2004:277). This ordering approach draws from post-structuralist theories, such as the work of Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, Latour, and Law. It allows us to think of tourist mobilities as an assembling process of multiple and heterogenous parts or actors (see chapter

2.2.3), which produce material realities as they connect and disconnect through myriad relational practices.

Previous tourism research focused much on the images of representations as a result of different ‘gazes.’ Urry’s early theory of the Tourist Gaze asserted how visual images create uneven power relations between the Self (the mobile subjects) and the exotic Other (the immobile objects). However, travelling entails more than simply sight; it involves walking, touching, feeling, reflexive thinking, smelling, tasting, meeting with others, and so forth. As Urry and Larsen (2011) noted in the latest edition of the *Tourist Gaze*: it is a multisensory embodied activity in which the gaze is also seen as a *performance*.

The Performative Turn shifts the focus towards embodied, collaborative and technological doings and enactments and their creative capacities (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010:3). It emerged in opposition to theories privileging the sight when analysing and interpreting the processes and agencies that structure and shape the social life. It was inspired by sociologist Erving Goffman’s dramaturgical metaphor of the world as a stage and enriched by feminist studies that redirect the focus towards the body and movement, such as the contributions from Judith Butler. When applied to tourism, MacCannell (1973) incorporated the notions of a *frontstage* (where tourists’ performances aim for authentic experiences) and a *backstage* (the place of authentic everyday life). Later work by Crouch (2004), Edensor (2001;2007), Bærenholdt et al. (2004), Urry and Larsen (2011), and so on use this performative approach by arguing that “tourism demands new metaphors based more on being, doing, touching and seeing rather than just ‘seeing’ (Perkins and Thorns, 2001:189; Cloke and Perkins, 1998)” (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010:3).

The act of performing tourism is closely related to the tourist's quest for differences from their quotidian life (Cohen & Cohen, 2015): different natural landscapes to rest on or cultural scenarios to amuse with, other food to try out, gazes upon architecture icons and the enjoyment of ‘authentic’ place atmospheres. Crouch (2004) describes tourism as a process rather than a product shaped by what people *do*. In this process, tourists emerge as consumers and producers of spatial and social realities. In the act of touring, tourists encounter spaces and create meanings through their embodied experience of places.

Despite the differences that tourists aim to encounter when they enter into a particular social space, they perform a continuum of mundane practices that coexist with the quotidian

routines of others, being them related to tourism services (like guides, hoteliers, servers and drivers), or not directly involved with tourism, like residents. The way tourists interact in and with space and with others is mainly choreographed and informed by a ‘cast of directors, stage-managers and choreographers who guide tourists along particular routes, organise their photographic performances, maintain stages in an organised state to minimise any disruptions and reinforce collective norms’ (Edensor, 2007:204). Hence, tourists’ performances reproduce a normative pattern of spatialised practices, and the level of reflexivity towards them is solely contingent on the traveller, their experiences, and desires. Occasionally, tourists’ practices may challenge those the choreographers impose, which can “open out experiences and even sketch out alternative ways of being” (Pons 2003:55).

Negotiating identities and power relations during slum tourism encounters go beyond considering slums as objects to be observed and tourists as passive observant subjects. The comprehension that human actors may develop during that encounter is not only compelled by how they see each other but by how they bodily experience and react to practices enacted in a certain time-space. Hence, a performative analysis of slum tourism calls for redirecting the scope from the *posited meaning* of the slums’ images of representation towards the *material composition and conduct* of these representations (Dewsbury et al., 2002:439; from Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). While playing tourists, the stages of slum tourism come alive baring with the unpredictability of their behaviours, producing and reacting to new images and myths, whereas consuming the place and its hybrid elements, creating connections between the people and the everyday, (re)structuring space and social life (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010).

2.2.3 Socio-material networks

Limiting the analysis to practices and performances would fail to show the complexity of the relations between slum tourism’s spaces, people, objects, discourses and narratives. Hence, we scoop further into how these actors are interconnected and altered through, by, and for slum tourism. ANT is “an ‘alternative’ social theory based on relationism (Emirbayer, 1997)” (van Der Duim et al., 2012:5) and influenced by post-structuralism, that when applied to tourism studies, shifts focus from *what* tourism *is* towards *how* tourism *works* (van Der Duim, 2007). This approach proposes to trace the practices of human and non-human actors and their associative ramifications into more or less stable networks to describe the multiple and heterogeneous orderings of events. Actor-Networks links spaces that go from local to global, setting fruitful conditions for different orderings to emerge and prevail. It can give

probabilistic insights into how tourists' performances produce and signify slums as urban and cultural actors (Van Der Duim et al., 2012).

The French sociologist Bruno Latour (1990, 1999) first elaborated this (non) theory, followed by authors like Callon (1986) and Law (1999, 2014), among others. It was strongly criticised for being too 'vague' a theory and for the inconvenience of following actors and closing the networks. Rather than a theory, ANT could be considered first as a paradigm, which brings an ontological stand to study reality as a complex set of relations between multiple and heterogenous actors (Farias and Bender, 2010). Second, it provides an ethnomethodological set of tools to trace the relational practices and spatialised associations of hybrid actors into more or less stable networks to describe multiple and heterogeneous orderings of events (Law & Hassard, 1999; Latour, 2005; Ren, Gunna, Van der Duim, 2012).

The first task of ANT requires elucidating human and non-human *actors*. An actor is anything that acts or receives activity from other actors, who acquire a form and attributes as an outcome of their relationships (Latour, 2005). In the case study, tourists were considered the starting point of the networks, which then assembled with guides, dwellers, tourist information centres, tour operators, houses, governmental entities, blog posts, the landscape, murals, Michael Jackson, UNESCO, traffic gangs, urban policies, samba, the World Bank, and so on.

Actors define themselves and the network through myriad intermediaries they exchange with each other (Verschoor, 1997). "Intermediaries are the 'language' of the network, (...) is anything passing between actors that define the relationships between them" (Callon 1991 in Verschoor, 1997:35; from Van der Duim et al., 2005:294). The list of intermediaries could be endless, but in the context of Santa Marta, they were categorised into: money, narratives, actions (policies, projects), products (souvenirs, pictures, drugs), information (the internet, conversations), and images (sightseeing, pictures).

The principle of generalised *symmetry* (Callon, 1986) is crucial to define the actants of the network. This means that every object under study should be analytically approached similarly. It blurs the limits between the social, natural, material, semiotic, human or not, local or global. Under this assertion, 'things' become very relevant in the configuration of the network since they fix society by bounding practices to space, evoking social responses without being social themselves. Just like any other social practice, tourists' patterns are sustained by all sorts of things: souvenirs, buses, online bookings, and policies, to name a few (Haldrup &

Larsen 2006). This principle helps to overcome reductionist dualisms and deviates the focus on how actors are mutually constituted during ordering processes (Law, 1994; van der Duim, 2007).

One of ANT's main goals is to describe diverse and potential *modes of ordering*. These 'orderings' do not refer to the real order of things in social life but are about tracing the repetition of patterned practices and relations that hold networks together. In other words, it helps the researcher to crack open the black boxes that articulate in a particular order (van der Duim et al., 2012). The ordering of hybrid relations is charted into networks through the process of *translation*, which reveals the attributes of each actor and the means for stabilising their associations (Murdoch, 1997). The translation process defines the roles and different scenarios in which actor networks come into existence (Callon, 1986). In the second paper presented in this compendium (chapter 4.2), I compare two favela tours that encompass two antagonistic modes of order, which can be interpreted as two different versions of reality.

Although Latour does not cite Assemblage Theory as an inspiration for his ANT development, these theories share the essential assumption that reality is multiple and always in the making through heterogeneous relations between humans and non-humans at different time scales and dimensions. Assemblage Theory also sprang from the post-structuralist turn and was extensively developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1980). In Deleuzian ontology, the socio-material arrangements are called *assemblages*, in which the constitutive elements relate with one another, creating a *constellation*. These elements do not have a priori given attributes, but they co-create their meanings and functions as they connect and disconnect (Farias, 2011). Assemblage thinking helps contemplate the potentialities of the myriad and exchangeable relations and enables approaching social systems' leaps of scale, such as local/regional/global or micro/macro (DeLanda, 2006).

DeLanda (2006) asserts that there are two dimensions to defining assemblages. The first dimension refers to the various roles that the components may take: the material roles, or forms of content, which compound humans and non-human bodies, their actions, and reactions; and the expressive roles for the immaterial, or form of expression: language, symbols, and behaviours. Second, two analogue processes intertwine the forms of content and presentation to stabilise or destabilise the identity of the assemblage's parts. On the one hand, there is the process of territorialisation, which points to the internal homogeneity among the assemblage's identities and their spatial and symbolic borders. Assemblages do not remain static; parts tend

to connect and disconnect in processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization into a new assemblage. Conversely, *coding*, decoding and recoding refer to how genetic or linguistic resources order the parts into more or less flexible strata. Coding manifests through constitutions, laws, and policies defining formal roles in society. Conflicts and tensions between the constellation's components can strengthen the borders to the extent that the assemblage can become an entirely new constellation.

Combining Assemblage thinking and ANT ethnomethodological tools is valuable and innovative in analysing tourist slums. First, they allow for avoiding dichotomies and prejudices that may arise in the process. Second, it visibilizes all the different versions of the slums that tourism practices produce and reproduce and how the assemblage of certain parts can radically (and permanently) transform the whole constellation.

2.3 The tourism and legitimacy nexus

2.3.1 Regimes of power and truth

Multiple power relations traverse the processes of assemblage. We refer not only to the power attributed to an entity, such as state power, which produces disciplined and specific orderings through subtle everyday practices of control but the power that exists in everyone and everything that plays a part in the constellations that produce realities. In his extensive analysis of power, Foucault asserts that “power comes from everywhere” and unravels in different forms and shapes as it exists as a “condition of possibility.”

[M]odern power is bottom-up, diffuse, continuous, invisible, discretely in the micro-practices, and constantly on the move colonising new domains. (Foucault, 1975; from Dreyfus, 1996:9)

Foucault's understanding of power is decentralised and exists as a historically contextualised and socially constructed understanding. Its mobile and performative nature provides power with a productive capacity, intertwining with different regimes of knowledge and truth. As Dreyfus (1996:3) asserts, “it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth.” Power's productive and localised capacity opens an avenue for change and agency to shape and reshape what comes to be known as real, ascribing a normative validity to objects and subjects (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2004).

It has been mentioned that Neoliberalism, and the number of ways in which it structures and rules the everyday life of most of the world, feeds from the legitimation power of public consent, which for Foucault, is primarily at display through discursive practices. Discourses reinforce power and also “undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it (Foucault 1990:101)” (from Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2004:11). As an ideology, society has to believe and comply with the neoliberal ways for it to reproduce and prevail. Rawls refers to this with the concept of public reason:

This idea of public reason ‘specifies at the deepest level the basic moral and political values that are to determine a constitutional democratic government’s relation to its citizens and their relation to one another’ (Rawls, 2005: 441–442; from Patton, 2016:3)

In unequal, mobile, neoliberal societies, the cultural understandings that forge moral, philosophical, religious or political values are sporadic and located. Hence, they are historically constructed and constantly in the making through multiple (micro)practices. The diverse interests and knowledge of social clusters collide, generating struggles and resistance. For Foucault, resistance and power struggles are the bases for subjects to free themselves from hierarchical domination regimes. In Dreyfus’ words:

The current understanding can only be resisted by first showing that it is not inevitable but is an interpretation of what it is to be, second by connecting our contemporary style with our current discomfort, and then by taking up marginal practices which have escaped or successfully resisted the spread of techno-/bio-power (...) Foucault grounds resistance in these 'practices of creativity'. (Dreyfus, 1996:12)

The act of being a tourist has a creative power rooted in the ramification of effects that can produce and shape realities, creating different versions of what it comes to be known, or a “normalising and naturalising” effect, about people and places over time (Hollinshead et al., 2009:428). Salazar asserts that tourists can confirm cultural representations coming from the hosts’-self-conceptualization “and their interpretation of what they perceive to be tourists’ perceptions of them” (Salazar, 2009:64). Thus, when tourists assemble in contested spaces, such as tourist slums, there is an opportunity to re-negotiate the cognitive validity of slums’ culture, their stories, and spaces of representation. Tourists have the agency to create value and values to slums’ assembled socio-material realities by consuming and reproducing them (Frenzel & Frisch, 2020). Moreover, when tourism is part of a collective co-creation process, the reflexivity that it entails for slum dwellers can be highly enriching for valorising their

culture and reaffirming their existence; this way, the development of tourism products based on local cultural elements, can be considered as marginal practices of resistance.

2.3.2 Slum tourism under debate

Slum tourism was first opened up for academic debate after the *Destination Slum! Conference* in 2010 (Bristol, UK). The event gathered researchers from diverse fields and backgrounds, and currently, there is a robust list of academic publications and numerous media reports on the subject. The rapid spread and diversification of slum tourism products provide a wide variety of case studies, enabling researchers to establish parallels and influences among them. However, because of the slums' spontaneous nature and high dependence on external conditions, many of these theoretical achievements are constrained to contextual realities (Frenzel & Koens, 2012).

Freire-Medeiros (2009) places slum tourism in what she coined *reality tours* and breaks it into two categories based on the tours' storytelling and performances. On the one hand, *social tours* aim to bring social awareness through participative experiences between tourists and locals. This category includes slum tours that attempt to alleviate poverty in host communities, also known as Pro-poor tourism (Ashley et al., 2001). We add the slum tours complying with the principles of community-based tourism (CBT). CBT is an alternative methodology for tourism development, popular between the 1980s and 1990s, to conduct tourists to poor or marginalised places whilst fostering the active participation of host communities in the decision-making and planning processes and the management of tourist products (Frenzel, 2013). These products aimed to create opportunities for alleviating poverty, having populations' culture, identity, and places working simultaneously as primal resources and allegedly also as first beneficiaries (Murphy, 1985). The development of CBT usually entails the collaboration and support of local administrations, NGOs and private entities. The critics of this approach point to the economic viability of CBT projects and suggest that there is a developmental agenda to enable new "places to tourism development, catering for special interest tourists that like to explore unique places" (Frenzel, 2013:120). This is the case of the favela Santa Marta, where the residents received financial and technical support from the state government to develop tourism products. In this regard, Tzanelli (2014) asserts that this is a way of commodifying a culture following hegemonic standards and by local means, which adds legitimacy to hierarchical policies aimed at controlling and ordering.

The second category proposed by Freire-Medeiros compounds tourist practices under what Lennon and Foley (1996) coined dark tourism. Dark (slum) Tours offer experiences that portray the suffering of people living in material poverty and the slums' crudest privations and struggles. The tours in this category are most certainly the most controversial, although slum tours rarely base their whole narrative on the aesthetics of poverty. Instead, some tours follow a cultural agenda that re-direct the scope into slums' sense of community, their vernacular cultural production and creative survival, and their historical background and political struggles (Rogerson, 2004; Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Rolfes et al., 2009). To Phillips (2003), only slum tourism practices that set forth relatively positive aspects could ever create social awareness, bring economic benefits to populations, and facilitate slum dwellers' cultural inclusion in the broader city. Notwithstanding, offering a superficial reading of the slums' livelihoods can have a detrimental effect that hints at undermining the complexity of struggles and romanticising poverty to set forth an idea of "poor but happy" (Crossley, 2012).

Regardless of the particularities of slum tourism destinations, tourists' motivations show parallelisms worldwide, curiosity for the cultural Other living and functioning in a poor environment being the primal motivation shown in academic research (Rolfes et al., 2009; Ma, 2010; Dürr, 2012a; Mekawy, 2012). This is closely followed by the desire of urban tourists to experience an alleged 'real' or complete scenario of a city, a priori assumed as fragmented (Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Rolfes et al., 2009; Ma, 2010; Meschkank, 2011; Dyson, 2012). Chhabra & Chowdhury (2012) also hint at tourists' philanthropic aspirations to contribute to the slums' socio-economic development, meet locals, and learn about their culture (Rolfes et al., 2009). However, the direct interaction between hosts and guests is limited, mainly due to the tight schedule during the tours and often also language barriers (Rolfes et al., 2009; Freire-Medeiros, 2010). Most slum tourists come from Northern American and European countries, especially the United Kingdom, Scandinavia, the United States and Germany.

Because of the contested power relations that expose, slum tourism was surrounded by controversies from its early beginnings. The initial criticism came from the mainstream media and social elites, who often compared slum tours with poverty zoos. Some researchers state that slum tourism supposes an invasion of the residents' privacy and emphasises the asymmetries between hosts and guests regarding power and economic capacities (Scheyvens, 2007; Selinger & Outtersen, 2010; Dürr, 2012a). However, such considerations are often isolated and paraphrased opinions, in which the author's baggage and ethnocentrism can

jeopardize their accuracy (Frenzel, 2014). In opposition, other scholars advert the potential of slum tourism to be socially and politically transformative, hinting at its educational value and the potential economic benefits (Rogerson, 2004; Freire-Medeiros, 2007; Williams, 2008; Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Burgold & Rolfes, 2013). In the specific case of favelas in Rio de Janeiro, Freire-Medeiros (2009b) explains how tours represented an opportunity to break with the isolation of favelas, asserting that tours helped to change the negative stereotypes associated with them. Similar results were noted by Rolfes et al. (2009) in South Africa, who claimed that tourists' negative preconceptions had improved after taking a township tour.

The economic benefits that slum tourism could allegedly bring to host communities are frequently used as a justification for developing the products in the first place. However, researchers state that profits are marginal and usually encapsulated in a few hands (Rogerson, 2004). Even if the revenues are not the expected, tourism is used by capital-driven entities and the hegemonic power to foster urban regeneration, capital expansion and to re-order slums, to the extent that Tzanelli refers to tourism as the "Trojan horse for neoliberal development" (Tzanelli, 2014). However, we argue that tourists have agency in co-creating meanings and values that can potentially reshape and redefine slums' spaces and culture and provide slum dwellers with political power (Frenzel & Frisch, 2020). Furthermore, within these processes of value co-creation, slums and their constitutive elements may gain legitimacy and validation by the rest of the city and the world.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Stay

I undertook two research stays in Rio de Janeiro to gather the data for this thesis. The first trip lasted for two weeks in August 2018, and the goal was to learn about the current situation of favela tourism and establish the first contacts that would allow me to conduct the field study. The second was a six-month stay from September 2019 to February 2020. I was a visiting researcher at the Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro UNIRIO, in partnership with the European Institute of Design in Rio de Janeiro, and supervised by professor Fabio Palma.

The fieldwork had three defined stages:

- 1) Introduction: the first month of the stay was essential to gain general knowledge about the city and its social structures. During this time, I studied Portuguese and visited museums, favelas, and cultural centres. I also attended a course about urban resistance movements at the Universidad Federal de Rio de Janeiro. Moreover.
- 2) Santa Marta: I visited the favela regularly to familiarise myself with the informants and the rest of the community. I also took participant observation in 17 tours in Santa Marta, with most of the 13 local guides. On some of these tours, I collaborated as an English translator (see Table 3).
- 3) Interviews: the last two months were mainly dedicated to conducting semi-structured interviews with tour guides, residents running tourism businesses, and policymakers (see Table 2). I also engaged in informal conversations with tourists and residents.

3.2 Tools and techniques

We have elaborated on three different methodological approaches to identify the actors' practices and performances and how they interact and affect each other to produce and reproduce real and potential socio-material orderings. Since each of the publications provides an in-depth description of the epistemologies and methodological tools that they employ, this section only briefly summarises the conceptual framework. It provides more specific information about the informants and data collection processes.

The first paper (see chapter 4.1) uses auto-ethnography (Reed-Danahay, 1997; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Ellis, 1997; Noy, 2007) for the observation and de-construction of everyday

life. This relatively unconventional method describes a cultural experience based on the researcher’s previous knowledge, ideology and personal background. Hence, it places the researcher at the centre of the questions and analysis and requires connecting their personal experiences on the field with the theoretical framework that structures the research. Following the style proposed by auto-ethnography to present findings, the paper offers a sort of literary piece, mixing the author’s impressions with analytical deliberations in an artsy fashion.

The second paper (see chapter 4.1) explores the applications and possibilities of ANT (see chapter 2.2.2), which entails following tourism’s hybrid actors as they stitch networks to create different modes of orderings. We were inspired by the work of Ren (2009), who provides a detailed description of a Polish cheese’s path and the issues raised around it. However, we sought to expand the implementation of ANT to create a more visual account of the relational ramifications during favela tours. The data collection combines participant observation in two antagonistic tours (regarding the spaces and narratives each set forth) and several semi-structured interviews (see Table 2). With this data, we traced down the constellation of elements that both tours intertwined, and we turned these two versions of reality into diagrams using the online application <https://app.diagrams.net/>.

I undertook twelve semi-structured interviews between September and December 2019. The respondents were informed of my position as a researcher and the research aims, and they voluntarily agreed to answer my questions anonymously. The interviews were not taped due to the informants’ discomfort with the idea of being recorded. Therefore, I used my notes for the data analysis phase. The following table lists the informants and questions posited during the interviews.

Informant	Interview’s Questions
President: Santa Marta’s Residents Association (Associação de Moradores)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How long have you been president? How is the president elected? 2. What are the functions of the residents' association? And your duties as President? 3. How much is tourism discussed (now or in the past) in the Residents' Association? 4. What do you think tourism brings to the community? 5. What do you think of tourists who enter the community without guides?

	<p>6. What partnerships bring tourism to the community (with national and international companies, public and private institutions, and other favelas)?</p> <p>7. Do you receive financial, technical or legal support from any government entity?</p> <p>8. What is the residents' perception of tourism in Santa Marta?</p>
<p>Tour guides: four locals and one outsider</p>	<p>1. When did you started guiding?</p> <p>2. Did you have any prior experience with tourism businesses?</p> <p>3. Why did you choose to develop a tourism business?</p> <p>4. Did you have (or still have) financial, technical or legal support from any government entity?</p> <p>5. Do you have any partnership with agencies, companies or entrepreneurs from outside the community?</p> <p>6. What do you want to transmit with your tour? What is your goal?</p> <p>7. What sites does your itinerary usually cover?</p> <p>8. What is your target audience?</p> <p>9. Which do you think are the positive and negative impacts of your tour to the community?</p> <p>10. How did tourism impact your professional and personal life?</p>
<p>Shop owner: Santa Marta souvenir shops</p>	<p>1. When did you open your shop?</p> <p>2. Did you have any prior experience with tourism businesses?</p> <p>3. Why did you choose to develop a tourism business?</p> <p>4. Did you have (or still have) financial, technical or legal support from any government entity?</p> <p>5. Do you have any partnership with agencies, companies or entrepreneurs from outside the community?</p> <p>6. Which are the best-selling souvenirs?</p> <p>7. What is your target audience?</p> <p>8. Which do you think are the positive and negative impacts of your shop to the community?</p> <p>9. How did tourism impact your professional and personal life?</p>

<p>Favela resident and artist, from NGO <i>Projeto Morrinh</i> (favela Pereira da Silva)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When did the project started to be visited widely by tourists? 2. Which aspects of this site do you think is attractive for tourists? 3. Do you have financial, technical or legal support from any government entity? 4. What (if any) kind of involvement has the community with the project? 5. Do you have (or had) any partnership with agencies, companies or entrepreneurs from outside the community? 6. Which do you think are the positive and negative impacts of tourism in the community? 7. Which was the process of the project to end up at the exhibition at the Museo do MAR?
<p>Manager: INSOLAR, social company</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What was your motivation to set up a social enterprise? 2. Have you worked in favelas before? 3. Why did you choose Santa Marta to implement this pilot project? 4. How was the project socialized with the community? How was it received? 5. Do you have (or had) financial, technical or legal support from any government entity? 6. What kind of involvement has the community with the project? 7. What other entities work in partnership with INSOLAR in Santa Marta? 8. What events does INSOLAR organize in Santa Marta? Is any of these related to tourism? 9. Do you collaborate in any way with local tour guides? 10. What do you think of tourism in the community? 11. How was the experience of working in this favela?
<p>Project manager: favela tourism entrepreneurs, by SEBRAE</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When did favela tourism start to be discussed at SEBRAE? 2. What motivations did SEBRAE have to support favela tourism projects? 3. Does SEBRAE have any partnership with government entities to carry out these projects?

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. What was SEBRAE's participation in the Rio Top Tour project? 5. What actions or projects have you implemented in Santa Marta or other favelas in Rio? 6. How was the experience of employees working in the favela? 7. When and why did SEBRAE stop giving support to favelas' entrepreneurship projects? 8. Do you think SEBRAE will ever invest again in favela tourism projects?
<p>Project manager: Tudo de Cor Pra Você, by Coral Tintas</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What was your role in the project "Tudo de Cor Para Você (TCV)"? 2. Which was the company's motivation to carry out this project? 3. Why did the company choose Santa Marta? 4. How was the project socialized in the community? 5. Which was the community's involvement in the project? 6. How did you choose the houses that would be painted? And the spaces for the murals? 7. Did Coral Tintas developed any other actions in this or other favelas? 8. Did you have any partnership with the local tour guides or any tourism-related businesses in Santa Marta? 9. Have you ever involved tourists in the project? 10. What do you think TCV meant to the community?
<p>Project manager: Rio Top Tour, by the state government</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How was the context in which the Rio Top Tour project emerged? 2. Which office promoted the idea? 3. What was the political, economic and social motivation or expectation to carry out the project? 4. Was the project part of a larger urban or tourist vision for the city? 5. Why did you choose Santa Marta to implement this pilot project? 6. What was the office's knowledge about favela tourism before the project? 7. What budget was allocated for the development of the project?

	<p>8.How was the project socialized with the community? How was it received?</p> <p>9.What was the community’s participation and involvement through-out the project?</p> <p>10.Did you work in partnership with any university, NGO, company or other governmental entity?</p> <p>11.What other urban development projects were carried out between 2010 and 2016 in tourist favelas?</p> <p>12.How would you valorise the social, political and economic outcomes of the project?</p> <p>13.Does the state government carry out any kind of maintenance to the works made by the project?</p>
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Table 2. List of questions and informants during the fieldwork.

I took participant observation on 17 tours in Santa Marta: 16 with local guides and 1 with an outside guide hired by a local company. The data collected during the fieldwork followed a qualitative research design. I mainly used notes kept in a field diary, where I collected critical information during tours, interviews and other visits. My notes registered tourists' doing at the sites, their socio-cultural characteristics, the areas included in each of the itineraries, and guides’ narratives, also what kind of interactions happened during the tours (with locals, places, materials, and so on), and triggering experiences, impressions and thoughts. I also kept a photographic account and a voice recorder. I took particular interest in four tour operators, for these tours offered distinctive representations of Santa Marta, setting forth different assemblages of cultural elements and discourses. Table 3 describes the key informants and the number of tours I participated in with each of them. The guides were also interviewed later on (see Table 2).

Tour Operator	Tours taken	Observations
Favela Scene	2	One of the first tourism entrepreneurs in Santa Marta. It was the leading company at the beginning, but it was not quite active at the time of this fieldwork. Their tours sought to be socially responsible and to have a positive impact on the community.

Santa Marta Turismo Favela	7	This company offers the most generic itinerary (subjective opinion). It focuses on the most <i>touristified</i> sites, and shows a rosier and romanticized version of the favela.
Favela Top Tour	4	One of the latest to emerge, but also one of the most successful at the time of the data collection. Their itineraries are flexible to meet tourists' expectations and motivations. They offer close contact with traffickers and visit less <i>touristified</i> sites in the favela.
Favela Santa Marta Tour	1	The oldest tour operator and the best positioned in the internet and with international tourists. It is the only company that does not employ local guides; however, it is owned by an ex-local dweller. Their tour delivers the most politicized version of the favela.

Table 3. List tour operators in Santa Marta.

The third paper (see chapter 4.3) assesses the discursive practices enmeshed with favela tourism. We analyse media and legal texts, classifying them into three legitimisation categories, drawing from van Leeuwen (2007): authorisation, rationalisation, and moral evaluation. Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary, methodological approach to studying discourses as the “groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought and the way we act on the basis of that thinking” (Rose, 2001:136). This method is central to Foucault's work to detect regimes of power and knowledge, conflict, domination, and the historical processes that shape and bend socio-material orders (Keller, 2018). Although there are no specific guidelines for carrying out a Foucauldian discourse analysis (Foucault, 1972), we claim to have done so to describe the meaning-making processes and the themes that emerged throughout the data. We codified the data reflecting on three main questions, (1) What are the contested discourses within favela tourism? (2) How do different discourses legitimise favelas' cognitive capital? (3) How do these discursive practices order the favela?

We collected the data from five different sources in their original language, Portuguese, and translated them to English; Table 4 gives an overview of the sources and texts retrieved

manually by the author. The sources were selected after tracing the actors with ANT methods for the second paper. In this phase, we could identify the most influential discourses, especially the public's opinion. To search the data from the digital journals, we used the tags 'Rio de Janeiro', 'Favela', and 'Tourism' and filtered for publications between January 2011 and January 2021. As for the Instagram accounts, we search for posts directly referring to favela tourism; and those sharing images indirectly related to tourist favelas, such as posts from the carnival and viewpoints located in favelas.

Source	Type	Observations	N° of entries selected
<i>O Globo</i>	Mainstream media outlet	Brazilian conservative and liberal multimedia conglomerate, among the most widely consumed and influential in Brazil.	43
<i>A Voz das Comunidades</i>	Grassroots digital journal and NGO	Founded by an 11-year-old favela resident in Rio de Janeiro, in an effort to report topics that were neglected by the hegemonic media, such as the favelas' positive events and structural problems.	13
<i>@RIOTUR.RIO</i>	Official Instagram Account	RIOTUR is Rio de Janeiro's municipal tourism board and is in charge of promoting tourism and the programming of activities and events in the city.	19
<i>@SUBZONASUL.RIO</i>	Official Instagram Account	Rio de Janeiro's Municipality account, which executes municipal policies.	4

<i>Tourism Commission at the Legislation Assembly (ALERJ)</i>	State Law nº3598	Issued in 2018, establishes the state policy for community-based tourism in Rio de Janeiro	1
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Table 4. Sources retrieved for paper 3.

For the data processing, we used the software ATLAS.ti. This software allowed us to codify a total of 79 entries and to identify themes that fell under the legitimisation categories (see Table 5). The codes emerged inductively after reading all the articles and roughly identifying patterns in the discourses. The software helped create word clouds to detect the most repeated themes by source and year of publication. Moreover, it allowed us to visualise relational patterns between the codes and the sources; for instance, Figures 1 and 2 show the number of publications featuring favela tourism, which enables us to have an overview of when tourism was a relevant topic for the journal and depending if we add other codes, we could also see *how* was tourism being portrayed and *what* was the approach.

Analytical Category	Theme	Attribute	Code
<i>Authorization</i>	1. Public Policy	a. Cultural b. Tourism c. Securitization d. Urban refurbishing	A.1.a A.1.b A.1.c A.1.d
	2. Tourist	a. Testimony b. Incident	A.2.a A.2.b
	3. Celebrity		A.3
	4. Tour Guide		A.4
<i>Rationalization</i>	1. Research		R.1
	2. Statistics		R.2
<i>Moral Evaluation</i>	1. Tourist	a. Negative perception	M.1.a
		b. Positive perception	M.1.b
		c. Other	M.1.c
	2. Public entity	a. Culture	M.2.a
		b. Security	M.2.b
		c. Other	M.2.c
3. Journalist opinion	a. Culture	M.3.a	
	b. Security	M.3.b	
	c. Other	M.3.c	

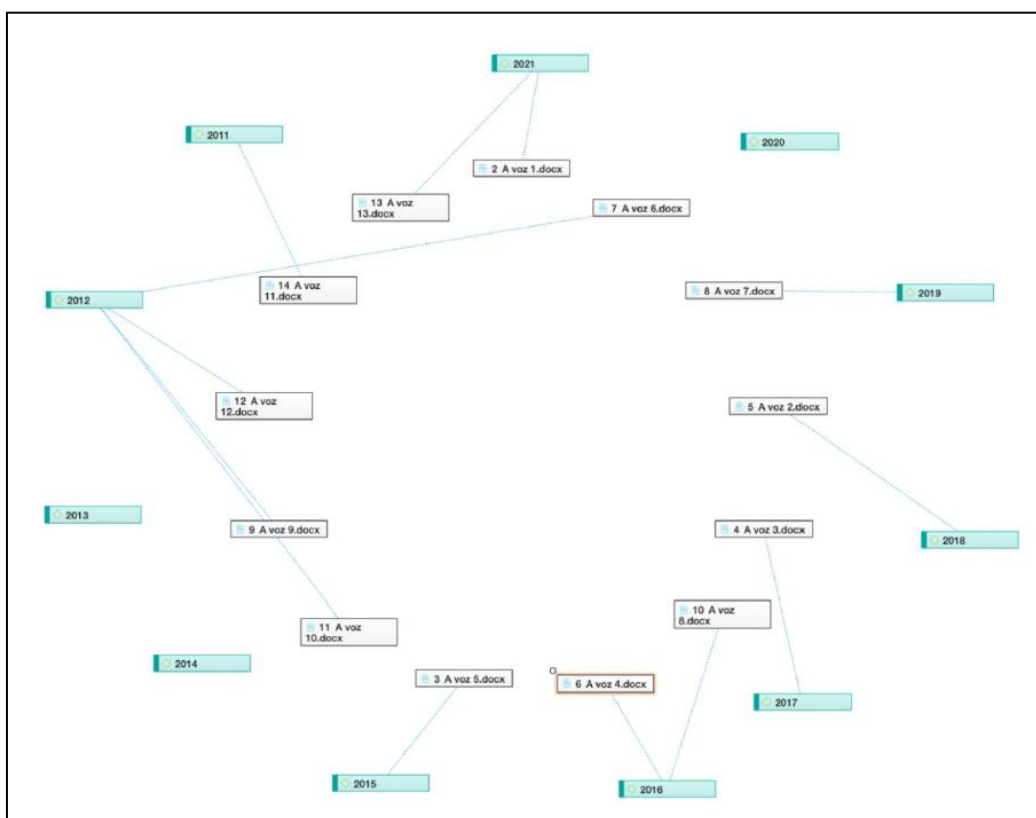


Figure 2. Articles featuring favela tourism in A Voz das Comunidades.

3.3 Case study: favela Santa Marta

3.3.1 The issue of favelas

The city of Rio de Janeiro, named initially São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro, was officially founded on March 1st, 1565, by the Portuguese nobleman Estácio de Sá, who built a fortress on the site where the city now stands. The fort was built to defend against French and Dutch invasions, and the settlement that grew around it eventually became the city of Rio de Janeiro. It was the capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro and later Brazil until 1960, which placed the city at the centre of the country's political power and economic development, and also played a significant role in the social, political, and economic context of Latin America.

In the 19th century, Rio de Janeiro was the residence of the Brazilian monarchy, and the Imperial Palace was located there. It was also an important cultural centre and breeding ground for developing literature, music and the arts. During the colonial period, Rio de Janeiro was the main port of entry for enslaved Africans, which led to a significant population of Afro-Brazilians in the city. This contributed to forming a unique culture, which continues to influence the city today. Brazil was the last Western country to abolish slavery in 1888 when

Emperor Pedro II passed the "Golden Law". The law provided for the immediate and unconditional freedom of all enslaved people in Brazil without any compensation to enslavers. However, it must be noted that even though slavery was officially abolished, the law did not provide for the full integration of the formerly enslaved population into society. Many former enslaved people were left without land, jobs or education, which led to a perpetuation of poverty, inequality and discrimination for many years (Butler, 1998).

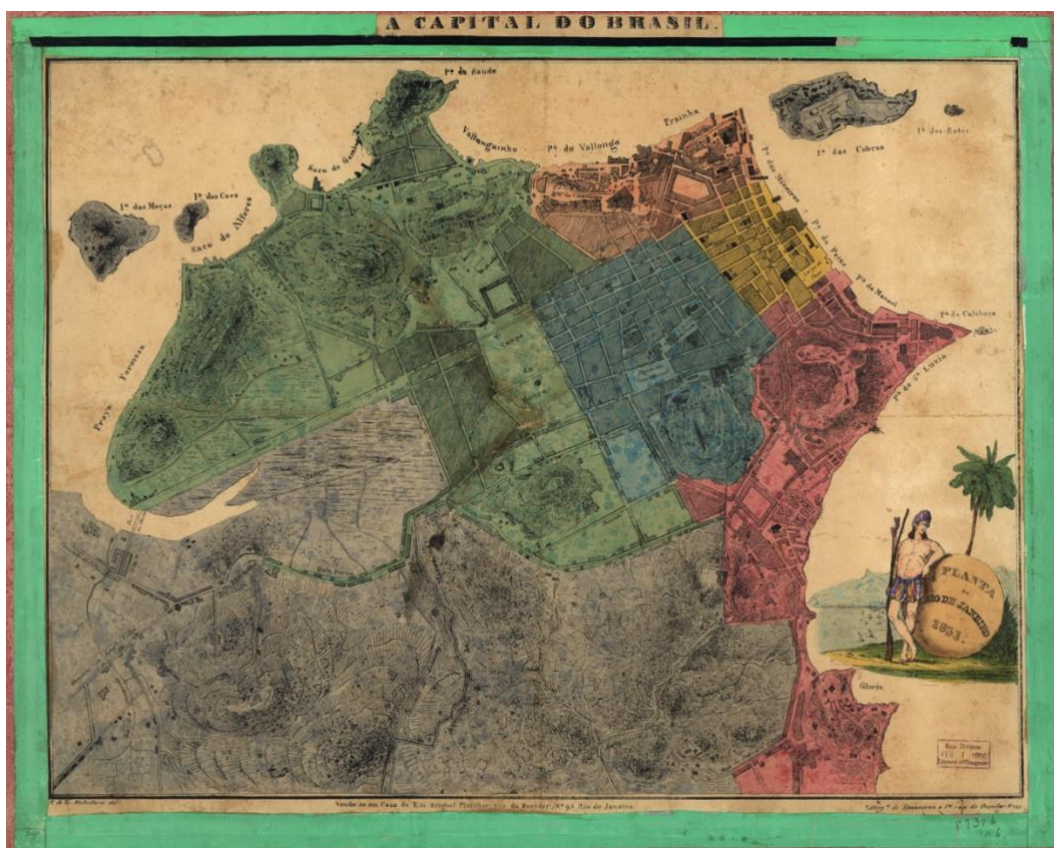


Figure 3. Rio de Janeiro in 1831. (Source: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

In the 20th century, with the shift of the capital to Brasília, Rio de Janeiro lost its role as the political centre of Brazil but still remained an important economic centre, particularly in finances, trade, and tourism. However, in recent years, Rio de Janeiro has faced significant economic and social challenges, including the rise in crime rates, poverty and inequality, and environmental degradation. This enhanced the polarisation and segregation of the city's population.



Figures 4 and 5. Current geographical location of Brazil and Rio de Janeiro.

Rio is home to 7 million people, of which 22% live in squatter settlements (IBGE 2010). According to the Brazilian statistic centre, there are 762 favelas in Rio de Janeiro, reaching close to 1.5 million residents, splattered in downtown areas and the Southern -and richer- region, and also to the northern and western margins of the city. Favelas emerged in Brazil, mainly in Rio de Janeiro, due to rapid urbanisation and population growth in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During this period, there was a large influx of people migrating from the

countryside to the cities in search of better economic opportunities. However, the government and private developers did not provide enough affordable housing to meet the demand. Many people were forced to build their homes in informal settlements on the city's outskirts. These settlements, which residents also refer to as *morro* (hill), *comunidade* (community) or *bairro* (neighbourhood), were often located on steep hillsides, in flood-prone areas, or on land that was not suitable for building. They were characterised by poor living conditions, limited access to essential services such as water and sanitation, and a lack of infrastructure. Over time, the favelas grew and became more established, with residents forming strong social networks and building their own community institutions. However, they remain marginalised and excluded from the formal city, and residents continue to face discrimination and poverty (Valladares, 2005).



Figure 6. Favelas in downtown Rio de Janeiro.

The FIFA World Cup (2014) and the Summer Olympics (2016) had a significant impact on Rio de Janeiro's urban landscape, particularly on favelas located in downtown areas. Several new facilities and infrastructure projects were built or renovated in preparation for the games, including the Olympic Village, the Olympic Park, and the Deodoro Sports Complex. Additionally, improvements were made to transportation infrastructure, such as expanding the metro system and constructing a new bus rapid transit system. These urban projects followed a pattern already applied to other former Olympic cities, like Barcelona, which had the neoliberal aim to use urban spaces and cultures to feed the capital growth machinery and to

“develop a strong and positive image of the city, exploring its symbolic capital to the maximum, to regain its privileged insertion in international cultural circuits” (Arantes et al., 2000:54).

Rio de Janeiro's restructuring had positive and negative effects on the city, with some residents praising the improved infrastructure. In contrast, others have criticised the displacement of residents and the high cost of the games. The civic claims attempted to the out-of-scale investments made for major urban projects like the refurbishing of Porto Maravilha. This port area connects Rio's downtown with the northern shore. This was the country's first public-private partnership for urban revitalisation and required an investment of nearly US\$ 4.1 billion (Odebrecht 2011; Antunes 2013, 355; CDURP 2017, from Worms & Sluyter, 2018).

Many favela residents were displaced to make way for new Olympic infrastructure, gentrification, and other real estate development. These displacements were done with little or no compensation, leaving many residents without homes or means of livelihood.

The displacement policy is not “anonymous” or targeted generically against the poor; it charges the concrete materiality of power relations that appear as intersecting relations of oppression, articulating class, gender and race. (Mendes & Cocco, 2016:13).

There was significant social resistance from residents of favelas and other groups in Rio de Janeiro to the "pacification" programs and urban projects. Other groups, such as human rights activists, criticised residents' displacement and the games' high cost. The growing discontent triggered several protests and demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro between 2011 and 2013, with residents of favelas, activists and other citizens demanding their rights and protesting the displacement, lack of compensation, and the large amount of public funds that were spent on the Olympics, while basic services such as healthcare and education were underfunded (Mendes & Cocco, 2016).

Moreover, many favelas were subject to "pacification" programs during this urban restructuring process to improve communities' security and public services. This included the deployment of Pacification Police Units and the construction of infrastructure such as schools and health clinics. However, these programs were criticised for being oppressive and abusive and failing to address the underlying issues that led to the creation of favelas (Freeman, 2012). Tourism played a significant role in the development of UPPs, having brought projects such as Rio Top Tour as a social counterpart, which aimed to prepare the ground for tourist

development in favelas (Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013). UPPs were intended to improve the perception of safety in the favelas, in part to make the areas more attractive to tourists and to reduce crime in areas near Olympic venues. Hence, some critics argue that the pacification programs were more about creating a more attractive image for tourists than addressing the favelas' underlying issues and that the programs were not sustainable in the long term (Steinbrink, 2013).

It is also worth mentioning that although the Olympics fostered major urban regeneration programs, tourism, in general, has been a driving force behind the development and "pacification" of Rio's favelas over the years, as these areas are often located in prime real estate and close to touristic places and attractions. Many favelas in the Southern region and downtown Rio de Janeiro, like Santa Marta (see figure 7, number 9 points to Dona Marta, a viewpoint at the top of the favela), also have beautiful views of the city's hills and the sea, a landscape even protected by UNESCO under the tag of "Carioca Landscapes Between the Mountain and the Sea", for the unique blending between people, cultures, nature and the city.

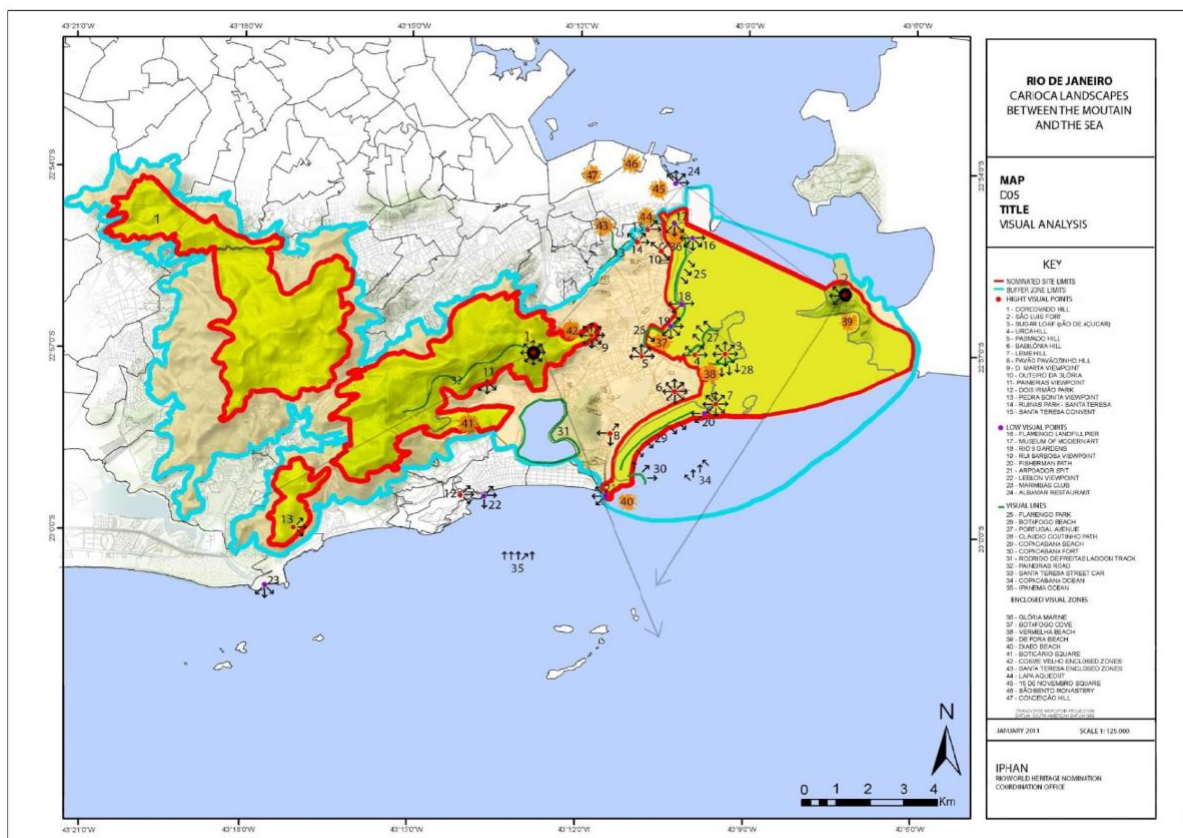


Figure 7. Carioca Landscapes Between Mountain and Sea, protected by UNESCO. Some of the viewpoints listed are in favelas territories, like Santa Marta, Pavão-Pavãozinho, Babilônia, etc. (Source: Vereza Lodi, et al., 2014)



Figure 8. Panoramic view from the viewpoint of Dona Marta, in Favela Santa Marta.

(Source: Tripadvisor¹)

Although political and social discourses have historically referred to it as “*problema da favela*” (the favelas’ issue), other researchers also recognise favelas to be rich cultural hubs with a profound sense of community, creative entrepreneurship, and organic architectural development (Perlman, 1976; Frisch, 2012). Favelas’ contrasting proximity with wealthier neighbourhoods and their collective resistance to chronic deficiencies forged a unique identity that remains distinct from the rest of the city.

3.3.2 The Model Favela

Santa Marta is a relatively small favela located on the Dona Marta hill in the heart of Botafogo, an upper-middle-class neighbourhood in the Southern Zone of Rio de Janeiro. According to the latest census in 2010, the favela has 5,000 residents, although residents sustain at least 7,000 people living there. The favela emerged at the beginning of the 20th century when construction workers building the Santo Inácio school in a nearby area settled on the hill. A

¹https://www.tripadvisor.es/Attraction_Review-g303506-d2352257-ReviewsMirante_Dona_Marta-Rio_de_Janeiro_State_of_Rio_de_Janeiro.html#/media-attraction/2352257/367691673:p/?albumid=-160&type=0&category=-160

handful of residents turned into hundreds from the 1930s onwards when migrants from the country's Northeast moved to Rio de Janeiro in search of better working conditions.

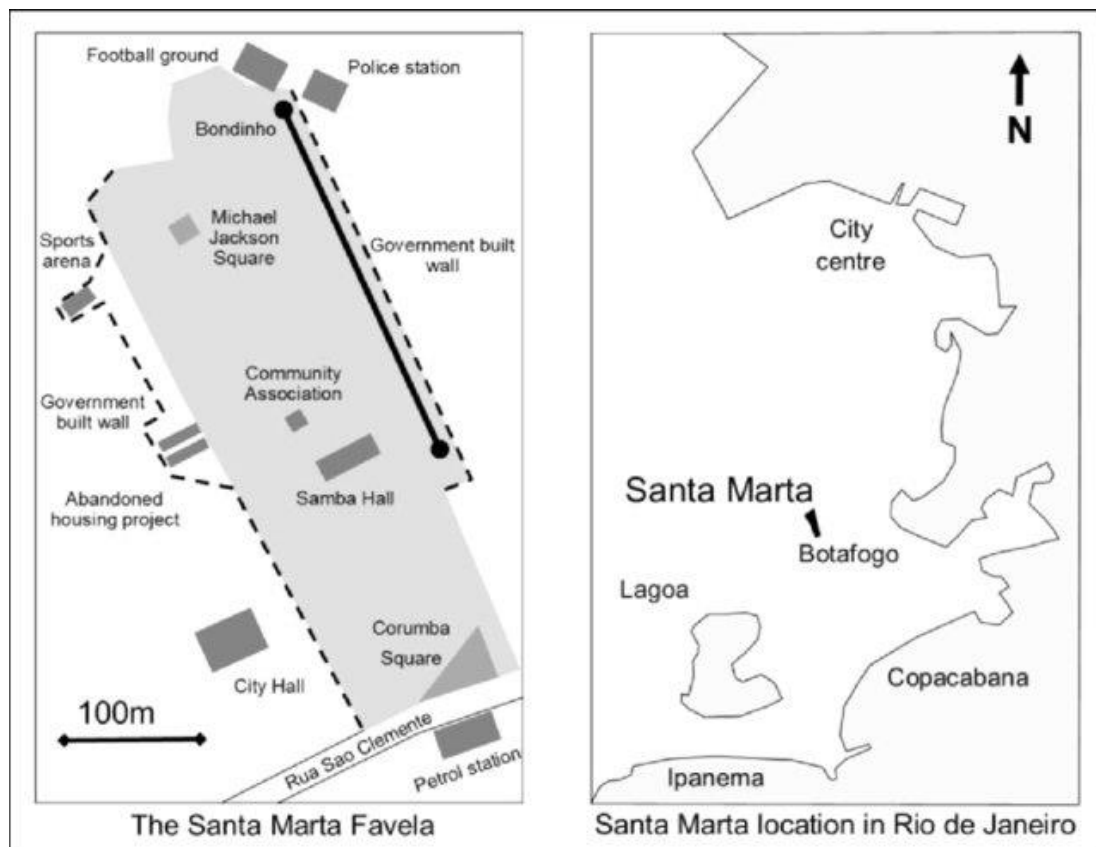


Figure 9. Santa Marta map (From Carpenter et al., 2020)

The territory had been disputed by the trafficking gang Comando Vermelho since the 1970s. The community was at the centre of several 'wars' between drug cartels and the police, which worsened during the 1980s. Despite this violent past, Santa Marta received a lot of attention from the media, public authorities and private companies in recent years. In 1997, Michael Jackson Filmed an iconic music video for the "They Don't Care About Us" single on top of a terrace with one of the best views. This video placed the favela in the global imaginary, which calls Michael Jackson's fans even to date.

In the pre-Olympic period, amid a frenzy of investments, Santa Marta received the first pilot unit of the UPP program. Although the results of pacification are controversial, from 2008 to 2016, the three UPP stations placed in the community maintained relatively safe conditions for residents, positively influencing the influx of tourists, which reached up to 2000 yearly around 2015 (Rodrigues, 2018). At that same time, the City Hall and the state government invested in urban refurbishing projects that made stairs, sewers, alleys and inclined plane (or

bondinho) the only means of transport available to climb up the more than 700 stairs of Santa Marta. One of the most significant construction works was refurbishing the Michael Jackson Space on the terrace where the singer recorded the iconic video. The place has a bronze statue of Michael Jackson, made by the Brazilian artist Ique, and a mosaic mural by Romero Brito. After the pacification, private companies, such as the painting company Coral Tintas, took advantage of the visibility that favelas offered and financed interventions that brought colour to the homes of Santa Marta residents, a postcard that would be a distinctive seal of the community.

In 2010, Santa Marta received the pilot project Rio Top Tour, developed by the state government and partially financed by the World Bank. The idea behind the project was to create a safe and attractive environment for visitors, create economic opportunities for residents, such as jobs in the tourism industry, and raise awareness about the favelas' culture. Its goal was to train residents in tourist services and entrepreneurship to develop different community-based tourism products. In between other by-products of the Rio Top Tour, there is a large-scale map with attractions tourist attractions in Santa Marta, a tourist information stand, an image of a brand developed for the favela, promotional material and signage. However, many of them have been lost due to vandalism or lack of maintenance.

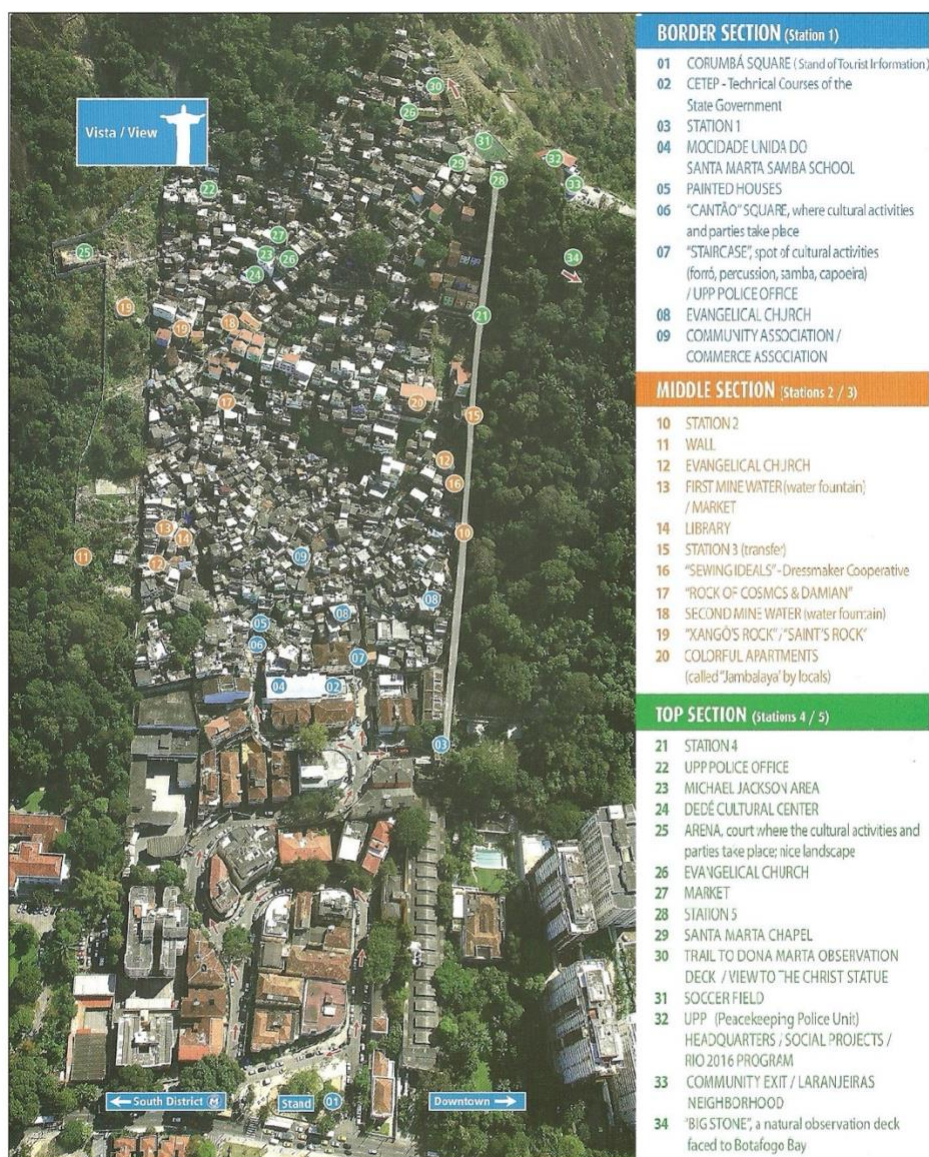


Fig. 2 Map of Santa Marta with main attractions (from official leaflet)

Figure 10. Map of Santa Marta co-produced during the Rio Top Tour project (Source: Freire-Medeiros, 2013).

After the project, four residents became certificated tour guides, and the number raised to thirteen in the following years. Each guide has a travel agency and carries out different itineraries and approaches. Even so, the tours usually last about two hours and cost between 70 and 150 reais. The classic itinerary consists of taking the Inclined Plane until the fifth station; there you can visit the field where Michael Jackson landed with his helicopter in the 1980s, the first UPP station, a day care centre or some other social project, the Michael Jackson Space, the Residents Association, a house-museum with a collection of wall clocks, and several panoramic viewpoints.

Due to the increasing insecurity and the consequent decrease in visits, there is not enough work to devote exclusively to tourism; therefore, most have other jobs or have had to abandon the activity altogether. However, at least five families still lived off tourism-related activities at the time of the fieldwork. Although the influx of visitors is now sparser than in the past, tourists were visiting Santa Marta almost every day. Santa Marta receives visitors from all over the world and even Brazilians from other states, but the public is mostly European, primarily French and German, followed by Argentines and Americans.

4. COMPILATION OF ARTICLES

4.1 Article 1. Gringa Tales in Favela Santa Marta

Altamirano, E. (2021). Gringa tales in favela Santa Marta. *Journal of tourism and cultural change*, 20(1–2), 286–303. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2021.1953513>

ABSTRACT

This paper provides an autoethnographic account through tourist favela Santa Marta, Rio de Janeiro. It aims to grasp the role of tourists' practices and performances and their potential to resignify and transform the physical, social, and cultural landscape of slummed communities at urban destinations. Tourism in informal urban settlements is a phenomenon studied from different disciplines and perspectives, mainly covering representational and ethical issues. The paper incorporates insights from the Performative Turn and relational studies to guide the author's reflection over her cultural experience as a favela tourist/researcher. These stories compound the myriad of heterogeneous elements making and shaping the favelas' complex and dynamic assemblages. They also unveil multiple underlying issues that could be further analyzed from different scopes. Finally, favela tourism is seen as an avenue to foster social change. Autoethnography was first being applied to slum tourism research, and it proved to be a useful method to embrace the subjectivities of the field.

Keywords: Slum tourism; performative turn; favela tourism; autoethnography; social change

INTRODUCTION

The United Nations (2016) defines slums by the 'lack of': land ownership, proper infrastructure, access to water, sanitation, enough living space, and so on. Meanwhile, Slumdweller are often deprived of social representation and political rights, stigmatized by social elites, and discriminated against in the formal labor market (Riley et al., 2007; cited in Nisbett, 2017). Slums have historically embodied the 'dark', the 'unpredictable', and the 'unknown'; constructed by the hegemonic urban bourgeois as the place of Otherness. Thus, slums' cultural production, social traditions, and citizenship were largely invisibilized and neglected. However, recently, some slums have turned into tourist attractions, and this may have been playing against this process, opening new avenues for visibility and legitimation of their spaces and culture.

Despite the assumption that slums would not offer a background for joy, diversion, and relaxation, they have been turned into alternative tourists' favorite sites for engagement, especially among international visitors. South African township tours began in the early

1990s with a socio-political focus. They were short after replicated in Brazilian favelas, major slums in India, and other urban destinations North and South of the world, following a particular pattern of imitation from one destination to another (Frenzel, 2012; Rogerson, 2004). Visiting slums provide tourists with an opportunity to ultimately experience ‘difference’ in their quotidian lives by immersing in slums’ spontaneous, chaotic and exotic social and physical landscape.

This tourist practice proliferates in a more than ever mobile world, where cities play a central role as places of culture and services’ production and consumption. The improvements in technologies and transport empowered globalization processes, transforming lifestyles, consumerism, and mobility patterns. In this context, tourism, cultural production, knowledge-based industries, and the entertainment business propel the city’s capital growth (Eisinger, 2000). Since tourism is a socio-cultural and economic phenomenon that mobilizes human and non-human capital that go from local to global (Salazar, 2005), the rivalry among tourist cities to attract them is so fierce that almost every aspect of everyday life can work as a commodity (Judd & Fainstein, 1999). Meanwhile, post-modern tourists are also searching for ‘off the beaten track’ activities at urban destinations, encouraging the rise and development of unexpected attractions (Pappalepore, et al., 2014). Such is the case of some slums, customized and advertised by local and outside tour operators as an exciting opportunity to experience a ‘complete’ and ‘real’ scenario of the city they are embedded, challenging representations, and power relations (Freire-Medeiros, 2009) and some authors would say, turning poverty and informality into a tourist commodity (Frisch, 2012).

Slum tourism (henceforward: ST) is a complex phenomenon that concerns local dwellers, private companies, urban spaces, discourses and identities, and the political and social classes. The (re)production of the slums’ materialities and representations could be analyzed from a contextual frame that hints at the spatial–temporal mobility of their realities and imaginaries: every constructed Otherness will exist as a mirror of current issues in society, targeting or neglecting certain social groups (Steinbrink, 2012). So I wondered, what is the role of slum tourists’ valorization practices in renegotiating slums’ social, political, and economic realities (Frenzel, 2016)? Could tourists bring visibility to slum residents’ struggles and their cultural production? Could that value-added potentially replace slums from the margins to the center of the neoliberal urban fabric?

Our inquiry springs from the need for a holistic approach to avoid polarized moral dichotomies and – only – representational issues. Instead, I propose to accept subjectivities, to look into the relational networks intermingled during ST encounters, and hint at

tourists' agency to challenge the status quo towards social change (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). This article provides an autoethnographic account of my journeys through tourist favela Santa Marta (henceforward: SM), in Rio de Janeiro (henceforward: RJ). This rather unconventional method in tourism research is first being applied to ST literature. Before immersing the reader into my fascinating and disturbing tales, I will discuss the research method and my personal motivations. Then, I will briefly review ST's literature and the gaps I hope to cover on this paper. Finally, I will not provide a thorough analysis of my experience, instead, I will unravel the many issues raised on the stories.

AUTOETHNOGRAPHY: EMBRACING SUBJECTIVITIES

Autoethnographic method invites the researcher to address themselves ('auto') when reflecting and describing, in an artful and evocative written account ('graphy'), their personal experience within a larger social, cultural, or institutional group ('ethno') (Ellis, 1997; Noy, 2007). The method acknowledges the researcher's subjectivities, emotions, and their influence over their relationship with the informants and on the field (Ellis et al., 2011).

In action, the researcher may take participant observation, interview cultural members, examine spaces, customs, ways of speaking and dressing, to study the relational practices, values, and beliefs within the cultural group (Ellis et al., 2011). The writing process can be highly therapeutic, as it helps the autoethnographer to reflect and make sense of one's and others' stories. The goal is to produce an aesthetic text providing thick descriptions of the epiphanies that marked their experiences. Ellis and Bochner (2006) assert that the written product should evoke and provoke reflection, whereas avoiding generalizations, theorizations, and 'definitive descriptions and analytic statements' (2006, p. 435).

Autoethnography has not been used so far within ST academic research. However, I believe it is convenient to break down social and material, moral and immoral, representational and non-representational rigid categories. It opens the field for subjective reflections regarding relationships and experiences to supply 'innovative perspectives on the underlying assumptions and discourses' (Noy, 2007, p. 143). Above all, this method is suitable to the topic for its capacity to raise awareness of political issues that could, ultimately, foster social change (Ellis, 2002b). I hope my stories give voice to some of the many issues and wonders surrounding SM's complex realities. Furthermore, I hope they inspire reflections that hint at the need to support ST bottom-up development, especially from policymakers.

I visited RJ twice between 2018 and 2020. I spent six months doing participant observation on tours in SM, carrying out semi-structured interviews with most of the thirteen

official tour guides, as well as policymakers, local artists, community leaders, entrepreneurs, and project managers from both the public and private sectors. Almost every interview was taped following rigorous data and privacy protection codes, and translated from Portuguese to English. The narrative piece was mostly built up from field notes while experiencing and enjoying myself as a tourist/researcher in SM, and from conversations and interviews with inside and outside cultural members.

PROLOGUE

I was an early teenager when I first read the *Open Veins of Latin America*. Galeano's historic account pictures Latin America as a victim of its own natural richness, perpetrated for centuries by wicked European vultures who left us – Latin Americans – doomed to neverending political and economic instabilities. The reading was devastating and infuriating. I swore I would never set foot in Europe, especially Spain. Like this one, I've nurtured many personal battles for 'just causes.' Growing up in Argentina in the 1990s, I had plenty of unjust causes to fight.

I didn't keep my ban on Europe for long. On the contrary, I've been living in Spain since 2016. After many years of studying and experiencing the global age of mobility – that we call tourism – I proved to myself that meeting with the Other (in this case: my arch-enemy the 'Spanish conqueror') and experiencing Others' realities, can have a transcendental educational value. Traveling opened an avenue to reset my perceptions, end prejudices, and resignify Spanish identity to make peace with the past. This personal experience showed me the power of traveling to create new and more empathic knowledge.

What first drew me to study ST was its potential to be socially and politically transformative (Burgold & Rolfes, 2013; Freire-Medeiros, 2007; Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Rogerson, 2004; Williams, 2008). Especially, tourists' potential to enable spaces for new narratives and cultural elements to emerge or to be re-interpreted. To the academia, ST became an issue for debate at the 'Destination Slum! – Reflections on the production and consumption of poverty in tourism' conference, hosted by the University of West London in Bristol, 2010. After the event, researchers launched an international ST network an edited volume *Slum Tourism Poverty, Power, Ethics* (Frenzel, Koens, & Steinbrink, 2012), and a special issue in the *Tourism Geographies* journal (2012). Both publications compound the empirical and theoretical reflections of interdisciplinary researchers and worldwide case studies. The variety of studies showed the global reach of ST beyond slums' heterogeneous nature, whereas they mostly focused on ethics, visual, and representational affairs (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). The

conference opened several research avenues and fostered a robust number of – mostly – qualitative studies. Approaches varied from anthropology, economics, business management, history and geography, psychology, and sociology.

The asymmetry between hosts and guests made ST controversial from its early beginnings and called attention from the media, social elites, and academics. Thus, there is a long-lasting debate regarding power relations and the ethics playing out (Burgold & Rolfes, 2013; Chhabra & Chowdhury, 2012; Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Giddy & Hoogendoorn, 2018; Goodwin, 2014; Rolfes, 2010; Selinger & Outtersson, 2010). During my research, I have often been disputed in conferences and informal conversations: ‘tourism is intrusive for slum dwellers’; ‘Isn’t it turning poverty into a commodity?’; ‘Tourists and companies take advantage of the disadvantaged!’; ‘Isn’t it unfair for slum dwellers, as they cannot travel as visitors do?’ Curiously, these comments always came from favela outsiders or people that had never set foot in one. In this paper, I will not be addressing these questions in detail. However, I will state that I believe it is unfair to deny slums’ existence and to obscure their issues and virtues to the foreign eye. Also, I think it is unethical to impede slum dwellers from producing their own myths and narratives.

Only a few empirical findings reveal hosts’ perspectives in RJ, Kenya, and India (Freire-Medeiros, 2010; Kieti & Magio, 2013; Slikker & Koens, 2015). On average, local dwellers’ approval of tourism is proportional to the economic and social benefits they perceive from it. Dwellers often expect ST to cope with negative stereotypes; Despite this, studies expose several languages, behavioral and semiotic barriers that hinder a deeper understanding between host and guests. These barriers make guides’ role as cultural mediators crucial to bridge between local and global actors; they also (re)produce different versions of the slum, and the places and discourses that make them a tourist attraction (Frenzel & Blakeman, 2015).

Researchers found ST contributions to local economy to be quite marginal, and usually encapsulated into private companies or a handful of residents running tourist business (Chege & Mwisukha, 2013; Rogerson, 2004). However, there is more ‘value’ to take into account other than the economic one. Frenzel (2016) examined the role of tourists’ practices through a Marxist lens and he argues that tourists produce symbolic and material value as they gaze, walk, consume, and share their experiences. This value added ‘is not intrinsic to the object gazed at but is produced and constructed’ through intermingled practices within valorization processes (Frenzel, 2016, p. 96). Moreover, tourists have a degree of autonomy in co-creating value and values outside the logic of capital and formal politics. Thus, tourists’ practices carry political implications: they have the power to ‘put places on the map’ and set forth issues as

political concerns (Frenzel, 2016, p. 108). For instance, they can foster bottom-up initiatives that bring urban regeneration and change slums' negative perceptions (Frenzel, 2014).

Most academic research on the field consists on ethnographic fieldwork focused on how were slums tailored to be globally (re)produced and consumed as tourist attractions by mobile images and narratives (Burgold et al., 2013; Dürr, 2012b; Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Frenzel et al., 2012; Linke, 2012; Williams, 2008). The discourses, stories, materials, people, and places that support ST are as heterogeneous as slums themselves. Hence, not every slum can become a tourist attraction, those who do, may find new meanings and means to legitimize through tourists' practices of valorization (Frenzel & Koens, 2012). While playing tourists, whereas consuming the place and its hybrid elements, visitors' performances produce and react to new images and myths, creating connections between people and the everyday, (re)structuring space, narratives, and social life (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010).

Tourists' valorization triggers assemblage processes between heterogeneous actors that materialize into spaces and narratives beyond the visual, symbolic or discursive (Van Der Duim, 2007). Tracing these practices allows identifying the elements entangled into more or less stable relational networks that (re)produce spaces of material and cultural assemblages (Law & Hassard, 1999). This relational approach calls for using metaphors from the Performative Turn (See also Bærenholdt, Haldrup, & Larsen, 2004; Crouch, Aronsson, & Wahlström, 2001; Edensor, 2001). When applied to tourist studies, tourism is seen as an encounter between people and spaces through a sensual set of doings, supported by multiple and heterogeneous materials (Crouch, 2004). Hence, acting as a tourist entails more than sightseeing. It involves a myriad of multisensory embodied practices in which the gaze is also a performance (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

In the following sections, I will provide vivid descriptions of my experience being a tourist, an observer and an inquirer at several favela tours. The account, sets forth the mesh of elements intermingled through ST encounters, valorization practices of tourists and myself included, and underlying issues questioned or altered.

WELCOME TO SANTA MARTA

Santa Marta is located in Botafogo, an upper-middle-class neighborhood in RJ's southern area. Because of its relatively small size – 5000 dwellers according to the last census (IBGE, 2011)-, the consolidated power of local authorities, strategic location, and featuring on the media, SM received many policies, programs, and projects over the last decades, both from public and private sectors. It was one of the first favelas to venture in tourism and now has

thirteen certified local guides. This ‘model favela’, as it is often called, does not represent the normative tourist development nor the political attention of other communities, especially compared to those on the margins. However, I chose it precisely because of the entangled performances of multi-scaled and multi-sited actors that conceived SM as a tourist place, which show tourism’s potential role.

One of the breakthrough moments of SM’s recent history is Michael Jackson’s visit in 1996. The artist spent roughly 12 h in the community to shoot the video for the single ‘They Don’t Care About Us’, a song loaded with political criticism. The shooting happened mostly at a rooftop overlooking some of the city’s prominent landmarks: Botafogo Bay, Copacabana beach, and Christ the Redeemer. Although the video received the initial rejection of political and social elites, it placed and mobilized SM in a global system of images and representations (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). The music video has attracted worldwide fans, and the interest from public and private actors.

In the sight of mainstream mega-events taking place in Brazil (like the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016), the State government developed several urbanizations and social projects across the country. In 2010, one of them was the refurbishment of the rooftop featured in Michaels’ video, named ‘Michael Jackson’s Space’: a public area, viewpoint, and memorial of the artist’s visit.

The picturesque landscape surrounding SM was listed by UNESCO in 2016. The newly protected urban area received the tag: ‘Carioca Landscapes between the Mountain and the Sea’, and it was the first in this category. The reasons for listing included the dramatic shapes of the mountains, historical events and diversity of cultural urban identities, that inspire many artists and travelers. SM is at the buffer zone, and this made for one of UNESCO’s main concerns, who were required to condition and manage the ‘occupation of the hill’. Favelas were described as a threat to the preservation of the cultural landscape and its identity. A select committee was created to manage and develop a strategic plan for the conservation of the central area and buffer zones, although few measures were implemented for this matter.

SM was also the first favela to receive a Pacification Police Unit (UPP) in 2008. The UPP was a national security program aiming to eradicate armed traffic gangs rooted in favelas and re-establish the State’s power, mainly in favelas located in the southern area of RJ. Improving safety was mandatory to maintain the candidacy for mega-events (Freire-Medeiros, 2007). Although UPP’s efficiency and results are controversial, it was during their most active years (from 2008 until the economic and political crisis of 2016) that SM received the most

visits: around two thousand per month (Rodrigues, 2018). The same year, the Prefecture built a five-station tramway to improve mobility and installed free Wi-Fi connection in the favela.

The State government launched in 2010 the pilot-project Rio Top Tour (RTT), as a social counterpart of the UPP. The project was the only public policy targeting favelas to develop Community-based tourism (Rodrigues, 2018). It aimed to prepare the ground for turning favelas into formal tourist attractions under the motto: 'RJ under another point of view'. The project combined efforts from public and private educational, investment, and entrepreneurship institutions. It provided professional education in tourism, craftwork and management, promotional material, and signs (like 'no pictures' charts, a large map, and a tourist information post). Part of the funding came from the World Bank, and former president Lula da Silva inaugurated the pilot-project in SM, having significant success with the public and the media. Unfortunately, it didn't replicate to other favelas as it was originally planned.

SM also called private companies' attention, like Coral Tintas, a Dutch-owned and Brazilian-based painting company. Between 2012 and 2016, at the same feverous investment times, the company supported and developed the 'All Colored for You' (Tudo de Cor Para Você) project. They donated paint cans and trained dwellers to color around 900 houses and many murals in SM. The project came from the company's marketing division and aimed to take advantage of the visibility that mega-events were dragging to the city. Coral Tintas chose favelas because they thought they represent the 'carioca' spirit.

THE GRINGA EXPERIENCE

'Come to Rio and have an unforgettable experience seeing the daily life of the residents of Favela Santa Marta on an amazing Walking Tour. Experience the culture and social projects and get to know the backstage of the famous Michael Jackson music clip that was recorded on our hill.'

One of the Coolest Things to Do in Rio.²

I met with Fumaça for the first time at Leme beach on a warm September afternoon. Leme looks like a postcard: golden sand, perfect waves strong enough to roar but small enough to swim through, and rounded misty mountains framing the background. The social landscape is even more sticking. In RJ, the beach is where 'the mix' happens. I've heard, read and felt so often that RJ is a 'divided city'. The material poor are visibly confined to the hills sprouting in the city's south and downtown area, surrounded by luxurious white and glassy buildings. It's

² <https://riobyfoot.com/tour/favela-tour-michael-jackson-on-the-rio-de-janeiro/>.

a violent, yet intriguing contrast. But there we were all blended: black, white, brown and yellow half-naked folks, relaxing and drinking their ‘stupidly cold’ beers, all sorts of tourists, all kinds of stuff vendors, people surfing waves or taking part in spontaneous volleyball matches.

I was with a group of new friends, some Argentinians and Brazilians based in Rio; and Fumaça came with a younger nephew. Fumaça was born and raised in SM. He’s a hardworking father of five, good humored, great dancer, a dreamer, activist and pioneer on favela tours. We met through another random yet fortunate encounter. I’d met a Brazilian tour guide, Carlos, a year ago at a music bar in Barcelona (where I was living). We talked over a glass of red wine about life and career paths as latino migrants living the European dream. ‘You need to talk to my friend Fumaça when you get to Rio. He runs a community-based tourism agency in SM and he’ll introduce you to everyone there’. He said, and I Facebook friended him immediately.

Long story short, after a breath-taking beach sunset and a dire introduction to caipirinhas, Fumaça took me to a loud and lively *baile funk*³ in SM, to confirm I’m light years from nailing my twerking moves like locals do. ‘Ah, gringa! Unfortunately, you came at a time you won’t find much bailes going on...with the police now raiding every other time, it sucks!’, a local girl told me when she saw I was utterly enjoying the dance. Fumaça did introduce me to everyone, from the DJ to the street vendors. We had a long and heated debate about tourism with a group of local men. ‘Tourists help to show that the favela is not all drugs and violence. It’s life, families, joy, music, art, creativity. It’s fighting and Resilience!’, Fumaça said solemnly, summarizing the group’s shared thoughts. By the end of the night, our friendship was rock-solid, and I was officially –and warmly – welcomed to the community.

None of my white, middle-class friends living in the *asphalt*⁴ have taken (nor considered taking) a favela tour. I couldn’t blame them; I’d never thought about visiting a slum in Argentina either. What is it about favelas that makes them so attractive? Is it the exotism that comes with the unknown? I could note the fearful looks in my friends’ and colleagues’ eyes every time I mentioned my ins and outs of SM. However, I could sense it was quite unconscious, since they tried not to reproduce negative prejudices against favela dwellers but were also too aware of their historicity and the media’s narrative.

I felt pity for favela dwellers’ fate of oppression, but I couldn’t condemn my friends for

³ Dance parties organized in favelas and by favelados, playing funk music mainly. There was a time when locals and also some tourists ventured to enjoy these parties, but not as much after police break-ins became more regular.

⁴ How favela dwellers refer to people living in the formal city of RJ.

reproducing a systematic marginalization regime as old as slavery itself. So, every time they asked if I felt scared, I always alleged to the kindness and honesty I've encountered in favela dwellers, and explained that I'd also been afraid of visiting the Ramblas after 2017 terrorist attacks in Barcelona, or walking around my quiet hometown's neighborhood in Argentina where my parents were robbed five times.

As a foreigner, I was blessed with ignorance. After all, I hadn't actually experienced any violent event in SM – yet. Still, having been long researching ST and favelas, I had fears of my own (soon to be confirmed wise). If knowledgeable and 'mind-made' citizens avoided favelas, are people like me – the ignorant tourist – best suitable to walk through, stretch and bend, these contested spaces' borders? (Figure 1).

The sense of safety and belonging I felt after the party had already faded by the time I arrived at Corumba Square, one of the two community's entry points, for my first tour. I was joining an English group at the tourist information post. The post was placed in 2013 due to the insistence of the guides' collective to have a proper workplace. It serves as a meeting and information point, and guides usually come and go from 9 am to 6 pm on a daily basis. There is a chart telling SM's foundation myth, the UPPs role, Michael Jackson's visit, and Coral Tintas painting project. Also, a large-scale map showing the community's attractions and tourist sites made during RTT's workshops. RTT and Tudo de Cor's project managers attained part of the funding and permission from the State government to place the post for a few months, which turned into years. As Figure 2 shows, it's the materialization of a collaborative process that transcended time, spatial and political scales, assembling multiple actors from public and private sectors, and from in and out the favela. The post validates SM as a formal tourist place.



Figure 11. Favela tours to Rocinha and Santa Marta offered among other classic itineraries.

(Source: Eugenia Altamirano).

The advent of tourism, provided some residents with a novel profession – and passion–. However, ‘by the time of the football world-cup, I had clients every day, I was bookedout! But now that mega-events are over, the Government stopped giving us support; and also, because of the increasing insecurity and violence every day, we have very few tourists. I had to take other jobs to make a living, like most of the other guides. The situation is distressful’, one of the guides told me.



Figure 12. A plaque showing supportive institutions at the tourist information post. (Source: Eugenia Altamirano).

As the tour started, my hands were trembling so profusely I could barely take notes; although, my sensorial self was so alert that I can still recall every detail. We came across several animals sharing space and food during the tour (Figure 3). ‘You see? That’s the favela!’ the guide said, smiling with pride. ‘Here we all live together in peace: cats and rats, dogs and hens, gangsters and police...’, and she laughed. We laughed at the grim metaphor too. ‘It’s beautiful! So beautiful’, one of the tourists cheered. He was amused with the way the constructions came together so organically on the rugged ground, and surprised by how everyone seemed so happy and welcoming to him. We stopped for pictures in a vibrant area filled with colored houses, murals, and a race course painted on the lane (all made during Coral Tintas project). SM has steep contrasts of colors and joy, inventiveness and wit, but also bulks of decomposing waste, sprouts of human idleness and public services limitations.

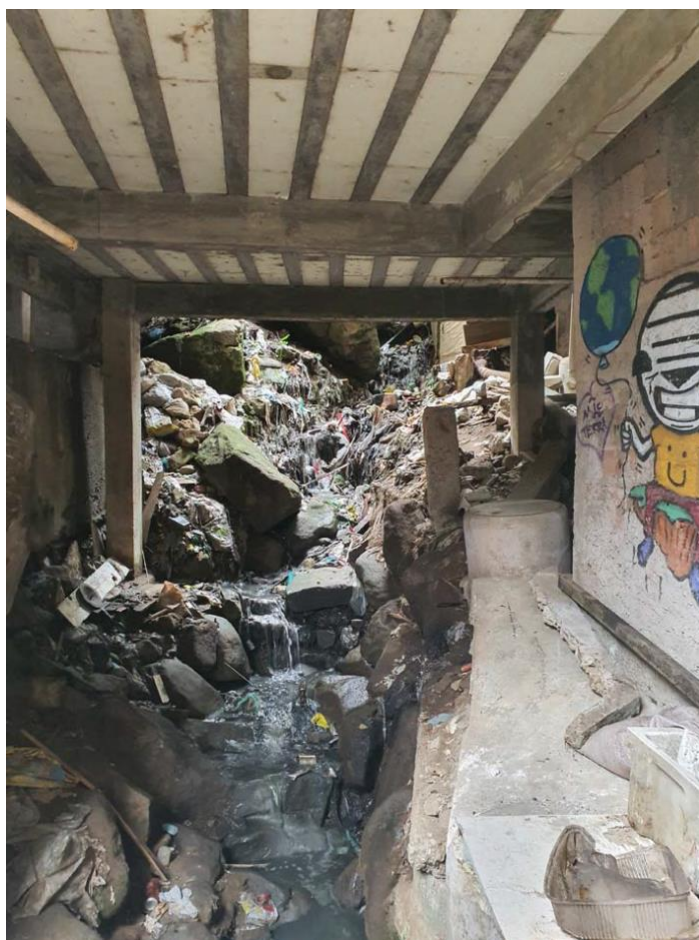


Figure 13. The dark side of Santa Marta. (Source: Eugenia Altamirano).

I was not able to enjoy this tour like the other tourists were, out of fearful experiences in the near past. The first morning I went to SM by myself, I was to interview a local tour operator. She was saying that the only way the community would benefit through tourism was if tours had an educational scope, ‘otherwise you are just going to see a lot of *shit*, and won’t understand how it came to be’; when suddenly, a police helicopter interrupted us with a raid over main square, Praça Cantao (Figure 4). Two armed teenage gangsters sneaked into the hallways in front of us, and my informant, also alarmed with what might happen looked into my stunned eyes and screamed ‘Eugenia, run!’. We hid away until the raid was over, so we could resume the interview. Two weeks later, I was leaving a capoeira group session one night, when three UPP officers stopped me pointing their guns to my face on an empty street. I froze, and after a few seconds they went past me and up the stairs still pointing their weapons. ‘Don’t be afraid gringa! They are just doing their watch’, some locals drinking beer close by told me in comfort. Not one person down the street was startled by this event. How can this kind of formal violence be normalized?

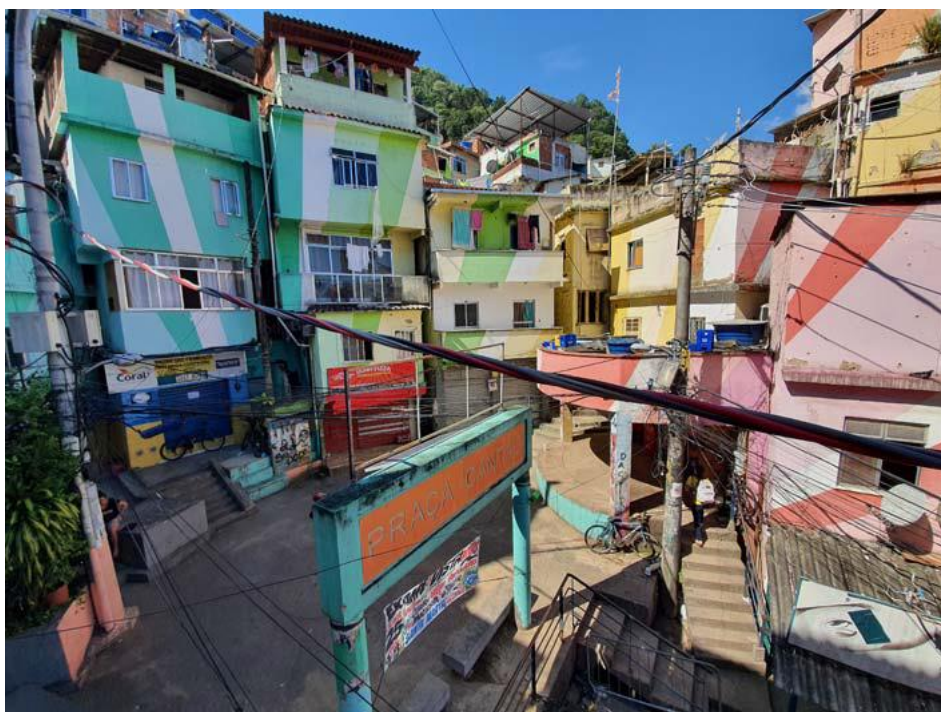


Figure 14. The colourful main square Praça Cantao. Designed and executed by two Dutch artists supported by Coral Tintas in 2012. Bullet holes can be seen on the residencies' front walls. (Source: Eugenia Altamirano).

Formal violence is not the only kind dwellers have to endure in their everyday life. Armed traffic is also deeply embedded in SM's spaces and social relations. Gangsters walk around loosely and they are always someone's neighbor, son, father or friend. Some tourists are eager to see and experience this reality on tour. Like two French men in their 20s, who requested the guide to meet traffickers during their tour. To my astonishment – and disapproval –, traffickers happily accepted to interact with the tourists and even show them their Uzis closely. Both, hosts and guests, were clearly enjoying and pleased with the experience. Leaving aside my moral reprobation on showcasing armed traffic, I wonder why should gangster's violence should be denied or invisibilized, when structural violence appears so blatantly? In their discourse, tour guides assure that tourism helps with changing people's minds about favelas' negative stereotypes related to drugs and violence. However, the everyday reality offers a great deal of both, and tourists are suitable agents to problematize, question and make those issues visible.

Tourists react both with rejection and desire, discomfort and curiosity, to gangsters' paraphernalia. Some local guides take advantage and commoditize it, naming these experiences 'Tour with thrills.' Others do not foster any involvement with traffic along their itinerary,

namely 'Tour without thrills'. Instead, the latter offer a rosier, safer and 'under control' view of the favela. However, encounters with traffickers often occur by chance, causing tourists' fearful and disconcerting reactions. Be it intentional or unplanned, those encounters are always a milestone in tourists' remembrance and reproduction of the tour, as I was able to confirm in later conversations with them. 'It was the highlight of the tour! This is something I would never see back in Poland...or anywhere in Europe!' A young Polish tourist said, when I asked him how he felt about the armed teenager we walked past.

Thrills-less tours usually take tourists through several view-points, social projects like the children's nursery; the house-museum of clocks which holds a collection of over 300 wall clocks from around the world; the Residents Association, although all tours visit it; two locally-owned souvenir shops, where I left a small fortune on: hand painted notebooks, magnets, oil paintings, a dress, a handbag, several postcards and coasters portraying a map of the favela designed by one of the owners' 11-year-old son. The whole set of souvenirs depict a colorful, lively, full-of-joy version of the favela that décor my house's living room. But the apex of each of these tours is visiting Michael Jackson Space.

The Michael Jackson Space is to me the most surreal place in SM (Figure 5). There's no other place like this terrace to bring together the materials, stories and people producing the favelas' essence. It converges locals doing their usuals, wandering tourists, several formal and informal businesses, a World Heritage view, Michael heritage, a story of solidarity and sense of community, and the sum of public policies and private ventures. There is a metal chart at the terrace placed by Coral Tintas in 2014, telling the story about the house below, which belonged to a deceased local leader now turned into an NGO. There's also a bronze statue of Michael performing his signature move with an arm stretched up defiantly, made by the cartoonist Ique, and a large mosaic mural by Romero Brito, both Brazilian artists (rumor has it, that the State Government paid several thousand *Reales* for the pieces). When Michael's siblings visited the place, they liked the mural so much that they entrusted the artist with a twin version for Neverland.



Figure 15. Tourists and locals at Michael Jackson Space. (Source: Eugenia Altamirano).

At one of those tours without thrills, I joined a friendly couple from Parana State, in the country's Southeast. They came to attend the 20th edition of the worldwide famous music festival Rock in Rio. I was glad that events were still attracting tourists, especially Brazilian ones. I was also not missing out on this event. The venue was humongous: it had four stages, national and international performers (from Caetano Veloso to the Red Hot Chili Peppers), food trucks, game courts, and even a roller-coaster. Even though Iron Meiden and Scorpions were playing that night, the performers at the Espaço Favela (Favela Space) affected me the most. Not without controversies, favela dwellers were given a stage for the first time (since the festivals' first edition in 1985). The stage was a colorful and standardized favela representation: packed houses, stairs, messy wirings, hanging clothes, cats and dogs. During the festival, artists from favelas across RJ recited poetry, played samba, funk and rap, performed dance choreographies, and acting numbers. I was deeply moved for this cultural achievement and tears of joy and liberation spread around me with every uncoordinated slamming of my hips. But I was also bewildered. As I saw it, favelas materialities and cultural elements were still confined to a segregated and romanticized space. It wasn't Rio's 'under-culture', 'upcoming artists' or 'alternative' stage. It was made clear that it belonged to the othered – ragged but sexy – part of the city. And also, how come favelas' cultural performances were condemned in-situ

(like *bailes funk*), but celebrated on an event where probably not many favela dwellers could afford to attend?

There's only one outsider among SM's tour guides, although he works for a locally owned company. Residents greet him kindly as we walk through the alleys. This guide's performance is very professional and carefully curated. His discourse is the most politicized and focused on tours' educational value. We took long pauses at the usual tourist sites where he delivered thorough historic and statistic data to explain how public policies systematically neglect favelas' essential services; dwellers extended suffering from racial prejudices and police brutality; and how the linkage between favela dwellers' lack of access to education and exclusion from formal work markets sustain drug-cartels success and favela's perpetuation. I made a great effort to detach myself from the 'poor-but-happy' idealization and wild exotism other guides produce on their tours; but, although the narrative was full of truths, I was finding the tour depressing. SM never appeared to me so dirty, deficient, dangerous, needy, and hopeless; although, I agreed with the need to expose that the favela is a political and social problem steaming from a system of formal oppression and exclusion. I couldn't help noticing how much this discourse resembled the UN's definition of slums: both have a fixation with 'the lack of' and totally disregard slums' abundances and opportunities. What about what the favela is, rather than what is not? Maybe those who experience it every day are the most suitable agents to grasp those alter realities. Nevertheless, this tour prompted tourists to reflect. The three visitors took lesser pictures and made the most donations at social projects I had seen on any other tour. The guide outlined tourism's negative effects, like residents' loss of privacy and potential conflicts among them (e.g.: competition for attracting more tourists, people for and against tourism, and so forth). But also, the positive ones like the economic benefits to some residents, and, most importantly, the visibility tourists bring to the favela, 'because this is why State action appears to produce infrastructure like the bondinho (Figure 6), for instance, which State Government placed after (and, probably, partly because of) SM's tourism potential, but is very positive for residents as well', the guide stated.



Figure 16. Outside the bondinho's third-station, purposefully made as a viewpoint. Behind the clouds, Christ the redeemer. (Source: Eugenia Altamirano).

SM is nothing like any other favela I visited in RJ. Its spaces and residents' vocation to attract tourists is so evident, that even the elected local 'Major', the President of Residents' Association, agreed that they have received a distinguished treatment for their attractiveness, since tourism planning came as a counterpart for the urbanization and security programs. The Residents Association is the last stop in almost every tour. The Major takes friendly pictures with visitors and answers all their questions. 'Tour guides are partners with the Association, (...) and tourists connect SM internationally speaking. But tourism is not the one integrating the favela with the rest of the city, it is the State Government including SM in public budgets and policies. The role of tourism is to improve the services for the community and to call the attention of the State Government', the Major told me in an interview. Before leaving him to take care of a conflict between two neighbors, we took another smiley picture that he posted on social media: 'Today with my friend and researcher from Argentina'.

SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Like stated before, it is not in autoethnography to objectively analyze or make any definite judgments on personal experience. My tales from SM unveil the complex realities, and the multiple entangled actors, material and discursive elements that (re)produce the stages of favela tourism. The issues raised throughout the stories could be further analyzed separately,

from different scopes and theoretical perspectives. I will compound some of these topics in a non-definitive nor closed list, as readers might also find their way to new reflections and questions.

Evidently, there is not one real favela, but multiple ones co-existing and constantly reshaping to meet the observer or the interpreter's point of view. For UNESCO It is a problem to be addressed, an emerging market for the State Government, a marketing strategy and a carioca spirit representative for Coral Tintas, a dwelling place for guides, a business place for traffickers, an amusing place for tourists; the many subjective readings of the favela confirm that the autoethnographic method is suitable to explore the dynamic and complex underlying issues of yet another subjective view, that of the researcher.

Another game changer is the role of tourists as 'connectors'. Their performances enable spaces of encounter and exchange between the favela, the rest of the city, and the world. Tourists' valorization practices showed enough autonomy to value people and places (like those related to traffic) regardless of the 'approval' or support of institutional players in place promotion, who in this way lose their hegemony over imaging (Russo, 2012). Local leaders capitalize on tourists' valuation of heterogeneous elements by attracting public funds and policies. Hence, tourists' practices show a potential to transform the favela's physical landscape and political representations.

However, these practices are choreographed by guides' performances, which are also shaped by their personal experiences. Each guide disclosed a subjective version of the favela, based on their own world-view, relational ties and experience of the place. They act as cultural mediators, as visitors' lack of behavioral and practical knowledge makes it difficult for them to safely move around the favela. Guides allow or prohibit, encourage or limit tourists' practices, and also, condition and size their autonomy to valorize and make spaces, people, materials, and stories visible and questioned.

Tourist performances affect the making of a place and how it becomes physically structured (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006). In SM, value- and meaning-making by tourists, through and towards materials, links dwellers, houses, government, garbage, landscape, policies, companies, artists, paint, rooftops, dealers, events, and others. The built environment and unfolding of social life, and the way it is consumed, results from the materialization of multiple and heterogeneous practices enmeshed with such hybrid actors. Their conditioned and interdependent relationships produce spaces that represent not only the place of the Other but also a place for learning, joy and admiration for an outsider audience. Tourists' valuation of favelas' elements cannot provide a permanent solution to the structural political failures that

produced them in the first place. Nevertheless, it does show how the imaginaries and cultural identities of slums can be renegotiated and mobilized, as an assemblage of actors, from the margins to the center of networks that could potentially drive physical and symbolic change.

Hopefully, I am helping to raise the voice of my friends in SM, and contributing to broaden the discussion regarding the potential of tourists' valorization practices towards social change.

4.2 Article 2. Overcoming urban frontiers: Ordering Favela tourism actor-networks

Altamirano, E. (2022a). Overcoming urban frontiers: Ordering favela tourism actor-networks. *Tourist studies*, 22(2), 200–222. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687976221090738>

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the multiple and heterogeneous, current and potential, relations between hybrid actors of tourism in Favela Santa Marta, Rio de Janeiro. It seeks to elucidate the legitimizing potential of tourists acting as “connectors” that reach beyond formal politics' hindrances. This work applies assemblage theory epistemological framework, and Actor-Network Theory ethnomethodological tools, to explore the issues and roles questioned, altered, made visible, or transformed through favela tourists' practices and performances. Hence, avoiding the ethical dilemmas and representational concerns from slum tourism researchers in the past. Our fieldwork engages with two favela tours. We follow tourists as they stitch hybrid actor-networks that create multiple orderings in such assemblages, and their material and semiotic configurations. Our research reveals that such tours could be related to different shifts in the favela's political, social, economic, cultural, and material dimensions.

Keywords:, urban tourism, actor-network theory, slum tourism, assemblage thinking

INTRODUCTION

Slum Tourism is a niche market under the broad umbrella of alternative tourism where visitors venture to an area beneath their own social and economic status when visiting an urban destination (Dürr, 2012). Motivations range from a mere (and sometimes morbid) curiosity for other people's lives in poverty and informality; to a quest for the authentic and unadulterated when gazing on a “complete” urban landscape. Also, there is a will to “contribute” that is enmeshed with political activism and social awareness (Freire-Medeiros, 2009a, 2009b;

Frenzel, 2012; Ma, 2010). Slum tourism became popular in Global South's urban settlements in the 1990s and was gradually replicated in other destinations worldwide. Different versions of this practice were adapted to take advantage of slum's social and territorial singularities. From its early beginnings, this tourist phenomenon exposed contested power relations and ethical concerns (Frenzel et al., 2012).

Academic research has addressed the transition of slums to tourist attractions from their historical roots, visitor motivations, residents' and stakeholders' perspectives, economic benefits, and contested moralities. Previous research tackles these issues separately, and have mostly dealt with matters of representations and power relations: the consumption and (re)production of the slums' symbolic meanings (Burgold et al., 2013; Freire-Medeiros, 2009a, 2009b; Rolfes et al., 2009), and the ethics around this practice (Chhabra & Chowdhury, 2012; Frenzel et al., 2012; Selinger & Outtersson, 2010). We argue that assembling these different approaches for study can offer rich insight into this field of tourism research, and step away from moral or ethical judgments. Instead, we base our analysis on events, connections, relational outcomes, and materialities.

Frenzel (2016) stated that the practices of slum tourists, which valorizes local assets and actors, may bring political power to host communities. In this paper we have elaborated on this notion and focused on the relational processes triggered by favela tourism practices. We examine favela tourism under an ontological politics lens (Mol, 1999). Thus, we interpret "reality" as multiple, sometimes contested, constantly rearranging, reshaping, and shifting. Above all, reality is a political accomplishment, "performed in a variety of [socio-material] practices" (Mol, 1999:74). Our empirical study focuses on the performances and the embedded relational processes, shaping two versions of reality drawn by two antagonistic favela tours.

To trace the practices of actors' and their associative ramifications we apply Assemblage Theory epistemologies and Actor-Network Theory (ANT) methodological tools. The case study explores two tours in favela Santa Marta (SM), in Rio de Janeiro (RJ). The paper's main contribution is its the empirical focus, which provides highly descriptive and visual accounts of the dynamic relations through time-space between humans, materials, objects, institutions, discourses, and technologies. Our goal is to analyze the current and potential role of tourist practices in reshaping the social and physical landscapes of favelas, reconnecting them at different scales to the rest of the city and the rest of the world.

In the following sections, we first set forth the issues and peculiarities of RJ's favelas in general and our case study in particular. Later, we elaborate on the epistemology and research methods. In the fieldwork section, we first introduce the relevant actors within SM

tourism relational networks. Next, we provide an ethnographic account of two different tours. Finally, we analyze the two resultant orderings relying on a series of diagrams to draw on which issues and actors are questioned, altered, made visible, or neglected on each tour.

A CENTURY OF FAVELAS

“Favela” is the vernacular name given to Brazilian informal urban settlements. Favelas are spread across the slopes of the hills that intersperse RJ’s central areas. They have been growing in population since the early 20th-century. Migrants from impoverished regions of the country settled seeking labor proximity; first, close to the city center, and later, favelas expanded to the wealthiest South of RJ (Lessa, 2005). Favelas are not confined to the margins but intertwined with formal and wealthier city areas. This entanglement makes the singularity of RJ’s cultural landscape. Due to favelas’ peculiar geographical standpoint, they provide a valuable locational element. From a favela viewpoint, one can easily spot the city’s inequalities while appreciating Rio’s overwhelming natural beauty.

Communities (as favelas are often called) have been historically neglected by governments (from federal to local) and stigmatized by social elites. Residents need to deal with the lack of security of tenure and durable housing; accessibility struggles; a lack of social services (from garbage picking to health assistance); police and gangsters’ brutality; and social stigmas related to violence and drug traffic. However, favelas are rich in cultural elements and traditions that represent Brazil’s stereotypical image, like samba and funk music, traditional gastronomy, and the famous worldwide Carnival (Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013; Williams, 2008). The cultural landscape and its associated myths attract curious visitors, and the vibrant culture of the favela invites tourists to stay.

The favelas of RJ were first officially visited during the 1992 Earth Summit. Attendees insisted on touring Rocinha, one of the largest slums in Latin America (Freire-Medeiros, 2009a, 2009b). Like other slum tourist destinations, in their initial phase tours were run mostly by external operators. However, local dwellers gradually became involved in providing tourist services, with some taking the work of entrepreneurs and guides. However, favela tours were condemned by local media and social elites, considering them voyeuristic and demining (Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013; Frenzel et al., 2012). On a political scale, official tourism entities had no interest in investing or developing tourism due to the fragility of State power in the communities and the fear of damaging the city’s international image.

A series of events contributed to placing favelas in the tourist city map. First, the global exposure on the media through movies, documentaries, music videos, and an aestheticized

mobile image of favelas (Freire-Medeiros, 2009a, 2009b). On the other hand, the relative—and fleeting—increase in security brought about by the “Pacification Police Unite” (UPP) enabled a monumental rise in visitors from 2008 until 2018. In addition, between 2007 and 2016, RJ and the country went through a rebranding and sanitization process. This was carried out to meet the Olympic committee’s demands and international tourists’ assumed expectations, especially in terms of safety. Improving safety was one of the pillars of hosting sports mega-events, such as the 2014 Football World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games (Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013). The range of *festivalization* strategies associated with these changes included large investments from both public and private entities. The State Government and private international parties built and refurbished stadiums, sports and leisure facilities, public spaces like the Port Maravilha, mobility infrastructures, launched social and housing upgrading programs, and so on (Russo, 2012). In this context, the progressive “pacification” of RJ’s favelas—the violent displacement of drug lords by elite police forces, which then settle in favelas to guarantee the delivery of essential services and security—has been a new pillar of urban social policy (Steinbrink, 2013). Yet, it attracted vast criticism, because it was viewed as instrumental to the progressive eradication of these communities.

Public policies targeting favela tourism came as a counterpart of the pacification strategy. Communities with potential attractiveness, like Rocinha and SM, received financial support, infrastructure, and encouragement to develop as a tourist product. The State tourism office briefly included both favelas in the tourist city map during mega-events (see Figure 1). However, they are no longer featured on any official tourist map.



Figure 17. Santa Marta (Dona Marta) on RJ's tourist map from 2016. Emphasis added.

(Source: Bellosso, 2016).

SM extends almost to the top of Morro (Portuguese for “hill”) Dona Marta at the edge of Botafogo, an upper-middle-class neighborhood in RJ's wealthy South region. It has a population of between 5000 and 9000 dwellers (IBGE, 2010). Due to its relatively small size, proactive leaders, and privileged location, SM received many public policies, projects, and programs toward reinforcing tourism. These came both from the public and private sectors. Therefore, many would call SM a “Model Favela.” At the time of mega-events, SM went from a few hundred visitors per month to a few thousand (Frenzel, 2016). Currently, tourism development follows principles of community-based tourism. We chose SM as our case study, noting that, while it may not represent the broader situation of favelas in terms of policy and representations, especially compared with those on the city's margins, this case effectively presents the potential of favela tourism.

A RELATIONAL APPROACH TO FAVELA TOURISM

Assemblage theory (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980) uses post-structuralist and relational conceptual frameworks to describe the dynamic, fluid, and entangled processes that build and make sense of the socio-material world. Assemblage thinking emphasizes the potentialities of multiple and exchangeable relations among material and expressive components that come together and apart in a constellation of elements.

Assemblages are never static. Components connect, disconnect and reconnect in processes that define the assemblages' spaces, identities, modes, and directions. One of these processes is territorialization, followed or preceded by reterritorialization and deterritorialization. This process, establishes a common sense of identity within the assembled parts, through relations contained by more or less defined physical and symbolic borders. The second process, namely coding, recoding, and decoding, refers to genetic or linguistic resources that stratify the parts into hierarchies, such as laws, policies, and formal regulations (DeLanda, 2006). These epistemologies will help us analyze tourists' practices and their effects at different scales.

The fluidity of assemblages engages with ontological politics, while assemblage thinking allows us to see the multiple versions of reality enacted (Mol, 1999). ANT provides methodological tools to analyze the practices that enact the different aspects of the real. Rather than a theory, ANT could be better considered a paradigm that brings an ontological stand to study reality as a complex set of relations between multiple and heterogeneous actors (Fariás & Bender, 2010). ANT provides a set of analytical tools to trace the relational practices and spatialised associations of human and non-human (hybrid) actors into more or less stable networks, to describe multiple and heterogeneous orderings of events (Latour, 1999; Law & Hassard, 1999; Van der Duim et al., 2012). When applied to tourist studies, it is a way of doing research that shifts the focus from what tourism is toward how tourism works (Law, 2014).

The principle of general symmetry (Callon, 1986) makes the application of ANT useful to break dualisms and admit analytic categories for a myriad of heterogeneous entities to be considered "actors". The actors' relevance and meanings should not be assumed a priori but are mutually constituted through relational processes and through the "intermediaries" they exchange with each other (Ren, 2010; van der Duim et al., 2005). Researchers have used ANT to follow tourism materialities, such as Northern lights (Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017), tour buses in Berlin (Fariás, 2008), Cuban cigars (Simoni, 2012), and gorillas in Uganda (van der Duim et al., 2014). We see potential for this use of ANT in understanding the creation of the favela as a tourist site.

One of ANT's main goals is to describe the diverse and potential modes of ordering of the socio-material world, charted into networks through a process of translation (Callon, 1986). The orderings come from tracing patterned practices and relations between people and things that hold networks together (Van der Duim et al., 2012). In this analysis, we will refer to the heterogeneous networks dispersed through time and space as constellations.

Critics of ANT allege the difficulties of disentangling and categorizing the socio-material mesh that arises out of various relations. They usually point to ANT as a “weak theory,” incapable of grasping political structures and power relations (van der Duim et al., 2017). However, we embrace socio-material complexity and combine ANT methods with assemblage thinking to connect unlikely yet related events, people, objects, and places that engage with tourists' practices through time and space. Moreover, this combined framework allows us to trace power dynamics and political effects, while avoiding moral dichotomies and prejudices. The method sheds new light on visitors' potential role in re-signifying and transforming SM's social and physical realities.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

We chose to analyze the constellations of two favela tours provided by different local guides: tour “with thrills” and “without thrills.”⁵ The author undertook participant observation from 17 tours in SM between September 2019 and February 2020. Even though the fieldwork strategy consisted of having minimal interventions on tour, all participants were informed of my role as a researcher. During the RJ stay, this author carried out 13 semi-structured interviews and more informal conversations with tour guides, local dwellers, tourists, policymakers, local artists, entrepreneurs, and other relevant actors. Interviews were taped, transcribed, and translated from Portuguese to English, following rigorous privacy protection coding procedures.

From this data collection an ethnographic study was created from field notes and observations, pictures and maps, and informants' reports. Following the general symmetry concept, discourses, objects, technologies, events and institutions were treated as categories of analysis, that is, as actors. This approach was used to trace the relations between hybrid actors by bringing together information from field observation and interviews.

⁵ Tour guides themselves use these tags depending on how tourists sought to experience the favela. “With thrills” if they want to see traffic-related paraphernalia or visit the most impoverished and desperate sections of the community; “Without thrills” if they only want to visit classic tourist sites (like Michael Jackson Space).

Like most ANT inspired research, the cases provide thick descriptions. However, we sought to enrich the narrative with visual representations. Thus, we produced two diagrams with an application. The constellations' diagrams⁶ help identify issues raised, questioned, altered, and actors made visible, invisible, or valorized within socio-material relations. The graphs were useful to unwrap actor-networks' "blackboxes" (Latour, 1999) since they synthesize complex, multi-scalar and multi-sited relations.

ORDERING SANTA MARTA'S MESH

Case study actors

SM hit global news for two reasons during the 1990s. In February 1997, Michael Jackson landed in the favela to shoot the video for his -politically charged- single "They Don't Care About Us," directed by Spike Lee. Rumors connected the production team with the local traffic gang (Comando Vermelho), who allegedly provided security staff for the singer. By that time, the government was fighting a war on drugs in SM, also reported worldwide. The video shooting was almost canceled, under the accusations of political and social elites that this would damage the city and country's international image. Even so, Michael spent roughly 12 hours dancing on one of SM's best-located rooftops. The video brought wide attention, attracting public figures like Alicia Keys, Madonna, and even Joe Biden. Jackson's fans would also undertake a pilgrimage to the rooftop from that moment on.

In 2010, the Public Works Company (EMOP), commanded by the Prefecture of RJ, refurbished Michael's rooftop. They placed a real-size bronze statue of Michael and a large mosaic mural, both made by Brazilian artists. In 2014, Coral Tintas paint company financed a plate telling the story of the rooftop, which the EMOP named "Michael Jackson Space." However, the rooftop was previously known as Dedé's Ambulatory, which locals named after the late local leader Dedé, who owned the house below. Before his death, Dedé donated the house to place a health care center⁷. He was a symbol of SM's resistance and the fight for the community's rights (Freire- Medeiros et al., 2016).

The EMOP has run a series of urbanization programs since 2007 that drastically reconfigured SM's physical landscape. They included housing consolidation and upgrading, the construction of sports and leisure facilities, a reforestation program, the provision of sewages and water networks, street paving, staircases, and mobility infrastructure. In 2008, the

⁶ The apps used for the diagrams were: <https://lucid.app/> for the timeline and <https://app.diagrams.net/> for the constellations one.

⁷ Currently, the house holds a cultural center run by the NGO Atitude Social.

entity inaugurated the cable car or *bondinho* —as locals call it—which climbs up the hill through five stations with a car exchange in the third station.

Also in 2008, the Prefecture of RJ—requested by the State Government—launched the UPP to dismantle armed traffic gangs and re-establish State’s power. This policy had marketing strategies in its roots. The so-called “pacification” pretended to decriminalize the territory and gain a positive perception from the global audience (Freire-Medeiros et al., 2016). UPPs were placed mainly at favelas in the South area, the city center, and close to events’ venues. SM was the first favela to receive a pilot unit. UPPs still work even though they have been losing funds since 2016 due to the Brazilian economy and political system’s decadence. Hence, UPPs gradually lost power over favelas. This failure fostered the rebound of traffic gangs and more violence. As controversial as UPP’s results may be, project managers, companies, and tour guides agreed their existence was decisive to booster tourism in SM. Most tourists also admitted that their perception of safety was crucial for taking a tour. Although there are no official statistics, local guides reported around 2000 visitors per month during the pacified years. This number dropped significantly after 2016 (Rodrigues, 2018). Nevertheless, there are still a few tourists almost every day by the time of this fieldwork.

The State Government launched the pilot project Rio Top Tour (henceforward: RTT) as a social counterpart of the UPP under the motto “Rio de Janeiro under another point of view.” It aimed to prepare the ground and professionalize dwellers to develop social and economic growth opportunities through tourist products. It combined efforts from the Federal and State governments, the State Secretary of Tourism, private companies like Coral Tintas, SEBRAE, Escola Prado Jr, among others (Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013). The project was funded by the State Secretary of Tourism and the World Bank through open tender. RTT was the first and only public policy to foster Community-based tourism in favelas (Rodrigues, 2018). It was supposed to be replicated in other favelas but then discharged for bureaucratic obstacles and lack of political commitment. RTT provided professional education in tourism, craftwork, and management for local dwellers. The project also produced promotional material and signs (“no pictures” charts, a tourist map, and directions signs). Also, the State funding agency InvestRio opened a credit line for dwellers willing to start a tourism venture. As a result, two souvenir shops opened in SM and four local dwellers became State certificated guides. Nine other residents took the RTT course afterward, making a total of 13 tour guides. The project manager aimed to create a unified tour company (and brand), but differences between guides made it unviable. Instead, guides started individual or small companies.

In 2013, SM's tour guides organized a committee to engage local and outside stakeholders. They sought to reinforce community-based tourism guidelines. The guides are also CONTUR (2017) members, a self-convened collective connecting tourism-related parties from 13 favelas in RJ. In addition, other public and private entities like The Brazilian Micro and Small Business Support Service (SEBRAE), were actively involved in this collective's foundation. SEBRAE was one of RTT's strategic partners. It is a private entity that provides training and assistance in sustainable development for micro and small business ventures. SEBRAE collaborated in many tourism projects in favelas from 2011 until 2016, envisioning the commercial opportunities they represented during mega-events. The company even developed a book guide for tourist favelas. SEBRAE's structure and private status made tourism projects thrive more efficiently than public ones did. However, the company halted all programs after the UPP failure.

One of SM's most transformative projects came from the marketing division of the Dutchowned Brazilian-based painting company Coral Tintas. The company's project "Tudo de Cor" was active between 2012 and 2015, and it involved favelas because they were considered as representative of the "carioca spirit." One of Coral Tintas partners, EMOP, recommended SM for the campaign. The company donated paint cans and trained dwellers to color around 900 houses, made several murals, and garnished public spaces in the favela. The colorful final result is seen from a far distance and became SM's trademark.

Since 2016, UNESCO protects SM's picturesque surrounding landscape under the tag: "Carioca Landscapes between the Mountain and the Sea." Among RJ's listed reasons to UNESCO were the mountains' dramatic shape, historical events, artists representations, and the cacophony of cultural identities—favelas included—. One of UNESCO's primary concerns and requirements was to manage the "hills' occupation" in the protected area. A State Committee developed a strategic plan to preserve the central and buffer zones in which SM is located, however, few measures were implemented.

Favelas were also listed in the 2018 Community-based tourism (CBT) State law n°7884. This policy declares traditional communities' commercial value as tourist spaces and prevents them from being exploited by outside agencies. On paper, the law assures that benefits would return to the community, empower dwellers and be respectful of local culture. However, in practice, each tourist favela adjusted a CBT version to meet their physical, economic, and associative conditions (Rodrigues, 2018).

Figure 2 summarizes the actors' relational practices and the events that produced Santa Marta as a tourist place from Michael Jackson's visit until the issue CBT State Law.

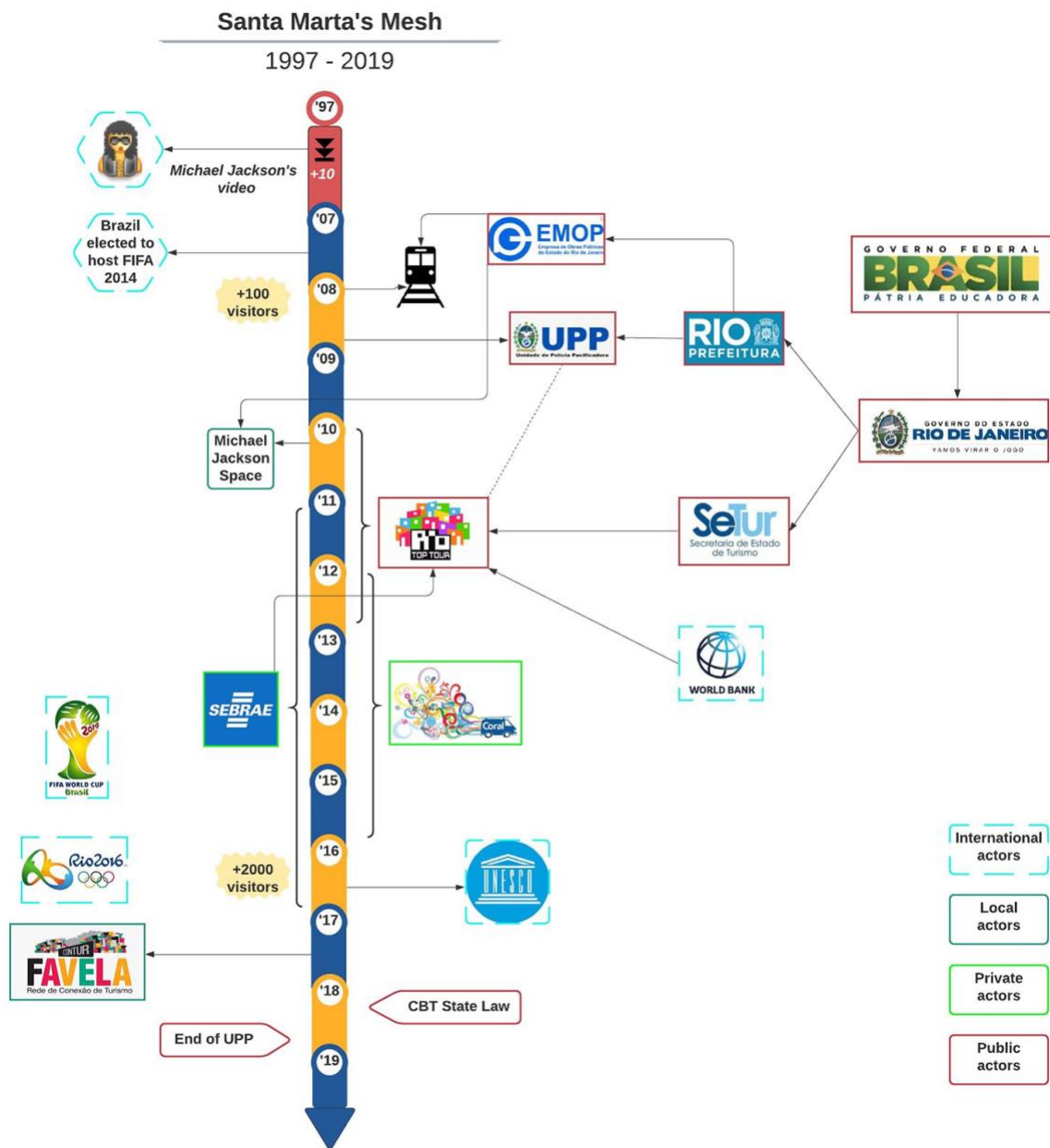


Figure 18. Santa Marta's tourism actors over time and space. (Source: Own elaboration).

Tour "without thrills"

they stepped back due to violent events in SM after the UPP withdrawal. The agency advertises the tour as an unforgettable experience to glimpse residents' daily lives, culture, and social projects. Also, to discover Michael Jackson's music video backstage and legacy. Joana pays this company a third of her tour revenues. "It's still convenient for me; otherwise, it's hard to reach out to people staying at hotels," she explained.

A UPP car stands guard at the entrance of the community. Two, heavily armed officers eat açaí from a cup, while tourists throw nervous glances at their large firearms. Before starting, Joana gives general information and explains the tour's itinerary on a large scale map featuring SM's attractions and peculiar sites, which favela residents crafted during RTT workshops.

Before we start, she highlighted the basic rule: photographing people without consent is not allowed -this is to protect dwellers' privacy and for tourists' safety-, only landscape and architecture is permitted. Next, we set out on our way uphill on board the cable car. The car has a limited capacity of 20 passengers, so we waited in line. Some dwellers complained because we outsiders were taking most places in the car, and Joana had to interfere. We came down to the third station to exchange cars, and tourists took the opportunity to photograph the landscape at the viewpoint there. We passed by three unaccompanied tourists, even though the Municipal Agency of Tourism of RJ (RIOTUR) recommends on their website not to visit favelas without a local certificated guide. "THAT kind of tourism is voyeuristic and not supportive of local development! It's dangerous and disrespectful," Joana complained.

The ride ended at the fifth station, and tourists took more pictures at the viewpoint there. We continued to the top of the hill until we reached the UPP headquarters. Joana explained the police role in the favela, the war against drug traffickers, and how things were better during the pacified years. She showed us the bullet holes on a UPP side wall behind a colorful mural, which is a memorial that dwellers insisted on keeping. There were only a few pictures taken there, and more nervous looks at the surroundings.

We passed by the football field where some kids were playing. "This is where Michael [Jackson] landed with his helicopter to film the video." She told us excitedly. The kids stopped their game to invite tourists to play. Joana translated and encouraged them to get into the field, but visitors refused with suspicion. "Damn! I have a dry mouth!" One of the kids yelled, disappointed. Joana and David bought them two big sodas, and we all walked away. We walked through runways, stairs, and alleys, passed by several murals, dodged dog waste, waved hands with dwellers chatting outside their doors. "I can't stop looking at how cute they [children] are," one of the women said. "And dogs too!" the other replied, admiring a napping dog. We were passing by some bright colored houses, painted by Coral Tintas, when we ran into a

teenager with a big rifle. Joana and David were ahead of the group and acted quickly. “Hey, kid! How’s it going? We are just touring around the place!” David threw himself at the boy to hide the gun while pretending a friendly hug. He was there most likely by chance and didn’t seem to care about us, so he complied with David and stayed behind. Only the Dutch couple got to catch the whole scene. They looked alarmed and anxious to finish the tour. Joana glanced at me, with a look of hopelessness. She’s very much against taking tourists to traffic-related sites because “tours should show the favela is not only violence and drugs.”

Before stepping into the Michael Jackson Space, Joana led us to Marcela’s souvenir store. Joana introduced her as the first souvenir shop owner in the favela. Her whole family of five works there. Her 11-year-old son drew a map of the community that they replicated in most of the merchandising products they have available: t-shirts, mugs, coasters, bags, keychains, mousepads, and so on. While I was shopping for yet another fridge magnet, tourists hurried out empty-handed. Outside the shop there were various performances. The couple continued to look uncomfortable, and remained indifferent to these performances. They took some landscape pictures and waited for us to get going. At a far end, the two US women were very excited, taking pictures all around. One of them told me, almost in tears, how surreal it felt to be at the same spot her music idol once was, staring at Jackson’s bronze statue.

We reached Casa-Museo Dos Relogios after a short walk. Elena, the house owner, wasn’t home to greet us as usual but left her door open for us to visit her collection. Elena’s son is one of SM’s first and most active tour guides, also a local leader and activist. She has a collection of over 300 wall clocks covering every corner of her house. Friends and visitors have sent her pieces from Argentina, Sweden, Canada, Spain, Germany, the US, Mexico—the list goes on. The US men walked in the first, glanced at the clocks, walked into one of the bedrooms, then through the kitchen, and when he was venturing out of our sight to another part of the house, Joana gently prevented him from intruding. “Here’s a money box in case you want to contribute with the clocks’ batteries,” she said before leaving. Only one of the girls left some coins.

We continued our tour on to the second souvenir shop. Inside, we were invited to sit and watch Michael’s music video. Once again, we left our hosts empty-handed. “Enough asking us for money!” the US guy grumbled with one of the girls. The last stop of the tour was the Residents Association, but it was already closed. Most of the guides take tourists to meet with the President. Tourists can ask him questions, and they are always invited to pose for pictures. Tour guides contribute to the Association with a percentage of tours’ fees, which covers part of the electricity and water bills. In an interview, the President had previously

acknowledged how valuable tourism was to create jobs and to shed light on SM's struggles. He stated that "international visibility gives us [favela's residents] better chances to step into the State's budget. That's why we post pictures of every visit on our social media." The tour ended shortly after, right where it had begun.

Tour "with thrills"

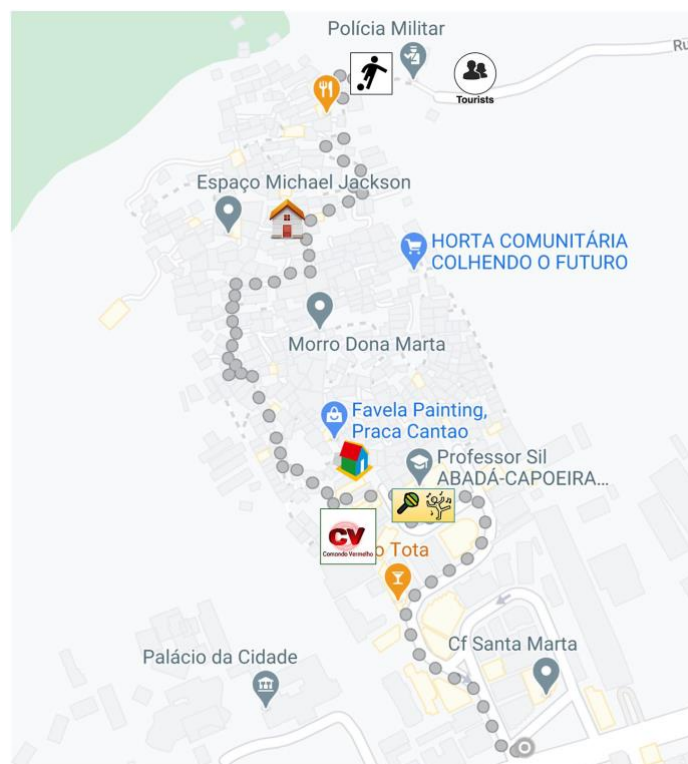


Figure 20. Itinerary tour with thrills.

(Source: Google maps and own elaboration).

The brothers Rafael and Mateo obtained their official guiding certification some years after RTT ended. That afternoon, the tour started on top of the hill in Osvaldo Seabra Street. They chose SM's alternative entrance to avoid fitting the group of 60 Israelis in the bondinho. It was the largest group I had seen on tour, but the guides assured me they had taken even larger ones at the best of times.

Rafael and Mateo are partners with an Israeli tour operator. The operator found success among young post-army Israeli travelers, mainly due to blog reviews and word of mouth recommendations. The operator used to take large groups to Jacarezinho, a peripheral favela, however, Jacarezinho lacks SM's charm and it became more unstable and unsafe after mega-events. "This agency works with us exclusively because we are flexible enough to design the

itinerary they [Israelis travelers] want. They want to see the real favela, not the tourist one,” Mateo told me in an interview.

The favela tour comes in a package with other classic experiences in the city. The itinerary posted on the tour operator’s website reads:

Our exclusive tour will show you the authentic favela culture. Samba, Capoeira, Carnival show and lesson and football game. We will go through the favela alleys and see the reality of life in the favela. Despite the incredible poverty, you will see the happiness of the people inspired by their rich culture of sports and music.

OVERVIEW

Football game

We organize a football game, Tourists X Favela locals

Alleys

You will walk through the favela alley’s and see the poverty, culture and even meet an Ex-head of the mafia in his 3-story house

Shows

In the samba school of the favela, you will see a carnival samba show and also a capoeira show. This will include a lesson too.

At the end of the tour there will be a deep lecture about the favela culture, mafia, drugs, police, schools and more. . .

Table 6. Promotional flyer of Santa Marta favela tour. <https://tailorluxurytravel.com/favela-tour/#1545342324506-8e303cc5-b20aedf5-cba1> (Accessed on January 2021)

The group arrived with an Israeli guide/translator from the agency. The first activity was the football match with a few local teenagers against rotating groups of Israelis. Rafael bought five large sodas and some biscuits for the local team and everyone seemed to be enjoying themselves. After 45 minutes, we left for the next attraction.

We reached Rafael and Mateo’s second tourist venture -aka “the ex-head of the mafia three-story house”: a hostel and rooftop bar under construction. First stop was an indoor jacuzzi facing Christ the Redeemer on the first floor. The rooftop has a hammock, a small pool, a bar and grill, and an impressive view of the surrounding wealthy neighborhoods, beaches, and

Botafogo Bay. Rafael urged Israelis to save the hostel's location on Google Maps⁸. He explained that Santa Marta is the only favela with most of its streets featured on the app.

After several pictures at the halfway hostel, we resumed the itinerary and ventured into the favela's alleys. I was at the back of the group to see two UPP officers following us. They kept five steps away from us, hiding suspiciously behind the corners and wielding their weapons. The photographer of the group noticed them too and hurried upfront. I got more and more anxious as we came closer to what I knew was our next station. Could that be a surprise police raid and they were using us as shields? No, tourism seems too good a business for everyone here. The officers went rapidly out of sight as we climbed down some wrecked stairs, took a left turn, and arrived at a gray concrete 10 m². The open-air drug market some people call "the Pharmacy."

The Israeli guide started a speech in Hebrew to all of us packed against one of the walls. Four armed young men on the watch, and another three running the exchange table, remained seated, silent and exposed. I asked one of the tourists in English what the guide was saying. "He's saying that if we want to buy drugs, this is the best place to do it because it's one of the largest distribution spots in the city and has the best quality and price." It didn't take 2 minutes for the line of Israelis to set up.

The next stop was the favela's colorful main square: Praça Cantão. Before Tudo de Cor project, Coral Tintas financed two Dutch artists to design and paint the houses surrounding the square. The artists used large amounts of green, pink, yellow, and blue, although they could not hide the many bullet holes scattered across the concrete walls. This is one of SM's best-known spots, widely reproduced on tourist brochures, the media, and blog posts.

Our last stop was the samba school. A local percussion band played samba while two women in carnival fantasies performed for us. After a vibrant session, the dancers gave the Israelis samba and funk lessons. Then the local capoeira squad came in to perform and gave lessons too. All of us participated enthusiastically and had fun trying to imitate the performers, with poor success. Mateo and Rafael pay performers a fixed fee to join the tours. They find it essential to distribute economic benefits among the community.

There was supposed to be a "favela masterclass" for the tourists to sum up the experience. Mateo told me they wanted visitors to know that "the favela is not just gangsters. It's the result of the lack of public policies, education, and State intervention." However, by

⁸ <https://www.google.es/maps/place/R.+do+Coco+Verde,+3+-+Botafogo,+Rio+de+Jan+eiro+-+RJ,+21043042,+Brasil/@22.9470671,43.1965165,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x997fc29f75200d:0xb94cbca29ec34f9c!8m2!3d-22.9470721!4d-43.1943278?shorturl=1>

the time the shows were over, heavy rain threatened to flood the place. Thus, unfortunately, the tour ended abruptly, with everyone running to find shelter.

ANALYZING SANTA MARTA'S CONSTELLATIONS

In this section, we chart and analyze the constellations traced after each tour. The outcome is a messy entanglement of assorted actors. One of ANT's main methodological contributions is enable us to translate the complex and dynamic scenarios of favela tours without following strict categories of human or material elements. We seek to interpret how the assembled parts re-signify and transform during the relational processes that shape the constellations.

The Thrill-less Tour constellation (Figure 5) exposes the myriad global actors mobilizing power over the Brazilian public and private actors. The event showing SM's reterritorialization into global assemblages that are most evident in the example of Michael Jackson video clip. Jackson featured a colorful and joyful image of the favela out to the world. However, that image conflicted with local media representations of SM at the time. The video recoded SM at a political scale: it was among the reasons for the State Government to refurbish the rooftop and name it after Michael Jackson, thus making invisible local narratives. Tourists became co-producers of the rooftop's new narrative through their valorization of place and history. Hence, Jackson's visit materialized into public space, while Dede's Ambulatory disappeared from Google Maps and tour brochures, but not from local myths. Some dwellers and tour guides question this arbitrary attempt of erasing the story behind Dedé's rooftop.

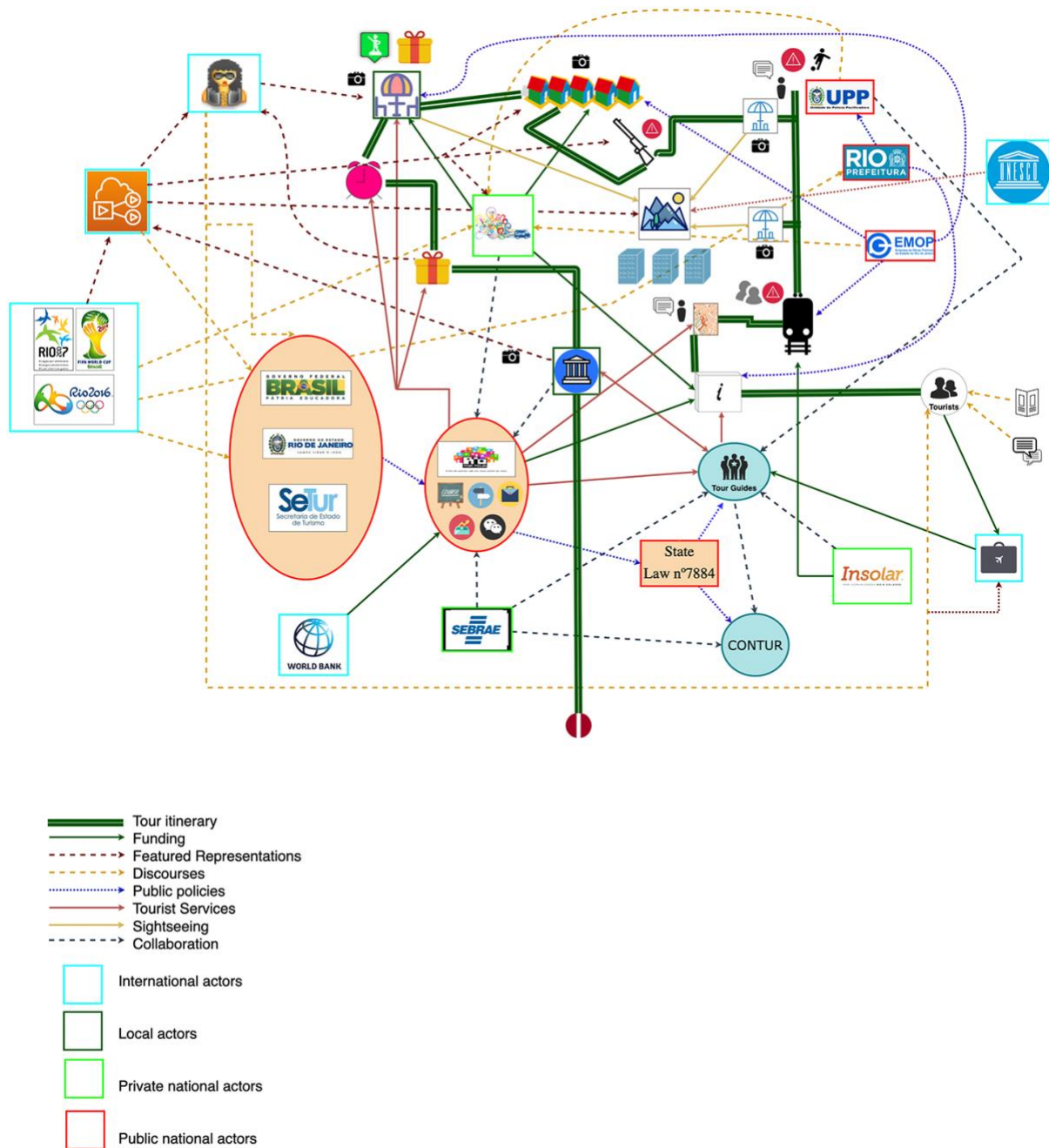


Figure 21. Constellation tour without thrills. (Source: Own elaboration).

The timeline and diagram show the triggering effect of sport mega-events in assembling multiple actors from 2007 onward. Policies like Favela-Bairro (1994–2000) had already tackled infrastructure upgrading, shifting the focus from eviction to inclusion of favelas into the city’s fabric (Valladares, 2005). However, subsequent policies, such as the Programa de Aceleración del Crecimiento (PAC 2007–2010) and the UPP, show how tourism development was instrumental to restructure and reorder favelas territory. For instance, the PAC turned some houses at the top of favela Rocinha into bed & breakfast accommodations (Freire-Medeiros,

2009a, 2009b). Thus, the focus of the policies implemented after favelas became popular among alternative tourists shifted toward turning communities into productive territories. Even though policies intended inclusion of the favelas within the wider (urban) constellation, these policies prompted processes of gentrification, cost of living inflation and new waves of exclusion (Perlman, 2016). Thus, State-led orderings produced new forms of segregation and discipline while making invisible other social uses of space (Comelli et al., 2018).

The role of tourist mobilities is evident in the case of the funicular tram. SM's bondinho was attuned with other "spectacular" mobility infrastructures, like the cable cars at Complexo do Alemão and Providência (inaugurated in 2014, yet out of service since 2016). With cable cars, the result was a voyeuristic taken while travelling over favelas and, therefore, from a safe distance. Yet, the bondinho was suitable for everyday use in SM, adding to the quality of life of most favela residents, especially the elderly (Freire-Medeiros & Name, 2017). Moreover, the EMOP strategically included two photogenic viewpoints at the third and fifth stations, reinforcing the value favelas could contribute to tourism.

The assembling of the UPP was crucial for the constellation to expand. By monopolizing the use of violence and then (re)ordering spaces and social relations in the favela, the State effectively turned SM (and favelas in general) into productive territories. Especially in the realm of cognitive capital production, where tourism plays a central role as the marketplace for cultural and cognitive products (Cocco, 2014). Hence, the UPP reterritorialized the favela into global -and formal- networks of capital mobility by promoting tourism practices.

Data shows that during the "pacified" years, violence rates dropped (Cano et al., 2012) while tourist visits grew (Rodrigues, 2018). Tour guides agreed on the increase in work opportunities and better conditions in those years too. Moreover, actors like SEBRAE and Coral Tintas took advantage of the international promotion and greater accessibility of favelas, therefore recoding them as traditional and authentic cultural landscapes. UPPs' performances were controversial and were criticized for the abuses of power and the fragile provision of public services in favelas (Freire-Medeiros et al., 2016). More importantly, the UPP's failure annihilated many of the relational assemblages forged years before.

In this constellation, RTT played a leading role in producing SM as a tourist site and rewiring and reconnecting social hierarchies. After gaining a new occupation with RTT courses, tour guides emerged as a novel social cluster and became local leaders. This allowed guides to reterritorialize their role within the community and facilitated in the assembling of

myriad regional and global actors. Among these actors is the social company Insolar⁹, with whom Joana actively collaborates. The guides also act as mediators between hosts and guests' relational practices; they are co-creators of local narratives and co-producers of tourism materialities, like the information post.

The CBT State Law consolidated the relation between the political role of favelas with that of tourism. The law recognized the value of favelas as an important part of the city's tourism offer while it ordered how tourism should be run. In other words, CBT law recoded favelas as "traditional communities," thus empowering dwellers to lead tourism development, which left external tour operators outside of the network. However, the outcomes of the law are diminished by the lack of consistency in translating legal discourses into practices and the impact this then had on public policies. This assemblage is probably the most promising to examine for potential avenues of favela tourism development.

At first, the Thrills Tour constellation (Figure 6) seems to assemble fewer actors in a relatively compact network. However, the guides managed to assemble more local actors and intrinsic cultural elements. They made it by mingling dwellers and tourists through performative events and spatialized practices. In this constellation, Social Networks had a deterritorializing effect on SM's parts. Through social media, tourists became autonomous co-producers of the images and myths associated with favelas, thus valorizing actors beyond hegemonic or formal standards. For example, the Israeli tour operator picks up on what tourists sought to experience in the favela, so, he produced an itinerary "off the beaten track" while coding the favela as a real and authentic place. The UPP's role was decisive in assembling the operator, although the police behavior during the tour was puzzling. Could tourism be translated as a sort of truce between gangsters and the police?

⁹ The company installed solar panels to fuel public spaces in the favela, like the nursery and the Residents Association.

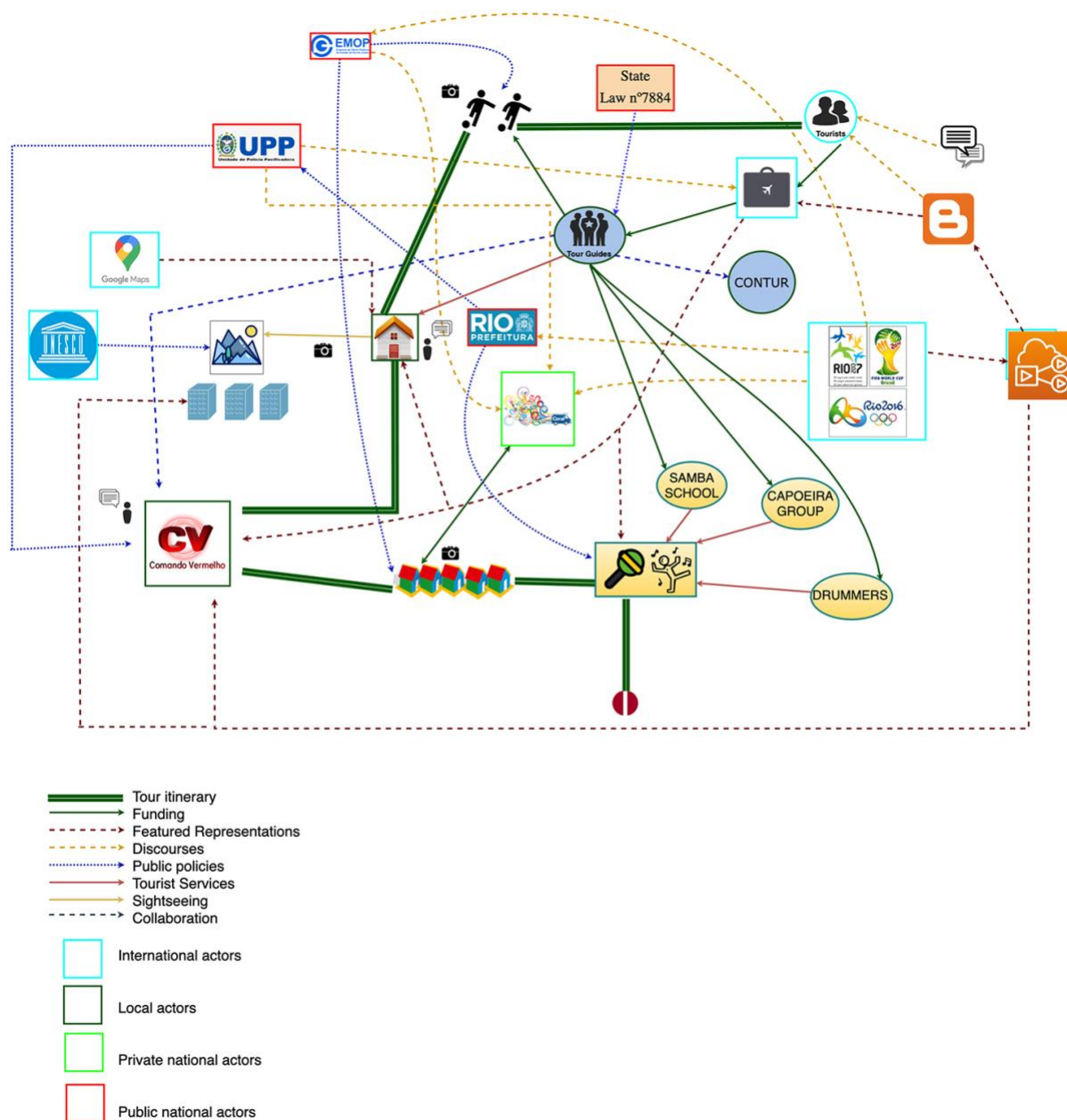


Figure 22. Constellation tour with thrills. (Source: Own elaboration).

The most radically questioned role in this constellation was the trafficking gang. On the first tour, such trafficking was meant to remain invisible. When coming across a trafficker unexpectedly, tourists experienced discomfort and fear. However, traffickers perform a leading role in this constellation, taking part even in the promotional material available worldwide. Therefore, guides reterritorialize the drug market as an accessible productive place. The traffickers' identities were also recoded: they are part of this version of SM, they are not ruthless gangsters but businessmen. Within this constellation, the drug market was normalized and turned into a common ground for a global encounter.

This constellation brought the most visibility to local cultural actors. Guides managed to engage guests in cultural practices and performances. This bodily engagement recoded the artistic and creative value of the favela's actors. First, tourists and locals stepped away from their cultural differences to have a fair exchange during the football match. The role of the guides as mediators was crucial for this smooth encounter. In the case of the samba and capoeira shows, the performances reinforced the favelas' exoticized myths. The origins of these cultural elements date back to African slavery and emerged in slummed communities. Although samba and capoeira were despised in the early days by the elites, they now lie at the core of Rio de Janeiro's image and imagery. Tourists play a part in popular traditions assimilation by the hegemonic city since they make for an attractive and solicited tourist product (Barbosa, 2010). To an extent, the commodification of popular culture may banalize and jeopardize it. However, the tour gave visibility to cultural producers, giving them a facilitator role of dance and fighting techniques. Tourists' first-hand experience opened the ground for new meanings to emerge beyond the hegemonic staged performances.

The presence of public actors was not as relevant in this constellation. Materials and services that came from public policies like the football field, the lanes, stairs, and the samba school, act as mere containers for other grounded cultural practices like sports, dance, and music. In addition, the media and global actors did not define people and places as happened in the first tour. For example, Joana introduced the football field as "Michael's landing strip," while tourists dismissed local players. On this second tour, Jackson was not even mentioned, and football became the intermediary in which Israelis and locals could encounter one another.

Finally, Google Maps had a reterritorializing and recoding effect since it literally put SM on the map. Through the app, the favela's spatiality found an avenue for legitimization beyond public actors' approval. The Favela actors can potentially take advantage of the freeware that the internet provides for counterhegemonic realities.

To summarize, each tour staged very different socio-material realities. The first diagram highlighted the power of international events and public actors in ordering SM's spaces and identities. The second one showed local actors still have autonomous capacity to renegotiate the symbols, myths, and tourism places of encounter. The UPP's role proved to be essential for other actors to assemble in both cases. Although sports mega-events triggered new key assemblages, their end meant a setback for favela tourism development. We also identified the role of tour guides as cultural mediators are vital for respectful and fluid interactions.

In both diagrams, landscape played a central role in assembling public and private actors to the constellation. Social media, brochures, and book guides featuring the view. Also,

tourists consume and valorize favelas' landscape by various practices, namely photographing and gazing. However, both tours showed how UNESCO's label was not very effective. It was absent in the actors' discourses, and we could not identify any current public policy in this regard. Still, UNESCO recoded SM as a valuable part of the cultural cacophony that makes RJ's cultural landscape unique.

CONCLUSIONS

Favelas have a long history of State abandonment and cultural invisibilization by political and social elites. We argued that tourism plays a role in legitimizing and transforming the physical, social, and cultural landscape of favelas. The rational processes that favela tours entail open the possibility for multiple realities. Within these dynamic socio-material realities, favela actors may take new roles and significance.

Combining ANT methods and assemblage thinking was useful in tracing the material and associative outcomes of tourist practices. These methodological and epistemological frameworks allowed us to encompass myriad events, people, institutions, and objects, through space-time and beyond moral assumptions. The use of diagrams as a tool for analysis was the paper's most valuable contribution to tracing unlikely connections and their effects on people and places. They also helped contrast the very different "real favela" constellations. Moreover, they showed how structures of power and hierarchies were rewired within the relational processes.

Before tourists stepped into SM's assemblages, they were highly territorialized. There was a relative homogeneity in local identities among well-defined symbolic and physical borders, isolating the favela from the rest of the city and the world. SM's cultural elements had low commercial value, as the favela was less accessible to external actors. When international events and potential tourists assembled, the favela was reterritorialized by transcending public/private and national/global scales. The constellations confirmed the relevant role of tourism in making counter-hegemonic cultures and places visible and a significant focus for public policies, and helped question tourist relations with controversial actors like the drug cartel and the police. SM recoded some cultural elements through the valorization practices of tourists. The favela was formally acknowledged as a "traditional community," its members carriers of the "carioca spirit," and a new capitalist marketplace for dwellers, tourists, companies, and governments. However, the lack of continuity and enforcement of public policies after the hype of events left a scenario of uncertainty and insecurity for local actors engaged in favela tourism. In addition, the limited understanding tourists had of the complex

realities of favelas, and the strong dependence tourists have on guides might be a source of conflict and lead to the production of additional stigma.

Tourism cannot resolve structural political failures that produced favelas in the first place. However, the visibility brought by tourist practices shifts favelas from the margins to take a leading role in negotiating public policies and collecting State funds. As the Residents Association's President stated: "tourists are not the ones connecting the favela with the formal city. It's the State recognizing favelas as a part of the city."

4.3 Article 3. Legitimizing discourses within favela tourism

Altamirano, E. (2022b). Legitimizing discourses within favela tourism. *Tourism geographies*. <https://10.1080/14616688.2022.2154380>

ABSTRACT

Urban slums, especially in the Global South, have become popular attractions for tourists interested in sites off the beaten track and more authentic encounters with local culture. This practice has drawn attention from the media and extensive academic research, pointing out its controversial character due to the uneven power relations between hosts and guests and the commodification of poverty to turn it into a tourist attraction. Though acknowledging this pitfall, this work takes a different approach. We argue that tourism has agency in co-producing meanings and values in the process of making and consuming slums as tourist places. Within this process, the cultural capital of slums may find new avenues of legitimization. We critically analyze how discursive practices may valorize and legitimize slums as spaces for cultural production and consumption and the role of tourism in ordering, valuing, and visualizing vernacular cultural landscapes. The paper examines the case of favelas in Rio de Janeiro open to tourist visitation. Using as sources 79 articles from virtual media outlets (a mainstream, hegemonic newspaper, and a popular grassroots publication), official social media accounts, and tourism policies, we leverage Foucauldian discourse analysis and scrutinized the data, drawing insights on three categories of legitimization: authorization, rationalization, and moral evaluation. Our main findings show that tourism is often portrayed as a justification for securitization policies, as well as for fiscalization and formalization processes. Tourists were perceived to have authority in evaluating and valorizing slums' cacophonous landscape beyond the evaluations of hegemonic social and political elites, which makes for a potential avenue of legitimization. However, in employing a more critical scope, two questions resonate: (1) who

benefits from the valorization of slums' cultural capital and, (2) who decides on the social validity of emergent cultural elements?

Keywords: Favela tourism; cognitive capitalism; discourse analysis; Rio de Janeiro; legitimization; tourist valorization

INTRODUCTION

After the 1980s, cities went through a deindustrialization process, paving the way for cultural and knowledge-based production and consumption (Zukin, 1995). As tourists are the most suitable consumers for these products, tourist development, and the competition to attract urban tourists fostered policies, investments, and urban planning strategies that 're-narrativized and re-mold the image of places' (Hollinshead et al., 2009, p. 429), to ensure their competitiveness and profitability in the global tourist market. Hence, urban landscapes turned into places where leisure, lifestyle, and ambiance could be enjoyed. In the neoliberalism era, understood as a 'network of policies, ideologies, values, and rationalities that work together to achieve capital's hegemonic power' (Miraftab, 2009), any practice of urban, everyday life can become a tourist commodity, whether these come from hegemonic cultural producers or not. In this context, urban informality has fallen into the extensive catalog of alternative tourist attractions.

Slum tourism is a growing niche in many urban destinations around the world. However, defining a slum is a complex endeavor, because its characteristics, numbers, and aesthetics are far from homogeneous (Frenzel, 2018). The UN-Habitat (2016) defines slums as a group of individuals living in an urban area who lack durable housing, security of tenure, and sufficient living space, and are deprived of access to safe and affordable water, as well as public or private sanitation. The term slum usually carries negative connotations and it is socially constructed as the place of the cultural 'Other'. Touring slums is a controversial tourist practice, studied from multiple academic perspectives and reviewed extensively in the media. This type of mobility emerged among alternative tourists in South African townships in the 1990s, and shortly after, tour operators replicated the model in Brazilian favelas, before expanding to other informal urban settlements in other parts of the world (Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Steinbrink, 2012). Slum tours are often presented as an opportunity to glimpse at a more 'real' part of the city, a backstage for tourists' performances that tourists perceive as authentic and allow them to experience cross-cultural encounters (Dyson, 2012). The slums visited are usually romanticized by tour operators, highlighting the creative ambiance of the landscape and the

sense of community among the residents (Freire-Medeiros et al., 2013; Meschkank, 2011; Rolfes, 2010).

Slum tourism raises polarized moral and ethical issues, mainly due to the contested power relations between hosts and guests (Frenzel et al., 2012; Meschkank, 2011; Rolfes, 2010). Some researchers state that slum tourism is voyeuristic and demeaning for local populations since the core activity of a slum tour is the consumption of deprivation and suffering (Burgold & Rolfes, 2013; Iqani, 2016; Selinger & Outtersson, 2010). On the other hand, policymakers and tourism developers hint at tourism's social and economic benefits and its potential to improve slums' livelihoods.

Slums' economic development is frequently portrayed as a justification for tourism in these territories, although economic impacts were shown to be marginal and concentrated (Rogerson, 2014). In Tzanelli's assessment of the impacts of mega-events in Rio de Janeiro's urban landscape, she refers to favela tourism as the 'Trojan horse for neoliberal development' (Tzanelli, 2014). The Brazilian government carried out controversial policies aiming to aestheticize and securitize urban centers before the mega-events (Tzanelli, 2017). In this context, the uniqueness of vernacular landscapes became an asset to enrich the city's catalog of tourist attractions (Tzanelli, 2016c). This process of (re)inventing marginalized communities as tourist places can and has been used as a legitimization strategy in some favelas and *quilombolas* communities, which bring together descendants of Africans, indigenous people and Europeans who migrated to Brazil in colonial times and deserted the plantation regime (Guerrón Montero, 2020).

Tourists have the capacity to produce new orders, materiality, and symbols, what Hollinshead (2009a) refers to as the worldmaking agency of tourism. People and places may attain value and normative validity within these collective and creative processes. The extent to which the cultural capital of slums may be legitimized through tourist valorization practices enmeshed in media discourses is the underlying focus (Frenzel, 2018; Frenzel & Frisch, 2020). We explore how myriad actors become co-producers of value and their entanglement with the geographies of inequalities. Using a Foucauldian approach, we draw insights from the discourses of media outlets and legal accounts reporting about favela tourism in Rio de Janeiro. We propose an analytical framework with three legitimization categories, and draw parallelisms with Frenzel and Frisch (2020) theorization of tourist valorization practices, to enhance our understanding of tourism's potential to valorize (or not) and normalize (or condemn) people and places.

We will first elaborate on the notions of cognitive capitalism and the value that vernacular culture may find in this paradigm shift. Then, we explore the conceptual reach of legitimization processes, discuss the methods and review relevant literature on slum tourism.

NEW AVENUES FOR FAVELA'S COGNITIVE CAPITAL

'Tourism is our new oil'.

Wilson Witzel, former governor of Rio de Janeiro (O Globo, 2011)

We live in times of profound environmental, social, cultural, and economic changes. The core industrial modes of capitalism have drifted away from localized, standardized, and product-based forms, toward global, segmented, and service-based modes of consumption and production. This post-modern shift has been coined with a variety of nomenclatures: knowledge economy, cognitive capitalism, information economy, and so on. What they all have in common is the value they give to immateriality, their reliability in communication and information technologies, and the networking and cooperation processes they trigger (Cocco & Szaniecki, 2015; Vilarim & Cocco, 2008).

Urban landscapes provide the most fruitful environment for cultural (re)production; hence, local governments and city planners make the most out of cities' cognitive capital to craft a strong and positive market image that could promote the city within international cultural circuits (Arantes et al., 2002). In the urban context of the Global South, to enter into this global market of cities, urban landscapes needed to turn into sanitized, safe, and comfortable places, with a variety of cultural experiences and services to accommodate (wealthier) visitors and new residents (Borja & Castells, 1997). In this process of city re-branding, poverty and marginalized populations are seen as a landscape issue, which is detrimental to the positive brand image of the city (Arantes et al., 2002). However, in neoliberal cognitive capitalism, any expression of the human experience may function as a commodity and the culture of the poor and marginalized fits within the exotism that tourists from wealthier countries expect to encounter in the Global South. Hence, some forms of livelihood, ambiance, and cultural expression become more attractive and profitable, than others. While staged and touristified destinations lose attractiveness, vernacular and off-the-beaten-track cultural landscapes acquire value among experienced and alternative tourists.

In Rio de Janeiro, the need for a re-branding called for formalization processes, aimed at diminishing the social and physical inequalities that characterized the city. These policies

and plans came with a neoliberal agenda to expand the areas for capital fixation and reproduction. Favelas, which have represented ‘a problem’ for Rio de Janeiro’s political and social elites since the beginning of the 20th century, were targeted by tourism policies and so-called ‘inclusive’ policies. Tzanelli (2016c) exposes how capital and hegemonic power use tourism development to re-order favelas through formal standards and by local means, to create an attractive and safe experience for visitors. The several urban projects targeting favelas were marked by the disproportionate use of violence, evictions, opportunism, and discontinuity, and had often been incongruent with the local population’s real needs.

Rio de Janeiro’s favelas and their cacophonous landscapes are famed for the contrast set by rotten waste and inspiring views, the juxtaposition of gangsters and police brutality, and a sense of community and solidarity challenged by social exclusion and political failures. Favela tours frame ‘the experience of poverty as a product for consumption’ (Freire-Medeiros, 2012, p. 1), presented as a two-hour visit, with entertainment activities, cultural performances, crafted souvenirs, local dishes, and moderated interaction with locals, mediated by (sometimes, local) tour guides. However, we argue that poverty is not the only attribute that sustains a favela’s touristic attraction; there are other cultural assets at play, which may gain new values. The value-creation logic of a knowledge-based economy finds the apex of its complexity in the process of exchange. With the improvements in communication technologies, the production and dissemination of cognitive ‘products’ are fast-paced, widely accessible, and collaborative. With products coming in and out from the most varied sources, their social validation and legitimation are uncertain, which impedes the establishment of their economic and symbolic value (Corsani, 2003).

LEGITIMATION TRIAD

‘The community is not ours anymore. It belongs to the city, and to the world’.

Zé Mário, president of Santa Marta’s Residents Association (O Globo, 2011)

To explore the potential of tourism discourses in legitimizing the favelas’ cultural capital, we first need to locate the intersections between discursive practices and tourism’s creative and inventive capacities (Hollinshead, 2009a). Frenzel’s (2018) conceptual framework of tourist valorization is useful to grasp the processes that create symbolic and material values and their potential material outcomes. Frenzel and Frisch (2020) point out that tourists’ spatialized practices have the agency to evaluate (judge positively or negatively), valorize (produce or reduce symbolic and material value), and potentially capitalize on the values

created. Over time, valorization practices can have a constitutive and normalizing effect on what comes to be known about populations and places (Hollinshead et al., 2009). However, the remaining question is who benefits from the capitalization of values (Frenzel & Frisch, 2020), and who decides the normative validity of what is being evaluated. These issues are especially problematic in marginalized and already challenged contexts, like favelas. Hence, we propose a framework that complements Frenzel and Frisch (2020) categories and enriches the analysis of the processes in which cultural products may gain or lose social validation.

According to Berger & Luckmann (1966), legitimation provides the justifications for the elements that either take part in or can become part of the institutional tradition, ‘by ascribing cognitive validity to their objectivated meanings and (...) by giving a normative dignity to their practical imperatives’ (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 111). However, institutional traditions and meanings are constantly being reshaped, mirroring the changes in social values, needs, and customs, hence, legitimation cannot be decontextualized, as it refers to a fluid process that legitimizes or delegitimizes established and situated institutional orders (van Leeuwen, 2007).

Discursive practices are suitable vehicles to understand legitimization processes. Language objectifies human experiences, turning them into a crucial element that conceptualizes and gives meaning to material realities (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). To analyze the languages of legitimization, van Leeuwen (2007) described four categories, based on the text’s forms, content, narrators, and context. However, these categories’ boundaries are not fixed; rather, they intertwine as ideas develop throughout the discourses. For the analysis, we will use three of the four categories, which we believe best adapt to the discourses at play (see Figure 1). In the following paragraphs, we briefly conceptualize the categories and connect them with the themes and the actors that we have identified in the case study.

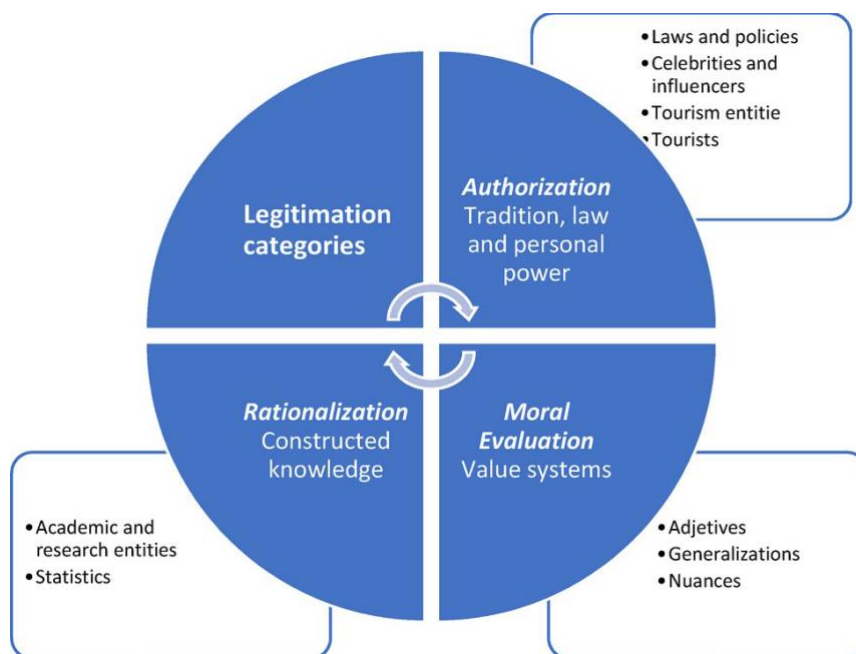


Figure 23. Legitimation triad (Source: own elaboration).

Moral evaluation is based on value systems, and it intersects with the other categories. Moral judgments do not appear explicitly in texts, but they are often disguised with adjectives and generalizations. In some cases, values are simplified with problematic words like ‘good’ and ‘bad’ or tend to ‘normalize’ a certain order of things (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 97). Thus, the analyst is called to use common sense to codify texts. Morality’s elusive nature, and the fact that some practices or places may carry stigmas and prejudices, highlight the need for the analyst to have a profound understanding of the socio-cultural context in which the discourses are embedded. As in Frenzel and Frisch’s ‘evaluation’ practices, moral judgments have a direct impact on the production or reduction of values and will inherently contribute to (re)produce inequalities, because something will be necessarily valued over something else.

We identified moral evaluations from the various media and legal texts by ‘reading between the lines’, paid particular attention to the adjectives used to describe the favelas as a tourist attraction and also noticed the nuances in the statements made by the various actors at play.

Authorization is the ‘legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested’ (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 92). Authority may be personal, when it is vested in someone due to their institutional or social status, the expert knowledge they may have, and their position as a role model or mass leader. Or, otherwise, impersonal, when it is attributed to laws and regulations, the force of habits and

social customs, as well as the careless repetition of others' actions. This category can be linked to 'valorization' practices because of the power relations (evaluator/object-subject) and the autonomy that some individuals have over what is under the validation scope. The relative autonomy that tourists have to evaluate and valorize can lead to the 'counter-evaluation' of elements that were before invisible or neglected. The positive or negative evaluation of people, objects, and places ignites their social and economic value.

We addressed a tourism state law, which holds institutional power to order favelas at their physical and social dimensions; second, celebrities and influencers, who effectively mobilize the favelas' imaginaries and encourage more visits; third, Rio de Janeiro's official tourism entities, which evaluate what is worth visiting in the city; and finally, tourists who produce or reduce value by judging and sharing their impressions.

Rationalization refers to 'the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity' (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 101). This category is closely linked to moral evaluation, as values need to prompt rationalized actions in order to be socially approved. However, unlike moral evaluation, this category is shown more explicitly in the texts. It appears as statistics, academic studies, and empirical data.

Therefore, we traced rationalizations from academics and other research entities that share knowledge and representations.

TOOLS AND METHODS

Discourses compound concepts and knowledge that shape and (re)produce the world, describing how reality is understood, contested, and performed. Dominant discourses dictate socio-material roles, power relations, and the ways in which social life can be organized, regulated, and administered. Discourses are articulated through all sorts of visual and verbal texts, which may contain images, narratives, songs, words, and performances (Fairclough, 2003).

Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary, methodological approach used to study discourses, as the 'groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought and the way we act on the basis of that thinking' (Rose, 2001, p. 136). This method is central to the work of Michel Foucault, who examines regimes of power and knowledge, conflict, domination, and the historical processes that shape and bend socio-material orders (Keller, 2018). Although there are no explicit rules in regard to the application of a Foucauldian analysis, we claim to have undertaken one. First, because we seek to unravel how power is exercised through texts,

by different actors involved with favela tourism discourses. Our focus is not on the true meaning of words said but, on the effect that the statements have on a social and political scale (Foucault, 1972). Secondly, we avoid any proclamation of an absolute regime of truth. Instead, we recognize that other analysts or readers may interpret the complexity stemming from the texts differently (Graham, 2012). Finally, we note that the author's subjectivities spring from her middle-class upbringing in Latin America, her previous fieldwork experience in Rio de Janeiro in 2019, and her position as an outsider to a marginalized context (see Altamirano, 2021).

Discourse analysis has been applied in a number of fields, including tourism research (see Qian et al., 2018). Recently, researchers in the field of slum tourism undertook discourse analysis on TripAdvisor reviews to explore different representations of poverty and stereotypes reproduced by global consumers. In the vein of mediated tourist experiences, Muldoon & Mair (2016) analyzed travel blogs featuring slum tours by applying Foucauldian critical discourse analysis. They assessed the way in which travel bloggers become co-producers of alternative regimes of truth, making room for the emergence of new narratives and knowledge.

In this paper, we explored the discourses from two widely read journals that employ antagonistic approaches: *O Globo* and *A Voz das Comunidades*. In addition, we collected Instagram posts from Rio de Janeiro's municipality and the tourism board RIOTUR. We also included a state law that attempted to regulate community-based tourism in favelas. The articles and posts were collected in their original language, Portuguese, and translated by the author. For the data processing, we used the software ATLAS.ti, which allowed us to codify a total of 79 entries (Figure 2).

Inspired by Foucauldian discourse analysis, we describe the meaning-making processes and the themes that emerge from these actors' discourses, to determine how their statements influence structural power while they validate, value, and order the favelas' cultural landscapes. We reflected on three main questions: What are the contested discourses within favela tourism? How do different discourses legitimize favelas' cognitive capital? And, how do these discursive practices create values and order the favela?

SHE SAID, HE SAID, THEY SAID

This section is a combined presentation of findings and analysis, and it unfolds in two parts. First, we review the sources' backgrounds to identify the ideological standpoint of each of the voices. Second, we address the variety of themes featured in the articles, and we group the discourses under the legitimization categories we proposed in the previous section.

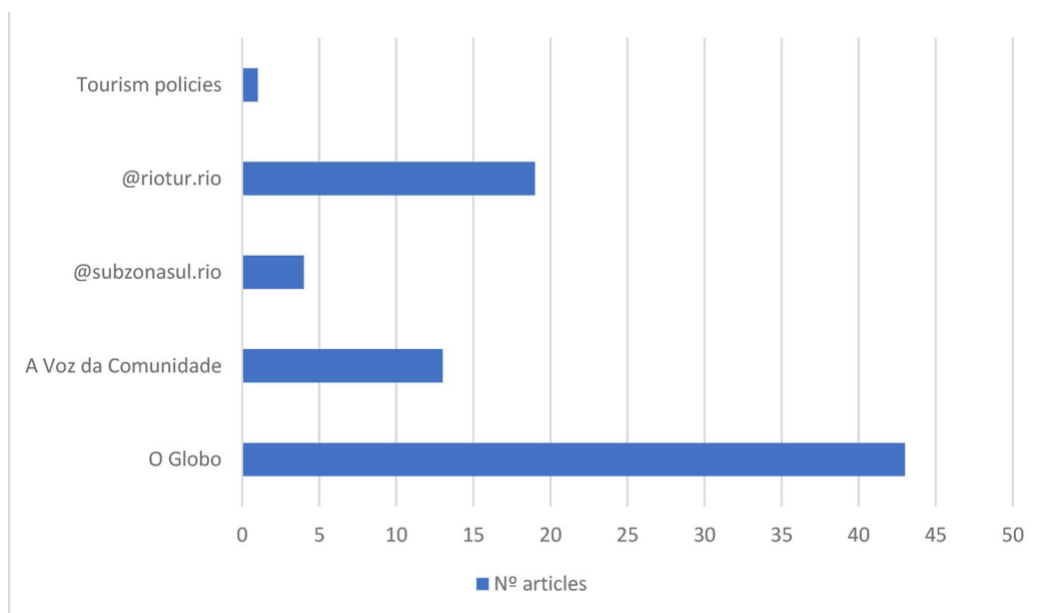


Figure 24. Data was collected from each source.

The source

The majority of the data was collected from the O Globo journal's digital platform. We searched for articles using the tags 'favela', 'tourism', and 'Rio de Janeiro', from January 2011 to October 2021, and we were able to extract forty-three articles. O Globo Group is a Brazilian conservative and liberal media conglomerate, which assembles radio, television, and broadsheet formats. The original, printed journal was founded in 1925 by a journalist from Rio de Janeiro and then expanded to other formats, bringing wealth and political power to the family. The media outlets from O Globo Group are among the most widely consumed and influential in Brazil. The company is also famous for supporting military coups in the 1960s and for looking after the interests of the business sector.

The journal showed a growing interest in favela tourism in the beginning (2011). However, after 2014, there was a sustained decrease in publications about the subject. The timing aligns with the investment frenzy propelled by mega-events, which were also the most active years for favela tours.

In contrast, A Voz das Comunidades (Henceforward referred to as AVC) is a digital journal and NGO founded in 2005 by an 11-year-old favela resident in Rio de Janeiro. Rene Silva dos Santos started AVC as a school journal, in an effort to report topics that were neglected by the hegemonic media, and ignored by the political and social elites, such as the favelas' positive events and structural problems. The scope of AVC was eloquently described

by the journalist in one of the articles: It is gratifying for us to know that we can show our community not as a problem, but as a place on the rise, full of people struggling to change what is not to our benefit.

We replicated the tags and time frame used with O Globo, and we found thirteen articles. The journal gave more relevance to the topic in 2012, when favela tourism was on the rise, but the publications stopped shortly after. Unlike O Globo, AVC shows a resurgence after 2015, when mega-events were almost finished in Rio de Janeiro.

To complement the analysis with discourses from actors with institutional power, we surveyed two official Instagram accounts from governmental entities, which play a key role in tourism promotion and development. We reviewed the posts from both of the accounts' first publications until October 31st, 2021. One of these was RIOTUR (@riotu.rio), which is in charge of promoting tourism and the programming of activities and events in the city. From a total of 3336 publications, posted since 2014, we identified nineteen documents that featured favelas as tourist places, directly or indirectly. On RIOTUR's feed, there are mostly panoramic views of Rio de Janeiro, beach sunsets, and iconic landmarks like Christ the Redeemer and the Sugar Loaf, and each year there is extensive coverage of the Carnival and New Year's Eve celebrations.

The second Instagram account was Rio de Janeiro's municipality (@subzonasul.rio), which executes municipal policies. Of the 1505 posts that were reviewed, we collected four. Although their first publication was from 2018, the ones that were related to favela tourism were all recent, from 2021. The account exhibits mostly urban and road repairing works, as well as multiple meetings between the deputy major, the major, and myriad social actors.

Lastly, we analyzed the state law N° 3598, issued in 2018, which establishes the state policy for community-based tourism in Rio de Janeiro. This was the first public policy to address favelas as tourist spaces, promote tourism as a way to foster economic growth, and create jobs in favelas and other vulnerable communities (Rodrigues, 2018). The author of this text was Congresswoman Zeidan, a popular member of the Worker's Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores) and vice-president of the Tourism Commission at the Legislation Assembly (ALERJ). Zeidan, who is from the Baixada Fluminense (a metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro known for its violent conflicts and numerous social problems), is an advocate for social policies and urban renovations aimed at mitigating poverty, inequalities, and exclusion in favelas.

LEGITIMIZING DISCOURSES

Moral evaluation

Stemming from the word analysis ran with both of the journals, AVC uses mostly words like ‘culture’ and ‘residents’ more than ‘police’, and ‘security’. AVC values positively cultural projects and bottom-up development throughout the articles. On the other hand, some of the most frequent nouns in O Globo’s articles are ‘tourism’, ‘police’, ‘security’, and ‘project’. The media outlet often values institutional control and surveillance, which were instrumental to develop tourism projects. In most of O Globo’s articles, favela tourism serves as a moral justification for the pacification process. The reporters often use interviews with residents to bring awareness to the opportunities brought about by the pacification for favelas’ economic growth and social change:

[The guest house owner] says that after the implementation of the UPP tourism has grown a lot in the place. (O Globo, 2011)

Former bandit becomes tour guide and party promoter in Santa Marta (Headline. O Globo, 2011)

Former street vendor sets up bar in Morro da Providência and wants to attract ‘gringos’. (Headline. O Globo, 2011)

However, the international media were skeptical about the favelas’ alleged reinforced security. In an article from 2012, The Huffington Post ranked Rocinha as one of the most dangerous places in the world to visit. According to the journalist, the community is a place with ‘thousands of people crammed into a steep and lawless hill’. This article has two references in AVC, whilst O Globo ignored it. This shows how O Globo intends to manipulate the narratives to keep a positive image of tourist favelas.

Tourists’ positive evaluations of favela tours are often used, especially by O Globo, to validate tourism development. According to the data, the best-valued assets are the views and ambiance, which many of the visitors perceive as radically different from their beforehand imaginaries and experiences.

Rio de Janeiro is the most beautiful place! The people, the way they dress, act, it’s all fantastic. It’s an explosion of informality that we don’t see in the South [of Brazil]. Too beautiful. It will be a unique marathon. (O Globo, 2012)

The breathtaking sight stunned Australian John Holden. ‘I’ve travelled the world, but this is the most impressive experience’, he says. (O Globo, 2012)

A Canadian tourist says he has never seen such a large display of poverty in a place with such a beautiful landscape. Another, Chilean, highlights the favela’s architecture, the houses and the narrow alleys but was impressed by the garbage scattered around. The Michael Jackson terrace is unanimously preferred by tourists. It was there that Michael Jackson recorded a clip in 1996 and helped to promote the favela Santa Marta worldwide. (O Globo, 2013)

An Italian tourist says ‘We want to see people’s real lives, not just Copacabana, Ipanema. We want to see the favelas’. (O Globo, 2014)

These excerpts show tourists’ evaluating favelas’ spaces and culture as ‘unique’ and ‘authentic’. They positively value the landscape over the aesthetics of poverty. The uniqueness of the favelas’ culture is addressed in AVC articles, yet again, under a more critical scope:

If I look around and talk about what is missing [in the favela], I will say that everything is missing. Many basic things here are non-existent. Sanitation, for example, is unbelievably poor. I see some corners and think if a person buys a closet, how do they get there? There’s no street. I’m not saying it’s bad to live here, but everything needs improving. Culture is what overcomes all of this, as it is unique. Their own music, their own way of dressing... (Tour guide’s testimony. AVC, 2015)

The singularity of favelas’ cultural landscape is valorized by inside and outside tour operators and used as a pull factor in marketing strategies. These values potentially capitalize when visitors and investments arrive motivated by positive evaluations. However, there is still a long way to go before cultural producers and their cultural production become the main beneficiaries in the exchange and are empowered by the new orders.

Rationalization

O Globo relies on academic research to assert that tourists were less sensitive to the favelas’ negative prejudices and that they open the ground for new gazes toward the favelas’ culture:

The study also showed that Brazilians and foreigners have a different perception of Rio's favelas: 60% of Brazilians consulted see communities as a negative attribute of Rio, while only 37% of foreigners see them as a problem. For Duék, this reflects different perspectives on favelas, which can be seen as needy communities, regions with their own culture, or violence and drug hotspots. The data also indicates that a possible improvement in the image of these communities from the implementation of the UPPs has not yet had an effect beyond the city. (O Globo, 2011)

Here, statistical data portrays tourists' autonomy in counter-evaluating the favelas as a positive asset for Rio de Janeiro, over Brazilians' negative judgments. The underlying discourse places tourists as potential consumers of favelas' elements, which also favors the journal's developmental agenda. Conversely, AVC reproduces academic discourses and local perceptions to report on the exploratory nature of favela tours. The following piece, titled 'Rocinha Tourism Forum prepares to receive more tourists', summarizes the results of a study made by Rocinha residents:

The study showed that both Rocinha residents and entrepreneurs perceive tourism in the community as a disorganized area that does not generate social or economic returns. The valorization of negative aspects such as poverty and precarious infrastructure, to the detriment of the richness of the local culture and the importance of the community for the city, demonstrates that tourism development is still wrong. (AVC, 2012).

AVC sets forth a critical perspective on the role of tourism, stating that it is not the culture that favela tours are adding value to. The valorization of poverty as a tourist attraction reproduces negative stereotypes, without questioning or challenging the forces that produce inequalities in the first place. This shows once again that residents are still not fully benefiting from tourism values, rather, tourism is contributing to perpetuating inequalities. The journal also questions the outcomes that police interventions had in favelas. A 2019 article features an interview with General Braga Netto after the end of a federal police intervention, which started in Complexo da Maré in February 2018. In the piece, the general claims that the police were retrieving after having declared 'mission accomplished'.

The general supported his arguments with numbers to show the success of the operation of the military forces. One piece of information mentioned involves the tourism sector,

the hotel occupancy on November 15th holiday, which last year had been 48%, this year it rose to 85%. Braga also says that crimes such as cargo theft and trade fell 28% compared to 2017. However, in the midst of his statements, in front of the cameras and the public present, a question remains: the Federal Intervention was a success for whom? (AVC, 2019)

Even though this fragment does not directly refer to favela tourism, it is worth noticing how enmeshed public policies and police performances have become in the favelas and how this affects the development of tourism in the wider city. Rational discourses are deployed to justify actions to place order and discipline in marginalized territories, and tourism acts as an indicator of the success of such policies. However, more rooted research notes how tourism is still not working in favor of legitimizing culture but is oriented towards capitalizing on the values of vibrant-yet-poor communities and territories.

Authorization

The spontaneous rise of favelas as desirable tourist sites was met with astonishment. One of the first articles that O Globo published about favela tourism reads:

Visitors in Rio de Janeiro have found a new accommodation option in the city. Many tourists choose to stay in guesthouses in two pacified communities in Copacabana, in the South Zone. (O Globo, 2011)

This excerpt describes tourists as ‘discoverers’ who have been granted permission by the novel order of institutional control and surveillance, to explore the favelas. They not only visit favelas, but they choose them for overnight stays, implying that favelas are valorized over hotels located in the richest and more touristified areas in Rio de Janeiro. This represents tourists’ counter-evaluation practices, which go beyond the elite’s conceptualization of favelas as ‘no-go’ areas. Tourists are depicted as autonomous value co-creators together with local entrepreneurs. O Globo also attributes much personal authority to the many celebrities that visited the favelas during the so-called pacified years. Twelve articles feature global icons touring favelas, from Kim Kardashian to Pope Francis and Prince Harry.

American singer Lady Gaga played soccer and sang with children this Thursday in the community of Cantagalo, in the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro. The singer was dressed

in a patterned, Japanese-style robe, wore a pink wig and long, orange false nails. In the favela she played soccer barefoot, sang her song ‘Born This Way’ with dozens of children, and got to know the social project Espaço Criança Esperança. (O Globo, 2012)

Although celebrities had their own agenda, namely philanthropy or interest in the vibrant ambiance, their visits fostered curiosity and delivered a sort of assurance. The message is that no matter your social status or aesthetic *stravaganza*, favela residents are friendly and welcoming, their spaces are safe and sanitized, and they are thriving and committed communities.

Probably the most disruptive discourse of authority is delivered by the community-based tourism state law, in which the first article reads:

Community-based tourism applies to the areas where exist: traditional livelihoods and communities: culturally differentiated groups that recognize themselves as such, which have their own forms of social organization, occupy and use territories and natural resources as a condition for their cultural, social, religious, ancestral and economic reproduction, using knowledge, innovation, and practices, generated and transmitted by tradition.- indigenous reserves;- quilombola communities;- fishing communities;- favelas with a history of tourist visitation. (State law n° 7.884, 2018)

The rest of the document outlines how tourism should be performed within these communities. It also states that any tourism service should be partly led by residents, who have to obtain a certification from the state secretary of tourism. Activities should be based on sustainability, support local culture, and apply principles of a ‘solidarity economy’. It promises to advertise community-based tourism in print, electronic, digital, and virtual media. It also aims to promote state urbanization and fiscalization programs that will help communities adapt to the formal socio-economic order. The law validates favelas’ culture as a profitable and valuable asset. It also re-orders space through urbanization programs and propels the formalization of tourism-related ventures. These are particularly interesting achievements for the state government, as it brings access to and control over territories that lie mostly out of the formal political and economic systems. However, the law applies only to favelas with ‘a history of tourist visitation’, which leaves the ‘other’ favelas with an uncertain legal pathway to order their potential tourist development. Thus, it enhances the inequalities between already marginalized territories.

The state law is not the only legal instrument to encourage the commodification of culture, partly, to become a tourism product. AVC gave extensive coverage to several culture-oriented projects, and, to a lesser extent, the municipality's Instagram account.

The Cultural Territories in Network is part of the Rio de Janeiro Cultural Territories Program, an expansion of the Creative Favela program to the whole state (...) Result of a partnership between public-private initiatives (...) The purpose of the event is to articulate the exchange between 102 cultural projects selected by the 'Microprojects' public initiative and has been developed in nine regions of the state. The projects cover several areas, such as fashion, music, community media, literature, performing arts, audiovisual, gastronomy, memory, tourism, and cultural management. (AVC, 2016)

In order to give visibility and recognize the benefits generated by these actions, the Samba Museum launched the Insurgentes Project – Tecendo Teias Culturais, with the support of the Brazilian Institute of Museums (Ibram), Secretary of Culture, Ministry of Tourism, and the Federal Government, which aims to choose and reward samba and hip-hop initiatives in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. (AVC, 2021)

The Deputy Mayor of the South Zone @anaribeiro.rio participated this morning (09/04), alongside Mayor Eduardo Paes, Municipal Secretary for Economic Development, Innovation, and Simplification Chicão Bulhões, Housing Secretary Cláudio Caiado and Councilman Marcelo Arar, in the ceremony that sanctioned the law that establishes the listing of the Popular Market of Rocinha. The initiative ensures that the site is to be recognized for its relevant social and cultural interest, turning it into an Intangible Heritage of the city of Rio de Janeiro. (@subzonasul.rio, 2021)

These fragments reassure the social and cultural commitment of AVC, but also the late efforts of public-private partnerships to employ culture to drive social and economic change. In addition, the last quote from the municipality shows how both personal and impersonal authority legitimizes vernacular spaces, as well as the intention to bring international validity to the favelas' cultural landscapes. Other posts from the account feature meetings between local tour guides and the deputy major to work on boosting strategies for the tourist development post-Covid, which had a devastating impact on favela tourism.

Finally, I shall briefly mention the silence of RIOTUR in regard to promoting favela tours, notwithstanding the state's legal commitment to give visibility and advertising to community-based tourism initiatives. The only post, from over three thousand publications, that intentionally mentions favela tourism reads:

Have you heard about the Vidigal Experience? The tour guide and local resident Edmilson Morais takes you through 5 unforgettable hours inside the community. Activities include participating in capoeira, percussion, and art projects with @batucavidi, learning to fly a kite, and to make a homemade feijoada for lunch like a good carioca! This was the way that @merolaluxury found to satisfy tourists' new expectations: socio-environmental awareness and personal connection with the destination. With the goal of helping with the development of favela projects, the agency encourages the donation of 1kg of non-perishable food to the organization @sosdobem2020 by offering a 20% discount on the ticket. (@riotur.rio, 2021)

At least that single post refers to local entrepreneurs that base their tourist offer on cultural products. However, there are other posts where one can see traces of favela cultures, although they are not evaluated as such. For example, each year the account devotes hundreds of posts to the Carnival parade, where most of the samba schools featured are located in favelas. Although the schools are tagged in the comments section, that visibility is only dedicated to the end-product, whereas the cacophonous ambiance and the stories that produce them are invisible. In addition, favelas like Santa Marta and Rocinha, some of the most visited in Rio de Janeiro, were erased from the city's tourist map in 2017, after sports mega-events had finished.

CONCLUSIONS

'I think that one of the main benefits of tourism is the cross-cultural encounter, the exchange of experiences and ideas. When we learn a little about another culture, we become more respectful, even if it's just a little.' (Tour guide's testimony. O Globo, 2012)

We have addressed the agency of tourism in legitimizing favelas' cultural capital, enmeshed within the valorization processes that turn marginalized places and communities into tourist attractions. Throughout the analysis of myriad texts, we found that tourism has the agency to create new material and symbolic orders. Within these worldmaking processes, marginalized residents can find avenues for counter-hegemonic practices to mingle with formal

social and economic circuits. However, tourism's restructuring processes do not always work in favour of slums' cultural legitimization and empowerment but instead bring neoliberal development and surveillance (Tzanelli, 2017).

Previous studies have assessed the extent to which the production of slums images through tourism practices may contribute to aestheticizing and depoliticizing poverty (Dovey & King, 2012; Linke, 2012), which we have complemented with insight from the discursive realm. Discursive practices can create material realities and establish new normative orderings, in which tourist slums may attain new values that mobilize them from representing a social and cultural 'problem', to becoming authentic and traditional places. Potentially, tourist slums can become 'arenas for insurgent citizenship that both produce stability in the state-citizen relations and destabilize them' (Miraftab, 2009, p. 35).

In Rio de Janeiro, the representation of favelas as urban hassles and as the place for the cultural 'Other', justified periods of violent displacements and removals. However, media reports forged an idealized identity of favelas as places with a rich cultural production (Frisch, 2012), a narrative reproduced by government entities, private tour operators, and local entrepreneurs to foster favelas' tourist development, especially when Rio de Janeiro needed to expand the tourist offer for the mega-events. Among the analyzed data, we found contested discourses rooted in the ideological differences between the sources. O Globo media outlet used tourism to legitimize economic growth rather than favelas' cultural capital, setting forth moral claims supported by academic research to justify tourism as a source of economic development and, possibly, social change. On the other hand, AVC gave relevance and visibility to the policies that tackle the favelas' cultural production. At the same time, they were skeptical of tourism's contribution to changing narratives and instead saw it as instrumental for police interventions. The community-based tourism law brought institutional validity to favelas' culture, but only to those with tourist visitations, and foster their insertion into the formal economy of the wider city. However, the analysis of official Instagram accounts showed a lack of consistency in the law's enforcement.

This research's main contribution is the analytical framework, based on Leeuwen's legitimation categories and Frenzel and Frisch's valorization process, and its ability to enhance our understanding of how values are produced or reduced through tourist practices at a discursive scale. Particularly, the 'authorization' category highlights the power that tourists', celebrities', and legal instruments' have in setting forth narratives and imaginaries of favelas that produce values beyond the established evaluations or counter-evaluations. Although we did not intend to analyse policies and institutional texts exhaustively, tourism laws and projects

demand further assessment to define political actors' agency to signify and order vernacular cultural sites. This framework helps examine how the application of laws and projects articulates with other actors' discursive practices. Although the real benefits and beneficiaries of these valorisation practices remain uncertain, we glimpse the possibility for marginalised communities to take advantage of the visibility brought about by counter-evaluations and capitalize on them to reconfigure urban inequalities. Future studies could assess the residents' experience, perspectives, and agency to decide which values and narratives should cater to tourism development, which makes an area widely understudied in slum tourism literature (Tzanelli, 2018).

The main limitation of this research involves the data gathering, which happened during the Covid-19 immobilisation period and was mostly constrained to open-source and digital texts. The topics covered by the media actors, and the tone they set for their publications, were subjected to their standpoints and agendas and offered polarised perspectives based chiefly on opinions. The Pacification Police Unit and the cultural projects mentioned in some of the articles are among the voices left out of the sample and could have offered significant insights. Unfortunately, we could not make contact with the actors that could have facilitated these texts.

Slum tourism actors (re)produce representations that can only be partial and subjective, which create different versions of the 'real' favela (Altamirano, 2022; Dyson, 2012). We held subjectivity at the backbone of the data processing and analysis, and we expect that the reader may find new meanings and connections to enrich this debate. Improving our understanding of tourism's worldmaking capacities and their effects on cultural subjects and landscapes are particularly relevant within tourism practices in contexts of urban inequality and contested power relations. This knowledge could drive effective policymaking in slum tourism destinations that place life and culture at the centre and before profit-making.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Answering the research questions

1. What is the current and potential role of slum tourists' practices and performances in renegotiating slums' social, political, and economic realities?

Tourism is crucial in re-assembling socio-material arrangements in tourist slums at various scales. At a local level, and based on the case of Santa Marta, a new social cluster emerged after tourism development started in the community. The group of tour guides gained power within the community, especially regarding the co-creation of narratives and the valorisation of specific spaces and representations. With their itineraries, local guides can recreate a different favela every time based on their subjective perception and experiences. The guides' valorisation practices can be considered counter-hegemonic in the sense that they have the authority to validate and value actors (places, people, cultural elements, myths, and so on) beyond those that were pointed out by the hegemonic power (such as the media, local administrations and private parties).

The valorisation of favelas as tourist places provided normative validity to a selected group of urban settlements fostered by neoliberal development. The restructuring processes triggered by mega-events posed a risk to favelas in prime locations, like those in downtown Rio de Janeiro. In contrast, others with tourism potential had their spaces upgraded and ordered to welcome foreign visitors. The most popular favelas among tourists, like Rocinha and Santa Marta, were even placed on the tourist city map during the events, to be removed after when violent confrontations between police and drug traffickers resumed. The community-based tourism state law sets an example of how tourism can drive policies to re-order urban settlements and recognise marginalised cultural identities once they become potentially valuable assets for the city. However, the law's weak enforcement diminishes its chances of providing legitimacy and leaves uncertainty for local actors engaged in favela tourism.

Nevertheless, the support that some favelas received from the local administrations, particularly during the sports mega-events, was politically opportunistic and capital-driven. When the events and the investment frenzy that came with them were passed, the financial and technical aid for favela tourism diminished. Hence, favela residents and their cultural production are only marginally and temporarily affected by the reordering effects of tourism, and it is not socially motivated but for the market forces. Tourism in Santa Marta and other tourist favelas in Rio de Janeiro went from being a growing business to struggling to survive.

Favela tourism is primarily thriving through the marginal practices of local tour guides. In the case of Santa Marta, tourism is employed to call the attention of the public administration and bring visibility to the favela's social and structural issues.

Tourism can redefine the parts assembled to produce favelas and mobilise them from the margins to the centre of the political agendas. However, there is a need for willingness and commitment from the powered classes to produce opportunities for tourism to provide economic and social development that can have long-lasting and positive impacts on slummed communities and spaces, which is much need it. At the moment, in Rio de Janeiro, even though there is a political will to approach favela tourism with a social scope, the interventions that were made in the past fit only within a broader neoliberal agenda to benefit mostly foreign visitors and to enrich Rio de Janeiro tourist attractions' catalogue.

2. Which are the actors at play in Santa Marta tours, and what are their relational ramifications?

In this research, we have taken tourists as the connectors of relational networks between myriad hybrid actors, such as people, places, stories, objects, policies and entities. We charted these networks into diagrams, portraying two tours in Santa Marta to show the relational ramifications of the actors assembled at different scales. In these constellations, tour guides act as cultural mediators and are among the most relevant actors at play, they translate the favelas' elements with their autonomous agency, and their practices create different socio-material realities. The 'thrills-less' tour assembled more actors from outside the favela and at an international scale, highlighting the power of actors like Michael Jackson, the Olympic legacy, and public entities, such as the Rio Top tour Project. On the other end, the tour 'with thrills' assembled localised actors and narratives, including some controversial ones related to drug traffic; this tour distributed economic benefits among a more significant number of favela residents, and it also makes visible actors and representations that are an integral part of the favela's everyday life and social structures.

The government is also among the most influential actors in these constellations, as the local administrations have the power to provide legal and cognitive validity to places and cultural elements. In Santa Marta, the state power ordered the favela at a physical scale through urban refurbishing programs that upgraded the favelas' spaces intending to improve the lives of the residents but also for tourists' accessibility, as can be seen in the case of the *bondinho*, which has strategically placed viewpoints at the stations. The government also changed the

legal status of tourist favelas and coined them as traditional and valuable cultures through the community-based tourism law.

Another decisive actor was the Pacification Police Unit, whose mere existence was essential for other actors to assemble. The UPP's relevance becomes more evident when other entities that could potentially support tourism development and empower favela residents, like SEBRAE, disconnected from the constellation after the police lost power in the community. Sports mega-events played a similar role, calling actors from the public and private spheres to assemble in the favelas' constellation to take advantage of the opportunities brought about by tourism. Most of them disconnected right after the events finished.

In Santa Marta, tourism's most fruitful outcomes are those related to social networks, like the creation of the tour guides committee. At the moment, the favela residents capitalise on tourist valorisation mainly through social media, as in the case of the President of Santa Marta's Residents Association, who shares pictures with every tourist that goes by his office under the belief that fosters the interest of public parties to invest and support the favela.

3. What issues, stories, places, and cultures are made visible or invisible, questioned or altered during favela tours?

There are different versions of the tourist favela, co-produced by the marginal practices of local guides, who operate beyond the hegemonic power support and control. Favela tours produce value and values for diverse actors, like the Michael Jackson Space or the Drug Marketplace, and for the different stories attached to them. Even though there is not one real favela, the most consistent elements that emerge from each tourist experience are those related to violence performed either by the police or drug traffickers. In the comparison between the two constellations in Santa Marta, when traffic was a hidden issue not only affected negatively to the tourist experience because it caused insecurity and confusion but also neglected the existence of very relevant actors for the favelas' everyday life in the sense that the dynamics triggered by traffic gangs are very much decisive in the way the socio-material orderings of favela work and arrange. Although we disagree with making a spectacle out of criminal activities and social hardships, we believe there is an opportunity for developing cultural understanding and challenging hegemonic narratives within the encounters between global and local actors and among locals belonging to different clusters. Within these encounters, there is an opportunity for politicising and problematising issues that will not disappear by looking the other way.

Tourism redefined the cultural validity of favela spaces and communities, acknowledged by companies like Coral Tintas as representing the *carioca spirit*. However, the limited understanding that tourists can gain after a two-hour tour about the complex cultures of favelas, combined with the dependence tourists have on the subjective narrative of tour guides, can turn tourist practices into a source of conflict between hosts and guests and could lead to the co-creation of even more stigmas.

Surprisingly, in the case of Santa Marta, the cultural products that emerge organically in the favela related to sports and the arts, such as samba, capoeira, everyday practices like flying a kite, graffiti, music, football, and so on, are widely invisibilised during most of the tours observed, except for the tours with thrills. On the contrary, the tour itineraries rely on the physicality of the favela, mostly the architecture and landscape views. Therefore, there is still a reflective process needed on behalf of the community to outstanding their cultural products and valorise them as the primary source of attractiveness, hence deviating the scope from the myths of marginality, violence and drugs.

4. What agency do discursive practices have in legitimising favelas' cultural capital?

Discursive practices can create material realities and establish new normative orderings, in which tourist slums may attain new values that mobilize them from representing a social and cultural 'problem' to becoming the place for the authentic and traditional. Media discourses play a crucial role in informing and influencing what comes to be of public reason, like normalising spending the night in a favela as a tourist. Throughout the analysis of various texts, we noticed that the discourses from actors closer to hegemonic and empowered urban clusters use tourism to legitimise urban policies and economic development, including the Pacification Police performances, which are highly controversial. However, it still needs to be determined which and who are their real benefits and beneficiaries of such endeavours. O Globo set forth a narrative declaring that the UPPs kick-started numerous economic ventures and brought positive social changes to the favelas. However, counter-hegemonic actors denounced the excessive use of violence by the police and the lack of guidance and regulation that tourism had in communities, leaving them vulnerable.

The community-based tourism law brought institutional validity to favelas' culture, but only to those with tourist visitations, and fostered their insertion into the formal economy of the wider city. However, the analysis of official Instagram accounts showed a lack of consistency in the law's enforcement. The spread use of social media allows marginalised

cultures to set forth counter-hegemonic discourses beyond the support of powered actors. In other words, anyone with a working phone and access to the internet can expose a situation, opinion or event. Tour guides share their tours and stories through social media. Also, media outlets like *A Voz das Comunidades* can produce counter-hegemonic discourses that can (re)create and mobilise the assemblages that make favelas' realities with experiential knowledge of the practicalities that shape their spaces and cultures. This can work in favour of reporting about the disproportionate use of violence by the police, or promoting cultural experiences that valorise marginalised cultures, hence creating a product with a bottom-up and collaborative approach that could mingle with formal social and economic circuits through tourists' valorisation.

5.2 General discussion and contributions of the research

This dissertation assessed how tourist practices and performances could legitimise and transform marginalised communities and spaces. We developed methodologies from the realm of Non-representational theories, which emphasize the agency of bodies on the move and the lack of hierarchy between human and non-human actors. The overall analysis focused on how hybrid actors interact, coexist and affect each other to produce and reproduce different versions of the real tourist slum. These ephemerally stable networks, connected through tourists' practices and performances, are traversed by power relations, which enable or obstruct the assemblage of certain actors to create a moment in the social world. Our inquiry sprung from the hypothesis that the actors assembled in tourist favelas can co-produce new meanings and forms within this lapsus of reality. Throughout three publications, we examined the structuring and shaping effects that tourism has over marginalised places and communities to find that, although they hold potential, tourist practices do not always work in favour of slums' cultural legitimisation and empowerment but for legitimising neoliberal development, control and fiscalization processes.

Slum tourism is a controversial tourist practice, and it is also a growing niche in several urban destinations worldwide. However, not every slum has the potential to become a tourist attraction and will largely depend on a compound of contextual factors. The case of favelas in Rio de Janeiro gave an exceptional example of how tourism can thrive when combining global mega-events, mobile images of representation creating myths about slums, tourists' behavioural changes towards post-modernism, and the need for capital allocation in a city that was going through profound urban restructuring processes. In this scenario, whereas some

favelas in prime real estate locations fell in danger of removal, other settlements with privileged views overlooking Rio de Janeiro and an exoticised cultural cacophony attained value and values as attractive tourist sites. Some favelas, like Santa Marta, were targeted by policies and projects to enrich the city's catalogue of urban entertainment for foreign visitors.

Tourism can trigger changes in spaces and societies at any destination. However, when tourism occurs in areas that are already contested, such as slums, the effects are even more unexpected and sensitive. Favelas are stigmatised communities that the hegemonic and powered clusters have historically neglected. When tourists intertwined in the relational networks that sustain them, tourist favelas recoded some of their constitutive elements and reterritorialised them into global assemblages. As a result, "like other areas of life where the effects of globalization increasingly penetrate, tourism provides an occasion for coming across and meeting with dimensions of cultural difference, engaging in dialogue and negotiation over meaning, and confronting the habits and forms of unquestioned common sense which are taken for granted." (Edensor, 2007:212).

Tourists can work as 'connectors' through their embodied and spatialised practices and produce spaces of encounter and exchange between tourist slums, the rest of the city, and the world. Tourists' performances also affect the making of places and how it becomes physically structured (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006). Hence, while tourists consume spaces and representations, they have the autonomy to co-produce value and values regardless of the approval of the hegemonic power, which in this way, loses its hegemony over the production of places and representations (Russo, 2012). However, tourists' practices are choreographed by tour guides' performances, which at the same time are shaped by their subjective knowledge. Each tour guide discloses a version of the favela based on their worldview, relational ties and experience of the place. Guides act as cultural mediators, and given that visitors' lack of behavioural and practical knowledge about the slums, it is difficult for tourists to navigate and, mostly, create an informed opinion about the slums. Guides also allow, prohibit, encourage, or limit tourists' practices, and hence, condition and size tourists' autonomy to valorise places, people, objects, and stories.

Paton (2016:235) states that "the market economy 'generates' legal and political sovereignty". When some slums become desirable places for foreign tourists to consume and for private parties to invest in, this can bring the attention of the political class and social elites. The mobility of people, things and ideas, mostly belonging to Santos' upper circuits, towards

marginalized areas, the lower circuits, opens the ground for capital to flow and be fixed in directions that were before obstructed. In other words, there is a new potential for exchanging and re-negotiating economic goods and social representation between global actors, which could normalise new spaces and narratives. Slum tourists' valorisation practices cannot provide a permanent solution to the structural political failures that produced slums in the first place. Nevertheless, it does show how the imaginaries and cultural identities of slums can be renegotiated and mobilized, as an assemblage of actors, from the margins to the centre of networks that could potentially drive physical and symbolic change.

The most valuable outcomes of this thesis are the methodological frameworks developed to grasp the case study. Autoethnography is a rare method in the study of slum tourism, and it enabled a holistic approach to the complexity of tourist favelas, which revealed that there are multiple favelas co-produced by tour guides' marginal practices. On the other hand, ANT's ethnomethodological tools and assemblage thinking were useful in tracing the different material and associative outcomes of tourist practices since they allowed us to encompass myriad events, people, institutions, and objects, at multiple times-space and scales and beyond moral assumptions. We translated the socio-material constellations triggered favela tours into diagrams, which contributed to visualising and contrasting unlikely connections and intermediaries and their effects on people and places. At last, discourse analysis is a widely employed research method; however, the analytical framework using legitimisation categories was functional to comprehend the extent to which marginalised cultures and places can attain normative validity through tourist practices. Although the real benefits and beneficiaries of the valorisation of slums' cultural elements remain uncertain, we glimpse the possibility for marginalized communities to take advantage of the visibility brought about by counter-evaluations and capitalize on them to reconfigure urban inequalities.

The favela tourism's constellations show the relevant role of tourism in making counter-hegemonic practices visible and helped to question tourist relations with actors like the drug cartel and the police performances. Santa Marta, and other tourist favelas, were formally acknowledged as *traditional communities*, its members were recognised as carriers of the *carioca spirit*, and it became a new capitalist marketplace for dwellers, tourists, companies, and the local administration. However, the lack of continuity and enforcement of public policies after the hype of mega-events left a scenario of uncertainty and insecurity for local actors engaged in favela tourism. In addition, the limited understanding tourists have of the

complex realities of favelas, and their strong dependence on tour guides might be a continuous source of conflict and lead to the production of additional stigma.

Potentially, tourist slums can become ‘arenas for insurgent citizenship’, but there is a need for political will and support to regulate tourism to protect communities and create long-lasting positive changes. Although this thesis did not originally intend to address policies and power relations thoroughly, the ethnographic data and the researcher’s experience in the field led the analysis in a more politicized direction. We resolved that slum tourism should be addressed by public administrations, and therefore, we reflected on several suggestions on how to proceed with regulations that place cultural producers and people at the centre and before profit-making.

- Community co-creation: projects and policies should foster co-creative processes to produce a consented narrative that can represent the community and its culture as a whole. This does not mean that subjective experiences and perceptions should be left out of the itineraries or that there should be only one itinerary. The goal is to enable spaces where the residents can reflect on their own existence and culture and reach a respectful agreement on what they choose to make visible or invisible to foreign visitors. This way, conflicts can be potentially avoided, and local identities strengthened.
- Consortiums: in line with the above, working under a defined and unified brand can be more effective at the time of creating inclusive and congruous culture-oriented tours; also, when it comes to coordinating events, distributing profits, fundraising and filling project proposals. Thus, tourism development can work in favour of boosting local networks and cultures.
- Professional training: the technical training that local guides received in tourist slums opened new possibilities for them to perform in favela tourism ventures and other businesses in the wider city. Education is crucial to including favela residents in the formal labour market, which can be attained through tourism-motivated training.
- Public-private partnerships: public policies should encourage private parties to assemble with tourist slums, as it can boost the local economy and strengthen identities. However, instead of having the market guiding legitimacy and power relations, policies should protect and prevent people and places from exploitation by outside companies and provide legal frameworks to promote residents’ inclusion in the tourism value chain.

- Local economy: tourism can create business opportunities for slum residents with projects, shops, or other ventures; however, this can only directly impact a handful of people. To make the best out of the benefits brought by tourism, communities could design systems to reinvest or distribute parts of the profits for tourism to have a wider positive impact.
- Legal reinforcement: The only way tourism can bring long-lasting and positive changes to slummed places and communities is to create policies and effectively apply them, with the same commitment reinforced in other urban areas. Tourism cannot solve the structural issues of favelas, but it can foster inclusive policies that place marginalised cultural producers at the centre of power.

5.3 Limitations and future lines of research

Because this research was primarily centred on the case of tourist favelas, the most daring part of finishing the analysis was generalising our findings. However, we believe we have produced methodological tools that can have a broader application to grasp the role of tourism in negotiating identities and socio-material realities in any given destination. These methodological frameworks can be used in the future in other slum tourism destinations to draw parallels in the way tourists' practices intertwine with the processes that produce values and provide normative validity to marginalised cultures and places. Moreover, slum tourism research could furtherly explore the nexus between tourism and cultural legitimisation, taking tourism not as a form of exclusion but as resistance and a way to empower marginalised communities and challenge the hegemonic power relations at play.

There were challenging situations at the time of the fieldwork, especially because the relationship between traffic gangs based in favelas and the police were unstable and volatile. Therefore, there were a number of times when safety was at risk while doing the ethnographic assignments, most times due to police performances. However, favela residents were always helpful, respectful and protective of the researcher. These situations generated a lot of mental and emotional stress, although they also fueled our commitment to the project's values, mainly taking tourism as a form of resistance and cultural affirmation. On the other hand, some key actors, such as the Pacification Police Unit in Santa Marta and Rio's Ministry of Tourism (RIOTUR), refused to be interviewed, regardless of several attempts to reach out to them.

Even though in article 3 we discussed the community-based tourism state law, because of time restraints, we could not assess other public projects and programs tackling marginalised cultural sectors. The analysis of the legitimizing potential of these policies can shed new light on how the culture of the margins is being resignified by the hegemonic and power clusters. Favela tourism has a highly dynamic nature; thus, future research could address how public policies are being implemented to foster or discourage it, especially after Lula da Silva was elected president of Brazil for the third time since it was during his former mandate that favela tourism received most of the attention from the public sector.

Because this dissertation was intended as a compendium of articles, the timing of the publication processes also dictated the timing for delivering the thesis. Even so, having published outputs was highly enriching for the researcher's professional training, as well as for socializing the findings. The Covid-19 pandemic situation also influenced the overall workflow and also interfered with any possibility of making another research stay.

Finally, the language of the thesis might not be a limitation for the broader academic community, but it is for the immediate circle affected by this research. The fact that it was written in English, which is not this researcher's or the informants' first language, makes writing more difficult, time-consuming, and improbable for the community of Santa Marta to read. Hence, the socialization of findings finds a language barrier. Hopefully, I will be able to amend this in the near future by organizing an online or in-person event to share the thesis results with the informants in an effective way.

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PLACING FAVELAS ON THE TOURIST CITY MAP: BETWEEN COMMODIFICATION AND LEGITIMISATION
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