



# **EXPLORATIONS IN SLUM TOURISM:**

**A NEW PERSPECTIVE TO THE CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDING**

Tourism Master's Thesis

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## **Abstract**

Slum tourism is an emergent tourism practice, which has recently gained an increased academic attention. This project explores the slum tourism enactment from a perspective of the producers of the slum tourism experience, through a comparative analysis of previous case studies in the slum, Kibera, in Nairobi, Kenya and present case study in poverty stricken areas of the Philippines. This project is concerned with social science, where the researcher through qualitative research seeks to understand slum tourism in context-specific setting of poverty stricken areas in the Philippines, through an exploratory approach, and following the centrals of grounded theory. The present case study in the Philippines entails research on the slum tour operator, Smokey Mountain Tours (SMT), conducting tours in the slum, Smokey Mountain, on two social enterprises, Mabuhay Restop and Futkalero, operating in poverty stricken areas, and lastly, data from a police escort to the original Smokey Mountain slum. The Philippines has not yet been researched in slum tourism, thus this paper fills this research gap in literature. The contemporary literature remains limited and consists of overgeneralization and ambiguous understandings of slum tourism. In media, slum tourism has been regarded a controversial pastime, and is heavily debated based on stereotypes. This paper problematizes the current understandings of slum tourism, its terminology and practice, and critically discusses the paradoxes and silences. This paper studies new perspectives and patterns of slum tourism; it identifies that slum tourism comprises of different organizations, working in different settings but share similar moral imperative to provide an educational experience for the tourists and social impacts for the poor. This paper encourages slum visits, however stresses the importance of being accompanied by someone who can mediate between the visitor and resident.

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# 1. Introduction

Tourism is one of the world's major economic success stories, a story, like time, that has no clear beginning or end. Tourism is a phenomenon that has been created and is difficult to define because of its complexity. Recently there has been an increase in tourism diversification, where new tourism destinations have emerged, and developing countries have experienced an increase in tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2014). Today, one can take a vacation to the North Pole, South Pole and in everywhere in between (Yeoman, 2008). Slum tourism is a rising phenomenon of consumer interest and tourism expansion, and slum tourism has more recently received an increased attention in both academia and in the media. Yet the slum tourism understandings seem ambiguous, and overgeneralizing. The foci of the academic discussions on slum tourism are through the lens of a moral dilemma in which voyeurism is juxtapositioned with the benefits for the poor deriving from tourist demands (e.g. Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Selinger & Outtersen, 2009; Kieti & Magio, 2013). We live in a world of dichotomies, where contrasts may set up invalid choices between things that need not or cannot be opposed to each other. A world of; head or heart, rich or poor, business or pleasure, good or bad. Bipolar thinking is everywhere, but why these contrasting extremes? In perspective, no one chooses how to be positioned in today's rat race – if we are born poor or born wealthy. We may not have chosen our starting position, but we do choose how we run. It does not have to be a marathon of getting in front or getting behind, winning or loosing, it is not necessary a question of either/or. We have a choice; in this example, to help the fallen, and the ones who started in a disadvantaged position, to get to the finish line. Dichotomies blind the possible middle ground and oversimplify, just as the case in slum tourism. Hence, this project problematizes slum tourism, claiming there are other realities, and there is a middle ground. A middle ground of education and social impact. This project challenges the existing understandings of slum tourism, and explores new perspectives and patterns, through uncovering the complex aspects around its definition and practice, and its paradoxes and silences, through a

comparative analysis of previous and present case studies, of slums Kenya and the Philippines.

### **1.1 Significance of Research Topic**

Given the fact that the Philippines, as a destination, has not been explored within slum tourism, this research project contributes to the research of global slum tourism studies, adds an academic expansion and diversification of slum tourism and explores a new area within slum tourism, the Philippines.

According to the official website of slum tourism, constituted by some of the slum tourism researchers in the field, slum tourism is characterized as follows:

“Touristic visits to urban areas of relative poverty” (Destination Slum, 2014).

This above definition of slum tourism is a very broad classification, and constitutes of a rigid and also ambiguous labeling. This indistinct definition reflects an example – one out of many – of slum tourism’s paradoxes, and the blurriness and inconsistency in the current understandings. This paper will provide new insights, and a deeper understanding of this emerging form of tourism, moving beyond conventional structures and understandings.

### **1.2 Aim and Objectives**

The aim of this research project is grounded in pragmatism and explores the interactive construction of slum tourism from a perspective of the producers of the slum tourism experience. Through a comparative analysis of previous case studies in the slum, Kibera, in Nairobi, Kenya, this dissertation will draw attention to the present case study in poverty stricken areas of the Philippines. This present case study entails research on the slum tour operator, Smokey Mountain Tours (SMT), conducting tours in the slum, Smokey Mountain. Furthermore, it is based on a research collection of two social enterprises, Mabuhay Restop and Futkalero, which are organizations using tourism as an

integrated part of social projects in poverty stricken areas. Lastly, this present case study entails data collection from a police escort to the original Smokey Mountain slum. The following objectives have been set to achieve this research aim.

1. Examine and deconstruct the current understandings and complexities of slum tourism, which will be addressed in the theoretical literature review.
2. Drawing upon this present case study in the Philippines, and previous case studies in Kenya – conducted by the researcher – this research project examines the complexity of how slum tourism is enacted to better understand the paradoxes and silences of the tourism practice.
3. Provide recommendations for future research of slum tourism, which will be introduced in the conclusion and future enquiry section.

### **1.3 Outline and Structure**

As delineated in the table of contents this research project consists of six chapters. The chapters in this dissertation have been arranged in the following manner:

**Current Chapter** introduces the research topic and explains the significance of this research study. As just reflected this chapter also outlined the aim and objectives of the project.

**Chapter 2** discusses the methodological considerations and reflects the steps taken to achieve the aim and objectives of this dissertation. Also, this chapter explains the motivations and selection criteria in this research project.

**Chapter 3** reviews and examines relevant theoretical literature regarding slum tourism, in order to be able to examine the complexity of the slum tourism

enactment, and better understand the paradoxes and silences in the current debates about slum tourism.

**Chapter 4** presents the empirical data collection while providing an overview and backdrop of the organizations featured in this research study.

**Chapter 5** will critically assess empirical data through a comparative analysis of previous case studies and present case study as well as critically contrast and contest primary and secondary research findings.

**Chapter 6** concludes on the preceding analysis and deduces relevant recommendations for future research of slum tourism. Contributions and ideas for further inquiry are also noted. The chapter also outlines the limitations and implications of this research project.

## **2. Methodology**

This chapter will describe the methodological approach and reasoning methods behind this research project by explaining the explorative and inductive stance taken. This dissertation is concerned with the social science of tourism, thus this chapter also presents social science and ontological considerations. This project adopts of a qualitative research approach focused on ethnographic research and the crystallization of various forms of data collected over the course of this research. In line with the usage of the crystallization method, this chapter describes the different methods of data collection, such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, casual conversation and fieldnotes, in order to give a clear understanding of the empirical data collected and how this will be used for the analysis chapter. Also, this chapter explains the secondary research used for this paper.

### **2.1 Motivation, Prior Research and Selection Criteria**

Throughout all three previous semester projects at Aalborg University (AAU) I have focused on slum tourism, with a previous particular attention to the slum, Kibera, in Nairobi, Kenya. On the 7th and 8th semester I underwent ethnographic research studies in Kibera. On the 9th semester I enrolled in the module, Global Refugee Studies, at AAU, to increase my knowledge in development studies, understand paradoxes and complexities in developing nations, and study the global world from another view than the tourism perspective. Furthermore, during the 9th semester, I was invited to the slum tourism conference, Destination Slum!2, in Potsdam/Berlin, May 14th-16th 2014. Dr. Frenzel invited me to co-organize. Throughout these three semesters I have discussed the role of the slum guide in slum tourism (Blakeman & Carstensen, 2013), investigated how tourism can be used as a poverty alleviation tool (Blakeman et al., 2013), as well as discussed how Kibera, through entrepreneurship is a slum of hope rather than despair

(Blakeman, 2014). My latest work is the article written in collaboration with Dr. Frenzel (Blakeman & Frenzel, forthcoming), focusing on attraction-making of slums, and the role of the slum guides in a comparative analysis, on Kibera and the slum Dharavi, in Mumbai, India. Throughout all projects I have argued for the importance of more research on slum tourism, and examine other slums around the world. Thus, this project is motivated by the desire to grow a broader understanding of slum tourism. From Destination Slum!2 I learned that there is little academic attention paid to slums in Asia, and that the Philippines in particular is a destination unexplored in slum tourism. Through knowledge sharing at the Conference I heard about the slum tour operator in Manila, SMT. With this knowledge my motivation and quest for exploring slum tourism in the Philippines was created.

## **2.2 Social Science and Ontological Considerations**

This research project is a research study concerned with the social science of tourism. Social science is concerned with people and their social world, thus “concerned with the nature of social entities” (Bryman, 2012 p. 32). The social methods of considerations applied can therefore be explained as social ontology. Social ontology is the position that determines whether a social entity can and should be considered objective or socially constructed (*ibid*, 2012). The ontological position of this dissertation follows the social constructivist paradigm, which proclaims that the world consists of multiple realities and not one single truth - that everything is socially constructed (ref. to Bryman, 2012). According to Jennings & Juneke, (2007), tourism is a socially constructed phenomenon, which is constantly being reframed, reinterpreted and reconstructed. Costantino (2008) notes, “everything we know has been determined by the intersection of politics, values, ideologies, religious beliefs, language, and so on.” (p. 118). Hence, this research project represents a version of a specific social reality, rather than asserting ‘things’ as definitive. This research project’s ontological position, thus fall in line with the words of Glasser (2002): “Let us be clear, researchers are human beings

and therefore must to some degree reify data in trying to symbolize it in collecting, reporting and coding the data. In doing so they may impart their personal bias and/or interpretations—ergo this is called constructivist data” (p.6). Moreover, this research paper adopts a phenomenological approach with multiple case studies (two prior and one present) with integrative and complementary methods of participation observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, fieldnotes and reflective researcher writings.

Additionally, this project’s research method utilizes the grounded theory, which is the discovery of theory based on data obtained from social research (Strauss & Glaser, 1967). Grounded theory is a method where theory emerges from the data rather than a priori (Berg, 2008). Regarding tourism studies, Jennings and Juneke (2007) claim that more researchers use qualitative and methodologies such as grounded theory, which leads to a broader and more comprehensive understanding of tourism phenomena. The grounded theory can offer new levels of understanding of tourists, their and interactions and milieu, and thus, generate explanations of events, which reflects lived experiences of individuals, groups and processes vital in the tourist experience (Jennings & Juneke, 2007). The grounded theory is utilized in this research project to understand the slum tourism practice. Glaser (2002) notes that the ground theory is abstract from time, place and people, and states: “(...) which frees the researcher from the tyranny of normal distortion by humans trying to get an accurate description to solve the worrisome accuracy problem” (p. 1), and this abstraction thus frees the researcher from data worries and doubts, rather place the emphasis on theoretical concepts relevant for the data. The notion of the grounded theory in this paper will be clarified in the following section. Also, the researcher draws attention to the constraints of fully adopting the grounded theory in this project.

### **2.3 Qualitative Research Method and Research Structure**

In tourism research it is possible to use qualitative and quantitative methodologies, and both by mix-methods strategy. The two methodological



approaches are different in many ways, where the most apparent difference is that the qualitative research approach deals with representations, words and observations of real-world settings, while the other deals with statistical procedures and other ways of quantification (Bryman, 2008; Golafshani, 2003). The quantitative researcher working with facts, figures and numbers (i.e. charts and graphs) seeks prediction and generalization of findings (Hoepfl, 1997, in Golafshani 2003), where as the qualitative researcher seeks clarification and to understand a phenomena in context-specific settings (Hoepfl, 1997; Patton, 2001, in Golafshani 2003). The qualitative data play an important role in this research as it may bring small details to light and highlight important changes or details in social structures, which may be missed by quantitative methods and its narrowed attention to confirm specific hypothesis (ref. to Stebbins, 2008). The following sections will in greater detail explain this project's usage of the methodological approaches.

### ***2.3.1 Exploratory Research and Case Studies***

In social sciences, the exploratory research approach refers to a broad-ranging, intentional and systematic data collection designed to maximize discovery of generalizations based on description and direct understanding of an area, phenomenon or setting of social life (Stebbins, 2008). The exploratory approach is a showcase of inductive reasoning in social science (*ibid*, 2008). Through the exploratory approach new concepts and generalizations are consciously, intentionally, and inductively created directly from data (*Ibid*, 2008). This is also what Bryman (2012) refers to 'unstructured strategy', where research is carried out with as little prior contamination as possible. Stebbins (2008) notes that the exploratory data analysis is the set of steps that a qualitative researcher follows when exploring a new area of social life by collecting open-ended data from which to generate new concepts and generalizations about the setting, area, activity or phenomenon.

Thus, this project's method of reasoning has an inductive approach, and through this inductive stance the "theory is the outcome of research" (Bryman,

2012 p. 26). The exploratory approach was thought appropriate for this paper, as it is a approach used when there is a little or no scientific knowledge about a group, phenomenon, setting, or activity, but nevertheless have reason to believe contains elements worth discovering (Stebbins, 2008). As stated, the researcher had prior to this project conducted research and written papers about slum tourism, thus the researcher did not enter the field of study with a 'clean slate'. This notion has been one of the major criticism of Strauss and Glaser's (1967) work on the grounded theory; no one can claim to enter a field completely free from influences of past experiences, prior work and readings (Heath & Cowley, 2004; Cheng et al. 2014). However, even though the field of research was entered with prior knowledge, the researcher tried to remain as open as possible to the research study by not picking a theory, or any form of theorization about the case before visiting the Philippines. Thus, this project follows the centrals of grounded theory, but it cannot be said to follow a clear grounded theory (but close) as the researcher did not approach the field *tabula rasa*. However, with a more thorough look into Strauss and Glaser's (1967) work, it reveals that the scholars were aware of the problem: "Of course, the researcher does not approach reality as a *tabula rasa*. He must have a perspective that will help him see relevant data and abstract significant categories from his scrutiny of the data" (p.3). The exploration and inductive reasoning are important elements in social science, as Max Black (ref. by Stebbins, 2008) notes, the process of the deductive reasoning carries limitations in social science and alone it cannot uncover new ideas and observations, rather new knowledge must come from some form of induction. Thus, the exploratory research is useful in this paper through inductive reasoning, resulting in new concepts the slum tourism. The researcher traveled to the Philippines, for this thesis' data collection, and explored the touristic activities and social setting of different poverty stricken areas in the Philippines, and based on these empirical observations relevant theory was applied. Thus, the theory springs from and is anchored in the empirical data collected about slum tourism.

The exploratory approach is helpful when working with case studies, and this research project will make use of three main case studies in order to comprise

a comparative analysis. The present case study of the slum tour operator in Manila, SMT, will be compared to two previous case studies on tour operators in the slum, Kibera (Blakeman & Carstensen, 2013; Blakeman et al., 2013). Besides SMT, the present case study also comprises of the social enterprises, Mabuhay Restop, and, Futkalero, as well as a police escort to the original Smokey Mountain slum. When regarding case studies, there are both strengths and weaknesses, and Stake (2000) referred to the vantage of this approach as, “the study of the particular” (p. 438), which includes the nature, historical backgrounds, physical settings as well as other contexts e.g. socio-cultural contexts of a specific case. Robert Yin (ref. by Stebbins, 2008) argued that, that case studies can provide a powerful strategy for a causal explanation. Case studies are today frequently used in various social science disciplines, where the researcher explores a single entity or phenomenon (Verschuren, 2003). According to Xiao and Smith (2006) the case study approach has contributed considerably to tourism research. Campbell (2003) also discusses the importance of case studies, and notes that case studies provide data of in-depth character, flexibly represent varied and conflicting voices, in comparison to traditional statistics. According to Campbell (2003), the case study method is a flexible method, which can tolerate complex and unruly elements of a specific location. One of the major issues with case studies is that they cannot be generalized to wider contexts (Xiao & Smith, 2006; Verschuren, 2003; Campbell, 2003), but building a body of case studies is important for developing knowledge. Even though case studies are not generalizable, they can be used for comparative analyses (as in this project).

Hence, by the usage of the exploratory approach it is possible for this paper to reach the aims and objectives, and through this collection of preliminary data through case studies, this paper adds knowledge on a location unexplored in the slum tourism and builds on a body of cases to increase knowledge of slum tourism.

### **2.3.2 Ethnography and Fieldwork**

According to Fetterman (2008ab), fieldwork is the hallmark of research for ethnographic researchers, and is a tool used to help describe and understand a group, culture, social life and/or phenomenon. Even more so Agar (1980) claimed that the very name for *doing ethnography* is fieldwork (in Whitehead, 2004). Fetterman (2008a) noted that, “ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture” (p. 288). Furthermore, Bryman (2012) argued that ethnography is the process of learning about the ethnographic hosts’ worlds, social life and cultural systems, from an insider perspective (supported by Fetterman, 2008a). This classical framework of ethnography are what ethnographers traditionally utilize when conducting research, such as carrying out fieldwork and living close together with the host communities, and by observing, recording fieldnotes, participating in activities during these observations (i.e. participant observation) and carry out different forms of interviews (Whitehead, 2004). This project is aligned with the framework of the classical ethnographic method, and was conducted in two regions of the Philippines; Metro Manila, of Luzon region, and in Cebu of the Visayas Region. The poverty stricken areas where located in Tondo – Smokey Mountain – and on Bantayan Island – Sillon community – respectively.

As a project of ethnography, the data collection was conducted through fieldwork, i.e. participant observation and fieldnotes, where semi-structured - and unstructured interviews shaped part of the data collection. The individual methods will be outlined in section 2.4. However, first ‘crystallization’ framework will be highlighted, as multiple genres of conducting research is utilized in this project.

### **2.3.3 Crystallization**

Original the concept of ‘crystalization’ was introduced by Richardson (1994). Ellingson (2009) followed this thought with a development of crystallization, as

a framework, which builds upon the rich tradition of diverse practices in ethnography and qualitative representation. According to Richardson (2000) the multiple 'ways of knowing' is comparable to viewing an object through a crystal: "Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities *and* refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, and arrays, casting off in different directions" (in Ellingson, 2009, p. 11). Ellingson (2009) clarified that the crystallization framework was thought as emergent of qualitative research, to undertake the multiple genre's goals for ethnographic and other qualitative work. Crystallization depends on interweaving different (more than one) ways of expressing data and/or the world. According to Ellingson (2009) the scholars who embrace this wide range of methods, practices, and perspectives may adapt crystallization to their goals, hence due to the multi-genre approaches used in this research project, the crystallization framework was thought beneficial. Furthermore, crystallization fits within social constructionist paradigm (*ibid*, 2009) of this research project, opposed to the positivism paradigm, which does not complement crystallization as "researchers who truly believe in objectivity and the discovery of ahistorical, unbiased, universal truth will not find crystallization amenable" (p. 4). The reason is, according to Ellingson (2009), that the crystallization rejects these notions of positivist ideologies of objectivity and the 'truth', given the truth as partial and socially constructed is a paradigm reified through the crystallization framework. Crystallization is not simply a form of triangulation, as scholars employing triangulation typically seek truth through a discourse of different perspectives, however crystallization does not seek *the* truth, rather embraces that many truths exists and present themselves through various inquiries (Vik & Bute, 2009)

## **2.4 Data Collection in Qualitative Research**

The term *data* is often misunderstood by quantitative researchers and qualitative researchers when trying to discuss their studies (Firmin, 2008). To quantitatively oriented researchers, data usually refers to numbers, whereas

to qualitative researchers, the term is associated with words (*ibid*, 2008). Hence, when qualitative researchers speak of 'analyzing data', it means the participants' words or other empirical evidence assessed (*ibid*, 2008). There are many methods of data collection which qualitative researchers use when collecting data, and this section highlights the data collection means in this project.

#### **2.4.1 Participant Observer**

As stated this project is based on an ethnographic fieldwork study, and in ethnography 'participant observation' characterizes most ethnographic research (Fetterman, 2008a). Whitehead (2004) implies "(...) that the ethnographer not only observes activities in the field setting, but also participates in them wherever possible." (p. 17). Participant observation is a use qualitative method, which means participation in, and make observations of the everyday life (Cole, 2005; Fetterman, 2008b). Conducting participant observation, by definition "takes place within the social settings that are familiar and significant to the ethnographer's hosts—those social settings that provide the socio-cultural contexts, processes, and meaning systems of their world" (Whitehead, 2004 p. 17).

All human beings use their perceptual skills when observing and gathering information about social situations, researcher or not. However, the 'participant observer' enters into a social situation with two agendas - first, to engage in activities appropriate to the situation/setting, and secondly, to observe the activities, people, and physical aspects of the setting (Spradley, 1980). As a participant observer it is required to heighten the sense of awareness, to raise the level of attention and to tune in things usually (for an 'ordinary observer') are being tuned out (*Ibid*, 1980). The participant observer enters a social life, setting or activity with a 'wide-angle lens' in order to take in a broader spectrum of data (*Ibid*, 1980). In this paper, an example could be when taking part of the slum tour with a wide-angle lens, rather than observing as an ordinary observer (i.e. ordinary tourist). To take the wide-

angle lens a bit further, Spradley (1980) noted that being a participant observer also entails alternating between an 'insider'/'outsider' experience, as well as engaging in both simultaneously. This research project also encountered this insider/outsider experience. As an insider the researcher was, e.g. acting as a soccer coach (with Futkalero), at the same level as the locals in the organizations. Conversely, at other times the researcher experienced being an outsider, e.g. while taking part of the slum tour (with SMT). Through times of being an insider, researcher also simultaneously experienced being an outsider, e.g. when researcher was observing and reflecting upon own insider 'teaching position', as well as considering the children playing as 'research objects'. Here, the researcher had the experience of entering into participant observation while being this insider 'teaching', rather than merely observing from the 'outside'. Hence, the researcher took part of the scene, yet being outside the scene. This type of insider/outsider participation gives an advantage of being immersed in the culture and social life, thus understand it from the insider's perspective, while being distant enough to objectify patterns of behavior in the community (Fetterman, 2008b). In order to fully understand the entire spectrum – through this wide-angle lens – the researcher therefore increased the level of 'introspectiveness' (ref. to Spradley, 1980). This means, the introspection of these ordinary and everyday activities (i.e. being a soccer teacher or coach) contrasts acutely with the ordinary participant (i.e. the local soccer coach) who has "(...) learned to take the experiences for granted" (p. 57). The researcher acknowledges that the use of introspection is not an objective matter, as the researcher was personally engaged in the research conducted. However, given that the researcher was aware of own stand as academic researcher, it was possible to keep distance from empirical data. Worth noting is also, that the judgment of a researcher can be affected based on the emotions and the relationships built within these social settings/activity in the communities (ref. to Bryman, 2012; Labaree, 2002). Thus, through the social constructivism paradigm of this dissertation, the researcher can never be fully objective. Emotions will be discussed in section 2.4.4. As participant observer the researcher adopted an 'overt role', meaning the role, as researcher, was known to the people being studied (ref. to Bryman, 2012).

Constructivist qualitative researchers emphasize on both participant observation and interviewing for data generation to understand a social phenomenon (Costantino, 2008), same is the case in this project.

#### **2.4.2 Interview Design**

The interview is the ethnographer's most important data-gathering technique (Fetterman, 2008a). Considering these qualitative interviews, there are three general types of interviewing methods; the 'structured', the 'unstructured' and the 'semi-structured' interview (Bryman, 2012; Roulston, 2008). The formally structured and semi-structured interviews are the more verbal approximations of a questionnaire with an explicit research goal of the questions wanted answered, and these types of interview methods typically serve comparative and/or representative purposes (Fetterman, 2008a). Contrary to the preceding two, the informal interview has a specific but implicit research agenda, and seems to reflect more casual conversations (*Ibid*, 2008a). The interview method utilized in this project is a combination of the unstructured and semi-structured interview. The unstructured method of casual conversations and semi-structured interview was the preferred data-collection techniques of this paper. To start with the latter, the semi-structured interview are often referred to as 'in-depth' interviews, as the researcher retains a somewhat control over the direction of the interview design, yet the participants are free to elaborate and take the interview to new, but still related, directions (Cook, 2008). The semi-structured interview is the middle ground between of the rigid structured interview and the uncertainties with the unstructured interviews, which allows for in-depth knowledge on a specific topic without predetermining the results of the interview (Cook, 2008). The semi-structured interviews conducted for this paper, are all based on fairly pre-designed questions, yet with open-ended questions and subjects, where the interviewee had the possibility of elaborating further or turn the interview into new directions. The interview structure, for the interview with SMT, was for comparative purposes designed based on the semi-structured interviews of the previous case studies in Kibera



(Questions, Appendix A). This way, the data can better be compared to examine the slum tourism enactment. The semi-structured interview with SMT took place on the 8th of August 2014, in the founder's office in Quezon City, Metro Manila, six days after the slum tour, and the duration of the interview was approximately an hour and a half. The interviews with the social enterprises, Mabuhay Restop, and Futkal, were best on unstructured interviews. This unstructured interview method was thought appropriate for both organizations as the meetings were based on more casual conversations: the Mabuhay Restop interview meeting was set-up as a lunch meeting, and with Futkal the interview took place while driving to and from the Field of Hope project on Bantayan Island. The everyday conversations between people generally do not have a predetermined agenda for the conversation; in contrast however the researcher at times used questions drawn from a semi-structured interview. Roulston (2008) notes that conversational interviewers strive to facilitate a research environment where the participants feel free to participate in discussions of research topics in a less hierarchical environment, than what is convened by the two more structured interview designs. The casual conversational method is seen to facilitate openness, informality. Thus, researchers utilizing unstructured strive to create a friendly and informal atmosphere where the participants are respected as equal in the conversation, and free to share their perspectives on the research topic (*Ibid*, 2008).

#### ***2.4.3 Fieldnotes and Interview Recordings***

Fieldnotes can be crucial to any qualitative study, regardless of data collection tools utilized (Brodsky, 2008). By using fieldnotes, qualitative researchers record in-depth descriptive details of e.g. people, places, actions, and events, as well as reflections on answers, observations, and patterns (*Ibid*, 2008). In other types of qualitative data collection, such as semi-structured and recorded interviews, the data may be gathered as verbatim interview recording and/or transcripts. Fieldnotes on the other hand function more as

the descriptive element of which the recordings cannot capture — such as gestures, facial expressions, off-microphone comments, setting characteristics and surroundings, smells, and researcher's own instant impressions, opinion, assumptions, and emotions during time in field or in interview (*Ibid*, 2008). As explained in the preceding section the interviews conducted in this project was that of unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Roulston (2008) notes, in regards to fieldnotes and the unstructured interview: "In everyday conversations, it would be unusual for interaction to be recorded. In conversational interviews, with the prior consent of participants, researchers will make written records of participants' utterances (...)" (p. 129). However, during this project's unstructured interviews an interview recording was at times conducted, and researcher took written records where it was thought appropriate. In all interview cases the researcher – with consent from the interviewed participants – used a recorder for the interviews, and placed it somewhere not visible in order to create a friendly and informal environment. Thus, all interviews were recorded, and then later transcribed by the researcher (Appendix BCD). However, with the two social enterprises the material, which was allowed recorded, has been transcribed, and other parts either left out or censored, due to ethical concerns when publishing this project – this notion of ethics will be outlined in next section about researcher's writings and the ethics.

#### **2.4.4 Researcher Writings, Ethics and Emotions**

Besides the traditional social scientist's record of fieldnotes, the researcher kept a daily record of more personal research writings. The usage of researchers' writings (e.g. diaries and journals) is a valuable qualitative tool in social science (Smith-Sullivan, 2008). Smith-Sullivan (2008) notes that the word *diary* is derived from the Latin *diarium* (daily allowance), and the *journal* from the Old French *jour* (day). Smith-Sullivan (2008) explained that "diaries are generally used to track participants' daily activities and objective experiences, whereas journals capture writing that includes emotion, introspection, and self-reflection" (p. 213). Carolyn Ellis (in Smith-Sullivan,

2008) referred to work with first-person writings and introspective *journal* keeping as a tool for capturing lived experiences. For the lucidity of this paper, the researcher will not reflect a difference between the two. The researcher kept daily detailed writings of other people's daily activities and behavior, as well as writings of own sensory experiences and emotions, this will be referred to as 'researcher's writings'.

It has historically been argued that the qualitative researchers' close involvement with research participants render the research unscientific and too subjectively biased (by positivist researchers), while not having social contact with participants (i.e. common for quantitative researchers) automatically yields objectivity (Copp, 2008). However, investigating emotions has a significance for understanding interaction, thus, rather than erase empirical data of emotional character, these emotional responses can be turned into a source of data to gain a greater understanding of the research phenomenon, participants and social life (Copp, 2008). Caton (2012) claims, just as the tourist (the subject) use objects (people, culture etc.) to fulfill own purposes, so does the qualitative researcher. Caton (2012) notes a tension is created in tourism between the self-actualization and social responsibility. Researchers – in this case interviewer and participant observer – are collectors of stories, which are shaped on two levels; the voice of the research participants and how the researcher's sociological imaginations echo these stories. When regarding ethics in qualitative research, Stake (2000) notes that qualitative researchers are often guests in private spaces, and their manners should be good and the codes of ethics should be strict. Smith-Sullivan (2008) claims that researchers can use their researcher's writings to record and reflect upon own behaviors, attitudes, feelings, and thought processes to provide a multilayered facet to academic findings, but that precautionary measures should be considered. A concern with using the researcher writings as data sources in this paper, are the ethical issue of confidentiality, because although this project's participants initially gave consent to be quoted, these researcher's writings are of greater subjective character and shares greater details about the participants observed. MacCannell (2012) states: "A research domain without ethical reflexivity, that refuses to come to grips with

itself and its subject matter in ethical terms, is doomed to failure” (p. 185). Smith-Sullivan (2008) notes, “it is important to be mindful of what is divulged about participants and others involved before publicizing the study” (p. 215). Techniques to ethical concerns can be used, e.g. protect the anonymity of the research participants: 1) The researcher’s writings may be submitted in person or (e-)mailed to give the participants the option of safeguarding their work or person, 2) a researcher may also use pseudonyms to protect its participants (Smith-Sullivan, 2008). This project has tried to reach out to people reflected in the project by providing some drafts of material. Also, this paper makes use of pseudonyms, where the researcher did not have the possibility of cross-check the allowance for publicity. The attention to researcher’s biased subjectivity and emotions will be used to gain a better understanding of slum tourism, especially due to the emotional, controversial and/or poignant subject of the research. Thus this project makes use researcher’s reflexive notes and the introspection on experiences, situations and observations. Copp (2008) adds that negative or unpleasant emotions such as anger, fearful, resentment and sadness serve as clues, and that negative emotions rarely are sought important or reported in tourism research (Richins, 1997 in Mackenzie & Kerr, 2013). This project will regard negative or unpleasant emotions as clues, when reflecting the researcher’s own emotions, as well as reflect upon other people’s emotional reactions, which can provide additional clues to the research.

#### ***2.4.5 Secondary Research***

In addition to the empirical data collection, this research project also incorporates secondary research, which involved gathering data from secondary sources. Secondary data are sources including oral or written statements from people who may not have been immediately present during the event or phenomenon being described, thus provided by others who have knowledge about a specific research subject or interest (Berg, 2008). Secondary data in this paper comes from books, academic articles, journalism material online and official websites. This paper examines the secondary

literature understandings of slum tourism, to be able to deconstruct the slum tourism practice. Furthermore, the overview of the current understandings of slum tourism is based on secondary data, which will then later allow the researcher to problematize slum tourism. Hence, this paper draws upon primary sources, and builds on foundations from secondary sources, to meet the aims and objectives put forth.

## **2.5 Chapter Conclusion**

In summary, this chapter covered this project's social research methods, which will be highlighted in this Chapter Conclusion.

This project is concerned with social science, where this qualitative researcher seeks clarification and to understand slum tourism in context-specific setting of the poverty stricken areas in the Philippines. The paper is based on empirical data collection through case studies, which allow for data of in-depth character. Due to the limited research on slum tourism, this project takes an exploratory approach. The exploratory approach is a showcase of inductive reasoning in social science, where new concepts are created directly from the empirical data. The project engaged in the method of grounded theory, but as this researcher did not enter the field of study with a 'clean slate', it is not a clear grounded theory. As this project interweaves different ways of expressing data (and the world) the crystallization method was used, as many truths exists and is presented through various inquiries. In line with the crystallization, different data collection methods were used in this project. The qualitative researcher functioned as a participant observer taking part in activities being examined, and an interviewer. Due to the complex social setting and emotional character of the research project/setting, the researcher regarded it important to be closer involved with the subject matter, thus the data-gathering technique were by semi-structured interviews and casual conversations, which were recorded when possible. Also researcher's biased subjectivity was relevant for this paper to gain a better understanding of slum tourism, thus researcher's writing were incorporated.

### **3. Theoretical Literature Review**

This chapter examines and deconstructs the current understandings and complexities of slum tourism. The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section reflects upon the tourism industry in contemporary society, having a particular focus on tourism in developing nations. This section also outlines mega drivers and trends affecting the global tourism industry. The second and third section examine the existing literature, and deconstruct the current understandings of slum tourism: the second section covers place the tourism phenomenon in a broader context, whereas the third section engage in a more narrow investigation of the current academic understandings. Slum tourism has, besides in academia, also recently received a paroxysm of attention in the media. The fourth section will thus examine how the media frames slum tourism. The media has a strong persuasion power to influence our (global society) perception of the world, which will here be highlighted.

#### **3.1 Tourism – A Global Industry**

This section examines the macro-environment relevant to slum tourism, hence this section has a particular focus on the developing world.

##### ***3.1.1 A Fast-growing Global Industry***

According to some history books, with the invention of money – by the Babylonians' development of trade round about 4000 BC – travel and tourism was invented (Yeoman, 2008). Yeoman (2008) adds that one of the best-documented roots of today's contemporary tourism is found in religious traditions, e.g. Muslims' pilgrimage to Mecca. According to UNWTO (2014) the numbers of international tourist arrivals have shown virtually uninterrupted growth (despite occasional global shocks) from 25 million in 1950 to 278

million in 1980, 528 million in 1995, and 1087 million in 2013. Hence, over the past six decades, the tourism sector has experienced continued growth, and become one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world, accounting for 9% of GDP (UNWTO, 2014). Considering geographical outbound tourism, Europe is still the world's largest source region, generating over half of the world's international arrivals, followed by Asia and the Pacific (23%), the America (16%), the Middle East (3%) and Africa (3%) (UNWTO, 2014). Forecasts show that the global travel will continue to grow precipitously, and the worldwide international tourist arrivals are expected to increase by 3.3% per year from 2010 to 2030, and reach 1.8 billion by 2030.

### ***3.1.2 An Expanding Industry***

According to UNWTO (2014) there has recently been an increase in diversification, where new tourism destinations have emerged, and developing nations have experienced an increase in tourist arrivals. Developing nations accounted for 46% of the total international arrivals in 2011 (UNWTO, 2014). Making the developing countries of increasing interest to the international tourists. UNWTO (n.d) notes that tourism is a major player for the economy of developing nations. Sharpley and Telfer (2008) argue in line with UNWTO (nd), and claim that tourism increasingly is regarded an attractive development tool for many countries in the developing world. Harrison (2008) regards the increased interdisciplinary attention to pro-poor initiatives and tourism. For some developing countries tourism may even be the only feasible means of stimulating development (Sharpley and Telfer, 2008; UNWTO n.d.). When developing nations enter the tourism global competitive industry this is not without dilemmas, according to Sharpley and Telfer (2008) some developing countries may find that tourism only benefits the local élite or bigger multinational corporations, or achieved at considerable social and/or environmental costs. Also Bennett (1999) reflects upon tourism in the developing world, and notes that tourism affects the livelihoods of many of the world's poorest, both in positive and negative ways. UNWTO (n.d.) supports this notion, and claims that the tourism income trickles down

differently in society, however note that if tourism is managed with a solid focus on poverty reduction, it may directly benefit the poorer groups in society, through e.g. employment, social and/or community-based enterprises, amongst others. The impacts for the poor vary between the poorer groups, destinations, and the types of tourism (Bennett, 1999). UNWTO (n.d.) suggests in this regard, that tourism should not be relied on as *the* answer to poverty alleviation, rather regard tourism as a powerful tool, and given the size of the tourism industry even small changes being widely applied can make a magnificent difference for poorer societies.

### **3.1.3 Mega Drivers and Trends – A Consumer Focus**

This section discusses the mega drivers and tourism trends in developing nations. Mega drivers are the macro conditions, which shape international tourism (Yeoman, 2008). This paper will loosely draw upon Dwyer et al.'s (2009) identification of five mega drivers shaping global change and affecting tourism, respectively the *political*, *environmental*, *demographic*, *technological* and *social* drivers. Worth noting is that Dwyer et al.'s (2009) research is based on workshops in Australia (not in context of developing countries), however, as highlighted earlier regarding outbound tourism, over half of the world's international arrivals, i.e. travelers to destinations including developing nations and locations of the slum tourism practice, is from the Western world. Dwyer et al.'s (2009) conclusions on the mega drivers are thus found useful, when examining the macro conditions affecting tourism in developing nations. Sharpley and Tefler's (2008) work on the external influences on tourism, in context of the developing world, is also included in this section, and other scholars will be added where thought relevant. These drivers and trends are incorporated in this project to focus on how slum tourism correlates with today's tourist demands.

The global tourism demands have evolved over the past 20 years, which has had a particular significance for the developing world (Sharpley & Tefler,



2008). This change in tourism demands is concerned with the social mega driver. Sharpley and Tefler (2008) claim that although the traditional sun-sea-sand holiday remains a popular form of tourism, “(...) there has been a dramatic growth in demand for the more individualistic, active/participatory forms of tourism providing a broader or more fulfilling experience” (p. 25). This change in demands put forth by Sharpley and Tefler (2008) correlates with Dwyer et al.’s (2009) expressed values of the social drivers: individualism and self-improvement. The individualistic perspective includes the increased diversification of interests, tastes, and demands in tourism experiences (Dwyer et al., 2009). Dwyer et al. (2009) note that people today go on vacation to learn something, and rather than being a form of consumption the vacation is an investment – an investment in themselves. As a consequence, the barrier between leisure and education will blur to a greater extent (Dwyer et al., 2009). Also Müller (2003) notes that tourists seek travels, which offer cultural and educational learning. In addition, Yeoman (2008) mentions the essence of self-improvement, in regards to the idea of luxury; luxury is less about materialism and increasingly about self-enrichment and self-fulfillment. This takes part in understanding why people travel to slums, i.e. not for luxury, but self-fulfillment. According to Sharpley and Tefler (2008) the global tourist has also become a more experienced, adventurous, discerning and quality-conscious traveler. Tourists have become more experimental travelers, willing to try new things e.g. new attractions, products and foods (Dwyer et al., 2009). Holloway (1981) draws attention to the tourists’ emergent mindset of seeking more out-of-the-ordinary experiences. This perspective has also more recently been discussed by Freire-Medeiros (2008), who argues that today’s tourists are driven by discovering and get under the skin of a destination, seeking more unique valuable and intimate experiences off the beaten path. According to Cohen (1972) these tourists are regarded the experimental travelers, the ones not relying on the environmental bubble of the conventional tourist activities or services.

Tourists today increasingly wish to be participators, rather than mere observers (Cetron, 2003). In addition, Conran (2011) claims that tourists seek more intimate experiences, as intimacy is regarded being opposed to the

commodified tourism experiences, thus the desire for intimacy becomes an escape from the 'staged' tourism encounters (ref. to MacCannell, 1973). This in part also explains the tourists' interest in experiencing slum life; an experience in the actual slum beyond industrialized cover-up.

Going back to Sharpley and Tefler's (2008) perspective of today's tourist being more experienced, discerning and quality-conscious, Dwyer et al. (2009) note that this increased awareness value is particular when travelers visit destinations of the developing world, as tourists increasingly have a broader social and environmental consciousness (Dwyer et al., 2009) i.e. as travelers visiting slums. Similarly, the tourists are increasingly safety conscious. According to Yeoman (2008) we live in an increasingly unsafe world where people has and/or will become more aware of crime and terrorism, and the feeling of uncertainty becomes more of the norm, deriving from fear as a consequence of the world's disruption of our everyday life. Regarding risks Urry (2011) notes, that within tourist places, which have often been regarded or imagined as places of danger, the fears around personal safety becomes central. The researcher has in a previous case study (Blakeman & Carstensen, 2013) discussed the role of the guide, when considering the safety in slum tourism. Urry (2011) gives the example of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, being a hyper-concentration of tourism and criminality, where criminals from the favelas (slums) target tourists as they provide a honeypot, which carries big similarities to slums presented in this paper, Kibera and Smokey Mountain. This paper will not go into discussions of slums' attraction-making, rather elucidate how slums are framed and perceived in contrast to how slum tourism is enacted. Later this chapter will explore the contemporary assumptions of slums, and the media's framing of slums.

## 3.2 Slum Tourism From A Broader Perspective

Slum tourism has more recently received an increased attention in academia. This section will place slum tourism in a broader context to understand the bigger picture and other contemporary influences.

### 3.2.1 Slum Tourism From An Illustrative Aerial View

This section gives an overview and understanding of slum tourism within the context of tourism and development, thus Ausland's (2010) illustration is thought beneficial (Figure 1). Ausland (2010) refers to slum tourism as 'poverty tourism'.

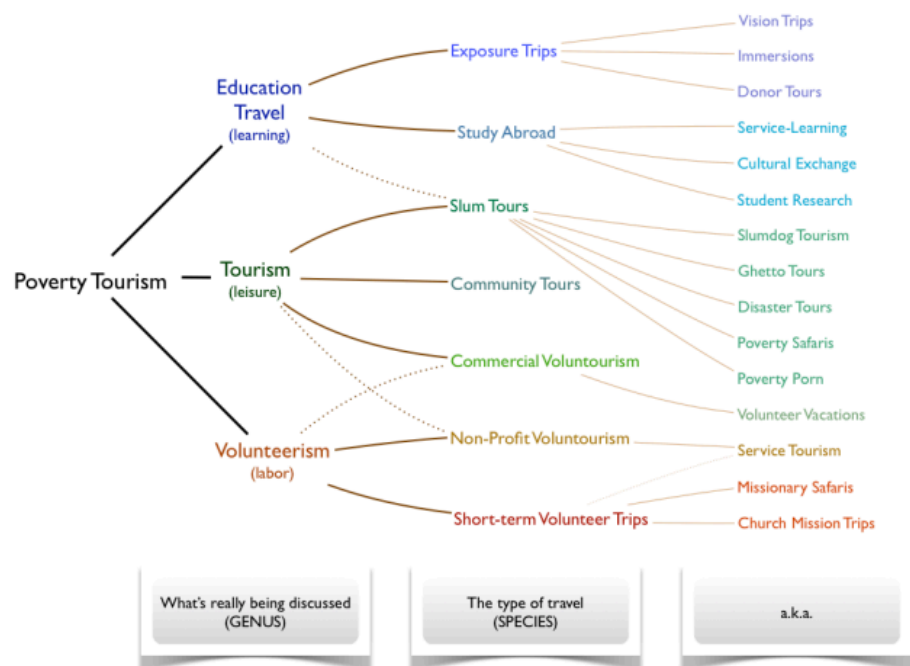


Figure 1 "Poverty Tourism Taxonomy 2.0" Source: Ausland, A., 2010.

The intention of incorporating the Taxonomy (Figure 1) is not to make a complete breakdown, rather use in illustrative manner. Ausland's (2010) distinguishes between three genus-levels of travel types in slum tourism: 'education travel', 'tourism' and 'volunteerism', where each of the implies particular purposes: learning, leisure and labor, respectively. Ausland (2010) adds that the levels and types are not mutually exclusive, and may be

interconnected, as people travel with mixed motives. Thus, Ausland (2010) regards the possibility of interconnectedness, rather than rigid structures, which will be regarded in this project when problematizing slum tourism. The Taxonomy (figure 1) also provides a list of terminologies in slum tourism debates today (the 'a.k.a' in Figure 1). However Ausland (2010) notes that the list is not comprehensive, as new terminologies are emerging daily. In later sections, some of these terms will be explored in more detail (in section 3.3 and 3.4.2). Noteworthy, some of the terms are creative and mostly disparaging terms, which assist in today's current understandings of slum tourism. Ausland (2010) reflected upon the use of terminology and expressed that, " (...) one shouldn't use the term "poverty safari" to talk about a non-profit voluntour. It's true that a voluntourist may gawk at the locals and snap inappropriate photographs, but the type of travel he is doing is not defined by these behaviors, but rather the purpose of the travel as designed by the host". This perspective is important for this paper, as it is concerned with case studies on the producers of the slum tourism experience.

### ***3.2.2 The Gaze, The Other and Disaster-related Tourism***

This section involves tourism activities closely related or overlapping with slum tourism. Urry's (1990; 2002) tourist gaze involves 'gazing' at and maybe get involved in other people's lives, whether it being good or bad. Urry (2002) also discusses the perspective of gazing at and experiencing particular 'signs' in the host country, e.g. by experiencing the 'typical' German beer-garden. In reference to slum tourism, this is gazing at and experiencing a 'typical' slum. As previously explained regarding the experimental tourist trend, Urry & Larsen (2011) argued (based on Cohen's 1972 work) when tourists reject the conventional tourism services, it allows these travelers to visit places, which they otherwise would not, and somehow create another contact with the 'strange' place encountered. In line with Urry and Larsen (2011), consuming these 'other' places may also involve gazing at places of violence and/or death, and several places exist around the globe; e.g. Ground Zero,

Egyptians' pyramids and location damaged by Hurricane Katrina. Tourism concerned with places of disaster has been discussed by various academics, e.g. in research about dark tourism (Foley & Lennon, 1996ab; Seaton, 1996; Lennon & Foley 1997; Sharpley & Stone, 2009; Stone 2005 ab). The term, dark tourism, coined by Foley and Lennon (1996ab), is concerned with, "the presentation and consumption [by visitors] of real and commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley & Lennon, 1996a, p. 198). Seaton (1996) made the argument that dark tourism is not a post-modernist phenomenon, rather it has emerged from a thanatopic tradition (i.e. contemplation of death), which dates back to the Middle Ages e.g. Roman gladiatorial games and pilgrimages to medieval public executions. Miles (2002) notes that, "there is a difference between sites *associated with* death, disaster, and depravity and sites *of* death, disaster, and depravity. If visitation to the former is rightfully characterized as "dark tourism," then journey/excursion/pilgrimage to the latter constitutes a further degree of empathetic travel: 'darker tourism.'" (p. 1175). Miles (2006) gives an example of visitations to museums in comparison to visitations to the former concentration camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau. According to Miles (2006) the 'darker tourism' enjoys a locational authenticity that its counterpart, 'dark tourism', does not. In this sense, slum tourism would be regarded as tourist visits to sites *of* disaster, and thus locational authenticity.

### **3.3 A Closer Look At The Multifaceted Phenomenon**

Slum tourism has been a subject to a great amount of labeling in academia, ranging from 'slumming' (Koven, 2006; Rolfes, 2010; Steinbrink, 2012), 'slum tourism' (Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Frenzel et al., 2012; Dyson, 2012; Meschkank, 2011; Mekawy, 2012; Kieti & Magio, 2013) 'poverty tourism' (Frenzel & Koen 2012; Dufresne, 2010; Whyte et. al., 2011; Freire-Medeiros, 2009; 2013; Steinbrink, 2012), 'reality tourism' (Freire- Medeiros, 2008), township tourism (Nemasetoni and Rogerson, 2005; Rogerson, 2004; Rolfes, 2010; Steinbrink, 2012). This section will examine these five various understandings of slum tourism in academia.

### **3.3.1 Slums And Today's Assumptions**

In order to understand slum tourism, first an understanding 'slum' is needed. According to UN-HABITAT (2006), the definition of a slum is complex, as slums are heterogeneous. Slums are not homogeneous given that not all slum dwellers suffer from the same degree of deprivation, and according to UN-HABITAT (2006) the degree of deprivation depends on how many of the following five conditions are prevalent within a slum household. Hence, the UN-HABITAT (2006) defines a slum as a group of individuals living under the same roof, in an urban area, who lack one or more of the following:

1. Durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions.
2. Sufficient living space, which means not more than three people sharing the same room.
3. Easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price.
4. Access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people.
5. Security of tenure that prevents forced evictions<sup>1</sup>.

UN-HABITAT (2006) has indicated that about one-fifth of slum households live in extremely poor conditions, which mean lacking more than three of the above basic shelter needs. According to Steinbrink's (2012) research on tourists' associations with the word 'slum', it is suggested that the word 'slum' has negative connotations; the expressions 'slum' and 'dirt' are connotatively closely connected, and that the words 'filth' and 'dirt' are associations deriving from slum and poverty intersect. According to Steinbrink (2012), the notion of slums have always symbolized the 'dark', 'low' and 'unknown' side of the city. Also Frenzel et al. (2012) discuss the connotations of slums:

"What happens when you say the word 'slum'? That name gives all the negative images: that people are just poor or doing nothing, that they are sitting around, that there is a high crime rate, that children don't go to school (...) most of the people think that slum people are sitting quiet, that they are doing nothing, that they might be thieves or robbers." (Frenzel et. al. 2012, p. 151)

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<sup>1</sup> Any one of the five conditions are used to identify slums, however, only the first four contribute to a definition of those who suffer from shelter deprivation (UN-HABITAT, 2006).

Based on the above statement, the tourists' assumptions of slums are related to antisocial behavior, violence and crime. Understanding the assumptions and stereotypes of slums is important to understand the complexities of slum tourism, and its paradoxes and silences. The media's framing of slums will be examined later in this section (section 3.4).

### 3.3.2 The Concept of Slumming

This section conceptualizes the term, slumming. Slumming is in academia discussed as the early form of the contemporary slum tourism. The term, slumming, has its roots from the leisure activities by the upper and upper-middle classes touring the poor quarters of London in the nineteenth-century (Koven, 2006). Although the slumming in London consisted of elements of tourism (domestic tourism), it was however in New York that one could speak of international 'touristification' of slumming, as the occurrence of slumming in the USA was directly linked to the development of international (urban) tourism (Steinbrink, 2012).

## SLUMMING IN THIS TOWN

### *A FASHIONABLE LONDON MANIA REACHES NEW-YORK.*

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

"Slumming," the latest fashionable idiosyncrasy in London—i. e., the visiting of the slums of the great city by parties of ladies and gentlemen for sightseeing—is mildly practiced here by our foreign visitors by a tour of the Bowery, winding up with a visit to an opium joint or Harry Hill's. It is no secret in certain circles that shortly before she left Mrs. Langtry and a party of friends made a nocturnal tour of the east side resorts in the Bowery. It is safe to conclude under the circumstances that "slumming" will become a form of fashionable dissipation this Winter among our belles, as our foreign cousins will always be ready to lead the way. The London "slumming" has brought to the notice of the rich much suffering, and led to many sanitary reforms. The old

Figure 2. 'Slumming' Source: *The New York Times* (Sept. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1884).

As indicated in the above-quoted *New York Times* article from 1884 (Figure 2), it was the tourists from London, who created the idea and activity of slumming, where these well-off ladies and gentlemen travelled to visit and tour the poorer areas of New York, e.g. Bowery. The Bowery was, (in 1940s - 1970s) infamously known as New York City's *Skid Row*, notable for the *Bowery Bums*, i.e. alcoholics and homeless people (Giamo, 1989). Steinbrink (2012), Selinger and Outtersen (2010) and Freire-Mederiros (2013) all suggest that today's contemporary tourism activities in slums, favelas and townships shapes part of this slumming tradition.

### **3.3.3 Slum Tourism As A Classification**

Rolfes (2010) suggests that visits, to e.g. Johannesburg, Cape Town, Rio de Janeiro are "(...) mainly composed of guided tours through these disadvantaged areas, which are not always appropriately referred to as *slums*" (p. 421). Rolfes (2010) highlights the word 'slum' may be inappropriate terminology in this context. Steinbrink (2012) supports that slum tourism primarily is guided tours – bus, jeep or walking tours. Blakeman & Frenzel (forthcoming) discuss slum's attraction-making and the guiding practice of the slum guides'. Steinbrink (2012) defines slum tourism as "(...) visits to poor urban areas in big cities in the South" (p. 214). In this sense, Steinbrink (2012) emphasizes on it being touristic visits to specific geographical locations; in the global South, and in urban areas. Meschkank (2011) researches slum tourism in the Indian slum, Dharavi, and claims that tourists expect to experience reality, and that slum tourism becomes a quest for authenticity. Dyson (2012) investigates slum representations in Dharavi, and states that, "slum tours appear to present the perfect opportunity to experience otherwise inaccessible landscapes, see how people 'really' live and learn about the day-to-day challenges that face millions of people across the world" (p. 255). According to Dyson (2012) slum tours have the ability to change negative perceptions about slums worldwide, albeit being in a highly individualized



context. Weiner (2009) makes recommendations for slum tourism:

“Donating a portion of their [operators’] profits to help build community centers, clinics and other worthwhile projects. (...) There’s a big difference between a group of 50 tourists barreling through the slums on a tour bus and a group of five or six on foot. One is an invasion, the other is not.”

Weiner’s (2009) goes further and suggests another criteria for responsible slum tourism, here focusing photographs:

“No Photos, Please. Snapping photos is bound to raise suspicions among the slum inhabitants and, justifiably or not, give credence to charges of voyeurism. Leave the camera at the hotel.”

Basu (2012) strongly disagrees with the recommendation and argue that it is a reflection of intellectual arrogance. Basu (2012) in contrary suggests that the photographs (with permission) may function as an ice-breaker to community interaction in slum tourism. Mekawy (2012) discusses slum tourism in the context of the Ashwa’iyyat (Arabic for slums) in Greater Cairo, and based on a survey of the slum residents’ attitudes towards tourism in the slum, and Mekawy (2012) claims the responses were overtly positive. Kieti and Magio (2013) also research the slum residents’ attitudes, though in the slum of Kibera, in Nairobi, Kenya, and claim that there were some negative attitudes from slum dwellers, however that slum residents generally do not antagonize slum tourism, as most believe slum tourism is a good idea. Regarding tourism behavior, Kieti and Magio (2013) add that it is not bad to be curious about the unknown, about slum life, and slum tourism creates an opportunity to see a glimpse of a different life. Kieti and Magio (2013) suggest that slum tourism is beneficial for both the slum community, and nation as a whole, if done right. In addition, Basu (2012) claims that, it is a misconception that financial donations are a solution to problems in slums, rather pro-poor initiatives are more productive. Frenzel and Koens (2012) in an article reflect upon conference papers (Destination Slum), and state:

“Although possibly better labelled poverty tourism, they [submitted papers] provide enlightening findings that are relevant for tourism in urban slums as well and demonstrate how loosely related these two types of tourism are. Indeed, it suggests that at least some forms of slum tourism may be seen as a type of poverty tourism” (p. 205)

Frenzel and Koens (2012) claim that there *is* a distinction between slum tourism and poverty tourism, but that the two types are closely related, however, they do not elaborate on the differences. On the other hand, Meschkank (2012) claims that slum tourism generally is regarded the same as poverty tourism.

### ***3.3.4 Categorization of Poverty Tourism***

Freire-Medeiros (2013) suggests that poverty tourism is, when crossing into poorer areas of the cities, and a social boundary is crossed, which allows for the recognition of moral citizens in the society, and that this is a tourist activity taking place in the global South:

“In doing so, they anticipated values, principles and practices that are part of the contemporary poverty tourism – be it in Rio de Janeiro, Johannesburg, Capetown, Mumbai, Manila, Jakarta, Cairo, Nairobi or any other metropolis in the global South where poor urban settlements are being marketed for tourism” (Freire-Medeiros, 2013 p. 23).

Outtersson et al. (2011) claim that poverty tourism “ (...) refers to cases in which financially privileged tourists visit impoverished communities for the purpose of witnessing poverty firsthand” (p. 39). Outtersson et al. (2011) here more broadly considers poverty tourism. Whyte et al. (2011) in contrary use vivid descriptions of poverty tourism; “(...) include tours of slums in India and Brazil and trips to garbage dumps (...) while scavengers sort through newly deposited trash” (p. 338). Steinbrink (2012) on the other hand, uses both slum tourism and poverty tourism as interchangeable terminologies. Steinbrink (2012) argues that slum/poverty tourism, should be understood in a broader context as the tourism practice is a matter of its territorial localization:

“(...) the tours are conducted to certain areas, to city districts categorized as townships, as favelas or, generally, as slums. It is in these areas that poverty is located; this is where poverty can be expected and experienced – the slum is the ‘place of poverty’.” (p. 218)

Steinbrink (2012) has a particular empirical focus on South Africa, thus should be regarded as township tourism.

### ***3.3.5 Depiction of Township Tourism***

Townships are, like slums and favelas, locational specific names for slums worldwide e.g. townships in South Africa and favelas in Brazil (Steinbrink, 2012). According to Rogerson (2004), the emergence of township tourism is seen as a phenomenon of the post-apartheid period after South Africa's democratic transition in 1994. Nemasetoni and Rogerson (2005) note that township tourism is targeting tourists, "(...) to the sites of significance to the anti-apartheid movement as well as improving tourists' understanding of poverty issues of historically oppressed communities" (p. 201). Nemasetoni and Rogerson's (2005) research on township tourism in South Africa focus on the challenges for the emerging segment of 'black-owned' (their own wording) tour operators. According to Cape Town's tourist office nearly 320,000 tourists embarked on a township tour in 2006 (Colsen, 2007), which indicate that township tours are highly professionalized businesses. Steinbrink (2012) carries out research in Cape Town, South Africa, and claims the following to be associations of townships;

"'Township' is associated with crime, squalor, drugs, poor housing conditions, apartheid, unemployment, etc. The most frequently mentioned association by far was 'poverty'. 'Poverty' is in the centre of the semantic field evoked by the term 'township'" (p. 217)

These associations of townships are in line with the reflections of Frenzel et al. (2012) (in section 3.3.1), emphasizing on the anti-social behavior, crime and poverty.

### ***3.3.6 The Perspective of Reality Tourism***

According to Freire-Medeiros (2009), the favela (slum), Rocinha, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, has an average of 3000 visiting tourists each month - approximately 36,000 annually. These figures, just as in South Africa, indicate that the slum tours in Brazil are highly professionalized businesses. Freire-Medeiros (2008;2013) has an empirical focus on tour in the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, which she calls 'reality tours'. According to Freire-Medeiros (2008) the development of Rocinha into a tourist destination is part of reality tourism.

Freire-Medeiros (2008) claims that she is concerned with the segment of reality tourism referred to as dark tourism (ref. to Foley & Lennon, 1996a). Hence, Freire-Medeiros (2008) reflects a direct link between reality tourism and dark tourism. In Freire-Medeiros' (2008) research in Rocinha, a tour guide in the favela explained that they through the tours wish to show that "the favela is not a place where only criminals live. Most people there are decent and work hard (...). And most important of all, they have this happiness, this warmth that enchants the tourist" (p. 585). Freire-Medeiros' (2008) research in the favela reflects that these guides wish to reflect the whole reality – and not only the reality of a favela being of criminals. The project will discuss the social reality of slums based on the empirical data from previous and present case studies.

### ***3.3.7 A Manifold But Indistinct Tourism Phenomenon***

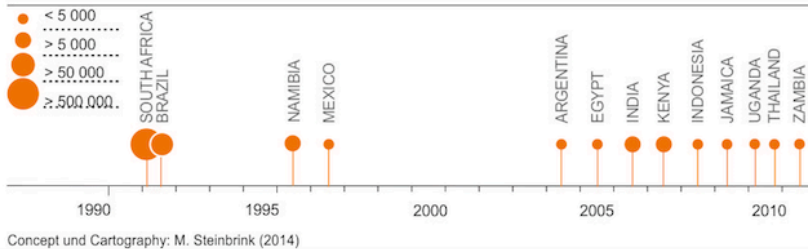
Whether slum tourism is referred to as slumming, slum tourism, poverty tourism, township tourism or reality tourism, the researcher sees two continuing inconsistency and issues lacking succinctness; slum tourism is overgeneralizing and conflating the tourists visiting slums with slum tourism. The following map (figure 3) is an example of this issue.

## Slum Tourism in the Global South

Favorite destinations of slum tourists



Beginning of slum tourism and estimated number of tourists per year (2012)



Concept und Cartography: M. Steinbrink (2014)

Figure 3. 'Slum Tourism in the Global South', Source: Malte Steinbrink (2014)

The researcher is not claiming the data in the map (figure 3) to be wrong, rather that the map becomes a subject to misunderstandings due to the vague definitions. The map is developed to reflect the 'favorite destinations of slum tourists'; where the indication of 'favorite' is reflected by the amount of tourists visiting per year. There is no indication of; what is a slum tourism destination, and what is a slum tourist? The problem is not the map in particular, it is a general ambiguousness in the understanding of slum tourism. This project will engage in a more critical approach to slum tourism.

### 3.4 The Media Conception

As explicated in the methodology (section 2.2), the ontological position of this paper follows the social constructivist paradigm, proclaiming that the world consists of multiple realities, not one single truth – everything is socially constructed. This section will examine the reality in slums, presented by the media, and explore the media's persuasion power, to understanding the

impact it has on contemporary perceptions on slums and slum tourism, concentrating on journalism and the movie industry.

### ***3.4.1 Media Persuasion Power***

This section serves as an example of the media's persuasion power, and how the media can deviate from specific topics (or what appears that way), which is useful when later problematizing slum tourism.

The mass media has a great impact on today's contemporary society. Since the beginning of printing press and mass media, the media has been used as a tool to promote a construction of the public perception by using tools such as language, structure, and images, also known as 'framing' (O'Donnell, 2013). According to Lippmann (2007), these frames reflect shared cultural narratives and social themes, also referred as the use of stereotyping:

"For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture." (p. 81)

The media has the power to shape our understanding of things, e.g. through stereotypes, thus media framing and/or deviation highly influences our understanding of the world. As an example hereof, is Roberts and Klibanoff's (2006) research on the Civil Rights Movement in USA. Roberts and Klibanoff (2006) note how the 'white male' was threatened its traditional power in society, and how the media brought the violence into people's living rooms, who followed the fight for equality, where the wordings used was heavily based on biased word choice. There was a controlled image of the subjugate African Americans, which positioned them as 'the other' in society (Roberts & Klibanoff, 2006):

"Most newspapers and the emerging journalism on television showed their propensity to cover the hot and simple story, not the complex one; they were drawn to the raging fire, not to slow burn, so the successful boycott on the Negro side of the racial line went on for weeks with little notice" (p. 110).

The media has the power to reflect the simple side of a story, rather than the complex reality, by using framing, e.g. stereotypes, and deviation. According to Global Research (2014) it is important to be critical and understand that the sources of information may serve the interests and individuals owning them.

### **3.4.2 Perspective on Slums and Slum Tourism**

This section discusses the media's framing of slums and slum tourism. According to Gilbert (2007), with the launch of the *Cities Without Slums* initiative (1999) the UN reintroduced a 'dangerous' word into contemporary vocabulary, "thus this new millennium has seen the return of the word slum with all of its inglorious associations" (p. 697). Gilbert (2007) notes that there are dangers of emphasizing too heavily on the hazards of slums. The following reflects two journalistic framings one of a slum, and the other of slum tourism:

"In a squeezed square mile on the south-western outskirts of Nairobi, Kibera is home to nearly one million people - a third of the city's population. Most of them live in one-room mud or wattle huts or in wooden or basic stone houses, often windowless. It's Africa's biggest slum. The Kenyan state provides the huge, illegal sprawl with nothing - no sanitation, no roads, no hospitals. It is a massive ditch of mud and filth, with a brown dribble of a stream running through it (...) The UN predicts numbers of slum-dwellers will probably double in the next 30 years, meaning the developing world slum will become the primary habitat of mankind (...) Kibera won't be an extreme for much longer (...) Life as it's lived in Kibera will soon be the most normal way to live on earth" (McLean, 2006)

"This is how rich, curious Westerners fritter away the summer months (...) navigating the hectic, crime-ridden slums of Kibera, Dharavi, and Rocinha in an assortment of developing countries like South Africa, India, and Brazil. "Slum tourism," or the recreational visiting of impoverished, urban communities, is curiously gaining traction as a form of foreign leisure, raising questions of intent and provoking fiery discourse on the ethics of the popularly embraced social practice " (Tsuruoka, 2013)

The danger of such media depictions, as the examples above, echoes Gilbert's (2007) concern, as the message conveyed here is a simple side of the story, and by strong biased word choice there is a heavy emphasis on the notions of disease, crime and the miseries associated with slum life. Opposed to the above representations of Kibera, the researcher – based on previous case studies – recognize the strong use of framing and deviation in the

depiction of Kibera. The above journalistic examples frame the slum and slum tourism in Kibera based on moral dubious ambiguities and connotations of slum dwellers' life being based on misery and crime. The wording chosen is too exaggerated, and merely covers the hot and simple story, rather than the complex reality. This will be discussed later in reference to present case study.

According to Selinger and Outtersen (2009), most criticisms of slum tourism occur in journalism, where leading arguments are personal anecdotes; “perpetuating one-sided polemics, they [journalists] fail to satisfy the demands of communal justification” (p. 3). The Age (2013) states: “Critics slate dabbling with the urban underbelly as exploitative, voyeuristic and an invasion of privacy”. In recent years a slew of journalistic articles about slum tourism has been concerned with ‘oh-my-god-that’s-outrageous’ (ref. to Engelhart, 2014), and stress its issue of exploitation. The most well-known media critic is Kennedy Odede, who wrote a news article for the New York Times (Odede, 2010). Odede (2010) criticize slum tourists, who in the past visited his hometown, Kibera, and made him feel like ‘a tiger in a cage’: “Slum tourism turns poverty into entertainment, something that can be momentarily experienced and then escaped from”. Journalists also claim slum tourism is of no good outcomes (Simon, 2010; InnovateUs, n.d.), others even refer to slum tourism as ‘poorism’ (Innovate, n.d.; Baran 2008). The journalistic articles referenced in this section are not exhaustive, but it gives a good example of the media framings and deviations of slums and slum tourism.

Besides in journalism, the movie industry has also assisted in slum tourism’s increased attention. South Africa has been a subject to different media coverage, particularly when considering the work of Nelson Mandela, and the following tourist interest in townships (section 3.3.5), e.g. the movie, *Invictus* (2009), about President Mandela, apartheid and the issues of poverty in townships. Considering slums of Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro’s favelas, the issues of poverty, gang-life and organized crime has been reflected in the international acclaimed Brazilian movie, *City of Good* (2002). Kenya is also a location of international movie coverage, e.g. *The Constant Gardener* (2005),



which was originally banned in Kenya as it depicts corrupt Kenyan officials, which highlights the power of media, where special interests can influence viewers' understanding of the world. Corruption is important to keep in mind when researching in slums, which will also be pinpointed later in this project. Considering the slums of India, the most profound example from the movie industry must be, *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008). This movie however stands in contrast to the three preceding. *Slumdog Millionaire* is about an orphan slum dweller's way to 'success', which embraces this traditional happily-ever-after movie ending. *Slumdog Millionaire* does not only emphasize on the issues, hardships and crime levels of slums – neither does it deny this reality – rather *Slumdog Millionaire* – even though romanticized – reflects a different social reality in the slums, one of warmth, togetherness, love, friendship and hope. This essence of framing, deviation and social realities will be discuss in the following chapters.

### **3.5 Chapter Conclusion**

In summary, a number of clear points and deficiencies were highlighted in literature, which is reflected in this Chapter Conclusion.

First, this chapter highlighted that there has been an increase in tourism diversification, where new tourist destinations have emerged and many developing nations have experienced an increase in tourist arrivals. Besides the traditional sun-sea-sand vacation, there has been a dramatic growth in demands for more individualistic, participatory, experimental and self-filling travels, which has also increased the blur between leisure and education.

Secondly, this chapter pinpointed that the slums are complex and heterogeneous, given that not all slum dwellers suffer from same degree of deprivation. However, in contrast, the tourists' assumptions about slums and slum dwellers are based on the simple and fixed stereotypes of antisocial behavior, violence and crime.

Third, considering the five different depictions of slum tourism presented in

this chapter, it stands clear; a unifying description poses difficulty. Slum tourism is both complex and disparate. Albeit much recent attention and research has been conducted on slum tourism, cohesive definitions and understandings surrounding this tourism practice remains limited.

Fourth, recently slum tourism has received a paroxysm of attention in media, both journalism and movie industry, where the media framing is based on the hot simple stories, thus creating stereotypes. The media has a strong persuasion power to influence our (global society) perception of the world and the 'other', which explains the tourists' assumptions of slums, and that slum tourism is a controversial and exploitative pastime, which will be challenged in next chapters.

## **4. Case Studies and Empirical Data Interpretation**

Drawing on empirical data from the previous case studies in the slum, Kibera, and the present case study in poverty stricken areas of the Philippines, this paper is a comparative case study on slum tourism. From the present case study this chapter will provide empirical data interpretation on the slum tour operator, SMT, the two social enterprises, Mabuhay Restop and Futkalero, and from the police escort to the original Smokey Mountain slum.

As this chapter will be working with the empirical data, this will not be without interpretation and some analysis work. In qualitative research, data is usually presented with some level of analysis, especially when the data is situated in a social setting, such as in this project's social constructionist research, and it thus becomes impossible to describe the data without discussing it. In this sense, this chapter engages in interpretative data discussions, and functions as groundwork for the next Analysis Chapter.

The empirical data interpretation of SMT will be placed in comparison to previous case studies in Kibera, to the create an understanding of the slum tourism enactment. Hereafter, data of the two social enterprises and the police escort will be presented. This data interpretation is relevant for the next chapter, which will problematize slum tourism. Before presenting empirical data on the organizations, the poverty stricken areas researched will be described. For the lucidity of this chapter, the researcher will at times make use of pronouns as the data reflects the participatory and self-reflexive experience.

### **4.1 The Philippine's Historical Road to Poverty**

The Philippine archipelago was first settled more than 30,000 years ago, when migrations from the Indonesian archipelago inhabit the Philippines Islands, and with them followed the introduction of Islam (Nations Online,

n.d.). In 1543, the Spanish led an expedition to the islands and gave the name, Las Islas Filipinas (after Philip II of Spain), as kept today, and with the Spanish came the introduction of Christianity (Philippine Country, n.d.a). The Spanish reigned the Philippines for 333 years (Philippine History, n.d.). In April 1898, the United States declared war against Spain, thus involved the Philippine Archipelago, and the United States defeated the Spanish fleet guarding the Philippines (NPS, n.d.; Nations Online, n.d). After ending the war against Spain, the United States did not give the Philippines independence (NPS, n.d.). War started between Philippines and the United States. In 1935, the Commonwealth of the Philippines was established with United States' approval, and Manuel Quezon was elected the first President, and July 4th 1946 a full independence was granted to the Republic of the Philippines (History, n.d.).

Today, the issues of slow economic growth, poverty and corruption are significant indicators of the nation, which has been a long-standing issue. Ferdinand Marcos won presidential election in 1965, and as president, Marcos initiated ambitious spending in infrastructural development, which gave the Philippines economic prosperity in the 1970s (Philippine Country, n.d. b). Marcos was in 1969 the first President to win a second term, but it was a reelection of violence and fraud (Philippine Country, n.d. a). Civil discontent followed as the Philippine population continued to grow faster than the nation's economy causing greater poverty and violence in the nation (Philippine Country, n.d. b). During 1980-1999 the per capita growth of GDP averaged close to zero percent, hence the rate of poverty reduction barely improved in the 1980s and 1990s (World Bank, 2010). The economic issues were compounded by the corruption of Marcos' regime, where government-owned financial institutions were by people close to Marcos (Country Studies, n.d.). According to World Bank (2010) the Philippines today ranks particularly low in the categories of corruption and political stability. According to the World Bank's (2010), there is a sector with apparent comparative advantages, which has not yet been revealed in the Philippines: tourism.

#### **4.1.1 The Smokey Mountain(s) Creation**

Research on slums in the Philippines is limited. Abad (1991) is one of the scholars to investigate the original dumpsite, Smokey Mountain, which faced closure in 1990. This section gives a description of the original Smokey Mountain and its 'replacement'. Today people refer to both as slums of Smokey Mountain. The first Smokey Mountain will in this paper be referred to as the 'original Smokey Mountain', and its replacement as 'Smokey Mountain'. The information in this section will reflect Abad's (1991) work, as well as researcher's own empirical data, in both the original Smokey Mountain (in section 4.5) and Smokey Mountain (in section 4.2.1).

The Philippine government officially closed the original Smokey Mountain in 1990. The original Smokey Mountain was a dumpsite; an imminent mass of 50 years of decomposed trash, a height of approximately 20 meters. After the closure of the infamous original Smokey Mountain, the new landfill (Smokey Mountain) was established just across the road, from the original location, in an area named Pier 18. The original Smokey Mountain got its name due to the oxidation of decomposing waste and fumes billowing from the dumpsite. The mountain of garbage, was to the residents, their home, their haven and their work habitat, and as it was all three the residence refused to leave despite the government's efforts of relocation (Abad, 1991). This sense of community within the slum, and not considering relocation as a betterment of life, was also found in researcher's previous project of the slum, Kibera, in Nairobi, Kenya (Blakeman, 2014). According to Abad (1991) there are two major processes that create communities like Smokey Mountain; first, the increasing concentration of landownership in hands of few families or interest groups. In the Philippines this process took part of the aforementioned Spanish era, which subsequently has enabled these families and interest groups to control tracts of land, and decide how it should be dictated in the marketplace. Secondly is the uneven development of the economy, which leads to a concentration of labor in urban areas (in this case Metro Manila), and an underdevelopment of the agricultural (rural) sector (*ibid*, 1991). As a

result of urbanization, many inhabitants face issues of inadequate shelter and underpaid jobs, and these workers start selling their labor for pittance, escaping recognition, regulation and security (*ibid*, 1991). The residents of Smokey Mountain, and Kibera alike, are victims of these processes, and caught in this pressure of high property values and uneven economics. Consequently, in line with Abad (1991), one force makes them slum dwellers, and the other, scavengers. Hence is faced with a dichotomous choice; to scavenge or to starve.

#### **4.1.2 Bantayan Island Blown into Poverty**

Sillon is a barangay (district) of the Philippine municipality, on Bantayan island, in the province of Cebu in Central Visayas<sup>2</sup>. The Bantayan municipality has a population of 71,655 and 25 barangays, and the barangay of Sillon a population of 3,581 (Philippine Islands, n.d.).

On November 8, 2013, the most powerful typhoon to ever make landfall battered the Visayas region of the Philippines. The typhoon was locally known as Yolanda (Typhoon Haiya internationally). Typhoon Yolanda had winds over 230kph – a typhoon equivalent to a Category 5 hurricane (Direct Relief, n.d.). The damage was to say the least, devastating; millions of Filipinos were affected and displaced, and thousands were killed, many of the country's hospitals and medical facilities destroyed, entire communities lost their homes, their crops, their boats were into pieces, and churches and schools destroyed (CMF, 2013; Chambers, 2014; Direct Relief, n.d.). Bantayan Island was one of the areas affected heavily by Yolanda, which is still visible a year after the super typhoon struck (time of researcher's arrival). Bantayan Island is one of the places where the social enterprise Futkal operates to help improve the betterment of the community and its residents (described in section 4.4.2). The researcher spent a weekend within the Sillon community.

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<sup>2</sup> The Visayas Islands is one of the three principal geographical divisions of the Philippines along with Mindanao and Luzon.

## **4.2 The Tour Operators, Smokey Mountain Tours**

This section will give a better understanding of the slum tour operator, SMT. The first subsection will reflect empirical data will be based on the slum tour. The second subsection will reflect the interview with SMT. Later this data will be placed in comparison to researcher's previous case studies, in Kibera (section 4.3).

### ***4.2.1 A Walk through the Smoking Mountain - The Slum Tour***

SMT is the only slum tour operator in the Philippines (at time of writing - Fall 2014). The slum tour was to the slum, Smokey Mountain. The slum tour guide was Nympha Flores. The booking of the slum tour required no pre-payment. The meeting point for the slum tour was: 9:30AM, at the Jollibee (local fast food) restaurant near the LTR-1 Tayuman train station, in Metro Manila. Price of the slum tour was 750 Php (17 USD, 12-11-14).

When I arrived at the meeting point Nympha Flores was wearing a company t-shirt saying "Smokey Mountain Tours". I was the first to arrive. Nympha Flores explained that two other girls would participate in the slum tour; a young Dutch woman doing volunteer work in Manila, an Australian woman visiting Manila for business. Once the other two participants arrived, we were told to sit down for a briefing about tour regulations. We also settled the payment before we left. We were informed about the no-picture policy, and recommended to keep phones and other valuables in our bags, also not give children candy or similar while touring. This information shared at briefing, as well as thought whole tour seemed rehearsed, planned, structured and without too much flexibility in the slum tour's structure. The tour was conducted by foot, however, during the slum tour we did use local transportation of jeepneys (Kitsch decorated bus-like transportation) and motorized tricycles to get around (included in tour price). The slum tour started once we left the Jollibee restaurant, and walked to the slum. We jumped on a jeepney and got off at a local market place. We walked through

the maze-like market, where Nympha Flores from time to time stopped to tell us about the local food and products, and informed us we could buy something if we wanted to try. From here we continued to the slum area where we shortly stopped, where Nympha Flores informed us how the slum dwellers collect garbage for a living, and noted that the slum dwellers collecting garbage usually earn around 100-150 PHP a day (2-4 USD, 12-11-14). We continued through mud and dirty to an area where some women were playing cards, the children were running around with big smiles, and curiously coming over listening to Nympha Flores as she shared information. Some of the girls started to giggle, and pointed at me, while saying something in Tagalog (Filipino language), I asked Nympha Flores to translate, she smiled and said, “it is your blond hair – they say you look like Elsa (from the Disney movie, Frozen)”. I laughed and said: “Elsa? From Frozen?”, and the kids heard the name and started laughing, while some tried to touch my hair.

The tour continued to homes located close by a river, where several roosters was kept in small cages. Nympha Flores explained how cockfighting was very normal and popular activity in the Philippines, for Filipino men in particular. Nympha Flores explained the essence of the cockfighting is gambling, and added: “sometimes they [men] forget their wives”. Nympha Flores made this comment without irony or a smile on her face, rather it was said in all seriousness. Nympha Flores added that Smokey Mountain also conducted Cockfighting Tours if any of us was interested. Cockfighting is both legal and wide-spread in the Philippines, and in the Tondo area there is an arena for cockfighting every Sunday.

The tour continued, and we walked into an area, which seemed to be in the outskirts of the slum. We walked in narrow maze like areas, until Nympha Flores stopped at a river. She explained, that the most vulnerable slum residents lived under the bridge. Nympha Flores explained us how people dump trash into the river, and pinpointed how dirty and polluted the water was, and highlighted the dangers of these people’s living conditions due to potential flooding and typhoons, to name a few. Nympha Flores added: “they also defecate and urinate here near the river, and especially dangerous for



the children jumping in the water and playing”. Nympha Flores told us that these people were to be relocated by the government; the settlers have a choice to receive compensation and leave, or be relocated (as was the case with the original Smokey Mountain). The relocation in some areas had already begun, and Nympha Flores informed that 80% of the people chose to get money, and 20% chose relocation. While she was sharing this information, some young girls curiously started to gather around us. The girls were all covered in dirt and wore ripped clothes, however all with big smiles and giggling like girls that age do. This time the girls were laughing and pointing at the Australian woman joining the tour, who was a very tall fair skinned lady. One girl came over to me and grabbed a corner of my shirt, to then later start holding my hand, and shortly after placing her head on my hip and stroking my hand gently, something to me seemed like an act of comfort to the girl. We continued walking and the girls were waving and eagerly yelling “bye bye – bye bye”.

From here we got in a tricycle, which took us to another area of the slum. An area where Nympha Flores lived herself. We stopped at her home to change to rain boots. The Dutch tourist, when walking in to the home of Nympha Flores, asked while having what seemed like a surprised face: “Nympha, you live here?”, Nympha Flores, busy finding rain boots, replied: “Yes, me, my husband and my kids”. The young Dutch woman replied quietly, in what seemed like a friendly gesture “... you live nice”. We were in Nympha Flores’ home for nothing more than 10 minutes. To me it was clear that this area was a “better” part of the slum. From here we continued walking learning about alternative electricity opportunities and ‘pagpag’. Pagpag is a Filipino term for leftover chicken from fast-food restaurants. The slum dwellers scavenge garbage at night to find leftovers. The word pagpag means “shake off”, which refers to shaking of the dirt. All of this was explained to us, while watching an older woman going through this very process; cleaning up the chicken she had collected herself the night before. This was explained to us in Tagalog, thus Nympha translated, and the old woman explained how she cleans the chicken pieces and then seasons it, to “make it good again”.

Lastly, the tour ended at St. Martin, a Catholic Church and school located in the slum. St. Martin sponsors children from the slum to school. Nympha Flores here explained how 100% of the slum tour income goes to St. Martin. We stopped at a small room where a very limited selection of products (purses, bags etc.) was made out of, what looked like, coffee and rice bags. The tourists could buy these products to support the local community who made these crafts. I bought a small purse. In the very end of the slum tour we were requested to fill out a 'feedback form' to reflect the tourist's satisfaction of the slum tour and the tour guide. Nympha Flores also encouraged tips for herself.

#### ***4.2.2 The People Behind the Scene – The Interview***

The Interview with SMT (Appendix B) was with the founder (Juliette) and daily manager (Inna), and both will be referred to by their first names. Juliette is a Dutch woman living in the Philippines, and is the founder of SMT. Before moving to the Philippines, Juliette worked as a psychiatrist in the Netherlands. Juliette came to the Philippines to volunteer for St. Martin in Smokey Mountain, and her idea of SMT developed from here. The idea started in 2011, and SMT became official in July 2013. Inna applied for a job with Juliette's around the same time of organizations official date. Inna is born and raised in the Philippines. These two women run the organization, and the guides are slum dwellers hired to conduct the tours. For the interview, the researcher sat down with Inna until Juliette arrived from her meeting. Inna explained that Juliette was so touched by the generosity from people living in the Smokey Mountain community, and decided that she wanted to share with the world what she had learnt and felt.

"Yeah it is very inspiring [Filipino hospitality]... It also happens in the slums. Juliette told me this story about a lady in the slum offering her an egg – while Juliette was volunteering in the slum – and the lady was still willing to offer living under these [poor] conditions. Juliette was like, 'you don't really have anything and still you are sharing with me'. I mean, this is what Juliette realized, that feeling she got, and what she wanted to share that and have other people experience that feeling" (Interview, Appendix B)

Today SMT offers four different tours respectively the slum tour, a bicycle tour, a market tour and a cockfighting tour. When they started they only offered the slum tour through Smokey Mountain. Juliette decided she wanted to set up a business, which made it possible for visitors to visit the Smokey Mountain Community, through tours. As Juliette did not know how to structure an organization, and as she said, she did not wish to invent the wheel:

“Oh so back then when I started the idea of this, I was actually thinking. Should I really do this, and I didn’t want to invent the wheel if the wheel was already invented. So yeah, I just emailed him. (laughing). Then I just asked him questions.” (Interview, Appendix B)

Juliette knew of similar slum tours in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, thus she emailed companies there for advice. Juliette found out that slum tours were also offered in India by the company Reality Tours & Travel. A volunteer working with Juliette knew the company’s founder, Chris Way, and helped Juliette creating contact. Through the interaction with Chris Way, he decided to go to the Philippines to help Juliette start up and structure her business, and Chris Way’s became an important factor for the economic sustainability of SMT:

“He [Chris Way] came from India to help us out. He was really good at setting things up. (...) He helped with the structure and organizing things for us. He was the one helping us out, how to go around things, and he was actually the one that suggested us we should start the other tours [besides slum tours]. Because the Smokey Mountain Tours, 100% of the earnings goes to Sankt Martin, which means technically we didn’t have any income.” (Interview, Appendix B)

Chris Way was the person to suggest other tours in order to grow income, and Juliette here decided which tours would be relevant for her company and appropriate in Manila. Besides this, Chris Way also helped with training of the guides, and the tour progresses. According to Juliette she started the tours as she wished to support the community in Smokey Mountain, and empower people the best way she can:

“Well for me it is all about getting in touch. They [tourists] ask me, what do they need [St. Martin], and I mean I tell them, I don’t know. You [tourist] ask them [St. Martin], they [St. Martin] are the last stop on the tour. This is where our money from slum tour go, this is who I want to support” (interview, Appendix B)

As reflected in the quote, Juliette has a passion for helping. The two organizations – St. Martin and SMT – are not connected as such, only by the collaboration Juliette initiates by supporting them financially.

According to Inna the participants of the slum tours are all international tourists, and not domestic residents. She explained most visitors are young international travelers, however have also had older visitors participating in the slum tours. According to Inna, the slum tours with SMT are something that is relevant to all nationalities and age groups. However, Inna explained it was hard to gain the interest from Filipinos and she used herself as a reference, as well as her friends and family. She explained the following:

“Take me for example, growing up I also heard stories about that area [Tondo] not being a good area. I was told it was not safe.” (Interview, Appendix B)

What Inna came to realize was that the slum is not that bad, and she as most Filipinos believe that the slum is not good, and unsafe:

“(…) and then you go there and you are like, hmm it was not that bad. I think that is how my friends feel too, they don’t want to go, not because they are scared, but they don’t need to go, and see no reason (…) but Filipinos get tired, because we get tired of helping. Because disasters happens every year, and Filipinos help each other. We help our own, and take care of our own. That is also why I think” (Interview, Appendix B)

In this sense, Inna suggests that Filipinos not are necessarily scared, but because they do not feel the need to go, they already have enough struggles in their lives. As a reference, whenever I mentioned to Filipinos I was going to the slum they all had this very peculiar look on their face, and most people questioned why, and what I could possibly be to see in the slum. When I asked my Filipino friend to join the slum tour with me, he replied: ‘I am sorry, I am not comfortable with that. My mom always told me about that place, and I do not see what it would do. Sorry’ (Researcher’s writings, Appendix G).

According to Inna, the slum tour is not a regular tour – it is the whole experience:

“It is not just a tour – it is the whole experience, what evokes in people are their own feelings, but they are exposed to some really poverty stricken areas, and some of these tourists might want to help themselves one way or another.” (Interview, Appendix B)

Inna explains that the slum tour is an experience that evokes tourists’ emotions, and Inna adds that some tourists, because they are exposed to such extreme poverty, wish to support, donate or in other ways help.

### 4.3 Comparing the Slum Tour Enactments

The Table (Table 1) reflects four horizontal organizations respectively from the present case study; Smokey Mountain Tours (SMT), and previous case studies; Kibera Tours (KT), Explore Kibera Tours (EKT) and Kibera United For Everyday Tours (KUFET). The 'Attributes' in the Table draw upon important characteristics from the theoretical literature review, as the empirical data is informed by the existing literature. The first three 'Attributes' of the below Table are basic tour characteristics (not reflected in contemporary theory), which the researcher thought relevant for an understanding of what constitutes in the slum tour practice, i.e. a comparison of the **Duration**, **Price** and the **Founder & Guide**. As reflected in the Table (Table 1) it seems like common practice that slum tourism, in Smokey Mountain and Kibera, is a slum tour, of a 3-4 hour walk. The price for a slum tour is relatively low; between 16-28 USD for a slum tour. Considering the founders, there seems to be a consistency between the slum tourism practice and today's globalized word – a post-colonial perspective. The major part of the tour operators operating in Manila and Nairobi are of Dutch and American nationalities, thus not local residents starting up slum tourism businesses. Even more so, as mentioned in section 4.2.2, it is interesting how a British slum tour operator, having own business in Mumbai, India, travels to the Philippines to give advice to a Dutch tour operator of how to run her business in the Philippines. What also seems, as common practice is that all tour operators' hire local slum dwellers as slum guides. The other nine 'Attributes' shown in Table (Table 1), are categorizations drawn from the theoretical literature review, and used to discuss the slum tourism enactment.

Table 1. Table, Comparative Overview of Slum Tour Operators: *Own illustration*

	<b>Organizations &amp; Countries</b>			
<b>Attributes</b>	<b>SMT</b>	<b>KT</b>	<b>EKT</b>	<b>KUFET</b>
<b>Duration</b>	3-4 hours	3-4 hours	3-4 hours	3-4 hours
<b>Price</b>	750 PHP (16\$ 09-12-14)	2500 KS (28\$ 09-12-14)	2500 KS (28\$ 09-12-14)	2500 KS (28\$ 09-12-14)

<b>Founder &amp; Guide</b>	Founder: Dutch. Slum guides are slum dwellers	Co-founders: Dutch and Kenyan slum dweller. Slum guides are slum dwellers	Co-founders: American and Kenyan slum dweller. Slum guides are slum dwellers	Founder is Kenyan and the founder is also the slum guide
<b>Tour Participants</b>	Joined with other tourists (3 people)	Private tour (2 people)	Private tour (2 people)	Private tour (2 people)
<b>Tour Composition</b>	By foot	By foot	By foot	By foot
<b>Photography Policy</b>	Rules were: No pictures policy	Rules were: Pictures allowed when approved by guide	Rules were: Pictures allowed when approved by guide	More loosely regarded, but pictures allowed when approved by guide
<b>Exploitation/ Voyeurism</b>	No sense of exploitation	No sense of exploitation	No sense of exploitation	No sense of exploitation
<b>Home Visits</b>	Yes – guide's own home (to collect boots)	Yes – guide's mom's home (to handle payment), and one other slum home	Yes – guide's own home (to show a real slum home)	Yes – guide's own home and two other slum homes (to reflect slum life of different people)
<b>Interaction/ Participation</b>	Limited and controlled	Limited and controlled	Emphasized but still limited and controlled	Made possible by guide, not controlled
<b>Pro-poor/Social Aspects</b>	100% slum tour income to St. Martin. Support local i.e. craftsmen	Visit empowerment projects, support local craftsmen, inform about potential sponsorships	Visit empowerment projects, support local craftsmen, inform about potential sponsorships	Visit empowerment projects, support local craftsmen, inform about potential sponsorships
<b>Educational Component</b>	Tourists learn about the life in the slum through guide and interaction	Tourists learn about the life in the slum through guide and interaction	Tourists learn about the life in the slum through guide and interaction	Tourists learn about the life in the slum through guide and interaction
<b>Voluntourism</b>	Not reflected	Emphasized	Emphasized	Emphasized

The number of **Tour Participants** and **Tour Composition** has been discussed by Weiner (2009) claiming there is significant difference between a bus of 50 tourists and 5-6 tourists by foot – one is considered an invasion, and the latter is not (Weiner, 2009). Also, Steinbrink (2012) discusses the various ways of conducting slum tours, i.e. by bus, jeep or foot. The slum tourism enactment in Kibera and Smokey Mountain is in small groups by foot.

Considering the 'Attribute' of **Photography Policy** in slum tours it is reflected that the slum tourism enactment differs dependent on the tour operator, just as, stated earlier, the academic opinions about photographs on slum tours differ. The moral concerns with slum tourism, considered in the Table as **Exploitation/Voyeurism**. The different opinions are also reflected in the case studies of the operators. Take the **Photography Policy** with SMT it is very straightforward; there is a no-photography policy. However, placing this in contrast to the restrictions of photographs in Kibera, the difference becomes clear: On slum tours with KT and EKT, photographs are allowed, when approved by the slum guide – there are places designated for taking photographs (Blakeman & Carstensen, 2013). Yet another difference is reflected with the operator, KUFET, which more loosely regard **Photography Policy** during the slum tour; no restrictions as such, only that tourists should respect the privacy of the slum dwellers (*ibid*, 2013). The children, during a tour with KUFET, showed great interest in having their picture taken, and would grab the camera to pull it closer and see the pictures taken (Blakeman et al., 2013). The slum tour, with KUFET, also has an increased level of **Interaction/Participation** between tourist and slum residents, (Blakeman & Carstensen, 2013; Blakeman et al., 2013). The **Interaction/Participation** level with SMT was in comparison to previous case studies more controlled and limited, and dependent on allowance from the slum guide. **Photography Policy** has in literature been discussed in reference to either **Exploitation/Voyeurism** or **Interaction/Participation**. This project's empirical data does not reflect any sense of exploitation during any of the case studies. On the other hand, the **Photography Policy** seems to have an impact on the **Interaction/Participation** of slum tours. Going a bit further, the 'Attribute' of **Interaction/Participation** can also be considered in reference to

the operators' incorporation of **Home Visits** during the slum tours. Blakeman and Frenzel (forthcoming) discussed **Home Visits** regarding the guiding methods and reflect its effect on creating more intimate tourist experiences. This project will discuss **Interaction/Participation** and **Home Visits** in the next chapter, when challenging the slum tourism practice.

The **Pro-poor/Social Aspects** is also regarded an important 'Attribute' as various scholars has discussed the community benefits of slum tours, or the lack hereof (e.g. Basu, 2012; Mekawy, 2012; Kieti & Magio, 2013). This project regards the **Pro-poor/Social Aspects** as a significant 'Attribute' in all case studies. All three slum tours in Kibera had a focus on community empowerment explicating the different options; e.g. volunteer at preschool, sponsor children in school, support HIV/Aids Projects, buy crafts (Blakeman et al., 2013). The present case study, with SMT also place emphasis on **Pro-poor/Social Aspects**, by donating the slum tour income to a Catholic church/school, St. Martin. **Voluntourism** is, in the Table (Table 1), added as a separate 'Attribute', given many scholars regard **Voluntourism** as a niche tourism practice, independent from slum tourism (e.g. Ausland, 2010; Sharpley & Tefler, 2008). However, this paper regards slum tourism and **Voluntourism** as interconnected. As reflected in the Table (Table 1), all the three operators in Kibera inform about volunteer possibilities during their slum tours, the only operator that does not, is SMT. This project regards **Pro-poor/Social Aspects** and **Voluntourism** as significant 'Attributes' of the slum tourism enactment. **Pro-poor/Social Aspects** and **Voluntourism** will also be critically discussed in the next chapter.

The last 'Attribute' highlighted in this section, is the **Educational Component**. The **Educational Component** in slum tourism seems to be a recurring element throughout all case studies. All the slum guides in Kibera inform the tourists about the social reality in the slum, e.g. living conditions, livelihood incomes, and the social and cultural life (Blakeman & Carstensen, 2013; Blakeman et al., 2013). The slum tours in all case studies, are not pity walks through the slum focusing on the slum dwellers' misery or crime levels, rather emphasizing on different aspects of the slum dwellers' everyday life



(Blakeman & Carstensen, 2013). Empirical data examples from the present case study and more in-depth analysis of this **Educational Component** will be discussed in the next chapter, when challenging slum tourism, in reference to the social enterprises and the police escort.

#### **4.4 The (Slum Tourism) Social Enterprises**

This section describes the two social enterprises: Mabuhay Restop and Futkal. The inclusion of the two is relevant as their tourist activity show significant similarities to those in slum tourism.

##### ***4.4.1 Mabuhay Restop – The Interview***

The information in this section is based on the interview with Rose Isada Cabrera (interview, Appendix C). Rose Isada Cabrera is the founder of the Mabuhay Restop, together with her husband. 'Mabuhay' is the Tagalog word for 'welcome'. Mabuhay Restop is a social enterprise that conducts different Social Tours in the communities of Gawad Kalinga (GK):

"So we established a social enterprise, inspired by Gawad Kalinga. I own this – me and my husband own this." (interview, Appendix C)

GK, which Rose Isada Cabrera also works for, is a well-recognized Philippine-based community development foundation (GK, n.d). GK is movement that aims to end poverty for 5 million families by first focusing on restoring the dignity of the poor (GK, n.d.). Through the foundation of GK, Rose Isada Cabrera used to invite international tourists (mainly from the US) to visit the communities of GK and to get involved in the GK projects for one or two weeks – and this is how Rose Isada Cabrera created the idea of Mabuhay Restop; Social Tours to the community projects of GK.

"So we never really went for the big fundraisers, pass the hat or you know what I mean. So what I would do, (...) involve to tourism aspect – the volunteers. Some times a group for 15-20 people, Americans, would come spend 5 day, 10 days, 13 days here in the Philippines.

Typically around 7 days. So we would arrange tours for them (...) significant part of it, which really also becomes the highlight of their experience is spend in the communities.” (Interview, Appendix C)

Rose Isada Cabrera explained how promoting Social Tours to international tourists create bigger empowerment opportunities for more people in the GK communities. As can be reflected in the interview, Rose Isada Cabrera considers volunteers as tourists, and vice versa. In this sense, with more tourists visiting the projects of GK also more people in the communities can receive help in one way or another. The purpose of Mabuhay Restop’s Social Tours is to make the experience of participating in GK community projects available to the ‘regular’ tourists, rather than only volunteers.

“And this is really why I ended up setting this Mabuhay Restop, because I thought if I did more of these kinds of tours more people will get help (...) So the regular tourist can get to do it. (...) They [tourists] all need to experience our culture and people and that is why we try to make these tours more accessible to the ordinary tourists.” (Interview, Appendix C)

The Social Tours of Mabuhay Restop for example allow tourists to take a day tour to the communities, or even just a couple of hours to the Mabuhay Restop Shop (a shop of local goods and crafts from GK projects), which all somehow supports the communities and/or individuals of poverty stricken areas. Besides the tours, Mabuhay Restop also offers other ways to support, explore and learn about the life of Filipinos:

“(…) I always thought we [Filipinos] do not have much cultural tourism places, something like that, because we are so colonized. We [her and her husband] want to showcase Filipino culture in our tours in our shows, artworks and merchandise, even merchandise come from our [GK] communities. So for me, if you only have a couple of hours, at least come to the shops, this will at least give you a glimpse of what we do, our culture and people. And people who have done these tours – even only been here 3-4 days – when they are leaving they are crying, they feel like they are family, you know and I think ‘you only know this people a week ago’.” (Interview, Appendix C)

This paper will not focus, on all Mabuhay Restop’s Social Tours, but highlight one in particular – for the sake of comparison – the Volutourism Kalinga Tours (VKT). Besides VKT, Mabuhay Restop also offers three other tours (Promotional Material, Appendix J). The attributes of VKT, in particular, are similar to those reflected in the previous mentioned slum tour operators. VKT

has a focus on the story of the Philippine people, with a particular focus on the poverty stricken areas of the Philippines, e.g. Smokey Mountain. VKT offers tours to GK villages, where tourist can see and learn about the communities, and how GK has transformed communities from poverty into a GK village and community. During the interview Rose Isada Cabrera explained that her tour director of the Social Tour, VKT, lives in Smokey Mountain herself. Rose Isada Cabrera regards this woman's story as highly inspiring and one everyone should hear:

"(...) she is from poor conditions and she had her poor problems. I do not know how it is in Denmark, but here in the Philippines most people flock to urban cities because there are no opportunities on country side. And that is typical. So that is also her story, coming from country side. Her parents – when she was maybe 3 years old – moved to Manila for a chance of a better life, only to end up living in a slum. And, they ended up on Smokey Mountain. So that is where she grew up. And this is how she tells her story. And it is, yeah, you know. Sad and then yet very hopeful." (Interview, Appendix C)

According to Rose Isada Cabrera, the life and background of the tour director is a faith, which is unfortunately shared by many Filipinos, and is part of the life in the Philippines. Something Rose Isada Cabrera says cannot and should not be denied. When Rose Isada Cabrera was asked to describe and share some words about Smokey Mountain and the tour guide, she responded:

"It's a garbage dump and [it is called Smokey Mountain] because of the methane gas from the rising mountain of garbage. You see. I remember the first time I went there, I couldn't stand the smell... you know. But for them it is nothing new, they are scavenging the garbage to make a living. So yeah, that is where she [the tour director] grew up. The thing with her is that she is the oldest of 4 but she is the only one with an education. Her parents really worked hard to try and provide education, but it is only her. You see that is really difficult – same genes, same upbringing, same parents, but she was really the only one who took advantage." (Interview, Appendix C)

Mabuhay Restop in this sense introduce communities, which are unknown to tourists, and something that stands in contrast to the regular tourist locations. Rose Isada Cabrera explained, that "(...) it is about what we [Filipinos] really have to offer. It is in our people. In our culture. You need to experience that." (Interview, Appendix C). What Rose Isada Cabrera here refers to is the social situation and culture of the Philippines, and to educate the tourists about their nation and customs, which also includes the life in the poverty stricken areas.

The Analysis Chapter will elucidate the attributes, which Mabuhay Restop share with the SMT and vice versa. By raising this discussion of the social enterprises' interconnectedness with the slum tourism practice, the researcher is challenging the current understandings of slum tourism.

#### ***4.4.2 Futkal – Visiting the Field of Hope Project***

Futkal is a social enterprise founded by Peter Amores. Futkal has two projects; one in Tondo, Manila, called “Kick for Life”, and the other, which the researcher visited, on Bantayan Island, Cebu, called “Field of Hope”. The data collection of this paper is based on the new Field of Hope project on Bantayan Island, where the researcher participated in activities for a weekend. The idea of Futkal began in 2006 by Peter Amores. When Peter Amores first started the idea of Futkal, he just wanted to make a difference for the children in the Philippines through soccer (futbol). In 2008, as Futkal got more recognized and projects got introduced, Peter Amores was recommended to legitimate it:

“It [Futkal] started in 2006 on my own. In 2008 it got recognized and we made a project in Tondo. A friend of mine helped me out with it and said ‘why not make a company out of it, to make it legit. Before it was just me going out there trying to make a difference for the children.’” (Interview, Appendix D)

Futkal is short for ‘futbol sa kalye’ (soccer in the streets), which is the Filipino version of street soccer (Material, Appendix E). In Peter Amores’ own material, he writes: “[Futkal is] an organization that promotes football for social development and a lifestyle that advocates the beautiful game” (Material, Appendix E). Futkal uses soccer as a way to provide access to (better) education for children in poverty stricken communities, and be a place where children can learn, play and be in a safe environment, while creating new friendships:

“Well we provide them access to better education, get them exposed to other communities, other provinces, look for avenues where they can have a goal, where they can coach and sometimes we refer them to other football clubs if they are good, and then other clubs can get them, and they can play for them and grow. Also because there is so much recreation and timing, and there are so much kids, and since there is not much good influences happening in

these communities that's where Futkal comes in and at least make a day where there are certain hours where kids can just come and play, and they will be given snacks and refreshments after their practice and play." (Interview, Appendix D)

The Field of Hope project in particular emphasises on the children's traumatic experience after the Typhoon Yolanda, in November 2013:

"For the [Field of Hope] project here [Bantayan Island] we have post trauma lectures and activities since the tsunami was such a traumatic experience for them [the children]." (Interview, Appendix D)

The Field of Hope project is a community soccer program focusing on these young typhoon survivors (age 8-14), and help them cope with Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (Material, Appendix E). Futkal is trying to take away the negative memories associated with the Typhoon destruction, and replacing it with more positive experiences through soccer (Material, Appendix E). Futkal becomes a platform of unity (Material, Appendix E). Peter Amores explained, that soccer in the Philippines primarily is a sport for the rich, due to the cost of the sport, and thus the objective of Futkal is to bring out the game of football, so it can be enjoyed on all social levels of society. *Kalye* (street) functions as a symbol of equality, in the sense that it is an avenue where everybody is welcome, without barriers:

"A goal is and hopefully the children that graduate from the program, want to stay in the our projects and coach, more pay, more jobs and just spread the game. Because here [Philippines] it is mainly only the rich who plays, it is not really spread out to the masses, so that is one of our objectives too, to bring out the game, to join people in football schools, and football jobs." (interview, Appendix D)

Futkal is an organization with many international partnerships, collaborations and sponsorships. Given Futkal does not charge a fee for children playing, there is no income generation from the community. Futkal earn an income based on the partnerships and sponsorships. Through these collaborations Futkal gets a budget, which covers all Futkal's expenses:

"We have partners and sponsors who support. There is a budget for every training sessions. Everything is included, it also how much we are going to spend, salaries, on transportation etc. Even the house we are staying in now is also paid for by the sponsors." (Interview, Appendix D)

Further, tourists are important to Futkal's business. The amount of volunteers the organization has had over the years, was not directly verbalized, but based on the information shared the researcher counted about a handful, at least. Peter Amores emphasized that the volunteers is of great importance, and referred to as 'blessings' (Interview, Appendix D). With the start up of the Field of Hope project, also the idea of 'Voluntourist' came to life. Futkal describes a Voluntourist as following:

"A person who spends time travelling around the world volunteering for a charitable cause. A person who wants not only to see the good, but do the good deed as well. A change-maker ready to explore the world and make a difference." (Material, Appendix F)

As stated, the researcher visited Bantayan Island and the project for a weekend. The location is beautiful; white sand beach faraway from regular tourist locations. Located in the heart of the Sillon community. The goal for Futkal is to have Voluntourists visiting and supporting their projects and community, while finding an itinerary customized to the specific tourist of e.g. sand-sea-sun leisure time (Material, Appendix F).

"We do not expect people can play futbol, but have the heart to have fun and learn the game, and its effects on the children. This way the tourists get to help, support and improve the lives of many, while also having fun themselves. Besides this the tourists can plan their own trip, I mean Bantayan Island is a beautiful island of beautiful beaches. There is a strong Filipino culture in the sense of communities where the tourists will be welcomed with open arms. A perfect way to experience the Philippines, if you ask me." (Interview, Appendix D)

As a voluntourist one pay for own travel cost (flight, insurance etc.), and chip in with food, which is shared among the organization employees, but the accommodation would be taken care of. In the budget Futkal has, there is incorporated housing for the staff; a house on the beach (one still standing after the typhoon). The house has a perfect location for any tourist; on the beach, and Futkal can accommodate tourists for either short or longer time periods. The voluntourism aspect of Futkal can promote more attention around the projects, and potentially help reach out to more communities.

During the visit to the “Field of Hope” project on Bantayan Island, I stayed in the house together with the other staff. As reflected in researcher’s writings (Appendix G) the visit to the community consisted of practice with the children everyday. The children showed big curiosity to the ‘new girl’ (researcher), as young boys and girls were starring, giggling and pointing. The kids were curios, but not in the shy way. Many of the children quickly ran up to me, already on the first day, and grabbed my hand to join in on the practice. The children, as well as staff shared big smiles and made encouraging hand gestures to actively participate in the practice. I felt very welcomed by the staff and the community in general, who quickly made me feel comfortable and accepted as ‘part of the team’.

“Some of the children would at times grab my hand to have me join in the practice. The staff would also make hand gestures for me to join in. Making me feel very welcome and appreciated, and ‘a part of it all’” (Researcher’s writings, Appendix G)

The children quickly noticed that I had brought along my camera, which was meant for research documentation. The boy, who first saw my camera, quickly came running over, took a ball and looked at me while pointing at himself in a way to explain; “take a picture of this”. The boy dribbled around a bit, and ran to me to see the pictures (Picture, Appendix H). Some of the other children quickly joined in to see the pictures, and all started to laugh loudly of the picture while pointing at the boy in the picture. The children were eager to get their picture taken, and were posing in front of the camera (Picture, Appendix H). I had to pack away the camera a couple of times, in order to get the children to pay attention to the practice.

This data interpretation of Futkal, is relevant for the critical discussion of the slum tourism practice in the next Chapter.

#### **4.5 Private Escorted Tour To The Original Smokey Mountain**

This section describes the fieldtrip to the original Smokey Mountain slum, which was led by a police escort and local barangays (district officers). Despite the closure of the original dumpsite – the original Smokey Mountain –

still today remains one of the most infamous slums in the Philippines. All the people I talked to during my visit in the Philippines all knew of Smokey Mountain (both original and new site), however, no one (besides people involved in projects there) had been to the actual location. As the dumpsite was closed, I took for granted that no one lived there anymore, and it was not until later that I learned that people still live there.

The police escort to Smokey Mountain was something set up by a friend of my host family, whom I will refer to as 'young man'. The visitation to the slum was with an escort team of two police officials and local barangays (area officers). Worth noting again, is the level of corruption in the Philippines. I paid each of the police officials 500 PhP (11 USD, 13-12-214), and 100 PhP (2 USD, 13-12-2014) to each of the three barangays. From a distance, Smokey Mountain looks like rolling green hills. However, when I got closer, and entered the community it became clear that these are hills of decades-old garbage (Picture, Appendix I). Even though Smokey Mountain has been without dumping for decades it has, to my surprise, started to grow plants, grass and trees all between this torn plastic and shredded waste, not to forget the insidious forms of toxic waste, and other forms of acid leaching chemicals, which undoubtedly are buried there.

It was explained to the police officers that we had brought rice, water, other beverages, and different treats, which we wished to give to community, which was arranged at the end of the 'tour' around Smokey Mountain, in front of a school and health facility, located in the relocation area (Picture, Appendix, I). The escort through Smokey Mountain was with a police officer both in front and behind us at all times (Picture, Appendix I). In the beginning of the tour, the young man seemed very concerned for my safety and kept grabbing my arm to pull me closer, as if he was scared something would happen to me.

"[The young man] in the beginning seemed quite uncomfortable about whole situation, and kept grabbing my arm to pull me closer – as if something dangerous was about to happen" (Researcher's writings Appendix G)



This perspective correlates with what Inna, from SMT, explained (section 4.2.2) that most local Filipinos believe the slum is no good, and unsafe. After a while the young man seemed to relax, maybe he realized what he assumed was not an issue. Thus, there might have been an educational component of this trip for the young man. However, the experience at the original Smokey Mountain, and the escort experience, at times made me feel uncomfortable and out of place. The feeling of discontent was not because of the slum or slum dweller, rather the presence and actions of the police officials, the emotions reflected here is based on researcher's writings (Appendix G):

"The first time a child ran towards me one of the police officer reacted quickly by stepping in front of me and shouting at the kid, to make him leave, which to me seemed vigorous. I mean, it was a kid. A kid that just wanted to say hi and had a big smile from ear to ear. The police made a gesture for the child to turn around and leave, and at ones the smile dissapeared and the child seemed scared. Impulsively I reached out to the police officer and said 'no no, it is okay – it is okay'. The police officer stepped aside and shouted back at the little boy who turned around. The police officer said nothing but gave a gesture of what to me seemed as a gesture of 'it is okay'" (Researcher's writings, Appendix G)

The children – as in previous case studies – was running up to me to say hi, joyfully and simply out of curiosity. The community made me feel comfortable, welcome and safe:

"The children all seemed eager to say hi, and all ran up to me just like I have experienced in the new Smokey Mountain and in Kibera. (...) The slum dwellers didn't seem to be bothered by my presence, rather being very warm and welcoming. (...) Most of the young people and adults just thanked me, nodded their heads and/or blessed me." (Researcher's writings, Appendix G)

I felt a big difference in this slum experience, here referring to the difference of being toured by a guide and escorted by the police – not in the sense of safety, rather in the encounter between visitor and community. With the police escort it felt as if I 'needed protection' against 'the other', emphasizing this dichotomous nature between the tourist and the slum dweller, and thus creating this gab between the two parties:

"I felt weird by the treatment from the police – both towards me and residents... I mean, I understand why, I know we paid them to escort us, but I was not looking for protection, only access" (Researcher's writings, Appendix G)

I find this feeling important to stress when problematizing slum tourism, as I felt a clear difference in being toured by guide and escorted by the police, but in neither case was it an issue of safety. Despite the disruption in the encounter, an Interaction/Participation was nevertheless created between the community and me, due to the children's' interest in lollipops:

"I walked towards the boy, and he took a couple of steps towards me and then stood still. When I was close I sat down in squat and pulled my backpack in front. I mean, I just wanted to give the boy a lollipop, ones of which I had bought thousands of, for that very purpose of giving it out while walking around.(...) The boy reached out, with a big smile while turning around and shouting something at the kids in the background. I asked [redacted] [the young man] what the boy said, and he laughed and replied: "You might get the whole village now, he just said the white girl has candy". We all laughed. (...) The children started laughing at each other, because the lollipops were coloring their tongues, thus pointing at each other and laughing. Made me laugh. Their hearts so warm and innocent and their living conditions so poor." (Researcher's writing, Appendix G)

The action of giving lollipops functioned as an icebreaker, and opened up for interaction with the community. In contrast, SMT did not allow for giving treats, hence this was an initiated interaction I had not experience before.

#### **4.6 Chapter Conclusion**

In conclusion, this chapter introduced the case studies and discussed the fieldwork including the researcher's reflexive engagement with the subject matter. The Table (Table 1) gave a comparative overview of the researcher's previous and present case studies on slum tours in Kibera and Smokey Mountain. The researcher identified some recurring attributes on the slum tourism enactment; Pro-poor/Social Aspects, Voluntourism, Educational Component and Interaction/Participation. Taking the social enterprises, Mabuhay and Futkal, and the police escort into consideration, the researcher found some significant similar attributes, between these tourist activities and that found in slum tourism, which gives reason for a critical discussion of slum tourism. The empirical findings and discussions presented in this chapter, function as groundwork for the next chapter.

## **5. Analysis**

The aim of this research paper is to investigate and deconstruct slum tourism. The foregoing chapter, Chapter 4, explicated an empirical data interpretation of the current case study, as well as provided a comparative discussion based on present and previous case studies. This current Analysis Chapter will thus go further with data, and analyze it more in-depth, while structuring it around answering the objectives of this research project. This chapter, will highlight slum tourism's paradoxes and silences, and problematize slum tourism by contesting contemporary understandings of slum tourism being a single unified phenomenon.

### **5.1 Challenging the Terminology**

In Chapter 3 it was concluded that academic research to date has no shared lucid understanding of slum tourism, and a unifying description of the phenomenon seems to pose difficulties. The five respective slum tourism depictions all describe, what in this paper has been referred to as, slum tourism. Hence the five classifications, even though indicating different understandings and definitions, all discuss the same slum tourism phenomenon. Some argue that the difficulty of finding a unifying description and definition is due to slum tourism being both complex and disparate (e.g. Rolfes, 2010), and others argue that today's contemporary slum tours through slums, favelas and townships are considered part of the old slumming tradition (e.g. Steinbrink, 2012; Freire-Medeiros, 2013). This section critically discusses the paradoxes of slum tourism, by assessing the issues of slum tourism's ambiguous definition.

### ***5.1.1 The Paradoxes of a Unified Definition***

A unified definition of slum tourism is problematic because discussions tend to overgeneralize the actual tourism activity. Based on the previous examination of the contemporary understandings of slum tourism, it appears that slum tourism primarily covers tours in slums. As mentioned, the researcher sees two continuous inconsistencies appearing in these understandings of slum tourism: it is overgeneralizing and conflating the tourists that visit slums with slum tourism. The paradoxes that appear are based on the questions that arise in slum tourism: Is a slum tourist someone who travels for the primary motivation of visiting a slum? Hence, was the researcher of this project a slum tourist when traveling to the Philippines with the primary motivation of participating in a slum tour? Putting this into perspective, do tourists travel to destinations based on one motivation alone, or do they have multiple motivations or even none at all and only plan upon arrival? What about the tourist who spontaneously decides to visit a slum, is he/ she then not a slum tourist? These questions arise due to paradoxes of the overgeneralizing definitions of slum tourism. Calling a traveler, for a slum tourist, is in many ways overgeneralizing, as a traveler may engage in slum visits while visiting a destination, however it may not necessarily be the primary or only motivation for visiting the destination. When regarding this case study, and the slum tour with SMT, this paradox becomes apparent. As stated in section 4.2.1, the two slum tour participants were respectively a young Dutch woman and an Australian woman. The Dutch woman participating had traveled to the Philippines for the primary purpose of doing volunteer work in Manila, whereas the Australian woman was visiting Manila for business purposes. These women both participated in a slum tour, however neither of these women's primary motivations for visiting the location were to participate in a slum tour to Smokey Mountain. Their visitation to the slum was just a patchwork of experiences, which the women had when visiting the Philippines. The term 'slum tourist' seems like an exaggeration term given the fact that travelers may engage in a lot of activities and different experiences while visiting a destination.

Furthermore, what if the tourist visits a slum without a tour operator? In this sense, what if a tourist visits the slum accompanied by an organization, which is not a tour operator? And, what if a tourist visits a slum without an organization at all, is he/she then not a slum tourist? There are many paradoxes with calling a traveler for a slum tourist, because what are the criteria to fit this categorization? In this present case study the researcher also visited slums in other ways than accompanied by a tour operator, e.g. escorted by police. In this sense, was the researcher only a slum tourist when participating in the tour with SMT, and not during the police escort? In both cases the researcher was a tourist; a tourist visiting a slum. Considering the word use, in its pure form, is there really a difference between a tourist visiting a slum and a slum tourist? The lexis seems to be ambiguous and to overstate the tourism activity. Put into perspective, do we really in other situations talk about e.g. beach tourists, hiking tourists, forest tourists, or nightclub tourists? Again, these are patchwork of experiences tourists engage in when visiting a destination. The terminology seems to overstate the activity of a tourist visiting a slum, hence conflate tourists visiting slums with slum tourism.

The paradox also occurs when regarding the locations of the slum tourism: What makes a destination a 'slum tourism destination'? Is a destination with poor neighborhoods a 'slum tourism destination' regardless of the purpose of travel? As stated, the definition of a slum is complex. Slums are heterogeneous, as all locations are different by nature and the slum dwellers do not suffer from the same degree of deprivation. So to determine that an area is a slum, a lot of factors come in to play, and over time the terminology of a 'slum' has also been used to describe something of really poor conditions. When regarding areas such as the original Smokey Mountain, this is by many still regarded a slum, even though the area faced closure in 1990. However, slum dwellers still live on the green hill made up of decades of old garbage, and it is still reflected a slum area. Considering the previous case studies in Kibera, this is a location officially regarded a slum (UN-HABITAT, 2008). SMT on the other hand tour Smokey Mountain, which now face relocation plans. In this sense, defining a slum is complex, and it becomes

paradoxical to define slum tourism due to its complex social setting and context. Hence, questions also arise when considering locations of slum tourism: Is a slum tourism destination a destination where tour operators exist? Or is it a slum that has tourists visiting? Or is a slum destination the very slum itself, and can all destinations with slums then be regarded a slum destination? Does it have to be an area officially classified as a slum, or may it be locations of extreme poverty or relative poverty? The questions are plentiful due to the incoherency in the understanding of what makes a slum tourism destination. These questions pinpoint the paradoxes of defining slum tourism, and that the issues of ambiguous understandings are to be found in the terminology, of slum tourism. The next section problematizes the practice itself.

## **5.2 Problematizing Slum Tourism and Uncovering the Silences**

As stated, slums and slum dwellers are today fueled with stereotypes of dirt, filth, dark, anti-social behavior, criminality and violence. This section challenges this single-sided portrayal of slums, and will uncover the contemporary silences of slum tourism. The major issues with the current stereotypes are that they are widely held, fixed and oversimplified. Considering the media framing of slums (Chapter 3), the whole slum is framed as an issue and the slum dwellers labeled as societal burden. This paper presents a version the social reality in the slums, rather than asserting it as definitive. The first thing is to recognize that there is a human face to this whole issue. By considering the slum, and its residents, as the stereotypes suggest; filthy and dirty people of anti-social and violent behavior, and even criminals, is refusing to acknowledge their individuality, and also condemning the future children born in slums to a cycle of poverty and condemnation.

Stereotypes help us 'understand' the world, but we also need to be aware of the dangers of stereotyping. In the notion of slums this becomes apparent, and the issues lie in the sissy dichotomy, e.g. the global North versus global South, rich versus poor. The bipolar way of thinking is nothing new, and

something we are often exposed to e.g. head versus heart, friend versus villain, and even when traveling where we are asked if we are tourists of business or pleasure. Why can one not have both? Are there always these contrasting extremes? The dangers of these contrasts are that it may set up invalid choices between things that need not or cannot be opposed to each other, thus blinded to what might be a medium or an existing a balance between things. Bipolar thinking forces oversimplified thinking: tourists engage in a patchwork of experiences while visiting a destination, hence a tourist might be a slum visitor, a sunbather, go on hikes and to nightclubs. It is not a question of either-or. Neither is this the case with life in slums, the people living here are not only the poor filthy boy with no pants on, lying around in the dirt, and go begging nor is it only the violent criminal (ref. to Steinbrink, 2012; Frenzel et al., 2012). The realities of slums are complex, and many realities exist, thus uncovering the contemporary silences – the things in between and the realities avoided – seems vital to get a better understanding slum tourism. For many tourists the encounter with a slum resident may be an encounter with the unknown exotic ‘other’. However, does this unknown exotic ‘other’ necessarily fit into today’s predetermined dichotomous thinking? According to the empirical data interpretation of this dissertation, the ‘other’ does not necessarily equal the criminal or the dangerous ‘other’, there are other realities, they are just being silenced.

In the previous empirical data interpretation the researcher identified some recurring attributes of the different slum tour operators; Pro-poor/Social Aspects, Voluntourism, Educational Component and Interaction/Participation, with a particular attention to the Educational Component and Pro-Poor/Social Aspects. The following subsections will discuss these attributes in reference to this project’s different slum visits (not just by slum tour operators) to locate what is being silenced about slum tourism.

### ***5.2.1 Educating One Tourist At A Time***

As concluded in the data interpretation, all the slum visits carry Educational Components. This section highlights how these slum visits educates the visitor.

Considering the slum tour operators of previous and present case study, the slum tour performance seems, to be that of a 3-4 hour educational tour through a slum (poverty stricken area). The researcher questions whether this slum tourism practice is far-fetched from the practice of the two social enterprises and the police escort introduced in this paper. The following discusses the individual organization and/or slum visit, of present case study, and how it emphasized on educating tourists.

#### **The Smokey Mountain Slum Tour**

As reflected, during the Smokey Mountain slum tour, the researcher witnessed young girls dirty and wearing ripped clothes, but they did not reflect antisocial nor criminal behavior. Their clothing merely reflected the young girls' unfortunate economic situation, of living under extreme poverty, and in fact, these girls signaled happiness; wide smiles, giggling like girls that age do, and very curious. This was the reality exposed to the researcher, which are silences in today's depictions of slums and the slum tourism practice. The researcher was also exposed to steadfast, persevering and dutiful people in Smokey Mountain, and witnessed scavengers working hard, as their livelihood depend on it e.g. men and children going to the dumpsite everyday to find things worth selling and/or recycle (ref. to section 4.2.1).

Another example is how tourists are informed about slum dweller's livelihood incomes through scavenging e.g. through 'pagpag'. However, the tourist is also explained of how women love to play cards in their free time, and about the gambling and cockfight tradition. The slum tours educate the tourists



about various situations and conditions of the slum dweller's everyday life. The slum tour seems to blur the barrier between leisure and education. During the slum tour the attribute of Interaction/Participation was incorporated through e.g. Home Visits of slum dwellers, which may create a closer interconnection with the environment, and the slum dwellers. Besides the Interaction/Participation attribute of the Home Visits, the Home Visits also provide an insight into the complexities of the social life in the slums. It creates an experience for the tourists, which touches all senses. In other words, the tourist not only create an understanding of the slum by gazing and through information, but also through the welcoming feel of being invited into someone's home. In this sense, the slum tour guide, Nympha Flores, invited tourists into her private home. Considering the Dutch, slum tour participant, this experience in someway affected her, when she surprisingly asked: "Nympha, you live here?", To which Nympha answered: "Yes, me my husband and my kids". The Dutch woman replied quietly, in what seemed like a friendly gesture "... you live nice" (ref. to section 4.2.1). The Dutch woman in some way verbally expressed her immediate feeling when comprehending the experience of Nympha Flores's home. The Dutch women were made aware of Nympha Flores's social reality, through this Home Visit. In contrast, the researcher, had another comprehension of the Home Visit, this however, stood in contrast to previous Home Visits (in previous case studies), thus based on previous knowledge the researcher realized Nympha Flores' social reality was not amongst the poorest. In this sense, the Education Component of the Home Visits reaches the tourist in different ways, and levels.

#### The Volutourism Kalinga Tour

This discussion focuses on Mabuhay Restop's VKT, which will be placed in parallel to SMT regarding the Educational Component. As stated, the researcher unfortunately was not able to join a VKT (section 2.4.1), thus this comparison focuses on interpreted data from interview. The idea of the VKT is to promote unique tourist experiences, normally only available to volunteers, and as quoted earlier "so the regular tourist can get to do it" (in section 4.4.1).

The VKT is a medium where tourists – the average Joe – have the possibility of an educational tourist experience. The guide for the VKT (similar to the guide from SMT) is raised in the Smokey Mountain slum, and can this way share a first-hand experience and generate an insightful understanding of the social situation of the slum to the tourists. This also correlates with what Freire-Medeiros (2008) noted about tourists being driven by getting under the skin of a location, seeking more unique valuable and intimate experiences off the beaten path. According to the values of Mabuhay Restop, it is to give the tourists the experience of what the Philippines really have to offer, which is the culture and people:

“(...) it is about what we [Filipinos] really have to offer. It is in our people. In our culture. You need to experience that.” (Interview, Appendix C).

Hence, educating tourists about the people and the culture, which thus also includes the life in Smokey Mountain. VKT is, as SMT, a tour conducted through Smokey Mountain, where both organizations use guides born in the slum, and both offer tours to tourists, who are exposed to unique and educational experiences. In this sense, Mabuhay Restop, with VKT, should be regarded part of same tourism practice as SMT – slum tourism. What really sets these tours apart is not in the attributes, rather in their terminology; Social Tours versus Slum Tours. However, the researcher argues for a significant similarity of the tour enactment, hence contest the current structures of slum tourism. This significant emphasis on education in slum tourism is silenced in today’s discussion of slum tourism, especially in the media.

### The Voluntourist

The third encounter with extreme poverty was the visitation, to the Sillon community, on Bantayan Island, with the Futkal organization. As stated, the researcher was met by a community of joy, warmth, togetherness, and a welcoming atmosphere. The researcher was participating in the soccer practice, as a part of the team. A team embracing mutual respect and tolerance. The children reflected curiosity and interest in researcher’s

presence, and the ice-breaker to Interaction/Participation was, as discussed in the empirical data interpretation, the researcher's camera. The photographs became a bonding factor, as it somehow joint researcher and children together in an activity of picture-taking and play (Picture, Appendix H), hence supports Basu's (2012) notion that can photographs function as an ice-breaker. Again, the researcher had an experience in the slum, in strong contrast to contemporary framing and understandings of slums and slum tourism – a reality of the poverty stricken areas, which are being silenced.

Futkal does not offer tourism activity, as what can be regarded a regular 'tour', at least not in the way of the two preceding tour examples. The touristic aspect for Futkal is incorporated as 'voluntourism' (ref. to 4.4.2), which can be regarded more of a build-your-own-tour-or-stay. In this sense, the tourists are considered, as explained in previous chapter, as Voluntourists. These Voluntourists will be incorporated in the daily businesses, just as a regular volunteer would, but these Voluntourists' tour/stay will be based on the particular tourists' wants and needs. Thus, the length of stay, and the tour experiences incorporated would the tourist's choice. Thus, an educational experience may be incorporated with, what Sharpley and Tefler (2008) refer to as, the traditional and popular sun-sea-sand package holiday. The idea of a regular 'tour' can here be extended to a 'stay'. As previously stated, the location is with beautiful sand beaches, in the heart of Sillon Community. The description of a Voluntourist, as quoted in section 4.4.2, fits many different types of tourists; the volunteer searching charitable causes and a longer stay, a person who wish to do good and be part of the project(s) for short or longer time, and/or the explorer who is willing to try new things e.g. new attractions, activities and foods. All these also correlate with today's tourists and tourism demands (e.g. Dwyer et al., 2009; Cohen, 1972; Freie-Medeiros, 2008; Cetron, 2003; Conran, 2011). The Voluntourist will somehow be involved with Futkal, involved in the social projects (e.g. Field of Hope), will fulfilling needs for e.g. exploring nature, sun-sea-sand time and cultural learning. In this sense, Futkal offers a tourist experience, which can be regarded as mix of the traditional thoughts of business and pleasure.

Considering the taxonomy from Ausland (2010), Futkal touches all three genus-levels of travel types; learning, leisure and labor. The previous slum tour operators incorporate the sense of learning and leisure, where Futkal, also covers labor by incorporating the visitors in the projects. Futkal mutually includes all three aspects, and target today's tourists traveling with mixed motives (ref. Ausland, 2010). Hence, the idea of Voluntourists is to integrate them into the projects and communities, while the Voluntourists learn about the life in Tondo and/or Bantayan, and provide leisure time based on desires from the specific tourist. It is a travel experience, which has a blurred line between education and leisure. Thus, tourism for Futkal may be used as a development tool, not only for the organization and projects, but also the community and children, while fulfilling the tourists' demand for self-improvement (Yeoman, 2008). The essence of social impact and community development will be covered in the next subsection.

To answer previous posed question, is the tourism activity of Futkal in reality that far-fetched from the slum tourism enactment, the answer is no. Futkal also emphasizes on educating tourists, and conducts tourism activities in poverty stricken areas. The researcher argues that slum tourism comprises of different organizations, working in different settings and different tourism methods, however all these respective organizations share a focus of the Educational Component in their businesses.

### The Police Escort

Referring back to a previous discussion (section 5.1.1), is there really a difference between a tourist visiting a slum and a slum tourist? Considering the police escort to the original Smokey Mountain slum as part of slum tourism generates new perspectives to slum tourism. In this sense, that the slum tourism practice may come other shapes and forms, than the slum tour by a tour operator. When considering the attributes of a slum tour (section 4.3), many attributes of this slum tourism practice are similar to the experience of the police escort to the original Smokey Mountain slum. The

typical slum tour and the police-escort share some overall enactments: a slum visit, access, interaction and education. Through the slum visit, the researcher was exposed to another social reality than the contemporary understandings and stereotypes of slums and slum tourism. As discussed in the empirical data interpretation, the researcher experienced the slum residents, “being very warm and welcoming” (Researcher’s writings, Appendix G), where especially the children showed big smiles and curiosity. The Interaction/Participation between researcher and community here seemed created by the distribution of lollipops, this functioned as an icebreaker to interaction, as highlighted in previous empirical interpretation chapter (section 4.5). Interaction was created, which became a middle ground where the visitor and slum dweller could meet, and move beyond dichotomies, and meet in mutual respect and togetherness of the moment. In contrast to the slum visit with a tour guide, the police officials did not create Interaction/Participation. In contrary, as reflected in empirical data, this was even at times altered by the presence of the police officials. The police escort, even though providing the access for the encounter to take place, also created a disruption in the encounter – e.g. example of the little boy – as the police escort focused on the researcher’s safety. The actions of the police officials somehow reinforced existing dichotomies of rich versus poor, and us versus them. Following is an excerpt of researcher’s writings, describing the emotions by the researcher, after the tour:

“(…) I mean, I understand why, I know we paid them [the police] to escort us, but I was not looking for protection, only access. “ (Appendix G)

The police officials functioned as the researcher’s access to the slum, the leaders, but also as the disruption in the encounter of visitor and resident. In this sense, when comparing being accompanied to the original Smokey Mountain slum and a tour to Smokey Mountain with a slum guide, in their basic form, these two slum visits are not far apart; one was led by police and the latter by a guide. Thus, both of these visits were led by someone who provided access to the slum. From a basic perspective of a tour, these two slum visits can also be compared, as considered earlier (section 4.2.1), a

slum tour with SMT has some clear indications of being on a tour; a payment, and the clear start and beginning of the slum, as was the same case with the police escort. Also, both slum visits were socially oriented, participatory and unique experience in an area unknown to the tourist, a slum. However, what really sets these two 'tours' apart is how and who guided; an official guide versus police official. Thus the big difference, as reflected here, is found in the role of the person leading. In this sense, when regarding the moral concerns and privacy rights of the poor with both slum visits the picture differs; the responsibility in the slum tour is placed on the organization, where as with the police escort, the responsibility is/should be on the police. However, the level of corruption in the Philippines should here be considered, as the police was more concerned with the safety of the researcher, not the poor. Hence, the moral responsibility of the slum visit was pushed onto the researcher (i.e. tourist in general sense). The slum tourism practice is complex, and there can be many barriers in the encounter between tourists and slum communities. Nevertheless, through this slum visit, there was still the activity of social boundary crossing which allows for moral recognition of the slum residents (ref. to Freire-Mederios, 2013). Also, as discussed in section 4.5, the young man seemed to me enlightened that slums and slum dwellers are not only dangerous and criminals. However, the learning experience here was based on tourists' sensory input on sight and smell, and feelings generated from that. The verbal explanation of what is being experienced is missing. Thus, the researcher strongly recommends slum visits by a guide (or someone who can mediate between both parties), who is then responsible for the learning experience of the tourist, and the consideration of the poor. This responsibility is also important for their sustainable business. When the tourist has to be socially responsible, without a local guidance, the dangers are many, as the tourist may not have a social and cultural understanding of the host, and may also be affected by their own curiosity. Even though the tourist may have good intentions, there are risks of intruding on the poor's privacy and rights. In this sense, the researcher argues in line with Kieti and Magio (2013), that it is not bad to be curious about the unknown the slum life, as it creates the possibility to learn about a different life. The researcher would even encourage slum tour visits, but based on this discussion, it has proven that

the way in which a tourist engage in a slum visit matters. Echoing Kieti and Magio (2013), the researcher argues that slum visits can be beneficial for the slum community and tourists, if done right. This leads to the next subsection, concerned with the social impacts of slums visits.

### ***5.2.2 Social Impact for the Poor***

The researcher argues that slum visits can be beneficial not only for educating tourists, but also social impact for the slum communities, if done right. This section will only discuss the different organizations in reference to the emphasis based on, Pro-poor/Social Aspects. Even though, there was reflected Pro-poor/Social Aspects in the police escort, e.g. researcher and the young man's donation of food and beverages to the community (section 4.5), this was merely based on the motivation of the visitor (researcher in this case), and will not be regarded. This section discusses how the respective organizations emphasize on social influences, in their businesses.

#### **Smokey Mountain Slum Tours**

In a previous case study the researcher investigated how tourism can be used as a poverty alleviation tool, and found slum tourism to be powerful potential tool for poverty reduction (Blakeman et al., 2013). The slum tours in Kibera all implemented visitations to community empowerment projects, where tourists could interact with the local residents, learn about their community projects and support in ways they may wish (Blakeman et al., 2013). The social community impacts of the slum tour, of SMT, are the focus in the following.

SMT has no collaboration with Smokey Mountain community as such, besides the little craft shop at the end of the slum tour (section 4.2.1). However, as mentioned earlier, the main way in which Smokey Mountain gives back to the community is by donating 100% of the slum tour income to the St. Martin

church and school, located in the Smokey Mountain slum (section 4.2.2). As stated, this project regards slum tourism and voluntourism as interconnected. Section 4.3 informed that the slum tour operators in Kibera all focus on the volunteer opportunities during the slum tours, however, this is not the case with SMT. Volunteer opportunities were not reflected during the slum tour around Smokey Mountain (section 4.3). However, as quoted earlier (in section 4.4.1), in the interview with SMT (Interview, Appendix B), the founder, Juliette, started her business in slum tourism, as she had previously been volunteering in the Smokey Mountain slum, and based on the hospitality she felt there, she decided she had to share with the world, and have tourists feel what she had felt. Also, Smokey Mountain have had or has volunteers involved with the organization somehow, because during the interview when she explained how she got in contact with the slum tour operator in Mumbai, she mentioned having a volunteer involved: “But, at that time we had a volunteer that knew Chris – small world, right (...)” (Interview, Appendix B). Even though it is not regarded as part of the slum tour, voluntourism has somehow been a part of the organization. Hence, all slum tour operators, in previous and present case studies, reflect some kind of connection to voluntourism. Nevertheless, all the slum tours and operators, in both previous and present case studies, reflect a great emphasis on pro-poor elements during the slum tours. Hence, besides educating tourists, another essential focus of the slum tours is placed on the social impact – giving back to the community. A social impact based on community empowerment. This strategy of the organizations also falls in line with the increased global tourist demands for social and environmental consciousness when traveling (ref. Dwyer et al., 2009).

#### Mabuhay Restop (The Volutourism Kalinga Tour)

VKT and SMT share significant similarities, both offer tours to the Tondo area, in the Smokey Mountain Slum, and provide an educational experience for the experience, as well as generating a social impact for the community. This last part, of the social impact for communities, is the essence of this section. The



social consciousness of Mabuhay Restop is implied when this organization is classified as a social enterprise.

As reflected in the transcribed interview, Rose Isada Cabrera was passionate about sharing information, and before the researcher had the recorder turned on, she was already explaining about the values of GK, and how Mabuhay Restop is founded on these very same values. As regarded in the empirical data interpretation (section 4.4.1), GK, where Rose Isada Cabrera also works, is a well-recognized Philippine-based community development foundation (GK, n.d). It is movement, which aims to end poverty for 5 million families by first focusing on restoring the dignity of the poor (GK, n.d.). Thus, social awareness and social influence are an essential part of Mabuhay Restop's business values and structure. Mabuhay Restop's Social Tours, here in particular the VKT, create opportunities for the tourists to support poverty stricken communities, through active participation without having to take out three months, as reflected in quote from section 4.4.1.

Thus, besides providing an educational experience for the tourists, VKT also create empowerment opportunities for the poor. Where people can get actively involved in anyway of the projects they have going in the poverty stricken areas. Hence, through VKT tourists can take a day tour to the communities, or even just a couple of hours to the Mabuhay Restop Shop (the shop of local goods and crafts from GK projects), which all in some way supports the communities and/or individuals of poverty stricken areas. As reflected, in a previous interview quote (section 4.4.1), tourists get engaged in these projects, in such degree they also get emotionally involved. VKT creates, just as SMT, opportunities for an increased social awareness about the complex social settings in poverty stricken areas of the Philippines. Based on this social impact of the Mabuhay Restop as a company, the researcher again argues for considerable similarities in the tourism activities, here with an emphasis on the attribute, Pro-poor/Social Aspects. Thus, the researcher here again contests the current understandings of slum tourism, and should not be understood as a single unified phenomenon.

## Futkal – Field of Hope

The social enterprise, Futkal and its Field of Hope project, also share a similar focus of social influence, as the two preceding organizations. With integrating the Voluntourists into Futkal's business, the tourists would get in contact with the communities, help empower and impact children. The focus on social development is the core in the Futkal business structure, here with a particular focus on the children's social improvement and life chances:

"The goal for Futkal is to open up opportunities (educational, financial, etc.) for them [the children] to have a better-life and a good future "(Material, Appendix E).

Futkal is "an organization that promotes football for social development and a lifestyle" (Material, Appendix E). This focus on social empowerment of the children, and the lifestyle through soccer was also the feeling the researcher experienced during the fieldwork on Bantayan Island. The following is an excerpt of researcher's writings:

"The staff seemed very passionate about their work, and it was clear they all loved the game, and spending time with the kids. Seeing the joy in the staff's eyes is something I don't see too often – they just seemed truly happy about their job, what they do and had fun doing it. Like a hobby combined with a job – a lifestyle almost." (Researcher's Writings, Appendix G)

It is in the middle of the children's everyday life struggles that, that Futkal comes in and let the children be children – play and have fun. The Field of Hope project focuses on these young typhoon survivors (age 8-14), and help them cope with Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (Material, Appendix E). Futkal creates soccer activities, set up workshops, and seminars that help these young children of the community, as well as unite the community as a whole by creating a healthy fundamentally sound environment, where particularly the child can feel safe, and be a child. The children in the community all seemed so happy about playing, and after a soccer practice researcher wrote the following in researcher's writings:

"The children, just as yesterday, were all excited to play. I remember the joy of going to practice as a child myself. I could see the joy in their eyes. To see the impact soccer has on

the children in the community is incredible – it had an impact on me too.” ((Researcher’s Writings, Appendix G)

Thus, it can be said that Futkal functions as platform where the Filipino child can discover life again and have a hobby, and this way in some way overcome their struggles through soccer. The focus of the “Field of Hope” project is to try and change the negative memories associated with the Typhoon destruction, and replacing them with more positive experiences through soccer (Material, Appendix E). In this sense, it is the social development of the child that is off focus, where soccer becomes the medium; as reflected in a quote of previous section, Futkal does not expect the tourist can play soccer, rather the heart to enjoy and have an effect on the children. This was also emphasized in the researcher’s writings, where the researcher reflected upon bringing the camera to practice and the attention it created:

“The staff did not seem to mind me ‘taking away’ the children’s attention – they all just smiled at me, and sometimes laughing when the children would act foolish in front of the camera. Seemed like entertaining the kids were the essence of it all.” ((Researcher’s Writings, Appendix G)

The Voluntourists, and regular volunteers, are important players in the business strategy for Futkal’s further social development of the children, and community empowerment as a whole.

### **5.3 Chapter Conclusion**

In concluding this chapter a number of clear points can be made, which will be followed through in this Chapter Conclusion.

First, there are paradoxes with a unified definition of slum tourism, as the discussions tend to overgeneralize the actual tourism activity. Thus, the current issues of the incoherent understandings of slum tourism and its complexities are based on the rather otiose efforts to make slum tourism fit into enduring conventional structures and dichotomies. But the researcher questions, why does slum tourism have to fit within the conventional

structures, and what if a slum visit does not fit these structures, can it then not be regarded as a part of the tourism practice?

And second, the current assumptions and stereotypes about slums and slum tourism are found to be different from the social reality in the slums the researcher was exposed to. Not saying these conventional assumptions of slums are necessarily wrong, rather emphasizing that it is not the *only* reality, there are other realities, which are being silenced.

Third, the current slum tourism understandings do not shape room for the flexibility and new patterns of the tourism activity, of visiting slum. This chapter has engaged in critical thinking towards the current structures and assumptions. Thus, a way to open up for different perspectives and new patterns. All the slum visits presented in this paper may be regarded under the same complex social tourism phenomenon, being a tour or non-tour.

The fourth point of this chapter was to embrace the evolving trend of tourists being interested in visiting slums, and the emphasis some organizations – the ones presented in these case studies – seem to have on providing education of tourists, and have a social impact on the poverty stricken communities. An emphasis to try and move beyond the poor-rich dichotomies, break the assumptions, which seems so ingrained, and embrace the middle ground where people meet, learn and benefit.

And fifth, this chapter reflected that the slum tourism practice itself does not have to be one thing or the other; it may be many things, of many constructions, enactments and new creative patterns. As the terminology itself seems to lead to misconceptions, the researcher suggests the terminology itself also should move beyond conventional thinking, and instead consider the tourism activity, of visiting slums, within a broader social reason, e.g. by defining it under 'social tourism' or 'development tourism', which reflects a more hopeful terminology. A more hopeful phenomenon may generate new assumptions and patterns associated with the social life in slums and tourist activity of visiting a slum.

## 6. Conclusion

The aim of this research project is grounded in pragmatism and explores the interactive construction of slum tourism from a perspective of the producers of the slum tourism experience, through a comparative study of previous case studies in Kibera, and present case study in poverty stricken areas of the Philippines.

The motivation for this project was derived from the incentive of exploring slum tourism in other destinations, than previous research projects, and to grow a broader understanding of slum tourism. When the researcher found out that there was a slum tour operator in the Philippines, and this location was unexplored in slum tourism, the quest for exploring slum tourism in the Philippines was created.

Due to the limited research on slum tourism, this project took on an exploratory and qualitative approach. This paper follows an inductive approach and the centrals of grounded theory, as the theory and new concepts created spring from the empirical data collected about slum tourism. Also the crystallization method was applied, where different data collection methods were used. This qualitative researcher both functioned as a participant observer, and as an interviewer, through semi-structured interviews and casual conversations, which created researcher's closer involvement with the research participants, which was beneficial to gain a greater understanding of slum tourism, participants and social life in slums. Thus, also researcher's reflexive notes, on researcher's own emotions as well as participants' reactions, was used to provide additional clues to the research, and gain a better understanding of slum tourism.

The aim of the project has been achieved by meeting three objectives. The first objective was to examine and deconstruct the current understandings and complexities of slum tourism, which was addressed in the theoretical literature review. The researcher explored five different depictions of slum tourism (in Chapter 3) and concluded that a unifying cohesive description poses difficulty.

Slum tourism, as well as a slum, is complex, disparate and fueled with stereotypes framed by the media. The researcher found two recurring issues in slum tourism; it is overgeneralizing and conflating the tourists visiting slums with slum tourism. Due to the ambiguousness in the slum tourism understanding, this project engaged in a more critical approach to slum tourism

The second objective of this thesis was to use researcher's previous case studies and present case study to examine the complexity of how slum tourism is enacted to better understand the paradoxes and silences of the tourism practice. This objective consisted of two parts; examine the complex tourism enactment, as well as uncover the paradoxes and silences. The first part, of the slum tourism enactment, was discussed in the empirical data interpretation (Chapter 4), and slum tourism was problematized in the analysis (Chapter 5), where also the paradoxes and silences were critically discussed. A number of points were made, which will be reflected in the next paragraphs.

The Table (Table 1) in Chapter 4 provided a comparative overview of researcher's previous and present case studies in Kibera and Smokey Mountain, respectively. The researcher through this comparative analysis of – three operators in Kibera and SMT in Smokey Mountain – identified some recurring attributes on the slum tourism enactment: Pro-poor/Social Aspects, Voluntourism, Educational Component and Interaction/Participation. As the present case study's other slum visits with Mabuhay Restop, Futkal and the police escort showed significant similarities to these attributes of the slum tourism enactment, the researcher challenged the current understandings of slum tourism as a single unified phenomenon. In Chapter 5 the researcher problematized the slum tourism terminology and practice by critically discussing Mabuhay Restop, Futkal and the police escort in reference to the attributes identified for SMT. The following paragraphs highlight the various points made.

This paper challenged the slum tourism terminology, and posed several questions to pinpoint the paradoxes of the slum tourism terminology. The

paradoxes of the incoherent understandings of slum tourism are to be found in the terminology itself; it is overgeneralizing, e.g. it overstates the activity of a tourist visiting a slum, thus conflate tourists visiting slums with slum tourism.

Slum tourism – as in Kibera and Smokey Mountain – has to date primarily been classified as tours through slums by tour operators. Thus, Mabuhay Restop, Futkal and the police escort presented in this project are hard to categorize in slum tourism. Does that mean they do not fit? No, this is the single unified approach to slum tourism being challenged in this paper. This paper identified other organizations working in different settings, slum visits without organizations, and different contexts, but all with similar moral imperative to provide an educational experience for the tourists (Educational Component) and function as a tool for pro-poor development, even if just on a small scale (Pro-poor/Social Aspects). Considering the police escort, this paper strongly recommends slum visits to be accompanied by a guide, or someone who can mediate between visitor and resident. This recommendation is based on ethical concerns and risks of tourists being driven by their own curiosity, and as a result intrudes the poor's privacy, despite the tourist may have good intentions.

Furthermore, based on the Educational Component of all these slum visits, this paper also contests today's framing of slums and its residents. This project uncovers the silences of slum tourism. The complex reality of slums reflected in this paper shows extreme poverty, poor living conditions and social struggles, but nothing poor about the social life of slums. The slum encounter, in all cases, reflected the warmth and sincerity of Filipinos. During all slum visits, the researcher was exposed to modest treatment, mutual respect, genuine friendships and hospitality, which seemed like fundamental tenets in Filipino culture. Hence, rather than exploiting the poor or refueling existing stereotypes, this project claims that slum tourism opens up for a middle ground of togetherness. Togetherness, harmony and interconnectedness do not exist in dichotomous thinking, but it does exist in our social world, it has just been silenced. These realities are exposed to tourists through slum tourism. This paper recommends slum visits, and to

embrace the middle ground where people can meet, learn and benefit – move beyond poor-rich dichotomies. In similar vein, this paper suggests to consider a more hopeful terminology for the slum tourism practice, to create and embrace new patterns associated with slum life and tourists visiting slums.

The third objective of this project was to provide recommendations for future research of slum tourism, which was touched upon in this section and will be reflected further in the Future Enquiry section.

## **6.1 Contributions**

Slum tourism has recently received a paroxysm of attention in academia as well as in media. Besides this, scholars also regard the developing nations attractive markets for the future of tourism. Holidays today are about the experiences and the places, whether this is horse-riding in the Wild West or skiing in Afghanistan (Yeoman, 2008). Tourists' want to gaze (ref. to Urry, 1990; 2002) upon what is exotic and unique, which has also created a particular consumer interest in the developing nations. Some scholars note that the terms used to reflect slum tourism has been disparate (e.g. Rolfes, 2010). Due to the recent increased attention to slum tourism, and its disparate and incoherent current understandings, this research project is relevant as it adds a case study in a different context, and adds to the overall body of literature from which commonalities and similarities can be drawn.

This research project's contribution is principally in terms of problematizing slum tourism, aspects around its definition and practice, and raising issues with the way in which slum tourism has been cast as a single unified phenomenon. This project has identified that slum tourism comprises different organizations, working in different settings but with a similar moral imperative to provide an educational experience for the tourists and social impacts on lives of slum dwellers.

This project's focus on the Philippines within the research of slum tourism is the first of its kind. Also, the extension of incorporating social enterprises



operating in and police escort visitations to slums, are new in slum tourism research. Although more research can be done, this paper opens up for new insights and approaches slum tourism more critically than hitherto, thus provides a gateway to further critical discussions and analyses on slum tourism.

## **6.2 Limitations of the Project**

This project includes some limitations, which are important to mention. Although slum tourism has gained much recent attention, the research conducted on slum tourism remains limited. Limitations in the sense of the literature's relatively fragmented nature and indistinct definitions, which is predominantly based on empirical case study research with limited theoretical development. Also this project has its limitations due to the use of empirical case studies, as the issues with using case studies are that they are not generalizable to wider contexts, rather as stated, this project adds to an overall body of literature.

Due to limited timeframe of the fieldwork, in the Philippines, it was not possible for the researcher to book a VKT with Mabuhay Restop, thus the data collection here is based on the method of interview. Participation in a VKT would have provided the researcher with more insight, and it would have been possible to compare the experience with the SMT's slum tour.

Finally, the research topic of slum tourism presented in this paper is both complex and multifaceted, thus a complete evaluation of all subjects was limited, by the scope of the project. For this reason, the following section will present suggestions for further inquiry regarding slum tourism.

### 6.3 Further Inquiry

As stated, there are many elements of this dissertation, which provide a springboard for future research regarding slum tourism. For instance, investigating slum tourism in reference to other organizations, and other nations, which can be used as a comparable analysis and to build on top of the body work of this research paper. The knowledge can improve the validity of the empirical data presented in this thesis. Also, given this paper's reflective critical approach to slum tourism the researcher finds it relevant to examine comparable data of slum visits – accompanied by organizations or not – outside the typical conventional structure of slum tourism literature. Ideally this would create new perspectives, patterns and understandings of slum tourism, which may generate a broader and more hopeful perspective of slums, and slum tourism. Considering the social influence of slum tourism, a contribution to improve the policy environment could be beneficial to support, regulate and protect the residents. Due to the level of poverty and issues of e.g. corruption, in developing countries, it may be beneficial to investigate the context of e.g. NGOs in slum tourism. In similar vein, it would be beneficial to investigate the tourists' pre and post-experiences of slum visits, to investigate the educational aspect, from the tourists' perspective. Here a less-exploratory and more quantifiable study could recount the researcher's finding of slum tourism's emphasis on educational components. Ideally, this could gain insight into the storytelling of the (local) guidance, the effect (e.g. emotional) on the tourist, as well as to gain insight into the understandings of slums and slum tourism before and after the visit.

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## **Appendix**

### **A. Interview Design**

#### ***Interview Questions (for Kibera April/November 2013)***

- 1 Why did you decide to offer these tours to the tourists?
- 2 Why did you become a tour guide in Kibera?
- 3 What does it require to be a tour guide in Kibera?
- 4 How would you describe your job?
- 5 What is it like to be a tour guide in Nairobi/Kibera?
- 6 How would you describe Kibera (in 3 words)?
- 7 What kind of experience would you like to give to the tourists? - what are you hoping the tourists get out of it?
- 8 How do you feel tourists behave/act/respond/react when they are participating in your guide tour?
- 9 What would you say your most important task is when doing a guided tour?
- 10 Have you heard about the criticism of the guided tours in Kibera? How do you feel about the criticism?
- 11 Why do you think the criticism exists?
- 12 Do you feel that it is morally/ethically appropriate/acceptable to do these tours? Why/Why not?
- 13 What can you, as a tour guide, do to make the tours (more) “morally acceptable”?
- 14 Do you collaborate with the local residents in regards to these tours?
- 15 In your opinion, how do the local residents feel about the guided tours?
- 16 Have you had any reactions - positive and/or negative - from the local residents in Kibera about the tourists’ visits?
- 17 What are the demographics of the tourists; specific countries, gender or ages?
- 18 How do you see the future for the guided tours in Kibera?

### ***Interview Questions – Smokey Mountain Tours (August 2014)***

- 1 When did the company, Smokey Mountain Tours, start?
- 2 Why did you decide to offer these tours to the tourists?
- 3 How do you pick your tour guides?
- 4 What kind of experience would you like to give to the tourists? - what are you hoping the tourists get out of it?
- 5 How do you feel tourists behave/act/respond/react when they have participated in a guided slum tour?
- 6 Have you heard about the criticism of slum tours ? How do you feel about the criticism?
- 7 Why do you think the criticism exists?
- 8 Do you feel that it is morally/ethically appropriate/acceptable to do these tours? Why/Why not?
- 9 Do you collaborate with the local residents in regards to these tours?
- 10 What are the demographics of the tourists; specific countries, gender or ages?

### **B. Smokey Mountain Tours Transcribed Interview**

Interview conducted the 8<sup>th</sup> of August, 2014. When I arrived to the office only Inna was there. Inna is the daily manager or account manager. Inna told me she would start the interview and if I had specific questions for Juliette we could take them when she arrived after later.

We began small talking for a few minutes about the Philippines and its size, the cities of Metro Manila, and where Inna was from (Cebu). Then Inna looked at me in a way reflecting she was waiting for a question, and in that moment the conversation ended, and was turned into a semi-structured interview.

#### **Interviewer:**

Okay let me see if I can find my notes here... So, when did you guys start Smokey Mountain Tours?

#### **Inna:**

I officially started with Julia in January [2014].

#### **Interviewer:**

So, when did the company start, the Smokey Mountain Tours?

#### **Inna:**

Well, technically Julia started this in 2011, but officially she started this last year [2013]. So, the reason why the website says 2011 is because the idea started there in 2011. But it was last year [2013] around July it got official.

**Interviewer:**

So we have been emailing a bit, and I am curious, the British guy that came to the Philippines to help you out, he was from Reality Tours & Travel, correct?

**Inna:**

Oh yeah so Chris [Chris Way] helped us out. He came from India to help us out.

**Interviewer:**

So how do you know him? How does Julia know Chris?

**Inna:**

Okay, so that I am not sure of. I have to talk to Juliette – we can ask Julia later. But what I know is that he came to the Philippines when he found out that Juliette was planning these tours. He is a really nice guy. He was here a few weeks ago, before you came, that is why I mentioned it in the email. He is so nice, and so good at planning. He was really good at setting things up, know where to go and how to educate people here [referring to employees]

**Interviewer:**

So he was very business oriented? Helped out in business planning?

**Inna:**

Yeah, yeah... I mean Juliette just wanted to help in general, and didn't really know how to do it. He helped with the structure and organizing things for us. He was the one helping us out, how to go around things, and he was actually the one that suggested us we should start the other tours [besides slum tours]. Because the Smokey Mountain Tours, 100% of the earnings goes to Sankt Martin, which means technically we didn't have any income. So that is why he suggested, that we should have three other tours. Because or else how can we be stable? And it makes sense, obviously (and laughs). So he was the one helping Juliette setting up the bicycle, market and cockfighting tour.

**Interviewer:**

Oh okay I see... So the earnings from the other tours goes into the business; salaries etc.

**Inna:**

Yes. Yes. Yeah I mean which is still a bit of a struggle sometimes because the most popular is obviously the slum tour.

**Interviewer:**

Oh is it really? That was going to be my next question.

**Inna:**

Oh yes of course, it is the most unique and different. I mean since we got this new website up – I think you noticed it was down for a while - and done some marketing it has definitely been booming, but we still struggle a bit.

**Interviewer:**

So are all tours same price – the 750 Php?



**Inna:**

No, they are all different prices. The cockfighting tour is most expensive, 1000Php, because there are some fees included such as pass to arena etc.

**Interviewer:**

So, about the guides... Nympha Flores (our tour leader) explained there was three guides? Is that for the slum tours alone or all the tours?

**Inna:**

Uhm we have, yeah three in total. All three of them can do the slum tours, and not all them can do the others. For example we only have one guy who can do the bicycle tour, as the bicycle tour is the second most popular we are looking for another tour leader. For the market tour, two of them can do, and for the cockfighting tour only one.

**Interviewer:**

Okay, so you have three guides for four tours. What does a busy day look like?

**Inna:**

No, three tours.. no, sorry four, four. (laughs). So as an example our busiest month was February or March, I think it was march. Where everyday, almost everyday there was a booking. And it was at least one tour a day. On lucky days we have two tours a day. But June-July it kind of died down a little, which I think is because of the rainy season.

**Interviewer:**

Yeah I see, the seasonality can affect business. I see. Hmm.. another thing I was wondering, is the tourist's perceptions – their feedback. I mean, based on my own tour we were three girls where me and the girl Jessica was touched, where as the Australian woman – sorry I totally forgot her name – she was supposed to do the market tour after, but said she couldn't, she was just too overwhelmed. How is your general perceptions and feedback after these slum tours?

**Inna:**

She was overwhelmed and shocked, yeah. Well we have the people who get really touched and inspired. We have tourists who feel they can relate, and some want to come back, and some want to get involved. We had some that said it was a lot of impressions to take in and they had to go home and think about it. We had one blogger who did the tour and was going to write about it, but she called us, that she had trouble expressing herself and putting all she saw and experienced into words. (Paused and looked at me for next question)

**Interviewer:**

Yeah I can see that, relate to that. Hard subject to put into words, I see that. So, yeah, sorry back to the tour guides, I lost track of my questions here... So if you don't mind me asking, how do you find your tour guides, I mean they all come from the slum like Nympha? How do you get in contact with them? Someone you already know? Or? I mean, how does one become a tour guide?

**Inna:**

So the fact is actually that Juliette was actually volunteering for Sankt Martin. (Little pause)

**Interviewer:**

Oh, yeah, I was going to ask you about the connection to Sankt Martin.

**Inna:**

Yeah, that is how. Yeah Juliette was volunteering here in Philippines, and was really inspired by the people in the slum. And, she thought it was funny why the Filipinos themselves did not go to the slums, and she had a hard time inviting them. One day one of the Barangay (chief of area) came up to Juliette – and Nympha is his wife. So this is how they got introduced. So Nympha was our first tour leader. Then from here we just kind of went of from who Nympha recommended.

.....

Juliette walked in an started chitchatting and asked if wanted tea or coffee. She was curious about where the term ‘slum safari’ and ‘zoo’ came from in regards to slum tourism, and asked what I have heard, and the criticisms. From here I just kind of opened conversation.

.....

**Interviewer:**

Oh Juliette, how do you know Chris? We were just talking about it and thought I would ask you.

**Juliette:**

Oh so back then when I started the idea of this, I was actually thinking. Should I really do this, and I didn’t want to invent the wheel if the wheel was already invented. So yeah, I just emailed him. (laughing). Then I just asked him questions. He wasn’t really responsive. I think the one in Brazil was more responsive. But, at that time we had a volunteer that knew Chris – small world, right – and who talked to Chris on Skype quite often. And one day she said: ‘Christ want to come here and help you. I mean he won the price of the most sustainable tour. I already started here and for him it just fits in what he already does. Then when he got the award he was told, ‘why don’t you go around the world and help other organizations’, so it was actually just perfect timing. So yeah, he was actually talking to him last month, because he was just here....

**Interviewer:**

Yeah I was just told...

**Juliette:**

Yeah and the week before he left, he said ‘hey should we do some other tours, yeah sure why not’. I said I want a bicycle tour and a cockfighting tour, so we developed to more tours, and then we were like, oh there is also market tours. So we developed three tours in two weeks or something. We were riding the bike, trying to find best ways to go, so we were running around.

**Interviewer:**

Wow, so these last three tours are very new. As in developed right before I arrived. But Juliette, why did you want to start these slum tours? I know you said you contacted people in India and Brazil, so you knew about this tourism practice. And I know you volunteered for Sankt Martin. But why did you want to start?

**Juliette:**

Well for me it is all about getting in touch. They [tourists] ask me, what do they need [St. Martin], and I mean I tell them, I don’t know. You [tourist] ask them [St. Martin], they [St. Martin] are the last stop on the tour. This is where our money from slum tour go, this is who I want to support. (Pause) I mean I like to help. I think this is a good way, we can empower people – they are not asking for help, they are not asking for

donations, or worse, begging. They have an identity, and structure that works for them. I am a psychiatrist, I used to work with disabled people who had a hard time working, but it is important to have something, have work, do something. It is your identity, it is also who you are.

**Interviewer:**

If you don't mind me asking, are the tour guides paid per tour or.....

**Juliette:**

Yes per tour, 300 pesos per tour (approx. 7\$, Currency on November 13<sup>th</sup> 2014), included healthcare, pension etc., and then they get tips – the tips they get from tourists they keep. They also get money when we call them in for meetings.

**Interviewer:**

So how have the tourists supported, besides the fee of the slum tour?

**Juliette:**

Some tourists have sponsored, or some has donated 1000€ (approx..1250\$, Currency on November 13<sup>th</sup> 2014), but it is more about the individual. About the individual going there and interacting.

**Interviewer:**

Talking about support, I was wondering, is there any crafts and makings as such in Smokey Mountain by the community? The reason why I am asking is that I was wondering about the few things tourists could buy during your tours to support the local community.

**Juliette:**

No unfortunately not really, that is why we have those few things in the end. Which is made by some community members working with Sankt Martin.

**Interviewer:**

Yeah I bought a little purse. And, I must say, the school has a really nice view of the slum... quite a picture.

**Juliette:**

Yeah and we have talked about the whole picture policy, I mean you know how it is if tourist can bring camera and take pictures as they please, it is just disrespectful.

**Interviewer:**

Oh yeah, I meant more like it is a nice view from the top, but now talking about pictures, you say disrespectful. which makes me think in a sense of ethics and what is acceptable, is that what you mean? The idea of pictures seems like a quite strict restriction of yours?

**Inna:**

Yes no picture policy. There is also a department in Manila protection children under 18, and we really do not want get in trouble with them and violations. We just want to be safe about it.

**Juliette:**

Not really that they seems to be checking. But its just disrespectful. The pictures we have for commercial use we have gotten a written permission to use.

**Interviewer:**

Okay I see. Also, who joins these tours? A specific type of tourist? Any you target?

**Inna:**

Mostly bag packers, or at least younger join out tours. Or that is what I think. The funny thing is, we sit here, in the office running this, but never really get to meet the people booking the trips, we are just trying to tell based on what they write and how they write. You know if they respond a bit more professionally and in a certain language you can tell they are older as such (she laughs). But no, we don't target a specific target group as such. Whoever wants to join. We have had older people too, I know that. But most of the time young people seems to want to experience something different. Our tours are different because they show Manila, but the other side of Manila. It is a tour everyone can join, I mean it is relevant for everyone. And we would also love to get more Filipinos.

**Interviewer:**

More Filipinos – how so? And why do you think they are not?

**Inna:**

For most part I think they [Filipinos] are not proud of it [the slum]. They are not proud of it, they already know the Philippines is a third world country, it is not necessary to see it. Take me for example, growing up I also heard stories about that area [Tondo] not being a good area. I was told it was not safe. So I met Juliette because I was studying Photography, and I needed a picture published for a local magazine, and my mom heard about Juliette's work, that's how we met, so I thought I ask Juliette if I could go on a photo tour, and yeah I eventually saw what Juliette is trying to reflect; it is not that bad, the slum is not that bad. I was also told it was not good, and not safe and then you go there and you are like, hmm it was not that bad. I think that is how my friends feel too, they don't want to go, not because they are scared, but they don't need to go, and see no reason. I forgot the term, but there is a physiological term for it... but Filipinos get tired, because we get tired of helping. Because disasters happens every year, and Filipinos help each other. We help our own, and take care of our own. That is also why I think.

**Interviewer:**

Yeah, I see what you mean. I have been very inspired by the Filipino hospitality... (little pause) But yeah, I can see how that gave you perspective.

**Inna:**

Yeah it is very inspiring... It also happens in the slums. Juliette told me this story about a lady in the slum offering her an egg – while Juliette was volunteering in the slum – and the lady was still willing to offer living under these conditions. Juliette was like, 'you don't really have anything and still you are sharing with me'. I mean, this is what Juliette realized, that feeling she got, and what she wanted to share that and have other people experience that feeling. It is not just a tour – it is the whole experience, what evokes in people are their own feelings, but they are exposed to some really poverty stricken areas, and some of these tourists might want to help themselves one way or another.

**Interviewer:**

Yeah I see, I understand. It is the experience. So how did you end up getting involved?

**Inna:**

Well, my mom told me that the girl working for Juliette was going to stop, and at first I didn't know how I could contribute. But I figured with my photography background I could do the marketing and PR for Smokey Mountain Tours. So this has also kind of turned into my little baby. (Laughs)

When you are here are you going to other islands here in the Philippines, other islands?

.....

From here the conversation went to different more personal conversations. I thanked them both for letting me have this interview and I told them I might context them if I forgot questions asked, and if the needed approval of the written.

.....

### **C. Mabuhay Restop Transcribed Interview**

An interview with Rose Isada Cabrera, when she, her husband and their driver picked me up in their car, to take me to lunch on the 7<sup>th</sup> of August, 2014. Upon meeting we introduced ourselves, then jumped to the backseat with Rose Isada Cabrera. Rose Isada Cabrera came across as a very warm person, who had a big smile. Before I knew it Rose Isada Cabrera started talking about the business they do. I had to find me phone really quick and interrupted her by saying, "can I turn on the Voice Memos (on my phone) to record the conversation". Rose Isada Cabrera smiled and said "sure go ahead" and just continued her conversation. The interview below reflects the about 15 min car drive to the restaurant.

#### **Interview recording begun:**

Rose Isada Cabrera was here going through Gawad Kalinga's brochure of the different phases, while the researcher was trying to get the recording to start. She quickly changed the subject to talk about Mabuhay Restop – her business, which has collaboration and share similar values with GK. She gave me a promotional brochure of Mabuhay Restop (See Appendix J)

#### **Rose Isada Cabrera:**

"Ah okay, so we established a social enterprise, inspired by Gawad Kalinga. I own this – me and my husband own this. It is near the US embassy. I hope to bring you there. Actually, my staff, she is out tourist director, she lives in Smokey Mountain. "

#### **Interviewer:**

"Oh really. She lives there..."

#### **Rose Isada Cabrera:**

"Yeah, she was the one I was thinking about taking you around there. Share with you her experience. She has been with us maybe 5 years now. Her story is an inspiration. You know. So that is what we try to do... I mean the way she started, she was very shy, she could not look at you, you see. She actually grew up in Tacloban. I do not know if you know Tacloban?

#### **Interviewer:**

“Uhm I know it is in the Eastern Visayas, and that was heavily affected by last year’s typhoon. But besides that not much else, sorry.”

**Rose Isada Cabrera:**

“Oh no, that’s good, but she grew up there. And yes you are right that is where the Typhoon last year hit badly [referring to November 6<sup>th</sup> 2013], you know it was all over CNN. It was the most devastated land. But anyway, she is from poor conditions and had her poor problems. I do not know how it is in Denmark but here in the Philippines most people flock to urban cities because there are no opportunities on country side. And that is typical. So that is also her story, coming from country side. Her parents – when she was maybe 3 years old – moved to Manila for a chance of a better life, only to end up living in a slum. And, they ended up on Smokey Mountain. So that is where she grew up. And this is how she tells her story. And it is, yeah, you know. Sad and then yet very hopeful. “

**Interviewer:**

“Hmm, I see. It is sad, I agree, but as you say still a hopeful story to share. But, explain to me again why is it called Smokey Mountain?”

**Rose Isada Cabrera:**

“It’s a garbage dump and because of the methane gas from the rising mountain of garbage. You see. I remember the first time I went there, I couldn’t stand the smell... you know. But for them it is nothing new, they are scavenging the garbage to make a living. So yeah, that is where she grew up. The thing with her is that she is the oldest of 4 but she is the only one with an education. Her parents really worked hard to try and provide education, but it is only her. You see that is really difficult – same genes, same upbringing, same parents, but she was really the only one who took advantage. “

.....

Conversation stopped as the husband asked for where to eat lunch, and they asked me if I had any restrictions or allergies. Talked in Tagalog to the driver before turning to me again.

.....

**Interviewer:**

“So how did she get involved with you and your social enterprise?”

**Rose Isada Cabrera:**

“Okay. So we met her through GK. She came into GK and the holistic development model [Rose trying to find overview of information in brochure]. The is shelter which is one component and the most visible. There is also community organizing, education, activity and environmental protection. But so, these are different programs of GK. It started from Catholic Christian community. It started as an outreach. You have the poor, you have the feel-good and so and so. But the leader of GK really saw this and build on this. It was a youth intervention program, they said even if you have the youth with good opportunities and whatever, they still go back to the same

communities and environment, so if you really want to make a lasting impact you address the root – the root cause. And, for welfare Filipinos, in Filipino culture, they [referring to GK leaders] saw it [the root cause] as the men – it is really the men. The men do not live up to their responsibilities. It is mostly the women than stand up and provide for the families. And, microfinance here is very popular, but you see it is really the women being the ones of focus for these loans.”

**Interviewer:**

“Yeah you are not the only one telling me this. People have highlighted this a few times during my stay here.”

**Rose Isada Cabrera:**

“Yeah, it is really the women who benefit [from micro-loans]. But then of course with Christian teachings. I do not know if you are Christian, but, you know, the father is the shepherd, the provider etc. but if you are not doing that you are not preserving for the family. So Couples For Crisis is really empowering, renewing yourself, renewing your family and renewing society. So, it all started with Couples For Crisis, called CFC, and I was a member then and anyway, the idea was that, I mean, you pray you pray you pray but how do you express your faith through action – and GK was a concrete vehicle for us to express your faith. So back then, it [GW] started 1995, and as I said a youth intervention. We realized, we can really make a lasting impact if we do not address the whole community. And then the idea was, how do we involve the men. We can not use traditional already used methods, we also looked at microfinance etc. So that is where the shelter component really became the core. The shelter is initial element of GK. The way GK works – it is about equity. We work with the local government unit, the landowner who provides the land, we work with partners and sponsors who provide the materials or the money for the materials, we work with local volunteers who work with the communities and get the valuable information, bond with them and build relationships with them and of course we work directly with the community residents. We build relationships - we build trust. The thing is, if you want to be a part of GK you need to agree to put in sweat. A lot of people we work with do not have money, and therefore what they can give is their time and efforts. As a worker you need to put a certain amount of hours into your work to become a part of GK – 800 hours within a specific timeframe I do not remember.”

“Even if you have the money as a sponsor, I mean I used to work in the states, I had GK there. I thinking back then when we started it was 700-1000\$ for a house. I mean so even though you have money to buy that house, who is going to do the work, build the house etc. So that is why when we started this our leaders said, it is not about the money – it is never about the money. The money is a consequence of what you do – it is a necessary consequence of what you do. It is about working together. But it is really about making people care – spreading awareness. So we never really went for the big fundraisers, pass the hat or you know what I mean. So what I would do, for example living in the States would be to involve to tourism aspect – the volunteers. Some times a group for 15-20 people, Americans, would come spend 5 day, 10 days, 13 days here in the Philippines. Typically around 7 days. So we would arrange tours for them. Part of this, of course, is the typical tourism experiences that

you; going to the beach, you go shopping, you go to the nice places, but part of it – significant part of it – which really also becomes the highlight of their experience is spend in the communities. So in either of the programs we. So they could do construction, painting, and whatever. Playing with the kids, stuff like that. They could fall under the educational aspect and do story telling for the kids, workshops.”

**Interviewer:**

“So do you do these tours in the different communities or only specific ones?”

**Rose Isada Cabrera:**

“In the different communities, but they all different and have different things to do. And this is really why I ended up setting this Mabuhay Restop, because I thought if I did more of these kinds of tours more people will get help, more people will appreciate what we are trying to do. So the regular tourist can get to do it. Even if they only have an hour. or half a day we will make sure they get an experience here. We offer unique Filipino tours that explains the story of our people, some in typhoon areas, we have farm tours so we take them to all these places where we have the different communities. And we were thinking, is a GK village really a tourist site, because when you think of tourist spots, this really doesn’t come to mind [Rose laughs] ‘No way spending my money and vacation going to slum’ - you see that is the kind of mindset people have. But, not all. But it is a challenge to make them [tourists] see it differently. Changing their mindsets.”

**Interviewer:**

“Very interesting. I see what you are saying. What I find it very interesting especially with these unique tours you offer at Mabuhay Restop, outside traditional tourism, and what you are say about the tourists and some people’s mindsets, as well as you mentioned ‘not not all’ think like that.”

**Rose Isada Cabrera:**

[Jumps in the conversation again eagerly and laughing]. Yes yes yes, and to me.. you know like why would you go to a mall in the Philippines, you have much better malls all over the world [Rose laughs], and why would you go t a hotel or a casino in the Philippines. You know. So it is about what we really have to offer. It is in our people. In our culture. You need to experience that. “

**Interviewer:**

“So the visitors you get are the mostly like the backpackers and the one’s prepared for the out-of-the-ordinary experiences?”

**Rose Isada Cabrera:**

“Oh no all different kind. They all need to experience our culture and people and that is why we [her and her husband] try to make these tours more accessible to the ordinary tourists. When I lived the States and came to visit the families I always thought we do not have much cultural tourism places, something like that, because we are so colonized. We want to showcase Filipino culture in our tours in our shows, artworks and merchandise, even merchandise come from our [GK] communities. So for me, if you only have a couple of hours, at least come to the shops, this will at



least give you a glimpse of what we do, our culture and people. And people who have done these tours – even only been here 3-4 days – when they are leaving they are crying, they feel like they are family, you know and I think ‘you only know this people a week ago’ [Rose laughs again].”

**Interviewer:**

“Yeah [laughing along with Rose]. It sounds like the tourist get engaged through these tours.”

**Rose Isada Cabrera:**

“Yeah yeah really engaged. Oh my, we already arrived. Sorry I have been talking to much again. [Rose laughs]“

.....

Conversation stopped as driver interrupted telling us that we have arrived at the restaurant.

From here we chitchatted for a little. Asking me about my stay here, and what I wanted to eat. Rose Isada Cabrera husband started joking that there was a Noma restaurant (The Danish Restaurant – best in the world) we could go to. Very friendly conversation started here and more informal conversation while eating, which was not recorded.

They invited me to a talk for a GW event at one of the Manila’s most prestige schools, which they where attending after lunch. They asked me if I wanted to give a talk about what I do and where I have travelled to inspire the young students.

.....

## **D. Futkal Transcribed Interviews**

### ***Interview 1 (15-08-2014), Conducted while driving to practice.***

**Interviewer:**

How do you make a living of Futkal, you mentioned the other day the parents do not pay for their soccer practice?

**Peter:**

We have partners and sponsors who support. There is a budget for every training sessions. Everything is included, it also how much we are going to spend on transportation etc. Even the house we are staying in now is also paid for by the sponsors.

**Interviewer:**

So how many employees are included in this budget, because I know you also have a team in Tondo.

**Peter:**

So whatever is in admin. What we need in man power. Extra coaches. That we get included.

**Interviewer:**

So the sponsor support both projects – here in Bantayan and in Tondo?

**Peter:**

Yes both. Both.

**Interviewer:**

So who are the partners and sponsors if you don't mind me asking, I remember you telling me the municipality in Bantayan is a partner.

**Peter:**

Yes, the municipality is a partner. So we have a funding partner. A program football partner, and we have some development partners, so... Then we also have local partners in the areas. So we all work together to support the projects. That way all angles are covered. Then we also have LBC, the carrier, (a telecommunication carrier) who is a sponsor.

**Interviewer:**

You mentioned Havaianas too yesterday.

**Peter:**

Yes also Havaianas in terms of equipment, slippers like that they are helping out. But with Havaianas it is a Cup thing only, and not year around.

**Interviewer:**

So can you elaborate, how is the structure of your business. You talk about Futkal and Field of Hope for example.

**Peter:**

Yeah so Futkal is the organization. Futkal is the organization. Under the Futkal organization we have two projects running; one is the one in Tondo, and the other is the one here in Bantayan. And, the one here in Bantayan is called 'Field of Hope'. The one in Tondo is called 'Kick for Life'. So these are two different projects, and in each project there are different local social issues. For the project here (Field of Hope) we have post trauma lectures and activities since the tsunami was such a traumatic experience for them [the children].

**Interviewer:**

So who does these lectures?

**Peter:**

That's our Futkal partner – a football NGO from Israel. They have come two us for two weeks seminars to teach how to cope with trauma.

**Interviewer:**

So this is the newest project, yeah, and when did it start?

**Peter:**

It started in March [2014]. The one in Tondo has been running for 5 years now. So the project and community now I just manage them – equipment, salaries, wages and all of that comes from the budget given by the partners and sponsors.

**Interviewer:**

So basically your focus is on Field of Hope now, where as your team is taking care of the one in Tondo now.

**Peter:**

Yes, yes. I hope in like after 1 year, whatever I did in Tondo for 5 years can be done here in 1 year.

**Interviewer:**

So you started this on your own, right?

**Peter:**

Yes. It started in 2006 on my own. In 2008 it got recognized and we made a project in Tondo. A friend of mine helped me out with it and said 'why not make a company out of it, to make it legit.' Before it was just me going out there trying to make a difference for the children.

**Interviewer:**

So what do you do for the children of Tondo? I mean, you say Field of Hope has lectures on trauma based on recent typhoon. But what is the case in Tondo? And, it is located outside the slum in Tondo, correct.

**Peter:**

Well, I mean Tondo is already known as a slum area. But there are a new class of slums. New structures. So we try to deal with that, but not on a daily schedule rather outreach programs. We focus on the community and work with our own community. If you go to the slum area, it is hard for the kids on safety, the environment and them in Tondo they are the people who already – what do you call it – they're now used to NGOs going there, going there building houses for example and then they leave. So a lot of leaving. But no programs really stay, stay for long.

**Interviewer:**

So are you saying it is bad they come in and then leave? I know this is a very rigid question, but do you know what I mean...

**Peter:**

Yes (laughs). The children are used to the giving - giving - giving and taking - taking - taking, and when they leave they need to find another NGO.

**Interviewer:**

So what are you trying to do different?

**Peter:**

Well we provide them access to better education, get them exposed to other communities, other provinces look for avenues where they can have a goal, where they can coach and sometimes we refer them to other football clubs if they are good, and then other clubs can get them, and they can play for them and grow. Also because there is so much recreation and timing, and there are so much kids, and since there is not much good influences happening in these communities that's where Futsal comes in and at least make a day where there are certain hours where kids can

just come and play, and they will be given snacks and refreshments after their practice and play.

.....

Interview finished as we went in for coffee break.

.....

***Interview 2 (16-08-2014), Conducted while driving from Bantayan Island.***

**Interviewer:**

So what does the future look like for Futkal? Are you trying to expand further into our locations... or? And, explain to me a bit more about your thoughts with the voluntourists for the future.

**Peter:**

Yeap yeah... A goal is and hopefully the children that graduate from the program, want to stay in the our projects and coach, more pay, more jobs and just spread the game. Because here it is mainly only the rich who plays, it is not really spread out to the masses, so that is one of our objectives too, to bring out the game, to join people in football schools, and football jobs. Maybe here on good levels you can pay a fee, like most clubs do. Of course this is not possible for the underprivileged, but we are trying to find ways to expand football. We hope and goal is for the kids to be scouted by better schools. Our goal is that at least 70% or 80% of our kids that graduate get into better education.

The other focus and importance for the future is our continued focus on tourists. Tourist will be continue to be a great asset to the organization, and goal is to have a fully developed voluntourist program. A platform where tourists and residents can meet, and grow. Tourists will learn about our communities, our culture and people, they will get to be active and participate in the organization's daily operations improve the livelihood of the children through futbol. We do not expect people can play futbol, but have the heart to have fun and learn the game, and its effects on the children. This way the tourists get to help, support and improve the lives of many, while also having fun themselves. Besides this the tourists can plan their own trip, I mean Bantayan Island is a beautiful island of beautiful beaches. There is a strong Filipino culture in the sense of communities where the tourists will be welcomed with open arms. A perfect way to experience the Philippines, if you ask me.

.....

Peter talking with the employee, Maxx, in Tagalog, and trying to navigate his way around... And then continued the conversation.

.....

**Peter:**

We have the possibility to support these voluntourists with the accommodation because we have our house on the beach. It will be combining the wish of the tourists with our projects.

... When thinking about it, this project [Field of Hope] really has its blessings. I mean a lot of things just fell into place. For example Miss J [the local volunteers] who contacted us if we needed volunteer at a perfect timing. Also in middle of some of our planning, I was going through finances and saw we might go short of money for this year, we all of a sudden got extra funding from FIFA, who is also one of our funding

partners. We were like, wow. So yeah this project has really had its blessings. Take the balls also, our indestructible balls, because the balls are usually the ones that cost a lot during the year, they wear them down and are broken. But these indestructible they last a lifetime (laughing). And, we were given 150 of them, and then we have another 100 coming. It was the international director of, One World Futbol, she visited the project - she came with us. She was here in Cebu, and I posted her, she met some of the people, visited the project, met the kids. And, she like the program and she was like 'hey I'll give you some balls (laughing). It was awesome.

**Interviewer:**

Yeah wow. I must say.

.....

We came to the bridge where we had to go on the ferry, so we ended the interview here.

.....

## E. Futkal, Organizational Material

### **Background:**

Started 2006 Futkal (short for *Futbol sa Kalye*). Is a recreational game, an alternative football program (community youth based), an organization that promotes football for social development and a lifestyle that advocates the beautiful game.

Futkal is an avenue to create awareness and use football as a mirror of life. A way to empower, engage and enlighten the youth. A catalyst for positive change.

*Kalye* or street is a symbol of equality, an avenue where everybody is welcome to gather together without any barriers just fair play. A platform for unity.

### **Facets of FUTKAL**

#### **Futkal Organization**

The Futkal is an organisation that uses football as a tool for social development. Targeting urban poor communities and provinces where social issues and vast recreational time are addressed through futbol programs and activities.

The organization focuses on the youth to help them get through the daily grind of life by simply applying the discipline of futbol. The goal is to open up opportunities (educational, financial, etc) for them to have a better-life and a good future.

#### **Futkal Game:**

Futkal short for “futbol sa kalye” is the Filipino version of street soccer. A local recreational game that harnesses the skills of the player. A game that can be played by anyone and anywhere (as long as you don't cause nuisance to the environment).

A ball, 2 markers (as a goal) space to run and dribble and a friend who can be a team mate or a challenger. The game is more on the fun side and camaraderie. There is no formal rules but simple guidelines and agreements (FairPlay).

#### **Futkalero Program:**

A community based youth futbol program that integrates music and arts in its activities. Through regular trainings, seminars and workshops the development is inside and out.

The Futkal program the kids gets to learn and understand the discipline and essence of the game applying some of the lessons they learn into their live's.

#### **Field of Hope Project:**

The Field of Hope project is a community futbol program targeting youth survivors ages 8-14 to help cope with PTSD. Its objective is to create futbol activities, workshops, and seminars that will help not only the kid but also unite members of the community creating a healthy fundamentally sound futbol ecosystem where the child can be safe and nourishly grow. The goal is to take away the negative memories of the kid and nourish it with positive experiences through football paving the way for a better tomorrow and helping them cope with post-trauma effects.

## F. Futkal, Voluntourist Material

### The voluntourist

A person who spends time travelling around the world volunteering for a charitable cause. A person who wants not only to see the good but do the good deed as well. A change-maker ready to explore the world and make a difference.

That's how I would describe our guest [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] was referred to me by our common friend [REDACTED] to see the Tondo community and experience the Field of Hope project in Bantayan island. Definitely an impact player as [REDACTED] immediately made [REDACTED] presence felt with all the kids and the community members. In return, we offered some local hospitality a taste of local recreational games and showed [REDACTED] around the island.

This is also a scenario for future tourists visiting.

Maraming salami [REDACTED] for your time and smiles, for your game with the kids, and your appetite for eating anytime. Your inputs and suggestions will open the doors to more volunteers and voluntourists!

*Peter Amores.*

Founder of Futkal  
The "Field of Hope" and "Kick For Life" Projects

## G. Excerpts of Researcher's Writings

### 1st Aug – A Statement of Concern From A Local Resident

Worked a little on preparing for slum tour. Still felt quite let-lagged. Stayed in and tried to get in a good routine.

I asked [REDACTED] if he wished to join me for tomorrow's slum tour. I could just email and book for an extra person. At first [REDACTED] seemed to considered it. At least what I thought. However, with a second thought, he might have been trying to find an excuse. He started telling me he was not feeling all to well. I later followed up, and asked if he wanted to join, because then I had to email the company. He then replied: "I am sorry, I am not comfortable with that. My mom always told me about that place, and I do not see what it would do. Sorry".

### 12<sup>th</sup> Aug – Police Escort to the original Smokey Mountain

Today I went to the original Smokey Mountain – escorted by the police. This was something organized by [REDACTED]. When [REDACTED] told me he had arranged a tour to Smokey Mountain I was stoked. However, this was an experience with mixed feelings all together.

First I was very surprised to learn that Smokey Mountain is green, a place where plants, grass and trees grow. This stands in contrast to previous experiences of slums, which is usually experienced as dry red dirt or brown mud. [REDACTED] in the beginning seemed quite uncomfortable about whole situation, and kept grabbing my

arm to pull me closer – as if something dangerous was about to happen. Later [REDACTED] seemed to have relaxed.

I knew (as I was told) that this was a place where people aren't typically allowed to enter, but I was surprised to learn that there are guards around protecting it. Which seems in contrast to the insecurities of other experienced slums. I was told by [REDACTED] that this area now is private land, and it is protected with guards as no new dwellers are allowed to settle. There are still people living there, which seemed like they have for decades. These people we apparently allowed to stay, the problem was new dwellers, hence the guards.

The children all seemed eager to say hi, and all ran up to me just like I have experienced in the new Smokey Mountain and in Kibera. However, the first time a child ran towards me one of the police officers reacted quickly by stepping in front of me and shouting at the kid, to make him leave, which to me seemed vigorous. I mean, it was just a kid. A kid just wanted to say hi and had a big smile from ear to ear. The police made a gesture for the child to turn around and leave, and at once the smile disappeared and the child seemed scared. Impulsively I reached out to the police officer and said 'no no, it is okay – it is okay'. The police officer stepped aside and shouted back at the little boy who turned around. The police officer said nothing but gave a gesture of what to me seemed as a gesture of 'it is okay'. I walked towards the boy, and he took a couple of steps towards me and then stood still. When I was close I sat down in squat and pulled my backpack in front. I mean, I just wanted to give the boy a lollipop, ones of which I had bought thousands of, for that very purpose of giving it out while walking around. I had seen kids in the streets of Manila from time to time having a lollipop in their mouth, so I thought this was a good idea. The boy reached out, with a big smile while turning around and shouting something at the kids in the background. I asked [REDACTED] what the boy said, and he laughed and replied: "You might get the whole village now, he just said the white girl has candy". We all laughed. This in some way seemed as an icebreaker as all of a sudden a whole bunch of kids came running, of all ages. Some parents (or guardians) also came out together with their youngest ones. This way I also got in contact with other dwellers than the children (which always seems the easiest). The slum dwellers didn't seem to be bothered by my presence, rather being very warm and welcoming. Some of the adults thanked me and some asked 'where you from?'. Most of the young people and adults just thanked me, nodded their heads and/or blessed me.

Eventhough I could have spent all day with these people the police kept telling me we had to move on. I asked [REDACTED] to help me explain the dwellers that we had rice, beverages etc. to be given out later, and they should come. The children started laughing at each other, because the lollipops were coloring their tongues, thus pointing at each other and laughing. Made me laugh. Their hearts so warm and innocent and their living conditions so poor. The smile they could get from a lollipop melted my heart. I wish it would have been possible for me to enter Smokey Mountain without an escort, and I am even wondering if I could, then give the guard at the entrance a payment in same way we had to the police?

I felt weird by the treatment from the police – both towards me and residents... I mean, I understand why, I know we paid them to escort us, but I was not looking for protection, only access.

When arriving at the school and medical facility all the kids, nurses and daycare employees were all waiting. I started carrying the boxes and bags of food and beverages from the car to the location, and intentionally thought people would



handle it themselves, but I was instructed to hand out the food, water and drinks. Again I felt odd, I mean, here I was sitting giving it all out like some kind of god, where all were standing in one line and each kid came and took what I gave them, smiled and thanked me. I understand the gratitude and respect, but I felt uncomfortable being 'this white woman who decided who got what'. I remember I felt the same way in Kibera when I had donated stuff to the preschool (books, pencils, jump ropes etc). The kids were instructed to stand in a straight line and collect when it was their turn. To me it felt weird, but I regard it as a form of discipline and respect for what is giving to you. Nevertheless, with the rice and water I told [REDACTED] I thought it was better if they all just came with a bowl and picked rice and took water, and I would give the sweets, juice etc to the kids. This made me feel more comfortable and equal with the people being surrounded with.

When I stood up and looked around, everyone was standing around chit-chatting, enjoying the snacks and all had some to bring home to household. Some kids took my hand and said, 'basket basket'. Referring to me playing basketball with them. I laughed and told them I am horrible at the game, but I agreed to play around – just for a little bit until the police told me it was time to go. We jumped in the car, again with police in front and behind us, when we hit the main road the police just waved and turned off the next road.

### **14<sup>th</sup> Aug - Futkal**

4-hour trip to Bantayan (incl. 1-hour ferry).

Peter and [REDACTED] had a meeting at the mayor's assistant in the afternoon. I was allowed to join, Peter thought it might be good for an understanding into what they do.

Practice football in the Sillon community and the children, at 5pm. Upon arrival the children were already running around playing, and laughing. The volunteer was also there when we arrived. She was getting things ready; water, snacks etc. The children were very interested in my presence; started staring, giggling, and pointing.

I was observing, and trying to walk around documenting the event; pictures and filming. This caught the attention of the kids who got very interested in my camera; starting posing in front of camera to have me taking pictures. Making hand-gestures to 'look at this' and would do some tricks with the ball. The children would then run to me, to view the pictures I had taken – they started laughing loudly at each other. The camera somehow broke the ice, and opened up for more informal interaction. The staff did not seem to mind me 'taking away' the children's attention – they all just smiled at me, and sometimes laughing when the children would act foolish in front of the camera. Seemed like entertaining the kids were the essence of it all.

Some of the children would at times grab my hand to have me join in the practice. The staff would also make hand gestures for me to join in. Making me feel very welcome and appreciated, and 'a part of it all'.

Most of the children were playing around in their flip-flops and the hard sand field. It was such a different picture for me - I used to play on grass with my boots on. Some kids had boots too, some of the children that had been giving these, or shirts. These were things sponsored to Peter, which he had given to the kids. He explained to me, that they didn't use to have this many kids, so a lot of the children were still missing proper shoes and outfit.

There did not seem to be any problems with this. No kid seemed to mind who was wearing what. No 'class difference' were felt.

The children loosened up fast, and an informal environment between the children and me developed quickly. Knowing that the children had gone through a lot, and more than any kid should, I found it wonderful to see these children run around playing and having fun, without worrying.

### **15<sup>th</sup> Aug - Futkal**

Stayed at organization's beach house. Boat trip to Virgin Island, this was a spot Peter said was usually on the itinerary for tourists visiting. Beautiful private little island. Spent a couple of hours here, mingling with the staff, playing some soccer and enjoying the sun. Sailed back, went to the house to get ready for soccer practice.

Soccer practice again with the children, at 5pm. The children arrived one by one, heading to practice by foot, coming straight from school. The kids ran over to me and started shooting the ball at me. I felt I had known these kids for a long time, they even started shouting my name, as well as I knew a bunch of their names. I tried to sneak in the background for a while, to investigate a bit from the outside, and see how a 'normal practice' would look like. The staff seemed very passionate about their work, and it was clear they all loved the game, and spending time with the kids. Seeing the joy in the staff's eyes is something I don't see too often – they just seemed truly happy about their job, what they do and had fun doing it. Like a hobby combined with a job – a lifestyle almost.

We went back to the house, where one of the staff prepared a barbeque. All staff and I enjoyed dinner and I was told I was experiencing the traditional Filipino food, and hospitality and social life. This was a really nice evening. Peter explained to me that the culture social evenings were one of the things they had been complimented for by the tourists visiting. He told me, that this evening was similar to evenings they would have with tourists, as it made the tourists become part of the team, learn about the Filipino culture, customs and social life, and not only the project, or laying on a beach. The staff was very open and friendly, many smiles and shared many jokes. Also, karaoke was something I had to witness, it was fun but they never had me convinced to sing. It almost seemed like second nature for them to sing. Good evening.

### **16<sup>th</sup> Aug - Futkal**

Practice with the children, at 9am. Even though it was a Saturday, all kids still seemed to show up. Was a 'quicker' practice than the other days, as we had to drive back to Cebu at 10am. The children, just as yesterday, were all excited to play. I remember the joy of going to practice as a child myself. I could see the joy in their eyes. To see the impact soccer has on the children in the community is incredible – it had an impact on me too. The feeling of doing something good, or being part of something good.

Peter explained to the kids I would not be coming to the practice anymore, and that all kids had to run over to me, give me a big hug and a high five. I was overwhelmed. The kids were wonderful. Such love. No sad faces. The children were weeping as we drove off, some running after the car being all silly.

Off kids going through such traumatic experience, I did not at one point see any sad faces. No child being left in the corner. Only saw friendships, joy and kids being kids, having fun.

Drove to Cebu at 10am (4-hour trip). Had lunch with Peter. Flew back to Manila at 7pm.

## H. Futkal – Photographs

*The boy dribbling around with ball*



*Children posing in front of camera*





## I. Police Escort – Photographs

Original Smokey Mountain – Barangay in front



Original Smokey Mountain – Police in front



## Researcher's distribution to the community



## J. Mabuhay Restop – The Social Tours

Excerpt from promotional material provided by Rose Isada Cabrera.

### UNIQUE TOURS

#### Eye-opening Social TOURS:

- i. *Voluntourism Kalinga Tours* – voluntourism tours that offer a totally different Philippine travel experience by taking visitors not just to beautiful tourist spots, but also to Gawad Kalinga villages, where they can see how Filipinos are transforming the nation, one community at a time.
- ii. *Enchantment Tours* – be enchanted by the GK Enchanted Farm in Angat, Bulacan, and enjoy the Philippine countryside with fun and meaningful activities that Mabuhay Restop has put together.

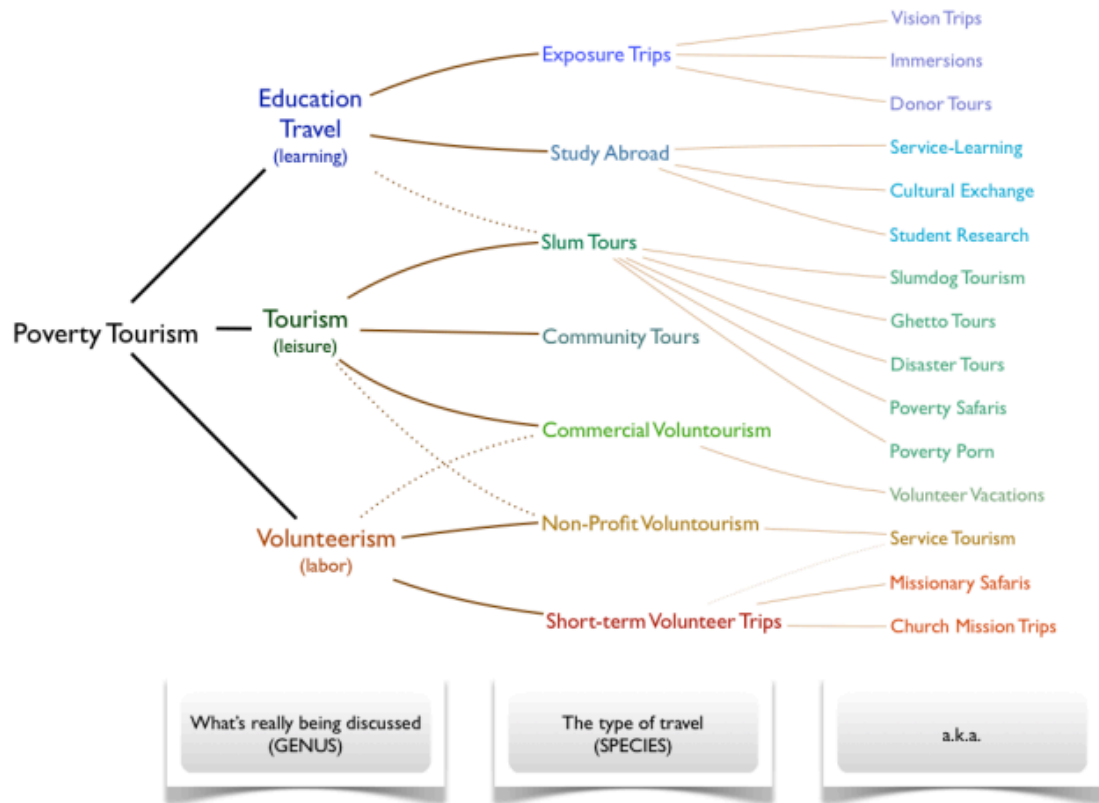
There are also historical tours within the city of Manila such as the:

- iii. *Bayan Tour* – a patriotic educational tour in Rizal Park for visitors who wish to learn more about the Philippines (our country), the Filipino (our people), and “Bayanihan” (our culture).
- iv. *Bambike Eco Tours* – a unique bike tour around Rizal Park and Intramuros using the Bamboo Bike.



## Figures

Figure 1: “Poverty Tourism Taxonomy 2.0”



Source: Ausland, A. (2010)

Figure 2: "Slumming In This Town"

## SLUMMING IN THIS TOWN

### *A FASHIONABLE LONDON MANIA REACHES NEW-YORK.*

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

"Slumming," the latest fashionable idiosyncrasy in London—i. e., the visiting of the slums of the great city by parties of ladies and gentlemen for sightseeing—is mildly practiced here by our foreign visitors by a tour of the Bowery, winding up with a visit to an opium joint or Harry Hill's. It is no secret in certain circles that shortly before she left Mrs. Langtry and a party of friends made a nocturnal tour of the east side resorts in the Bowery. It is safe to conclude under the circumstances that "slumming" will become a form of fashionable dissipation this Winter among our belles, as our foreign cousins will always be ready to lead the way. The London "slumming" has brought to the notice of the rich much suffering, and led to many sanitary reforms. The old

Source: The New York Times (Sept. 14th, 1884).

Figure 3. "Slum Tourism in the Global South"



Source: Steinbrink, M. (2014).



## Tables

**Table 1. Comparative Overview, Slum Tour Operators**

	<b>Organizations &amp; Countries</b>			
<b>Tour Info</b>	<b>SMT</b>	<b>KT</b>	<b>EKT</b>	<b>KUFET</b>
<b>Tour duration</b>	3-4 hours	3-4 hours	3-4 hours	3-4 hours
<b>Price</b>	750 PHP (16\$ 09-12-14)	2500 KS (28\$ 09-12-14)	2500 KS (28\$ 09-12-14)	2500 KS (28\$ 09-12-14)
<b>Founder and Slum guide</b>	Founder: Dutch. Slum guides are slum dwellers	Co-founders: Dutch and Kenyan slum dweller. Slum guides are slum dwellers	Co-founders: American and Kenyan slum dweller. Slum guides are slum dwellers	Founder is Kenyan and the founder is also the slum guide
<b>Tour participants</b>	Joined with other tourists (3 people)	Private tour (2 people)	Private tour (2 people)	Private tour (2 people)
<b>Tour composition</b>	By foot	By foot	By foot	By foot
<b>Photography policy</b>	Rules were: No pictures policy	Rules were: Pictures allowed when approved by guide	Rules were: Pictures allowed when approved by guide	More loosely regarded, but pictures allowed when approved by guide
<b>Exploitation &amp; voyeurism</b>	Author regarded no sense of exploitation	Author regarded no sense of exploitation	Author regarded no sense of exploitation	Author regarded no sense of exploitation
<b>Home visits</b>	Yes – guide's own home (to collect boots)	Yes – guide's mom's home (to handle payment), and one other slum home	Yes – guide's own home (to show a real slum home)	Yes – guide's own home and two other slum homes (to reflect slum life of different people)
<b>Pro-poor aspects</b>	100% slum tour income donated to school/church in Smokey Mountain. Limited possibility to support local i.e. craftsmen	Visited two empowerment projects, possibility of support local craftsmen directly. House visits opened up for potential sponsorships	Visited two empowerment projects, possibility of support local craftsmen directly. House visits opened up for potential sponsorships	Visited two empowerment projects, possibility of support local craftsmen directly. House visits opened up for potential sponsorships
<b>Voluntourism</b>	Not reflected	Emphasized	Emphasized	Emphasized

<b>Educational components</b>	Tourists learn about the life in the slum based on what guide explains	Tourists learn about the life in the slum based on what guide explains	Tourists learn about the life in the slum based on what guide explains	Tourists learn about the life in the slum based on what guide explains and interaction with residents
<b>Interaction/ participation</b>	Limited and controlled	Limited and controlled	Emphasized but still limited and controlled	Made possible by guide, not controlled

Source: Own illustration