The ethics behind Slum Tourism: Kibera study case

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2. INTRODUCTION

As the alternative forms of tourism arise on popularity so does the ethical dilemmas and concerns. Types of tourism such as pro-poor tourism, volunteer-tourism, cultural tourism, township tourism, Favelas Tourism and slum tourism are increasing in demand and more and more are attracting tourist from all over the globe to visit this impoverished areas, where they see the struggles and the way of life of its residents. Although all these types of tourism advertise in a way that appeal to the emotions of the costumer and also emphasize the educational purpose, is it really positive for the communities or is it just poverty exploitation? These and many more questions appear, and in order to get an insight on this topic and get some answers, the final thesis comes very useful.

Furthermore, the pro-poor tourism has become a key element for the economic development of the third world countries (UNWTO, 2011; Ashley & Roe & Goodwin, 2001), but as they are using tourism, not much research is being done about the impact and the ethics of these practices. Some have wondered if this practice sacrifices the dignity of the communities and turns them into zoos' (Gentleman, 2006; Rollings, 2012; Nuwer, 2015), where the tourists from the so-called first world, go and "learn" about being poor.

The deprived and impoverished areas known as slums are becoming a popular attraction and more and more the tours are an important asset for the communities and the destination. Therefore, the main personal concern and that could be considered the prime question is if this typology of tourism is ethical. But again, how could a student of tourism in the other side of the world have a full comprehension on something where the culture, morals and situations are totally dissimilar. Is for this reason that tourism ethics will be studied, and once the big frame on what could be considered to be a good ethical practice will be draft, the next step will be to analyse Kibera, the biggest Slum in Africa.

Therefore, the main aim of this thesis is to analyse how this industry is ethically positioned on this product, how the tourist feel and think about the expected and the received product and what are the residents' opinions on the matter.

Although, it is a grey area to do this research and come out with a simple answer a more profound study will be done to examine what ethics are and how the stakeholders involved perceive the activity, all together will help solving this complicate and delicate question. And again, not having the same cultural background, as the one in Kibera and not fully understanding what they go through, as I haven't experienced it in my own skin, will make it a bit more challenging. Although, not impossible to solve by being respectful and open-minded with their culture.

After having explained the main reasons for choosing this topic, how it will be approached and the difficulties that may be encountered; there's just one thing left to say, enjoy the reading.

3. OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this dissertation is to answer the question: is Slum tourism perceived as an ethical activity?

In order to be able to answer this, an exploratory study of this practice and tourism ethics will be done. To be more precise and to verify the theory, the Slum of Kibera will be selected as a study case.

Therefore, other small goals will be set to help achieve the main objective. These secondary objectives are:

- Analyse Kiberas' Slum, in order to fully comprehend what the reality of the place is. And how it functions.
- Through the testimony of the tourists and the residents see what the perception and the real motivation of this type of tourism and which are the real effects on them.
- By studying this specific company, and its advertisements, comprehend what they sell and how they reach the costumers. Also, how is the relationship with the residents and see if they give back to the community or just they benefit from it.

4. METHODOLOGY

This dissertation is divided into two main parts, the theoretical frame and the study case, which altogether help accomplishing the objectives.

The first one clarifies and explains the concepts on which this dissertation is based on, which are Slum tourism and ethics. The theoretical frame is based on scientific articles and books by professionals and researchers of the sector. This could be considered secondary source of information, as it was impossible to get the information first hand and to have an on the field experience. Whereas the study case is based on the website of Kibera Tours, Trip Advisor reviews and the residents opinions extracted from YouTube and newspapers.

The theoretical frame is divided into two chapters, the study of Slum Tourism and the ethics. This first part is based on the work of Frenzel et al (2015), Steinbrink (2012); Frenzel & Koens (2012); Burgold, Frenzel & Rolfes (2013); and Nisbett (2017). Using these authors as the base of the theory provides a better understanding and contextualization of this phenomenon, which ultimately is useful to have a more concise and precise analysis.

When studying the ethics the main book and the most cited is by Fennell and Malloy (2007) who set the basis of what ethics are and the role it plays in the industry. Although Lovelock and Lovelock (2013), help on the understanding of the role it plays and also set better examples and give a general framework on what are the pros and cons of the ethics and how the industry behaves. Nonetheless, all of this is supported by other authors.

The study case is divided into three parts: the introduction of Kenya and Kibera, the analysis of the data and the comparative analysis. Firstly, the introduction of Kenya was done through statistics of the country extracted from the World Bank Data (https://goo.gl/742gds) and CIA database (https://goo.gl/w4Gvii); which helped to present the country and have a deep understanding about it's current state. Secondly, on the data analysis chapter, different sources of information were

used depending on the stakeholder analysed. For the tour operator perspective the website of Kibera Tours (https://kiberatours.com/) was used, for the visitors point of view the TripAdvisor reviews were utilized; and finally for the residents outlook YouTube videos, newspapers and blog entries were employed. A totality of 94 visitors reviews and 39 residents' perspectives on slum tourism were collected; the sample of the residents is not proportional to the visitors as there is a lack of online appearance from them. Thirdly, for the comparative analysis the results from the previous chapter were used.

The analysis of the data was done through codification; previous to the study a list of factors was made and coded using the alphabet letters. Once having the list, the texts were examined and marked with the specific letter of the factor a particular word or sentence referred to or could have been related to. Later, once the three different stakeholders texts were coded it was transferred into an excel file, which contained the factors, and it was counted how many times an specific factor appeared (found in appendix 1); which, illustrated the more important subjects for each stakeholder and then, each stakeholders view on the factors was explained in detail in the data analysis chapter.

The study case of this dissertation was done through a content analysis, which is a quantitative method; meaning that even though it analyses words and sentences the results are numbers. This method was used as it simplifies the view on each topic and the number of people who relate to a particular factor is easily viewed. Just as it has been explained before it's based on coding the factors, which later are searched, in the text or the videos, for the topic and write down the number of times it appears. This will indicate the importance of the topic, as the more it appears the more importance it will have.

Finally, in the last section of the study case, the comparative analysis, a table was created to simplify the view from each sector on the different factors, previously cited. Afterwards, it was compared and explained, focusing on the differences and the reasons behind the possible perspectives of their attitudes.
Lastly, based on what was learned in the theoretical frame and the results from the analysis, the conclusions were extracted.

5. THEORETICAL FRAME

5.1.   Typologies of tourism

As it has been said in the introduction there are many types of tourism, therefore, in this chapter what will be studied is not only slum but also other kinds of tourism that interact with poor areas.

The different kinds of tourism that interact with the impoverished areas in a greater or smaller extent are: volunteer-tourism, pro-poor tourism, cultural tourism, slum tourism and favelas/township tourism.

Cultural tourism

As Hunziker and Kapf (1941) said more than forty years ago that "there is no tourism without culture", there's always a relationship between the tourist and the local, positive or negative, but undeniably the relationship exists; this is called the cultural effect of tourism (WTO, 1985). Despite of all of them being called cultural, there's a big difference between this relationship and cultural tourism, which as WTO defined (1985:8) "all movements might be included in the definition because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters. This is based on the hypothesis that all movements of persons enrich the individual personality by new information, thoughts and feelings: in other words "travel broadens the mind"." Consequently, culture is not just in the museums, it's everywhere. It is what every society is based on, and that's what the tourist experience when they change locations.

In conclusion, culture is everywhere and is what the tourist experiences during any visit anywhere he/she goes, therefore, slums are included; as they want to see another lifestyle and life conditions. Also, adding to the fact that they are probably visiting these areas in a different country than their own, enhancing the cultural exchange. All of this really makes most of all the types of tourism "cultural tourism".

Volunteer-tourism

The volunteer-tourism or voluntourism according to the Collins Dictionary is a "tourism in which travelers do voluntary work to help communities or the environment they are visiting"(https://goo.gl/FVM4su). Although, Coghlan and Fennell (2009) present a broader definition on the matter; for them this form of tourism consists in the use of the holidays to help and provide any aspect a community might lack such as building restoration, scientific research or environmental reparation; turning this kind of tourism into a sustainable practice. Basically, any kind of volunteer work done to help the local community while on holidays would be considered in this typology of tourism. But is on this article where they cite Broad (2003) and Ellis (2003) who enclose more what it can really be considered voluntourism; it should have the following characteristics: having established days no longer than a month; have public campaigns; accept only costumers who pay for it; focused on what matters to the tourist; be an activity with a real impact and full of other people with the same objectives; provide with manual labour or funds for conservation or development of the host community through their organizations and finally, create new friendships and motive the learning and the improvement of the skills set of the participants.

Thus, the definition and the practice are more strictly defined and it narrows the real exercise of volunteer-tourism. What is fundamental in this practice is the motivation behind it, as it's what differentiates them from other types of tourism. Mainly the volunteer tourist should be guided by altruism as the only reason to perform these activities, not seeking a benefit out of these activities such as to improve the Curriculum Vitae or admiration nor respect.

Pro-poor tourism

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) has gained popularity in the past few years as a way to alleviate poverty in under-developed countries, not only this kind, but also tourism as a whole has become a major player in the economy of developing countries (UNWTO, 2011).

As Ashley & Roe & Goodwin (2001) state the PPT aims to augment the net benefits that the poor get from tourism, reducing poverty with their monetary contributions. PPT is an approach to tourism. This approach seeks to provide more

opportunities for the poor, which include more power in decision-making, improvement in their economy and other livelihood benefits. In this part of the article, the authors explain with great detail why this is necessary nowadays as help for the poor regions. It is not by any means the solution for them, but is a way to better their economy and make them gain some power over their situation.

In the article Ashley, Roe and Goodwin (2001) affirm that this practice is not at the heart of the tourism agenda, but in recent years UNWTO is increasing the importance of this matter and is trying to make it a priority in order to improve the situation of the developing countries. They stress the importance of working with the communities and in a local level.

This approach won't help everybody from the local community but maybe boost the economy in order to improve some parts of the society; it is a tool but it needs to go together with other economic sectors and development plans in order to improve the entire local community.

Slum tourism / township tourism / Favelas tourism

When defining slum tourism two main explanations of the term could be taken into consideration, the first one from the Oxford Dictionary "a squalid and overcrowded urban area inhabited by very poor people" and continuous with " a house or a building unfit for human habitation". On the other hand, the UN Habitat (part of the Unites Nations that studies the urban settlements, and develops methods to control them always considering the environment (UN Habitat, 2003)) defined it as "a heavily populated urban area characterised by substandard housing and squalor".

Both defined the slum as an area with poor building homes, where the residents are faced with scarce living conditions where there is no minimum level of neither hygiene nor health standards. Although, the Oxford one remarks the economical status of the inhabitants and extends it by saying that it's an overpopulated area.

Once having analysed both explanations of the word, Slum could be interpreted as a delimited space found in a bigger city where the density of population for m^2 is very high, where there are no health standards or hygiene and where the housing is precarious. The difference with this and Township or Favelas tourism is their

location. The former is found in South Africa, where coloured people lived during the Apartheid, and the latter is found in Brasil.

All these types of tourism are part of the pro-poor tourism and their main aim is to help improve the life of the residents and show the real conditions of poverty. While voluntourism is a more hands-on approach the slum, has more of an educational approach. Both convert on the cultural tourism making them enriching exchanges, as they learn different ways of life and the real situation of these people, and encounter with all sorts of people with totally different views on life and others subjects, is an enriching exchange.

5.2. Slum Tourism
5.2.1. History

Although Slum Tourism is relatively new, and nowadays there is more research being done about it, this practice has been around for about 150 years (Steinbrink, 2012). It first appeared in the London industrial revolution era, with the rural exodus and immigrations from Ireland, the town grew from one million inhabitants to three million. Such a rapid increase of population could not be faced by the urbanization, which derived into impoverished, unplanned housing, without the minimum health standards nor the proper sewer system. Furthermore, this growth implied that the inhabitants of London didn't know the entire city anymore (Steinbrink, 2012). This improvised solution not only divided the city but society as well. It created what they so called "the other" and an "imaginative geography" of the city appeared (Steinbrink, 2012, p.8). Furthermore, these places known as the "unknown other" (Steinbrink, 2012) where areas that the people feared and were seen as areas of the "physical, social, economic and moral abyss", meaning that all the bad qualities of a society could be found there. London was divided in two sections: East and West, the West being the bourgeois part, whom referred to the East as the "dark continent" (Steinbrink, 2012, p.9), which also referred to Africa the only difference being that one was in the other side of the city and no so distant to explore.

The first people who adventured in these Slums were clergymen, reporters and social workers who ventured into "social expeditions" through the "undiscovered land of the poor" (Steinbrink, 2012, p.9); all of these terms reflect the despicable way the bourgeois considered the Slums and always referred to them with a derogatory connotation. Around this time, the tours to London's East End were done by undercover police officers, journalist and clergy; and it's in this moment when the word "slumming" appears.

The motives behind this tour where not merely economic, as London's society had rigid morals and inflexible social rules, "venturing" into the unknown other was to see and experience places of libidinal liberty (Linder, 2004; seen in Steinbrink, 2012). Not all society was in favour of this practice and two kinds of tourist appeared: one being the "professional or altruist slummer" formed by clergy, social reformers, and the other the "casual or leisure slummer". One wanted to defend the altruistic reasons behind the tour from the ones that at the time were considered to have "filthy motives" (Koven, 2004; seen in Steinbrink, 2012, p.11). Even though, in the second half of the nineteenth century the motives became not so important, and it turned into a leisure-time activity.

It is in the 1180's when slumming made the first appearance in New York. It was brought by "well-to-do tourists from England" (Steinbrink, 2012, p.12), who wanted to compare the differences between London's East End and the poorest areas of New York (Bowery, Five Points…).

The following is a clear example of an article of that time that talked about the Slums and it reveals very quickly the attitude of the English bourgeois: " A quite well-known young English Noble, returning from a tour of the east side the other night with some friends, observed over his brandy and soda:

Ah, this is a great city, but you have no slums like we have. I have been in rickety condemned buildings that it was absolutely dangerous to go through! Found six families living in one miserably ventilated cellar- 24 persons, 10 of them adults, living in one room. No such slums here!" (New York Times, 14 September 1884; seen in Steinbrink, 2012, p.13).

The number of tours increased and it became a more popular activity, resulting in an urban tourist attraction (Cocks, 2001; seen in Steinbrink, 2012). It became a commercialization product, and the range of customers was broadened;

furthermore it started in other big cities of all around the United States such as San Francisco and Chicago, pioneers on having tour companies establishing in those cities to make these tours.

The popularity of this sort of tourism in the United States was due to immigration, generating a very heterogeneous society. In New York there were: Little Italy, Judea Town, Russian Quarter and China town, which created ethno-cultural differences (Steinbrink, 2012) worth visiting. These areas were created as a way to segregate the immigrants from Eastern and Sothern Europe and China, as the locals felt threatened by them and their culture. These new areas of the town became the "ethno-cultural other" (Steinbrink, 2012), which became an exotic, colourful attractions for tourism. It also had a bad impact, as these differences were the reason behind the normalization of racism. Social inequalities became the norm and slums were seen as an "expression of the cultural configuration of a modern American metropolis"(Steinbrink, 2012); not only so, slums became romanticized areas that increased the desire of the tourist to visit these places.

The main difference between the London's East End slum visitors and the New York's Low East Side Manhattan, was the motives behind it; Londoners wanted to experience a site with no moral and liberties but when they move this practice to the United States it became a comparative gaze (Steinbrink, 2012), it stopped being about social reformist matters, it only was about comparing and testifying which one was better. From this point onwards, it became a product and a way to normalise the cultural differences and use them as a way to keep the segregation. In conclusion, during the Victorian era the participants of the tour wanted to experience the licentiousness of the culture, and in USA they wanted to experience the ethnicity aspect of the culture.

Moreover, from the 1990's until today, this movement that seemed gone has reappeared in the countries of the Global South, and it has gone back to the origin state of the practice as the tourist from the Global North visit these impoverished areas in order to experience and learn first hand about the poor; just as happened in the Victorian era. Not only so, but also the big metropolis of the Global North now have again this slum tours but around poor neighbourhoods, it can be found in

New York's Bronx, London's Banglatown, Paris's Banlieues and Berlin's Neuköllin (Burgold & Frenzel & Rolfes, 2013); areas with high percentage of migrants that have a contrast with the rest of the city. It could be said, that this kind of tourism has gone back to their origins.

5.2.2. Characteristics

5.2.2.1.   *Why the popularity of the Slum tourism?*

Since the very beginning the "Slums" have had bad reputation. As an example here it's how the Archbishop of Westminster described it in 1850: " *Close under the Abbey of Westminster there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts, and alleys and slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity and crime, as well as of squalor, wretchedness, and disease; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera; in which swarms of huge and almost countless population, nominally at least, Catholic; haunts of filth, which no sewage committee can reach- dark corners, which no lightning board can brighten"* (Frenzel et al.,2015, p.4); Moreover, this particular Archbishop referred to the slums as the "Devil's Acre". It is fair to say that this bad reputation, as it has been stated in the history chapter, played a big role in popularizing and marginalizing the residents of that place and woke the curiosity of the bourgeois, who venture the "land of the poor" to see "the other" (Steinbrink, 2012; Frenzel et al., 2015) part of the town. Since then, the number of places and people who do this have increased not only in the Northern Countries but also in the Southern Countries, the so-called third world or on development countries, which use this type of tourism as a tool for economic development.

A good visual representation of which and where are the most important slums nowadays is found in the following map; it also shows the amount of visitors each one has and it's represented in a time line when they first appeared.
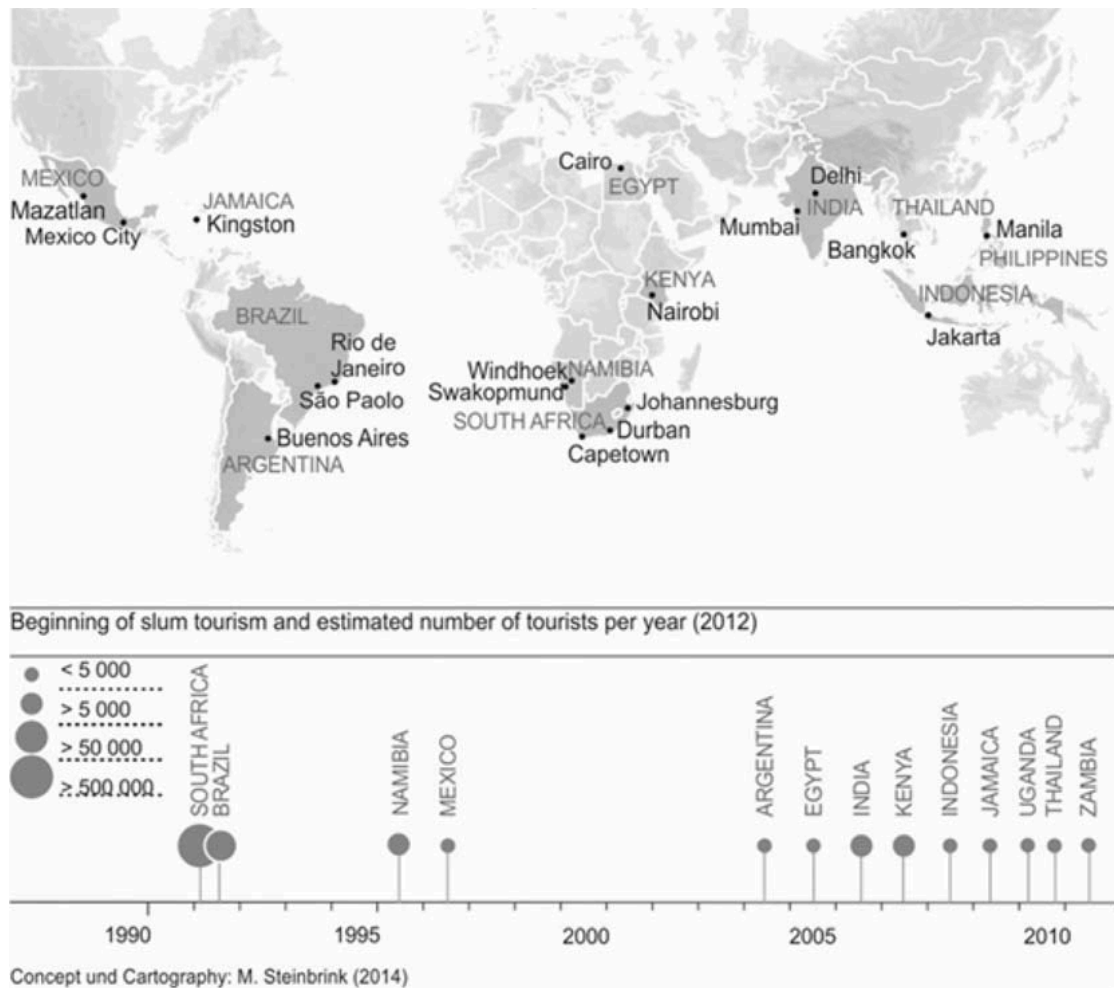
IMAGE 1 Expansion of Slum Tourism (Steinbrink, 2014; extracted from Frenzel et al, 2015)

As it can be seen not all of them appeared at the same time, and not for the same reasons. The most popular ones are South Africa and Brazil, also the first ones to appear. In the1980s the "struggle-junkies" (Dondolo, 2002; seen in Frenzel & Koens, 2012) appeared. Those were people interested in the fight against Apartheid, so they visited the townships. A few years latter in 1992 during the Rio Earth Summit the Favela tourism was born (Frenzel & Koens, 2012), the delegates attending the Summit with local tour operators, who had seen a business opportunity, toured the Favelas. It could be said that it is normally born after there's a big event in the country and people are interested in seeing "the other part" of that town or country or entrepreneurs copy a successful idea in their city, as it happened in Mumbai. This type of tourism has been around for many years but the motives behind its recent boost of popularity are still the same, as Dürr and Jaffe (2012) affirm contemporary slum tourism continues to rely on the adventure and pleasure of exploring the unknown; the same that was done in the late

nineteenth century early twentieth century. In those places they where going to experience the reality of the poor, the negative way as the archbishop portrayed in his explanation, they were going to see the struggle of the inhabitants of a place where the law seemed to not get there; like if it did not belong to that society, a clear example is said by Frenzel and Koens (2012): as the Favelas are described as an area of violence, drug trade and poverty, not a single positive word is mentioned in that definition; even though Dürr and Jaffe (2012) agree with Frenzel and Koens (2012) also point out the importance of the history and imaginary in South Africa and Brazil; one of them known for apartheid and the other for the exotic and erotic connotations.

Similarly, Burgold, Frenzel and Rolfes (2013) acknowledge the negative aspect the slums are surrounded with, as Davis (2006) (Burgold, Frenzel & Rolfes, 2013) names them "slums of despair", but they mean to break this stereotype by stating that this perspective does not take into account the strong socio-economic factors found in there. This simple-minded vision of the slums does not match the reality as there can be found many different constructions and equipment in a higher or lower degree. Notwithstanding, the authors also give a more positive vision of it as they have creative potential and they call them "slums of hope" (Burgold, Frenzel & Rolfes, 2013). It is undeniable that even with the negative aspects the slum is a magnetic field for tourists but as Frenzel, Steinbrink and Koens (2012), the authors argue meaning that in the end, people are attracted to them not because of the poverty, but because it's different from what they know and have experienced; the poverty would only be a factor in a complex equation.

Nisbett (2017) talks about the growth on the slums and due to the rural exodus and the industrialization of the Global South by 2050 there will be more than two billion people living on slums. That is a great number of people who will be living insecurely in a land not their own, with overcrowding issues, lack of clean water, poor access to food and poorer sanitation, education and healthcare. This view opposes with the one Burgold, Frenzel & Rolfes (2013) have of a more positive place. But all the authors agree that slum tourism is becoming a mass experience and, in some places, it has already become part of the urban tourism; meaning that poverty and the slum are part of an attraction and poverty becomes an asset to commercialization. Frenzel & Burgold & Rolfes (2013) recognize it and add, that poverty is now an asset of a tourist destination and tourists expect to witness. All

this popularity that started by the Victorian bourgeois has continued for centuries, but is due to the imaginary that people now have around slums that this practice is a popular again. Not only so but this imaginaries have been romanticized by movies and books such as "Slumdog millionaire" or "City of God"; and have created an aura of charm and fascination around them (Frenzel, 2016; Nisbett, 2017).

Freire-Medeiros et al (2013) and Frenzel et al (2015) both authors state that destinations usually receive more visitors if the place has been portrayed in some of the arts. Moreover, they add that even though the imaginary is what romanticizes the slum and attracts the visitors, once they are there this tourism serves the eye-opening purpose to show the reality of the situation. As an example, in France in the late- eighteenth century consuming poverty for entertainment became more problematic (Arendt, 2006; seen in Frenzel et al, 2012); the conception of poverty changed and it became a problem to be solved rather than a condition of humanity. It is clear how the conception of what is acceptable changes, and the influence of the imaginary and its construction evolves as the society does.

In conclusion and answering the question in the title, the increase in the number of locations in the past 20 years and the number of tourists, is recently estimated by around one million (Frenzel et al., 2015); big part of it is due to the imaginary and the portrayal of slums in movies and books. The latter is the quest to seek what's authentic and real, the cultural part of the slum, and moreover, the struggle that comes with poverty.

5.2.2.2. *Slums and tourists*

The number of tourists in slum has increased (Frenzel & Koens, 2012) and is now estimated to be around one million visitors (Frenzel et al, 2015). With this increase, more importance to the why of these visits has been researched and for Frenzel & Koens & Steinbrink (2012), a great number of tourists poverty is the most important incentive for visiting, as they explained tour operators mould the negative aspect trying to match it with the tourists assumptions on what they will encounter. These same authors remark that poverty is essential to commercialization. Also, they

point out the bias dilemma between who goes to see these areas first hand and the ones that study it, as poverty is still the focal point of interest.

Frenzel et al. (2015) basically says the needs of the tourists and what they would accept and enjoy shape the destination for good or for bad. Making them co-architecture of the final shape of the destination.

There are many reasons why the tourists venture into the slum, and most of the authors agree on the motives, which manly are:

- For the thrill of the unknown (Frenzel et al, 2015).
- Want to contribute to the development of the country (Frenzel et al, 2015; Meckawy, 2012).
- To learn and to see the "real picture" of a country (Frenzel et al, 2015).
- Compare both realities (Meckawy, 2012)

Also, another motive that could be added to the list and it could be related with the first one, is the search for the imaginary that hey have seen and read in movies and books. This is a major factor that makes any sort of tourism increase the number of visitors anywhere in the world. As Frenzel & Koens (2012) affirm not many tourist would state that the mere curiosity to see poverty is the main reason to visit the slums, as it would be considered immoral.

Furthermore, Steinbrink (2012) also divides the slummers into two groups: the professional slummers who are the ones who constitute the foundation of the tourism infrastructure, and the leisure ones that just experience the final product.

One great aspect about the tourist of the slums is explained by Burgold & Frenzel & Rolfes (2013), as they are the ones that have the ability and the power to change and challenge the status quo and make pressure on the government to change their policies. This is acknowledge by Urry (2002); seen in Frenzel & Koens (2012), who talks about the power of the "tourist gaze", which, through their experience, they voice the reality, and through international pressure change the situation. Also agreed by Mekawy (2012), who states that tourists give visibility to the situation of the residents of a particular area in order to advocate the change the inhabitants need and furthermore, make sure they are not marginalised. A part from this they

have the chance to change things on the ground, as they can volunteer and be a part of the development of the slum and improve things, but this is more of a volunteer tourism part, more than slum that consists just in visiting and educating.

Not everything about the tourist is positive, as the gaze can work in a negative way, as the slum residents became concerned and anxious about the tourist, and can even feel downgraded by them. Another negative aspect is the stereotypical portrayal the tourist still hold about the residents of impoverished areas, as Burgold & Frenzel & Rolfes (2013) state "the slum dwellers are poor but happy", this image does not help in changing the situation and diminishes the reality of the situation. Something that can not be entirely blamed in the tourist, is the trivialization of the slums, as that goes closely related to the tour that they have done and that depends on what the tour operator has created. The authors remark that if it has been a well-conducted tour, the participants will have a clear idea of the harsh reality the inhabitants face every day, and won't describe the experience with expressions such as "it's not that bad" which does not portray the reality, and ultimately will not have an impact on the resident nor the tourist.

With the commodification of the slums brought by the tourist, a positive outcome is that the slums have become safer (Burgold & Frenzel & Rolfes, 2013) through the area where they tour; the main issue is that this delinquency does not disappeared, it just moves to the outskirt of the slum. Dürr and Jaffe (2012) says that this forma of tourism have an intrinsic transformative element for both the locals and the tourists, but it's up to each one of them to decide the impact the other will have.
Another focal point for Dürr and Jaffe (2012) is the relationship between the tourist and the local community, the tourist want to experience the reality and not some staged scenery, but that only depends on the tour operator and the tour that he has created, and sometimes the guide is who cuts the interaction between the two groups to the minimum. Also, the emphasize that even though the tourist go looking for an adventure, they want to not compromise their personal safety, basically, a risk free adventure and that is also acknowledge by the tour operators.

Much research has been done surrounding the tourists and the motives behind this practice but more profound one needs to be done (Nisbett, 2017). Tourists play a

key role and can be the change and the tool to improve the situation on slums if all the stakeholders involve work together (Meckawy, 2012).

5.2.2.3. Slums and tour operators

As Steinbrink (2012) said the professional slummers are the ones that create the product, and the commercialized it. But, not only external tour operators are the only ones allowed to do and promote this activity, as Dürr and Jaffe (2012) state that tours can be community-based with many residents involved and having a high input in them or having them ran it by external enterprises and with restricted participation of the locals; clear examples where the tours are manly done by the community is found in Tepito in Mexico City and Trench Town in Kingston. They further explain that these tours show the resilience of the culture that is found there and also is a tool for them to resist and fight back the government and the urban plans.

In Frenzel et al (2015), Freire-Medeiros (2013) and Koens (2014) explain that depending the maturity of the destination it will be more community-based or more external and the services will vary, in the beginning it will be done by small local groups and in more mature destinations more external enterprises will be involved and will create a bigger array of possibilities. Although Frenzel et al (2015) affirm that the vast majority of tour operators are NGOs or businesses based outside of the slum.

Burgold & Frenzel & Rolfes (2013) focus more in the transformation the tour operators can bring into the slum, focusing more in the positive impacts these can have through the representations that they are selling, and state that there's a positive change in the image of the slums, due to this activity. Furthermore, Frenzel et al (2015) adds that most tour operators will make a discourse on the importance the tourist have for the slum and how the visit has a positive impact and has actually change the surroundings, and this itself, will attract more tourists who want to give back to society.

Although, the authors emphasise that this construction that the tour operators sell, can diminish the importance of the poverty and the poor life conditions the locals struggle with every day, Nisbett (2017) also agrees and explains that both parts are to blame in the normalisation of poverty. And this could really harm the locals and not help improve the situation, closely related to what Steinbrink (2012) said that during the tours of the Victorian era the poverty was a "natural state" of the humanity not a problem. It is in Nisbett (2017) where is emphasized the importance how the tour is made for the visitors, as it is said that a tour done properly and with a good guide could result in committed citizens, which could help changing the reality of the place and trigger the change.

Along the line of these arguments Frenzel and Koens (2012) affirm that tour operators and guides have an important role in creating the narrative of the poverty that is more easily commercialised. Saying that even if the tourists go to see the struggle, they see a much softer version and the final product is a much more PG rating of the reality, which trivialise the importance of this type of tourism. The segment of the market is very wide (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012) targeting from low-budget participants such as backpackers to more high-end tourists, making the tours suitable for all of them.

As Frenzel and Koens (2012) state the tour operators saw an opportunity in the market with slums, and there are many examples of this type of tourism appearing while and after a major event in the country or city. Confirming these Frenzel et al (2015) states the importance the FIFA World Cup had in the increase of the tours and making them more popular and part of the urban tourism.

Another big criticism is the way the tour operators perform these tours, as some of them move around the area with a mini bus, bicycle or a jeep (Frenzel et al, 2015), which does not allow a close relation with the slum dwellers, and also feels like a safari tour and makes it more of a zoo experience. It is also stated again in the article that the tour operators control all interactions with the residents, which is very restrictive, leaving the tourists with just one choice, with whom they do the tour. Furthermore, another commented criticism is around the allowance of taking

photos of the residents; in Dharavi on tour operator has strictly forbidden this practice in order to preserve the dignity of the residents.

Moreover, the slum guides are mainly men (Frenzel et al, 2015) but the local businesses, such are cafes or B&B, are run by mainly women.

Much improvement needs to happen with the tour operators to have a more harmonious relationship with the locals and make sure they have a positive impact in the community.

5.2.2.4. *Slum tourism and residents*

Tourists, tour operators and residents are the ones the create slum tourism and it's a symbiotic relationship as one can not exists without the other, but all need to respect the interest of each sector and understand the impact, positive or negative, that they might have, as Frenzel et al (2015) confirms that around the world locals of the slum has recognized the impact of this type of tourism, but haven't really said if it is positive or negative. Residents are the most important ones and yet are the ones that get excluded the most in this tourism. In Frenzel & Steinbrink & Koens (2012), Freire-Medeiros sets as an example the Favelas, that if it wasn't for tourism and the movies that have romanticise a bit the slum, it will only be and prevail the representation of the media and the local authorities that only portrays it as an area of crime.

Frenzel & Steinbrink & Koens (2012) state that much more research needs to be done from the perspective of the residents and the study of the economic benefits they receive and to prove if it has a real impact or not; is in this article that Freire-Medeiros discusses the commercial relationship between the residents and the tourists and describes it as "sporadic and largely informal", so it is really hard to prove the real economic impact this practice has. Basically, all this just proves that much more in depth research needs to be don in order to see if slum tourism has a real economical impact in the residents.

In Frenzel et al (2015) explains how through the benefits of tourism the residents are handcuff to the relationship with the tour operators or other entities (churches, NGOs), as without them the income they have would disappear and even if they do not want to continue or want to change something can not do it. In the same article points out that only a small percentage of the residents actually benefit from the tourism, and furthermore, states that slum residents have a limited capacity of engaging with tourism activities and the capacity to create and establish small businesses.

An important disadvantage of slum tourism according to residents is the way their neighbourhoods are visited and represented (Frenzel et al., 2015), and the lack of involvement of local residents, not only in the decision making of slum tourism, but even as part of the slum tourism experience for the tourists. In this same article it is also clarified that it is not necessarily due to the lack of willingness from the tour operators but the little interest in tourism. But in Frenzel & Koens (2012) criticize the fact that the dominance of external agents and the lack of local participation still support the negative aspect of the slum and as it has been stated before in this work, slum is a very heterogeneous space where many positive aspects can be found. In the article of Burgold & Frenzel & Rolfes (2013), is where they remark the importance of this practice as a tool for transmitting a more positive image, which would be a way for the residents to get more recognition.

In conclusion, much research needs to be done in order to explore the relationship between all the stakeholders, the real impact for the residents and the moral issues surrounding this practice.

5.3. Tourism and Ethics

5.3.1. Definition of ethics, moral and code of ethics

The Cambridge dictionary (https://goo.gl/tgVCLd) defines ethics as a "system of accepted beliefs that control behaviour, especially such a system based on morals" and also "the study of what is morally right and what is not". Based on this definition it's clear to say that ethics vary as society does, and so it evolves constantly. The ethics represent the society of the time and through the study of it, a person can understand that particular society. It's a mirror of society and not only so, it's the law that dictates the human behaviour (Fennell & Malloy, 2007).

Tourism mixes people from all over the world in one specific place; each one of them from a different background and with a different behavioural pattern, which normally represents the society they are from. In such a mixture it is very difficult to respect the locals' culture and adapt to what the visitors need in order to achieve their level of comfort. There's a thin line between satisfying the needs of the visitors and not damaging nor changing the culture of the receiving society (Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). And there is where the ethics step in, its job is to make sure both parts agree in the middle and one doesn't damage the other and makes possible a peaceful coexistence and respect to one another.

Not only do ethics play an important role on defining the conduct, as it is found in the definition of ethics before, but the morality is an important factor to have into consideration, as each resident and visitor have their own.

Moral is defined as the "standards for good or bad character and behaviour" (Cambridge Dictionary, https://goo.gl/csQ856). It could be explained as the judgment each person does of their own or others actions, it's not in a general term but a singular one. It changes from person to person, and is the one people use when they make a decision, commonly known as the "moral compass" (a natural feeling that makes people know what is right and wrong and how they should behave, Cambridge Dictionary, https://goo.gl/EXWGxP). It's strictly related to the ethics of the specific place.

It is because of this thin line between the visitors and the locals, and the need for a good and respectful coexistence, that many companies have created a code of ethics

(Fennell & Malloy, 2007) not only for themselves but their customers in contemplation of the interest of the locals and the natural resources of the country. Codes of ethics have been around since the 18th century B.C. when it first appeared in the Babylon society (Fennell &Malloy, 2007). Many definitions can be found but the most relevant one and the one that summarises well all the definitions is cited by Fennell and Malloy (2007, p.153) but original from Ray (2000) which describes codes of ethics as "a systematised set of standards or principles that defines ethical behaviour appropriate for a profession. The standard and principles are determined by moral values". In simple words, the code gathers all the "rules" of behaviour for a determined society and can be used as a guide to follow to have a good behaviour.

Many enterprises use this written code as a statement that functions as a message for internal and external stakeholders regarding how it wishes to be perceived an it is a guide that identifies preferred modes of behaviour for employees; also it embodies how an organisation thinks about itself ethically (Fennell & Malloy, 2007). Therefore, there are two sides of these codes: the guide to follow for a good behaviour and the portrait the enterprises use to show their goodwill and the way they will act to the world.

After the study of them, there could be found two types of codes of ethics the one that society has created for the citizens and the one that summarises the good deed in which the enterprise operates.

The three elements are interrelated and one gives meaning to the other, in essence, one without the other would be less comprehensible.

5.3.2. Tourism and Ethics

As Malloy & Fennell (2007) state in their book, much more research is needed in the field of ethics and tourism, also agreed by Lovelock & Lovelock (2013) and go further by adding that there's an ethical deficit (Moufakkir, 2012; seen in Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013) in the sector. Also, Malloy & Fennell (2007) explain that the first research done about the ethics and tourism appeared in 1990, demonstrating that it's a very recent area of study, and just nowadays is starting to get more attention.

Lea (1993) presents the three branches of the ethics in tourism, which are: development ethics in the third world; social and physical impacts resulting from tourism and ethics related to the actions of individual travellers. These branches represent the three main areas where problems can be found; firstly, on the use of tourism as a tool for the development in the third world countries; secondly, on the changes that occur due to tourism and thirdly, on the actions of each traveller.

Here is where ethical tourism plays an important role, this type of tourism could be defined as when "one considers travelling to, or developing tourism in a destination where ethical issues are the key driver, e.g. social injustice, human rights, animal welfare or the environment. Encouraging the consumer and the industry to avoid participation in activities that contribute or support negative ethical issues." (Travel Matters, 2012 seen in Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013, pg.5); this definition could be summarised as the kind of tourism that seeks a justice, fairness and equality in all their actions while being sustainable (Lovelock &Lovelock, 2013). Furthermore, it could be consider as the base in which sustainable tourism stands. If all the stakeholders that are a part of this practice followed an ethical conduct there would be a justice and fair commerce and relationship between them.

The cultural relativism (Lovelock &Lovelock, 2013) explains that there are as many different moralities as ways to see the world, but in order to not force a view on to a different society and having in mind the values of ethical tourism and sustainability a medium point can be meet to have a just, fair and equalitarian practice; Smith and Duffy (2003) consider this justice being about and equalitarian distribution of power between the stakeholders, not focusing on the practice itself but the control of the actions.

Crick (1989) in Lovelock & Lovelock (2013) reflects on how tourism is what he calls leisure imperialism as it's the new way of colonialism and this will intrinsically bring inequality and the violation of human rights. Following this thought, Smith and Duffy (2003,pg.59) say "educate tourist, strengthen the position of traditional village and craft institutions, or great public participation" and this would be the solution for this inequality but as much as the stakeholder participate all together to improve the status quo if there is not a change on the ethicality of the ones in control; as per now is basically based on the utilitarianism and that does not secure

the well-being of the minorities, moreover, it is a danger for them as they can be exploited for the development of the tourism industry in one specific region. Although Gras-Dijkstra (2009) states that even though the government responsibility is to protect their citizens, in the case of bad practice the tourist are a good collective to pressure them in order to bring the change that is required or change the ethical discourse. Also they state that it all depends on what the local community is willing to accept, and how the ethics on the practice proposed are; they can either don't want any intrusion and want to protect their privacy and their traditions for themselves or want to be involved in the tourism development as they want to have control over what is shared and how is it done without the imposition of an external company.

Related to what the local and the tourist is willing to tolerate Smith and Duffy (2003) explain that it depend on two factors: the willingness to pay (WTP) and to accept (WTA); this last one depending entirely of the level of desperation of the local community. If the level of desperation and need is high, there are higher probabilities of accepting unethical practices that violates their dignity and traditions and the whole culture will be facing a process of monetaritzation. But, not all this depends on the locals' desperation, as the WTP shows the ethical feelings of the tourists and whether they will accept and pay for an experience that goes against their personal ethical beliefs. All of this meaning that the economy is a useful way to see the real ethical feelings of the stakeholders (tour operators, locals and tourists), and what they are willing to accept for an economic gain.

The ethics in the nowadays-neoliberal ideology are jeopardizing the minorities, the residents of the slum, and local cultures as Lovelock & Lovelock (2013, pg.69) say that tourism is the "gratification of the self", significantly these lead to two main conclusions that these minorities have to sell their marginalisation in order to get an income while engaging with the new world with which they interact but they have to still be marginalised in order to get the income, and latter that the human rights of these minorities are being violated as the practices doesn't follow an ethical and moral conduct. And the tourists are supporting it by being ignorant to the reality or as the authors say just being self-centred, that is why pro-poor tourism, ethical

tourism and sustainability play an important role protecting the minorities while being a tool for development.

It's in this conjunction where one need each other and Doxeys' (1975) (Gras-Dijkstra, 2013; Smith & Duffy, 2003) Irridex model on the visitor-resident interaction takes more importance; this model explains the different phases the residents go through with the tourists: euphoria, apathy, annoyance and antagonism. As the locals are the ones who share their territory with the tourist it would be important to not get to the levels of annoyance or antagonism, because the locals who benefit from tourism would have a negative benefit and that would cause a division in between the society.

Lovelock & Lovelock (2013) and Gras-Dijkstra (2009) both acknowledge that tourist have more privileges than the local community and the only ones that have more benefit from this sector are the ones who have a straight economic and commercial connexion to it, and therefore they gat a gain out of it. The others residents that are not connected to the industry will not benefit and just feel excluded and exploited. Moreover, the worst-case scenario is when the authorities and stakeholders consider more important the needs of tourists than it's own residents. That would lead to the antagonism phase of the tourism and in that point tourism would not be a tool for the development as all the authors cited on this article affirm it to be.

Although, important and delicate decisions must be taken when developing tourism as a tool, the method of decision-making has to be ethical. And a clear example of an ethical frame to decision-making is found in Lovelock & Lovelock (2013) created by Jones (1991), this model has six points, which are based on following a good moral conduct. The six points are:

- Magnitude of consequences: total accountancy of harm and benefit.
- Social consensus: the majority or the minority supports it.
- Probability effect: will it cause harm or benefit.
- Temporal immediacy: when the consequences will appear.
- Proximity: how close are you emotionally.
- Concentration of effect: how many people will be affected.

Following these simple steps ethical and moral decisions can be taken, and will avoid harm or dislike with the population. Although, as it has been said before, the more involved they are in the decision-making the less complaints and unethical decisions will be taken.

A very important figure for having an ethical practice is the tour operators (Lovelock &Lovelock, 2013) as they are the ones who commercialises the product and also the ones that help create it and also advise the tourist to visit it or not. Therefore, if they know a bad practice the best decisions are either stop supporting that destination or actually challenging the status quo and changing the products that are selling into more ethical and respectful.

Some authors relate the ethics with the social responsibility (SR) Gras-Dijktra, (2009) and Lovelock & Lovelock (2013), for the first author the SR is connected with ethics through morality, as it is the tool to behave acknowledging the consequences of the actions and how this affects all the stakeholders; it only differentiates because the SR is written and morals are not, but both look for the good actions. Although, Lovelock and Lovelock (2013) see SR as a competitive advantage that the enterprises uses to improve their image but based on the good moral behaviour. Both agree that the base is from behaving with good moral.

5.3.2.1. UNWTO and ethics

UNWTO has done two congresses surrounding the theme of ethics in tourism. The first one was on 2006 and the conclusions were that they affirm tourism as a tool for development, and also being able to contribute to global peace, prosperity and international comprehension; all this while following the sustainability principles will help the development of the local economies. It also outlines that implementing codes of ethics won't be a loss for the business as it is a very compatible structure to a traditional economic business and also adds a competitive advantage. Moreover, they accentuate the importance of informing the tourists of the reality and the consequences of their actions and motivate them to follow a more sustainable tourism practice. Furthermore, it also states the importance of the banks to be involved in the business and facilitate and protect the small local businesses of their area.

In conclusion, the first congress enhanced the importance of working locally and following the sustainable principles and also, to convince the business that ethical codes are not a loss in the profits but a gain and an improvement.

The second congress was also done in Quito (Ecuador) during 2012. The conclusions reached this time were: travelling is a vital experience and the way to have a good local-visitor relation is through the conscious tourism. It stills demand for businesses to create their own ethical codes and follow them and moreover to have social responsibility and not only follow the law. UNWTO still supports and defends tourism as a tool for the promotion of human rights and social equality. Although, this time it's incorporated the role of the women, in the sense that tourism could empower them. In the same line as the first congress condemned the sexual tourism and child abuse and stress the importance of the involvement of the local communities in the sector, as it will improve the economy of the locals, and finally, they encourage taking the SR as a part of the ethic politic of the business.

Summarizing, the congresses have a six-year gap in between and there are not feasible changes, they still encourage the same points demonstrating that the industry hasn't changed and the only difference is the acknowledgment of the role of the women. But yet again, this demonstrates that much more has to be done to promote a more ethical and moral behaviour in the industry.

5.3.3. Codes of Ethics

Fennell and Malloy (2007) explain in their book that many codes of ethics have appeared in the recent years, but it all began in 1980 when the first code entirely dedicated to tourism practices appeared, resulting from Manila's Conference workshop, which was focused on the perspective of the people of the third world; which, originally, was inspired by the 1975 Christian Conference of Asia. The results of which were aimed to reduce the unfairness and the exploitation that the local communities might suffer due to the tourism activity, and wanted to make aware of the impacts the tourism causes, while promoting a more sustainable tourism (Lea, 1993). The Manila conference wanted to set tourism in a more ethical

path. Soon after, at the General Assembly in Sofia (Bulgaria), the Voluntary Code of Conduct for tourism was created, its goals were to recognize the rights of tourists and local communities and to protect the cultural and ecological aspects of the local community. As Smith and Duffy (2003) criticize it was especially focused on the freedom of the tourist and the protection of their liberties, neglecting the rights of the locals although they were part of the aim of the code. Later in 1995 Mason and Mowforth presented the Codes of Ethics in tourism and the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) also presented the Environmental Codes of Conduct for Tourism.

There can be two types of codes of conduct the voluntary or no-voluntary ones; as the UNWTO defines the voluntary codes as the ones that are not obligated by law and no social group is forced to join and their main objective is to through different measures solve social, ecological or economic problematic. The non-voluntary ones being the opposite of this definition. Voluntary codes main advantage is as a tool for raising awareness about the social and ecological impacts of tourism, not forgetting that can be used as a guideline to avoid mal praxis. These codes are normally made by mainly the industry itself, the NGO's and associations; and the non-voluntary ones by the government, all this was shown in the UNEP study (1995). In Fennell and Malloy (2007) Carter (2004) affirms that the voluntary codes are more efficient that the mandatory ones, as they are more flexible and easy to use. These have proven more efficient when achieving environmental goals. Overall, big part of the codes are focused on the ecological impacts, even thought the number of codes aiming for fair and equalitarian praxis are increasing, they are not enough; and as Fennell (2004) (Fennell and Malloy, 2007) affirmed, these codes can not work without the pressures of all the stakeholders involved in order to get to the ideal status quo of the sector.

The codes can be directed towards three sectors the tourists the hosts and the industry. As it can be seen in the figure below and as it has been said before the codes are created by NGO's, the industry, the government and individuals; which are directed towards the three main stakeholders of the tourism sector the industry, the tourists and the hosts.
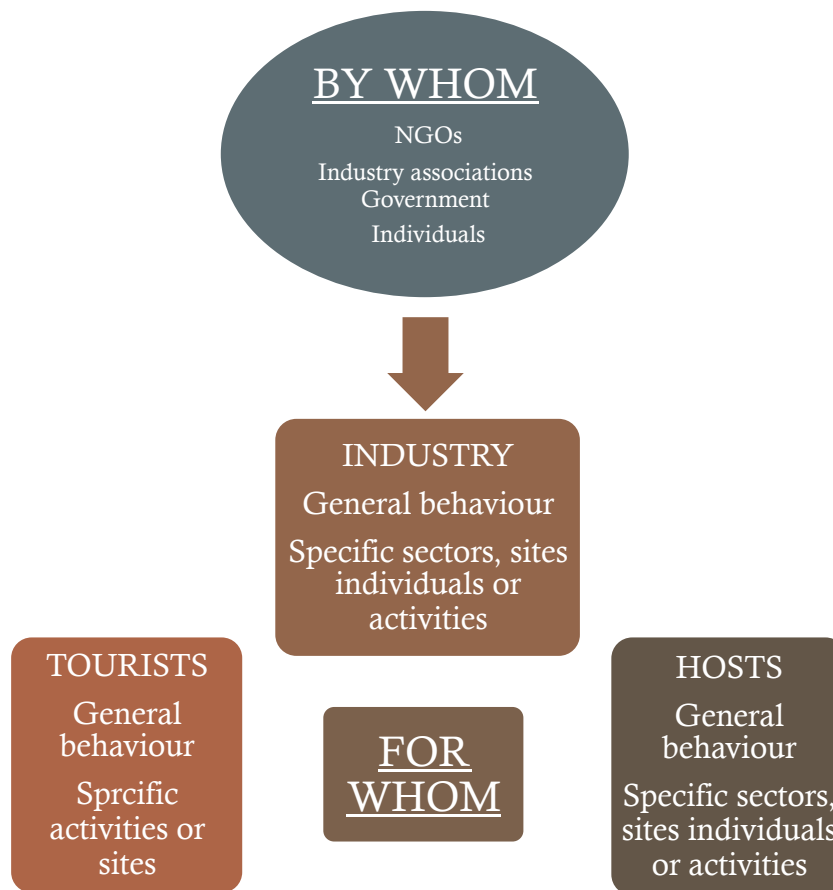
GRAPH 1 Recreation of Codes of ethics: By whom and for whom. (Fennell and Malloy, 2007)

The tourists' codes are made mainly by NGO's, individuals and government, normally addressed to non-domestic visitors, wanting to minimize the damage caused in a specific area, maximize the economic benefits of the hosts, motivate a fair relationship between hosts and visitors and advocate for a more sustainable tourism. In Lovelock & Lovelock's (2013) book, they state that the codes for tourists are basically to raise awareness, and control the behaviour of the visitors but the main problem is that they might be reluctant to follow them as they will perceive it as delimiting their freedom and their behaviour; is because of this argument that the authors say that if they are involved in the making of this codes there are higher possibilities on them agreeing to follow it.

The industry codes, mainly created by the World Tourism Organization (WTO), governments and NGO's, focused on the industry in general and some specific sectors such as the hotel or accommodation one. Their objectives are to provide the

employees with a quality and complete training, have honest marketing advertisement, raise awareness of the real impact of the sector while promoting sustainability in all the activities of the sector.

Finally, for the hosts codes are mainly done by NGO's, individuals and government directed to the local residents of a specific place aiming to advice and give information, minimise the economical and socio-cultural negative impact, encourage a good relationship between local and tourist and to boost a more participatory development.

The most important code of ethics is the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics for tourism (Fennell and Malloy, 2007) is composed by 10 articles, which are:

- ARTICLE 1: Tourism's contribution to mutual understanding and respect between peoples and societies.
- ARTICLE 2: Tourism as a vehicle for individual and collective fulfilment.
- ARTICLE 3: Tourism, a factor of sustainable development.
- ARTICLE 4: Tourism, a user of the cultural heritage of mankind and contributor to its enhancement.
- ARTICLE 5: Tourism, a beneficial activity for host country and communities.
- ARTICLE 6: Obligations of stakeholders in tourism development.
- ARTICLE 7: Right to tourism.
- ARTICLE 8: Liberty to tourist movements.
- ARTICLE 9: Rights of the workers and entrepreneurs in the tourism industry.
- ARTICLE 10: Implementation of the principles of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism.

With these 10 articles the UNWTO aims to have a more responsible, balanced and fair tourism sector, where the rights of the locals, tourist and industry are respected; but they also avoid and try to solve the problematic that the different stakeholders can encounter while dealing with one another; and all of this while preserving the environment and the culture sites. Smith and Duffy (2003) say that this code

rectifies the disequilibrium that was found in the Voluntary code of conduct for tourism, now it focuses more in the relationship between the local and the visitor.

Lovelock & Lovelock (2013) argue that these codes only serve the purpose of being a competitive advantage, and therefore, is a selfish act to use one of these, as a way to portrait their business in a better way; this is also agreed by Fennell and Malloy (2007); Moreover they add that this codes of ethics they just treat the consequences and try to minimize the negative impact, they do not go and fix the source of the problematic. Which also links with the reasons Ann Van Der Meiden present about behaving morally, which are: to achieve a good result, because it's useful and because it's their duty (Gras-Dijkstra, 2009). Therefore, Lovelock & Lovelock (2013) affirm that the codes are unsuccessful, as they do not solve the real problem but just fix the consequences of it and not much effort is put on really solving the problem from the root. The authors add that a good code is the one that is clear, comprehensive and written in a way to emphasize the good consequences on the actions to follow than a mere list of forbidden actions. Basically, a good code would be the one created to do good and to encourage good actions, a more positive approach.

In conclusion this chapter main findings in the literature are that mainly tourism if done without a good ethical code and no morals it can turn into an activity that infringes the human rights and has no benefit for the locals. Also, it demonstrates that much more research can be done and much more involvement is required from all sectors to rectify and implement a new way to do in this industry, much more fair, just and supporting equity.

6. STUDY CASE

6.1. Kenya

6.1.1. Kenya Data presentation

Total of Habitants	48.461.567[1]
Number of men	24.085.548[2]
Number of women	24.376.019[3]
Average age of population	19.7 years [4]
Life expectancy	64.3 years[5]
Fertility rate	2.98 children[6]
Literacy	78%[7]
GDP	70.529 billion[8]

TABLE 1 Basic Kenya data, own elaboration.

TABLE 1. Sources:

1 Population total (The World Bank Data, 2017)

2 Population men (The World Bank Data, 2017)

3 Population Women (The World Bank Data, 2017)

4 Median age of the population (The world Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017)

5 Life expectancy (The world Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017)

6 Fertility rate (The world Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017)

7 Literacy (The world Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017)

8 GDP US$ (The World Bank Data, 2017)

As the data shows Kenya has a big population, with higher number of women than men. As the average of age shows the population is young, which also relates to the high fertility rate, and the boom experienced on births years ago. Even though, the life expectancy is short, just 64.3 years, because of the poor life conditions and the high rate of infectious diseases found in the country such as HIV, cholera, malaria and the not sufficient health system. The number of Kenyans literacy rate is high for the conditions of the country, around the 78% of the population knows how to read and write and have a basic school system that lasts 11 years.

The main economic sector in the country is agriculture (The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017) that represents one-third of the GDP, in the past years due to the political instability and the corruption the GDP rated Kenya as a low income country, but in the recent years the GDP has increased and improving (The World Bank Data, 2017), but still there are high rates of unemployment. The

other sector with importance is tourism although with the terrorist attacks in 2013 (The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017) the number of the visitors suffered a decreased but is now increasing again, as an example in 2016 the arrivals grew 17% and the income a 37%; stabilizing the arrivals and the tourism sector of the country (The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). Another remarkable fact is the high number of entrepreneurs and small-middle businesses found in the country mainly in the sector of agriculture, producing goods and transport. Despite this big mass of small enterprises the non-agricultural activity just represents the 6.7% and the services 32.2% making the country based mainly on the first sector (The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). Additionally the unemployment (The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency, 2017) is said to be around 40% and the 43.4% of the population is living below the poverty line.

All this information reaffirms Kenya as a developing country.
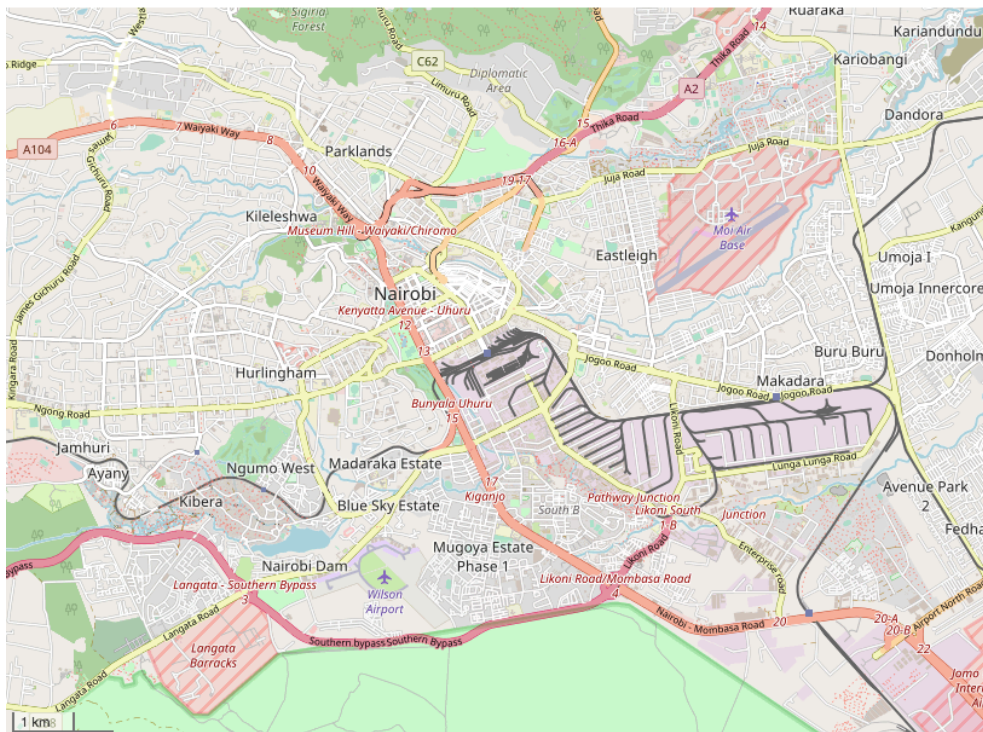
6.1.2. Kibera data presentation

IMAGE 2 Map representing the location of Kibera (Open Street Map, 2017)

The Kibera slum is considered to be the biggest slum of East-Africa, after the ones in South Africa; ranking it the second most populated one in the continent.

Based on the information extracted from Kibera UK (2017) there are approximately 2.5 million inhabitants in the Kibera slum, which represents the 60% of the total population of Nairobi (the capital of the country) but occupying just the 6% of the land, it is clear the overcrowded situation.

Nowadays the government owns the totality of the land in which they are settled, with some exceptions, 10% of the inhabitants own a shack (noun used to refer at the houses built by the slum residents), which then rent to other residents, meaning that as the website explains leaves 90% of the other residents without any right. As it was explained in the first part of the theoretical frame slums are heterogeneous and there are a lot of types of constructions in them; mainly in the Kibera slum are made by mud walls with iron roofs and concrete floors and shelter up to 8 or more people.

The origin of this slum was created by the Nubian people who came from the Sudanese border and now represent the 15% of the population and are mainly the owners of the shacks as has been referred before. There are other three main tribes inhabiting the area the Kikuyu, the Luhya and Kamba.

The facilities of the slum are really scarce as only the 20% have electricity. The water has to be collected from the only two water pipes recently installed as before the contagious diseases were found in the water dam. One characteristic known in the slum is the flying toilets, as there are no toilets facilities the inhabitants do their necessities in a plastic bag that then throw away on the street, the other option is the one and only latrine of the whole slum, which is a whole in the ground and it's emptied by young people who then throw it into the river. There are no hospital services in the area but NGO's are working to give free HIV tests and medicines in case the result is positive. Moreover, the slum has over 50% of unemployment, which has led to high rate of alcoholism, drug abuse and violence, meaning the slum is not safe.

6.2. Obtained data analysis

6.2.1. Kibera Tours website

The Website of the Kibera tours was analysed in order to study how they sell this tours and how it is explained to the costumer, with the main goal in mind of assessing how ethical is the way they portray the information and the execution of the tour.

Factors of Kibera Tours Website

- Positive place
- Authentic experience
- Local participation/employment
- Economical benefir for the residents
- Security
- Respect privacy
- Residents Welcome visitors
- Local products/ commercialitzation
- Show the good side
- Children related
- Group number/ Concentration effect
- Sustainable
- Tourist participation
- Women role
- Fair commercialitzation
- Right/ wrong activity
- Proximity

GRAPH 2 Representation of the factors of Kibera Tours Website.

On the website of Kibera Tours the first element that appears is the slogan "the friendliest slum in the world in a city of hope" (Kibera Tours, 2017), it connotes the idea that the residents welcome the visitors and the slum is a positive place; by jut analysing the sentence the company is not selling strictly a poverty product, although slum is mainly poverty with a few exceptions. On an overall look, the

slogan just promotes the positive side of Kibera and puts an emphasis on the friendly people not the scarce conditions of the residents, is portrayed perfectly on this following extract "Kibera will certainly make you feel welcome" (Kibera Tours, 2017). Notwithstanding, the analysis done shows that residents welcoming visitors is not the most recurring factor found during the study, in fact, the low appearance of this element in the whole website could indicate the probability that not all citizens of Kibera support the activity and are comfortable with strangers observing their way of life.

Following, the next segment starts again by saying how friendly and welcoming the Kiberian people are and explaining who is behind the organization, it is a mix between local Kibera residents and a Dutch woman, on the website it is highlighted the fact that the organization and the tours itself are done by people who have been born and currently living in the slum. This particular fact denotes that there's a local participation and an actual benefit is being received for at least the guides. Furthermore, the fact that the guides are part of the organizers, and having been born and raised in the slum, is, as stated in the website "Martin and Freddy, born and living in Kibera", an insurance of authenticity as they show the day-to-day life, and the real slum. Authenticity is one of the most frequent factors in the website as it appears very important to show the reality of the place. And a few lines below, the positive aspect of the slum again is cited, and for the following appearances this element becomes the most found in the text, meaning that what the company sells is a reality tour while enhancing the positive part of the slum, for Kibera Tours appears to be the core value of their activity. And all of this, is assured by the Kiberans workers of the business, and plus by being the co-organizers and co-funders.

In the beginning of the tour description the importance of the safety of the tourists is written and for that reason, these are done with the company of a local resident who acts like a security guard; even though, it is sold as a "friendly place" and "welcoming". Being stated in the chapter before, Kibera has high rates of unemployment, which have lead to alcoholism and drug abuse, and makes it a dangerous area. Furthermore, it is advised not to take expensive belongings while doing the tour; the image of a safe place is being sold by the company but it is a fake illusion of safety, as venturing into the slum has a risk. But without safety there

wouldn't be any visitors and the company makes sure that no harm is done to the visitors as the tours would stop and there would no longer be a benefit for the community.

The tour company through the visits supports and shows four places of the community, which are an orphanage, a bead factory, a typical Kibera-house and a biogas centre. Through these experiences, the visitors are able to see and contribute with the organizations and interact with the residents/workers; in this particular segment the role of the women in the orphanage is accentuated and also the children's role to show what they have stated multiple times to be the city of hope, maybe wanting to reach an emotional reaction on the visitors and again destigmatise the slums. The following stop shows how a business operates in the slum and also promotes local products and changes the perspective of slums being just a place of despair and no economic activity. There's a positive outcome as there are residents employed in the factory and also an economical benefit for the residents through the sells, without forgetting the commercialization of local products. When the tour stops by a typical-Kibera house, it highlights two main issues, the authenticity that it's promoted and also the participation of the residents in a more close and private manner, as it is the moment to answer the questions and have a conversation with the resident of the house. This particular moment allows residents and tourist to interact and bring both sides together. None of them should feel alienated from the activity and it reinforces the authentic experience the company wants to offer. The last stop is by the biogas centre and it shows that even in the negative viewed place, as there's an effort to reduce the impact on the environment and to reduce the waste generated, with all this tour the on-going theme is to show the positive place Kibera can be and to destigmatise the negative view they have.

When referring to the costs of the tour they make sure to let the costumers know that by that you are supporting the Kibera residents and the benefits are for them, but there are no proof that it's true nor there are to doubt this information. In the way this information is presented want to appeal their sense of humanity and appear as a real pillar of the society as provides employment and the residents have a benefit from showing their day-a-day live, but does not say until what extent the entire Kibera takes a benefit from this tour or is just the stops who take benefit from it.

Furthermore, the organizers, to make sure the privacy of the residents is maintained and its not being violated, they do not let the group be bigger than six people, to reduce the impact in the streets and so the residents don't feel like the animals of a zoo. Also, there's a strict no photography policy to protect the residents, and the guides will tell when to take pictures and they will also say to always ask to the residents and that also would create an interaction between tourists and residents. Also, they advise not to give money to anyone in the streets in order to not let the residents associate the tourists with present-givers, and to not take valuable stuff. All of these are to make sure no incidents happened, although there's the security guard during the tour. In the case of donations, they can be given in the different stops, as a way to support them, but the extent of the benefit they aim is questionable as they claim to benefit the whole community but they just support some organizations and deny the giving on the streets. Also they promote the communication and interaction with the residents and make sure to show the good parts of the slum but how authentic it is to just show the positive part and not the totality.

The main topics found in the analysis are showing the positive place Kibera is, as called in the website "the city of hope"; followed by authenticity and the economical benefit for the residents and their participation of the tours, they do not refer to any ethical issue per se but with the strict photography policy and the open communication make sure to respect the privacy and avoid conflicts with the inhabitants. Moreover, all the measures stated by the company make sure to have the less impact as possible and try to not annoy the residents. By having locals as the co-funders and as guides there's a proximity factor, or it could be renamed it an emotional bond, that makes sure to portrait the reality of the place in a very personal way that connects with the tourists and "re-educate" them on what a slum really is, and try to delete the negative vision of it.

In general terms the company has a good policy to respect the residents and change the vision they have on the slums but also they advertise as the unseen part of Kenya, and unfortunately poverty, is always associated with Africa and it does not seem so ethical to say the "unseen part" or how the rest of the Kenyan really lives.

In conclusion, the values that they stand for are worthy of praise and the way they operate is correct as well as they are trying to change the view of the slum and make sure to not violate the privacy of the residents while performing the tours, but is questionable the claims of economical benefit for the entire Kibera slum as they just cooperate with three organizations located in the slum and employ a few residents. But, the advertisement is very respectful and in no way violates human rights, the residents' privacy, nor treat the tour as a safari visit dehumanizing the inhabitants.

6.2.2. TripAdvisor reviews

A totality of 84 TripAdvisor reviews were analysed in this part and ten extracted from the Kibera Tours Website, reaching 94 reviews in total. The analysis of the data produced the following findings.
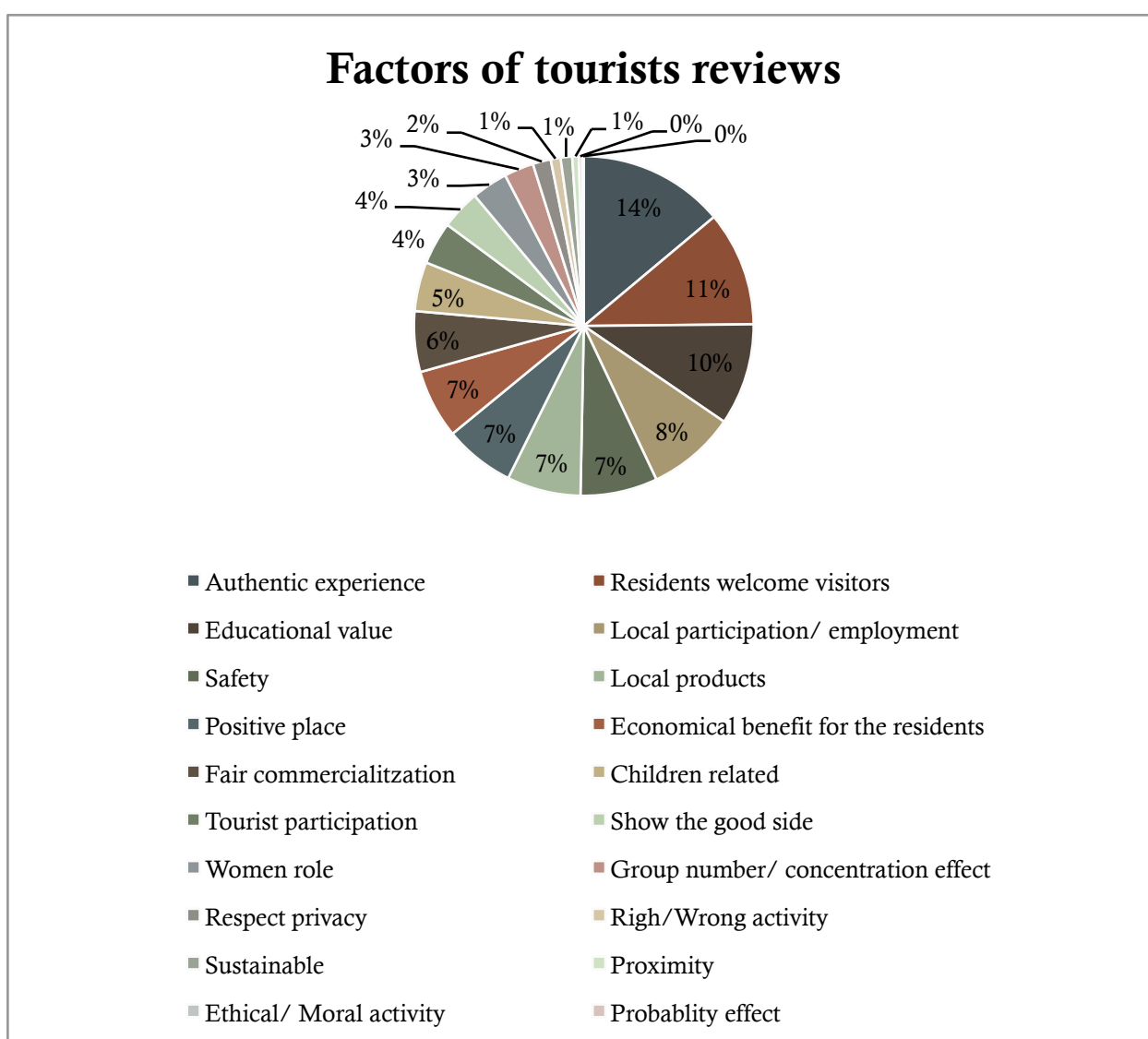
GRAPH 3 Representation of the factors of the tourists review.

Commencing with the comments of the visitors in the website of the tour company, they were chosen by the company, as there's no platform to upload one yourself, making this selection a reinforcement of the ideas presented in the website. All of them are positive and trying to get more tourists to book a tour with them.

Beginning with the premise that there are biased comments into valorising the tour positively, the factor that appeared the most is how welcoming all the residents are, followed by the positive place that Kibera is, and finally, that the tour shows the good side of the slum through the organizations visited. There are comments reassuring the safeness of the tour, "It feels safe", and emphasizing the openness to answer any questions there may be during the tour, and comment on the benefit of having locals performing the tour, as is shown in the following example "The guide loves his Kibera, he was passioned and very funny and nice. To all our questions he had an answer and he knew every place and gave us lots of info". Locals who have lived there and are able to show the real side and the authenticity the tourists are looking for. All of these correlate with what the company's imaginary is trying to sell; there is no doubt of the authenticity of the comments, but there has been a censorship or a selection, as the comments of the tourists match exactly with the business values and with what it's stated and reiterated through the entire website.

In conclusion, this comments support the website and are partially true as it's confirmed by the TripAdvisor ones but do not add any new information or have any negative view on the topics.

The rest of the TripAdvisor comments were written from people from all over the world, but the main nationalities were American and European and some Russian and Asian, from countries listed as "developed" or "first world".

The most recurrent factor stated by most of the comments is the authenticity of the tour and how it portraits perfectly the reality of Kibera, some examples that pictures perfectly the way the tourist refer to this authenticity are: "what is life like in Kibera" or by just saying it was an authentic tour because of the guides and the people with whom they interacted; and many confer this authenticity to visiting the "living quarters" of some residents and being able to see first hand the real conditions that they live in. Nevertheless, not many commented on how having guides from Kibera made their explanations more personal, and their emotional bond with Kibera made their experience better and more intimate.

The next most expressed element is on how welcoming Kibera residents are and the willingness to interact and answer any of the questions the participants of the tour might have. From all the reviews analysed solely one person questioned himself to which extent the residents feel the impingement the tourist might have. He later explains that on his experience that person explained nobody seem bothered by their presence but as it rightfully writes there was no real way to know the feelings of the residents. Whereas, the vast majority of the comments accentuate the importance of these interactions as the way to get informed of the reality, and also this is the linkage with the third most claimed element, the educational value. The tourist express how educational the tour was by saying expressions similar as the following examples: "a real eye-opening experience", "informative" or by just writing that they "learned a lot"; moreover, the notion and image of the slum, through the dialogue with the guide and the artisans of the bead factory or the school employees, changed from a place with no resources, no hope for the future and without an economical activity to a hopeful place were the residents try to improve their conditions, and a place with an economical activity. Basically, the partakers defend the intrusion of the tour by saying the educational value extracted from the activity has a more remarkable impact than the one they can create; to which extent that's true it's difficult to measure, but undeniably there's an impact in both sides, and always there's a much larger impact for the intruded than for the intruder. To see the real conditions of what living in poverty produces, three main reactions have been shown by the reviews on TripAdvisor: the first ones that are thankful to not have been born there, and be appreciative of what they have, meaning that the final value they got out the experience is a selfish one as it's a "feel good about yourself" experience for them; the second, is an eye-opening experience and through the walks and the information received see the actual meaning and reality of living in poverty and end affected by the experience and leave the slum very humbled; and the third and final one, they leave inspired by the slum residents and re-educated and destigmatize about poverty and all the negative stereotypes that are associated with it.

Following on the analysis, the tourists acknowledge the fact the tour provides local employment and endorses the economic sector of Kibera. This is a very intricate factor, the claim of contributing the whole community is false as the tour just visits

a few organizations, thereafter, the visitors are just helping a small sector of Kibera formed by the guides and the locals working in the bead-factory, the rest does not get any economic benefit. Although, these tours provide employment to young people who otherwise would have no prospects or jobs and supports a company that sells this hand-made crafts, to see the real impact it's very difficult. Kibera Tours advertises that the earnings from the tours go back to the community to fund projects; some of the tourists are sceptical of this statement and wonder if the money will contribute in a real way to the improvement of their lives, and this quandary is the complicated part as there is no way to certainly affirm or deny this fact. The reviews also enhance the commercialization of local products and the vast majority of tourists see this as a good way to contribute and buy some original gifts and souvenirs, but there's a minority stating that this stops during the tour, felt forced and pressured to buy some of the handcrafts made by the residents and went further by classifying it as a "shopping tour", in this cases there has been a negative procedure on the invitation to support these small businesses and it can be considered a malpractice of the company, nevertheless, the rest of the reviews didn't feel pressured nor obliged to purchase and gladly did it.

An interrelated factor studied is the fair commercialization of the tours, meaning the price of it, most of the participants agree that for the outcome and what they experience the price is fair and not excessive, but a minority claim that for a walking tour the price is excessive, most of this reviews had a bad experience as some of them didn't visited what they contracted or were pressured into purchasing some goods from the locals; thus, these experiences do not represent the norm and although it happened there were not enough complaints to treat it with more importance.

An indicator were there were no disagreements found was on the positivity Kibera has, by referring to the happiness of the residents, the visitors mainly backed this affirmation by saying the inhabitants laughed and had big smiles, the children were playing, the spirit and the empowerment felt was high and the sense of community and helping one an other was considered remarkable. Also the entrepreneurship of some of the inhabitants to make a living and improve the their current situation. When the tourist exemplifies the positive side of Kibera with the laugh and the smiles, there's an assumption of poverty and sadness and miserably of the residents

but most of the residents just make the most out of their situation. Closely related to the indicator, who all agreed, that the tour shows the good side of Kibera and it is a way to dismantle the stereotype of danger and criminal place. The totality of tourist who commented on the danger of Kibera agreed that it was very safe and no incidents occurred during any of the visits, a clear example of this safety "never once did I feel vunerable or unsafe". Plus many of them said no security guard was needed and some said that they didn't even have one, but it would have been unnecessary if they had had one; also the fact that the guides are well known in the slum might played an important role on the safety of the slum but all agreed that in no moment there was a threat or a threatening environment.

The tourists really appreciate the visit to the school/orphanage and being able to interact with the children and all agreed is one of the signs that there are trying to improve the future prospects of these children and it's uplifting for the tourist to see; some of the tourists explained that the children, when they visited, sang for them. This performance was positively received by the tourist but it meant the children stopped the lecture and entertained the tourists; it is difficult to asses if this practice was done every time or just a few as not many of the reviews talked about it. But, the authenticity of this act jeopardizes the entire tour; as it is a mere play for the tourists not a real class for the kids who are forced to sing to the newcomers, as one review clearly exemplifies "The school, however, was a little odd. We had gotten there after classes were over, but the teacher rounded up 4 children to sing English songs for us (at least 5 songs). To me, it didn't have the authenticity".
Some reviews really appreciate the time spend at the women centre who make the handcrafts that then are commercialized. This particular organization just works with women diagnosed with HIV and teaches them a craft so they are able to support themselves; the most repeated factor was how through the conversations with them there was a remarkable reduction in the stigma of the illness and always remarked the strength the women showed.

A remarkable fact was that not many tourists, only eleven, were concerned over the violation of the privacy of the residents, manly they respected them by not taking pictures and said that the more sceptical partakers thought the tour would be invasive but all agreed it wasn't and considered that it was very respectful and no

violations were made. In relation to this only two reviews were concerned about the ethics behind the activity and both agreed that the way it was performed it was informative and presented in a very delicate and tactful way. And in the same lines, the only reviews that categorize the tour as a wrong activity were the ones who had a bad experience with the tour and that let them to reflect on the experience and the main example was one review that said "is comparable to that of a trip to the zoo, where there are no animals but children and this I find unbearable"; it clearly states the wrongness of the activity, but yet again, it took a bad experience to reflect on what the tour meant, not many others reflect on the negative aspects nor think further than the enjoyment gotten out of the tour.

Another element analysed that not many tourists said, only eighteen, was the size of the group. In this particular case all of the reviews agreed that the smaller group the better as it's more intimate and its good for the interaction with the residents, also, the relationship with the guide is more personal and the advantage is that it becomes a private tour. None of them commented on the visual impact the tour has, but in this case the small group avoids the visual impact, and therefore, the residents do not feel such level of intrusion.

Not many tourists were focused further than the personal stories and the children. Only a few commented on the waste, how it is recycled and how, even though there's poverty, they have a zero waste policy and everything is recycled as much as possible. Although the tourist claim wanting to learn everything from Kibera just a few really take a time to go write and reflect on all the aspects of the tour as it is viewed as secondary but is an important part of the slum as there are around a million people living onsite.

In conclusion, the mass of the tourists agrees on it being a positive experience and says that it's educational and changes the way they view slums and poverty, but not many of them really reflect beyond these premises unless the experience was negative. There's a major lack of concern about the rightness or wrongness of the activity and just refer to how beneficial this tour was for them, and they justify the experience by saying the tour helped economically and they contribute to the slum; said unconcern is exemplified as only one review out of the 94 analysed actually wonder if the activity was beneficial for the slum.

6.2.3. Residents opinions

A totality of thirty-nine reviews were analysed, the opinions of the residents proceeded from two main sources: YouTube videos and online newspapers. Complete citations can be found in the bibliography:

Channel 4 News - On tour with the slum tourists in Kenya. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZKBj607m4mw	The guardian - Kenya's slums attract poverty tourism. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/sep/25/slum-tourism-kenya-kibera-poverty
The Grand Angle - Slum tourism as seen in Kibera, Nairobi. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-HDacml67tE	The New York Times – Slumdog Tourism. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/10/opinion/10odede.html
The Stream- Slum Tourism. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Z-FJQaMJu4&t=4s	Brian Ekdale – Slum tourism in Kibera: education or exploitation. http://www.brianekdale.com/2010/07/13/slum-tourism-in-kibera-education-or-exploitation/
The Rockefeller foundation's informal city dialogues - Is Slum Tourism Wrong? Kibera's Residents Voice Their Opinions. https://nextcity.org/informalcity/entry/is-slum-tourism-wrong	Reuters - Slum Tourism stirs controversy in Kenya. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-slum/slum-tourism-stirs-controversy-in-kenya-idUSL0681899920070212
Daily Nation – Slum tourism: the new fad for foreigners visiting Kenya http://mobile.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/Slum-tourism-The-new-fad-for-foreigners-visiting-Kenya-/1950774-1983218-format-xhtml-1382418z/index.html	Andalou Agency – Ethics row rages over Kenya's slum tourism. http://aa.com.tr/en/africa/ethics-row-rages-over-kenyas-slum-tourism/638958
Linkedin – Poverty's Poster Child: why is slum tourism causing more harm than good to Kibera residents https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/20140828094303-245514509-poverty-s-poster-child-why-slum-tourism-is-causing-more-harm-than-good-to-kibera-residents	

TABLE 2 Sources of the extracted residents perspectives.

First and foremost, it is highly noticeable the lack of representation of this important sector in the conventional media or other platforms, as it was proven by the difficulty that supposes the finding of locals talking and voicing their opinions.

49

Therefore, in this analysis the residents comments are on slum tourism in general not from the Kibera Tours experience they have.
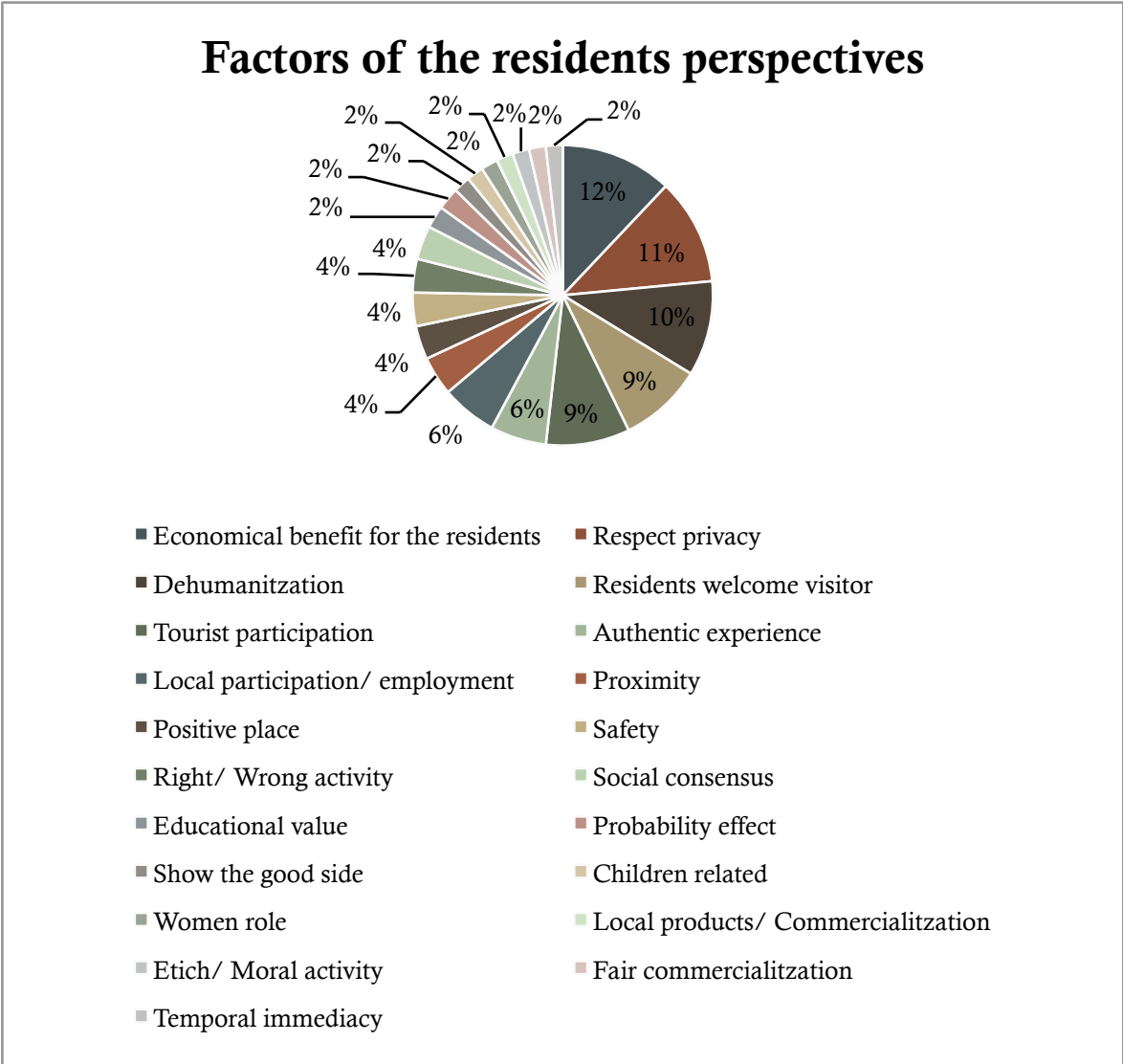
GRAPH 4 Representation of the factors of the residents' perspectives.

Once that has been stated, during the analysis the most commented factor was the economic benefit, which the residents supposedly receive from having the tours in the slum; there were two main sides, on one hand there are the ones that interact directly with the tourists and their income depends from these tours, and on the other hand the residents that have no connexion with the slum tourism and therefore, they do not receive any profit from it. The majority supports this last argument by saying that the visit of these people have no effect on their situations and no changes occur from it, this following example portraits perfectly these

opinions "people think they've really seen something- and then go back to their lives and leave me, my family and my community right where we were before"; others state that the tour companies which perform these tours do not give any earnings back to the community and even some come back to the organizations and ask for the money the tourists have donated. The opposite opinion cannot criticise the practice as their income depends on the sells to the tourists, and not having the tours stop by or being employed as a guide could deteriorate their living conditions, making their living dependant on the tours and the tour operators and thus have no personal freedom nor to change the product of commercialization nor increase the price of it.

The next most mentioned element by the residents is the violation of their privacy, through many examples the residents explained how through photography's their dignity was taken and how they felt like an attraction, some examples that depicted this general feeling were "slum tourism is a one-way street: they get the photos; we lose a piece of our dignity", "a white women was taking my picture, I felt like a tiger in a cage" or "tourist photographing slum residents was offensive, it's like you are equating people to animals". Yet, the residents have not stated many complains about the presence of the tourist but just focused the problematic on the cameras and their use. Moreover, some were accepting the tourists' presence as a way to prove the slum is safe and to eliminate the vision and of drug abuse, alcoholism and violence that are related with these impoverished areas. Many referred to the prejudice of the slums as the main interest for the visitors. Many just felt exploited by the fact of living in poverty and even though they appreciated the destigmatisation of the slum, but still felt it was an intrusion that had no benefits for the whole community. Furthermore, some residents named the tours "pity tours" the way the tourist appreciated their lives when seeing the poor conditions the residents lived in; one particular comment which exemplifies what was stated before said "let them come and learn to appreciate water after seeing us with none" and as another condemned the tours by saying "Kibera does not need pity tours, it need action". As it as been explained before, the residents are not against of the tourists themselves but their actions, and how the tours are conducted. The moment the picture is taken and the resident's dignity has been jeopardized, and a dehumanization process has occurred. The residents are not viewed as human

beings but as a part of an attraction. This is the third element most mentioned by the residents and correlates with the violation of privacy; just one comment of a resident viewed the tour as a way to reiterate their humanity by saying " we are associated with drugs and violence and also extreme poverty, the fact that they are here shows that we are also humans", this particular opinion shows exactly the eye-opening experience the tourists are looking for, "the positive Kibera", but not many others had the same perception on the matter. Some have wondered the extent of the benefit for the tourist from their dehumanization and privacy transgression, and question if it just makes them feel better with their lives or will be an eye-opening experience and actually make a positive change in Kibera.

Tourist participation is highly criticised by the residents, as they do not feel included in the tours, there's a minimal interaction between both sides and as most of them express the willingness to seat with them, have conversations and as they say "show the real Kibera"; but nowadays, the tourists just pass through and alienate the residents making them uncomfortable in their own neighbourhood, and creating a problematic between the activity and the residents.

When evaluating the opinions of the residents in reference to how welcome are the tourists for them there were two main answers, one in favour and the other against their arrival. The firsts ones who are pro tourist, argument their position as the arrival of them benefiting the community, meaning receiving funding for social project or more importantly spreading through their experience as tourists the reality of the slum, which is perceived as dark place filled with threat, danger and substances abuse to a positive and safe environment. And finally, the ones that do not welcome tourists justify it as an exploitation of poverty and a useless activity for the community as the tour might change the perception but not the quality of the livelihood of the citizens, adding the violation of their privacy that occurs during the tours with the photography's and the dehumanization.

From this conclusion two more factors derive: the authenticity of the tours and the local employment. The first one referring to the authenticity of the tours the residents almost on the entirely agree that it is not authentic as the tour guides only show the extreme poverty conditions, matching with the demand, but there are more interesting and real assets in the slum that will shown the reality of the place and really change the imaginary that the tourist have of the place; although all

agree that this is good to change the view of the safeness and security of the place, the general portrait of the slum and the approach of showing extreme poverty makes the residents disagree with the activity as there is more in a slum than poverty. Alluding the next topic of local employment, the vast majority does not see this typology of tourism benefiting the whole community as just a few work on it as guides or as souvenirs, handcrafter sellers to the tourists but apart from that no more jobs are created. Another, main concern is the lack of locals in the organization of the tours or as the CEO of the companies that organizes them; essentially there's a misrepresentation and not enough participation of the locals in the slum tourism sector.

As there's a proximity factor, as all the interviewed had an emotional bond with the slum, most of the comments are very radical against or in favour and a portion of the residents commented on the rightness or wrongness of the activity and just one saw it as an activity done right as the population could learn from the tourists and vice versa, this particular one was seen as a cultural exchange but the rest of the opinions very strictly against the activity and even considered it unethical, immoral and a voyeuristic experience, although, this strong opinion were only voiced by an insignificant sample.

The residents also referred to the positive place Kibera is and how the tours mostly emphasize the poverty side of it more than the human side, all the residents who commented on the topic agreed on this conclusion. As equally happened with the probability effect of not having a positive outcome for the community from the tours, the residents accented on the fact that the slum tourism helped changing the external view of Kibera but there was not a feasible change for the citizens nor an improvement and also this analysed element can be related with the fair commercialization as the residents feel excluded and mistreated on the earnings distribution, in the case that there are any, as an important part of the sample states that there's no earning for the community.

On the factors relating to women and children all the opinions agreed on how entrepreneurial the women are in the slum and how the children are exploited through the tours by the tourists as a demonstration of what extreme scarcity

environment produces and infringes their privacy by taking pictures of them without the parental permission.

In conclusion, the residents see slum tourism as an opportunity for improvement but by the way the sector is focused nowadays they do not consider that this activity has a positive outcome for them and sees it as exploitation and intrusion; by analysing what they have said there's an impression that if there were more locals involved and more participation between the residents and the tourists there would not be such apprehension against slum tourism.

The results obtained in this analysis were compared to an article titled "the ethical and local resident perspectives of slum tourism in Kenya" by Kieti and Magio (2013), the conclusions reached by these authors are similar to the ones obtained in this analysis, as there's a general negative attitude towards slum tourism but the residents view the activity as potentially positive if a more fair division and participation for the slum dwellers was accomplished. Moreover, the authors support the idea previously presented that the economical benefits are negligible and does not justify the existence of the activity nor benefit the whole slum and therefore, could be considered a useless activity for the slum as only the external tour operators extract a benefit from it. Finally, they state that there's a need to conduct the tours in a more human manner and to involve both sides on the practice and allow communication between them so there's a real learning and gain for one another.

6.3. Comparative analysis

In this section the results from the three individual previous analyses are compared, and through the simplification on a table, later used to determine how the same element is viewed on each stakeholder. The representation on the following table will consist of negative (-), positive (+), if a view on a particular topic was not mention would be represented as "X". In the case of a small sample on the topic with equally divided opinions on the table is represented as (+/-). These factors are organised in order of appearance in the study sample, and were chosen because ethical problems can be found in each one of these indicators.

Factors searched in the analysis	Kibera Tours	TripAdvisor	Residents
Residents welcoming	+	+	-
Positive place	+	+	+
Authentic	+	+	-
Good side Kibera	+	+	-
Safe	+	+	+
Children's role	+	+	-
Women's role	+	+	+
Local products	+	+	+
Benefit the residents	+	+	-
Respect privacy	+	+	-
Ethic activity	X	+/-	-
Fair commercialization	+	+	-
Local participation/employment	+	+	-
Right/Wrong activity	+	+/-	-
Group number (Concentration effect)	+	+	X
Temporal immediacy	X	X	-
Proximity	+	+	+
Probability effect	+	+	-
Social consensus	X	X	-
Sustainability	+	+	X
Tourist participation	+	+	-
Educational values	+	+	-
Dehumanization	X	X	-

TABLE 3 Symbolic representations of the factors from the ethical analysis.

As shown in the table above, there's not an agreement on many topics by the three stakeholders, as each one has a different perspective and different interests to protect.

Commencing with the first topic on how the residents welcome the tourists, the statements expressed by the tour operator on their website, considering the fact of the willingness of commercialization of the tour and the economical interests,

asserts the positive welcoming of the residents; from the analysed experiences of the visitors also have a positive vision on the friendliness and acceptance of the residents and just one of the visitors expressed the concern over their impact and how the residents might feel about the tourists, but in general terms there's a feeling of indifference on the impact produced and just focus on the personal enjoyment. Whereas, the residents do welcome the visitors, do not agree on the tours are as viewed as "petty tours" and feel dehumanize and as an attraction at in a zoo, what they want is the visitors to help improve their situation not to have people gazing without any benefit for the community. The residents who had a positive and welcoming attitude towards the tourism were related to the activity in a way, by being a guide or selling handcrafts or souvenirs, meaning that even if not agreed on the activity their livelihoods depend on it, and have to agree and be positive about it. Summing up, the residents have a negative view on the actual tours, with some exceptions as mentioned and the other stakeholders have a positive view, this reflects the existent disconnection and lack of communication between the tour operators, the tourists and the residents.

The residents, the website and the visitors do agree on the positive place Kibera is, for the first ones the tours change the negative preconceptions and misconceptions of the tourists, and the tour operator studied (Kibera Tours) focuses on the positivity of the place although the difficult living conditions and the residents reflect a lot about the level of happiness the residents have on their reviews. All this makes the three stakeholders agree on the topic, as all state Kibera slum is full of positive energy and the desire of improving the community. This topic is closely related with the good side of Kibera as the tour organizers focus the tour around the positive organizations found in the slum, which has been created by the residents, while the tourists perception changes and sees the entrepreneurial environment of the slum. But yet the residents disagree on this statement as claim the tours and the tourists only focuses on the poverty side of the slum and just want to see first hand the day-a-day life of people in poverty and not so much the actions the residents do to better their lives and the community. As many examples given by the residents of tourists just take pictures of the misery of the place and not show interests on the improvements nor the organizations. In this particular topic Kibera tours and the participants of the tours do show an interests in the organizations and the residents

opinions do not reflect on their opinions the good proceedings of the tour organizer studied nor their participants. Moreover, the same pattern is repeated on the topic of the authentic experience as for the residents the tours do not reflect the reality but focuses on the poverty side of the slum, whereas Kibera Tours and the tourists experiences state otherwise, a point has to be granted to the locals. A level of agreement has to be reached with the residents, as the main motive for the tourists to join a tour is the poverty. Therefore, the tour organizer and tourists affirm to have experienced the authenticity of the slum, the residents disagree as asseverate the tours are only focused on the impoverished lifestyle of the slum.

Another topic agreed by the three sectors is the safeness of the slum. Through the tours the visitors experience first-hand the security and help destigmatise the slum. The residents appreciate this fact, because as a result, the entire slum community changes into a more positive portrayal, and a more authentic experience is almost reached by the visitors; furthermore, the residents value positively the tour organizer as a tool to show the reality, even though it only is about the safety of the place.

The children's role on the tours is also disagreed on. While the tour organizer and the tourists agree that it shows the improvement of their future prospects and demonstrating hope for the entire community through the different organizations visits; the residents view it as an exploitative stop of the tour, as children are being photographed and turned into an amusement. Whereas the women's role on the slum has all the three parts agreeing on how entrepreneurial and encouraging they are, as some fight HIV stigma while learning crafts later commercialized or by creating organizations to improve the slum inhabitants lives. Even though, both factors are mainly mention by the tourists there's no reflection on the reviews of the tour about any concern about their impact but many relate how the choir sang to them at the arrival to the school, leading to the conclusion of a theatrical act for the visitors, and is because of this fact that the residents reject the current children role as say the children are treated like animals and a fair attraction.

The three part also view the positive impacts of the local products commercialized by the residents, but this factor is closely linked with the benefit the residents obtain from the tours; while as stated before they view positively the commercialization of

local handcrafts, view negatively the economical benefit; as some residents have stated only a few can work on this handcrafts and the income gained might not be sufficient and will need a second employment. For the tour company and the visitors both factors mention are ways to repay and benefit the slum, this positive impact claimed is not recognized by the residents as see no improvement on their livelihoods nor surroundings. Furthermore, all this factors connect on the fair commercialization of the tours; the views stay as mentioned in the previous factors; the only difference found is in the tourists reviews as some felt the tour fee was overpriced for a walking tour and the whole tour was a shopping tour to sell handcrafts to them, these are a minority and do not represent enough numbers to consider it as a normal actuation on the tours; therefore are just considered unfortunate bad experiences. On the other hand, the residents argument the same reasons and also add that some tour operators after the tourists have passed and done their purchases, go back to the organizations and claim a percentage of the earnings; no residents mention Kibera Tours on this professional misconduct.

One of the most talked factors by the residents are the respect and the privacy, and none of the ones who mention this element were positive about it, and state they felt as an attraction at the zoo and their privacy violated as the residents picture them while they were doing house chores, simply bathing a child or just relaxing outside. Although, the visitors claim there has been no violation and have followed the Kibera Tours guidelines and restricted photography policy; this residents examples on pictures may not match the experiences of the visitors or the principles of Kibera Tours, but undoubtedly the privacy of the residents is being infringed as the residents say the tourists are gazing around and looking at them and even curiously view intrude through the residences windows. This lack of respect for the locals can be related to the dehumanization the residents experience as some related the tourists went into a house were a woman in labour was, and took pictures of her during that vulnerable moment; that extreme case of mal professional practice is a clear example of the dehumanization process as a human is viewed as an animal. The fact that none of the other two sectors have mentioned this factor is because the policy of the tours and affirmed by the reviews is that there has not been any locals rights violated and the way the tour is set, it would not occur. Despite the no infringement done by neither tourist sample nor Kibera Tours; the residents are part

of a theatrical display and being the main asset on the tour dehumanizes them and are viewed as another element, as a resident exemplified felt like an animal in a safari.

The dubiety on the ethicalness of the activity has not been mentioned by the tour organizer, as it can be deduced from the website is viewed as a help and contribution to the slum and therefore, an ethical activity, more to say the strict guideline to not violate the privacy of the residents. Nevertheless the visitors also do not comment generally on the topic, as only two reviews actually wondered about the ethicality of the activity, one was in favour of it saying it's an aid the locals get and a way to export the reality of the place and destigmatise it, the other wondered if it was just an intrusion and if an actual change would occur. Moreover, the residents didn't either mention much the ethicality of the activity, but the ones who did viewed it in a negative was and expressed the unethicality of the activity as the tours experienced by them, denigrated the residents and had not benefit for the local community. Furthermore, the present factor can be related to the rightness and the wrongness view of the tours, in this case the tour operator emphasized the rightness as claimed benefit for the community but the tourists opinion were divided, same as found on the previous factor; the ones in favour based their argument on the benefit for the community while the others based it on the intrusion and the lack of positive impact the tour considered it had for the residents, mentioning the privacy factor. As expected following the previous line of arguments, the residents agreed on the wrongness of the tour, and the few who were positive about the situation talked about the benefit for the community and the changed perception of the slum the visitor leaves with, there's the need to point out the fact that the vast majority of the positive view on the matter are from residents who have some level of involvement with tourism; therefore, might be a biased opinion.

Another disagreed topic is the local participation on the tours as the tour operator is co-founded and guided by locals, therefore, it's viewed as a positive impact and as a local product; while the tourist appreciate this fact and the stops of the tour where there's the possibility to see the locals work on handcrafts latter to be bought, the analysed visitors experience a high percentage of involvement. Furthermore, the negative perception and the expressed lack of participation are the ones giving a

contrast, also viewed as a reality check; the residents mainly agree that the majority of the tours have been created by an external operator that sometimes is not even from Kenya, and denounce the lack of consultancy during the creation process of the tours, and even more importantly, on being asked about the tours and the neglecting on the acknowledgment of the impacts of the tourists on their lives.

On the other side, there's the tourist participation that has the same views of the positive and negative aspects as has been state it before. The tour operator and guides encourage the tourists to ask questions and engage in conversations and the reviews said there's this communication with the residents; these last ones do not consider the current level of communication enough and feel alienated by this low level of interaction, for the residents the tourists just pass by and do not engage with them while the residents do state this engagement; the most probable solution for this misconception is the fact that the tourists just talk with the residents who run the organizations but do not interact with the rest of the residents and so the residents uninvolved with the tours have no contact with the tourists.

Having examined the six points of the Good Moral Conduct created by Jones (1991) seen in Lovelock & Lovelock (2013) and explained on the tourism and ethics section, the obtained results are: on the concentration effect only the tourists and Kibera Tours emphasize the importance of a small number of participants to have less impact, while the residents do not comment on this as the presence of the tourists has impacted enough the community. Referring to the temporal immediacy, nor the tourists nor the tour company expressed a concern on the topic; while the residents' have a negative view on the topic, as they experience the negative consequences, such as the mal practice of the tour operators, the dehumanization and the privacy violation, but do not experience positive improvements on their community. On the probability effect, Kibera Tours agree on the benefit brought into the community, as the tourist conjointly express the gain for the community; but the residents do not agree as just a few percentage of them participate in the activity and the majority just experience the negative factor of slum tourism, therefore the vast majority agrees it causes harm but also point out that if the sector changed the approach of the tours it will be a beneficial activity. The proximity factor is all positive as all of them are engaged and have a connection with Kibera and therefore, their opinions are based on the feelings and

personal experiences and have a deep understanding of the reality of the slum; the only ones that have no personal connection are the tourists, but all of them appreciate the emotional connection all the guides have with the slum. Finally, the social consensus is divided as not the Kibera Tours nor the tourists mention the support to the slum tourism, it is obvious this support on their comments and the fact that the tour keep operating nowadays.

The magnitude of consequences has not been analysed and does not appear on the table above, as there was no feasible way to determine the harm or benefit of the activity. But judging by the analysis done and the conclusions reached the tour operator and the tourists account more benefit than harm while the residents conclude otherwise.

The sustainability element is focused on the recycling factory of Kibera and the way the tour operates. Concerning the first element the tour operators shows the good side of the waste management, which changes the perception that equals slum and dumpster and so the tourist appreciate and change their perception, on this case the residents do not mention their waste management. Talking about the sustainability of the tour the residents have a negative opinion on the factor as it has been stated many times do not consider there is a benefit nor have a fair share of participation as the tours are mainly created by external companies. The tourists and Kibera Tours opine differently as the company is Kibera-based and the tourists experience and purchase local products of the Slum, no need mentioning the employment the company creates.

The final factor studied was the educational value of the tour. For Kibera tours and the tourist it's the main motivation, one to correct the misconception of slums and poverty and the other to see the reality of poverty. All the tourists who reviewed over this topic expressed the positive learning experience the tour was; while the residents disagree with this education, explaining the main reason for the tourist to be there is poverty and the tours match the demand for poverty and therefore, the reality is staged and fake, meaning there is no learning, just petty tours which will make the tourist feel better about their life's; furthermore, some residents also reflect on how there could be an exchange learning between the tourists and the locals but because of the lack of communication this does not happen.

In conclusion, the tour operator and the tourists view the activity more positively than the residents who consider the current slum tourism as inefficient, unbeneficial, dehumanizing and violating their privacy; but still believe that with a different approach the tours could be beneficial.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this dissertation was to answer the following question: Is slum tourism perceived as an ethical activity? After having studied slum tourism and ethics in the theoretical frame, and obtained results from the study case, a justified answer can be conceived.

During the in depth study of the slum tourism in the theoretical frame Frenzel et al (2015) and Meckawy (2012) exposed the main motives behind the tourists visits through the slums, and posteriorly of the Kibera analysis some have appeared and aligned with both authors; the reasons the tourists of Kibera used were listed in order of importance: to learn and to see the real picture, to contribute to the development of the country, compare realities, and lastly the thrill of the unknown. Relating to the first reason of the tourists valuing the educational factor of the visit of the slum, the vast majority of the tourists referred to this education received as an "eye-opening experience" and this is why they support these tours as ethical, because they are learning something. Most of them then reflect on the fact that this leisure activity was a way to give back to the community, therefore, it becomes the second reason for them to support the tours. Wanting to compare realities leads to the "feeling good" of the tourists and as some stated "to be thankful not to have been born there"; meaning that comparing realities just serves the purpose of reinforcing the empowerment of the tourists while, the residents are just exposed and realise the economic gap difference between them and the tourists. Furthermore, this motive is in accordance with the motives of the English bourgeois who visited the USA slums in the 1880's to compare which was better.

Finally, for the thrill of the unknown, has not been seen repetitively on the comments, just a couple of tourists referred to the activity as a different kind of adventure, these people's comments showed the lack of respect they had for the inhabitants as one stated Kibera was a "begginers slum". This last typology of tourists is connected to the bourgeois of the Victorian era, who wanted to experience the licentiousness, and clearly demonstrates the same behavioural pattern centuries after.

Moreover, the study case has proven that the ethnic motives the USA slum visitors had are still present nowadays, as many tourists' reviews reflect the interest for their culture and desire to experience a different social reality. Although nowadays it's more interactional than observational and it is an improvement but still alienates the residents and more efforts need to be done in order to correct this malpractice.

The analysis of Kibera has undeniably confirmed what Frenzel, Burgold and Rolfes (2013) stated that poverty has become an asset of a destination and in this case is clearly demonstrated as the tourists stated the same interest for a safari tour than a slum tour and recommend doing it as a different activity. The fact that seeing poverty is an activity and, furthermore, a leisure activity, denotes the lack of concern from the tourists of the repercussion of their actions and just concern about their personal enjoyment; which was proven by the low number of tourists who reflected this line of thought on their comments about the rightness or wrongness of the activity.

Lea (1993) stated the three branches of ethics in tourism, where problems could occur: development ethics in the third world, social and physical impacts resulting from tourism and ethics related to the actions of individual travellers. All of these reasons cited above match perfectly the case of Kibera and slum tourism in general, as the way to benefit the entire community from tourism activity and not depend on external tour operators is still a big concern in the sector, and as shown in the case study an agreement has not been reached. This discrepancy leads to the study of the consequences the activity has on the residents, and to prove if it's beneficial or not for them, benefits that have been proven to be limited. Finally, the actions of individual travellers, their behavioural pattern during the tours, and as the residents opinions demonstrate, the current tourist behaviour does not please the residents as they feel alienated and excluded by them, which has been proven by the lack of interaction between residents and visitors.

This activity could be based on what Smith and Duffy (2003) illustrate about the willingness to pay (WTP) and the willingness to accept (WTA); slum tourism would not exist if there weren't tourists WTP, and on the other side residents WTA; but what the residents are WTA has a limit once their rights are violated or like in Doxey's Irridex model (1975) the residents reach the antagonism phase and the activity would cease to exist. Moreover, as there are residents whose WTA is

very tolerable and high, as they receive a benefit from said activity, they will accept the practice even though it might damage the community. And it's in the balance of these factors that slum tourism should be based on, meaning the tourist should not be WTP for an immoral tour that damages the community. The residents WTA should be strict and not accept malpractices from tour operators for just a small profit and not beneficial for the entire community, as slum tourism should have a positive impact on the totality of the residents.

The UNWTO Global Code of Ethics has ten articles which, if followed, would ensure there's an ethical activity. But as it has been proven in the case study some of the articles are being violated. The article 1 refers of tourism as a contribution to mutual understanding and respect, but as it has been said by the residents this is not the case in Kibera. The article 2 uses tourism as a vehicle for individual and collective fulfilment which has not happened for the residents as just a few interact whit the visitors and just a few receive an economical benefit; whom always gets a benefit is the tourist as they experience something new. Article 3 sees tourism as a factor of sustainable development, and again it is not developing anything in Kibera just aiding some organizations, which now depend on the donations, meaning it is not sustainable. Also agreed by the study of Kieti and Magio (2013) whom demonstrate the economical benefit of the Kibera residents from tourism is insignificant and does not excuse this activity. There's a clear violation of the article 4 as there's no enhancement of cultural heritage nor mankind, as many have stated they feel like a part of a zoo and therefore, dehumanized. The article 5 is again being infringed, as it should be a beneficial activity for the host community, and as it has been demonstrated by the study case and Kieti's and Magio's (2013) study, it is not. The article 6 refers to the obligations of each stakeholder in tourism development and these are being neglected as the tour operator are not benefiting the local community, the visitors are supporting tours that alienate and dehumanize the residents, and the residents do not receive a benefit and are forced to accept these tours. The articles 7 and 8, the right to tourism and the liberty of tourism movements are not being violated and are correct. The article 9 referring to the right of the workers and entrepreneurs is not being followed as the employees do not earn enough from the tours and some have stated the need of moonlighting to make ends meet. Furthermore, the residents ok Kibera are very entrepreneurial but is

difficult for them to get into the tourism sector without an external tour operator. Finally the article 10, which want the implementation of this Global Code of Ethics is being violated as no one has adhere to it nor follows it's principles as it has been demonstrated in the text above.

In conclusion and answering the question: Is slum tourism perceived as an ethical activity? The answer is, depending on each stakeholder. For the residents it is not an ethical activity as they are dehumanized and alienated from their community. In the tourist perspectives there's a division, the vast majority views it as an ethical activity as the community receives a benefit and a destigmatisation, but just a fewer say it is unethical and questions the actual benefit the community receives. Finally, for the tour operators the slum tourism is perceived as an ethical activity as they argument it benefits the local community. Both visitor and tour operator argue the benefit for the local community but as it has been questioned along this dissertation the benefit they get is arguable. Kibera Tours does give the impression of approaching their tours more ethically, and from what has been analysed, a lot of effort has been put into respecting the community through strict policies.

In general terms, the results have shown that slum tourism is not perceived as an ethical activity, but once the tourists who are convinced of the ethicality of the activity reflect on the consequences of these tours for the local community, there's a change on their perspective. Needless to say, this is not the general norm.

Slum tourism could be a positive asset for the impoverished communities but as it is nowadays it is not beneficial is just an exploitation of poverty, but when the course of action changes, an actual benefit will be perceived by the community, and it will be supported by the three stakeholders.

8. APPENDIX 1

Here it is shown the table in which the results of the content analysis were classified. Each factor was previously coded, later, the number of appearances of each factor was counted and lastly, it was written in the appropriate cell.

	FACTORS SEARCHED IN THE ANALYSIS	KIBERA TOURS	TRIPADVISOR/WEB SITE COMMENTS	RESIDENTS PRESPECTIVE
A	Residents welcome visitors	4	70	15
B	Positive place	10	43	6
C	Authentic experience	9	89	10
D	Show the good side	2	24	3
E	Security issue	5	47	6
F	Children related	2	30	3
G	Women role	1	22	3
H	Local products/ commercialization	4	45	3
I	Economical benefit for the residents	8	42	20
J	Respect/ privacy	5	11	19
K	Ethic/ moral	X	2	3
L	Fair commercialization	1	37	3
M	Local participation/employment	9	54	10
N	Right/Wrong	1	6	6
O	Concentration effect	2	18	X
P	Proximity	1	4	7
Q	Temporal immediacy	X	X	3
R	Probability effect	X	1	4
S	Social consensus	X	X	6
T	Sustainable	2	7	X
U	Tourist participation	2	26	15
V	Educational	X	62	4
w	deshumanitzation	X	X	17
	Nº of comments analysed	WEBSITE	94	39

TABLE 4 Content analysis.

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