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Tourism and slums: A study about Favela
Santa Marta and the role of the Pacification
Police Units in Rio de Janeiro

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to examine the production of urban space within the context of fomenting tourism, linked with the history of public safety policies of the city of Rio de Janeiro, particularly the Pacification Police Units (UPPs). As a case study, we will present an analysis of the development of tourism in Favela Santa Marta, located in the district of Botafogo, in the southern zone of Rio de Janeiro, after the Pacification Police Unit was implemented there in 2008. It was the first community in the city to receive a UPP, which were created to regain territorial control of the favelas. This paper will also present the effects of tourism in relation to the integration of favelas into the formal city. The ultimate goal is to reflect on possible planning strategies, linked to tourism and public safety policies and their impact on this unique kind of environment.

Keywords: Tourism; Safety; Conflict; Favela; UPP.

Introduction

Tourism is a complex and transformational phenomenon. Over time, it has built a network of sectors that are dependent upon it. Tourism is a vital contributor to the global economy, especially in many developing countries. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), the tourism industry, in 2008, was responsible for 9.6% of global gross domestic product and accounts for approximately 8% of the world's jobs.

In Brazil, Rio de Janeiro is a pivotal state for promoting tourism in the country. The city itself is the one most visited by international tourists. According to data from 1999 and 2000, tourism in Brazil grew by 91%, while in the city of Rio de Janeiro this activity expanded by 104%.

In 2010, data from the Brazilian Tourism Company (EMBRATUR) indicated that Rio de Janeiro is the country's most visited city, when the purpose of the trip is leisure. These figures are expected to rise even more, bearing in mind that the city will be hosting two major sporting events, the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016.

Although Rio de Janeiro receives many tourists from around the globe, data indicates that the city of Rio is one of the most violent in the world, with a high mortality rate caused by urban violence, mainly affecting young men and the population living in informal low-income communities. A unique feature of the city is the proximity between these communities and traditional middle and upper class neighborhoods, making urban conflicts stand out even more.

In an effort to prepare the city for these two international mega events, the main focus of the public safety policy of the State of Rio de Janeiro has been the implementation of specific police operations in different shantytowns dominated by drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro. In December 2008, the Pacification Police Units (UPPs) started being implanted in these communities. One of their purposes is to create a "security cushion" in the vicinities where these sports events will be taking place. What would be ideal is that the installation of the UPPs in Rio's favelas could result in the renewal, inclusion and integration of these shantytowns into the formal city.

The investments slotted for the two sports events that will occur have the potential to transform the city and its population. The projects submitted for the World Cup and Olympics include urban, economic, social and environmental regeneration.

Rio's shantytowns have always been the focus of a more exotic type of tourism, but due to the violence in these communities, they have not been part of the traditional tourist circuit. After the deployment of the UPPs, the number of visitors to the favelas started to increase, largely foreigners. This is already having an effect on these communities and local residents.

This study, therefore, endeavors to explore how tourism has helped integrate the favelas into the formal city, using Favela Santa Marta as a case study, which received the first Pacification Police Unit in Rio de Janeiro in 2008. It will also analyze the effects of this new public safety policy in Rio de Janeiro and its relationship with this integration process and the encouragement of tourism.

The Growth of Slums in Contemporary Cities

The world has urbanized even faster than was predicted by the Club of Rome in its 1972 report, "Limits of Growth". According to Mike Davis, in *Planet of Slums* (2006), data from the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Urbanization Prospects*, showed that, in 1950, there were 86 cities in the world with over one million inhabitants. Today, this number has risen to approximately 400 and studies indicate that, in 2015, there will be at least 550 cities in the world with over one million people. Thus, cities have absorbed nearly two-thirds of the world's population explosion since 1950.

Cities do not stop growing, and along with this growth, the rates of urban violence also go up. Studies show that within the next five years more than half the world's population will be subjected to some sort of crime. There are a number of reasons for this increase in crime rates, which, in turn, intensifies urban conflicts, the most common being: racial discrimination, socioeconomic inequalities and illegal activities.

In developing countries, including Brazil, there has been an increase in urban violence in both informal and formal areas of cities. These urban conflicts are often a result of processes of exclusion and spatial segregation. The violence is taking on social, economic and cultural characteristics, and its effects are being felt in a striking fashion. An example of this is the progressive abandonment of public spaces, which in turn generates urban lifestyle changes and leads to the increasing confinement of the population to places considered to be safe.

Thus, instead of being constructed out of glass and steel, as earlier generations of urbanists had envisioned, the cities of the future tend to be built, overall, with exposed bricks, straw, recycled plastic, cement blocks and scrap wood. Instead of cities of light hurtling upwards, much of the urban world of the 21st century settles down in squalor, surrounded by pollution, excrement and decay. In fact, the world's one billion urban dwellers living in postmodern slums can even look with envy, for example, upon the ruins of the sturdy mud homes of Çatal Huyuk, in Anatólia, built at the dawn of urban life nine thousand years ago. (DAVIS, 2006, p. 29 & 30)

Brief History of the Slums in Rio de Janeiro

The emergence of the slum as a form of urban settlement in Rio de Janeiro is linked to the housing crisis of the 19th century and political crises such as the Armed Revolt (1894-1895) and the War of Canudos (1896-1897). According to Mauricio Abreu, the occupation of the Santo Antônio and Providência hills was by order of the government, to house soldiers returning from these military campaigns.

In 1927, urbanist Alfred Agache developed a Remodeling Plan of the nation's capital, which at that time was Rio de Janeiro. The Agache Plan, which was not put into practice, sought to transform Rio de Janeiro into a monumental-type city. It was the first official document that addressed the issue of slums. In the Plan, slums were viewed as a social and aesthetic problem, where the only solution would be to eradicate them.

In 1937, the Building Code of the city recognizes the slums and contains the first public policy that deals with them. The Code proposed the elimination of the slums, prohibiting the construction of new residences and improving those already in existence.

During the 1940s, there was a significant growth of slums in Rio de Janeiro. The census of 1948 indicated a total of 138,837 inhabitants in 105 slums, mostly in the southern part of the city.

Lillian Vaz (1998) points out that “the 1940s and 50s, as well as the decades that followed, witnessed metropolitan expansion and the formation of poor outlying suburbs”. Strong pressure existed at the time to remove the slums. Many low-income residents were obliged to move to increasingly distant suburbs, where the number of these subdivisions was increasing.

The construction of housing developments was associated with the removal of the slums in the 1960s and 70s. During this time, most slum dwellers were moved to distant settlements. For the most part, these areas did not have stores or a public transportation system that would enable people to travel. Most of the areas which had been stripped of slums were taken over by real estate developments for luxury apartments.

It was also during the 1960s and 70s that military dictatorships in different countries declared war on the slums, which were seen as centers of resistance or simply as impediments to making urban areas more bourgeois.

The beginning of the military period was characterized by an authoritarian attitude, with the obligatory removal of illegal settlements, with the help of law enforcement agencies. Under the pretense of the threat posed by a tiny hub of urban Marxist guerrillas, the military razed eighty slums and expelled almost 140,000 poor people from the hills overlooking Rio. With the financial support of U.S. organizations, more slums were demolished to make room for indus-

trial expansion and real estate growth in the higher income areas with their aesthetic requirements. According to Davis, “the dictatorship ignited conflicts between bourgeois neighborhoods and the favelas, and between the police and slum youth, which continue to rage three decades later” (DAVIS, 2006, p. 115).

In 1992, the Master Plan formulated for the city of Rio de Janeiro established some parameters, such as including the favelas on city maps and records, and efforts were launched to integrate the slums into the neighborhoods of Rio.

From 1994 to 2000, the Favela-Neighborhood program of the City of Rio de Janeiro sought to integrate the favelas into the rest of the city through works involving urbanization, sanitation and access to urban facilities and furniture. The program represented a major change in public policies with respect to the favelas, but their results were limited by several factors, including the presence and activities of armed criminal groups in these areas.

Due to feeling ignored by the state government, the residents from these areas were obliged to create their own rules. The consequence of this neglect was the emergence of groups outside the control of the State which dominated these areas and contributed to the increase in the informal nature of these communities, together with a growth in violence. The latter was caused by armed drug traffickers. The violence spilled over from the slums and began to disturb many actors from society, once again thrusting the favelas back into the spotlight, both nationally and internationally, in view of the city's bid to host the Olympic Games.

In 2008, the federal government launched a program for urban intervention in certain Rio communities, called the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) for favelas. That same year, in December, the first Pacification Police Unit was installed in the Santa Marta favela, which serves as the case study for this article.

One can note a shift in the State's approach to the problem of the favelas over the past few years. Initially, the proposed solution was to simply remove these settlements, but nowadays it's possible to think in terms of how to integrate these areas into the city and provide decent living conditions for the residents of these communities.

Favela Santa Marta

The community of Santa Marta is located in the Botafogo district in the south zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro and is approximately 54,692 m² in size. It currently has nearly 4,800 residents and 1,370 homes. Its boundaries are well-defined and provide little opportunity for territorial expansion. On one side, the Funicular Railway establishes a physical boundary; on the other side of the favela, a wall was built in 2009, supposedly to protect the remaining native vegetation. Expansion, therefore, occurs via greater housing density and vertical growth, with buildings containing up to five floors.

Its history dates back to the 17th century to Father Clemente Martins de Matos who owned the land on the hill. Its occupation began with workers who built the chapel and expanded the Santo Inácio College, belonging to the Jesuits, located on São Clemente Street in the neighborhood of Botafogo.

Since the construction work lasted nearly 30 years, it provided local residents with jobs for a long time and they lived there in peace. Later, the housing boom in the area of Copacabana and along the Botafogo waterfront generated more construction work and employment for the local residents.

In the 1980s, armed drug traffickers settled in the community due to various factors and actions at the national and state level.

In May 2008, the Funicular Railway was inaugurated, facilitating the lives of local residents who needed to climb 1,300 steps to reach the top of the favela. That same year, the favela was brought under control with the installation of the Pacification Police Unit (UPP), freeing the community of the drug traffickers.

Also in 2008, the favela started benefiting from the State Urban Development Program, through which infrastructure projects were undertaken, including sewage, drainage and water distribution networks. Other works included: improvements in the road system, paving of public areas, construction of the second section of the funicular railway, slope retention works, construction of housing units and improvements made to existing ones. The works were stopped in 2010, due to the concentrated efforts of the state government to assist areas devastated by the heavy rains in the State of Rio de Janeiro.

In early 2012, the Vice-Governor and Infrastructure Coordinator of the state, Luiz Fernando Pezão, went to Santa Marta to announce the resumption, after two years, of the favela's urban development projects. The amount released was R\$ 8.1 million. The state Works Department, through the State Public Works Company (EMOP), plans to build 64 housing units, which will be allocated to residents living in risk areas, and 225 residences will receive improvements. There also plans to build a community center for social initiatives and conduct reforestation in areas ravaged by illegal occupations¹.

Public Safety Policy in Rio de Janeiro

Pacification Police Units – ‘UPP’

The particular way in which the favelas and illegally occupied areas in Rio de Janeiro are distributed is quite different from other large cities, in that they are conspicuously located in the downtown and south zone of the city, amid neigh-

1. Source: Website of the NGO: Visão da Favela Brasil. Available at:

<<http://www.visaodafavelabrasil.com.br/lancamento-da-reurbanizacao-do-morro-santa-marta-17122012>>. Accessed in July 2012.

borhoods with high property values. For many years, the slums grew and were incorporated into the city's landscape. As the lucrative drug trafficking trade grew, these informal urban spaces became extremely closed and increasingly segregated from the formal city, even though, space-wise, they permeated the heart of the city itself.

With the emergence of armed factions, abetted by the large-scale corruption of institutions which should have been responsible for public safety, the slums formed their own parallel power structure, where the government did not intervene and city residents tried to stay far from them. This turned into a vicious cycle. The government did not invest in urban infrastructure improvements because of the violence and the supposed impossibility of entering these territories, which, as a result, caused the violence and segregation to increase.

The state's latest public safety policy, under the direction of José Mariano Beltrame, was based on the principle that a divided city should, in turn, have two separate policies, which were: the Pacification Police Units in the favelas, and the lowering of rates of violence in the formal city, through the Public Safety Integrated Regions policy. The latter is based on the division of the city into sectors coordinated by Military Police battalions, with goals and rewards for reducing the levels of violence in each of these sectors.

The main objective of the UPPs is the control of territory. The rationale behind the UPP policy clearly reveals the state's concern to provide the necessary conditions to enable the city of Rio de Janeiro to prepare for hosting the future mega sports events, and the operation has already commenced in the South Zone, in the favela which serves as the case study for this article. The decision to start with Santa Marta was due to different factors, including the need for this first intervention to be successful, which would be facilitated by the smaller size of the territory and low number of entrances and exits – in addition, of course, to the visibility and special location of this hill.

It is a policy with a defined methodology that can be implemented in other locations further down the line (such as the West Zone and Baixada Fluminense), and there is a decree which establishes that this policy will be in effect until at least 2016. Another strategy of this policy entails deploying newly-trained Military Police officers in the UPPs, who are not connected to the networks of corruption.

These public safety policies also include investments in improving the Military Police, which is admittedly problematic among law enforcement agencies in Rio de Janeiro, in addition to implementing a more efficient information system, educational training and changes in the course hours and curriculum of the Military Police Academies. It is understood that the police force needs to be less violent, less “prepared for war” and better trained to provide services to citizens. It remains to be seen whether these measures alone will be sufficient to modify an institution structured on the basis of such opposing pillars.

Setting up the UPP in Santa Marta has brought benefits, such as different investments in infrastructure, housing and improved access to the community and public spaces, such as those already mentioned in this article, as part of the State Urban Development Program. Furthermore, institutions operating in the community are growing and getting stronger, such as technical schools and NGOs. As a result of these changes – opening up the territory to visitors and residents from the formal city, as well as government involvement – electricity and water services are regularized, for example, taxes and fees are increasingly paid, and, as would be expected, there is greater interest in the potential of the community and property values.

There have been some protests and complaints by residents regarding the performance of the UPP in the community. Many have claimed that these police also act with undue violence and authority. However, given the current political context of Rio de Janeiro, it seems it would be more beneficial to foster another kind of attitude on the part of residents, related to renewing the community, enhancing its cultural value and opening it up to tourism.

Tourism in Rio de Janeiro

The city of Rio de Janeiro has natural attributes which confer upon it a place of prominence both nationally and internationally. “The scenic beauty of the shore of Guanabara Bay, combined with Rio de Janeiro’s role as a capital, were important factors in the transformation of the city into a kind of showcase for Brazil” (LESSA, 2000). Although the city is a destination of tourists from around the world, it faces serious problems, including socio-spatial segregation and urban conflicts. If these issues are not resolved, they could jeopardize the city’s tourist industry.

Santa Marta: touristic and pacified favela²

Favela Santa Marta has received, particularly over the last ten years, a number of social and cultural projects and served as a stage for events that unite the community and residents from surrounding neighborhoods. Several factors have contributed to the favela’s popularity in this regard: its prime location, with easy access via one of the main roads in Botafogo, São Clemente Street; its proximity to downtown and the neighborhoods of the South Zone; its relatively small size, with well-established borders; and its pioneer role in implementing the policy of the Pacification Police Units (UPPs), which has increased the sense of safety in the community.

2. This section presents excerpts from the dissertation project of the author Fernanda Caixeta Carvalho, which may be better elaborated upon in the future, as the research unfolds.

An example of this type of project is *Agência Olhares*, an offshoot of the *Olhares do Morro* association, a project initiated in 2002 in the Santa Marta favela. It was created for the purpose of forming a network of correspondents who would be taking photos in their communities, serving as a base for a future alternative agency with the means to respond internationally to the demand for images of Rio de Janeiro, and whose collection could be accessed on the Internet. The goal was that they become professional photographers, not just “young people partaking of a social project”. From 2002 to 2006, it carried on its activities in Santa Marta. However, the gradual professionalization of the young people and the participation of youth from several other favelas (Rocinha, Vidigal and Pereira) made it necessary to establish closer ties with the market and open a studio in a more accessible location for customers, collectors and photo editors (since the hill had not yet been pacified). The headquarters moved to the Lapa district, likewise with the goal to win young people and get them involved. The *Olhares do Morro* association has not been operating since 2008, but they are working on the best way to reopen and, especially, to finance new activities³.

There are other projects such as a jazz festival, samba, funk week and graffiti art. In turn, the project *Costurando Ideais* encourages local crafts. Recently a project was approved for the return of *Hip-hop Santa Marta*, through the notice *Micro-projects for the Territories of Peace*.

The *Morro de Alegria roda de samba* (session of Samba musicians playing together informally) and *Spanta Nenem bloco de carnaval* (minor carnival parade) are also important cultural expressions today. It began in the early years of the *Bloco*, with the active participation of musicians from the community in the rehearsals and parades. It was strengthened in 2009, with the founding of the *Spanta Neném Music School*, which currently gives music lessons to approximately 100 young people from the community. The school's professors are residents of Santa Marta, which generates income for the community. Also in 2009, the *Spanto Percussion Workshop* was created. As a result, revelers started coming to Santa Marta to take their classes. In turn, *Morro de Alegria*, a *roda de samba* organized by the *Spanta Neném bloco*, which takes place in the court of the samba school of Santa Marta, seeks to further strengthen ties between the *bloco*, its revelers and sponsors, the community of Santa Marta, residents and the Samba School⁴.

Another standard event is *Por do Santa*, a *roda de samba* that happens every first Saturday of the month at the Michael Jackson Terrace, which served as the setting for the singer to record a clip in 1995. The Terrace, which belongs to Dona Raimunda's house, and which was reformed by a TV program, is one of the main tourist attractions in the community, as well as the lookout, located near Estrada das Paineiras. Other groups and carnival *blocos*, such as *Samba de*

3. Available at: <<http://www.olharesdomorro.org/>> e <<http://www.agenciaolhares.com/>>. Accessed in July 2012.

4. Available at: <<http://www.spantanenem.com.br/morro-de-alegria/santa-marta.html>>. Accessed in July 2012.

Santa Clara, Me Esquece, Vagalume, Imaginô? Agora Amassa! and *A Rocha*, usually hold parties in the favela's court. Different parties that used to take place in the South Zone of the city have also started renting the venue, which has boosted its image as an attractive location. The cultural Lajão, owned by one of the local guides, is also a space that is rented out for events, but these have been directed more toward the community itself. It's important to note that the first events cited above are not frequented much by the residents themselves, since their prices are not very affordable. You could say that they are events primarily targeting the public from the South Zone of the city.

Some residents, upon noticing the increasing number of touristic visits to their community, conducted by different agencies geared mainly to foreign audiences, decided to organize themselves and also offer the service in a more authentic manner and in line with the expectations of tourists. This gave rise to Santa Marta Favela Tour, which publicizes its activities through a blog on the Internet and offers its services to those who arrive in the community on their own. There are four local guides who provide this service, among them Thiago Firmino, a resident who took the Tourism Monitor course from the Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation, and Gilson Fumaça, accredited by EMBRATUR. They conduct daily tours, and there is also a version with an overnight stay. If requested, there are sporting activities, such as downhill biking (the cyclist takes the favela's elevator to station 5, proceeds to the UPP and rides downhill from there). The route is 2,700 meters long and ends in Assunção Street in Botafogo. They also organize paintball matches, on a field with an extraordinary view of Christ the Redeemer and Lagoa Rodrigo de Freitas.

Following are items from the price list:

“Get to know the community and all its local history (Without a Bilingual Guide) = R\$ 30 per person. Favela Tour + Bilingual Guide = R\$ 60 per person. Get to know the community + Dona Marta Lookout Trail = R\$ 50 per person. Get to know the community + Dona Marta Lookout Trail + Lunch (drinks apart) = R\$ 60 per person. Dona Marta Lookout Trail (trail only) = R\$ 20 per person. Lodgings in the Favela = R\$ 50 daily rate per person”⁵.

There is a clear price difference compared with the visits conducted by tourist agencies. Among the main agencies that offer the excursion to Santa Marta, preliminary price surveys indicated rates of R\$ 95 per person, for the Jeep Tour⁶, which has its own guide and says there are no stops for eating or shopping in the community. Rio Adventure⁷, whose website only contains information in English, charges R\$ 90 to R\$ 120 for the excursion, which lasts three hours and promises a visit to the home of a local family as well as the street market.

5. SANTA MARTA FAVELA TOUR. Available at: <<http://www.favelasantamartatour.blogspot.com/>>. Accessed in July 2012.

6. JEEP TOUR. Available at: <<http://www.jeeptour.com.br>>. Accessed in July 2012.

7. RIO ADVENTURE. Available at: <<http://favela-tours.rioadventures.com>>. Accessed in July 2012.

In preparation for a new wave of tourists (after the pacification, the number rose to around 200 per day), the State Government launched the *Rio Top Tour* program in Santa Marta. As a result of this initiative, information panels were set up in the community and training was given to local tourist guides and monitors. The pilot project, launched in August 2010, also involves the inclusion of residents as tourism entrepreneurs. Its approach is based on valuing the local culture and enhancing the self-esteem of favela residents.

Now that the community has been pacified, the State Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation is launching some projects to prepare residents and new merchants for this social inclusion tourism project. The project involves various government sectors and has the support of the Ministry of Tourism, in addition to partnerships with *Investe Rio* (State Government development agency) for getting lines of credit for merchants. It also works with SEBRAE to help pinpoint economic activities and provide job training. The Rio City Hall will be responsible for logistical support in terms of garbage collection, slope retention works and issuance of permits for residents who wish to participate in the program.

The project for training residents and merchants will be done through a local tourism workshop, with 50 free places. Plans also include: a micro-credit program, ranging from R\$ 300 to R\$ 6,000 per business; placement of bilingual tourist signage; tourism publicity; informational panels scattered throughout the community; installation of information booths in Corumbá Square; guidance for bilingual trainees and residents who will be attending the workshop on entrepreneurship offered by SEBRAE.

After the training, the State Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation will confer the Friend of the Tourist seal, indicating that the local resident participated in the project and fulfills the quality standards to engage in tourism, either as a guide or merchant. Morro da Providência is the next community that will benefit from the *Rio Top Tour* project. There are also plans to implement the program in the communities of Chapéu Mangueira/Babilônia, Pavão Pavãozinho/Cantagalo, Tabajaras/Cabritos, Borel and Cidade de Deus. However, according to the blog of the project itself, there are complaints that the project has not unfolded as planned, since funds that were promised have not yet been released, in part due to recent scandals in the portfolio of the Ministry of Tourism.

Final Considerations

Positive changes can be noted as a result of implementing the UPP (Pacification Police Unit) in Santa Maria, such as the recent urban interventions aiming at improving infrastructure, as well as access to housing and the strengthening of social and cultural projects targeting the social inclusion of the community's residents.

It is undeniable that the backdrop for some of these improvement incentives is the intent to promote tourism in Rio's favelas, parallel to what has been done throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro, since tourism is viewed as an appealing strategy to attract investments and resources. The opening up of these vulnerable areas to national and international tourism also serves as a possible solution to the problem which has been lack of control over these territories, which on the one hand have been increasing in value, but, at the same time, represent a risk to the wealthy and attractive part of the "marvelous city". The perspective now is one of better control over the city, enhanced property values and potential investments of different types. Tourism is a key activity in these processes.

It's obvious that the presence of the UPP in Santa Marta has facilitated the development of tourism in the favela, as well as in other communities where UPPs have recently been set up, such as Morro da Providência and Complexo do Alemão. However, these changes should be constantly and carefully monitored from a critical perspective, since they tend to contribute to wealth accumulation and gentrification processes. While tourism has the means to positively transform a region, it can also usher in irreversible damage to the life of a community where it develops.

Preliminary research data was presented here, which still needs to be further developed. We recognize that the integration of the favelas into the formal city, through tourism, can be an effective tool for the restructuring of socially and economically vulnerable communities. However, it is crucial to bear in mind that increased tourism should be accompanied by a plan that provides the necessary support to the community experiencing the effects of this tourism, in order to fully reap its potential. The participation and organization of residents should also be encouraged, so that they can exercise their rights as citizens in the choices related to the future of their city.

It is important that the community engages in tourism in its territory in accordance with its wishes and expectations, seeking political empowerment, in order to avoid the negative effects generated by tourism. The Rio Top Tour Program has a good outlook in this regard. In its respect for the principles of Community-Based Tourism, it presents planning initiatives and actions that demonstrate its intention to contribute to community development. If it is able to neutralize and overcome the effects of the commercialization of its space and the confrontation between cultures and disparate interests, protecting the

community from this risk, as would appear to be the intention of the coordinators, then it could be considered a very positive intervention. However, it is a work which is still in the implementation stages, and as this process unfolds it will be necessary to perform close and careful monitoring and, above all, empower residents, who have been submerged in a history of strong oppression, and provide them with opportunities to participate.

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