

Poor, Tense, But Sexy: Tourism in Complexo do Alemão, Rio de Janeiro

Emily LeBaron and Fabian Frenzel

Summary

Despite the recent establishment of permanent UPPs (*Unidades do Policia Pacificadora*, or Pacification Police Units) overall the security situation remains tense in Complexo do Alemão and its neighboring favelas. The drug cartels remain a powerful factor to be reckoned with for both police and local residents. The consequences for the ‘pacification’ and the economic development of the favelas are severe. Residents are wedged in between gangs and police-state attempts of control and hegemony. Despite these problems, large-scale tourism occurs in Complexo do Alemão today mainly because of the cable car (locally called the teleférico) and the telenovela *Salve Jorge*, that lure visitors in. Tourism’s role, its potential and its future development have to be understood in the context of the tense and violent relations and economic and social exclusion that continues to govern favela life.

Numbers provided by cable car operator SuperVia point to 7,000 visitors that come to Complexo do Alemão on a weekend day, while 3,000 visit on weekdays. This is a huge number of visitors when compared with other attractions of Rio. Two main tourism offerings have developed. Guided tours are offered by a variety of local and non-local actors, and the Palmeiras terminal station has developed into a self-service tourism area with food stalls, bars and souvenir shops. Local participation in tourism business is limited but exists, in particular in Palmeiras through bars and restaurants. The tour guiding business is shared between local and other small-scale providers.

The cable car as well as the Palmeiras tourism area offer a fairly easy to use tourism resource. Barriers to entry are very low and not much local knowledge is necessary to provide these offerings. The current smaller operators are under threat from larger tourism companies. Moreover, local tourism is in danger of being crowded out, minimizing the benefits and control over tourism for the local community. Also, simply riding the cable car and visiting Palmeiras leaves tourists with a limited quality experience. A potential exists to maximize tourist experience and benefit for the local economy. Local players like Barraco #55 can play a role in devising tourism development that emphasize cultural and political information, aiding local tour guides and also increase non-monetary benefits for the community.

I. Introduction

A) Overview

Complexo do Alemão is a complex of favelas in Rio de Janeiro’s North Zone stretched over several hills. The official population is given as just under 70,000 in the 2010 census, but some estimate that actual figure might be much higher and reach up to 300,000 inhabitants.

Complexo do Alemão is comprised of 16 subdivisions¹ or smaller areas, each with their own history and culture and neighborhood structure. Each of the favelas have their own governance structure through Residents Associations, and since May 2012, through the newly installed 4 UPP pacification units: 20^a UPP Fazendinha, 21^o UPP Nova Brasília, 22^a UPP Morro do Adeus/ Morro da Baiana, 23^a UPP Morro do Alemão / Pedra do Sapo.

Another four Pacification Units were installed in the same period the neighboring Complexo do Penha. These are called 24^a UPP Morro do Sereno / Morro da Fé, 25^a UPP Morro da Chatuba / Morro da Caixa D'água, 26^o UPP Parque Proletário e 27^a UPP Vila Cruzeiro and sometimes also referred to as Complexo do Alemão UPPs in the media.

B) Recent History and Pacification

The first decade of the 21th century, Complexo do Alemão was one of the most violent favelas in Rio de Janeiro. Partly due to its size and location, different hills were held by different gangs prior to the invasion of police and military in November 2010. There were large-scale military interventions prior to 2010, and in 2007 the so called Massacre of Alemão occurred where over 20 alleged gang members were shot and several children injured. The UN complained about the Brazilian government's violent approach and some compared the situation in Alemão to a low intensity civil war.² Prior to 2010, invasions by the police into Complexo do Alemão were short lived and consisted of punishment of the gangs, rather than attempts to permanently install the state monopoly of violence in the area.

Since the arrival of the UPP in the favela in May 2012, the question of the monopoly of violence and the arrival of the state has not been fully resolved. The gangs are no longer visible but continue to exercise power. A policewoman was killed in 2012³ and shots were fired during the 2013 edition of an otherwise celebrated and peaceful 5k run organized by the NGO AfroReggae.⁴⁵ AfroReggae itself has seen its base in Alemão attacked and so far not reopened the building after it was being shot at in both Complexo do Alemão and in Vila Cruzeiro.

These shootings seemed to appear in response to the death of gang member in a shooting with the police just a few days earlier. In a show of strength, the Comando Vermelho (CV) that used to control the larger part of the neighborhood called for a two-day curfew in the neighborhood which was broadly observed.⁶

For most of the residents, the CV is not gone and might return to more power if the state interest in the favela is declining (for example after the Olympics and World Cup mega-events in which context the pacification is often placed). Residents won't take chances. On this basis

¹ Favela Vida 2013

² Peter Robb in A death in Brazil

³ <http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/police-killed-in-complexo-do-Alemão-upp/>

⁴ <http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/afroreggae-ngo-under-fire-in-rio/>

⁵ <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/afroreggae-tem-pousada-atingida-por-tiros-no-mesmo-dia-da-reabertura-da-ong-no-Alemão-9297747>

⁶ <http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/gunfire-highlights-security-concerns-in-Alemão/>

cooperation with the police is minimal, despite some other reports in the media. Generally the atmosphere and the relations between police installed and the population is tense. The police appears as ever present but does not look approachable. Hand guns, also large automatic weapons are broadly displayed. If young boys used to dream of becoming a gangster, they do not now seem to dream of becoming a policeman.

In the context of the recent protests as well as ongoing anti-gang operations, the police is still accused of being overly trigger happy in the favelas. For example, during a protest in the neighboring favela Maré in July 2013, ten residents were killed by police bullets.⁷ The case of the missing bricklayer and Rocinha resident Amarildo made more headlines. The man was arrested by police in 2013 on charges of being involved in or knowledge of drug trafficking. The police cannot account for his body and it is assumed that he was tortured and killed by police officers who subsequently disposed of his body. Amnesty International pointed out that 233 people died after police interventions in Rio State in the first half of 2013 alone. Over 3,500 people went missing in the same period. For Amnesty, the Brazilian police conducts torture and killings regularly and with impunity.^{8 9}

In unique developments in Brazil, Rocinha UPP officers have recently been charged for the killing of Amarildo, seemingly putting an end to the impunity in which Brazilian police violates human rights of people living in favelas and the poor. The case remains open but protests around it and the general attention of the public point to the importance of this case for justice and human rights in Brazil.¹⁰

This autumn, as well, an 18-year-old boy was killed in a police station in a neighboring UPP Manguinhos, where a UPP was established as recently as January 2013. In late October 2013, residents protested against police violence outside the UPP where the boy was allegedly tortured and killed, which led to another shooting of two young protesters with live ammunition. Subsequently there were firefights and increased tension, which spread past the boundaries of Manguinhos and even to neighboring Complexo do Alemão.¹¹¹²¹³

In early November 2013, a police officer was killed in Complexo da Penha during a patrol while two other were severely injured. In response, BOPE conducted a raid on the area,

⁷ <http://www.demotix.com/news/2218790/residents-complexo-da-mar-protest-deaths-10-slum-dwellers#media-2218772>

⁸ (Rio Times October 29th 2013)

⁹ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/07/brazil-rio-missing_n_4059580.html

¹⁰ <http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/new-reports-on-amarildo-case-emerge/>

¹¹ <http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2013/10/19/rio-de-janeiro-cops-beat-to-death-an-18-year-old-boy/>

¹² <http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/cidades,jovem-morre-apos-perseguido-policia-em-favela-pacificada-na-zona-norte-do-rj,1086905,0.htm>

¹³ <http://odia.ig.com.br/noticia/rio-de-janeiro/2013-10-18/morte-de-rapaz-em-manguinhos-meu-filho-sempre-recebia-ameacas.html>

leading to nightlong exchanges of fire.¹⁴ Similar problems occur frequently in Rocinha in the South Zone.¹⁵

Overall, the security situation remains tense in Complexo do Alemão and its neighboring favelas. The gangs remain a powerful force to be reckoned with for both police and local residents. In the ongoing conflict, the police remains tense and distrusting towards residents. Allegations of killings and torture of suspects by the UPP means that residents do not see the police as trustworthy, rather they increasingly portray them as a separate criminal gang; ‘*Comando Azul*’ graffiti has spread throughout pacified favelas as a sign of mistrust of the police units. It refers to the fact that those police units are wearing blue (*azul*) and links them to the Comando Vermelho, the drug cartel whose power they have in practice tried to replace.

The consequences for the ‘pacification’ and the economic development of the favelas are severe. Residents are wedged in between gangs and police-state attempts of control and hegemony. In this context it is astonishing that large-scale tourism occurs in Complexo do Alemão. Its role, its potential and its future development have to be understood in the context of the tense and violent relations that continue to dominate favela life in the main of the pacified favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

II. General Situation of Tourism in Alemão

A) Overview

While it might seem astonishing that tourists enter Complexo do Alemão at all, two structural factors are key to understand Alemão’s tourism wave: the construction of a cable car, following the example of the Colombian city of Medellin, and the role of Complexo do Alemão in the telenovela *Salve Jorge*, broadcasted in Brazil in winter 2012/2013.¹⁶

The telenovela was the first to take place in a favela principally and made some contribution to the way favelas are understood and seen in the Brazilian mainstream society. The effect of *Salve Jorge* needs to be further analyzed as research is underway. One peculiar effect of the series was a boost of tourism of Brazilians to favelas, and in particular to Complexo do Alemão, something that was nearly absent before. Given the current tensions between police and residents, the main plot line, which involved a love story between an occupying police officer and a young favela girl, seems like wishful thinking or plain ideology at work. The telenovela also featured human trafficking and the vulnerability of poor girls from the favela to be drawn into it. The effect of such narratives could be felt in favelas like the small and much visited South Zone Santa Marta, where in recent years fear has grown among residents about the true motives of foreign tourists.

¹⁴ <http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/cidades,policial-morre-baleado-em-frente-a-sede-de-upp-no-complexo-do-Alemão,1092807,0.htm>

¹⁵ <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/na-rocinha-no-Alemão-pelo-menos-tres-tiroteios-assustaram-moradores-10674660>

¹⁶ <http://tvq.globo.com/novelas/salve-jorge/index.html>

Different than most South Zone Favelas, which are mostly visited by foreigners, Complexo do Alemão has a very significant number of Brazilian tourists. More recent figures from the operator of the cable car, SuperVia, give only a partial indication of the number of Brazilian tourists among the overall visitor numbers but our observations during the low season for international tourists (September-November) point to a significantly larger proportion of Brazilian tourists (both from Rio and other Brazilian cities) than international visitors.

The ticketing and pricing gives some indication of tourism numbers. Currently the cable car operates on a three ticket system. Residents of Complexo do Alemão can use the car for free twice a day, to enable a normal commute. SuperVia, the operating company, claims that 20,000 residents have registered for that. Like all Rio residents (or Cariocas), they can do all further rides at 1 Real per ride, if they are in possession of one of the prepaid integrated travel passes for the Rio area like Riocard, Bilhete Único or Cartão Expresso. Without these cards, a single ride costs 5 Reais, a price geared to tourists and other occasional users. The tickets are partially integrated with the SuperVia suburban train service for which integrated tickets can be purchased. But there are - like in other Rio transport - no daily, weekly or monthly passes. Every journey is individually charged.

As of May 2013, SuperVia estimated a daily use of 12,000 people of the cable car which is about 50% of its capacity. On weekends, 60% of users were buying the more expensive 5 Reais tickets for single rides, but on weekdays this number drops to about 30%. SuperVia estimates that the 7,000 people who buy the 5 Reais tickets can all be considered visitors. This has led to the claim that the Complexo do Alemão cable car receives more tourists than the cable car to Sugar Loaf Mountain (5,000-6,000 per day) and the Christ the Redeemer Statue (4,500 a day). But figures must be considered with care. For example, not all residents have or regularly buy the prepaid Riocard, Bilhete Único or Cartão Expresso and might end up having to spend 5 Reais for the trip. Also, the figures don't explain whether they have considered the fact that each visitor is likely to take a round trip, buying two tickets. Overall visitor numbers would have to be halved in that case. But on the other hand, many Carioca tourists might use their prepaid cards for the cheaper ride and this would push visitor numbers up.^{17 18 19}

B) Existing Tourist Offerings

In November 2013, the tourism landscape of Complexo do Alemão centered around Visita Guiada (guided cable car tours), a few main local companies/operators, and some external operators (small scale, including taxi drivers from the South Zone).

B) i. Visita Guiada

¹⁷ <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/teleferico-do-Alemão-bate-icone-do-rio-em-numero-de-visitantes-8433461>

¹⁸ <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2013/09/1345693-moradores-questionam-instalacao-de-teleferico-na-rocinha-na-zona-sul-do-rio.shtml>

¹⁹ <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2013/nov/04/rio-de-janeiro-brazil-favela-tourism>

Visita Guiada came together in February 2013, as a joint venture of local NGO Bom Fruto and the Copacabana-based tourism company Alameda Rio Turismo. This collaboration was later adopted by SuperVia and their stand was established in Bonsucesso station. Alameda Rio Turismo is directed by businessman Ronaldo Malta, but while Alameda continues, Visita Guiada folded at the end of October 2013.²⁰ When questioned about his future plans, Malta said he is planning a new concept with SuperVia to offer tours from Central Station. But his partners at Bom Fruto said they planned a new concept as well, starting from a new, smaller stall in the reception area of Bonsucesso station. Both claimed to further cooperate with SuperVia.

Bom Fruto with Ceinha as director has played a central role in the beginning of tourism at Alemão. She offered tours early on, and then received funding from the city council and the state (through the social PAC, or *Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento*) for the training of local tour guides. This training was free for 140 participants and included trainings in tourism and English and French. Although officially over 60 participants successfully finished the course, some claim it really only were four. The reasons stated were lack of employment prospects on the side of participants who dropped out, and lack of engagement from the teachers who did not fully participate.

Bom Fruto and Alameda Rio Turismo then started the joint venture Visita Guiada with brand and advertising, employing mostly local tour guides that came from the training. The company offered two tours, one short tour where a guide went with tourists on the ride and took them around Palmeiras station priced at 29 Reais (including 10 Reais for the round trip cable car) per person. The second tour on offer was a walking tour between stations, taking in different parts of the favela, as well as a round trip on the cable car, traded at 59 Reais.

The tour guides were employed on full time contracts earning a fixed wage of 800 Reais per month. There was a small commission on each tour conducted (5 Reais). The location of the selling booth in Bonsucesso station was somewhat inconvenient, as arriving tourists would not see the booth before they bought tickets to the cable car or entered it through the turnstiles. The guides had to 'catch' the tourists away from their booth.

The future of these tours is currently unclear but it is clear that limited revenue and economic success has led to the closure of the Bonsucesso booth of the company. The previously employed tour guides have been made redundant. Bom Fruto director Ceinha has been talking about a new project with a booth next to the ticket counter at Bonsucesso station. The tour guides would now be employed on minimum wage and earn more commission from each tour they do. Details of the deal remain unclear at the time of writing.

B) ii. Turismo No Alemão

Independent of these developments, a tourism entrepreneur from Bahia State, Cleber, has set up Turismo no Alemão as a distinct brand with Facebook presence and increasing coverage in national and international media. With the trademark '*Fui Alemão*' (I went to Alemão), he

²⁰ http://www.alamedario.com.br/page_ingles/experiencias.htm

sells cups and t-shirts as well as other products. He also offers tours that can be prearranged through his webpage. Prices are not clearly advertised. He relies on a network of Rio-based official tourist guides. These are, however, not local guides. Cleber has expressed interest in working with local guides and is a main competitor for Ceinha.

B) iii. Palmeiras Self-service Market

Up around the top of the last hill of Palmeiras station, there are very impressive views of the whole of Alemão. Here, a veritable tourism market has developed over the last twelve months. Stalls sell artisan products, poetry, t-shirts and other products. The stalls can be rented from the Resident Association for about 20 Reais a month (Ellen). There is also a range of bars and restaurants, popcorn sellers and other little traders. On weekends, the Palmeiras area normally becomes very busy with music playing and large numbers of tourists arriving and staying for a drink or food. The food stalls also serve the local UPP Fazendinha headquarters, placed right next to the tourist market and cable car station.

B) iv. Tours from the Rest of Rio

A least one tour is being traded from Santa Teresa neighborhood at 100 Reais, which includes transport from Central Station and optionally includes a visit to an NGO in Alemão. The set up of the tour is simple, advertised in English to the international market, with some flyers and a little placard in the shop. It does show the potential of Alemão's cable car to attract international tourists.

Various taxi drivers seem to offer tours and enable tours. They often arrive with large or small groups and take the cable car and then show them around Palmeiras. It shows that the cable car as well as the Palmeiras tourism area offer a fairly easy to use tourism resource. Barriers to entry are very low and not much local knowledge is necessary to provide these offerings. But simply riding the cable car and visiting Palmeiras will leave tourists with a limited quality experience. A potential exists to maximize tourist experience and benefit for the local community by extending tourism offerings beyond what exists. To do so, new tourism offerings must emphasize the unique quality of the area, and offer more and deeper insight into favela life to be able to compete.

III. Current Benefits and Threats

A) Benefits

The entrance of tourism to Complexo do Alemão is quite recent. The inauguration of the cable car system in July 2011²¹ piqued the interest of many from Rio, elsewhere in Brazil and

²¹ <http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/front-page/gondola-in-complexo-do-Alemão-favelas/>

abroad, and for the first time, people external to the Alemão began to visit in droves. The tourism industry is developing in varied paces, and brings with it a few major benefits to the community. Amongst financial, entrepreneurial, and educational advantages, tourism is also seen as a mediating force between the UPP and the drug traffickers.

New opportunities exist for starting tourism-related companies, including tour guides, restaurants, and a space to sell crafts and artisan goods at the Palmeiras market. These different sectors require a wide range of financial start-up, leaving some more accessible to the local population than others.

The educational aspect of tourism in Alemão is a valuable one. For decades, Complexo do Alemão's negative image has been broadcasted in the media. News reports cover shootings and conflict, while *Salve Jorge* set in Alemão highlights social issues. Aside from Alemão, favelas in general are represented in international television, movies, and news as dangerous, hostile areas. These preconceptions leave little room for tourism, if all is taken literally; however, recent years' improvements to safety and crime (with the 'pacification' campaign) and infrastructure (PAC) are learned and communicated in part through tourism. When tourists come to the favela, they emerge with 'favela' having a completely different meaning than when they entered. These breakthroughs have echoes and ripples outside of the favelas, when the tourists return to the *asfalto* Rio, Sao Paulo, or wherever else in the world they travelled from. In this way, tourism is helping to redefine the favela in the geographical imagination, which has and will continue to have significant effects on the stigmatization and discrimination that many residents face today.

The last major benefit of tourism in Alemão is that many residents feel it acts as a mediating force between the Pacification police (UPP) and the traffic. As most favelas have historically seen little to no accountability for violence by the traffic or the police, tourism brings a much needed departure from this trend. Tourists provide constant but fluid visibility and accountability, necessitating a less violent and safer environment for those that live in Alemão. In addition, for some individuals who have started working as tour guides, guiding foreigners through the favela can be an act of resistance against the occupying police forces, and a means by which to reclaim their rights to their neighborhoods which they feel have been compromised.

B) Threats

In Alemão's short tourism lifespan, a few main threats have emerged amongst the benefits. These involve the voyeuristic practices that teleférico-based tourism encourages, the focused development of Palmeiras station (and relative underdevelopment of other areas), and the reinforcement of negative stigma of the favela and residents by some of these current practices.

State support for start-up tourism companies is lacking. Complexo do Alemão is a poor community, making any business venture a difficult task. Assistance from other sources is needed, then, given the importance of tour companies and guides being local. Attempts from the

government have been limited and fleeting: Bom Fruto,²² for example, began as a government-funded course to train tour guides. While 140 students registered in the class, only 4 completed the course (Jessica). Though there has been limited funding for these types of companies, generally there is no reassessment or follow-up once the initial investment is made -- hence the limited success rate.

The most organized and visible tourism company in Alemão, Visita Guiada, until recently has guided tourists on the cable car system. They are in a transitional phase and currently are not in operation. Prior to this, their most common, basic tour took tourists to Palmeiras, the last station, and involved a short walk around outside the station, where a market is set up for tourist consumption with food, drinks, crafts, and souvenirs. The teleférico is a massive draw for tourists in Alemão, and is integral to the current tourism development in many ways. But to some residents, the teleférico-based tours are not unlike the Jeep tours of other favelas such as Rocinha - tourists are removed, sheltered, and gaze at the impoverished neighborhoods from a distance. Though the teleférico is a great tool for increasing mobility to these favelas, both for residents and tourists, tourism through this manner can also serve to perpetuate the disconnect between tourists (external to the favela) and favelados.

The teleférico now costs 5 Reais, each way, for all non-residents, compared to the cost of 2 Reais during its initial year of operation. The relatively high cost for what some see as basic transportation discourages frequent visits, and it is unclear how many tourists come back to Alemão for return visits. Because you must pay every time you leave the station, and there is no day pass or other options for tickets, there is no incentive to explore any other parts of Alemão. Tourists must pay again at Palmeiras, the last station, already – so this emerges as the obvious place to walk around and take in the views. This contributes to focusing all ground-based tourism there.

The development of the tourist market at Palmeiras station has provided a space for many residents living in the area to sell their food or crafts to both tourists and locals. Some of these stalls, however, are run by individuals who live outside of the favela itself. The concentration of booths and restaurants together in one central area provides an efficient space for commercial activity and exchange. At the same time, this concentration discourages tourists from travelling into the favelas, and perpetuates the myth that they are not safe or ‘worth’ experiencing on the ground. Palmeiras is the only station with visible tourism infrastructure and investment, and though it may be convenient to centrally locate it, there remains issues of uneven growth and constructed spaces.

This concentration of infrastructure at Palmeiras also discourages the necessity for hiring a tour guide, leaving many existing companies struggling. It is a self-serve tourist area, with much to explore in a high density. Whereas guides can offer historical information or show tourists areas of Alemão otherwise untraveled, the interest is lacking from the tourists’ side.

In addition, the development at Palmeiras has attracted young children to sell water to tourists, and impoverished individuals to beg for money -- the existence of which is seen

²² <http://redeglobo.globo.com/acao/noticia/2012/11/complexo-do-Alemão-oferece-opportunidades-para-o-turismo.html>

nowhere else in Complexo do Alemão. Though Palmeiras has historically been one of the poorest hills in Alemão (due to its relative inaccessibility), it is now the focus of the largest concentration of tourist infrastructure in Alemão. The issues of children selling water and begging reinforce negative stigmas about the favela as being a place of poverty and need, as it has been presented for decades in Brazilian and international media. Because most tourists only leave the teleférico to walk around the Palmeiras market, its strong development helps to create a distorted image of Alemão, leaving tourists with an inaccurate characterization of the whole favela and potentially favelas in general.

IV. Expectations and Potential Developments of Tourism

A) Potential Threats

Many changes loom on the horizon for the tourism industry in Complexo do Alemão. Development is inevitable, but there exists internal and external threats associated with this. The local tour operators fear the entrance of big, large-scale tourism companies such as Jeep Tour, which would dwarf their operations and return no financial benefit to the community. Since Visita Guiada's future existence is unknown, there is a need for other companies to organize tours in the favela, but only time will tell if those developments are local or become dwarfed by external large-scale companies.

As well, Rocinha, a large favela in the South Zone with an already-established favela tourism industry, is slated to receive a cable car system of their own. Though Rocinha residents are voicing their resistance to this plan through protests²³ and, most recently, a lawsuit in tandem with Complexo do Alemão against the government,²⁴ the plan remains in place. Since Rocinha is much closer to the beaches and tourist hot spots of the South Zone, a cable car system built there would greatly decrease the amount of tourists that would travel to Alemão to see theirs.

Potential threats exist to the local community as well. As tourism develops, there is a risk that property values will increase, creating unaffordability for existing residents. Already since Pacification, staples such as bread and milk have increased in price significantly (Ellen/Eddu), and there is a real concern that these increases will continue to contribute to an inflated cost of living. Another concern is that tourist development in impoverished areas often attracts opportunities for sex tourism, which can exploit the local population. Though there are no signs of that happening yet, it remains a potential future threat.

Another potential threat to a growing tourism industry in Alemão is the entrance of large corporations forcing out local businesses in tourist areas. Itaipava, a Brazilian beer company, already sponsors the last station of the cable car (Palmeiras) and associated market. There are rumors that they plan to build concrete terraces above the local shacks, which would significantly transform the landscape there. Though this may yet be far off in the development

²³ <http://rioonwatch.org/?p=10652>

²⁴ <http://rioonwatch.org/?p=11466>

cycle, threats of international franchises and chain restaurants entering the favelas to cater familiarity to tourists do exist.

B) Expected Benefits

Many of the current benefits stated in the previous section will hopefully grow as tourism develops in Alemão. Educational benefits such as the transformation of the meaning of favela in the geographical imagination can be expected to grow along with volume of visitors. Accountability and visibility in terms of violence and abuses of power by the traffic or police can also be expected to increase as tourism develops. In addition, local pride in one's own neighborhood is thought to be increasing, as outsider interests increase. These three benefits, as they develop, have the potential to bring positive change to the community.

In a more tangible sense, tourism development in Alemão has the potential to bring infrastructural and social investment to many neighborhoods if channeled properly. Though currently, most, if not all, of the tourism investment in Alemão (excluding the cable car itself) is limited to Palmeiras station, opportunities exist to encourage growth in other areas.

V. Recommended Improvements to Tourism

To improve the tourist industry in Complexo do Alemão, emphasis needs to be put on infrastructural improvements, guide companies' development and organization, guide training/language education, and advertising. The development of a walking tour with interspersed highlights would not only diffuse the economic benefits of tourism but also encourage greater integration for tourists with the community.

Visita Guiada until recently has had a stand located at Bonsucesso (the first station of the cable car). Aside from that, no physical infrastructure has existed to promote tours or guides. Since they have closed their doors, there is little to no advertising presence of tour operators in Alemão. A stand at Palmeiras would greatly change this, by allowing tourists to find their own way to the last station (most of whom already do) and then presenting them the option for a guided tour to take them past the obvious market. This would increase interaction and promote travel to other highlights in the favela, diffusing the reach and benefits of tourism.

Complexo do Alemão is blessed with immense cultural talent, from artists to musicians to futbol stars in the making. Future tourism development in Alemão should focus on these points, by partnering with local actors to ensure exposure and also financial benefits from tourists. Experiential tourism such as visiting an artist's studio, watching a youth futbol game, or hearing a concert should be included as options for tours.

Aside from very basic depictions in Google Maps, the area is not mapped. If a tour company could map the area, simply and easy to read, with highlighted landmarks, this would also encourage tourists to venture into the favela and reduce fears of getting lost or other unknowns. Businesses such as cafes and cultural highlights such as galleries and projects could be highlighted as well, aiding in the diffusion of the tourism market.

Online marketing for tourism in Alemão needs to be strengthened and increased. Photos and videos that capture the essence of the neighborhood should be broadcast, highlighting areas that tourists will then seek out when they come to participate in the tour. While currently, many of the local tour guides have Facebook pages in Portuguese, there is a real need for organized websites (with domain names aside from Facebook) with translations available for non-Portuguese speaking tourists.

VI. Role of Barraco #55 in Future Tourism Development

Barraco #55 is a research and arts center located in Alvorada, one of the neighborhoods in Complexo do Alemão. It is in every way a part of the community, and has a rotating program of social and cultural events and classes. These include a weekly Cinemoto (films projected in a nearby square set to music), free language classes, and collaborative music events. The researchers and artists at Barraco #55 combine a compelling mix of creativity and intellectual thought for the benefit of the community, whether it is channeled in the form of programming, large murals, or the transformation of public space.

The current situation offers a lot of potential and Barraco #55 could benefit from helping develop cultural tourism in Complexo do Alemão. It could use tourism revenue to fund particular projects and nurture a tourism that is benefit to the community. Barraco #55 already works to some extent in the tourism sector. By brokering links between locals and international artist and researchers, they effectively help opening the favela to larger audiences and to overcome long held stigmas.

Barraco #55 is in the planning process of transforming a large square from an unofficial trash dump to a productive public space. Through small projects, they are transforming spaces for the benefit of the community. They are also building an artists' studio nearby, and are planning the logistics for the creation of a 'cultural corridor', which would encourage community and tourist involvement. This corridor would feature multimedia, from painting to music, and would be designed as a guided walk to/from the cable car station Palmeiras to Itarare. This corridor would encourage tourists' investment in local community through the sale of art and music. In addition, it would contribute to the transformation of the image of Complexo do Alemão to an area known for culture and creativity, whereas for decades it has been known only for its violence and conflict.

An effective tool to ensure this corridor's success would be a virtual tour recorded and advertised online. This would include highlights of the corridor, and have the option to contact guides. This corridor should also be clearly mapped, with highlights visually expressed, to give the option of a self-guided tour and also remind tourists of the safety (and transparency) of the community. A stand at the Palmeiras market to advertise this corridor would help to present the options to tourists who make it to the last station and want to see more of the community. At currently 20 Reais to rent the booth, it is cheap to set up and could be used for additional purposes (e.g. to market artisan products from the community). Employing local actors to work as guides, as well as to run the various stations of the corridor (selling/displaying artwork, running galleries, showing films, playing music) would benefit the local economy as well.

Web-based advertising is an extremely valuable tool to reach international audiences, and every effort should be made to increase Barraco #55's presence on the web. Websites like Guia Das Favelas²⁵ compile lists of contacts for favelas such as Alemão, highlighting tour contacts, history, best viewpoints, and points of interest. Barraco #55 is included on this site for their weekly film broadcasts, but this should be edited to include the cultural corridor and a culture-based tour as well.

In addition, Barraco #55 could extend its role in tourism by acting as a hub for cultural and political tourism by brokering customized cultural tours. While the 'cultural corridor' seems like the strongest main tour, by cooperating with local guides, Barraco #55 could also use its existing 'brand' and webpage to advertise tours and match interested tourists with appropriate guides depending on their interests. These local tour guides' qualifications and short biographies can be advertised on their website, to give tourists a sense of the variety of foci available. To maximize benefits for the community, tours should also highlight the social and political problems faced by the people living in favelas. These include limited public services, and information about the tensions with security forces, and would provide tourists with the ability to act in solidarity during and after the tour.

These local guides should also set up their own webpages on pages such as:

- <http://www.leaplocal.org/>
- <http://www.toursbylocals.com/>
- <http://www.localguiding.com/?locale=en>

These pages would help increase visibility, especially to international tourists who research tours on the Internet before arriving in Rio. Financially, an arrangement could see Barraco #55 as receiving percentage commissions from the tour guides. Overall pricing needs to be considered (i.e. what is a tour worth, would donation-tip based systems work (as it is not really part of Brazilian culture to give tips)). Currently, tours to Alemão trade on anything between 29 Reais (the now defunct Visita Guiada) to 100 Reais for a tour advertised in Santa Teresa.

²⁵ http://www.guiadasfavelas.com/en/?page_id=1244