A critical analysis of slum tours:
Comparing the existing offer in South Africa, Brazil, India and Kenya

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Final year Master thesis completed under the guidance of Mrs. Anya Diekmann, Mr. Miguel Cotton, Mr. Jean-Michel Decroly and Mrs. Anne-Marie Duquesne as partial requirement towards the degree of Master in Sciences and Tourism Management
A critical analysis of slum tours:
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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on evaluating tour operators’ websites with regards to their offer of slum tours in South Africa, Brazil, India and Kenya. After an introductory background, the first chapter (chapter 2.) focuses on the scientific literature pertaining to slum tourism. It is concerned with the origins of slum tourism, slum development and its links to tourism, as well as its denominations and definitions, its motivational perspective and prospects for tourism professionals. The next chapter (chapter 3.) attempts to explain briefly the country specific backgrounds with regards to historical and political developments and, more importantly, with regards to tourism and slum tourism based on the existing literature. Chapter 4. comprises an analysis of tour operators’ websites for each of the four countries based on tourism businesses in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Rio de Janeiro, Mumbai and Nairobi. The analysis will be based solely on findings from online content analysis. Finally, in the fifth chapter, findings for the four countries will be compared and differences and similarities in the scientific literature will be discussed in order to characterise and define the global existing offer for slum tourism.

Key words: slums, tourism, favelas, townships, community benefits, offer, tour operators
1. Introduction

Many cities in the developing world have to cope with rapid growth in population, fast urbanisation and polarisation in society, leading to further problems such as satisfying employment and settlement needs. This is where tourism is perceived as an important foreign exchange earner, a creator of employment opportunities, a magnet of capital and a promoter of economic independence for developing countries (Britton, 1982: 336).

Tourism has become an important activity and economic driving force for the majority of countries in the world. The impacts of tourism are far reaching and the activity itself takes place on every continent. Nevertheless, its economic, social and cultural impacts are different for every country. Countries which do not yet entirely profit from tourism as much as industrial countries are the developing countries, mostly in Africa, Latin America and Asia. However, before the current economic crisis, tourist arrivals and revenues were steadily growing in favour of these three tourist regions (WTO, 2006) which start to rebound as the latest WTO publications and statistics (Annexe 1) confirm (WTO, 2009, 2010).

Tourism can be an interesting option for development, for it is dominated by small-, micro- and medium-sized enterprises (SMMEs) which do not often require high capital for a start-up and specific technical knowledge in order to be successful (Fletcher, 2009). Many governments have turned to tourism in order to restructure and redevelop their local economy. In developing countries, this development is the result of global economic restructuring and the decline of traditional activities such as manufacturing or industry. Former centres of production have been restructured to become centres of consumption. The positive impacts of tourism on destination promotion and image enhancement sought by city planners and urban managers, which in turn, benefit local economies in terms of job creation and enterprise development are mentioned by scholars such as Rogerson (2004: 249).

Developing countries are starting to discover more recent and ‘alternative’ forms of tourism such as pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism and alternative tourism. They are also attempting to re-invent themselves in terms of tourism based on the existing sites and truths they can offer: poverty in the developing world is such an existing truth and run-down urban settlements are actual sites. However, recreation and gazing at human misery are contradictory elements and creating a commodity from poverty may provoke moral anxiety. Favela and other slum tours have become a global phenomenon and the number of tourists participating is reaching unexpected proportions. Nonetheless, slum tourism challenges the perception of slums and helps to visualize a social problem: poverty. Critics state that strong economic benefits for areas ‘in need’ are mostly not visible. Freire-Medeiros (2009: 587)
explains well that, although slum tourism is quickly referred to as ‘poor peoples’ zoo’, the phenomenon needs some serious investigation from both the demand and supply sides. As with most kinds of tourism, the different perspectives of hosts, tourists, tourism professionals, media, public and academics lead to different arguments and altered views on the topic of slum tourism. The objective of this thesis is to analyse how tourism professionals, especially tour operators, market and thus view the tours and consequently characterise the worldwide slum tourism offer, by analysing tour operator websites in four countries on three different continents. India, Kenya, South Africa and Brazil have been chosen in order to get an overall view of slum tourism in four completely different contexts – from a political, social, economic and, of course, touristic perspective. This will help establish an overview of the existing global offer in slum tourism in respect of the following questions: how may an existing offer be characterised? What are the similarities and differences between these four countries where slum tourism exists? Does a differing context change the understanding of slum tours and perhaps their definition?

Overall, little scientific literature has been written on the supply side of slum tourism, in contrast to the increasing amount of literature becoming available in general. Only recently did Rolfes (2009) compare tour operators and analysed tourist motivations for Mumbai, Cape Town and Rio de Janeiro and Freire-Medeiros (2009) analysed Rio’s tour operators. Until now, however, the authors have mainly used information which they found during their research at the destination. No online content analysis has yet been established in order to compare tour operating businesses based on information published on their websites. In order to see how an offer for slum tours is established and how they are operated and promoted, the websites of tour operators offering slum tours, which were researched online, provide important information concerning their offers. The website of a tour operator is an important part of their communication with tourists because it establishes a first contact and continuously attracts the tourist while he/she ‘studies’ the website. While tourists will choose a tour operator based on their offer, representation and viability, tour operators must, in turn, match tourists’ expectations.

A framework based on scientific literature on the subject of slum tourism and slum development will be established in the second chapter to give an overall view on relevant tourism literature concerned. In the third chapter, an explanation of the choice of case studies and a brief scientific analysis of tourism and slum tourism, based on the existing literature, is given. This chapter will also help to explain why those countries in particular have developed slum tourism. The analysis of the tour operators’ websites in the four case study countries will
figure in chapter four and is based solely on findings from online content analysis. In the last (chapter 5.), chapter, differences and similarities between the countries will be established from the country-specific analysis and discussed in the context of the scientific literature. Finally, this discussion will enable the characterisation and definition of the global offer of slum tourism.
2. Introduction to slum tourism

This first chapter explains the origins of slum tourism, its development, its definitions and its context through a critical analysis of scientific articles dealing with the subject. This chapter also seeks to establish the link between tourism and slums.

2.1. The origins of slum tourism

Since the development of mass tourism and the associated criticism of the concept, new and more responsible forms of tourism are attempting to penetrate marginalised spaces away from mass tourism (Mowforth, Munt, 2009, Butcher, 2003). These are supposed to help and support local communities which have not yet profited from any major development (Mowforth, Munt, 2009: 271). An important feature of new tourism is the increasing value of moral behaviour in tourism and moralisation of tourism (Butcher, 2003: 7) which is why it is named “new moral tourism” (Butcher, 2003: 2), a form of tourism that is concerned with sensitive behaviour towards the host environment, population and culture. New tourism spaces such as the urban slums have been discovered by tourists. Mowforth and Munt (2009: 269) claim that in the late 1980s, some quarters in European and North American cities were exposed to such tourism, ranging from London’s ‘Banglatown’ (Brick Lane) to Rotterdam’s southern inner city. Rolfes (2009) argues that since the mid 1990s a new form of tourism has emerged in developing countries to the disadvantaged areas of a city referred to, though not often appropriately, as slums.

It is not correct to claim that slum tourism is an entirely new phenomenon, however. Although it has recently gained in popularity, Koven (2004) shows that in Victorian London during the 1890s, “slumming” was already a popular activity for the English upper class. By visiting the urban poor in London’s metropolitan slums, firsthand experience was gained in order to be in a position to speak about social problems. Districts such as Whitechapel and Shoreditch were even represented in the important Baedeker travel guide (Koven, 2004: 1).

Furthermore, scholars (Hoffman, 2003, Hight, Johnson, 1984) discussed Harlem, synonym for ethnic diversity and the Black community in the United States, as a former disadvantaged quarter of New York and its attractions to tourists. Hoffman (2003) suggests that tourism to Harlem has been stimulated by foreign demand, essentially during the 1980s. By that time, tours were made on buses and residents in Harlem had little profit as tourists got off the bus at only a few specific places (Hoffman, 2003: 288). Having become a well-known tourist attraction for its representation of Black America and its reputation of Black music such as Jazz, and Rhythm and Blues, 800,000 tourists visited Harlem in 2000 (Hoffman, 2003: 288).
It might appear ironic that slum tourism was rediscovered as a new form of urban tourism for the neglected and disadvantaged areas, the townships, of the Apartheid era, term which designates the political of racial segregation practiced by white South Africans, in South Africa and the favelas, Brazilian synonym for slum, of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. Ironic because, though criticised by some as morally questionable, favela tours developed in Rio during the Rio Summit (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development –UNCED) of 1992 where the Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry was established as an important document on sustainable tourism development. Butcher (2003) summarises the main points of the document as follows:

“Travel and Tourism should assist people in leading healthy and productive lives in harmony with nature, the industry should contribute to the conservation, protection and restoration of the earth’s ecosystem, environmental protection should constitute an integral part of the tourism development process and tourism development should recognise and support the identity, culture and interests of indigenous peoples.” (Butcher, 2003: 9)

Thus, the reflection of the Agenda on tourist education and the increased importance noted on the development of codes of conduct such as the Community Tourism Guide (Butcher, 2003: 16) are in contrast to the moral questionability of slum tours. Furthermore, in order to lead healthy and productive lives, people have to live in healthy conditions, but already in 1993 570 favelas had been revealed, housing nearly one fourth of Rio’s population without adequate access to water, electricity and lacking basic infrastructure and social services (Acioly, 2001: 515).

Despite this, slum tourism has gained in popularity over the last decade. Furthermore, the “anticipation of experience” as explained by Freire-Medeiros (2009: 582) means that the tourist has a pre-constructed image from brochures, media, destination websites and other sources about the destination which they are going to visit. Once at the destination, they want to find these images approved and confirmed. Images of a place reinforce expectation, motivation and desirability. The international success of films like City of God and City of Men, in which many of the young actors were chosen because they were from the slums, has undoubtedly strengthened the interest in favela tourism (Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 582). Images of violence, crime and drugs contrasting with the beauty of the country- and seaside were chosen to demonstrate the paradox in southern countries. Others have recognised that the mediatisation of movies such as Tsotsi for South Africa, The Constant Gardener for Kenya and Slumdog Millionaire and the up-coming film version of Gregory David Roberts’ Shantaram in 2011 for India, can attract further tourists.
The impact of media on this subject is significant. During the last five years, articles in newspapers such as The Independent, the Guardian, the New York Times and the Washington Post have multiplied and increased focus on the subject. Furthermore, travel blogs and regional online travel magazines have been reporting on tours through disadvantaged areas, recently including Indonesia and Thailand where Jakarta Hidden Tours\(^1\), established in 2008, offers tours through Indonesia’s capital and Asian Trails offers visits to Bangkok’s Klong Toey District\(^2\). Thus, it is very likely that the media and the attention directed at slum tours further nourish and fuel the interest in slum tourism. Finally, scholars (Butcher, 2003, Mowforth, Munt, 2009) have acknowledged that ‘new tourists’ have been eager to discover the ‘urban jungle’ in a new form of tourism ‘off the beaten track’, celebrating the cultural vibrancy and ethnic diversity (Mowforth, Munt, 2009: 269) of cities. Is the urban slum the adventurer’s new urban jungle, a place to seek new, authentic and exciting experiences? In order to better understand the link between slums and tourism and the interest in this specific kind of tourism, the next paragraph will briefly explain slum development.

### 2.2. Slum development

Slum tourism can be seen as a form of urban tourism due to the fact that most slums are in urban areas. Furthermore, most of the slums visited are in important cities such as those which feature in this study: Nairobi, Mumbai, Rio de Janeiro and Cape Town. Due to the important role of urban tourism in cities, to economic and industrial activities and the level of expansive structure of a city (Middleton, 2000: 209), dwellers have been attracted to urban areas and cities have been subject to migration from rural areas, regions touched by natural catastrophes and adjacent countries (Kurlanska, year unknown). This development is often in contrast to the development in Europe or North America, where the main cities either lose parts of their population or grow less rapidly (Law, 2002: 30) than their Asian, African or South American counterparts.

Already today, the combined population of the cities of China, India and Brazil almost equal those of Europe and North America as continents (Davis, 2007). Mumbai’s population of 19.1 millions in 2004 is expected to grow to 33 million by 2025 (Davis, 2007: 5). The cities of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paolo might become a so-called Extended Metropolitan Region including medium-sized cities along a 500-kilometer-long transport axis between both megacities. This

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region already possesses a population of 37 million people (Davis, 2007: 7). However, the generated growth is likely to affect the urban poor who are often concentrated in slums (Mowforth, Munt, 2009: 268, based on UN-HABITAT). Although cities may generally provide a better future than impoverished rural areas, they also lack basic sanitation, access to water, electricity and infrastructure and urban squatter settlements will therefore not be able to improve if migration continues and governments remain unable to find a solution to slum development. By 2030, the world’s urban population is set to reach 4.9 billion people, which represents approximately 60 percent of the global population (Mowforth, Munt, 2009: 268, based on UN-HABITAT).

2.2.1. Defining slum

Popularly speaking, slum may describe a ‘bad shelter’ (Gilbert, 2007) but the term is often used in a variety of meanings from a house to a larger settlement where overall conditions are substandard and which is occupied by poor people. The definition of slum settlement that has lately been recommended by a panel of United Nation experts is the following: slum is “an area that combines, to various extents, the following characteristics (restricted to the physical and legal characteristics of the settlement and excluding the more difficult social dimensions): inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding, and insecure residential status’.” (Gilbert, 2007: 699, based on UN-HABITAT)

However, Gilbert argues that it is difficult to apply absolute measures to define a slum. Firstly, slums are different in every country and what for one might be acceptable is not for another. Secondly, most low-income or informal settlements are not at all homogeneous, meaning that some can lack services and infrastructures that others do not. Thirdly, slum must be regarded as a relative concept. Rolfes (2009: 4) suggests that poverty is defined on an observational perspective with this perspective being subjective and depending on the human being, its experiences, knowledge and feelings about something such as poverty. For Gilbert (2007: 701), the word slum and its utilisation can be considered dangerous as there are a series of negative connotations such as human squalor, disease, crime and violence bound to the term.

Furthermore, Gilbert (2007) notes that the generalisation or even incorrect use of the term might raise false hope for improvement and the mischief of utilisation by politicians, planners and developers. Gilbert (2007) suggests that the application of one or the other definition seems to be a political concept rather than a scientific one. Therefore, if the concept of slum is viewed differently according to ideology, social class and culture, a universal definition may
be impossible. Thus, the definition and meaning of slum needs to be inserted into the context of a country or city in order to be applied correctly.

In practice, the term slum is often differently employed or substituted by other terms like *favela*, *township* or *shantytown*. Mumbai, Shanghai, Delhi, Johannesburg, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, to cite just few, are all cities that developed a large number of informal settlements in the late 19th century. Attempts have been made to define slum and provide objective measures supporting the definition.

In 1999, the United Nations launched a new initiative based on the campaign “Cities without slums”\(^3\). The goal of this campaign is to reduce the number of slum dwellers by 2020 and eventually to eradicate slums completely (Gilbert, 2007: 706). Judging from the scientific articles and the obvious current situation in many countries, the United Nations’ goal does not seem very realistic, particularly bearing in mind that past efforts to eradicate slums, such as eviction, displacements to less affordable places or simple ignorance, were unsuccessful because dwellers moved back to the slums, unable to afford higher rents. In this sense, the UN initiative needs to propose a more suitable and adapted solution in order to solve the problem on a long-term basis, maybe starting to tackle the problem in rural areas where employment opportunities seem to be missing. If less migrants move to the city, the authorities will already have to cope with less pressure on the existing slums.

Mitra (2010: 18) concludes that, from a long-term point of view, governmental intervention to access better paid jobs is necessary and not enough attention has been paid to issues related to micro-loaning, livelihood and social networks, skills and training programmes, institutional support and health benefits.

### 2.2.2. Characteristics and development of slums

Analysing squatter settlements with regards to the country-specific background would go beyond the scope of this thesis. However, in order to understand the worldwide problems and characteristics, a short list of characteristics explaining slum origins and development in the different destinations has been established with the help of scientific articles by Freire-Medeiros (2009), Davis (2007), Barke et al. (2001), Karanja, Makau (year unknown), O’Hare, Abbott (1998), Kumar, Aggarwal (2003), Acioly (2001), Handzic (2010), Mitra (2010), Mowforth et al. (2008) and Cejas (2006):

- Different myths of origin for settlements in different countries
- Racial segregation, colonial influence and political hierarchies

\(^3\) [http://www.citiesalliance.org/ca/](http://www.citiesalliance.org/ca/) (last accessed: 14.03.2010)
- High social disparities in society
- Enormous urban growth in a short period of time due to rural-urban migration
- Attraction of metropolises as important commercial, financial and/ or cultural and tourist centres
- Ignorance and blind tolerance of slums by the government and local authorities due to illegal statuses of slums
- Evictions and slum clearance once pressure on urban grounds increased
- Insufficient development programmes due to inappropriate approaches and underestimation of squatter settlements
- New threads through urban development – embellishment to attract investors, tourists and multinational enterprises
- Poor people despised by better-off communities and considered as having personal defects, being violent or criminal
- Improvements due to local initiatives and community projects
- Unemployment and the increasing importance of the informal sector

2.2.3. Linking slums and tourism

Problems related to the characteristics just cited have been continuously mediatised and thus have triggered further attention. Mowforth et al. (2008) suggest that slums can be seen as markers of a city’s success: “Just as slums and slum dwellers need cities to survive, so do cities need slums to thrive” (Mowforth et al., 2008, citing Mumtaz). New exiting and exotic spaces are created mostly in developing countries while the industrial centres stay safe and comfortable. “The result is a paradox where sameness and difference necessarily overlap, a combination of the ‘out of the ordinary’ and ‘home away from home’” (Cejas, 2006: 225).

Mowforth and Munt (2009: 270) argue that the urban and rural poor are being viewed by the West in a certain noble, sympathetic and even romantic way and Cejas (2006: 225) even suggests that the slum dweller plays the protagonist who acts like a kind of ‘noble savage’ in the new tourism narrative; a protagonist who, notwithstanding his socio-economic and cultural situation and identity, should not be separated as a dangerous, violent and ragged underclass. His dwelling will be visited as part of the urban settlement reality. The values of the slum as something chaotic in the order of the city show the exotic ‘inbetweenness’ and determine the physical and psychological itinerary which will be toured (Cejas (2006), p. 225).
Some individuals will play the role of the ‘hero’, initiating projects and attempting to improve their life in the slums. Often the narrative is created in juxtaposition to other stories about the country or city in which the slum is situated. For example, the Brazilian favelas are closely related to the romanticised Samba schools (Barke et al., 2001) and to a particular style of painting, while South African townships are strongly connected to the anti-apartheid movement and the struggle of freedom of the Black population. But because safety and security are key words in the tourism industry, the tourist must be introduced to the new rules (Cejas, 2006: 226).

By blending deprivation, poverty and social disorder (Cejas, 2006: 225), the exotic is being guaranteed while narrating stories of survival. ‘Authentic’ poverty becomes a new, stylish and ‘in’ feature of modern society in the First World. This new global phenomenon is not only expressed in the rediscovered interest in slum tourism but also in Poor Chic and is expressed in clothes, music, art and lifestyle (Bettez Halnon, 2002), framing poverty as a product for consumption. The concept consists of collecting and appropriating symbols, often stereotypical, traditionally linked to the poor working class and lower class status. Material realities that are often experienced by the poor in their daily lives are “recognized correlations between poverty and homelessness, starvation, drug addiction, ghettoisation, juvenile delinquency, anger, and alienation” (Bettez Halnon, 2002: 504, Bauman, 1996, 2000). Brazil’s cities have adapted this concept in the form of Rio de Janeiro’s funk balls themed ‘shantytown chic’ or Sao Paolo’s catwalks displaying favela fashion in leggings and skin-tight ‘gang jeans’ (Bettez Halnon, 2002). Clubs called Favela Chic, decorated with palm trees and serving Brazilian food, are to be found in Paris, London, Glasgow and elsewhere.

The phenomenon takes place in different contexts of class polarization and consumer society but for this paper, more importantly, in the context of “travel and vacationing as standard staples of social life and measures of social worth” (Bettez Halnon, 2002: 501). This context might be interpreted as the need of tourists to socialize and to experience new tourism phenomena in order to be ‘in’ and accepted by society. The social worth of a consumer in a consumer society can be shown by travelling between extreme poverty and wealth in a world that polarizes to its extremes. Thus, Bettez Halnon (2002: 514) concludes that the “rational consumption of poverty” can be seen as a “class-distinguishing activity that controls against fears of declining into vagabondage by consuming it as a short, safe, socially-distanced and sanitized experience with commodified (sic) poverty” - an experience which might explain the need to do slum tourism as a new and growing type of tourism, as something special and ‘poor chic’. It also might explain the attraction to experience poverty, a new global
phenomenon, from the safety of a mini-van and with a guide who ‘knows’ his playground, in contrast to the ‘secure’ modern world which is called home.

2.3. Slum tourism – Discourse on definitions, motivations and tourism professionals

2.3.1. Multiple denominations and definitions

During the last ten years but especially in the last couple of years, slum tourism has not only gained more attention in the media but also has been increasingly subject to scientific research articles. However, depending mostly on the nationality of the scholar and on the country of interest, different terms have been employed to describe the phenomenon of slum tours. Multiple terms are used to describe tours through impoverished areas which are marketed by tour operators as “authentic”, “off the beaten path” and including “interactive features” (Rolfes et al., 2009: 11) highlighting the opportunity of exchange with locals. Denominations mostly used are:

- Poverty tourism and poorism
- Slum tourism
- Slumming and negative sightseeing
- Reality tours and social tours, sometimes even pity tourism
- Justice, political and revolutionary tourism

In general, while the terms ‘poverty tourism’ are used by scholars (Rolfes, 2009, Scheyven 2001, Selinger, Outterson, 2009) and ‘poorism’ by journalists, the term slum tourism is rarely used in the scientific literature and only recently did Diekmann and Hannam refer to Mumbai slum tours as slum tourism calling it the most present “form of everyday cultural tourism” (Hannam, Diekmann, 2010). However, some travel websites for India and Africa start to employ the term ‘slum tourism’ when referring to tours through Dharavi, Kibera and Soweto. The term poorism has been defined online as “a form of travel, originating as a term in the year 2000 to describe tours of some of the poorest and most economically deprived areas of the world.”

Others again call tours through disadvantaged urban areas ‘slumming’ or ‘negative sightseeing’ (Rolfes, 2009: 2) referring to the critical and doubtful impact of the valorisation and marketing of informal or marginal settlements in order to attract tourists. Koven (2004: 9)

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defines slumming as “visitation of slums, especially for charitable purposes”, a definition provided by the Oxford English Dictionary.

Freire-Medeiros (2009: 582) identifies slum tourism as part of reality tourism based on “the supposedly authentic, interactive and extreme character of the type of encounter it promotes.” Slum tourism is then further referred to as ‘social tours’ or ‘pity tours’ which are also part of the concept ‘reality tourism’ due to its distinctive identity. Reality tourism, according to Freire-Medeiros (2009), has developed as a counterargument to mass tourism choosing often economically challenged places as ‘new’ destinations. That is why she also refers to ‘pro-poor tourism’ or ‘pity tourism’ for slum tourism because it focuses on the development of destinations (Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 582) such as Rio de Janeiro’s favelas; analysed in her most recent article.

Scheyvens (2001), Rogerson and Visser (2005: 75) and Nemasetoni and Rogerson (2005) refer to slum tourism as ‘justice’, ‘political’ or ‘revolutionary tourism’ referring to the promotion of township tourism, South African synonym for slum tourism, linked to the Apartheid struggle for freedom. In their understanding, slum tourism is defined as “tourism that brings visitors to the sites of significance to the anti-Apartheid movement as well as improving tourists’ understanding of poverty issues of historically oppressed communities” adding experiences of “the conditions of life in the former “black townships” created under Apartheid” (Nemasetoni, Rogerson, 2005: 201), whereas Scheyvens (2001: 18) defines poverty tourism as a “form of travel to impoverished areas which adhere to the principles of alternative tourism” (Scheyvens, 2009: 18).

The multiplicity of terms existing for slum tourism makes it difficult to refer only to one specific type of tourism. Furthermore, in the attempt to coin the term, scholars have neglected to define the characteristics of slum tourism in order to give a universal definition. The approach to define the phenomenon seems to be rather country-specific while referring to what is visited. Only Scheyvens (2001) tries to add slum tourism to the concept of alternative tourism which she defines as a form of tourism that “promotes a just form of travel between members of different communities; it seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality amongst participants” (Scheyvens, 2001: 18). This definition seems already doubtful because the concept of ‘just’ and ‘equality’ implies that alternative tourism provides equal access to travel for both sides, hosts and visitors. However, this is most likely not the case for slum residents, as they cannot afford to go on holiday to visit their visitors.

Nevertheless, it is possible to verify if slum tourism adheres to the characteristics of alternative tourism as proposed by Scheyvens (2001) and Brohman (1996):
- To consist of smaller-scale, dispersed, low-density developments located in and organized by villages or communities with the hope of fostering more meaningful interaction between tourists and hosts and being less socially and culturally disruptive than enclave holiday resorts
- To weight ownership patterns in favour of local, often family-owned, small-scale businesses rather than foreign-owned international and interregional enterprises in order to maximise local economic, social and cultural benefits
- To encourage community participation in local and regional planning for tourism related development by allowing residents to participate in the decisionmaking process in order to support self-determination and self-sufficiency of the community
- To emphasize sustainability and respect, to build up solidarity and mutual understanding, to avoid a maximum of environmental damage and conflicts over resource use and to encourage sensitivity, respect, equality and sharing for cultural traditions by creating opportunities for education and cultural exchange through interpersonal dialogue and organized encounters

Whether slum tourism adheres to these principles depends largely on who operates the tours and how the tours are operated. Thus, analysing tour operating companies in the host communities will hopefully give an important insight into how slum tours are managed and operated, and even seen by tourism professionals. Rolfes et al. (2009: 11) claims that concepts of ‘community-based tourism’ or ‘pro-poor tourism’, which adhere to similar principles to alternative tourism, are becoming more important. However, he does not reflect the principles of community-based tourism or pro-poor tourism which might be part of slum tourism.

2.3.2. Slum tourism: the motivational perspective

The distinction from mass tourism is just one feature in the research of tourists to gather new experiences that are unique, dangerous, authentic, interactive, adventurous and/or off the beaten track in the search for ‘real’ emotions. Heated debates are going on about the ethical and moral side of slum tourism where people’s misery and poverty are often displayed and ‘admired’. Bauman (1996) characterises the tourist as the new pilgrim, the new nomad who is constantly searching for new experiences and who is conscious and systematic about his search. In the tourist’s world, the strange and unknown are no longer threatening, they are domesticated. The serenity of home is the reason for a get-away in search of adventures which are in a way serene all over again. “Shocks come in a package deal with safety” (Bauman, 1996: 29-30), where tourists have been seduced by the real or made-up pleasures of a
“sensation-gatherer’s life” (Bauman, 1996: 22). The tourist moves because he is attracted to the irresistible diversity of the world, constantly seeking adventure and authentic experiences. Freire-Medeiros (2009: 582) claims that the slum has all of it: “it allows the engagement with an altruistic sense of good citizenship (tourists would be contributing to the economic development of a poor area by paying for a visit to it) at the same time as it motivates a sense of adventure and tourism-related pursuits”.

Rolfes (2009) states that the offer in slum tourism is mostly based on the interest of international tourists with only few domestic tourists being interested in seeing and visiting poor areas of their own country. Rolfes (2009: 3) claims that tourists are mainly motivated to see poverty but they are also motivated to experience the diversity and complexity of a host country, the authentic culture of a country and the real living conditions of poor people. Culture is perceived as a “mode of observation for the observance of differences as cultural differences” (Rolfes et al., 2009: 19, citing Pott) which is thus perceived as “a social construct of the observer” (Rolfes et al., 2009: 11). Selinger and Outterson (2009) affirm that tourists want to get in touch with community, homes and dignity amidst poverty.

Already Koven (2004: 4) confirmed that the British upper class was drawn between “shamed sympathy” and “irresistible attractions of repulsion” which might be true for the present slum tourist. Rolfes (2009: 2) refers to the “conceptual ambiguity” of slum tours and the difficulty of setting a fixed and overall goal for the tours as the tours are designed to respond to motivations and interests of tourists. He claims that the presumption that tourists want to see extreme poverty, illness and harsh living conditions is unfounded as slum tours often do not focus on such extreme exposure to poverty. In the end, a motivational study covering different destinations might be needed in order to analyse tourists’ motivations more deeply but every intrinsic motif might even then not be discovered.

2.3.3. Slum tourism – An opportunity for tourism professionals?

Traditionally, poor urban settlements have not been subject to tourism. However, new forms of urban tourism are highlighted as a development tool with the potential to decrease poverty (Mowforth, Munt, 2009: 284). In addition, new urban tourism can help to promote the “cultural vibrancy, resourcefulness and organisation of the urban poor, as an integral part of the urban social fabric” (Mowforth, Munt, 2009: 285). This means that cultural heritage of a city is no longer based on its architecture and aesthetics alone but on the social fabric and ethnic diversity; the more a city is ethnically diversified, the more opportunities might present themselves to develop another type of ‘exotic’ tourism.
Thus, new activities can be executed by the local community linking entrepreneurship with initiative: tour-guiding, accommodation, gastronomy, souvenir shops and local entertainment present multiple opportunities in these new urban spaces (Rogerson, 204: 251). “Tourism relies on embodied consumption of ‘experiences’ and ‘encounters’ such as travel agents, guide book writers, hotel beds, transportation seats, guide books, travel magazines, souvenir vendors, et cetera. Tourism is, therefore, more then a production system and is influenced by a multitude of industries like the formal and informal sector, the state and its institutions, nature and environment, capitalism and non-capitalism, technologies, infrastructure and commodities. Ryan (2002) acknowledges the importance of the encounter for the tourism experience to be successful:

“At the heart of the complex structure that is modern tourism lies an individual’s experience of place and the interactions that person has with the place, its people, other tourists and the representatives of the tourism industry that work there” (Ryan, 2002: 17).

“In a properly working consumer society, consumers seek actively to be seduced” (Bauman, 2000: 16) Thus, tourism professionals need to constantly attract new consumers, keep old ones and, to increase consumerism, tourists have to be exposed continuously to new, exotic temptations. Herein lays the challenge of tourism marketing. What we can find in the slums, townships and favelas of the world is a return of the “long-forgotten category of ‘working poor’” (Bauman, 2000: 19), today’s’ slum dwellers.

Nowadays, slum tours are being operated and marketed by professional tour operating companies (Rolfes, 2009) in the respective country of tour destination. It is important to understand whether this form of tourism can offer real opportunities and employment to local people as well as local empowerment. Nemasetoni and Rogerson (2005) studied the increased emergence of black-owned tour operating companies with regards to slum tourism in South Africa but concluded that often tourism businesses are still white-owned. Scheyvens (2001), however, claims that there is evidence of communities profiting from tourism but does not go into further details.

Scheyvens (2001) mentions that a tour-operators approach as well as the tourists’ behaviour is critical to the success of slum tours in order to contribute to the well-being and empowerment of poor people. She explains that some scholars argue that touring poverty may commodify and aestheticise poverty and that this might lead to further isolation of poor areas while reinforcing inequalities.
Even if the concept of ‘slumming’ is not a new concept, new patterns seem to exist and to challenge old perceptions of consumer society. Poverty in the form of slum tourism is consumed for tourism and promoted by official tourism authorities and tourism guide books. Slum tours “are now routinely sold at the hotel desk” (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 159) and favoured for their potential for the local community in terms of benefits and self-esteem but also permit tour operators to package leisure and solidarity for tourist consumption. However, Freire-Medeiros (2009: 586) mentions that there is a danger and that slum tourism should not be supported for the wrong reasons just because institutions assess that tour operators “carry out ethnic tourism in a way described as quite competent”. Poverty, as a product of consumption, carries the risk of approaching the ‘urban crisis’ and slums as tourist attractions of marginalising and exotising slum communities. The attraction of slums to tourists might be understandable, but for scientific reasons, a universal definition and concept of slum tourism has not yet been developed. There are many different denominations and attempts at definition concerned with country-specific backgrounds which are explained in the next chapter in order to better understand the definitions provided by scholars.
3. Tourism and slum tourism for four different case studies

The following four countries, South Africa, Brazil, India and Kenya, have a certain importance in tourism and have increasingly developed the concept of slum tourism based on the existence of slum areas in their biggest and most important metropolis. In order to explain the phenomenon of slum tourism in each context, it is necessary to explain the tourism context as a whole as influenced by economic, political and social factors in each country. It is important to understand the context in which these four countries have specifically developed slum tours. Furthermore, the slum development in each of the four cases is briefly explained to establish the link between tourism and the necessity to help impoverished communities. This comprehension of local slum tourism development serves as a theoretical base for the website analysis of tour operating companies.

3.1. The choice of four specific contexts

Four different case studies: South Africa, Brazil, Kenya and India, have been chosen to formulate a worldwide slum tourism offer. These four cases will help to understand the slum tourism offer developing in a number of countries by using a variety of information available on websites of tour operators. Furthermore, the four countries have been chosen due to their contrasting position in both slum tourism and tourism in general.

During research, further countries which are starting to offer tourism in poor urban areas have been discovered. In order to give an overview of the offer in general, a map has been established to show in which countries slum tours are operated. Due to a high number of informal enterprises in these particular countries, this map is only indicative and non-exhaustive. In the case of the four countries chosen, each tour operator identified during research represents one red dot. The list of the tour operators can be found in Annexe 2 but it is non-exhaustive and thus, it is possible that a greater number of tour operating companies exists.
World Map presenting the number of tour companies offering slum tours (non-exhaustive)

Legend:
- Countries (country borders void)
- One tour company in respective city

Source: [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e3/BlankMap-World.png](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e3/BlankMap-World.png)
The map shows that most countries offering slum tours are so-called developing countries. Accordingly, the four countries chosen are developing countries. The term needs to be used carefully due to the fact that objective criteria for its definition do not exist\(^8\) and the World Trade Organisation states that members can proclaim themselves developed or developing countries\(^9\). Nevertheless, differences between these countries regarding their economic, political, social and even religious and linguistic situation are visible as they are situated on three different continents. As an extensive explanation involving the different aspects would go beyond the scope of this thesis, economic and political differences will only be briefly explained in this subchapter. More importantly, a focus is placed on the four countries as tourist destinations with regards to their tourism offer, touristic importance and with regards to slum tourism based on existing scientific sources.

Even though all four countries have histories as colonies and have to some extent applied racial segregation or social differentiation, the long-lasting colonial power relations have had different impacts on politics, economy and settlement policies. These differences include the ‘untouchability’ applied to lower castes in India and the Apartheid policy applied by a white government dividing South Africa until the 1990s. Britton (1982: 333) argues that the colonial and imperial dominations of most of the developing countries, caused those countries to suffer major structural alterations with regards to economic and social development as forms of production, trade and social organisation have been imposed on them to meet colonial needs.

Kenya’s economy is still linked to its ancient colonial power, Great Britain, and has long been established for its coffee and tea exports (Summary, 1987). India’s role, for example, as an emerging economy is becoming more acknowledged due to its increasing economic contribution (Bussolo et al., 2006, Srinivasan, 2006).

Although India, South Africa, Brazil and Kenya are perceived as economic emerging nations, as defined by the Emerging Economy Report\(^10\), they are recognised because their economies have experienced rapid informationalisation under conditions of limited or partial industrialisation. However, this also implies not only a rapid economic growth, mostly beneficial to the better-off part of society, but a deep-rooted marginalisation due to further polarisation in society which is less beneficial to already disadvantaged groups.

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3.1.1. Tourism in developing countries

Acknowledging that colonial powers might still have an influence on their former colonies also means understanding that economic and touristic organisations and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the United Nations (UN) still have an influence on tourism planning and promotion, identification of tourist products, tourism investment and infrastructure development policies (Britton, 1983: 339) first and foremost in developing countries. Tourism is thus not only used for internal improvements but also can be seen as a way to communicate between developed and developing countries. But the ‘contact zone’ that is the tourism destination, defined as the “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other” (Cejas, 2006: 229, citing Pratt), is also characterized by asymmetric power relations between emitting and receipting sphere, between home country and destination, produced by historical power relations between states.

Brohman (1996) notes the risk for tourism development due to an increased intervention by the IMF and the WB as external financial sources in order to prevent state intervention and support market-led development. The focus on international tourism seems to be an important factor for outward-oriented development strategies for many developing countries. However, external domination and dependency also reduces tourism potential in developing countries instead of bringing net financial advantages to the local and national economy having most of the lucrative tourism businesses such as in accommodation, transport and tour operating handled by large multinational companies or global networks (Brohman, 1996: 54-55). Loss over national and local resources, ownership and organisational structure has been another negative effect of external dependency created by top-down, elitist decision-making exterior to the community as noted by Brohman (1996: 53-54).

Hyma and Wall (1979: 340) conclude that it is wrong to assume “that tourism is a panacea for the economic ills of the developing world”. The overestimation of benefits and the one-sided focus to attract visitors without consulting local communities has in many cases led to a frustration of the population and mostly of those that have not been included neither in the decision-making process nor in the tourism development (Hyma, Wall, 1979: 340).

Tourist representations of developing countries

Palmer (1994) also suggests that in order to understand the relationship between tourism and colonialism, it is primordial to know to what extent colonialism has influenced and created
stereotyped cultural and ethnic images, as the tourism industry often relies on these very same images. Critics often reproach tourism to perpetuate and reinforce those stereotypes. This becomes problematic to the point that even though colonialism no longer exists a country and its people still suffer from those stereotypes (Palmer, 1994: 800).

Circulated stereotypes were often accepted by Westerners without much questioning because they preferred the “schematic authority” of a text instead of an actual encounter, so that these ‘facts’ were often quickly accepted and employed by the tourism industry offering often ready-made images (Palmer, 1994: 803-804). Palmer (1994: 804, citing Urry and Crick) asserts that tourism is an exercise in fantasy where the tourist seeks “in reality the pleasurable dramas experienced in the imagination” (Palmer, 1994: 804). Colonial inspired images and stereotypes thus become the means of introduction to a destination and its people for the tourist. The difficulty nowadays is the challenge to change old, racial stereotypes that negatively influence the mind of a tourist and to replace them with updated, positive ones. Palmer (1994: 793) suggests that it is important to understand whether the tourism industry assists in the process of modification of nationality by “manipulating” or “shaping” those memories, myths, traditions and values of locals with the goal of attracting tourists. The tourist organises and defines his behaviour and opinions on the basis of what he “knows”, imagines and reads rather than on reality (Palmer, 1994). Palmer (1994) claims that the tourist is consequently looking for affirmation of the identity and essence of people. Tourists search for what is conveyed as real and authentic although it might no longer be the case. As such tourism can continue to portray stereotypes which are no longer applicable and as such we have to examine if tour operators proposing slum tours try to change images or continue to reinforce ‘old’ stereotypes.

3.2. South Africa

3.2.1. Tourism in South Africa
Tourism was one of the sectors of South Africa’s economy that was strongly influenced by international sanction due to the Apartheid regime. As the number of international visitors went down, many South African tourism offices in many countries closed down (Visser, Rogerson, 2004). Since then, tourism has become a major occupation in the policy agenda of the South African government as it is seen as a catalyst for economic growth, for the implementation of new strategies, for the creation of employment and as a driver of foreign investment (Cornelissen, 2005: 680) and generally as an important contributor to national renewal and redevelopment (Visser, Rogerson, 2004: 201). Two major segments define the
tourist market, those being overseas arrivals and arrivals from other African countries, mostly contiguous. While the latter is larger, the former is more lucrative (Cornelissen, 2005: 680).

South Africa has experienced a major shift in its heritage and cultural tourism. Before 1994, South African heritage tourism synonymous with so-called ‘white heritage’, reflected the interest and needs of the white minority (Rogerson, 2004: 250). During Apartheid, South Africa was marketed as a “World in One Country” (Witz et al, year unknown: 2) due to its modern society, wildlife and tribalism.

In the post-Apartheid period, “tourism continued to provide ‘a safe haven’ for a ‘troubled history’ that glorifies colonial adventure and repudiated anthropology of primitivism.” (Witz et al., year unknown: 2). However, since the late 1990s, South Africa has become a leading nation in the African Renaissance (Witz et al., 2001: 277) which consists of the same features as the European renaissance: “monumental structures”, “artistic creations”, “places of learning” and “a strong military force” (Witz et al, year unknown: 3). African Renaissance as such has privileged a different kind of heritage more related to the early black African cultures and human origins (Hughes, 2007: 278). As a self-proclaimed leader, South Africa differentiates itself in its cultural diversity “embracing a culture of tolerance and democracy” (Witz et al, year unknown: 3).

This shows that politics have an influence on the heritage and culture tourism of a country (Grobler, 2008, Cornelissen, 2005). Due to the economic importance of tourism, governments want to be part of the decision-making process (Grobler, 2008: 168). The destination image is shaped by the cultural environment from which it derives but it also affects the very same culture that it stands for (Cornelissen, 2005: 676, citing Hall). Grobler (2008: 185) argues that it is still impossible for those possessing political control and power to acknowledge the “heritage, historical pride and nostalgic memories of communities who are not prepared to concede cultural submission to those who rule.”

**Tourist representations and new tourism approaches**

Cornelissen (2005: 677) explains that the image of South Africa, represented by international tour-operators and based on nature, counters the government’s effort to create a destination image which is based on culture as an extension to the pre-existing image during the Apartheid period. Nature-based tourism is seen as a major and perhaps the best-known component of South African tourism (Visser, Rogerson, 2004: 205). Investment in tourism infrastructure has been geographically concentrated mostly in the regions of Gauteng and
Western Cape because these represent low-risk opportunities for investors thanks to their balanced leisure and business tourism offer and reputation (Visser, Rogerson, 2004: 208). However, in support of the government’s pursuit of cultural tourism, many cultural and educational organisations in South Africa have been occupied today with finding a solution on how to deal with their past and how to present the cultural life and memory. Hughes (2003: 2) states that, ironically, much funding went into the promotion of community-based tourism, with these communities having trouble to access funding for their initiatives.

Next to township tours, South African cultural villages established for what Hughes (2003: 4) calls “reinvention of ethnicity” have become an important attraction. Cultural villages are “prominent forms of politically-correct tourism destinations in South Africa” (Grobler, 2008: 181) and thus, are created as “markets of authenticity” although it is nothing more than a “vast living spectacle [...] in which urban and rural communities have sought to discover and present their culture and heritage that had been ‘hidden from view’” (Witz et al, year unknown: 3). These artificially-created cultural villages have been established near the tourist routes mostly in the rural areas and consist of a homestead showing living arrangements, a stage where live dance, music and culture are displayed, a souvenirs’ shop and a restaurant. Some of these villages display a tradition which is typical for this area. Today, around 40 villages are open to tourists and tour operators claim that these are very popular due to the authentic character: seeing Zulu life as it is (Hughes: 2004, 4-7).

Thus, the focus on cultural tourism creates new features such as cultural villages and township tourism but as such they fall back into the old scheme of tribalism and exotisation. Witz et al. (year unknown: 14) also conclude that “the tourist theming of South African society continues to reside in the age of exploration and discovery, primarily through the cultural village and the township tour. The irony of South Africa’s modernity is that the country is still mapped and memorialised for international and domestic tourists as a sequence of routes from tribe to tribe in rural and urban settings.”

Rogerson, Visser (2005: 67-78) argue that in the coastal region, urban leisure tourism had formed a considerable base for employment during the early 20th century with Durban becoming a major tourist destination from the 1920s onwards. From the mid-1980s onwards, the promotion of tourism in urban South Africa became a significant factor in urban policy for economic restructuring and infrastructure improvement. Currently, every major city sees tourism as an economic driver for urban regeneration. Waterfront developments, especially in Durban and Cape Town, have made these cities pioneers in leisure coastal tourism in cities. In
contrast to that, cities such as Johannesburg cannot profit from a coastal access in order to increase leisure tourism benefits.

In relation to the creation of cultural festivals, cultural and heritage tourism has been promoted and new museum complexes have been built such as Constitution Hill, the Apartheid Museum or the Newton cultural precinct in Johannesburg. Furthermore, health or medical tourism has become an important feature in South African urban tourism and Rogerson and Visser (2005: 76-77) conclude that urban tourism will become of far greater importance in the future.

3.2.2. Township tourism – The South African perspective

Townships were largely developed during the Apartheid era, which has been recognised by its national policy of racial separation resulting in the oppression of South Africa’s black majority and implemented by the so-called National Party from 1948 to 1990\(^\text{11}\). Township tourism, however, has continued to grow after the end of the apartheid period and at the beginning of the democratic era in 1994. The so-called townships had been created as low-income dormitory suburbs\(^\text{12}\) far removed from white residential areas in the city centre (Briedenhahn, Ramchander, 2006: 124) As such they have been known as *no-go zones* for the white population as well as for international visitors due to the highly motivated political violence and high crime rates (Nemasetoni, Rogerson, 2005, Briedenhahn, Ramchander, 2006). Thus, potential tourism flows had been commonly limited.

Rogerson (2004) explains that townships have been *terre inconnue* and the Black community has never really had the chance to participate as partners or leaders in the tourism industry but that this situation has been changing for some decades now, in particular in Cape Town and Johannesburg, where township tours have become increasingly popular among international tourists.

Rolfes (2009: 7) claims that the first township tours started in Soweto in the early 1990s and were politically motivated propaganda tours for the Apartheid Regime. The irony is that a South African arms manufacturer sent its executives on tours into townships, mostly where they sought to counter uprisings (Witz et al., 2001: 284). This is only partially true as these tours apparently started already in the 1970s where, as part of a conference, participants were shown neglected areas (Hughes, 2007: 271).

Nowadays, with the growth of the tourism industry and the political transition, townships have become an attraction where black South African communities can tell their stories about


the struggle against Apartheid (Rogerson, 2004). The township tour as an opportunity to learn about the labour system as it was between 1958 and 1994 and the real life of hardship and deprivation of the Black-African population is not projected as a sanitised touristic post-card image (Witz et al., year unknown: 7). Thus, Rolfes et al. (2009: 18) allege that in the early years of the 1990s, most of the township tours were organised by the local Black community whereas nowadays, many larger white interregional travel companies include township tours in their offer.

The need for township tours to cope with the past
In contrast to cultural villages, townships are not artificially created for tourism. The tours are supposed to stress the cultural and ethnical diversity of South Africa’s population and can be seen as ubiquitous in South African cities: “the South African equivalent of an open-top bus ride in British Cities” (Hughes, 2003: 7). Witz et al. (year unknown: 7) refer to the township tours as “routes of struggle” created by the Apartheid regime on the edge of cities and perceived as places on the urban margins are presented as sites of “living culture”, “political resistance” and “modern life” (Witz et al., 2001: 283). In urban South Africa, in contrast to rural South Africa and linked to the representation in cultural villages, there seems no obvious need for staging because township life presents itself as rough, harsh and deprived as it is (Witz, Rassool, Minkley (2001), p. 283).

Generally speaking, these tours are offered by well-established operators and guided by local guides mostly living in these townships. Problems of these operators who often involve the local to a far greater degree than cultural villages do, offer thus a less mediated and more challenging view of shared experience and cultural borrowing (Hughes, 2003: 8).

Township tours, however, are styled as ‘tours of resistance’ or as ‘appreciation tours’ (Witz et al., 2001: 286) and thus, tourists are supposed to show respect and not voyeurism. Moreover, they may be presented as “journeys where no man has ever gone before” (Witz et al., year unknown: 7). Features such as interaction with people and the gained first-hand experience are used to attract international and domestic tourists in search of the ‘real’ South African encounter.

Especially, sites of the anti-Apartheid movement are visited in order to form a better understanding of the poverty issues of a historically oppressed majority (Rogerson, 2004). Hughes (2003: 2-3) also recognises that many Apartheid as well as anti-Apartheid monuments, with their symbolism often going hand in hand, are nowadays the most visited sites in South Africa. For example: 1. the Robben Island Museum which is situated on
Robben Island near the Cape Town coast and was the former maximum-security prison for political offenders to the Apartheid system, 2. the National Military Museum in Johannesburg where the freedom struggle is incorporated in collections of existing stories, and 3. the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg inaugurated in 2001.

Rolfes (2009: 1) suggests that about 300,000 tourists visit Cape Town’s townships each year and that they have become a mass phenomenon with up to 25% of tourists visiting Cape Town going on a township tour (Rolfes, 2009: 8). Rolfes et al. (2009: 21) estimate that there are approximately 40-50 tour operators in Cape Town alone and that those differ in their degree of professionalism and profile.

Johannesburg – A complex township tourism case

For Johannesburg, tourism has had the potential to become one important driver for economic regeneration. Tourism in Johannesburg has discovered new tourism spaces over the last 10-20 years; away from the traditional inner-city of the 1970-80s which included high-standing hotels and restaurants and shopping complexes addressed to both leisure and business tourists. From the 1990s onwards, however, there has been a shift towards the inner-city better characterised as “difficult area” (Rogerson, Kaplan, 2005: 214). “Difficult areas are viewed as those that have only a small tourism base in terms of receipts, areas which might be regarded as unsuitable for tourism development because of ‘poor image’; and in need of infrastructural improvement” (Rogerson, Kaplan, 2005: 214). This decline is the consequence of office and retailing decentralisation which has led to physical decomposition and rising crime rates, unfavourable to tourism.

In 2004, according to the Johannesburg Tourism Company, an annual total of 6.2 million visitors were estimated to have visited Greater Johannesburg of which 3 million were domestic tourists, 1.2 million international tourists (mainly from Western Europe) and 2 million from other African countries (Rogerson, Kaplan, 2005: 227). Key constraints to leisure tourism in Johannesburg, as identified by Rogerson and Kaplan (2005: 235), were the lack of quality leisure tourism products, the inefficient operation as a tourism city and inept marketing and packaging of leisure tours of the city.

In Johannesburg, the most visited township is Soweto, although some such as Alexandra offer township tours. With an estimated population of over two million people, Soweto is one of the largest slum areas in South Africa as well as in the world (Rogerson, 2004: 251). Rogerson (2004: 251) remarks that Soweto has been named by South Africans as the “city of contrasts: luxurious mansions across the road from tin shanties, green fields and streams around the
corner from piles of garbage, BMWs with a single passenger parked at traffic lights alongside battered mini taxies jam-packed with passengers, and a friendliness and cheerfulness that disguises a high unemployment rate.”

Soweto, although seen as a very unlikely destination (Briedenhahn, Ramchander, 2006: 124), has become a symbol and centrepiece of political freedom. It has a very rude but rich political history, being the centre of attention of political campaigns and the 1976 uprising aimed at causing the downfall of the regime. Additionally, Soweto is seen as “the location of what is perhaps the crowning achievement of all township tours” (Witz et al., 2001: 284) as it stands for the urban regimented housing rows and as a set of drama, blood and triumph of the Anti-Apartheid struggle.

Rogerson (2004: 252) notes that, according to recent estimates, Soweto receives about 107,000 international visitors a year and over 1,600 tourists daily. Soweto is ranked as the 16th most popular tourist attraction for international visitors in the national listing (Rogerson, 2004: 252). In 2006, Amos Masondo, Mayor of Johannesburg, even claimed that 250,000 international and domestic tourists visit Soweto each year and calls Soweto a “must-see destination” (Grobler, 2008: 182) due to its unique history in the struggle of liberation.

As in many South African townships, unemployment in Soweto is high and although lacking extensive and accurate data, Soweto has an estimated unemployment rate of 45-50% (Rogerson, 2004: 252). This highlights the necessity of job creation and economic development through entrepreneurship and business start-ups. In Soweto, the majority of tourism products and tourism SMMEs are located in the area called Orlando West which is famous for its landmarks like the Hector Petersen Memorial or the Mandela Museum (Rogerson, 2004: 252).

Since 2000, Johannesburg’s municipal authorities have made attempts to promote Soweto, integrating it into a wider tourism planning programme promoting Johannesburg as a whole. With the focus lying on township tourism as a lever for promoting small local entrepreneurship, the Soweto Tourism and Information Centre, a new tourism information based in Soweto, was opened in 200613 in order to officially welcome tourists to the township. The concept here is to give tourists a multi-faceted overview of Soweto in a world-class multi-media format (Rogerson, 2004).

Closely related to this evolution, tourism growth and new opportunities allow the establishment of a new form of touristic accommodation: bed and breakfast (B&B) establishments in the townships (Rogerson, 2004). During the FIFA Football World Cup

2010, the Johannesburg Tourism Company actively promoted township accommodation on its website\(^{14}\). Apparently, the perception of township overnight stays has clearly profited from the event, although a couple of years before, B&B owners in townships complained about the lack of support from official authorities in promoting their township business. “Over 40 bed and breakfast and guesthouse owners across Soweto and the townships of Tshwane will receive world-class kitchen and culinary training that will address the country’s shortage of skills in the hospitality industry. The training will be held at the School of Tourism and Hospitality at the University of Johannesburg on 18 June, and is part of Southern Sun Hotels Book-a-Guesthouse programme that aims to train, market and uplift previously disadvantaged township based B&Bs.”\(^{15}\)

Thanks to tourism, Soweto is becoming increasingly popular. The University of Johannesburg even possesses a Soweto Campus where the annual Standard Bank Soweto Wine Festival and the newly launched Soweto Food Festival take place\(^{16}\). During the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Soweto was one of the main attractions as the Soccer City of Johannesburg was located on the edge of the township.

**Constraints and support needs for township businesses**

Rogerson (2004) gives a profile of township tourism entrepreneurs and businesses for Soweto and Alexandra and cites constraints and support needs in township tourism. Major problems for the start-up of tourism enterprises (Rogerson, 2004, Hughes, 2003, Rolfes, 2009) are:

- lack of demand or markets
- lack of knowledge around tourism
- financial constraints for marketing or upgrading of premises, for equipment and materials
- lack of electronic access to communication and means of promotion
- complete absence of support from government and other organisations for business start-ups
- minimal support from outside organisations to help and secure township tourism business and entrepreneurs with regard to loaning, certification and membership
- too much competition between different townships as well as between different operators in the same township

Improvements and support needs (Rogerson, 2004) identified:

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- better marketing and promotion
- improvement of infrastructure such as stalls and markets
- significant training opportunities to improve management skills on how to run a business (little evidence of business record keeping, only half of the businesses were registered)
- identification of the local government in order to improve infrastructure and dealing with violence and crime
- necessity of signage and marketing aid by the local government
- at a national level, the importance of marketing South Africa internationally, the provisions of finance, the recognition of SMMEs and appropriate support framework

Kaplan (2004, p. 380) acknowledges that the South African economy faces an increasing problem of structural unemployment. Due to a lack of productive skills, people are being excluded from the mainstream economy. The absence of adequate education and training for tourism and the lack of training and education opportunities for formerly neglected groups have been recognised by the national Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Facing a critical shortage of skills in tourism, South Africa is capable of satisfying only 10% of its training needs in tourism (Kaplan, 2004). In order to account for these shortages and together with the improvements needed, state intervention and active support of tourism business establishments are necessary.

Even though township tours have been created with the intention of creating a better understanding of the anti-Apartheid struggle as well as to empower black communities in townships, we can nevertheless continue to argue that township tours contribute, to some extent, to the racial segregation between blacks and whites. They do not actually help to erase the racial injustice but reinforce injustice between visitors and visited as mostly white tourists, *visitors*, come to see poor black communities, *visited*.

### 3.3. Brazil

#### 3.3.1. Tourism in Brazil and especially in Rio de Janeiro

Scholars argue that the positioning of Brazil with regards to tourism can be considered as difficult as it is too far from big European markets to position itself as a mass tourism destination but it is also sufficiently urbanised to suit backpacker and alternative tourism forms (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 155). For Brazil and especially Rio de Janeiro, tourism has long been based on promoting Carnival, soccer and beaches through tourist brochures (Gilbert, 1995: 91) and postcards advertising the region around Rio de Janeiro; usually
stereotyping and confirming clichés like carnival dancing, tropical landscapes, historical monuments and bronzed people (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 155).

Rio seems to be established as a destination considered to be “on the edge or cool” (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 155) by tourists who are looking for destinations other than the Mediterranean. Tourist Rio de Janeiro is famous for its beaches like Ipanema and Copacabana, its parks, its museums and churches, its Christ-the-Redeemer statue and other sights (EMBRATUR17). These features have influenced people’s image of Rio, which is why Rio continues to be portrayed through its natural, festive and sportive diversity.

Additionally, ecotourism has been identified as an element in Brazil’s tourism industry in general due to the fact that as many as 14 % of the visitors claim their choice of destination based on eco-touristic elements (Puppim de Oliveira, 2003: 98). Today, Ecotourism is one of the five main elements, including ‘Sun and Beach’, ‘Culture’, ‘Ecotourism’, ‘Sport’ and ‘Business and Events’ in Brazilian tourism (EMBRATUR18).

Domestic tourism will become more important in the future as, based on official numbers provided by Embratur Brazil’s official tourism authority, outbound tourism is increasing by over 20% per year (Tretheway, Mak, 2006). Brazil’s population is also estimated to increase by 20% to 218 million by 2025 and is heavily oriented towards a young population structure. Tourism consumption is largely distributed amongst the wealthier sections of Brazilian society (Blake et al., 2008: 121).

3.3.2. Favela tourism – Slum tourism in Latin America

Although tourism in Brazil and mostly in Rio de Janeiro seems to be related to tropical beaches, carnival and samba, negative image building has been accelerated by the growing crime and well-developed international drug business in Rio especially related to the favela (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 161). Nevertheless, the contradictory attraction of favelas has become a Rio-wide phenomenon (Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 581-582).

Even though, there is no official or documented date when the first tour was operated, Freire-Medeiros (2009: 584) points out that the myth of origin was created during the 1992 Earth Summit (Rio Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development). This fact seems ironic because the Brazilian government tried to isolate favelas from the sight of the international public during the conference.


Rolfes (2009) notes that favela tourism, though on the rise, is still less important in terms of visitor numbers than township tourism in Cape Town, for example. Freire-Medeiros (2009: 580) estimates an average of over 3000 tourists visiting the favela each month while Rolfes (2009) suggests a number of over 40,000 tourists who visit Rio’s shantytowns each year.

**Rocinha – A better-off favela?**

Rocinha was built from 1948 onwards seeking an inner-city location in order to provide good work opportunities, located in the proximity of multiple hotels near the rich areas of Sao Conrado and Gavea and situated on the hillside with a view over Rio (Freire-Medeiros, 2009) with good transportation connections to downtown areas (Barke, Escasany, O’Hare, 2001: 267). Rocinha has been recognised officially as a neighbourhood since 1996 (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004) and comprises the cultural and social diversity of up to 200,000 people.

The criticism stating that it is harmful for favela residents to be confronted with tourist wealth is unrealistic to Selinger and Outterson (2009) as income inequalities are nothing new for them with regards to richer Brazilian residents and to the homes and businesses at Ipanema where many of them work.

Not only are inhabitants used to the gaping inequalities, but also in comparison to other favelas, Rocinha provides a better quality of life for its inhabitants than other favelas (Barke et al., 2001: 260). However, in terms of health services, public schools and sanitation, it is, to all intents and purposes, a slum. Further investment in slum upgrading is thus needed.

Nonetheless, the government prefers to invest more than $ 1 billion in Brazilian’s Northeast (Puppim de Oliveira, 2003: 97) area, which is famous for its lagoons, dunes and small villages, to push forward tourism in this part of the country. This decision ignores the present urban situation and poverty which creates everyday problems for urban dwellers and becomes even more questionable considering that an upgrading of 549 of Rio’s favelas is estimated to cost at least $ 417 million (Gilbert, 1995: 119), half of what the government was willing to spend on tourism in the Northeast.

**Tour operation in Rio’s favelas**

Freire-Medeiros (2009) states that currently seven tour operators propose tours through Rocinha and seem to be registered with Riotur, but that the informal number of tour guides and tour operators remains rather hard to calculate. The favela tour market of Rio is dominated by two big tour operator companies. Favela Tour has been operating for almost 10
years. Jeep Tours, the biggest rival of Favela Tour, takes international tourists who are more concerned about safety to Rocinha in jeeps (Cejas, 2006).

Being today a territory of full economic integrity, vendors in Rocinha sell photographic equipment, wines, electric devices, cell phones and other consumer goods. Their acceptance of debit and credit cards is a sign of the economic power that residents and visitors have in this area. Furthermore, during the tours attention is drawn to the existing infrastructures such as banks, a post office, radio stations, cable TV and even a concert venue. Visitors are shown the day care centres which sometimes adopt projects like training programs for young tour guides with the help of the tour operating agencies (Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 584).

Gilbert (1995: 106) reports that efforts have been made by the authorities to provide more safety for tourists in order to increase tourist numbers in general. In line with that, in September 2006, a law was adopted to promote Rocinha as a tourism destination for its touristic interest as stated by the City Counselor:

“Versatile, multicoloured, and with a soul of its own. Rocinha is like that (…) considered one of the most urbanized favelas in Rio de Janeiro, Rocinha has several peculiar points of attractiveness, not to mention the privileged location: green forest, smooth-surfaced hills, the beach and a strong feeling of community. (…) law no. 4405/06 will increase social integration between the city and the community, because it will help dissipate the myth that Rocinha is an exclusively violent place, and therefore allow bigger investments from the public as well as private sectors.” (cited in Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 583-584)

Still, Riotur, which is Rio’s official tourism office, acknowledged the inclusion of Rocinha as a tourist attraction relatively recently, almost 15 years after the beginning of the first tours.

The ambiguous promotion of favelas

The contemporary image of the favela is well-known: scarcity of goods and services, cultural hybridity and even multiplicity, and the distinct will to survive in a place governed by endurance and self-regulation (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 157). Thus, favela tours are promoted as a factor of interest “in the cultural specificities of the socialization of the poor, and also in a certain ‘shock of the real’ made tangible by the poor quality of the favela buildings and by the raw sewage and rubbish that overflows in many of the unpaved lanes” (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 163). But as Rocinha is in a way less deprived than other favelas, tourists keep thinking that “Rocinha isn’t poor enough, that it’s not as poor as those miserable cities in Africa” (Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 584).

In tourist guides, the favela is being promoted as a must and has been incorporated as an entire and worthy attraction. Though some travel guides like Lonely Planet criticise the mass phenomenon, they somehow include the favela tour in their travel concept. It is being argued
that there has never been so much diffusion and reproduction of slum and favela images as at present (Menezes cited by Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 583). These images mostly convey a romantic, heroic and exotic impression of the slum and its residents that is far removed from reality. Some authors point out the responsibility of political institutions such as NGOs, governments and scientists in the conformation and transformation of images of the ‘exotic’ favela (Valladares cited by Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 583).

In addition, touristic actors such as tourism authorities, incoming agencies and travel guides should carry some of the responsibility. With the image promoted as such, slum tourism will not stay an ‘alternative’ tourism for long and even less a reality tourism. The images and places chosen to fulfil the expectation of visitors will lead to a new ‘mass’ phenomenon in tourism as it appears more and more in developing countries.

**Violence, crime and drugs – Safety issues**

A negative attitude towards favela dwellers exists even within Brazilian society (Mowforth, Munt, 2009: 290) due to fear and prejudices caused by the association of the favela with deprivation, poverty, violence and drug crime since the introduction of cocaine in the late 80s, early 90s. The favela is full of paradoxes as it is “orderly and disorderly, attractive and repellent, safe and dangerous, accessible and inaccessible, legible and illegible […] and people are alternately moral and immoral, empowered and disempowered, vital and tragic” (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 17, italics added by author).

The association of the favela with samba and carnival, which makes the favela ‘sexy’, is paradoxical. Although the assumption that samba comes from the favela and samba schools are located in the favelas is wrong (Barke et al., 2001: 260-261), the tours display features which are paradoxical, almost “schizophrenic” and are “simultaneously paradigmatically safe and dangerous” (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 3). The need to keep the favela paradox is in itself a paradox. A tour is supposed to uncover the “real” favela, which one cannot experience without having visited it. It tries to “demystify” the favela by mystifying it all over again (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 7).

The tourist merges the impression of images and representation with the ‘real’ perception of the place when he visits the favela. For foreigners, the residents of the favela are highly ‘attractive’ because they overcome hardship, but in a way that is even more compelling, through crime and drug dealing. In the end, the images of the favela are already circulated on postcards and that is why the favela tour has become an ordinary feature of Rio as a means to glimpse a ‘zone of risk’ without being really at risk (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 164).
Thus, to produce a commodified favela, the tour needs ‘à la fois’ safe and dangerous features. On one hand, in order for a tour company to function, the tour must be safe but exotic so that tourists will be attracted. On the other hand, if the favela seems too safe, tourists will start visiting the favelas on their own. Therefore, the favela needs to be too dangerous to be explored without a guide. The constant threat, inaccessibility and fear of not knowing are exploited by the companies in order to keep people from going in on their own (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 7-8).

Selinger and Outterson (2009) point out that the consent of the community is impaired because of the quasi-governmental role of drug lords. Favela tours, they suggest, are thus only possible because drug lords allow these to be possible. Tour operators claim that they are not forced or obliged to give any money to the drug lords of Rocinha. However, this point can barely be proven except by the fact that guides advise against taking pictures of armed favelados or avoid streets where drugs are sold. Tourists are encouraged to bring their belongings assuring them of their absolute safety. Local agencies play with the emotions of anxiety and fear as well as safety of tourists. They explain that their safety is guaranteed by drug lords but that they should not react to teasing locals, block their way or give alms. Favela tourism as a commodity does not oblige to give alms or direct charity (Freire-Medeiros, 2009: 586).

Tourists are not recommended to visit the favela on their own because they are likely to be mistaken as undercover police officers. Therefore, it is necessary to stay with the group and the guide who is most often recognized by favela residents (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 162).

**Favela tours to challenge stereotypes**

The tours help to change the stereotypical opinion about favelas as they are not places of violence and poverty alone. Favelas are seen as “economically-vibrant settlements of industrious and entrepreneurial people that have been left by a negligent municipal government, to fend for themselves” (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 2, Zeidermann, 2006, I: 19). Favelas are defended as being safe places in contrast to the chaotic, “official” city, however, only since the drug lords took over and patrol the city to keep away rival gangs. In order not to draw too much attention to the favela, drug lords discourage crime for ordinary citizens. The tour is made in a minivan with windows rolled up and doors locked down. Rules are applied with regards to photography and behaviour. No pictures can be taken, no one can
wander around alone and if someone with drugs approaches, the tourists are asked to ignore them (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 2).

Zeiderman (2006, II) argues that favelas can be seen as commodified, fetish places where the local production of Rio is made for global consumption. Thus, in order to attract visitors, destinations have to be exotic and authentic. These two features have to be made explicit. The favela is commodified and packaged in order to cater to the needs of its international clients. Computer classes and handicrafts displayed to tourists show that the favela is not only a cultural phenomenon for the visitor, but a material one for the tour company which supports a community school, crèche, etc. Thus, “the favela tour is a local production, or, better yet, the production of a locality […] intended for a global consumer” (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 6). The tour opts to change the image of the favela but tourists depart with a certainly more ambivalent and unstable image (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 19).

3.4. India

3.4.1. Tourism in India

India is presented in different facets, but foremost as a warm and inviting place that is made up of a tremendous variety (Bhattacharjee, 2008) so that tourists are invited to come to India in order to explore new dimensions every time tourists revisit. Tourists have been attracted to India thanks to its “oriental charm and mystery” (Chaudhary, 1996: 616) giving numerous opportunities to the exploring tourist, however not so much to the mass tourist. Thus, Bhattacharjee (2008) is not the only scholar to recognise the potential of India with regards to the multiplicity of tourist attractions: with a natural, cultural and religious richness as well as a number of fairs and festivals. Due to the size of the territory, India can offer swamps, deserts, glaciers, grasslands and sunny beaches as well as monuments dating back over 5000 years (Gantzer, Gantzer, 1983).

While most tourists visit for leisure, business and to see friends and relatives (VFR) (Dev, Kuckreja, 1989, Chaudhary, 1996), many different types of tourism are proposed and exercised in India: adventure tourism (Dev, Kuckreja, 1989), spiritual and religious tourism (Gladstone, 2005), health tourism, eco-tourism, science tourism (Dharival, 2005: 2), heritage tourism (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008), cultural tourism (Chaudhary (1996), medical tourism (Srivastava (2006), Connell (2006), class of Miguel Cotton), business travel (Dev, Kuckreja, 1989), yoga tourism and certainly more.

The Indian government has understood, even though only lately, that tourism can be a major growth driver for the domestic economy and might generate a higher degree of employment. 

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Until the 1990s, agriculture had been the priority sector and only afterwards did services and tourism receive the attention of being a larger foreign exchange earner and generator of employment and tax revenue (Chaudhary, 1996: 616). In 1982, the Government of India announced its National Policy on Tourism and six years later, a plan was formulated by the National Committee on Tourism to achieve sustainable growth in tourism. However, as the implementation process was long, the plan was only implemented in 1992 and a National Strategy for the Promotion of Tourism was only decided in 1996 (Dhariwal, 2005: 4).

On one hand, Chaudhary (1996) suggests that India’s foreign markets are distant, with North America and Western Europe being in the forefront. Mostly, without using packaged tourism products (92%), international tourists travel over a long period of 28 days in India. They predominantly visit hill resorts, archaeological monuments and cultural sites. Most visited places are traditionally known tourism destinations and India’s three major metropolitan cores such as New Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai. It is paradoxical that these places receive a tourism flow exceeding their carrying capacity, with most other Indian regions hardly seeing a minimum of tourists (Chaudhary, 1996: 618). On the other hand, Gladstone (2005: 47) claims that adjacent or proximal markets such as Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal and Bhutan account for half of the total of international tourist arrivals. India’s domestic tourism arrivals are 1,500 times higher than the international tourism arrivals (Gladstone, 2005: 44).

India announced a particularly important growth of its middle class having the world’s largest middle class of 250 million people (Tretheway, Mak, 2006: 22). Furthermore, income inequalities at both ends will become even more important in the future (Bussolo et al., 2006). Indian citizens travel increasingly and spend increasingly more money on leisure and tourism now exceeding $1 billion per year (Tretheway, Mak, 2006: 25). Domestic tourism will become even more important in the future (Srinivasan, 2006).

Already today, domestic tourism for religious reasons and pilgrimages to destinations such as Vrindavan (Gladstone, 2005: 26-27) are the reason for one-third of domestic travel (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008: 793) with few international tourists drawn to these traditional places. According to Bandyopadhyay et al. (2008), heritage tourism might be an important feature in creating national identity due to its ideological framing. The promotion of heritage sites is important for tourists, foreign and domestic, to understand a nation’s past. Religious identity is the most prominent based on six main religions – Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, and Islam and most of its glorious past is reflected in religious heritage sites of architectural and cultural splendour. Identity has been constructed around smaller linguistic, religious and cultural groups (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008: 791) and
although, India has the second-largest Muslim population in the world and a high percentage of Christians, the government builds identity first and foremost on Hinduism and its affluent upper caste, although it claims to attempt to build identity on ethnic diversity and pluralism (Bandyopadyay et al., 2008: 804). Consequently, religion in India is an indispensable aspect of day-to-day life, even though religious fundamentalism has been a threat and challenge to the Indian government due its obvious presence in ethnic conflicts (Bandyopadyay et al., 2008: 792).

Problems associated with tourism
Chaudhary (1996) claims that India does not get the expected number of tourists despite the increasing marketing and promotion efforts. Continued bad image factors such as poverty, political instability, unemployment, illiteracy, terrorism and communal faction, corruption, mysticism and lack of social services are challenging obstacles for positive image development. Chaudhary (1996) concludes that India mostly lacks a positive image regarding safety and infrastructure issues. Dhariwal (2005: 15) argues that the role of the government is major in order to promote safe tourism to foreigners by reinforcing security measures. Dev and Kuckreja (1989: 74) note that the tourism industry in India faces major problems of power shortage, maintenance problems, overloaded communication networks and shortages of skilled managers and workers which is not only applicable to the hotel industry but also affects the tourism industry in general (Bussolelo et al., 2006). Traditionally, time-restricted tourism development has been overshadowed and prevented by difficult transport connections, lack of tourism related infrastructure and lack of hygiene and security policies (Chirathivat, 1996: 754).

India’s hotel business is dominated by large hotel chains providing a number of world-class rooms located in the four major metropolises of New Delhi, Madras, Mumbai and Kolkata (Dev, Kuckreja, 1989: 72-73). The importance of multinational companies investing in India has grown. Like many developing countries, India has a high number of high-end and low-end quality accommodations but lacks a compensating basis of average quality accommodation (Dev, Kuckreja, 1989: 73).

With infrastructural improvements, the government hopes to attract investors to new areas in order to diversify Indian tourism and to attract visitors away from large tourism centres to smaller towns and villages. Dhariwal (2005) notes that tourism might help to mitigate rural-urban migration by investing in rural areas to create employment and entrepreneurship opportunities for disadvantaged social groups. Gantzer and Gantzer (1983: 118) claim that
tourism in India eases its unemployment weight by creating 1.5 million jobs directly and 2.5 million jobs indirectly. Although this might have been true almost 30 years ago, today India’s population has grown to become the second largest after China and even tourism employment opportunities cannot imbibe this growth.

Thus as already explained, Indian tourism suffers from domestic disturbances such as terrorism and political instability, Indo-Pakistan tensions, communalism and socio-political unrest; phenomena which can impede economic growth through tourism and which need to be addressed to attract international tourists. According to Varshney (2001), India has had to cope with ethnic conflict since its independence from Britain even though Mahatma Gandhi promoted Hindu-Muslim unity and the abolition of ‘untouchability’ as well as tribal uplift and labour welfare. Ethnic conflicts are a major source for violence and death, especially in urban areas which suffer from a most significant impact of violence due to a large number of migrants (Varshney, 2001: 389).

Furthermore, Kraft (2007) notes the role of guidebooks in reproducing and circulating old stereotypes by promoting traditional spiritual tourism destinations such as Dharamsala or Varanasi catering to the spiritual needs and quests of the foreign traveller through courses of meditation, yoga and ayurveda organised in ashrams and monasteries. Religion in Lonely Planet India is represented as “extreme, timeless and exotic” (Kraft, 2007: 235) and spiritual centres and offers are granted considerable space. Kraft (2007: 238) explains that spirituality and religion are often set against each other such as tourism and travel with religion being tourism (passive, organised and conformist) and spirituality being travel (independent, creative and transformative).

### 3.4.2. Slum tours in Mumbai

Bhattacharyya (1997) is critical of the complete absence of the personal and unique qualities of human life and that the portrayal of India in tourism guide books such as Lonely Planet is instead based on stereotypes, traditions and bureaucratic inefficiencies (Kraft, 2007), on illnesses, on “being ripped off” and “being hustled and hassled” (Bhattacharyya, 1997: 378). Bhattacharyya (1997) continues that Lonely Planet India has been based on a constructed and selective representation of India without portraying any routine life events or day-to-day routines of either the rural or the urban classes. With tourists wanting to escape their own daily life routine, India becomes an oriental spectacle where routine has no place and where cultural and socio-political patterns are not explained - e.g. left hand is ritually polluted, shoes have to be removed before entering a home.
Hutnyk (1996: 10) also states that the massive tourism and infrastructure development in India and above all in the major cities might require brutal readjustment and restructuring for adapting to the West. Tourism experience in India is hybrid and mixed-up. He also suggests that without Mother Theresa and the Lonely Planet guidebook, Kolkata would have maybe been portrayed as less impoverished and run-down. Its reputation revolves around the main themes of poverty, urban decay and overcrowding (Hutnyk, 1996: 55) stemming from tourism literature, media and government and other official and institutional reports.

Slum tourism as a rather recent phenomenon in India might portray this day-to-day routine in an urban environment and might help to abolish stereotypes about the working poor, urban decay and extreme poverty. Hannam and Diekmann (2010) argue that slum tourism can nevertheless be potentially damaging for both visitors and residents if they happen on a superficial, commodified and non-mutual basis. Rolfs (2009) claims that there is only one professional and regular slum tourism operator in Mumbai which is Reality Tours. Thus, Rolfs’ (2009) analysis of tour operations in Mumbai is based on one tour operating business and might be too one-sided.

However, Hutnyk (1996) described and analysed his personal experience in Kolkata with backpacker tourists and volunteer tourists coming, watching and leaving the poor people of the city and calling their medical help and volunteering ‘sick tours’. He is one of the first to have mentioned the questionable morality that is involved once tourists come to see poor people in Third World countries already assuming the participative “voyeuristic consumption of poverty” (Hutnyk, 1996: 11) because the poor are always and unavoidably the subject of tours in India, whether consciously or subconsciously.

Almost ironically he mocks these very tourists coming to Kolkata to see ‘the extreme’ which is expected to be unusual and different to what he calls “the rumour of poverty” (Hutnyk, 1996: 20). In line with Hutnyk (1996), Hannam and Diekmann (2010) quote Berger who describes the ambiguous attraction of poverty: “The extremes of beauty which many tourists seek require extremes of ugly to be meaningful…many tourists find that their experiences in India give them a new respect for all people and an appreciation of the incredible difficulties many of them face as they struggle, heroically in some cases, to survive”. In reality, Dharavi is not just, as many imagine, an entirety of “unplanned plastic shacks” (Diekmann, Hannam, 2010) but it benefits from electricity and water supplies for a limited amount of time.

And then again, India will be profiting from major publicity and media coverage in upcoming events such as the 2010 Commonwealth Games, a multi-sport event for elite athletes held every 4 years (Bhattacharjee, 2008: 91). But presenting Delhi as a ‘world class city’ with
‘international standards’ will be difficult considering that its situation is that of a Third World country. Bhattacharjee (2008: 93) argues that achieving and portraying such an image to the world media would mean further marginalising the poor. Clearly, even though the city might profit from a major image change, the city’s darker side with its social problems will not especially profit, but rather become subject to further marginalization and the threat of displacement for millions of slum dwellers. This might cause a loss of the original identity, positive or negative, of the city and traditional crafts, skills and values might lose their authentic value by gaining a market value (Bhattacharjee, 2008: 94).

Hutnyk (1996) also claims the success of India for youth budget travellers coming first and foremost to the big cities such as Delhi and Mumbai and Kolkata and earlier Gantzer and Gantzer (1983: 122) also claimed that many Asian officials, and also Indian officials, prefer to switch from the high-spending luxury tourists to the budget tourists as being more acceptable and compatible with the host nation and likely to stay longer and to make repeat visits. Gladstone (2005: 29) further argues that domestic tourists in developing countries frequently use upscale facilities and the tourism industry in these same countries often rather caters to international budget and backpacker travellers. Finally, the question will be to what extent slums in India will profit from increased domestic tourism and if low-spending backpacker and volunteer tourists will really help to upgrade living conditions for slum dwellers.

3.5. Kenya

3.5.1. Tourism in Kenya

From the early 1960s onwards, there has been recognition of the importance of tourism for the Kenyan economy as being “one of the top three domestic exports” (Summary, 1987) next to tea and coffee with tourist receipts increasing faster than other economic sectors. Tourism as one of the most meaningful foreign exchange earners is of major importance to Kenya’s economy (Manyara, Jones, 2007, Sindiga, 1995).

Tourism in Kenya has a certain attraction and growth opportunity if focused on a need for successful community-private-public-partnerships involving local communities. However, until today, Kenya’s tourism image is based on a colonial and anachronistic tourism model preferring wildlife safaris and sun-and-sand tourism (Manyara, Jones, 2007). The continuous focus on mass tourism has been an obstacle to community involvement solving economic and social issues and more importantly poverty. Manyara and Jones (2007: 629) argue that preservation legislation for reserves disadvantages the local inhabitants and together with the fact that touristic resources are predominantly managed by profit-driven Western investors,
the community is prevented from getting too involved into tourism, although people could profit from tourism. Over 10% of the country has been claimed for nature-based tourism and wild-life preservation driven by western environmental values, leading to increased land-use conflicts (Akama, 1996, Sindiga, 1996). Over the years, this has also lead to an anti-tourism behaviour by locals who are fed up with wealthy tourists enjoying their vacation while people in their own country are suffering. Sindiga (1996) claims that many locals declined job offers in tourism and the service industry, not only because the community as a whole had been neglected in the decision process, but also because tourists started to discover the region away from tourism-designated areas and to mix with that part of the Kenyan population which has been inclined to consume alcohol and drugs.

**Difficulties in Kenya’s tourism development**

Already 15 years ago, scholars (Sindiga, 1996, Akama, 1996, Dieke, 1991, Sindiga, 1996, II) have recognised the substantial tourism development in Kenya, especially in Kenya’s coastal regions. Sindiga (1996) recognises the failure to integrate locals into the development of coastal tourism with tourism even contributing to the perpetuation of old class segregation. In Kenya, tourism seems to continue to reinforce differences between those who can afford luxury, international tourists and Kenyan upper classes, and those who do not even have access to water, sanitation and electricity.

Akama (1996) mentioned the importance for Kenya of broadening its tourist image by using more alternative forms of tourism including diverse activities: mountaineering, ecotourism, sport-fishing, horse and camel riding, rural, cultural and archaeological forms of tourism. Kenya’s more than 40 ethnic groups and tribes with their cultural practices and artefacts could be used for small-scale rural tourism to ‘cultural’ and ‘ethnic’ villages (Akama, 1996: 573), for archaeological or cultural tourism (Ondimu, 2002).

In 1984, Kenya founded its Domestic Tourism Council\(^\text{19}\), a consequence of the government’s recognition of the importance of domestic tourism in Kenya, and charged to promote it. This reflects the importance, and this is not only the case in Kenya, to compensate for excess capacity due to seasonality on the one hand, and growing competition from South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda providing similar tourism products to Kenya\(^\text{20}\) on the other. However, the tourist attraction for Kenyans has been declared insufficient due to the missing attractions, little diversity in the tourism product and the focus on luxury tourism products.

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\(^{19}\) Sindiga (1996, II), p. 20

The Ministry of Tourism in Kenya still relies on the importance of wildlife tourism in order to attract foreign tourists\textsuperscript{21}. Furthermore, the professional tourist sector exists but is poorly developed with Kenyan’s Association of Tour Operators (KATO) displaying pictures of natives and safaris\textsuperscript{22} contributing from a professional point of view in reinforcing colonial stereotypes. KATO also displays its code of conduct, mostly focused on tourist satisfaction and safari codes than on pro-poor tourism and behaviour in respect of the local community. But there are further obstacles to local involvement in tourism and in the establishment of tourism SMMEs such as illiteracy, market access, tourism-specific skills, lack of capital and access to loans and lack of governmental support for local initiatives either through loans or legislation (Manyara, Jones, 2007: 630). Dieke (1991: 288) already pointed out deficiencies for Kenya’s tourism market including its promotion, its training and its maintenance of facilities. It seems as though there is still a missing link or interrelationship between government and communities to gain willingly and strongly from tourism although international organisations such as United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) or the World Bank either insist on or adopt strategies actively involving communities. Additionally, Manyara and Jones (2007: 630) argue that community-based tourism enterprises still focus too strongly on conservation, prefer white investors in partnerships and still address community needs inadequately because the initiation is still externally driven. Manyara and Jones’ (2007) automatic conclusion drawn in the paper resumes that community-based tourism in Kenya still reinforces colonial thinking and preferences with an enormous dependency from white investors and, as a result, a satisfaction of their, rather than community, needs. This, together with Kenyan’s basic political and social problems, results in a failure of most community-based tourism enterprises. Nonetheless, they recognise that community-based tourism can result, although to a small degree, in an improvement of lifestyle and in access to water, health, communication and transportation resources for poor people under some key principles mainly limiting an external intervention, which should be largely consultative and facilitative and empowering for the local community as a whole. In the end, communities as well as governments need to understand that a country and its people cannot rely exclusively on tourism.

In response to insufficient revenue-sharing and local participation, some communities have concentrated on creating their own projects by putting up camping sites, low-cost accommodations, partnerships, leases, supplies and services with hotels and lodges, and guided tours. There is an obvious necessity to reconcile tourism planning with local needs and

\textsuperscript{21} http://www.tourism.go.ke/ (last accessed: 21.06.2010)
\textsuperscript{22} http://www.katokenya.org/default.asp (last accessed: 21.06.2010)
wants (Sindiga, 1995: 93). Although tourism may help the government to balance its accounts and bring foreign currency, Sindiga (1995) claims that local consequences due to an extensive and unbalanced tourism development are neglected.

3.5.2. Touring Nairobi’s slums

Tourist entrepreneurs have understood the importance of diversifying Kenya’s tourism product, which was, and still is, mainly based on beach tourism and wildlife safaris. In order to diversify, Ondimu (2002: 1036) proposes starting tourism based on Kenyan culture, including a range of different aspects such as customs, heritage and traditions.

To base tourism on what really exists is an important approach in Kenya. Together with the fact that tourists are constantly searching for new, exciting and different experiences, slum tours in Kenya and mostly Nairobi might be an answer to their search for unusual lifestyles and other cultures in order to escape from boredom (Ondimu, 2002: 1043, citing Cohen). Can slum tourism offer a unique meaning for tourists in Kenya and, therefore, be seen as an escape from one’s everyday centre into what Ondimu (2002) calls ‘centre-out-there’? Ondimu (2002) insists on the special attributes and location of the ‘centre-out-there’, different from what can be found at home, which is definitely the case for slum tourism. Resources of the ‘centre-out-there’, here the tourist destination, are shaped by the interrelationship of environment and ethnic cultures transformed for tourist desires. Ondimu (2002) argues that the need for tourists arises at that particular moment when they understand that their everyday life hinders them from experiencing other lives and thus, they are aware of their own desire to experience the life and culture of others.

Tours through Kenya’s slums offer this opportunity to become involved with local life, to get in touch with locals and to see local customs and habits. The mediatised Kibera is Nairobi’s, and East Africa’s, biggest slum with its number of inhabitants ranging from 800,000 (Winslow, 2007) to over 1,000,000 people23. Currently, the Kenyan government estimates that more than 50% of the population live in urban or rural poverty indicating a lack of land tenure and housing, a lack of school education, no or limited access to health services and infrastructures, and no or limited access to water and sanitation (Amnesty International, 2009). Kibera’s pathways and roads are covered with garbage and human and animal waste. Kibera emerged in 1912 when former Nubian soldiers, who had served the British Crown, were allowed to settle temporarily on a small spot of densely forested ground. Over the years,

http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2006/apr/01/weekend.garethmclean (last accessed: 14.03.2010)

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the government let other dwellers settle freely although most of the land is owned by the state (Amnesty International, 2007: 4).

Winslow (2007) already claims the popularity which Kibera is gaining amongst tourist and addresses the issue of slum tourism. Furthermore, she argues that despite the obvious interest of tourists, politicians still ignore, and humanitarian organisations are still not able to generally improve, the situation in Kibera. Rising land rents and corruption through government officials acting as landlords, drive further rage, protest and violence (Winslow, 2007: 5). Considering that Kibera has more or less the population of Brussels, it does not come as a surprise that organisations are powerless to tackle the problem overnight without major governmental help.

Kenyan tour operators such as Victoria Safaris (Mowforth, Munt, 2009: 286) and Kiberatours are said to enable interaction with local poor people as tourists discover their daily life situation in the slums and are shown local business and improvements. James Asudi, General Manager of Victoria Safaris, is quoted by Mowforth and Munt (2009: 286):

“People are getting tired of the Massai Mara and wildlife. No one is enlightening us about other issues. So I’ve come up with a new thing – slum tours.”

This approach refers to what tourists want to see and not what locals would like to offer. Mowforth and Munt (2009: 287) thus recognise that slum tours can already bring frustration to some local people who feel that they are somehow involved because tourists stare at them or at their houses, but they do not get anything from it. Will slum tour operators approach slum tours as other forms have been approached in Kenya or have they learned from past criticisms and dissatisfaction by local communities?

Ultimately, all four countries still struggle with power relations such as between the old colony and its colonial power and between host and visitor. The development in tourism and the tourist representations seem to perpetuate this struggle: 1. the development often happens for the visitors and less for the hosts although scholars insist on the two-sided interest, 2. the destinations and its people repeatedly suffer from a stereotypical portrayal where hosts try to adapt to those stereotypes in order to please tourists rather than portray change. What remains to be seen is if slum tourism tries to breach these patterns or if it continues to reinforce them.

In South Africa, since the end of the Apartheid, black empowerment has become increasingly important and township residents have taken the opportunity to relate their past struggles during slum tours. Townships seem to have become the new South African tourist attraction

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although scholars suggest that there is an increasing risk of commodification. Brazil’s tourism industry is also following the trend of showing what is real and authentic. Although less dependent on its old colonial power, it is still exotically portrayed by samba, beaches and tropical ambiance. And favela tours seem to be able to satisfy the tourists’ need for authenticity because they are ambiguously safe and dangerous. But this romantic and exotic portrayal and promotion which seems to continue in favela tours might be a threat to the authenticity of the tours as it is criticised as becoming progressively commodified.

India and Kenya continuously suffer from social segregation in society which weighs on those that are neglected and crowded together in slums. While tourism in India is already largely diversified, Kenya’s reputation is still based on wildlife safaris and beach tourism. Little scientific literature has been written about those countries with regards to slum tourism because both countries started slum tours only recently and need further analysis with regards to impacts and portrayal. The following analysis of tour operators might bring a useful insight concerning the slum tourism offer.
4. Analysis of the existing offer of slum tourism in four countries

4.1. Methodology

This paper focuses on analysing the touristic offer with regards to slum tourism in four different countries. These countries have been selected due to the noteworthy number of tour operators and their different touristic contexts. Only tour operators with relevant background (Krippendorff, 2004: 118-120), meaning with an offer in slum tourism, have been sampled for this paper. An empirical research of the touristic offer for slum tours will include different features and information in order to collect and analyse information about the tour companies and the tours in general (Veal, 2006: 32-34). As to the fact that as yet no information is available on how tour operators offer their tours online, this paper attempts a rather exploratory, descriptive approach in order to discover, describe and map patterns of slum tour activities (Veal, 2006: 3-4).

The term ‘tour operator’ refers in this research to the inbound tour operating company designing and proposing tours and/ or tour packages – including accommodation – in the respective destination, mostly marketing and selling their tours directly to their customers. In order to make information between different tour operators comparable, a table of analysis has been established in order to compare different contents focussing on four different criteria categories with each category including different elements which can be found on the majority of websites of the tour operators. Content analysis, as defined by Krippendorff (2004: 18), is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use.” Data that might be used for content analysis are texts, images, arts, maps, numerical records, signs, symbols and sounds but thus, text, meaning something to someone, is produced by someone to be meaningful to someone else and these meanings cannot be ignored nor violate why the text exists (Krippendorff, 2004: 19).

All of the tour operators found online and in the scientific literature have been considered in this research. The tour operators finally included in the analysis had to correspond to minimum criteria: 1. provide an accessible and researchable Internet website, 2. the website must provide information in English, and 3. a minimum of information with regards to the table of analysis must have been available during the research period. An overall total of 53 tour operators (Annexe 3) have been found online for the following countries:

- South Africa: 37 businesses (10 excluded) – 17 for Cape Town, 7 for Johannesburg, 3 for both destinations
- Brazil: 8 businesses (3 excluded) – 5 for Rio de Janeiro
- India: 3 businesses
- Kenya: 5 businesses

The following information has been gathered for each tour operator in each of the four destinations focusing on those main cities where slum tours are proposed: Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Johannesburg and Cape Town (South Africa), Nairobi (Kenya) and Mumbai (India).

Besides the criteria in the following categories, name, homepage, contact details and languages have been collected in order to assure that the information can be re-used.

The first category presents the general information about each company such as:

- Type of company (e.g. inbound tour operator, accommodation provider, other organisations)
- Founding year of the company suggesting when the slum tours might have been started
- Purpose of the company as the reason for the start-up
- Diversification project of the company as an important element in order to analyse if slum tours have been the sole purpose of the company or if they have been part of a diversification project of the company
- Number of website visitors if available to give an insight into the number of people, and thus potential tourists, interested in the company and in the tours

The second category refers to the operation of the slum tours. It is supposed to show the main features of the tours such as:

- Fee and duration of the tours in order to see if there is standardisation and if prices are in line with the business
- Target audience, size of the groups and number of groups in order to see patterns, recurrences and importance of the tours
- Company’s purpose or main objective for slum tours in order to understand why the tours are proposed
- Main stops and programme of the tours in order to see what is specifically toured
- Guides (e.g. local, slum residents, background, knowledge)
- Means of transportation (e.g. walking tours, van, coach)
- Interaction with residents during the tour in order to see if there is a commodified relationship and if all residents are involved
- Involvement in community work, programmes and benefits (e.g. employment opportunities for locals, social work, redistribution of benefits)
- Advice on security issues, photography and others to see if photography and security are important matters to the company
- Accommodation for tourists in slums in order to evaluate this new opportunity

The next category focuses on the promotion and distribution of the tours and/or the tourism products if provided by the company:
- Partnerships and statements about partners
- Logos and lists available on the websites
- Other (e.g. reviews, testimonials)

The last category focuses on visual and textual elements of the websites in order to understand how the company attracts tourists and how the tours are marketed and portrayed. However, texts have no independent and objective qualities nor do they have one single meaning (Krippendorff, 2004). That is why quotes from tour programmes, tour descriptions and slogans will be used and woven into the analysis in order to support interpretative features of the analysis (Krippendorff, 2004):
- Text examples (quotes) and slogans from the company’s website
- Images on the website

Consequently, this analysis will be used and the most important findings will be compared with regards to each destination in order to see if the slum tourism offer is identical or if different countries propose different types of slum tourism (chapter 5). This final comparison will also be discussed with regards to scientific articles related to slum tourism and to tour operators in order to understand the role and power of the tour operators, as slum tour providers, and their websites within the most recent form of slum tourism.
4.2. South Africa – Cape Town and Johannesburg

4.2.1. General information on the tour businesses

Earliest tourism business since 1985

The oldest township tours are proposed by Jimmy’s Face to Face Tours who started his business in 1985 in Johannesburg. Jimmy’s Face to Face Tours presents itself as the original tour operator for Soweto by first bringing friends to sporting events and later developing township tours in a wider context. Only Hylton Ross was also founded around 1985, but the tour operator started out with cultural, sightseeing and wildlife safari tours and did not propose township tours at that time.

The 1990s have been important for township tours and tour operating businesses in general as a high number of them were founded during that time. Nine tour operators were founded in the 1990s and five between 2002 and 2006. Thus, this can be seen as a sign that demand for township tours and tours through South Africa in general has been continuously increasing.

Focus on quality services versus responsible tourism

All tourism businesses, except for one which is primarily focused on the provision of luxury accommodation, have been identified as inbound tour operators. In total, seven tour operators focus solely on township tours while more significantly 20 are diversified tour operating companies. One half of the diversified tour operators focuses mainly on township tours as their main business. Township tours are the most essential part but, in order to be sustainable, these businesses had to propose other cultural and sightseeing tours or transfers. The other half mentions township tours as a diversification project in order to enlarge the basis of their company and to broaden the product range.

However, different purposes for the establishment of the tourism business have been discovered. And while seven tour operators clearly state that the purpose of their company is to deliver top-quality, high value, professional services and dynamic, specialised tours for their clients, seven tour operators mention their focus on responsible, sustainable tourism including factors like education and community empowerment due to interactive and participative tours. Other purposes, such as authentic and unique African experiences mentioned by four, entertainment and lifestyle packages for clients mentioned by two, have also been claimed.

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25 Annexe 4: Summarising table of analysis for South Africa
4.2.2. Operation of the tours

Higher prices charged for tours in Soweto

In South Africa, all the tours are operated daily and/or twice a day and due to the fact that tour operators generally propose different tours, we can suggest that there is relatively large demand for tours to townships. The fee for the tours depends largely on the tour operator and on the city. Prices for Soweto are slightly higher than those proposed for tours in Cape Town although the duration of the tours is practically the same. Tour prices in Johannesburg for half day tours ranged from 300 Rand (31 €) to 480 Rand (49 €) with the average price being 417 Rand (43 €). In Cape Town tour prices varied from 75 Rand (8 €) to 495 Rand (51 €) with an average price of 353 Rand (36 €). This price difference between Cape Town and Johannesburg was also evident for the three companies operating both cities. Most of the tour operators proposed half day (3-4 hours) and full day (8-9 hours) tours, in Cape Town though most of the tours proposed were half day tours and full day tours were not automatically proposed. In contrast to the first observation, full day tours were less expensive in Cape Town than in Johannesburg and varied greatly, first and foremost in Johannesburg. Full day tours were proposed in Johannesburg for prices between 450 Rand (46 €) and 1250 Rand (128 €) at an average price of 855 Rand (87 €) and in Cape Town for between 490 Rand (50 €) and 850 (87 €) Rand with the average price of 640 Rand (65 €). Furthermore, black-owned tour operators proposed mostly average or slightly lower prices. However, the extreme price difference between 75 Rand proposed by Township Tours SA, a one-person black-owned tour operator, and 495 Rand proposed by Andulela, a white-owned diversified tour operator, is remarkable.

Catering for a wide range of tourists

Most of the tour operators do not target a specific audience. There is evidence that diversified and non-diversified tour operators cater for many different types of tourists from foreign to domestic tourists. For Johannesburg, only one operator focused on corporate clients (Rhubuluza), whereas another one focused on eco-friendly tourist and backpackers (Soweto Bicycle Tours). For Cape Town, three operators (Hylton Ross, Andulela and Roots Africa) have been identified as catering to tourists with a higher budget due to their focus on quality and value as well as tour prices being generally higher. In line with the intention to cater to different types of tourists, different tour operators propose different means of transport such as minivans, coaches, buses and even motorcycles and bicycles.
Tour operators are often prepared to cater to larger groups as well as individuals and smaller groups. Though half of the tours are walking tours, the distances between sights and townships are too far for walking tours and thus, the tours are a mix of walking tours on the spot and transportation between the sights.

Slum tours to see the ‘real’ South Africa
Generally, little explicit information is given by the tour operators on the main purpose or objective of the tours.
For Johannesburg, different tour operators had different objectives: “promotion and education of Soweto into Corporate South Africa and tourism” (Rhubuluza), to “portray the townships in a different view, using township slag, music, clothes, and lifestyle” (Soweto Funk Tours), to “show everyone who cared to make the trip, what Soweto life is really all about, the good, the bad, the bold, the beautiful and ugly” (Jimmy’s), to show a “popular, eco-friendly and exciting township” (Soweto Bicycle) and to “empower the community” (Taste of Africa).
For Cape Town, a couple of tour operators focus on the history of townships, to see and experience how people live and work in townships (Zibonele, Take 2 Tours, Randy’s, Camissa, Bonani), while others focus on cultural tours through the townships (Zibonele, Andulela) and on showing confidence and community strength (Roots Africa).

Similar tour programmes
Concerning the tour programmes, most of the tour operators focus on the same sights and do not try to break away from a ‘mass’ offer.
In Johannesburg, the most important sights of the tours were:
- houses of Nelson Mandela et Desmond Tutu
- Hector Pieterse Museum
- Regina Mundi Church
- Freedom Square and Freedom Charter Memorial
- Apartheid Museum
- Nelson Mandela family Museum
- Baragwanath hospital
- site of 1976 student uprising
- Kliptown tour including NGO Soweto Kliptown Youth
- Oppenheimer Tower
- Credo Mutwa Village
Further important features of the tours are visits to taverns and restaurants, e.g. Mathula’s Inn, The Shack, Wandies restaurant for a traditional meal, visits to shebeens, e.g. Bra Pat’s Place, the new Soccer City, the Maponya Shopping Mall and to The Rock which is an up-market night club. Even club nights and tavern crawls figure on the programme of some tour operators (Rhubuluza and Soweto Funk).

In Cape Town, four townships are often on a tour operator’s programme: Langa, the oldest one, Nyanga, Gugulethu, and Khayelitsha, the second largest after Soweto. As for Johannesburg, main stops in Cape Town are the mostly the same and include:

- Bo-Kaap – a residential district with township background
- District Six and the District Six Museum
- Mandela Park
- Gugulethu Seven Memorial and Amy Biehl Memorial
- Crossroads

Robben Island can often be added to the tour programme or is proposed automatically in a full day tour. Further attractions on the programme are visits to sangomas – traditional healers, to B&B and hostels, shebeens, taverns and restaurants, crèches and children’s care centres, churches, meat and craft markets and “spaza” shops – informal shops. Tourists often see the colourful houses of Bo-Kaap and the cape flats26 of the so-called “Beverly Hills” of Langa as the positive sides of the townships. Bo-Kaap is portrayed by the tour operators as the success story of a township.

Local guides and community benefits for black empowerment?

Two main attributes of the guides are important. First and foremost, guides have to be local and come from the respective township as a quote by Inkululeko claims:

“Your tour guide was born and grew up in the townships. Nobody has a more intimate knowledge of township life and where to take you to experience it. Nobody else offers such unfettered freedom for you to meet the people. You're safe and sound in the hands of a man who knows and loves the people and the places he calls home.”

This coin has two sides: On one hand, the guides are supposed to be more authentic and convey personal knowledge and real experiences to the tourists. On the other hand, the guides and sometimes owners are portrayed as part of the formerly disadvantaged groups. Supposedly white-owned companies (as it is mostly not explicitly stated) also insist on engaging black South Africans as guides. Overall 11 operators state explicitly that their companies are black-owned businesses and three businesses are mixed. It seems to be

important to mention that the company is black-owned and that, thus black people become empowered thanks to the opportunities that slum tourism offers them. Moreover, there is evidence in Johannesburg and Cape Town that tour operators work with B&Bs in townships in order to support them to become more popular and attract tourists. Examples are Vicky’s B&B promoted by Nomvuyos, guesthouse stays in Langa and Kayelitsha promoted by Cape Capers or the Soweto township hostel of Soweto Backpackers as part of Soweto Bicycle Tours.

Few companies explicitly state their involvement in community projects, social projects, education programmes, collaboration with NGOs, support of local youth clubs and development projects to name some examples. For Cape Town, Nomvuyos claims that most of the sights visited receive support. Other tour operators such as Rhubuluza, Taste of Africa, Andulela, Roots Africa and Bonani simply state that they help the community by sharing the profit but little information or evidence is given on the website about how they do it and who is involved.

Three major projects that receive support from multiple tour operators are Habitat for Humanity – a housing development project, Little Angels – a foster care centre for AIDS orphans and Baphumelele Children’s Home. DayTrippers and Cape Capers initiated a lot of community projects such as the Tourism Community Development Trust or gave advice to other tourism start-ups.

Interaction for mutual understanding?

Most of the tour operators in Johannesburg and Cape Town claim to give tourists the opportunity to get in touch with local people and township residents during their visits to homes, shebeens and taverns and sangomas. Bonani claims that

“tourists are encouraged to establish personal contact with the local people on the various tours that we offer. In this way, we contribute towards peace and healing in our country. We have been pioneers in designing quality cultural experience tours. Bringing the people together, opening our homes to visitors, showing highlights of our culture, that’s what responsible tourism is all about and that’s what we enjoy doing the most!”

This contact, however, is always related to the sights tourists visit and only involves people working at or being near these sights. Many tour operators claim that slum tours help to improve mutual understanding and that slum tours are authentic due to interactive features, but there is little evidence of interaction, except perhaps for meals and sleep-overs at residents’ homes (Taste of Africa) or clubbing (Rhubuluza, Soweto Funk Tours), but even then it cannot be assumed that tourists mix with locals during their stay. There is even
evidence that encounters are staged for tourists, for example Rhubuluza proposes entertainment by “traditional dancers and the beats of a marimba band”.

Tour operators to show little concern for safety or photography
There seems commonly to be little concern about security and safety issues by the tour operators. Except for a few, none of the tour operators specifically states that the tours are safe or that specific precautions are taken by the tour operator. If tourists are to be taken on tavern crawls or club nights, guards in civilian clothes are taken on the tour to assure the safety of the tourists.

Thus, tour operators show little evidence of real concern for the education of tourists, although it might be possible that they provide information about safety issues and photography during the tour. But on websites, little attention and advice is given concerning the use of cameras, probably because most of the sights are touristic and so tour operators cannot forbid photography even though they could restrict its use in the townships.

4.2.3. Promotion and Distribution of the tours and tour operators
Partnership with luxury hotels, tourism authorities, township bed & breakfasts, associations and strategic alliances seem to be important for a couple of tour operators. The majority of tour operators’ websites display links to other travel, accommodation and tourism websites, however there is no evidence of the existence of a privileged partnership including distribution and/or promotion. Testimonials by tourists who have taken the tours before and client and press reviews are often used in order to reassure tourists of the quality and value of the tours to.

However, more important aspects for the success of the tourism businesses seem to be certification by, and membership of, tourism associations and institutions such as:

- SATSA (South African Tourism Services Association)
- Theta (Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority)
- Gauteng Tourism Authority
- South African Tourism Authority
- Cape Town Tourism
- Constantia Valley Association
- Cape Tourist Guides Association

Furthermore, a couple of tour operators feature in guide books such as Lonely Planet (Andulela) or Rough Guide (DayTrippers, Bonani). For three tour operators in particular –
Camissa, Hylton Ross and Inkululeko, the accreditation of BEE, black economic empowerment, is an important feature of their tourism business and is also used to promote the business.

4.2.4. Visual and textual elements

Johannesburg

Soweto is presented as a must-see, fun and entertaining destination (Annexe 5) due to its significant historical importance, historical links to the freedom struggle and the cultural melting pot and multiculturalism that are landmarks of Soweto:

- “the history, the culture, the vibrant township lifestyle, and everything else that the largest of South Africa's townships has to offer” (Vhupo)
- “stories from The Struggle” (Vhupo)
- “We pride ourselves with our rich and colourful history that also showcases the cultural diversity that makes Soweto one of the biggest and most vibrant townships in the world.” (Soweto Funk Tours)

Moreover, tour operators continue to contribute to the mystification of Soweto as a destination by reinforcing the controversy and ambiguity as such by projecting it as being exciting, vibrant and with major development projects on one hand and a symbol of poverty and hardship on the other:

- “What was once a symbol of hardship, struggle and poverty; the township of gold has risen from the past to become one of the most exciting places you should visit, with world class shopping malls, restaurants, night clubs and historical monuments.” (Soweto Funk Tours)
- “Shrouded in myth and controversy, vibrant Soweto is a city of surprise and contrast of starting enterprises and vigorous cultural interaction. Let us give you a Face to Face introduction to black South Africa today.” (Jimmy’s Face to Face Tours)

Tourists are even invited to become a part of the new black South Africa and to feel like a local by being invited to pubs, clubs, restaurants and taverns (Annexe 5). Tourists will thus be experiencing how locals live the ‘real’ South Africa in, what by tour operators might be seen, as the most authentic and real-value-for-money experience:

- “Escape your comfort zones on this awesome experience as you blow your Vuvuzela and share a beer with a local while crawling from pub to shack to famous landmark in a genuine Soweto Taxi.” (Rhubuluza)
- “Have a taste of Soweto, eat our local burger - Kota, stop at the shebeen and enjoy the traditional beer with the people. Go home with a different perception of the township.” (Soweto Bicycle)
- “This tour gives you the stories of the struggle, a taste of local food and drinks, and a full day adventure cycling the streets of Soweto! The tour offers a lot of stops for you to have both a relaxed and adventurous tour” (Soweto Bicycle)

Finally, if the tourist becomes a local and becomes almost integrated into the township society because he is doing the very same activities as the residents, then the respect of the local community is guaranteed. Then, there will be no questionable moral dimension behind the township tours:
- “This is not Taste of Africa, we do not do 'zoo-like' drive by tours, we respect our local communities.” (Taste of Africa)
- “Our 'Soweto by night' is not the typical shebeen tour, we focus on getting close to the people. We will visit a traditional shebeen for a Sundowner, and walk the streets, visiting the guide and her family / friends at home, and eating very local. Walking through Soweto adds to the magic and keeps you in the vibe of the community around you.” (Taste of Africa)

Cape Town
The townships of Cape Town are described in a more cultural way than Soweto. The focus is laid on the freedom struggle, the history of the black population and the importance of black townships as cultural tourist attractions and must-sees of “real South African life”:
- “It’s a must for every visitor to Cape Town to experience a day in the life of the locals. Interact with the township dwellers as they go about their daily routine and find out more about their past, their future and what currently drives them.” (Nomvuyos)
- “Join us in being proudly South African and support the communities by purchasing some of their hand made arts, crafts or clothing and take a piece of Africa home with you . Share your memories and experience with others and know that you can make a difference.” (Nomvuyos)
- “Take a journey into a world of colour, contrast, unique cultural flavour and ultimately a new understanding of the pulsing heart of South Africa. And like a chameleon, the people of South Africa consist of many colours, prompting one of our struggle leaders…” (Zibonele)
- “Discover how the squalor and the deprivation of the townships of a previously disadvantaged community is being transformed and provided with modern schools, clinics, electricity, clean water, liveable homes and sport facilities.” (Cape Capers)

- “We promise an unique experience, where you will be welcomed in the traditional African way, into the townships. It will be an opportunity to view our life style, learn our history, gain knowledge of our political information, be amazed by our diverse culture and it will leave you with a memorable and personal deep notion.” (Babi’s)

- “An excursion of the craft market then follows where locals sell their hand made goods, and you get to visit those with HIV Aids where donations are needed.” (Babi’s)

The township tour is supposed to educate and sensitize the tourists from another standpoint, namely that of the disadvantaged black population, neglected and crowded together in a township. The tour intends to broaden understanding and perhaps even attempts to abolish racial stereotyping and prejudices (Annexe 7):

- “Leave Cape Town and the townships with a greater understanding of the people and their lives. It’s very rewarding!” (Meljo)

- “We will introduce you to the history of our lives during the apartheid era, the forced removals, the cultures of the people and their hope for the Democratic South Africa.” (Nthuseng)

- “In spite of the many challenges faced by the residents, the abundance of hope, courage, innovativeness, and creative energy to be found in the Cape Town townships can hardly fail to leave you inspired and humbled. This side of the South African experience is all about real people with real stories, right on our doorstep… and yet worlds away.” (Andulela)

- “In respect of the communities we visit on these tours, a local guide from the area, hops into the vehicle with us. Then you can learn a few Xhosa words as we drive!” (Take 2 Tours)

- “Although often desperately poverty stricken, townships are not only about crime and deprivation, you will witness a community spirit and be the recipient of hospitality like nowhere else!” (Take 2 Tours)

Most of the pictures support the description provided by the tour operators and the purpose of either the company or the tours. Many pictures display the tours, tourists, sights, shacks and local people. Some also display the colourful houses of Bo-Kaap and local businesses, traditional arts and crafts, local food, children on the street or in school.
4.2.5. Intermediate conclusion

The township tours in South Africa have an important politico-historical dimension due to the significant presence of cultural heritage sights. Thus, the township tour does not only include a ‘simple’ visit to a township but it gives the background to a long and historical battle in order to abolish racial segregation. Visits to formerly disadvantaged communities are described as the most memorable, valuable and profound human experience, but the tour might be a subjective approach to explain history as it only gives the view of township residents. For them, telling the stories of the past is their way to cope with what happened. Thus, at some point, history and heritage with regards to Apartheid seems to lie in the hands of tourism professionals, tour guides and residents who might interact with tourists during the tour.

Even though the tour is promoted by most of the tour operators as an insider tour, township tours are almost a must for visitors. Thus, a certain standardisation seems to become clear with regards to prices, tour programmes, number of tour operating businesses and thus, competition between them. In order to set themselves apart from other tour operators and therefore, to attract tourists, tour operators try to convince the tourists that their tour is the best, the most unique, the most valuable and in contrast to others more community-based. Those are claims on their websites in order to promote the business but when it comes to the description of townships and the tours, almost all tour operators use catchy phrases and claim authentic, real experiences such as:

- “If you are looking for the REAL Soweto Tour experience, you have come to the right place!” (Vhupo)
- “Soweto Funk Tours! It’s no longer a struggle it’s a lifestyle!” (Soweto Funk Tours)
- “Welcome to the real South Africa” (Zibonele)

And even though some tour operators such as Taste of Africa, Soweto Funk Tours or Soweto Bicycle Tours want to ‘escape’ the mainstream township business by proposing meals and overnight stays at residents’ homes, a party in the township or bicycle tours instead of bus tours, they have difficulty in positioning themselves outside of this mainstream offer.

Black-owned tour companies also struggle to set themselves apart, stating that the tours are not poverty tours (Camissa), that the tours will “still tourists’ thirst” for black townships (Bonani) or that the tours are a “once in a life-time and unforgettable adventure” (Inkululeko). Consequently, in terms of textual and visual elements, there is no evidence that black tour operators try to avoid stereotypes and the ambiguous and controversial portrayal of townships and township residents (Annexe 8).
South Africa is making progress in acknowledging more influence and importance of the black population at least in the tourism business. Black economic empowerment (BEE) has also become more relevance for tour operating businesses. The BEE concept aims to target growth by addressing inequality. By legislating and regulating empowerment with the BEE Act of 2003, the government wants to situate BEE in the context of a wider national empowerment strategy by creating employment opportunities, especially for former disadvantaged groups in society. Progress is mainly evaluated in four specific areas such as direct empowerment through business ownership and control, management at senior levels, human resource development and employment equity and indirect empowerment through privileged procurement, enterprise development and corporate social investment (a residual and open-ended category)\textsuperscript{27}.

Those credentials and official recognition through awards such as Emerging Tourism Entrepreneur of the year, Best Tourist Guide, Best Township Experience, and the Ministerial Award for ‘Extra-ordinary contribution towards making S.A a premier tourist destination’ might help tour businesses to position themselves as more sustainable and responsible by acknowledging the potential to create safe, community-based and educative tours. However, the majority of tour companies need to be led in a more responsible direction in order to make a difference to disadvantaged communities. The importance is that slum tourism should rather be approached from an educative and sensitive standpoint than by portraying township residents as poor, formerly disadvantaged groups of society. Some tour operators focus on the new, positive sides of the townships, but the narrative of the struggle of the past remains an important feature.

\textsuperscript{27} \texttt{http://www.southafrica.info/business/trends/empowerment/bee.htm} (last accessed: 18.07.2010)
4.3. Brazil – Rio de Janeiro

4.3.1. General information about the companies

Slum tours offered from 1992 onwards

Three out of five businesses have been founded in 1992, the year when the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) or Earth Summit took place in Rio de Janeiro. Favela Tour and Exotic Tours both claim to be first company to have started favela tours during the Summit and hence, it is probable that both tour operators started simultaneously. Jeep Tours also started its operations during the Summit. The remaining tour operators started their operations in 2003 (Be a local) and 2004/2005 (Favela Adventures), over ten years behind the rest.

One tour operator sets itself apart

All companies appear to be inbound tour operators. But in contrast to the rest, Jeep Tours sets itself strongly apart claiming to have developed a ‘new and innovative concept’ in order to show ‘that man and nature can live in perfect harmony’. The tour operator strongly focuses on its clients, the tourists, who are supposed to enjoy the natural beauty of the city toured in a jeep. Jeep Tours stresses its values, mostly related to the respect of the client and to a quality process. However, in scientific terms, it is arguable whether Jeep Tours achieves its goal of being an environmentally-friendly tour operator with regards to its rather polluting and destructive mode of transportation: jeeps. For Jeep Tours, ‘jeep safaris’ to Rio’s favelas are only one diversification project, as its focus lays in sight-seeing and nature and adventure tours around Rio de Janeiro.

In complete contrast to Jeep Tours, the other four companies have mainly developed from the perspective of attracting higher numbers of visitors to the favela (Favela Tour) and to help empower the community either by employing favela residents, by redistributing money back to the community or by contributing to community projects with the revenue of the tours. Even though Exotic Tours and Be a Local also propose sporting activities such as hang-gliding and hiking, voodoo tours, city tours or others, slum tours remain the main purpose of the operators. Moreover, two of the operators (Be a Local and Favela Adventures) propose, in addition to ‘traditional’ favela tours, participation at Football Games (Be a local), at parties and club nights in the favela (both) and even over-night stays in the favela (Favela Adventures) are possible for either short- or long-term purposes.

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28 Annexe 9: Table of analysis for Rio de Janeiro
Increasing number of website visitors

Two tour companies (Favela Tour and Favela Adventures) provide the possibility to see how many people have visited their website: In June 2010, about 105,000 visitors visited the website of Favela Tour and almost 62,000 visited the website of Favela Adventures. However, as no start date is provided for the counter, we do not know when it was set up. It might be a recent counter or a counter that was set up with the website in the founding year. But in one week only, the number of visitors to the website of Favela Adventures increased by over 1,300 (61,675 to 62,992) and almost 500 more visitors (105,264 to 105,707) visited the Favela Tour website. This may indicate that there exists an increasing interest in slum tours for Brazil and especially for Rio de Janeiro.

4.3.2. Operation of the tours

Standard prices and duration

Although price and duration information was not always accessible, three tour operators charge the same price of circa 30 € for a three-hour tour, the average time of a favela tour. Favela Adventures indicate that the tour might take longer (or shorter) depending on what the tourist wants to see and how long he wants to stay. Favela Adventures provides also special tours for 40 to 45 € and pub crawls for 20 €. But there was little evidence that longer tours are provided commonly. Generally tours were proposed daily or twice a day.

Mainly small groups and ‘nobel’ objectives

Three of the five tour operators (Exotic Tours, Be a local and Favela Tour) state clearly that they would like to transform the negative image of Rocinha displayed due to its violence and drug issues. The tours are supposed to show “another reality of Rio” (Exotic Tours), “a local viewpoint” (Be a local) and to really understand the local life and class society in Brazil and in Rio (Favela Tour, Favela Adventures). Favela Adventures explains that they favour the cross-cultural communication and an exchange in a process of learning and understanding each other. Consequently, the tour operators prefer to operate in smaller groups ranging from three to a maximum of 12 people; on request, however, they also operate tours for bigger groups.

In contrast, Jeep Tours mission is to “transform moments into good memories” and to observe the city in its natural landscape. Thus, their focus does not seem to lie in educating tourists and breaking down negative images. Jeep Tours states that they operate tours for as many as

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30 Date of first visitor number: 12.06.2010, Date of second visitore number: 19.06.2010
31 Prices on the websites are in US $ and can be found in the table of analysis
250 people, but it is not clear if this also applies to slum tours or solely to other sightseeing tours as the means of transportation is rather invasive for a slum.

**Similar tour programmes**

Most of the tours visit the favela of Rocinha where the tourists visit local shops, the post office, handcraft shops and centers, a community school (Exotic Tour and Favela Tour), local artists’ studio and a children’s day care center (Be a local, Favela Adventures), the former Formula 1 race track and a local bar (Favela Tour).

The tours are mostly walking tours, although jeep and motorcycle tours are also possible, and depending on the size of the group, tour operators also use vans and coaches. During the transfer or transport to the sites, explanations about the local infrastructure, security, architecture and the Favela Bairro Programme, which helped to improve some of the favela’s infrastructure, are given to the tourists.

Favela Adventures, whose tours are less standardised, offers to let the tourist dictate what he would like to see. Tourists who are interested in the ‘real’ life of a favela resident can accompany him to visit his family and friends, to local parties and spend the whole night in the favela living ‘like a local’.

**Local guides as feature for authentic, interactive tours**

Most of the guides employed by the tour companies speak multiple languages. Focus is laid on English, Spanish, French and Italian. Exotic Tours and Favela Tour employ local guides and favela residents and Exotic Tours acknowledges providing formation and education for the guides.

The tour operators claim to make interaction with local residents possible, though not always to the same extent. Employing local guides enables the pretense of an interactive tour as those guides know how the favela life ‘really’ is and due to the language barrier, little evidence is given that tourists interact with random residents. Tour operators claim that further interaction is possible during the stops at community schools and projects, handcraft centres or artists’ studios but thus, only people working there come into contact with the tourists.

Only two operators have created the opportunity to get in touch with locals during visits to football games (Be a local), during parties (Be a local, Favela Adventures) and the dining and sleeping possibilities in the favela (Favela Adventures).
Ambiguous safety situation

Although Brazilian favelas are known for their violence and drug crime issues, the tour operators show relatively little concern and the issue of safety finds little attention on the websites. Even though the question of how secure the tours are figures in the Questions and Answers (Q&As) section, the answer is quite often the same. Security is claimed to be no issue during the tours if tourists stay with local guides. The necessity of a guide is also suggested because without a local, tourists might get lost in the network of alleys in the favela. Furthermore, Favela Adventures states that there are up to 200 tourists in Rocinha each day and therefore, Rocinha is to be seen as a safe favela in contrast to others.

Education and community support

Exotic Tours provides educational workshops for tourists as claimed on the website. The tour operator seems to focus on the opportunity to help favela residents by favela tourism while educating tourists and improving their understanding of favelas and favela residents. Exotic Tours helps a local community school project and indicates that further donations are helpful for the positive development of the project. Favela Tour provides financial support to a community school in Vila Canoas and Favela Adventures saves 25% of the revenue in order to open a Rocinha Arts and Cultural Institute. In line with that, some tour operators (Exotic Tours, Favela Adventures) allow photography, but the guides can decide restriction whenever necessary. Nevertheless, even if some tour operators take education and community profits seriously, others do not mention any kind of support or education.

4.3.3. Promotion and Distribution of the tours and tour operators

Importance of official recognition by authorities and guide books

Riotur\textsuperscript{32}, the official tourism guide of the Rio prefecture for tourism, enumerates tour organising companies including Exotic Tours, Favela Tour and Jeep Tour. This is part of the subsection ‘City Tours’ and means that favela tours are definitely seen as an important feature of Rio’s guided tours in general. Being mentioned in guide books such as Lonely Planet, Guide du Routard, Frommers Guide and Rough Guide is important to the business of Favela Tours and Exotic Tours. Both tour operators are openly competing in being the first and best favela tour operator. Thus, Exotic Tour, for example, prides itself for its reputation: “Our reputation is our best advertise”.

\textsuperscript{32} http://www.riogui офicial.com.br/en/tours/ (last accessed: 20.06.2010)
Favela Tours, on the contrary, is operated by the well-known Marcela Armstrong and its tours are additionally promoted on other tourism websites such as Rio Turismo Radical and Pack Tours. The company is also registered in Embratur which is the Brazilian Tourism Bureau. Furthermore, they have been published in newspaper articles.

Other features on the website are mostly blogs, testimonials, clients’ comments and newspaper articles which are supposed to help the tourist to choose and see how the tour is perceived by those who have been there before. Some of the testimonials displayed are written by professionals such as journalists or travel agencies in order to show their satisfaction and source reliability.

For promotion purposes and sometimes distribution purposes, some tour operators work with partner hotels and hostels in Rio, Brazil and South America as well as partner operators for paragliding, hang-gliding, travel agencies, restaurants and other tour operators.

4.3.4. Visual and textual elements

Most of the tour operators’ websites use colloquial language and spelling and grammar mistakes can be found. Descriptions of the tours and the favelas often try to put them into a positive light by using words or phrases like “unique”, “sustainable”, “successful tours” (Exotic Tours), “amazing view”, “welcoming, warm locals” (Be a local), “reputation and quality of services” (Favela Tour) and “(to) educate but also to have fun” (Favela Adventures). In order to appear different from other tour operators, Favela Adventures prides itself for being the “first and only company owned and operated by people who live in the favela” and the logo of Favela Tour displays the following statement: “Beneficial to community, Informative and surprising, Not voyeuristic at all”.

Pictures on the websites can differ drastically from one website to another. Whereas Be a local and Favela Adventures include pictures of guides with tourists during an activity (Annexe 10) as well as locals interacting with tourists, others such as Exotic Tours and Jeep Tour focus on the sights and pictures of the favela in general (Annexe 11). Favela Tour also displays a picture of a typical favela painting.

Jeep Tour, in contrast to the others, appears to be the most professional and commercial. The design of the website and the choice of words and pictures seem important towards attracting tourists and making profit.
4.3.5. Intermediate conclusion

Tour operators try to change the negative image of Rio’s favela or rather of Rocinha and instead attract tourists in order to break the stereotypes of violence, crime and drugs. They provide tourists with the opportunity to see the ‘real’ Rio away from tourist attractions and beaches. There are no historic and cultural tourist attractions in the favela. Therefore, what tourists see is every-day life and every-day offices, schools and other businesses supposedly different from what tourists are used to at home. There is evidence that some of the tour operators are concerned with improving the situation in Rocinha. Nevertheless, it is important to add that Rocinha is one of the better favelas in Rio with houses constructed mostly out of brick and stone with access to water and electricity. In contrast, many other favelas in Brazil suffer from worse conditions.

The majority of the tour companies, however, insist that favela tours help create work opportunities for locals. It is interesting to see that some of the companies engage in providing education and formation for employees. An element of possible commodification might be seen in the ‘staged’ interaction with locals which is only allowed at handcraft centres and community projects. This ‘commodified relationship’ serves those that are involved with a tour company, however, it excludes those that are not. Insensitive approaches such as from Jeep Tours and too little consent from the community do not help to put slum tours in Rio in a positive light. Such tours might reinforce stereotypes and prejudices that other operators try to extinguish or at least improve. Nevertheless, Jeep Tours is officially supported by Riotur.

Consequently, more sensitive approaches are needed and tourism authorities such as Riotur and Embratur should control more sensitive approaches by creating certificates or awards based on objective criteria.

Favela Adventures tries a different approach and Be a local tries to go in a similar direction. The approach is less based on ‘mainstream’ tourism but rather on inviting tourists to live with the residents, go out with them, eat in their restaurants and even sleep at a residents’ place: Accordingly, living the life of a favela resident at least for a couple of hours or days. Zezinho, initiator of Favela Adventures and involved in many musical projects in the favela, wants to get young people of different nationalities in touch with favela residents and let them participate in his daily life and that of his friends. This approach might help towards breaking down barriers and eliminating stereotypes because it reinforces cross-cultural communication. Here, slum tourism takes an approach of ‘living with and like a resident’ rather than ‘visiting’ the slum dweller.
4.4. India – Mumbai

4.4.1. General information about the companies

These three inbound tour operators, Reality Tours and Travel, Mumbai Magic and Go Heritage, provide tours for tourists coming to India and to India’s major cities.

Reality Tours and Travel was founded in 2005 and is solely focussed on Mumbai. Reality Tours’ purpose is to show Dharavi as it is, its community and enterprise spirit and other positive sides in order to dispel the myth and bad image of Indian slums. Reality Tours focuses mainly on slum tours but in order to broaden the business, they propose other sightseeing tours as well.

In contrast to this, Mumbai Magic, founded in 2006 as part of a destination-based travel company with offices in Delhi, Jaipur, Pune, Chennai and Mumbai and Go Heritage offer tours in multiple cities and are mostly focused on sightseeing, yoga, spa, golf and other tours. The main business of Mumbai Magic and Go Heritage involves proposing customised tours off the beaten track (Mumbai Magic) and “quality service for the discerning traveller” (Go Heritage). Although, their first focus is the client, they also promote sustainable tourism, employ local people and work towards the development of Indian society.

4.4.2. Operation of the tours

Go Heritage claims to cater for the cultural tourist in general and the volunteer tourist who wants to work in India in particular. However, in comparison to other tour businesses Go Heritage’s website lacks the most basic information.

Reality Tours proposes 2-hour tours for Rs 400 (7 €) and 4-hour tours for Rs 800 (15 €). Day tours can be purchased for Rs 5,400 (90 €) with Reality Tours. Reality Tours has no specific target audience and rather intends to cater for all travellers in order to raise awareness about Indian slums.

Striking is that, in contrast to Reality Tours, Mumbai Magic focusses on customised tours, proposing slum tours for 6,500 Rs (115 €) for a 4-hour tour for two people in a van. Mumbai Magic claims that most of the visitors are economists, business leaders, teachers/professors, writers, corporate clients and that their tours are not designed for budget travellers or backpackers due to the high fee that is charged.

Reality Tours and Mumbai Magic propose individual and group tours twice a day, every day and on request. However, Mumbai Magic does not mix people who do not know each other to justify the higher fee charged. Mumbai Magic claims that, in order to assure an exchange and

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33 Annexe 12: Table of analysis for Mumbai
learning process, a maximum of seven people is allowed on the tours and whenever there are higher numbers of participation, participants will be split into smaller groups.

Intentions to break stereotypes
The tour operating companies claim to be willing to change the image of Indian and Mumbai’s slums specifically: Tours are supposed to “break down the negative image of Dharavi and Indian slums and residents, highlight small scale industry and increase understanding between people of different social classes, races, religions and countries” (Reality Tours), to “bust slum myths” (Go Heritage) and to “see the people of Dharavi, their homes, their work places, and their spirit”, to “not expect extreme poverty and despair based on movie depictions” and to “actively break stereotypical depictions of slums” (Mumbai Magic). Mumbai Magic even claims that “this is not a "slum" tour” and emphasises the importance of personal evolution and flow of the tour where tourists are expected to ask questions and engage with the subject of slum development.

Importance of industries and economic value of Dharavi
Reality Tours’ sights on the one hand include the Kindergarten and community centre, visits to handcraft industries such as a bakery or soap factory, visits to Hindu temples, churches and mosques and the more residential areas. On the other hand, Mumbai Magic proposes stops which show market-driven recycling, urban villages demonstrating land-use patterns and social norms as well as migration mechanisms, a movie multiplex built for Dharavi’s youth, the networking industry market and cooperative movements (e.g. papad) as well as residential areas which are seen as the 3rd Mumbai of the hard-working poor.

Walking tours with local guides
Reality Tours only proposes walking tours and gathers tourists at a central meeting point. Reality Tours employ eight people, four of them as guides and all of them speaking good English.

Mumbai Magic proposes the tour in a van which brings the client to each stop, the tourist can then walk around on the spot. Mumbai Magic employs 14 guides, mostly women, and insists

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34 Information of Marie Mathy during her Dharavi visit in February 2010
35 The 3rd Mumbai as explained by Deepa Krishnan, founder and owner of Mumbai Magic, is the Mumbai of the hard-working poor. The first Mumbai is the one comprising glitz, glamour and safety in five-star hotels next to street beggars and dwellers (2nd Mumbai). These three representations might be seen as tourist perspectives on India caught between two extremes. Slum tours are supposed to show the poor community, actively working and earning money to support their families in a country of no social security and unemployment benefits.
on the experience, knowledge and professionalism of guides being cultured, highly qualified and knowledgeable. The guides speak English, German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, French and Arabic. The guides have 15-20 years of experience and are prepared to cater guide intellectual professors, economists or other specialised groups.

Go Heritage provides little information about community work and donations, rather insisting that with their help cheap accommodation for volunteers as well as suitable organisations for client donations can be found. Reality Tours and Mumbai Magic, in addition to employing guides with slum background, are clearer about where the profits and benefits of the tours go, often donating these to their partner-organisations running different community projects. Mumbai Magic claims to educate young slum dwellers in order to work in the tourism industry and provide for their families.

Although there are slum tour packages possible (Reality Tours and Go Heritage), no information is given on accommodation in the slum. It is therefore likely to assume, that hotels are, if proposed, outside of the slum.

Advice and sensitisation

Little information is given on safety issues of the slum tours. Although safety in general is important for Go Heritage, Mumbai Magic for instance claims that the slum is safe. Mumbai Magic distributes bottled water as well as illustrated handouts during visits as an additional service. Tourists are advised to bring sun protection, rain cover, to avoid formal clothes and jewellery, and wear comfortable and sturdy footwear due to the uneven ground. Except for Reality Tours, none provide clear picture policies. Reality Tours has a no-picture-policy and a no-tip-policy and states that the poorest areas are not visited. Thus, it is possible that extreme poverty is still a sensitive issue.

Go Heritage insists on the importance of respecting the culture and traditions of slum dwellers and that tourists need to display inner passion and responsibility: “one has to travel this sensitive area responsibly without hurting the sentiment of the slum dwellers”.

Furthermore, tourists are sensitised to not stare or talk down to people and that the contrast between tourist and local might be uncomfortable for the tourist as well as for the locals. The interaction with locals in India depends strongly on their willingness to interact with the tourists and their ability to communicate in English. Interaction is often possible at the stops but mostly with people working at the project or factory. It is less likely to interact with random people in the slum.
4.4.3. **Promotion and Distribution of the tours and tour operators**

Although Reality Tours had troubles promoting itself through the partnership with hotels or travel agencies mostly during its start-up, it has received a lot of national and international press which increased its notoriety. Nowadays, Reality Tours features in travel guides such as Rough Guide, Frommers Guide and Lonely Planet and is being promoted by other travel websites such as Backpacking Tips Asia\(^{36}\). The work with local NGOs helps as well to promote the tours. Social networking websites such as Facebook or Twitter are commonly used to promote the tour operating company and blogs, testimonials and press reviews are there to assure the client that the tours are worth going on and that they are good-value for money. Furthermore, established travel agencies such as Mumbai Magic or Go Heritage, use special ties and partnerships with hotels, airlines and travel agencies to promote their business.

4.4.4. **Visual and textual elements**

A difference is visible between the importance of being professional, to attract and cater for the client (Annexe 13) and the importance of focusing on dispelling the negative image of slums (Annexe 14): “A place of poverty and hardship but also a place of enterprise, humour and non-stop activity” (Reality Tours), “On the surface life the slum dwellers have a hard life for survival, when you meet them personally you will see here a vibrant life of fun and laughter” or “Come down to Dharavi slum and you will see here a mix world of fun and pain” (Go Heritage) and “In spite of the grime and the squalor, Dharavi is an area bustling with activity, with an economy estimated to be worth US $ 500 million, and many rags-to-riches stories” (Mumbai Magic) are phrases used to describe the controversy of slums and slum living but do not specifically favour the image of slums.

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4.4.5. Intermediate conclusion

Due to the little information provided by the third tour operator, Go Heritage, the slum tourism offer in India is less comparable than in other countries. Only one operator appears to be specialised in slum tours while offering also other tours in order to sustain business. Mumbai Magic and Go Heritage are diversified inbound tour operators offering a broad tourism product range.

However, this does not mean that intentions for slum tours are the same. Go Heritage and Mumbai Magic only explain very briefly their purpose and the tours by stressing the contrasts of slums in India. On first impressions, these websites are made to attract foreigners rather than to inform them and to openly share information. The tourist is obliged to contact the tour operator in order to get further information about the tours. This gives to tour operator the time to insist on how special its tours are and how important quality and safety is.

We can only assume that, from the information given by Go Heritage, the tours are rather superficial in contrast to Reality Tours and Mumbai Magic which claim that the educative features of their tours help to ensure an image change of slums in general. However, it is hard to judge from the offer if tourists adopt and internalise the image change and become aware of the general thread of slum development in the Third World. Furthermore, we can see a clear influence and importance of Go Heritage to attract volunteer tourists. By stating that they will help look for a suitable organisation and assure affordable accommodation, Go Heritage assumes an important role in volunteer tourism to India.

One major question arises when looking at price differences between Reality Tours and Mumbai Magic: Can higher fees be justified by a greater support of community projects? Mumbai Magic openly does not address backpackers who are not willing to spend more money. Although Mumbai Magic, together with the remaining parts of the company, employs more people and proposes more quality and service to its clients, is this reason for higher prices? Overall, does Mumbai Magic contribute more to the local community in terms of financial benefits, employment opportunities, etc.?
4.5. Kenya – Nairobi

Two companies have been identified to be operated by the same management: Victoria Safaris and Niche Africa Holidays. For Niche Africa Holidays, not all the information was accessible; therefore, it is likely to assume that tours with Niche Africa Holiday are operated in the same way as Victoria Safaris’ tours are operated. Although Victoria Safaris is focused more on adventure, backpacker and safari tourism, Niche Africa Holiday can be seen as a tour operator mostly operating luxury tours. Tours booked in both companies can even be operated together.

4.5.1. General information about the companies

Very recent slum offer

One tour operator has been starting its tours in 2006 already, though founded only in 2005 (Victoria Safaris). James Asudi, General Manager of Victoria Safaris, mentioned that slum tours had to be integrated into the menu because “tourists were getting tired of safaris”38, quote often cited (Mowforth, Munt, 2009, online article39).

However, increasing interest led to the foundation of two other tour companies in 2009 (Kibera Tours, Explore Kibera Tours) which can perhaps be explained by the success of slum tourism in other countries such as Brazil and South Africa and the demand to offer tours to Kibera, Nairobi’s largest and well-known slum.

Different slum tour operators

The two operators (Kibera Tours, Explore Kibera Tours) set themselves apart from the last three. These two can be identified as tourism organisations focusing on social tourism projects (Explore Kibera Tours) while providing the opportunity to visit Kibera in order to help the community with the revenue raised. While Kibera Tours, a Dutch-Kenyan organisation, mainly focuses on the promotion of Kibera as a “city of hope”, where its residents hope for a better future in urban Africa and on the provision of work opportunities for local people, Explore Kibera Tours wants to raise awareness and promote volunteerism in Kenyan slums. Furthermore, Explore Kibera Tours also reinvests its profits into the community, hires local staff and enriches the community by visiting local craft makers where

37 Annexe 15: Table of analysis for Nairobi
38 Information received per e-mail
39 http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/208042/reality_tourism_and_travel_slum_tours.html (last accessed: 06.08.2010)
tourists can buy local objects for souvenirs. In contrast to the rest, both companies do not have a diversification project, their sole reason of existence are slum tours. In contrast, we can identify three tour companies which operate slum tours as well as other tours such as discovery and wildlife-safari tours. These three tour operators, although targeting different groups, operate more in the mainstream tourism business. Their mission is clearly more commercial than community-based, even though this does not exclude the latter to be an objective. Malaika Eco-Tourism promotes green travel in Kenya and proposes eco-friendly discovery tours throughout Kenya. Victoria Safaris and Niche Africa Holidays have both the same goals: to become best tour operating company in East Africa by providing quality and personalised (in the case of Niche Africa Holidays) services to their clients. Both missions are completely identical and also focus on nature conservation and pro-poor tourism development.

4.5.2. Operation of the tours

Slum tour packages

The average duration of the tours is three hours. Both Kibera Tours and Explore Kibera Tours offer a very competitive price of 2,000-2,500 KES (20-25 €) in comparison to the rest. Kibera Tours even offers 15 €-tours for residents themselves. Malaika Eco-Tourism proposes the slum tour in a package which costs 970 €; no price for the slum tour alone is available. Victoria Safaris and Niche Africa Holidays propose very different prices. Victoria Safaris proposes the tour for 40 € which is already higher than the price proposed by Kibera Tours and Explore Kibera Tours. Even higher is the price for the tours proposed by Niche Africa Holidays which varies between 80 € for a group of 4-7 people and 120€ - 250 € for one person or for a more ‘charitable’ tour. Here, we have to add that Niche Africa Holidays proposed a packaged tour for 4 days and 3 nights where people visit different Nairobi slums during 4 days.

Small groups formed of ‘alternative tourists’

The number of people allowed on a tour varies from 1 to 10 (maximum with Victoria Safaris), with Malaika Eco-Tourism proposing its 11day-package for 2-3 people and Kibera Tours and Explore Kibera Tours with a maximum of 5-6 people. Mostly, tours are operated once or twice a day. Victoria Safaris revealed that since 2006, 156 tourists have taken the tour with this company. Further information is not available.

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40 Prices on websites often only available in US $
Whereas Kibera Tours and Explore Tours mainly concentrate on ‘the open-minded traveler’ in general, Malaika Eco-Tourism targets backpacker and ecotourists. Victoria Safaris caters for the tourism market as a whole while offering different prices for ‘ordinary’ tourists, corporate clients and budget travellers. Niche Africa Holidays proposes luxury tourism products which are more expensive than the average tourism product. We can therefore assume that they address a richer clientele.

**Slum tours showing Kenya’s unseen sights**

Kibera Tours and Explore Kibera Tours mostly focus on challenging old stereotypes and to escort tourists out of their own comfort zone. Kibera Tours’ goal is to show visitors the community, its friendliness and resilience by showing the improvements made by the population and organisations in Kenya’s ‘unseen part’. Explore Kibera Tours wants people to engage with local guides in order to understand the life in the slum and to understand and support the work of organisations. The promotion of volunteer programmes is hereby important. Malaika Eco-Tourism proposes volunteer programmes but also wants to promote an eco-friendly and sustainable tourism giving tourists the opportunity for adventure and engagement with local people.

More questionable are the intentions of the more established tour companies Victoria Safaris and Niche Africa Holidays which want to show every-day problems and struggles in the slum. The tours are referred to as “pro-poor tours” or “charity tours” and mainly focus on donating money or adopting a child. It is not clear if the tour company employs the term hazardously or if the intention is to attract tourists by claiming to apply ‘alternative’ tourism concepts.

**Walking tours to show main improvements in the slums**

All tours are operated by foot. Some companies give the opportunity to pick up hotel guests. Only Explore Kibera Tours proposes a central meeting point at the slum entrance. Although Malaika Eco-Tourism proposes the package as biking tour, the slum visit happens by foot.

The stops of Kibera Tours and Explore Kibera Tours are mainly based on their work with charitable and non-governmental organisations. Local guides, employed to provide financial support, show local houses, orphanages and schools, centres where biogas and solar energy projects are established, markets and youth clubs, and urban up-grading projects. Malaika Eco-Tourism, Victoria Safaris and Niche Africa Holidays also visit a local house, a community school and various other projects and HIV and youth programmes. Most of the
stops are very alike and can even be visited by more than one company, for example “Mama Tunza orphanage/ school” is visited by Kibera Tours and Niche Africa Holidays. Due to the missing language barrier, interaction between tourists and locals might be easier than in other countries. Curious children are said to be following and accompanying the tourists. At projects and in homes, tourists are encouraged to interact with the slum residents and to ask questions.

**Increased community benefits?**

Every tour company promotes its own cause or project mainly visited during the tour. It has been made clear that tourists are seen as an opportunity for the community to earn money either by being directly employed at the company or by vending local arts and crafts. Tourists can donate money after the tour to a project of their choice. Donations can also be of material goods. Victoria Safaris states that the visitors help in the slum upgrading thanks to their contributions. Malaikea Eco-Tourism, however, mainly focuses on promoting and supporting ecological and sustainable activities as stated in their ecotourism policy. It is therefore, the only operator that does not explicitly support the local population or encourage donations.

Various dining and accommodation opportunities are mentioned for packaged tours but not in the slum. Tourists always eat and sleep outside the slum either in hotels or tents (Malaikea Eco-Tourism). Niche Africa Holidays is programmed as followed: the tourists take their breakfast at the hotel, and then they visit the slum in the morning, eat outside for lunch, go back into the slum in the afternoon and are escorted back to the hotel to have dinner at the hotel. Thus, community benefits are limited to what the tourist is able to ‘support’.

**Security guards for tourist safety**

Only Kibera and Exlore Kibera Tours claim that the tours are safe and that tourists are welcomed by the local community. However, they also state that the tours are operated during day time, in safe areas (Explore Kibera Tours) and accompanied by a security guard. Furthermore, tourists are not encouraged to bring passports, valuables and shiny objects. Photography should be kept to a minimum and only with permission from the guides. The tourists should wear comfortable clothes and walking shoes due to the mud and water that have moistened the ground. The commercial tour companies such as Malaikea Eco-Tourism, Niche Africa Holidays and Victoria Safaris do not give security advice nor photography or other advice.
4.5.3. Promotion and Distribution of the tours and tour operators

Although, tourist visits to Kibera are now mentioned in the Lonely Planet travel guide to Kenya, they do not mention any of the tour operators. There is only information about the promotion and distribution of the tours. Kibera Tours mainly attracts tourists thanks to its partners Sawadee and S4L which are Dutch tour operators that helped start the tours. Furthermore, Kibera Tours profits from websites like Kenya Trip Advisor and You-go-do promoting the tours. Most of the tour companies promote themselves via their website and Victoria Safaris, for example, enjoys a good reputation as an East Africa travel specialist being member of several professional tourism associations.

Explore Kibera Tours benefits from partnership with Kiva Microfinance, a company that lends money to poorer people, and Solar Aid, a company that provides access to clean, affordable and renewable energy.

4.5.4. Visual and textual elements

The friendliness of Nairobi’s slum

Every tour company explains firmly the present situation of Kibera and the misery that is thriving around urban centres. However, all of them also claim that Kibera is the “friendliest slum in the world and a city of hope” (Kibera Tours). Tourists are said to be welcomed in the slum and even in the every-day misery of slum dwelling, people are friendly and hopeful. The visit of Barack Obama (Explore Kibera Tours) and the proximity of Barack Obama’s ancestors’ village to the village of the Luo family (owning the business of Victoria Safaris and Niche Africa Holidays) are used to promote the tours by setting itself apart from other tour-operating companies.

Explore Kibera Tours (Annexe 16) claims that “despite its problems, Kibera has a unique charm among the 42 tribes and various religions that peacefully co-exist in the 2.5 sq. km. area. “How are you?” are the endless greetings you’ll hear from children eager to meet outsiders. Kibera is a fascinating place with raw eye-opening, yet encouraging experiences.”\(^41\)

Furthermore, Explore Kibera Tours promotes its reason of existence, which is different from the other tour operating companies:

“Safe – Though violent crimes aren’t common in Kibera, we recommend visiting with a local. We hire trusted employees who are active in community organizations and volunteerism. We operate only during daytime and within safe areas. Small – We are a local tourism project versus a large commercial operation. We don’t offer disruptive vehicle-based tours, and aim to travel in discrete groups of 5 or less. Responsible – Because of our community involvement, we know what’s

\(^{41}\) http://www.explorekibera.com/ (last accessed : 25.06.2010)
appropriate. We provide guidelines concerning photos, donations, etc. We shield you from hawkers and can mediate if you choose to purchase local crafts (we don’t take commissions).”

Victoria Safaris promotes its very “noble” concept of “escorted tours of the slums of Kenya (Annexe 17) to sample first-hand the difficulties faced by the poor” which is presented as pro-poor tourism. Furthermore, they state that they have the “know-how and the capacity to deliver tours to international and domestic visitors”\textsuperscript{43}. Victoria Safaris as well as Niche Africa Holidays are presented in a very professional way, and pictures and the texts contribute towards to promoting the tours.

\section*{4.5.5. Intermediate conclusion}

The analysis shows that there are two major types of companies operating in Kenya. On the one hand, there are companies operating slum tours as a diversification project to their tour operating and receptive agency business. On the other hand, there are organisations such as Kibera Tours and Explore Kibera Tours that want to support the local community and its projects by bringing them in touch with tourists.

Kibera is the main focus of the tour operating companies although Victoria Safaris now also tours other slums in Nairobi. Furthermore, they explain that during tours, tourists will see other rural and urban parts of the country which are as neglected as Kibera and therefore need support.

Victoria Safaris and Niche Africa Holidays are run by a Kenyan family. By stating that they employ locals and that the company supports pro-poor tourism, the company wants to attract tourists by appearing more valuable and trust-worthy. Their presentation, however, is the most questionable because instead of going deeper under the surface, they reinforce old stereotypes where richer Black Kenyans still profit from poor Black communities. It is explicitly stated several times that accommodation and eating opportunities always take place outside of the slum to reassure the tourist. Implicitly, the tour operators are aware of the safety issues in Kibera but by either not mentioning safety at all or by promoting safety guards as further job opportunities for locals, tourists are supposed to have a positive image of Kibera already on their arrival.

Community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism features are used by all companies to give Kenyan slum tours a noble facet. Even though, locals are employed as guides, drivers or safety guards, their contribution to the management is not always given. It is however hard to judge, how many whites are involved in the projects. Community projects and others are

\begin{footnotes}
\item[43] http://www.victoriasafaris.com/kenyatours/propoor.htm (last accessed: 25.06.2010)
\end{footnotes}
mostly set up by local NGOs with the help of residents and the need for volunteers is clearly outlined.

Volunteer tourism is therefore a major point of interest for some of the tour operating companies as they want to attract more volunteers by showing the ‘needy’ site of Kibera.

It is hard to judge to which extent the community really profits from this type of tourism as there are no statistics, no facts available. What is clear is that, in contrast to Brazil or South Africa, Kenyan slum tours are still getting started and are not (yet) a major contribution to the tourism economy.
5. Characterisation of the existing slum tourism offer

The preceding analysis helped to establish an overall view of the existing features in the slum tourism offer such as presented by tour operators proposing slum tours. The table presents the current findings and distinguishes similarities and differences. The features in bold, chosen with regards to their significance and need for discussion, are discussed in the next subchapters as page restrictions do not make it possible to present all features in detail.

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<th>Similarities</th>
<th>Differences</th>
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<td>Different founding periods: more established countries versus new-comers</td>
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<td>Slum tourism offer becomes integrated in the national tourism context</td>
<td>Brazil’s slum tour offer is less extensive than South Africa’s although both countries have offered slum tours since the 1990s</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Standardisation and diversification of slum tourism</strong></td>
<td><strong>Evidence of ‘staged authenticity’ in South Africa and Brazil is stronger than in other destinations</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Reinforcing the ambiguity of slums – ‘Exotisation’ of slum life and ‘heroisation’ of slum dwellers</strong></td>
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<td>Tour operators show generally little concern about safety issues in the slums</td>
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<td>Use of blogs, client testimonials and press reviews show reliability and customer-satisfaction</td>
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<td>Text and pictures generally support each other and support the focus of the tour operator</td>
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5.1. Similarities in four country-specific contexts

5.1.1. Standardisation and diversification – Commodification of slums

There is evidence that the offer of slum tourism is becoming more homogeneous in each country. For example in South Africa and in Brazil the offer has been largely homogenised with regards to the slums visited, to the main stops – most visits include a standard programme where the main stops are exactly the same – and with regards to prices which are generally lower than in ‘new-comer’ countries, most likely due to a higher number of tour operators which compete more strongly. Standardisation can also be found with regards to tour marketing and promotion of information as an increasing number of tour operators use nearly the same catch phrases and words on their websites. Images displayed on the website are very similar. In terms of visual and textual elements, tour operators rarely set themselves apart from the rest of the competing tour businesses.

However, not only new tour operators push into the market but existing tour operators use slum tours as a diversification project in order to broaden their product base. Throughout the analysis, various factors have indicated that slum tourism is becoming object of diversification:

- Different, new themes are proposed for the tours, e.g. tavern crawls, club nights, music, arts and sports workshops
- Diverse means of transport are important for the diversification of business, e.g. minibuses, coaches, bikes or motorcycles and even jeeps
- Different price categories catering a broad base of tourists are proposed, e.g. tour operators targeting luxury tourists versus tour operators focussed on backpackers, and ‘main stream’ operators
- Increased possibility of visiting slums in different cities and rural areas, e.g. Kenya, South Africa
- Introduction of accommodation opportunities and diverse activities in slum settlements, e.g. Brazil, South Africa

Consequently, with more and more tour operators pushing into the market of slum tourism, the offer becomes increasingly subject to standardisation in programme and prices, as well as diversification in themes and activities in order to withstand competition.

In order to compete, do slum tour operators commodify poverty for tourism? Hughes (2007: 269) explains that commodification focuses on the exotic, unique site of heritage but packages it and makes it available in a standardised and marketed format. Thus, slums as tangible ‘heritage’ sites associated with poverty, can be seen as subject to commodification (Witz et
al., 2001) as tour operators propose programmed, packaged tours which are often standardised and to some extent exotically marketed – slum tours as the ‘most human and unique experience’ during your stay, a must-see and must-experience.

5.1.2. Slum tours to break down negative images and stereotypes of slums and slum dwellers

There is evidence that most of the tour operators analysed focus on breaking down stereotypes and the negative image of slums and its residents. Similar stops for different tour operators of one country and similarities of tour programmes for different countries show a great concern with the image of slums and focus on providing positive impressions and feelings of slums and slum life to the visitors. Local social initiatives, developmental and community projects, basic amenities, infrastructure and services, and other improvements often figure on the tour programme in order to actively convey a positive image of the slum and to reduce prejudices and stereotypes.

Briedenhahn and Ramchander (2006: 127-128) report the overcoming of stereotypes by whites with regards to Langa residents and their pride of tourists being interested in their daily life, customs and traditions. The authors continue to argue that tourism as a “catalyst in renewing community pride” by reducing stereotypes and “enhancing cross-cultural understanding” (Briedenhahn, Ramchander, 2006: 127) is representative in slum tours. Briedenhahn and Ramchander (2006: 126) note that

“tourists express surprise that townships are not, as people have been led to believe, deprived areas steeped in violent crime. By contrast they are vibrant centres brimming with friendly people and overwhelmingly inspirational stories. Township tours have proved themselves cultural eye-openers not only for foreign tourists but also for many White South Africans venturing into these areas for the first time.”

Mowforth et al. (2008) confirm that slum tours seem to break down social barriers and stigmas despite the critics of voyeurism and that slum tours can be a driver of politicisation and awareness of poor people’s problems and slum development. Additionally, Rolfes (2009: 18-20) concludes that slums are implicitly marketed as tourism attractions which are real and authentic while tour operators mean to construct an alternative and positive picture of poverty. As a result tour operators deliberately choose not to show extreme poverty and thus poverty tourism does not seem appropriate. Thus, by showing a new, more positively perceived, picture of the slums as being economically vital and important areas of a city, tour operators want to construct a new definition of slum and slum dwellers as well achieve recognition of the importance of slums. He claims that during the tour mostly more residential and respective
areas of the slums are shown to avoid exposing explicitly extreme poverty. During the analysis, it was not possible to find real proof that slum tours are toured in the same part of the slum. Recurring names and places were mostly visible in South Africa but in the other countries little information is available in which part of the slum the tours go and if they concentrate on the same sights.

5.1.3. Reinforcing the ambiguity of slums - ‘Exotisation’ of slum life and ‘heroisation’ of slum dwellers

Tour operators often describe slums and slum tours ambiguously. They prefer to show the positive sides during the visit of a slum which in general is a negative outcome from racial segregation, neglect of certain groups of society and rural-urban migration. Nevertheless, in online descriptions they claim that life in slums is harsh and slum dwellers struggle in order to survive, they focus on poor living conditions and lack of basic amenities. Thus, they also insist on the negative features of a slum and slum life. Amidst these ambiguities, the slum dweller becomes almost a hero because he fights his everyday struggle to survive and manages somehow to make the slum ‘vibrant’ and ‘bustling’ with activities. Middleton (2000: 209) argues that people give human attributes to the city, as for example, being ‘alive’, being ‘pulsating’ or being the ’heart’ of the city. Similar attributes are often used by tour companies to describe the vibrancy and liveliness of slum life. This description reinforces the tourists’ need, his attraction, to the ‘other’, darker side of a city.

Consequently, Silver (1993) argues that tour operators play an important role with regards to travel motifs of tourists. Tourists actively seek information and insights into places they visit but do not always and necessarily have the access to it. Therefore, advertisement, brochures and websites become an important feature in a tourist’s research. Silver (1993: 302) continues that, tourism products are supposed to sell and tour operators have to market authentic cultures and images, paying less attention to the more sensitive matters of representing a country and its indigenous people. Rolfes et al. (2009: 119-120) confirms that destination marketing attempts to provide images of culture and space and arouse the desire to buy these tours. This marketing strategy influences how tourism is advertised and what is selected as ‘representative’ during the tours. The authors continue that the tours diffuse and reflect the goals and ideas of tour operators and thus, the tour operator plays with the ambiguous and contradictory values and representation of the slum and thus, probably increases the tourist’s interest in the tours.
Echtner and Prasad (2003: 666-668) note that post-colonial theory argues that interpretations of and interaction with people from ancient colonies is still influenced by colonial thinking and claim that although colonial domination has ended, ideological domination is still ongoing. This colonial thinking might still be transposed in slum tours because Silver (1993: 303) suggests that images are only marketed if a tour operator estimates that these are going to be verified by tourists not because these are genuinely appreciated or because they are in compliance with native people. If this is the case with slum tours, then tourists have a certain image of slums that they want to be verified and thus, tour operators display images of shacks, the negative side, images of sangomas, the traditional and exotic side and smiling slum dwellers, the heroes enduring hardship. The tour operator seems to portray all of these ideas. As a result, positive and negative features intermingle and become blurry. Silver (1993: 310) confirms that tour operators, in order to please tourists, keep the romanticised and colonial image alive, natives have to act as if they were undeveloped, primitive and unspoiled in order for themselves to gain from tourism. In South Africa, this is the strongest case where the displaying of Black African culture and traditions not only reinforce old stereotypes but entails an exotisation and culturalisation of deprivation and poverty aestheticising the cultural ‘other’, the slum dweller (Rolfes et al., 2009: 50).

In Brazil, the image framed is one of a neighbourhood, mixing urban deprivation with an exotic perception (Jaguaribe, Hetherington, 2004: 163). Zeiderman (2006, II: 13) argues that the tour guides play with these contradictory values as they critique the neglecting government as to why the favela is dirty, inequal and chaotic but in contrast, they insist on the ‘heroic’ self-help of the community where residents wire their own houses or supply their homes with water. Another major role is played by the image of violence and drug crime, themes approached by the guides during the tours. Rolfes (2009), Freire-Medeiros (2009) and Cejas (2006) reproach tour operators and tour guides for playing with the ambiguity of safety of Brazilian favelas. Drug trafficking is described as a usual and very common phenomenon but nevertheless tours are declared safe as long as the tourists go with a guide and stay with the group. Tour operators confirm on their websites that favela tours are safe and secure but how is this possible if drug vendors approach tourists and apparent violence is common? Cejas (2006: 228) claims that the favela tour spectacle, in order:

“to keep its attractiveness (it), has to be re-enacted carefully, paying attention to the global discourse of safety and comfort and, when necessary, changing the designed scenarios, events, settings and actors. Every time it must show ‘treasures amidst the trash’.”

Finally, the vibrancy, vivacity and sense of community and hard work of the slum community, which is insisted upon by the tour operators, may be seen in extreme contrast to
the poverty and helplessness of slum communities, whether this is true or not. Thus, it is possible that some of the valorising and judging statements made by tour operating companies may influence what tourists think what a slum looks like and therefore, these very same tourists are not able to portray slums differently or act sensitively enough with respect to slum residents. Silver (1993: 311) concludes that tourists will never be able to learn about ethnographic facts that might challenge their stereotyped image about indigenous people. However, Chang et Yeoh (1999: 101, 113) suggest that tourism provides the opportunity to interpret and communicate local structures through tourism to tourists and local communities and conclude that the linkage between global tourism and local culture is a two-way process: Whereas tourism influences practices and landscapes, local culture reflects the change done by tourism.

In the case of slum tourism, the tour operators’ ambiguous portrayal might help to overcome stereotypes with regards to racialism and negative images of slum dwellers but the tours might reinforce other stereotypes linked to the exotic display of tradition and culture and to heroisation of the slum dweller.

5.1.4. Employing local guides with slum background

Tour operators show great concern to employ local guides, whether it is to increase authenticity or to help locals with employment opportunities. Tour guides have many tasks such as selling images, knowledge, contacts, souvenirs, access, ideology, authenticity but also building networks, monopolising contacts, familiarising with commission and tipping systems and tourism trends, and finally knowing and understanding tourists from different origins (Dahles, 2002: 784). The guide has control over all these factors and may strategically address issues of national significance without replicating blindly government-fabricated stories (Dahles, 2002: 785). The guide, perceived as someone who builds bridges, is some kind of mediator between visitors and hosts, tour operator/travel agency and tourist, tour leader and local tourist scene and between accommodation sector and tourist (Dahles, 2002: 784).

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the importance lays within the interpretation and communication of local structures and phenomena and, next to the tour operators, tour guides play a pivotal role in the way slums are presented and thus, communicated and interpreted. Without the sensitive and educative information given by local guides, tourists may not be able to change their image of slums. Dahles (2002: 798) confirms that

‘on a tour the tourists’ attention is directed inwardly towards the guide rather than outwardly towards the setting. The tourists view and interpret local sites through mediators’ words and (are)
also made to experience the environment according (to) how the guides construct and represent it.”

Consequently, the guides present themselves as embarking along with the tourist on a journey filled with emotion, knowledge, and lived experience (Witz et al., 2001: 286) conveying to tourists how poverty is understood, experienced and lived by local residents while using and narrating his own experiences.

Hillman (2003) argues that the profession of tour guiding becomes increasingly popular amongst community members as it requires only little education. On the contrary, Dahles (2002) remarks that tour guides are supposed to present the cultural heritage of a country and thus, require a specific knowledge and a quality level. Hence, slum tour guides need to not only convey personal knowledge but also need to interpret sensitively without running the risk to present perceived oppression one-sided. Dahles (2002) concludes that sensitive guiding may be rewarding for tourists and hosts thanks to the intimate knowledge of the local culture and high profile of the guide.

Thus, tour guides are important in the way slums are perceived and how information is conveyed to tourists with regards to poverty but also with regards to subjects of national significance such as Apartheid and struggle for freedom from the colonial power. It might be important for a correct interpretation of slum settlements and developments to certify guides in order to prevent guides from telling inappropriate narratives and educating insensitively. As confirmed by scholars, guides play a significant role in converting a tourists’ regard and in eliminating and/or reinforcing stereotypes by insisting on ambiguous values.

5.1.5. Tour operators claim interaction with locals during the tour

Many tour operators claim that interaction with residents during the tour is made possible. Yet, there are different approaches on how to bring together residents and visitors. Some tour operators organise parties and pub crawls, for example in Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro, in order for the tourists to feel integrated in daily life and become ‘local’; to get in contact with residents during their every-day activities. Sometimes tourists are invited to people’s homes: to eat or sleep at a resident’s place or to meet the guide’s family and friends. This might be perceived as a true opportunity to live with locals and to learn more about their lives, if there is no language barrier, and depending on the number of people invading their personal space. But mostly, tours appear to be organised to include visits to local homes, bars and restaurants where ‘real’ interaction is claimed. Scheyvens (2001) argues that the quality of the tours depends on whether they are run by the community, outsiders or by local residents. The author argues that tours run by community leaders are supposedly more interactive and
informative because tourists usually claim that they have a better understanding of slum residents and their lives afterwards. But Zeiderman (2006, II) argues that even though hosts are supposed to welcome the tourists and be happy that they visit their dwellings, guides are unlikely to facilitate communication between locals and tourists, for example in Rio. If guides are unwilling to facilitate communication, how can slum tourism help the mutual understanding by enabling interaction? How can one local guide get the consent of the entire community? Briedenhahn and Ramchander (2006) argue that interaction has been perceived positively by residents thanks to the engagement of “one dynamic township resident […] rather than a result of statutory agencies or tour operators recognising the benefits and empowerment potential of widespread community participation in tourism” (Briedenhahn, Ramchander, 2006: 128). Even though local guides and tour operators proposing tours might be perceived more positively than outsider tour operators, it does not necessarily mean that the entire community agrees to the establishment of slum tourism.

Thus, tourists are supposed to interact with locals at regular stops and attractions, such as with local artists displaying their handicraft and paintings (Zeiderman, 2006, II: 8), or with residents at a shebeen (Scheyvens, 2001: 19). However, there seems to be no evidence that tourists interact with random locals during the visits. Dahles (2002: 798) argues that tour guides maintain “the carefully established boundary between tourism space and local community. They act as buffers between tourists and the social environment. They reduce the opportunity for interaction between hosts and guests.” Thus, the guide is essential towards the representation of the whole slum community, without the involvement of other slum dwellers. Thus, if residents are involved in the tours and are therefore used to being in touch with tourists, does it help the mutual understanding or is the relationship already commodified? Does the frequent interaction between residents who are used to the being involved change the story telling? If more general community involvement is necessary in order for slum tourism to be accepted by a greater number of residents, how can more residents be involved and interact with tourists? Or does the exclusion of the other residents reinforce the unwillingness of the entire community to accept such type of tourism?
5.1.6. Community participation and community benefits

Recently, it has been common to address the features of active participation, community-based tourism and local benefit (Murphy, Roe, 2004: 121). Tourism as a factor of sustainable development in poorer countries is booming and promoted by international agencies such as the IMF and World Bank (Cejas, 2006: 224). Mowforth et al. (2008) admit that the majority of the focus concerning pro-poor tourism and community-based tourism has been centred on rural tourism and that cities have been largely neglected by the initiation of those concepts. The authors (2008: 191) therefore reproach that too little attention has been placed on pro-poor tourism in cities and that urban problems have been largely ignored within these concepts.

Slum tourism in urban areas might trigger further need for improved community benefits and participation as it is concerned with improving slum settlements through projects and positive image-making. As we have already seen above, the tour operators are thus interested in the cultural value of the tours, which changes the negative images and stereotypes of slums. Yet, the tour operators also want to invest in the economic value of the tours by increasing visitors’ numbers (Zeiderman, 2006: 12). In terms of community benefits, two statements can be made with regards to this analysis:

- There is evidence that those companies solely or mainly focusing on slum tours may be more concerned with community benefits due to the fact that the main objective of the tour operator is different. That does not mean that diversified tour operators which do not mainly focus on slum tourism cannot also be concerned with community benefits.

- Participation and involvement in community projects and social improvement projects are perceived as an important feature of slum tourism and are important to slum tour operating businesses.

Slum tourism can be helpful to the slum community and some of the tour operators show concern for community benefits. Even though the general perception is that tour operators want to improve slum settlements, redistribution of the economic revenue is problematic: Tour operators are not obliged by any authority to contribute to local projects or to redistribute benefits. During the analysis initiatives have been visible by a number of tour operators, but overall there is not enough evidence that slum tours help to increase community benefits significantly. Furthermore, some scholars (Freire-Medeiros, 2009, Mowforth, Munt, 2009, Rogerson, 2004) have also criticised that too little benefits for the community are visible:
- tourists buy little during their visit
- tour guides sometimes even do not encourage tourists to get off the bus
- tour operators have their preferred sellers and artists
- some tour operators do not want to reinvest profits in slum improvements

Although these criticisms may not be completely false, scholars should be aware of the fact that it is not probable that an entire community can actively participate in one economic activity, even though, local people can be involved in multiple ways in the tourism industry: accommodation, guiding, craft, art and many more. Small-scale, unregulated, unmeasured, labour-intensive and sometimes even marginal and illegal tourism enterprises are an important feature and contribute to the diversification of the economy in developing countries (Gladstone, 2005: 32). However, the size and the number of slum settlements make it almost impossible to perceive improvements as significant benefits. Nonetheless, participation and upgrading can help progress the overall situation of the local community as well as the living conditions little by little and thus benefit not only some individuals but the community as a whole.

Furthermore, scholars concerned with community-based and pro-poor tourism concepts, criticise that:
- Existing power structures remain unchallenged (Gibson, 2009: 531) and the tourism industry in developing countries remains largely dominated by Western approaches
- Pro-poor tourism projects shift responsibility for poverty onto the poor while they merely recognize the principal actors (Gibson, 2009: 531)
- Meaningful community participation, relationship building and ethical-decision-making are missing (Scheyvens, 2002, Wright et al., 2007, Smith, Duffy, 2003)
- Effects of poverty relief may be moderate (Blake et al., 2008: 112) and benefits from tourism expansion do not benefit the poorest, except when the government channels earnings directly to the lowest income group
- Communal management options in the tourism industry have been acknowledged as complex and time-consuming and appear very difficult to achieve (Murphy, Roe, 2004: 121-122)
5.2. Differences due to the country-specific contexts

5.2.1. Evidence of “staged authenticity” in South Africa and Brazil

South Africa

Cornelissen (2005: 683) argues that during Apartheid “black cultures were ignored or repressed, at best they became stereotyped and trivialised commodities in the tourism economy”. However, are not cultural villages and township tours present signs of the ongoing stereotyping and commodification of the black population in South Africa’s tourism economy? With regards to the tour operator analysis for Cape Town and Johannesburg, increasing evidence has been found that tours into townships are staged and commodified to a greater extent than in India and Kenya where slum tourism has only recently started.

Visits to traditional healers and shebeens, as well as performances by traditional dancers figure on the tour programme of a township tour. Tourists are encouraged to purchase local handicrafts and paintings. Traditional, ‘authentic’ crafts or empowered objects and products purchased at handcraft centres must look as authentic as possible, being handmade and sold by their makers who appear in traditional costumes (Witz et al, 2001: 285-286): a souvenir of the “real” Africa. Witz et al. (year unknown: 8) claim that tourist memories are created by the rhythm, smells and tastes of the township life. The history of South Africa’s anti-Apartheid struggle has been repackaged as a commodity, for sale in township tour packages (Witz et al., 2001). Briedenhahn and Ramchander (2006: 127) acknowledge that staging and commodifying authenticity is a problem when discussing the “purely visual spectacle such as arts, crafts and political landmarks” and the promised social interaction in visiting people’s homes, taverns or traditional healers.

Thus, Witz et al. (2001: 285) argue that townships function as an extension of rural villages expressing timeless ethnicity. Silver (1993: 304) confirms that tourists are looking for authenticity, culture and tradition, perceived as being timeless and unchanging and suggests that tour operators have invented indigenous tradition in order to compete for those tourists. Thus, it seems as though township residents feel the need to cater for the tourists in their search for authenticity. Butcher (2003: 82-84) mentions that tourists are concerned with a search of authenticity of the past because of the lack of authenticity in the present. The notion of culture and heritage is concerned with what is in the past and today’s new developments will later become the ‘new’ culture and heritage. Thus, changes which might already be happening may become important features of the heritage later on.

Rolfes (2009: 2, referring to MacCannell) argues that in terms of ‘staged authenticity’, slum tours are criticised to respond to what tourists are looking for: the real and authentic other.
However, authenticity and reality as Rolfes (2009: 19) suggests, is seen by tour operators as: observational or experienced authenticity and a reality which they think and experience to be real and authentic. Hence, it might be possible that tour operators find themselves in a vicious circle, defined by what they claim and think is authentic and what tourists assume and recognise to be authentic. Both tourists and tour operators may be influencing each other with regards to what is finally proposed during a slum tour.

Brazil
Jaguaribe and Hetherington (2004: 164) argue that the favela also has features, which they claim include staged authenticity:

“the favela’s heterogeneity of form and representation blurs the distinction between front- and backstage, and challenges the spatial configuration implied in MacCannell’s concerns with the tourist use of a spatial regionalism. To move through such a space is to encounter more than one reality, and more than one form of staging, framing, or artifice. Poverty and violence, community and self-help, media cool – this space is fluid rather than regional.”

Brazil’s favelas are often associated with a particular style of painting, which can also be purchased during the tour. Some of the tour operators place pictures of such paintings on their website. Furthermore, favelas and favela tours are sometimes associated with samba schools and capoeira, and are generally still an important feature of favela tourism. However, Barke et al. (2001: 269) argue that samba may not be associated with the favela anymore. As local tour guides often still suggest, samba has taken more diverse forms. Young favela residents no longer use samba in order to express frustration and identity. Thus, favela tours perpetuate music and painting styles for tourism, even though those may no longer be strongly associated with the favela.

5.2.2. Importance of official recognition by travel guide books and by tourism associations and authorities

Slum tour businesses are concerned with the promotion of their tours. Even though in all four countries tour operators used blogs, testimonials and clients’ comments as a reference for the quality of their tours, there are differences in the promotion between the more established and the ‘newcomer’ slum destinations. Whereas figuring in travel guides such as Lonely Planet or Rough Guides is generally important in all four countries, in Brazil and South Africa the recognition by tourism authorities and memberships in tourism associations is increasingly important. In order to be an official tour operator, it is important to mention partnerships and memberships to guarantee the quality of the tours. Hughes (2003) confirms that the
established tour operators are often seen as gatekeepers, who hinder easy market access for new operators, as they are supported by official tourism bodies adopting their standards and paying high membership fees. This helps established tour operators to hinder new tour operating businesses to enter the market or to successfully establish themselves in the market. The period between the start-up and the successful operation of a new tour operator, when international visitors are being attracted, is often too long.

Moreover, Hughes (2003) mentions that some of the well-known hotels refuse access and display of promotional material from emerging operators because they prefer to deal with the officially recognized operators. Thus, in some destinations such as South Africa, emerging tour operators started to form community-based tourism institutions such as, for example, the Black Emerging Tour Operators Association (BETO) in order to define their organisational structure and to counter official bodies. Even though emerging tour operators have received aid from regional tourism authorities, they still have “difficulties of negotiating their way forward in the absence of traditional culture brokers such as chiefly figures” (Hughes, 2003: 8).

In India and Kenya the access to the slum tourism market is less restricted due to the small number of tour operators. Thus, local cooperation and partnerships are still more important than the recognition by official tourism authorities. On a long-term basis, if slum tourism in these destinations becomes more popular, the situation might change and official recognition may become a significant feature in the distinction between businesses.

5.3. Defining a slum tourism offer – (Re)defining slum tourism?

With regards to the analysis, tour operators are essential mediators that influence tourist behaviour and may educate and inform tourists effectively with regards to the local viewpoints of slum development. Cornelissen (2005: 695) argues that tour operators “constitute an important (often first) point of contact between tourism consumers and destinations”, affecting tourist behaviour in four different ways:

- by sending out messages, influenced by the way in which marketing brochures and websites are constructed and formulated
- by, in the setting up of tours and itineraries, promoting certain destinations and places above others, consequently limiting destination choice for consumers
- by selecting and channelling information and knowledge about the destination
- in the manner in which destinations and places are represented
Slum tourism, in general, should be seen as part of tourism in a wider context, as it often describes an activity that is generally exercised for a duration of less than 24 hours during a vacation to a country or city even though more established countries such as South Africa and Brazil increasingly offer accommodation in the slums. Concluding the findings of the analysis and the comparison, slum tourism can be defined as:

...a touristic activity primarily practiced in developing countries and concerned with breaking down negative images and stereotypes of slums and its residents. Local guides with slum background, acting as intermediaries between visitors and the local host community, attempt to explain local structures related to poverty and society and show basic infrastructure, community projects and improvements, which commonly receive financial and logistical support and assistance.

Nevertheless, it is essential to understand that local disparities may lead to different dimensions of slum tourism that are unique to a country. South African slum tours, for example, focus on a strong politico-historical dimension and slum tours in India and Kenya are believed to attract volunteer tourists who are willing to engage in the improvement of slums. Slum tours in Brazil, on the contrary, focus on subverting the reputation of slums as being criminal and drug-governed settlements.

Scheyvens (2001) proposes that slum tourism can be seen as part of alternative tourism (see chapter 2.3.1.) and concludes that slum tours, “when conducted in an appropriate manner” (Scheyvens, 2001: 20), can be beneficial to hosts and visitors, depending on how the subject is approached, who controls the tours and if interaction is made possible. However, what does ‘appropriate’ signify and which dimensions does it imply? Who decides what is appropriate – tour operators, tourism authorities, slum residents? If alternative tourism works for the slum tourism industry as a whole, how can professional tourism development from the outside be prevented? Is it possible to restrict the number of tour operators proposing slum tours or to set a limit to the carrying capacity of slums?

Even though Brohman (1996: 62) suggests a community-led tourism development planning process in order to generate positive attitudes towards tourism and to spread benefits by being more sensitive about social, cultural and environmental impacts, slum tour operators rarely practice one or multiple features of alternative tourism: family-owned, smaller-scale developments located in and organized by villages or communities, creating meaningful interactions between tourists and hosts, encouraging community participation in local and regional planning for tourism related development, as well as sustainability and respect for
solidarity and mutual understanding. Some tour operators try to adopt some of these characteristics and, as such, they should be supported by regional and local tourism associations and authorities. Even though some tour operators might try more sensitive approaches, how can they prevent tourists who might have an implicitly voyeuristic aim for their tour? Can their implicit intention be subverted by a more educative and participative approach?

**Future challenges for slum tourism**

Consequently, controlling and channelling slum tourism benefits and increasing community participation seems to have become an important preoccupation. Subsequently, when slum tourism professionals approach slum tourism differently, they face a number of challenges:

- Evaluating the potential of tourism in a slum area before setting up initiatives and training guides (Kaplan, 2004: 396-397)
- Maximising education and sensitisation of tourists during visits (Briedenhahn, Ramchander, 2006), starting with the development of a rather educative approach on tour operators’ websites
- Increasing participation of and consultation with residents in the decision-making process, in order to develop their own concepts and ideas of exploiting slum tours and to receive more important economic returns as well as to create sustainability (Mowforth et al., 2008: 189, Briedenhahn, Ramchander, 2006: 139)
- Avoiding the creation of false expectations amongst the community, such as wealth creation and the improvement of residential situations by presenting positive as well as negative sides of slum tours (Briedenhahn, Ramchander, 2006: 140)
- Increasing slum tour quality (e.g. higher prices, meaningful workshops to increase length of stay, better accommodation) for increased community benefits, but without compromising residents’ satisfaction and consent
- Dispersing slum tour activities in order to avoid some areas profiting and others not
- Needing external authorities to control access and regulate slum tours to avoid misrepresentation or exploitation of slum residents (Mowforth et al., 2008 189)
- Integrating slum tourism development in a larger context of pro-poor development and not mistaking slum tours as an overall solution for structural unemployment and social exclusion (Kaplan, 2004: 396-397)
6. Research limitation in the present context

Regarding content analysis there is a risk of uncertainty, including: variance of the target, appropriateness of the constructed analysis with regards to the possible number of interpretations, simplification of interpretations, interpretations at the expense of variance in order to concentrate on dominant, typical and average results and changes over time, which can all have an impact on the analysis (Krippendorff, 2004: 185-187). This also implies the subjectivity of the author’s interpretation, but also of the information displayed by the tour operators on their websites, which may not essentially be true nor considered as a fact with regards to how tours are operated in reality.

During the research of tour operating businesses, it became clear that website research is limited to the key words employed. In the literature, only few additional tour operators were found and added to the analysis. The website research was limited to those tour operators which have a website, excluding some of the tour operators as mentioned in the methodology. Therefore, only online available tour operators with a certain degree of professionalism were considered in the analysis. Small-scale, in situ companies which did not have a professional website were excluded, which meant that informal businesses operating locally could not be considered in a website analysis.

Even though most information was available, many tour operators choose not to display too many details, such as price, size of groups and purpose of the tours, so that the tourist is obliged to contact the tour operator for further information. This gives the tour operator the time to send extensive information to convince the tourist to choose this particular tour operator and tour. Thus, some of the criteria are answered unsatisfactory as it does not seem important to the tour companies to display certain information or facts.

Although there seems to be an increasing interest in slum tours, no concrete indication of the number of tourists taking these tours with each company could be found, thus giving no evidence on how many tourists take slum tours in reality.

In general, little information on their distribution is available online. An in-depth analysis in the respective country is needed in order to understand how the tours are distributed. There seems to be evidence that partnerships are used to promote the tours, however, it is less clear if these partners also distribute the tours and to what extent.

Finally, no evidence was found online to indicate that non-governmental organisations and other social and community institutions propose slum tours, as it might have been the case. All operators offering the tours appear to be professional inbound tour operators and thus, have a rather touristic approach to the subject. Nevertheless, some tour operators, unlike
others, focus on more alternative approaches to tourism such as pro-poor or community-based tourism concepts which would need further intensive research.

7. **Recommendations for further research**

Extensive research in the four destinations, South Africa, Brazil, India and Kenya, and even in new-comer destinations such as Thailand and Indonesia would be helpful in order to verify the concept and the quality of the tours (e.g. if operated as stated, educational aspects, funding, community support and charities). Hence, field work is necessary in order to verify the sensitisation and the education of the tourists towards slums and slum dwellers during as well as before and after the tours. Tour operators give little advice online on how to behave in the slum, nor do they point out that residents should be treated with respect, which would avoid ‘zoo-like’ approaches and make tourists and residents feel at ease.

Broad field work is also necessary in order to quantify tourist numbers as well as economic, social and socio-economic impacts of the tours on the community. Slums are under-developed urban areas which need basic amenities and infrastructure as well as social services. It seems that slum tours are only organised in better-off parts of the slum and that benefits to the community are rather limited. Significant references could not be found online in order to see the rudimentary economic importance of slum tourism in each country. Facts like: size of the business, number of employees, tour sales and redistributed profits of the tour operator are not to be found online. Can slum tours benefit the community to a greater extent and improve urban dwellings in general, if operated on a larger scale?

Further field work would be necessary in order to see how the tours are distributed e.g. on the spot, in partnership with hotels, travel agencies and tour operators, perhaps even origin-based. This could show how the tours are accessible to tourists and how the tourists are informed about slum tours.

Ultimately, an analysis of tour operators which figure in guide books and those that do not could reveal interesting information on the promotion of slum tourism businesses. What criteria are employed to decide which tour operator is ‘worth’ being included in a guide book? How do guide book editors verify information given by the tour operators before making a decision?
8. General Conclusion

Developing countries are, although their colonial background might be similar, different with regards to economic, political, societal and touristic development. Even though post-colonial thinking might still influence their way of doing things and even influence the tourist’s perception of the country, tourism may help become more mature and independent from post-colonial strings. Slum tourism can offer a new perspective and opportunity for impoverished urban settlements as it can bring benefits to the local community. Throughout the analysis and lectures, multiple factors have been identified which indicate that slum tourism in general, as well as the slum tour offer in particular, is becoming progressively more important:

- increasing number of countries where slum tourism is practiced
- increasing number of inbound tour operators that propose slum tours in the respective country
- mounting number of newspaper articles and scientific articles as well as blogs and conferences on the subject
- official recognition and integration of slum tourism into the national tourism context (e.g. South Africa, Brazil)
- increasing numbers of tourists interested in and visiting urban slum settlements

Consequently, slum tourism might offer an even larger opportunity for slum dwellers in the future. Nonetheless, impacts in terms of visitor numbers should be analysed critically, as there are only a few sources available showing significant differences between official and scientific sources, as for example in South Africa. Thus, there is a need for accurate statistics comprising the different countries where slum tourism is practiced, in order to see the actual impact of slum tours in terms of visitor numbers.

Additionally, should the overall slum tourism offer continuously grow, more sensitive approaches and dispersed activities would be necessary. The involvement of one area in slum tourism should be thoroughly examined before local, emerging tour operators launch their business, because slum tourism might not receive as much attention in some areas as in others. Community participation, but also professional guidance in the decision-making processes for tourism development is necessary, thus, external authorities should be able to negotiate positive and negative impacts of slum tourism and demonstrate those to the community. Tourism authorities could help to create slum tourism associations concerned with the accreditation or even certification of good, alternative, community-based ways to do slum tourism, in order to control and channel community benefits generated by slum tours.
It is improbable that slum tourism will help every individual living in the slums and it is quasi-impossible to introduce a type of tourism which will be regarded positively by all community members and tourism professionals at the same time. Similarly, slum tourism may never be able to improve the overall situation of slums significantly. However, if slum tourism can be achieved in a way that is in conciliation with the majority of the slum community, it may also help to educate outsiders of the advancing problem of slum development, to raise awareness of the circumstances under which many urban but also rural dwellers live and thus be a means of contributing to improvements.

Finally, the most important fact, however, might be that governments will have to understand the necessity of tackling the problem of impoverished and illegal urban slum settlements in general. If slums settlements grow as foreseen, this phenomenon will grow beyond imagination and removing them will become more and more difficult as even today’s failing approaches are visible. Consequently, tourism should not be seen as a universal remedy for slum development and community self-help should not encourage governments to ignore slum communities in the future. Tourism may be regarded as an important foreign exchange earner and a significant economic feature for developing countries, but it should be inserted into a wider context of national development which will help to improve the overall living conditions and quality of life for dwellers in developing countries. Thus, it may seem immature to some extent, to continuously argue about the voyeuristic aim of slum tours, instead of arguing about realistic solutions on how to cope with slum growth and slum improvement, maybe even with revenue from tourism.
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ANNEXES
Annexe 1: World Tourism Organisation statistics:

1.1. International tourist arrivals by (sub-) region (Source: WTO: 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>265.0</td>
<td>309.5</td>
<td>392.6</td>
<td>441.8</td>
<td>468.4</td>
<td>487.9</td>
<td>489.4</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Europe</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>108.6</td>
<td>112.2</td>
<td>139.7</td>
<td>142.6</td>
<td>149.6</td>
<td>154.9</td>
<td>153.3</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central/Eastern Europe</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern/Mediterr. Eu.</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>103.4</td>
<td>139.9</td>
<td>158.9</td>
<td>170.9</td>
<td>178.2</td>
<td>179.6</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia and the Pacific</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>110.1</td>
<td>153.6</td>
<td>166.0</td>
<td>182.0</td>
<td>184.1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East Asia</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>101.0</td>
<td>101.0</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Asia</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>109.0</td>
<td>128.2</td>
<td>133.3</td>
<td>135.8</td>
<td>142.9</td>
<td>147.0</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsaharan Africa</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2. Over time change in % of International Tourist Arrivals per subregion (Source: WTO: 2010)

Source: World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) ©
Annexe 2: Tour operators’ and travel websites per country

Brazil
1. Exotic Tours: http://www.exotictours.com.br/
   Favela Rocinha Tourism Workshop: http://www.favelatourismworkshop.com/
2. Favela Tour: http://www.favelatour.com.br/
5. Be a local, don’t be a gringo: http://www.bealocal.com/flash.html

Not considered in analysis:
Lisa Rio Tours: http://lisariotours.com (ne s’ouvre pas car risque de dommage pour l’ordinateur)
Private Tours: http://www.privatetours.com.br/rioCityTours.htm
Indiana Jungle Tours: http://www.indianajungle.com.br/ (only available in Portuguese)

South Africa
Cape Town:
1. Nomvuyos Tours: http://www.nomvuyos-tours.co.za/
5. Nthuseng Tours: http://www.nthusengtours.co.za/
7. Township Tours SA: http://www.suedafrika.net/imizamoyethu/
11. Take 2 Tours: http://www.take2tours.co.za/tour-township.php
17. Inkululeko Tours: http://www.inkululekotours.co.za/

Johannesburg : 
20. Soweto Tours: http://www.sowetotour.co.za/?gclid=CIOFze_1kqACFRGX2AodWjn6dA
21. Soweto Funk Tours: http://www.sowetofunktours.co.za/
22. Jimmy’s Face2Face Tours : http://www.face2face.co.za/frames.htm

Capetown and Johannesburg:
26. Fifth Avenue Adventure Tours : http://www.eastcapetours.com/Townshiptours.htm

Not considered in analysis:
Cape Town :
   Sam’s Cultural Tours :
       http://www.hostelcapetown.com/tours/tourdetails.php/TourUID.7611
   Western Cape Action Tours : www.tripadvisor.com & Rough Guide
   Liziwe's Tours: http://www.sa-venues.com/explore/liziwestours/
   Nomthunzie Tours : http://www.capetown.travel/tours/entry/nomthunzie_tours/

Tour operators operating in other cities (not considered in analysis)
Graaff-Reinet:
KarooPark: http://www.karoopark.co.za/township.html
Knysna:
Emzini Tours: http://www.emzinitours.co.za/
Eco-Afrika Tours : http://www.eco-afrika-tours.co.za/township.htm
Eshowe :
Zulu Tours: http://www.eshowe.com/article/articlestatic/63/1/20/
Bongolethu:
Thando’s Tours : http://www.oudtshoorninfo.com/activities.php?id=11
Port-Elisabeth:
Gugu’s Township Tours:  http://www.gugustownshiptours.co.za/

Kenya
2. Explore Kibera Tours:  http://www.explorekibera.com/
4. Malaika Ecotourism:  

India
1. Reality Tours and Travel:  http://www.realitytoursandtravel.com/

Other countries (not included in analysis)

Namibia Township Tours:
Mondesa Township Tours:  http://www.mondesatownshiptours.com/
City Discovery :  http://www.city-discovery.com/windhoek/tour.php?id=1199

Argentina Slum Tours :
Condor Tours and Travel, Buenos Aires:  

Indonesia Slum Tours:
Jakarta Hidden Tours :  http://jakartahiddentour.wordpress.com/

Thailand Slum Tours:
Asian Trails, Bangkok:  http://www.eturbonews.com/15443/asian-trails-proposes-another-vision-bangkok

Mexico Garbage Dump Tours:  
Annexe 3: Tour operators’ websites for South Africa, Brazil, India and Kenya

Brazil

1. Exotic Tours: http://www.exotictours.com.br/
   Favela Rocinha Tourism Workshop: http://www.favelatourismworkshop.com/
2. Favela Tour: http://www.favelatour.com.br/
5. Be a local, don't be a gringo: http://www.bealocal.com/flash.html

Not considered in analysis:
Lisa Rio Tours: http://lisariotours.com (ne s’ouvre pas car risque de dommage pour l’ordinateur)
Private Tours: http://www.privatetours.com.br/rioCityTours.htm
Indiana Jungle Tours: http://www.indianajungle.com.br/ (only available in Portuguese)

South Africa

Cape Town:
1. Nomvuyos Tours: http://www.nomvuyos-tours.co.za/
5. Nthuseng Tours: http://www.nthusengtours.co.za/
7. Township Tours SA: http://www.suedafrika.net/imizamoyethu/
11. Take 2 Tours: http://www.take2tours.co.za/tour-township.php
17. Inkululeko Tours: [http://www.inkululekotours.co.za/](http://www.inkululekotours.co.za/)

**Johannesburg**:
20. Soweto Tours: [http://www.sowetotour.co.za/?gclid=CIOFze_1kqACF6RX2AodWjn6dA](http://www.sowetotour.co.za/?gclid=CIOFze_1kqACF6RX2AodWjn6dA)
22. Jimmy’s Face2Face Tours: [http://www.face2face.co.za/frames.htm](http://www.face2face.co.za/frames.htm)

**Capetown and Johannesburg**:

*Not considered in analysis:*

**Cape Town**:
- Sam’s Cultural Tours: [http://www.hostelcapetown.com/tours/tourdetails.php/TourUID.7611](http://www.hostelcapetown.com/tours/tourdetails.php/TourUID.7611)
- Western Cape Action Tours: [www.tripadvisor.com](http://www.tripadvisor.com) & Rough Guide

**Graaff-Reinet**:
- KarooPark: [http://www.karoopark.co.za/township.html](http://www.karoopark.co.za/township.html)

**Knysna**:
- Emzini Tours: [http://www.emzinitours.co.za/](http://www.emzinitours.co.za/)

**Eshowe**:

**Bongolethu**:

**Port-Elisabeth**:
- Gugu’s Township Tours: [http://www.gugustownshiptours.co.za/](http://www.gugustownshiptours.co.za/)
Kenya
2. Explore Kibera Tours : http://www.explorekibera.com/

India
1. Reality Tours and Travel: http://www.realitytoursandtravel.com/
### Annexe 4: Summarising table of analysis for South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tour Companies</th>
<th>Johannesburg</th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
<th>Johannesburg &amp; Cape Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Criteria</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General information about each company</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language(s)</strong></td>
<td>English for all 7</td>
<td>English for all 17</td>
<td>English for all 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andulela: German</td>
<td>Township Tours SA: German</td>
<td>Ascot Gardens: German, French, Spanish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andulela: German</td>
<td>Township Tours SA: German</td>
<td>Ascot Gardens: German, French, Spanish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy’s Face to Face Tours presented as the original TO with tours through Soweto by first bringing friends to sport events</td>
<td>5 TO do not give a founding year</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founding year</td>
<td>1985 Jimmy’s Face to Face Tours</td>
<td>1985: Hylton Ross</td>
<td>Amatikulu and Vuya Africa mention focus on client, quality and tailor-made offer only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994 Vhupo Tours</td>
<td>1992: DayTrippers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999 Soweto Bicycle Tours</td>
<td>1995: Meljo Tours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005 Taste of Africa</td>
<td>1996: Ascot Gardens, Bonani Tours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy’s Face to Face Tours presented as the original TO with tours through Soweto by first bringing friends to sport events</td>
<td>1997: Roots Africa Tours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998: Taste of Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999: Randy’s Day Tours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2002: Nomvuyos Tours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2003: Zibonele Tours, Cape Capers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2006: Camissa Travel &amp; Marketing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90s: 7 – 2000s: 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose of company</strong></td>
<td>Top-quality and professional services for clients mentioned by three (Vhupo, Rhubuleza, Soweto Tours)</td>
<td>First-class, quality service and value (Randy’s Tours, Meljo Tours, Camissa, Hylton Ross)</td>
<td>Amatikulu and Vuya Africa mention focus on client, quality and tailor-made offer only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment and lifestyle packages mentioned by 2 (Rhubuleza, Soweto Funk Tours → quote)</td>
<td>Dynamic and flexible tours (Randy’s Day Tours)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education mentioned by 2 (Rhubuleza, Soweto Tours)</td>
<td>Exclusive and specialised tours (Take 2 Tours)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business travel mentioned by Rhubuleza (main focus)</td>
<td>Offer an authentic African experience (Nthuseng Tours, Roots Africa Tours)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible tourism, community empowerment mentioned by 2 (Taste of Africa, Soweto Bicycle Tours)</td>
<td>To cater client with unique experiences (Andulela, Bonani)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Propose luxury accommodation (Ascot Gardens)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Run hands-on, interactive and participate tours (DayTrippers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sustainability (Camissa)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community empowerment (Inkululeko)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of company</strong></td>
<td>7 tour-operating companies</td>
<td>16 inbound tour operators</td>
<td>All three are inbound tour operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 proposing also accommodation (B&amp;B, hostel) – Vhupo and Soweto Bicycle Tours</td>
<td>1 (Ascot Gardens) is primarily focussed on accommodation but also operates some tours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soweto Bicycle Tours started out as hostel and now also operates tours for backpackers</td>
<td>Black-owned: 7 out of 17 which state specifically that they are black-owned with two being mixed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 companies are black-owned (Vhupo based in Soweto, Jimmy’s, Soweto Funk, Soweto Bicycle) and one is mixed</td>
<td>Some of the companies owned by Indian immigrants (Babi’s, Randy’s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversification Project</td>
<td>Diversified with main focus on other tours such as cultural tours, sightseeing, safaris, etc: 2 (Amatikulu, Vuya) Fifth Avenue Adventure Tours specialised in township tours but part of East Cape Tours (diversified TO)</td>
<td>Diversified but main focus township tours: Zibonele, , Nthuseng, Cape Capers, Babi's, Bonani, Inkululeko Diversified with main focus on other tours such as cultural tours, sightseeing, safaris, etc: Randy's Tours, Meljo, Andulela, Ascot Gardens, DayTrippers, Take 2 Tours, Hylton Ross, Roots Africa</td>
<td>Main and only focus on township tours: Nomvuyos, Camissa, Township Tours SA Diversified but main focus township tours:; Zibonele, , Nthuseng, Cape Capers, Babi's, Bonani, Inkululeko Diversified with main focus on other tours such as cultural tours, sightseeing, safaris, etc: Randy's Tours, Meljo, Andulela, Ascot Gardens, DayTrippers, Take 2 Tours, Hylton Ross, Roots Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of website visitors</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Only Ntuseng: 2962 (03.07.2010) n/a</td>
<td>Depends often on content of township tour and duration and on number of people Half day (3-4 hours): 75 Rand (Township Tour SA) – 320-330 Rand (Nomvuyos, Meljo, Bonani) 350-390 Rand (8) – 495 Rand (Andulela) Full Day (8-9 hours): 490 Rand (Camissa) – 600-620 Rand (Bonani, Hylton Ross) – 850 Rand (Roots Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation of the tours</td>
<td>Fee</td>
<td>Operation of the tours</td>
<td>Fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>Half and full day tours, overnight stays possible with 3 companies (Vhupo, Soweto Funk, Soweto Bicycle) Mostly half day tours and 7 also proposing full day tours Evening tours proposed by Nomvuyos and Inkululeko</td>
<td>Half day: 250 Rand (Fifth Avenue) – 380 Rand for Cape Town and 435 Rand for Soweto (Amatikulu)</td>
<td>Half day: 250 Rand (Fifth Avenue) – 380 Rand for Cape Town and 435 Rand for Soweto (Amatikulu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target audience</td>
<td>Vhupo: township tours interesting for foreign and domestic visitors Ruhubuleza: focuses on corporate clients Soweto Bicycle Tours: eco-friendly backpackers and tourists But prices might suggest that Hylton Ross, Andulela and Roots Africa for example cater for tourists with a higher budget</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of groups</td>
<td>Min. 1 person: Vhupo, Taste of Africa Min. 2 people: Soweto Tours, Soweto Backpackers Max. 7 people in minibus: Vhupo, Soweto Tours Max. 16 people in coach: Vhupo, Soweto Tours max. 15 per guide for Camissa</td>
<td>Some Tour operators such as Nomvuyos prefer to keep groups to a max. of 4 people in order to not invade or crowd townships Other keep max. of 7-10 people But larger groups are often possible, however, it is not stated what the max. is Max. 15 per guide for Camissa</td>
<td>Also between min. 2 (Fifth Avenue) and min. 8 (Vuya) for Sunday church tour and Larger groups accepted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of groups</td>
<td>Tours are often daily Tours are often daily (full day) or twice a day (half day)</td>
<td>Tours are often daily (full day) or twice a day (half day)</td>
<td>Tours are often daily (full day) or twice a day (half day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose or</td>
<td>Few information is given on the purpose or objective of the tours History of townships, to see and experience how people live and</td>
<td>None for Amatikulu and</td>
<td>Little indication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The main objective of tours is to promote and educate Soweto into Corporate South Africa and tourism. This is achieved by portraying the townships in a different view, using township slag, music, clothes, and lifestyle. The tours aim to show everyone who cares to make the trip, what Soweto life is really all about, the good, the bad, the bold, the beautiful and ugly. They are popular, eco-friendly and exciting township tours to empower the community.

Stops

Wandies restaurant (Rhubuleza) and traditional meal (Jimmy’s, Soweto Bicycle) 
Nelson Mandela family Museum (Rhubuleza, Soweto Tours) 
Hector Pieterson Museum (Rhubuleza, Soweto Tours, Soweto Bicycle, Taste of Africa) 
Taverns, e.g. Mathula’s Inn, The Shack (Rhubuleza) 
Baragwanath (hospital) (Rhubuleza, ) 
Houses of Nelson Mandela et Desmond Tutu (Rhubuleza, Soweto Tours, Jimmy’s, Soweto Bicycle, Taste of Africa) 
Shebeen, e.g. Bra Pat’s Place (Rhubuleza, Soweto Tours, Jimmy’s, Soweto Bicycle) 
The Rock, up-market night club (Rhubuleza) 
Regina Mundi Church (Soweto Tours, Taste of Africa) 
Freedom Square and Freedom Charter Memorial (Soweto Tours) 
Apartheid Museum (Jimmy’s, Taste of Africa) 
Workers’ hostel (Soweto Bicycle) 
Meadowlands (Soweto Bicycle) 
Site of 1976 student uprising (Soweto Bicycle) 
Kliptown tour including NGO Soweto Kliptown Youth (Soweto Bicycle, Taste of Africa) 
Oppenheimer Tower (Taste of Africa) 
Credo Mutwa Village (Taste of Africa) 
“A place of contrasts: rows of tin shanties, luxurious mansions, variety of investments, developments. a place with a cheerful energy. from footbridge to panoramic view of Soweto. Massive of development projects and attraction in the country.” (Jimmy’s) such as Soccer City and Maponya Shopping Mall (Soweto Tours, Taste of Africa) 

Work in townships (Zibonele, Take 2 Tours, Randy’s, Camissa, Bonani) 
Focus on cultural tours (Zibonele, Andulela) 
No poverty tours (Camissa) 
Show confidence and community strength (Roots Africa) 
Black-owned companies ➔ choice of words is very questionable: “Still tourists’ thirst” for black townships (Bonani) 
As a “once in a life-time and unforgettable adventure” (Inkululeko) 

Four townships are often on a tour operators programme: Langa as the oldest one, Nyanga, Gugulethu, and Khayelitsha as the second largest after Soweto 
As for Johannesburg main stops in Cape Town are the same such as: 
Bo-kaap (residential District with township background) 
District Six and District Six Museum 
Mandela Park 
Sangoma 
B&B and hostels 
Shebeens, taverns and restaurants 
Crèches, Children’s care centres 
Churches 
Gugulethu Seven Memorial 
Amy Biehl Memorial 
Crossroads 
Meat and craft markets 
“spaza” shops (informal shops) 
The “Beverly Hills” of Langa and cape flats** 
Community projects, schools and programmes and sport clubs figure rarely in the programme 
Main focus on the main sights in townships 
Robben Island can often added or is proposed in a full day tour

Vuya 
Importance of entertainment tours for Fifth Avenue

keep in mind that not all stops are mentioned on website but only a couple
Club nights and tavern crawls are made possible by Rhubuleza and Soweto Funk
Guides
Insist on knowledgeable, professional and experienced guides (Vhupo, Soweto Tours)
Languages except for Soweto Tours do not seem to be an important subject
Some insist that guides come from “previously disadvantaged groups” (Vhupo), are local (Soweto Bicycle) and/or living in townships (Soweto Funk)
Knowledge an accreditation of guides (4)
Local background of guide or owners (9)
Languages (1)
Quote from Inkululeko: “WHAT SETS THIS TOUR APART FROM ALL THE OTHERS? There is a special reason why tourists and locals alike find a Inkululeko “Freedom Route” Tour so uniquely fascinating, so life enhancing... Your tour guide was born and grew up in the townships. Nobody has a more intimate knowledge of township life and where to take you to experience it. Nobody else offers such unfettered freedom for you to meet the people. You're safe and sound in the hands of a man who knows and loves the people and the places he calls home.”
Fifth Avenue seems to have only one-specialist township tour guide
Amatikulu insists also on professionalism, knowledge, experience of local guides
Accommodation
5 tour companies propose the possibility of overnight stays in townships
Except Rhubuleza and Soweto Tours
There is evidence that tour operators work with B&Bs in townships in order to help them to become popular and attract tourists e.g. Vicky’s B&B on Nomvuyos, guesthouse stays in Langa and Kayelitsha with Cape Capers
n/a
Transportation
Township tours are often a mix of walking tours and sightseeing tours by bus
4 companies use mini-vans, buses and luxury coaches (Vhupo, Rhubuleza, Soweto Tours, Soweto Funk Tours)
Cycling Tours are available with Soweto Bicycle tours and Soweto Tours
Walking tours: 9
Means of transport: car (Nomvuyos), minibuses and coaches (6), bicycle, motorcycles
Walking Tour with Fifth Avenue
Amatiku: 4x4, minibus or coach
Interaction with locals
Most of tour companies claim contact and interaction with locals due to visits to homes, taverns, restaurants and shebeens
Little evidence exists that there is a real interaction which can support and improve a relationship between hosts and guests
Rhubuleza even focuses on the entertainment by “traditional dancers and the beats of a marimba band”
Overnight stays or meals at a residents’ home seem only possible with Taste of Africa
Soweto bicycle tours claim that tourists meet local community leaders
Most of the tour companies state either explicitly or implicitly that the tours involve local people and that tourists can interact with townships residents
“You will be taken on a guided walk of the township by a resident and have the opportunity to interact with the locals.” (Randy’s)
“Tourists are encouraged to establish personal contact with the local people on the various tours that we offer. In this way, we contribute towards peace and healing in our country. We have been pioneers in designing quality cultural experience tours. Bringing the people together, opening our homes to visitors, showing highlights of our culture, that's what responsible tourism is all about and that's what we enjoy doing the most!” (Bonani)
Also very little evidence Amatiku states: “This is a positive and interactive tour, which will afford the visitor the opportunity to meet and speak to the local people.”
Security advice
Only Soweto Tours and Soweto Funk Tours seem to want to reassure tourists by stating that the tours are safe
Statements that the tours are safe are only made by Meljo and safe transport by Nthuseng
n/a
Sometime security guards are employed for night tours and contact with local police department seems important (Soweto Funk)

Photography
Little advice concerning photography is given
Except for Soweto Funk Tours where guides take pictures which will be given to tourists later

None of the other operators states something

Very little advice about photography, Nomvuyos state that cameras are welcome, and Bonani states to not display cameras however, in the pictures on the website you see tourists taking pictures in townships
Nomvuyos and Hylton Ross encourage to wear casual clothes
Nomvuyos and Bonani further encourage to not bring big denominations of bank notes, to display jewellery and big amounts of cash and to not give money to children and instead give sweets and make donations to funds
possible of pickpockets

Little evidence for community involvement and empowerment is visible
Amatikulu only states that they have made “numerous” contributions to conservation
Only Vuya claims to support programmes such as Habitat for Humanity as a housing development project, built up of local Hockey Club and Little Angels foster care centre for AIDS orphans

Other
Extra insurance (Vhupo), precaution against illnesses and comfortable clothing (Soweto Tours), not to take expensive items (Soweto Funk)

Other backpacker websites, certification by Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) for Soweto Bicycle Tours

Amatikulu: attention concerning beggars and that tourists do not need to but can reward guide

Community benefits and project
Few companies explicitly state their involvement with community empowerment and education programmes (Rhubuluza, Soweto Tours, Taste of Africa)
Rhubuluza and Taste of Africa clearly indicate that all participants and partners contributing to the tours profit from the revenue of the tours and are community members of Soweto
Collaboration with NGOs, local youth club and development of a greening project are important to Soweto Bicycle Tours

Little evidence for community involvement and empowerment is visible
Amatikulu only states that they have made “numerous” contributions to conservation
Only Vuya claims to support programmes such as Habitat for Humanity as a housing development project, built up of local Hockey Club and Little Angels foster care centre for AIDS orphans

Promotion and Distribution of the tours and the company
Promotion/Distribution
Little information is given about promotion and distribution of the tours
Some of the tour companies (Rhubuluza, Vhupo, Taste of Africa) display accommodation and tour associates, their membership in SATSA (South African Tourism Services Association), Theta (Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority) or again Gauteng Tourism Authority and South African Tourism Authority
Other backpacker websites, certification by Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) for Soweto Bicycle Tours

Some of the websites display links to other travel, accommodation and tourism websites however there is no evidence of the existence of a privileged partnership including distribution and/ or promotion
Important are certifications by and memberships in SATSA (Randy’s, Cape Capers, Roots Africa), Cape Town Tourism (Nthuseng, Ascot Gardens, Cape Capers, Take 2 Tours, Babi’s, Bonani, Inkululeko, Roots Africa), Constantia Valley Association (Ascot Gardens, Take 2 Tours), Cape Tourist Guides Association (Take 2 Tours)
Official tourism website of SA (Zibonele, Cape Capers) and other associations
Andulela claims to have been subject in the New York Times, UK Sunday Times, Discovery Channel, television Lone Planet (Andulela), Rough Guide (DayTrippers, Bonani) Township Tours SA as part of Ravel guide website of Südafrika-
Travel
Importance of accreditation of BEE (Camissa, Hylton Ross, Inkululeko)
Important: Cape Capers as award-winners: Emerging Tourism Entrepreneur of the year 2003 – Western Cape Finalist, Best Tourist Guide to S.A., 2004, Best Township Experience, the OTHER Awards, Ministerial Award 2003 form ‘Extra-ordinary contribution towards making S.A a premier tourist destination’

Vicky’s B&B (Nomvuyos)
Hotel Radisson (Randy’s)

Partners
Partnership with luxury hotels (Soweto Tours) and tourism authorities and associations (Vhupo) and strategic alliances (Rhubuleza) seem to be important for some of them Soweto Bicycle Tours look for partnerships with enterprises also focusing on backpacking and eco-friendly travel
Often linked to other travel websites, travel agencies, accommodation and tour operators but no evidence that there is a real exchange or partnership

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Often linked to other travel websites, travel agencies, accommodation and tour operators but no evidence that there is a real exchange or partnership

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Press reviews: Andulela
Visitor comments and testimonials
Quote Zibonele slogan

Other
Quote Soweto Funk Tours and Vhupo slogan
Often use client testimonials and guest reviews

Quote text examples
Little difference with other websites: texts somehow employ often same word and terms
Website that sticks out is Fifth Avenue as it appears very chaotic and unstructured (Print Screen)

Visual and textual elements of the website
Text
Quote text examples
Soweto and its attractions as a fun and entertaining destination (Rhubuluza and Soweto Funk Tours)
Very important focus on being different from other tour operators but still same stops, same activities
Only one TO Soweto Tours sticks out: Subscription of the stops is very professional and almost “guide-like”, very little descriptive adjectives, almost no judgement, presentation of facts and figures
Print Screen of Soweto Funk Tours and Soweto Bicycle Tours as very extreme

Press reviews: Andulela
Visitor comments and testimonials
Quote Zibonele slogan

Quote text examples
Little difference with other websites: texts somehow employ often same word and terms
Website that sticks out is Fifth Avenue as it appears very chaotic and unstructured (Print Screen)

Pictures
Pictures for Soweto Tours also appear very guide-like without tourists in it
Most of other TOs display pictures of sights, townships, township houses, people living within townships and tourists on bikes or drinking and partying

Most of the pictures support the text and the purpose of either the company or the tours:
Most tour operators display pictures of tours, tourists, sights, shacks and local people
Some display the colourful houses of Bo-Kaap
Local businesses, traditional arts and crafts, local food, children on the street or in school
Guides
Andulela shows pictures that are very guide or brochure like
Copy picture of Bonani and Hylton Ross (very tourist like), Babi’s, Township Tours SA

Amatikulu displays brick houses and shacks → see differences in the townships
Vuya shows black and white pictures of sights and people which makes it appear very nostalgic
Pictures on Fifth Avenue are in very bad quality
Annexe 5: Print screen of Soweto Funk Tours (Source: http://www.sowetofunktours.co.za/)

Home Page

The township of gold Soweto is commonly known as a-Kasi which means Township in Tswana-Tsotsi language. Among the youth of Soweto - Soweto is a vibrant township with a rich culture of Ubuntu (“humanity”). This is where most of the country’s leaders, like the first black president of South Africa Mr. Nelson Mandela once stayed.

We pride ourselves with our rich and colorful history that also showcases the cultural diversity that makes Soweto one of the biggest and most vibrant townships in the world.

What was once a symbol of hardship, struggle and poverty, the township of gold has risen from the past to become one of the most exciting places you should visit, with world class shopping malls, restaurants, night clubs and historical monuments.

Soweto Funk Tours offers you lifestyle packages that will meet all your entertainment fantasies. We specialize in entertainment tours and our tour operators will take you to the heart of the township of gold for experiences never before imagined.
Soweto Tour

Join STEVE the Soweto Rhubuluza Croc on a crawl through the taverns of Soweto. Experience the life and vibe of the township as you embark on the edumertainment experience of a lifetime.

Escape your comfort zones on this awesome experience as you blow your tamtams and share a beer with a local while crawling from pub to shack to famous landmark in a genuine Soweto Taxi. This is the ideal event for entertaining top corporate clients, networking, teambuilding and incentives. Join us now and experience the exciting world of Soweto, it’s on your doorstep and is waiting for you!

Click here to view the photos from our Latest Tours.

Once every quarter we give away a FREE tour!

Yes - Community upliftment / involvement
Annexe 7: Print screen of Meljo Tours (Source: http://www.meljotours.com/capetowntownship.html)

Visit a Cape Town Township
Safe, Informative & Truly Rewarding

Experience a Cape Town township in a safe and informative way. We’ll show you the some of the oldest Cape Town townships in South Africa like Guguletu and Langa. It started all down here and visitors get a glimpse back into our history to understand where we come from and see the progress. On a Sunday morning we give you the opportunity to visit the Roman Catholic Church in a Cape Town township. Just to enjoy a vibrant and lively service that will stay with you for always.

Enjoy this experience in a safe way with local knowledgeable people and get the story of its origination. Optional is a tour on foot through the shacks. Leave Cape Town and the townships with a greater understanding of the people and their lives. It’s very rewarding!
Annexe 8: Print screen of Township Tour SA (Source: http://www.suedafrika.net/imizamoyethu/)

TOWNSHIP TOURS SA
Imizamo Yethu
Cape Town

Contact Africa Mini
7209 Chris Hart Road
Imizamo Yethu
Milnerton 7805
South Africa
Cell: +27 (0)82 7104870

What a Township Tour can offer you:
- Learn about the life, culture and the problems in a township.
- Meet friendly people.
- Visit a shebeen and a township shop.
- Try traditional dishes and sorghum beer.
- Visit a traditional healer, sangoma and consult him.
- See the photo exhibition in the little Township Museum.

Tours start daily at 10:00 a.m. and 2 p.m. Safe parking.
Fees: R75 Rand per person. Africa Mini can be contacted on Tel 082 7104870 or 082 7104871

Still today, 12 years after the end of Apartheid, the majority of South Africans are living in dire poverty. Too many are their problems, and too many are the consequences of the administration and the government being about solutions of a production power structure.

Experience the life in an informal settlement and a township yourself! You will encounter people who couldn’t be more friendly or more welcoming, despite their poverty, lack of education and prospects.

Africa Mini of TOWNSHIP TOURS SA will take you on a 2-hour walking tour through the township Imizamo Yethu in Milnerton, with Africa Mini as your SATOUR accredited tour guide. He is a studied sociologist and journalist. Because he lives in Imizamo Yethu himself, he is the ideal person to explain the way of life and the problems of this township to you. The township tour will make one of your most interesting travel experiences in South Africa.
## Annexe 9: Table of analysis for Rio de Janeiro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tour Companies</th>
<th>Exotic Tours</th>
<th><strong>Be a local, don’t be a gringo Tours</strong></th>
<th>Favela Tour</th>
<th>Jeep Tour</th>
<th>Favela Adventures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Criteria</strong></td>
<td><strong>Exotic Tours</strong></td>
<td><strong>Be a local, don’t be a gringo Tours</strong></td>
<td><strong>Favela Tour</strong></td>
<td><strong>Jeep Tour</strong></td>
<td><strong>Favela Adventures</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General information about each company</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contact</strong></td>
<td>Phone: 55 21 9643 0366 e-mail: <a href="mailto:luiz@bealocal.com">luiz@bealocal.com</a></td>
<td>Owner: Marcelo Armstrong  Phones: 055(21) 3322-2727  Cell:55(21) 9989-0074/9772-1133  <a href="mailto:info@favelatour.com.br">info@favelatour.com.br</a></td>
<td>Telephone : (21) 2108-5800  Fax: (21) 2108-5818  Mail as online form</td>
<td><a href="mailto:info@favelatour.org">info@favelatour.org</a></td>
<td>Owner: Zezinho  Business Partner: Iranildo “Nildo” Correia  (biographies online available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language(s)</strong></td>
<td>English, Portuguese, Spanish</td>
<td>English 2003</td>
<td>French, English, Spanish  1992 by Marcelo who is in tourism since 1987 (claims to be pioneer)</td>
<td>Portuguese, English 1992 (Eco 92) → new innovative project</td>
<td>English 2004-2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Founding year</strong></td>
<td>1992 (claims to be the first one)</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1992 by Marcelo who is in tourism since 1987 (claims to be pioneer)</td>
<td>1992 (Eco 92) → new innovative project</td>
<td>2004-2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose of the company</strong></td>
<td>Create work opportunities for favela residents, education, formation for a higher self-esteem  Workshops for educational purposes inform about</td>
<td>Create work for locals and show the life of a favela to tourists  “Its main goal is to show how man and nature can live in perfect harmony.”  Created for tourists to enjoy nature and beauty of the city  <strong>Values:</strong> Quality, Respect to the client, entertainment</td>
<td>Attract higher number of visitors</td>
<td>Help local community projects</td>
<td>strives to empower the people of Rocinha by giving them the opportunity to run, organize tours  envisions a world where favela residents have the opportunity to show their world and experience to those who come for a visit  help to break down barriers of discrimination and prejudice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of company</strong></td>
<td>tour operator focussed on community work and profit</td>
<td>Tour operator</td>
<td>Tour operator</td>
<td>Commercial  Tour operator focused on alternative and eco-tourism and new adventures tours</td>
<td>Tour operated 100% operated by residents of Rocinha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Diversification Project</strong></td>
<td>Such as sport tours (gliding, hiking), voodoo tours, samba schools</td>
<td>Football Game, Favela Party  Other: City Tour, Transfers, Hang gliding, Carnival Rehearsal, Tickets</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes but within: cultural programmes, volunteering in Rocinha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Number of website visitors</strong></th>
<th>n/a</th>
<th>n/a</th>
<th>105264 visitors (12.06.10)</th>
<th>n/a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Operation of the tours</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fee</td>
<td>35 $ Internet discount</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>44,90 $ (on Rio Turismo Radical) (40€)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38 $ regular price</td>
<td></td>
<td>35 $ direct (30 €)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>Around 30 €</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>4 hours including pick-up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 hours to one day depends on tour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target audience</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Eco-tourists and adventurers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Size of groups</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3-9 people (max. 12 people)</td>
<td>Up to 250 people in 35 jeeps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of groups</strong></td>
<td>2 tours a day</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2 tours a day</td>
<td>Depends on tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose or main objective of the tours</strong></td>
<td>“Show another reality of Rio”</td>
<td>To show a local viewpoint to tourists</td>
<td>To really understand Brazil and Rio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dispel the myth of Rocinha being a place of drug dealers and drug lords</td>
<td>Get a unique insight of vibrancy of the favela</td>
<td>To change to reputation of favelas being places of crime and violence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Show other activities, different culture, development in Rocinha as a different slum</td>
<td>Explanation of community</td>
<td>Better understanding of local society and daily life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mission to transform moments into good memories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td>local commerce, schools, post office, handcraft shops</td>
<td>Local artists’ studio Children’s day care centre</td>
<td>Observe nature in a urban context: sea and mountains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cultural exchange and enjoyable learning experience, than a short stop into the community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cross-cultural communication better understanding of class system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tourist can dictate what he would like to see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stops at centres, roof views, points of interest, samba school, Tio Lino’s art project, visit of family &amp; friends de Tio Lino</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pub crawl, Party for those who are interested to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guides</strong></td>
<td>Locals (trained by company)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages: English / Spanish / French / Italian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motor cycle drivers (one for each tourist)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fluent in multiple languages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owners function as guides but support other individual guides that cannot promote own activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other guides speaking Spanish, English, Portuguese, Italian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Search for a Tour Promoter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Either short period or longer rental and purchase possibility of favela accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walking Tours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In a van if larger groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accommodation</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transportation</strong></td>
<td>Pick-up by driver Walking tour in favela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Half way by motor bike and half way walking tour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In Capital letters: Not made on Jeeps!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel pick-up and visit in air-conditioned mini-vans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walking trip through Vila Canoas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interaction with locals</strong></td>
<td>Purchase of handicrafts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcomed by locals as for development of projects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>During football games and the parties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>But there are also many other tourists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Security advice</strong></td>
<td>Completely safe with local guide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not recommended to go alone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photography</strong></td>
<td>Yes but restrictions in some areas possible to keep privacy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other advice</strong></td>
<td>Distribution of T-shirts with logo (to be recognisable?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not to book via hotel as they may overcharge or book a tour that is not as good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suggestion to bring extra money to purchase handcraft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Financial support of &quot;Para Ti&quot; community school in Vila Canoas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24h service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>community benefits and project</strong></td>
<td>Donations to company are welcomed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tips for guides ≠ donation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local school project</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Income put directly back into the community 25% of revenue to be saved to set up a community centre for the arts and leisure programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Promotion and Distribution of the tours and the company**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recommended by travel guides: Lonely Planet, Guide du Routard, Frommers, Rough Guide, Riotur (official Tourism website)</td>
<td>Registered in EMBRATUR (Brazilian Tourism Bureau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50 hotels and travel agencies</td>
<td>Newspaper articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journals, magazine and TV articles</td>
<td>The only tour recommended by all guidebooks: Lonely Planet, Rough Guides, Footprint, Fodors, Frommers, Lets Go, Dumont, Discovery, Le Petit Futé, Routard...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ALL but RIOTUR (Rio Tourism Bureau) Guidebook, since this office tried to censure FAVELA TOUR in June, 2002.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Partners**

| n/a |

**Other**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Client reviews and comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Video of a tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Displays links to other activities’ websites and accommodation |
| Link to Lisa Rio Tours |

| Restaurant Real Astoria |
| Tour-operators: CVC Viagens and Marsans Viagens |
| Secretariat Culturel du Gouvernement de Rio |
| Reviews |
| Newsletter: Registered users receive information on new routes, promotions and news |
| Blog, Testimonials |

**Visual and textual elements of the website**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Short text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ex. “One of our most successful and requested sustainable tours.”</td>
<td>Minimum of information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfectly safe</td>
<td>“Tours in favelas? You may find others...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique</td>
<td>The difference? Our reputation and the quality of our services”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable</td>
<td>Importance of differentiation in order to attract customers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar language</td>
<td>“Our products were made for you. Enjoy them and have a nice tour”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“More than city tours. Adventure”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very professional website</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very commercial writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“First, we are the FIRST and ONLY company owned and operated by people who live in the favela of Rocinha. We do not want you to come just to see a few things, take some fotos and then leave.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| n/a |

**Save money to open RACI (Rocinha Arts and Cultural Institute)**

| Tour promoter |
| Testimonials |
| Blogs |
| Videos on YouTube |
| Articles |
**Very positive**

- Many spelling mistakes
- Very simple and familiar language
- Importance of promotion
- "Tours in convertible Jeeps provide a vision of the contrast between the ocean and the forest and among the luxury condominiums and slums"

**Our real purpose is to educate but also have fun. When you come to Rocinha and are with one of our guides, you will get top notch service at a fair price."

**Pictures**

| Rio from Sugar loaf mountain | View of favela | Of three different types of "tours" with the tourists | Favela painting | Pictures of tourists and tours | Of city and sights | Of Jeeps | Of Zezinho and tourists |
Annexe 10: Print screen of Favela Adventures (Sources: [http://favelatour.org/favela-tours/](http://favelatour.org/favela-tours/))
### Annexe 12: Table of analysis for Mumbai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Reality Tours and Travel</th>
<th>Go Heritage India Journeys</th>
<th>Mumbai Magic A la Carte</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tours Operator</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General information about each company</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contact</strong></td>
<td><a href="mailto:info@realitytoursandtravel.com">info@realitytoursandtravel.com</a></td>
<td></td>
<td>Magic Tours of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phone: 24hr Mobile: +91 (0)9820822253</td>
<td>4 main offices with all contact details</td>
<td>Mumbai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Office: +91 (0)22 22833872</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mobile: +91 98677 0741 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owners: British Chris Way and Indian Krishna Poojari</td>
<td></td>
<td>e-mail: <a href="mailto:deepa@mumbaimagic.com">deepa@mumbaimagic.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language(s)</strong></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>59 languages available</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Founding year</strong></td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose of the company</strong></td>
<td>Show enterprise and community spirit of Dharavi try and help dispel the negative image that many people have about Dharavi and slums in Mumbai Show the positive sides of the slum</td>
<td>first motto “Quality For The Discerning Traveller” quality and innovative humanitarian mission: want to work for the development of the society</td>
<td>Propose customised and off-beat tours for several hours in order to discover Mumbai Customised tours to India Employment and training of young people from slum so that they can earn for the family Tourism to do good in a sustainable way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type</strong></td>
<td>Tour and travel agency Private company limited by shares (pvt ltd) with shareholders f limited liability</td>
<td>independently owned and officially authorized travel company based in New Delhi</td>
<td>Tour company offering individual tour packages, India familiarisation tours and offbeat guided tours to urban centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Diversification Project</strong></td>
<td>Ordinary sightseeing tours, village and market tours</td>
<td>specialise in tailor-made tour packages to India (golf, spa, yoga, wildlife, etc.) slum tourism as diversification project</td>
<td>Sightseeing, tours by foot, car or boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of website visitors</strong></td>
<td>n/a but 213 posts and threads on forum</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Operation of the tours</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fee</strong></td>
<td><strong>Duration</strong></td>
<td><strong>Target audience</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs 400pp (7 €) for a short tour Rs 800pp (15 €) for long tours Rs 3,200 (53 €) for private tour (up to 5 people) Rs 5,400 (90 €) for combined slum and sightseeing tour</td>
<td>Longer tours possible in the afternoon</td>
<td>Samaritans and cultural tourists want to explore slum Text clearly addresses to the volunteer tourist who wants to help poor community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>From 2 hours, over 4 hours to two days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Most of the visitors are economists, business leaders, teachers/professors, writers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corporate clients</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | | | Not designed for budget travellers/
| Size of groups | 6 people max. Larger groups on demand will be split | n/a |
| Number of groups | 13 different group and individual tours available | n/a |
| Purpose or main objective of the tours | Break down the negative image of Dharavi and Indian slums and residents Highlight small scale industry Increase understanding between people of different social classes, races, religions and countries | “bust slum myths” \(\Rightarrow\) shacks look dirty and unhygienic but if tourists do tour their insight changes due to the vibrancy of slum dwelling Develop sympathy |
| Stops | Kindergarten and community center Visit to handcraft industries such as bakery, soap factory Hindu temples, churches and mosques Residential areas | n/a |
| Guides | Good English due to extensive training Come from modest backgrounds Paid good wage (no tips policy) 4 guides, 4 other | Called representative who guides tourists |

45 Information of Marie Mathy during her Dharavi visit in February 2010
| **Accommodation** | n/a | Slum tour package possible (with accommodation?) n/a | n/a |
| **Transportation** | Walking tour with meeting at a central meeting point | n/a | Car from stop to stop, walking around stop |
| **Interaction with locals** | More or less at community centre and kindergarten | n/a | Yes but it depends on locals if they want to get in touch |
| **Security advice** | n/a | first priority is to provide safety to our guests n/a | Safe |
| **Photography** | No picture policy⁴⁶ | n/a | Photography is not allowed except at some places when guide says so |
| **Other advice** | No tip policy | Tours to fill out questionnaires after the tour | Illustrated handouts during tour |
| | Not to visit poorer areas | Salaries of 180 € for owners (10,000 rupees) | Sun protection, rain protection |
| | | | Avoid formal dressing and jewellery |
| | | | Easy footwear |
| | | | To not stare or talk down to people |
| **Community benefits and projects** | Since 2007, profit from the tours goes to sister organisation “Reality Gives”, NGO for education run kindergarten and community centre | offer good budget accommodation to the charity workers who are working for the development activities | Support some of the workshops visited |
| | | “If our clients also want to visit India for a Charity purpose we will guide them to offer their helping hand to the neediest sections of the society. They can donate to the societies of the widows living in Vrindavan, and to the poor villages of Rajasthan and other orphanage of the country.” | Owner of company donates money to partners and other organisations |
| | | | But recognizes the need to educate and train slum dwellers: help to self-help |
| | | | Trustee in a school project |

### Promotion and Distribution of the tours and the company

**Promotion/ Distribution**
- Featured in Lonely Planet, Frommers Guide, Rough Guide
- Via Facebook and Twitter
- Problem of promotion via flyers and hotels in the beginning 2006 and 2007
- Through partners: airlines, other operators, hotel and train companies
- Socialisation websites like Twitter and Facebook
- Recognized by tourism board of Maharashtra
- Government tourism department sells some of the tours in its website
- Mainly website and Trip Advisor
- Official tour operator of Four Seasons Hotel India

**Partners**
- Volunteer work, our NGO partner “Atma”
- Multiple airlines: Kingfisher, Air India, Spice
- Two non-profit organisations

⁴⁶ Information of Marie Mathy during her Dharavi visit in February 2010
### Mumbai

Jet, Jetairways, Indigo, Go Airways
Other operator websites operated by same company: India Luxury Tours, Golden Triangle Tours, Rajasthan Tours → diversification project

### Akanksha Foundation (youth education in slum)
Manzil (youth empowerment)
Students from programmes are employed or trained
Trains 10 children in the age of 14-20 to become professional and work either in the company or in another job

### Visual and textual elements of the website

#### Text
See the « real » India
Many explanations such as charity work, background of guides, sales and profit
Catering to client/ tourist comes first, selling product is important
Insist on quality service and holidays
Very professional and commercial
Very positive light on India
text on slum tourism is borderline: ex. "On the surface life the slum dwellers have a hard life for survival, when you meet them personally you will see here a vibrant life of fun and laughter"/ "Come down to Dharavi slum and you will see here a mix world of fun and pain."

### Dharavi
Brief explication and history of Dharavi
Brief explications of the tours → few detailed information → although professional website due to many missing information appears very basic
Requested information sent by Deepa Krishna (founder)

### Pictures
Few pictures, mostly of people
Very professional not random
Except of staff pictures of sights like in guide books to show beauty of city or country

### Discussion forum for visitors to post their experiences
Client testimonials → scan of tour evaluation report
Possibilities to book car, hotel, train (discount)

### Other
Blog
Press reviews and feedback

India Slum Tourism

You might have seen the recently buzzed Oscar winning Slumdog Millionaire, directed by the Hollywood master Danny Boyle. It is a keen observation on the slums of India. On the surface life the slum dwellers have a hard life for survival, when you meet them personally you will see here a vibrant life of fun and laughter. Slum tourism in India is now becoming popular as lots of Samaritans and cultural tourists want to explore the slums of Mumbai and other cities of India.

Dharavi, the largest slum settlement of Asia is located in the suburban Mumbai along with the suburbs of Bandra and Kurla. You might be surprised to know that the annual turnover of this slum area of Mumbai is around 4 millions dollars. The slum dwellers earn their livelihood by various ways. The main industry of this slum area is the recycle industry, they recycle the wasted things.

Why do you visit the slum areas in India? You might have a helping hand to the poor or you might be working in an organization working for the upliftment of the poor. If you want to visit India on a slum tour package we can arrange you the same for you. But for each a tour you might have inner passion and you should be a responsible traveler. You should respect their culture and tradition while visiting them.
Annexe 14: Print screen of Reality Tours and Travel (Source: http://www.realitytoursandtravel.com/slumtours.html)

DHARAVI SLUM TOURS

On our tours, you will see why Dharavi is the heart of small scale industries in Mumbai. (Annual turnover is approximately US$ 605 million). We show you a wide range of these activities from recycling the making of clay pots, embroidery, bakery, soap factory, leather tanning, papadi (poppadon) making and many others, most of which take place in very small spaces.

We also pass by the residential areas, where you really get a feel for how the people are living and you see the sense of community and spirit that exists in the area. People from all over India and from all religions live in Dharavi, and you will see this diversity - for example there are Hindu temples, mosques and churches. It is quite an adventure to pass through the narrow alleys, and you will almost certainly lose your sense of direction!

Mumbai has a lot of things to see besides Dharavi. We do more traditional sightseeing tours, which can be combined with the slum tour in one action packed day on our slum and sightseeing tour. On this full day tour, you do the Dharavi tour in the morning, have lunch (normally vegetarian, but you can choose) and then do the sightseeing in the afternoon.

The tours are not just about observing. One of our guides, who all speak very good English and have a wide knowledge of the area, will explain the industry and talk about the people including the issues that they face. You are encouraged to ask questions!

We want the tour to be as comfortable for you as possible and so we have a NO TIPS POLICY. The guides are paid a good wage and are rewarded on the basis of the questionnaires which we ask everybody to fill out after the tour.

We do not believe that we should be showing places affecting the poorer members of society and profit from it. We started a Community Centre in Dharavi in May 2007 and in July 2009, through our newly created NGO Reality Gives, we started a kindergarten. The revenues from the tours fund these activities.

We offer a wide range of tours at a very reasonable price, the idea being that we want the tour to be accessible to all.

If there are any schools in Mumbai interested in doing this tour, please disk here.

Although the office is not open on Sunday and Bank Holidays, TOURS RUN EVERY DAY
### Annexe 15: Table of analysis for Nairobi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Kibera Tours</th>
<th>Explore Kibera Tours</th>
<th>Malaika Ecotourism</th>
<th>Victoria Safaris - Africa Adventure Company</th>
<th>Niche Africa Holidays</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Information about each company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>The telephone numbers of the guides in Kenya (+254) Frederik: (0)7 23669218 Martin: (0)7 21391630 Esther Bloemenkamp email: <a href="mailto:info@kiberatours.com">info@kiberatours.com</a></td>
<td><a href="mailto:info@explorekibera.com">info@explorekibera.com</a> +254 73 365 0231 or +254 72 025 7421</td>
<td>8th Floor Ukulima Cooperative House, Box 19675 00100 Nairobi. Tel: +254 20 2157732 or +254 20 3514106 <a href="mailto:info@malaikaecotourism.com">info@malaikaecotourism.com</a></td>
<td><a href="mailto:victoria@victoriasafaris.com">victoria@victoriasafaris.com</a> <a href="mailto:info@victoriasafaris.com">info@victoriasafaris.com</a></td>
<td>Telephone No: +254 20 2212535 Telephone No: +254 20 2212537 Mobile No: +254 733 585302 Email: <a href="mailto:info@nicheafricaholidays.com">info@nicheafricaholidays.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language(s)</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founding year</td>
<td>2009 first tours were developed in cooperation with S4L and Sawadee</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2005 2006 slum tours started</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of company</td>
<td>Mission: promote Kibera as the city of hope Provide work opportunities for locals To hope for a better future</td>
<td>designed to promote volunteerism and raise awareness about the Kibera slums to reinvest 100% of profits into the community by hiring local staff, supporting local development projects to bring a stream of demand to local craft makers enriches the community</td>
<td>Promote Green Travel Discover Kenya in an eco-friendly way travel &amp; development for the local communities Slum visit as part of Kibera slum-Sagana Camp-Samburu- Sweetwaters-Hell's Gate -Lake Nakuru- Mara *** Mission is the provision of quality services to their clients Conservation of Kenya’s nature goal is to become best TO in East African Markt Promote pro-poor tourism to improve local economy for poor local community Enhances linkage between residents and tourism businesses in order to provide employment and revenue</td>
<td>vision: “To be a Team leader amongst the best Travel Agents and Tour Operators in the African market in the field of Niche Tourism and specialty Travel in Africa.” Mission: “To provide quality personalized services pertaining to tourism to our clients while conserving the rich flora and fauna so abundantly found in our continent-Africa”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of company</td>
<td>Kibera-based TO Dutch-Kenyan organisation</td>
<td>Social Tourism Project</td>
<td>Eco-tourism tour operator Nairobi-based organizes Sustainable Solidarity travel in Kenya</td>
<td>Kenyan-owned receptive tour operator specialised in adventure travel</td>
<td>registered African based Travel Agent and Tour Operator Company</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**private tour operator**
Owned and managed by the Luo family with its headquarters in Nairobi, several branches in Canada for marketing and associate companies in other countries such as Tanzania, Egypt, Uganda, South Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diversification Project</th>
<th>none</th>
<th>none</th>
<th>Different Eco-safari tours Volunteer programmes</th>
<th>Slum tours are the diversification project, not only in Kibera but in other rural and urban parts</th>
<th>Slum tours as a diversification project for pro-poor tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of website visitors</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Operation of the tours</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fee</strong></td>
<td>25 € (2500 KES) 15 € for residents</td>
<td>20 € (2000 KES)</td>
<td>US$ 1180 (include tour, 3 meals a day, accommodation (870 €)</td>
<td>50 $ for 2-4 hours (40 €)</td>
<td>80 € as from group of 4 people to 7 people 200 € for one person 120-40 € for Charity tour or Kibera slum tour 4 Days-3 Nights-Nairobi City Pro-Poor Tourism Adventures or 2 Hours - 4 Hours-Charity Slum Tours / Excursions or 9am-1 pm-Kibera Slums tour Due to display of luxury tours, might be addressed to a richer clientele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Duration</strong></td>
<td>2-3 hour walk (whole tour: 3-4 hours)</td>
<td>2,5 hours</td>
<td>11 days &amp; 10 night</td>
<td>2-4 hours (4-hours Kibera tour) 3-days tour (multiple slums)</td>
<td>4 Days - 3 Nights - Nairobi City Pro-Poor Tourism Adventures or 2 Hours - 4 Hours - Charity Slum Tours / Excursions or 9am-1 pm - Kibera Slum Tours Due to display of luxury tours, might be addressed to a richer clientele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target audience</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>for open-minded travelers</td>
<td>Backpacker and ecotourists</td>
<td>targets the up market traveller and special interest groups such as students, the physically impaired, corporate clients and the budget traveller (backpackers)</td>
<td>Due to display of luxury tours, might be addressed to a richer clientele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Size of groups</strong></td>
<td>Max. 6 persons</td>
<td>Max. 5 people</td>
<td>2 and 1 can join</td>
<td>1-10 (if necessary because of group size)</td>
<td>1-7 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of groups</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2 times a day</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>Daily except Sunday</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose or main objective of tours</strong></td>
<td>To experience a part of Kenya unseen by most</td>
<td>To engage with local guides to understand the work within</td>
<td>Ecological: Biking close to wildlife/ Nature Walks/ &quot;Experience firsthand problems of slum dwellers in</td>
<td>Philanthropic tours or Charity slum tours to visit the poor in</td>
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tourists
To show the daily life
See people’s friendliness and resilience
See the ways how people improve their situation

the community
Bring money into an otherwise closed economy
Understand the work of community organizations
Learn about available volunteer opportunities
Challenge stereotypes and go beyond the comfort zone

Benefiting local Project Ecotourism: Meeting with local people/ trying local food gives travellers great opportunities to adventure our country in a unique, eco-friendly and sustainable way, by meeting the local people and sharing with them

their daily life”

various parts of Kenya referred to as pro poor tours or charity tours into the slum areas
clients are requested to make donations or adopt a child in the slums and assist in paying the school fees if possible

Stops

Day 2: Kibera slum/ Giraffe centre/Karen Blixen
Giraffe centre: "great opportunity to feed and play with wildlife"
Visit Kibera: meet community, visit their houses, having tea, visit youth programmes

Charity Slum tour of the Nairobi Slums including Kibera, Korokocho, Mukuru and Mathare Slums taken to the various households to sample the daily routine life be taken to witness projects being undertaken by the other organizations
After the tour, tourist will be handed back his contribution for him to donate it to a project of his choice
Combination with wildlife safaris possible

Local school and NGO organisations cover Nairobi and Kisumu three days community based pro poor tourism package taken to meet the HIV orphaned children’s homes, the Kibera Olympic primary school and the Baraka Za Ibrahim School
Tunza Children’s centre see the day to day activity of the residents, the type of housing and the unavailability of sanitary facilities, the flowing sewage and the businesses undertaken by the local residents
visit the local NGO center visit new housing development project in Mathare slum

Guards
Two guides, Martin and Freddy living in Kibera since their birth
2 guides and 2 administrators incorporating several functions
5 volunteers for several other functions

English-speaking driver guide
5 staff members for TO in general

Recruit local people as guides, van drivers, and security guards (mostly community leaders and living in the slum)

n/a
n/a
n/a
n/a
n/a
n/a

Accommodation
n/a
n/a
n/a

Transportation
Pick-up but walking tour
Walking tours (central meeting point)
Walking to ur with hotel pick-up in a van

Bikes but walking tour in slum
Walking tour with hotel pick-up in a van

n/a
n/a
n/a

Interaction with locals
Yes because of the visit to a home (see photos as well), in direct contact with people
Safe – “Though violent crimes aren’t common in

Yes through projects and people around

Yes : engage with locals

Enables interaction with local people

n/a
n/a
n/a

Security advice
“You’ll experience that the people of Kibera will certainly

none

n/a
n/a
A security-guard, well-known in Kibera, will come on the tour to make you feel even more safe.” Take security people on the tour (also to create some extra jobs). Kibera, we recommend visiting with a local. We hire trusted employees who are active in community organizations and volunteerism. We operate only during daytime and within safe areas.”

**Photography**

- Restricted-picture policy: Pictures are allowed at dedicated places after permission of the guides.
- Keep photos to a minimum, and always ask for permission first.

**Other**

- Wear walking shoes/boots
- Don’t take unnecessary valuables
- Respect people’s privacy
- For children: to be aware of distance
- All-inclusive tour: provide some drinks and snacks evaluation form after the tour
- Wear covered shoes
- Leave passports, backpacks, purses, and large amounts of money at home
- Avoid flashy items
- Avoid giving out money
- Avoid brightly coloured or exposing clothing
- No advice in general for visits to Kenya

**Community benefits and project**

- Provide support for community projects in order to improve people’s lives
- Donations after the tour
- 100% of the profits benefit the community
- By touring with the company, visitors support the community with loans, donations and volunteer opportunities
- Donates school supplies and food to Kigulu HIV/AIDS Orphanage
- Promotes the research of Kibera Community Youth Programme (ex. Solar lamp training, assembly facility)
- Sell bracelets for Jitolee Women’s Group
- 100% of the profits benefit the community
- By touring with the company, visitors support the community with loans, donations and volunteer opportunities
- Donates school supplies and food to Kigulu HIV/AIDS Orphanage
- Promotes the research of Kibera Community Youth Programme (ex. Solar lamp training, assembly facility)
- Sell bracelets for Jitolee Women’s Group
- Vision:
  - Is to promote ecotourism and improve the well-being of local communities
  - Ecotourism Policy
  - Victoria Safaris is advocating for through tourism business as a part of contribution towards wiping out slums and poverty in Africa, including Kenya
  - Visitors said to contribute actively to the upgrading of slums
  - Donations mostly consist of used items by individuals, groups or corporations such as hotel industry to donate old beds, beddings, etc.
  - Tour manager and tour guide will then hand over the profits for tourist to donate to a deserving project/activity of his choice

**Promotion and Distribution of the tours and the company**

- Recommended by Sawadee and S4L (dutch tour groups)
- Through several travel websites such as Kenya Travel Advisor
- Facebook
- No partners displayed
- Own website as a well-known Africa specialist
- Member of Eco-Tourism Kenya, Kenya Association of Tour Operators and The
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Partners</strong></th>
<th><strong>International Eco-Tourism Society</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiva Microfinance</td>
<td><strong><a href="http://www.kiva.org/">http://www.kiva.org/</a></strong> (people lend money to poorer people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solar Aid</td>
<td><strong><a href="http://www.solar-aid.org/">http://www.solar-aid.org/</a></strong> (access to clean, affordable, renewable energy)</td>
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<th><strong>Visual and textual elements of the website</strong></th>
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<td><strong>Introduction presents the visit of Barack Obama, Gordon Brown and UN-secretary Ban Ki Moon</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Many grammatical mistakes</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Insert text about Kibera visit in Analysis</strong></td>
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<th><strong>Text</strong></th>
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<td>“Kibera, the friendliest slum in the world and a city of hope”</td>
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<td>“Imagine Africa without a slum. A continent where every individual is accessible to basic human amenities such as, adequate health facilities, adequate housing and sanitary facilities, adequate food and clean drinking water.”</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>Very “noble”: “escorted tours of the slums of Kenya to sample first-hand the difficulties faced by the poor” = reality tourism</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>VS vents itself that they have the know-how and the capacity to deliver tours to international and domestic visitors</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>Very customer focused Professional TO</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Tourist activity comes first</strong></td>
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<th><strong>Pictures</strong></th>
<th><strong>Experience Kenya’s Slum Tours at its Best Scenario</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>Pictures of locals in the slum</td>
<td><strong>Lunch and dinner taken at hotel or restaurants outside the slum</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During visits</td>
<td><strong>Very customer focused Professional TO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of people in the slum</td>
<td><strong>Tourist activity comes first</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of tourists and guides during their visit</td>
<td><strong>Experience Kenya’s Slum Tours at its Best Scenario</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few pictures of tourists in their main activity, Kenyan women working and animals</td>
<td><strong>Lunch and dinner taken at hotel or restaurants outside the slum</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small pictures of tourists visiting the slums</td>
<td><strong>Very customer focused Professional TO</strong></td>
</tr>
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Annexe 16: Print screen of Explore Kibera Tours (Source: http://www.explorekibera.com/)

Welcome to Kibera.

Explore Nairobi behind the scenes in Kibera, East Africa's largest slum and home to over one million Kenyans. Recently visited by President Obama, PM Gordon Brown, and UN Secretary Ban Ki Moon, Kibera is the subject of countless UN programs targeting poverty, health, infrastructure, women's rights, and education. During the 2008 Kenyan post-election violence, the community became an epicenter of activism, exacerbating political and tribal rifts in an otherwise peaceful area. The novel and 2005 film, The Constant Gardener, also popularized Kibera's health and political issues.

Despite its problems, Kibera has a unique charm among the 42 tribes and various religions that peacefully co-exist in the 2.5 sq. km area. “How are you?” are the endless greetings you'll hear from children eager to meet outsiders. Kibera is a fascinating place with new eye-opening, yet encouraging experiences. Explore Kibera by engaging with our local guides to understand the work within the community.

What is Explore Kibera Tours?

We are a social tourism project designed to promote volunteering and raise awareness about the Kibera slums. We offer safe walking tours for open-minded travelers and aim to solely benefit Kibera by hiring local staff, supporting local development projects, and bringing a stream of demand to local craft makers.

Explore Kibera Tours believes in uniting the community through awareness. When you tour with us you will:

- Support an otherwise closed economy
- Understand the work of community organizations
- Learn about available volunteer opportunities
- Challenge stereotypes and open your eyes beyond the comfort zone of many
Annexe 17: Print screen of Victoria Safaris (Source: http://www.victoriasafaris.com/kenyatours/propoor.htm)

This is what Victoria Safaris is advocating for through tourism business as a part of contribution towards eradicating slums and poverty in Africa. Slums are a blight to the individual governments alone to bear but rather be should be the priority of those corporate firms that contribute to the improvement of the economies of these states including players in the tourism sector. Visitors who come and see these slums are sure to contribute to the upgrading of the African slums.

Kenya Slums Tours

(Reality tourism in Kenya - these are escorted tours of the slums of Kenya to sample first-hand the difficulties faced by the poorer in Kenya's Urban Cities and rural areas)

Kenya has its fair share of the world's poorest people. 5.4 million Kenyans live in informal settlements. A large number of Kenya's poor, living on less than a-dollar-a-day, stay in the urban centres such as Nairobi and Kisumu. It is estimated that it may cost 12 billion USD and approximately 10 years to eradicate slums in Kenya. That is over a decade. Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya is home to some of the richest and some of the poorest people in the country. The greatest population of the booming metropolis of over 3.5 million people live in the slums without the necessary amenities such as adequate housing, adequate food and clean drinking water. These pre-poor tourism activities takes Victoria Safaris visitors to these rarely visited regions and provide interaction with the local people some of whose experiences reflect the political and social changes in urban society.

Victoria Safaris has come up with a novel idea of Kenya Slums Tourism as a means of creating awareness of the plight of the poor in Kenya to both foreign and domestic tourists with an intention of using out the slums in Africa and Kenya in particular as a long-term measure by using tourism business, the Vision 2030 Kenya government revenue earner, and reducing poverty by engaging the poor participate more effectively in tourism development in Kenya and at the same time receiving an increase in the net benefits from tourism as a short-term measure. As the aims of pre-poor tourism range from increasing local employment to involving local people in the decision making process, Victoria Safaris has hired and is continuing to recruit its local staff for the Slum tour programmes among the inhabitants of the slums areas where it performs the Slum tours.

These include the Tour van drivers from the crowded slums. The Slum tour guides among whom are the community members who understand the slum community locations better and the Slum Community policing security teams. All these personnel live within the Slums where the escorted tours are performed.

Let us take you for a pre-poor tour in Kenya as we have the know how and the capacity to deliver these services to both foreign and domestic tourists in Kenya.

We have three types of clientele for the pre-poor tourism in Kenya. These include:

1. Individuals: These include individuals who are interested in seeing the poor in their various locations and sharing their experiences in order to understand the difficulties of the poor as they contribute towards the alleviation of poverty. It counts when you have a day or an hour with the less fortunate of a community. From our experience, these individuals contribute their mindedness, house hold items to the poor, food to the individual family members, clothing, bedding, clothes, books and bicycles from their residences.

2. Groups: These include groups of individuals such as churches, welfare associations, non-