Impacts of The Slave Trade on The Service Industry in Kenya and Haiti: The Case of The Tourism and Hospitality Sectors

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Abstract

Research has demonstrated that the slave trade has impacted negatively not only on the economic development of Sub-Saharan Africa, but also on the levels of interpersonal trust between its people. This paper examines the impact of the slave trade on the tourism and hospitality sector in Kenya the starting point, and Haiti, the extension point. It seeks the answers two key questions:
(1) What is the perception of the tourism and hospitality sector in Kenya and Haiti?
(2) To what extent has slavery impacted on these sectors?
The objective is to discover if there is a dilution of the impact the further you get from the starting point. The findings indicate no dissolution between the starting point and the extension point even though Haiti and Kenya are far apart geographically. Both countries have much in common as a result of the slave trade which is ultimately attributable to low levels of trust such as weak institutions, political instability and attitudes towards tourists. Ideologies rooted in slavery and reinforced through colonialism result in both countries engaging in a 'blanc'/'mzungu' rhetoric where the white tourist is seen as a cash cow. We conclude trust is required to achieve positive changes.

Key words: Slave trade, Mzungu, Blanc, Tourism, Africa, Caribbean

1 Introduction

In Martinique (French Department in the Caribbean), the tourism industry appeared in the 1950/1960s. The local government considered the industry as an option to develop the island (Perri, 2004). As early as the end of the 1950s, some tour operators (T.O) pointed out that the destination was not 'tourist-minded'. Pastel (1986) identified history and more particularly the colonial period as a cause of the rejection of the tourism industry. For Perri (2004), the tourism sector in Martinique is viewed by the locals like a re-enactment of the slavery period when the slaves (black people) had to serve the masters (white people). Ian Thomson (2004), in his travel writing 'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti' explained that as a tourist in Haiti, he was resented for the colour of his skin (Thomson, 2004: 143) and was fearful of being perceived as a white person (Thomson, 2004: 24). Davidas(1997) explains that the slave period shapes the perception that black people have of white people. Many academics have even compared the development of the tourism industry to a cultural shock (Cousin, 2007). As Nunn (2008) has pointed out the negative impacts of the slave trade on the long-term economic development of Africa, in this paper we will be more specific by examining the impacts on a specific sector of the economy, namely the tourism and

hospitality sector not only in Kenya, Africa (the starting point) but also in Haiti (extension point).

Nunn (2008, 2011) explained that slavery has an important impact on interpersonal trust in Africa. He also added that this period of humanity has negative impacts on the economic development of the continent. Miles away from Africa after crossing the Atlantic we are in the Caribbean. Academics (Pastel, 1986; Perri, 2004) specialised in the tourism development in this part of the world explained that slavery has an impact on the customer service in the tourism sector in Martinique. Thomson (2004) confirms that it is also the case in Haiti. Despite the fact that Africa is far away from the Caribbean in both cases we realise that slavery has some impact on the people's attitude towards each other through its effect on interpersonal trust (Nunn, 2011) and on the economic performance of both areas. However, what we don't know yet is if the impact of the slave trade is the same in both areas. Hence the reason our main objective is to find out if there is dissolution of the impacts of slavery on the tourism sector the further you get from the centre.

This paper explores the long term consequences of the slave trade in terms of a framework using dimensions of culture, beliefs and values which contribute to mistrust as manifested in the tourism and hospitality sectors in Kenya and Haiti. It will do this by examining research, reports and academic papers on the tourism and hospitality sector in Kenya and Haiti reflecting local attitudes towards tourists, tourism and the hospitality sector, as well as using social value surveys and research pertaining to these surveys, to discuss the findings. A comparison between the two countries is especially interesting because of their differences when it comes to the nature of slavery, but also because of their similarities as the governments of Kenya and Haitiboth realised that tourism could help their socio-economic situation. This research paper is therefore going to address two key questions:
(1) What is the perception of the tourism and hospitality sector in Kenya and Haiti?
(2) To what extent has slavery impacted these sectors in both destinations?
To answer the above questions we have opted for a qualitative analysis alongside a comparative and inductive approach.

In order to find out if there is dissolution of the impact of slavery on the tourism sector the further you get from the centre, in other words from Kenya (Africa) to Haiti (Caribbean), this paper proposes an analysis articulated around two main parts: (1) A background analysis of the tourism and hospitality sector in Kenya and Haiti (2) A comparative analysis of both destinations.

2. Key Concepts Analysis

2.1 Slavery and its legacy

The Portuguese sea captain Antam Gonçalvez became the first white man to enslave Africans on the West coast of Africa and take them away by sea in 1441 (Reader, 1998). For the following 400 years this atrocious trade in humans was considered to be a legitimate form of commerce by Europeans, Arabs and Africans themselves. The shameful roll call of those who took part includes Portuguese, Dutch, British and French. The first slave raid by Gonçalvez and his men was an armed attack, but European slave raids would never have become a viable enterprise; it was Africans themselves who carried out slave-

raids on behalf of the Europeans using the force of custom and political authority rather than force of arms (Reader, 1998). African chiefs and wealthy elites exploited the customary practice of enslavement within the indigenous economy that already existed in African cultures, and sold not only their enemies, but their brothers, sisters, neighbours, cousins. Slaves were a feature of African societies, mere chattels, valued less than the goods offered in exchange by the Europeans (Reader, 1998).

Lovejoy (1983) cited in Reader, 1998 estimates that the total number of guns sold to African traders during the slave trade was in the region of 20 million. Firearms facilitated the capture and trade of slaves and became the means by which powerful men maintained their positions even after the trade was abolished. The immediate effect of Britain's abolishment of the slave trade in 1807 was to raise the price of slaves in America and make it even more lucrative (Obadina, 2008). Davis (2000) draws attention to the paradox that those who shouted loudest for the abolition of the trade in the early 1800's (Britain, France, Holland and Scandinavia) were also those who led the support for the plantation colonies based on African slave labour. Profit from slave labour in the colonies and the slave trade were major sources of wealth which helped finance the industrial revolution in Europe while at the same time stripping Africa of its most valuable asset; its people (Obadina, 2008). Approximately 18 million slaves were exported from tropical Africa between 1500 and the late 1800s (Reader, 1998). Obadina puts a staggering estimate of the total human loss to Africa over the 400 year period as ranging from 30 million to 200 million people. 200 million hardly seems credible but the continent was indeed emptied of its people. Lovejoy (1983) cited in Reader, 1998 estimates that 10 – 20 per cent of the total captured died on the Atlantic crossing.Inter tribalarmed warfare for the procurement of slaves increased leading to deaths in skirmishes, displacement and migration.Family life was transformed as the healthiest, fittest and most economically productive were taken as slaves (Kusimba, 2004). Starving and lawless refugees raided their neighbours for food and cattle leading to more deaths by famine, disease and killing (Kusimba, 2004).

The devastation, trauma, dehumanisation and domination wrought by slavery and the slave trade have been severely underestimated (Ogude, 1981; Kusimba, 2004 and Reader, 1998). Africa was ruled by fear, insecurity and terror, minimising legitimate exchange and confining people to ethnic boundaries with profound social, political, cultural, economic and psychological impacts on African societies and peoples (Kusimba, 2004; Obadina, 2008). In order to survive it was inevitable that a culture of mistrust evolved (Nunn, 2010).Ogude (1981) contends that the common shared racial memory of slavery has defined and continues to shape black people today; slavery is the fate of an entire race, unfinished business. The very foundations of what it means to be African was deconstructed, dismantled, wiped out, and in its place a construction of European systems have been unsuccessfully imposed.

Obadina (2008) suggests the crisis facing so many African societies is because they are not coming to terms with the implications of this contact. History was written in the version of those who wrote, it took two centuries before the brutality of slavery produced black slaves who were literate enough to write in the language of their masters (Ogude, 1981). Writing your own history allows you to imagine your own future and reinvent yourself. Wynne-Jones (2010) finds that whilst oral slave trade narratives can provide a crucial voice to those marginalised in a global context, the tellers tailor those histories according to the perceived needs of the listeners, affecting the ways in which the histories are presented, understood and experienced. Literature addresses this gap. Powerful novels such as 'Beloved' by the Nobel prize winning author Toni Morrison, unpacks some of the

unspeakable horrors of what it meant to be a slave.

The psychology and dynamics of absolute power enjoyed by the slave traders and owners also deserves closer scrutiny (Davis, 2000). Racial discrimination and prejudice amongst the whites was rife as demonstrated by the segregation laws in the United States and South Africa, the discriminating laws in the colonies, and colour bars in Britain in clubs, sports, the forces and accommodation. Sadly, modern African leaders today, bar a few exceptions, reflect the selfish, all powerful, asset stripping attitudes of bygone African slave traders (Obadina, 2008). In the context of this background this paper explores the legacy of the slave trade on the tourism and hospitality sectors in Kenya and Haiti.

2.2 Tourism in developing countries

There has been a good deal of discussion as to whether tourism is a godsend or an evil. Wagner cited in Crick (1989) points out that an industry as complex as tourism, which involves individual, local, national and international levels in addition to economic, social and cultural factors cannot be consistently 'good' or 'bad' for a third world country. The impact of tourism on the contemporary world is profound. Apart from war and insecurity, it accounts for the largest movement of human populations. It was the single largest item in world trade until the oil price hikes in the early 1970s having grown by 10% per annum since the 60s. Many third world countries have chosen the tourism industry as a central development strategy, strongly encouraged in the 60s by such organisations as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Bank and United Nations. The leisure seeking tourists from wealthy countries would lead to economic advancement in the poor host countries. Retrospectively, binding the growth of a third world country to the affluence of Europe and North America when it is the very forces behind that affluence that maintains the under development status quo of the third world seems far too simplistic (Crick, 1989).

Investments in infrastructure such as buildings and transport are used solely by tourists to the exclusion of the locals. Furthermore, tax free profits and financial incentives offered to businesses by third world governments to attract FDI open the doors to corruption and fraud. Moreover, the majority of jobs created for the locals are unskilled and low paid whilst the effect of tourism raises land and food prices, exposes the locals to the conspicuous consumption of the tourist and recreates the structure of the colonial situation (Idem) which this paper contends has its origins in the slave trade. Since the 1980s there is a growing recognition that tourism requires more equality among all participants which has led to alternative forms of tourism where less foreign capital, more local people, food and architecture are engaged (ibidem).

3. The Profile of Studied Countries

3.1 Kenya

Kenya was heavily raided during the slave trade era resulting in the enslavement of approximately 90% of the coastal population. It was colonised in the latter part of the 19th century and became independent in 1963 after the bitter 9 year Mau Mau uprising (Wrong, 2009). Development indicators such as life expectancy at birth (57 years), poverty headcount ratio at $1.25/day (43.4%) and mortality rate under 5 per 1000 births (73%) show that Kenya still has considerable investments to make in its people (World Bank, 2012).

The tourism sector is a growing contributor to GDP and exports in more than half of all African countries. The tourism sector has therefore been identified as a key sector for poverty alleviation in Africa (Karambakuwa, et al., 2011). Kenya turned to tourism and tourism development as a means to improve its socio-economic conditions (Akama, 2002). In 1954, 5,300 tourists are officially recorded as having visited Kenya (Jackson, 1973). By the 1960s around the time of independence (1963) this had risen to 51,000. It was due to the Kenya government's active initiatives in pushing its wildlife and natural environment heritage and by banning game hunting and creating an infrastructure to manage and develop the tourism industry, that tourist numbers grew to 700,000 during the 1980s (Akama, 2002). Income from tourism grew from 27 million Kenya pounds in 1970 (20 Ksh to 1 Kpound) to 1 billion Kenya pounds in the 1980s and by the late 1980s had become the country's principle foreign exchange earner (Akama, 2002). Tourism accounted for twelve percent of Kenya's GDP and the industry created numerous direct and indirect jobs (Akama, 2002).

By the 1990s Kenya's tourism underwent some major hardships attributable to both internal and external factors. The main reason for the drop in visitors was the result of, what is very common in developing countries, political instability. The hard Moi years (1978 – 2002) had sucked the country dry. Moi's authoritarian dictatorship ruled through corruption, torture, terror and plundering, but as Kenya was anti-communist, the western world turned a blind eye until the end of the cold war in 1989 (Bertelsmann Transformation index, 2006). During the 1990s as a result of the political instability issues, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) suspended aid to Kenya. A portion of this IMF aid was used to support tourism (Njeru, 2003). Since then the government has been calling for the private sector to provide financial and technical support for tourism development, and the government in turn supports policies and executes legislature for tourism development.

The 1998 simultaneous bombings of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam by Al Qaeda master minded by Osama bin Laden, killed 213 and wounded a staggering 5,000 Kenyans (Beirman, 2007).In 2002 an attack was launched on an Israeli owned Mombasa tourist hotel by a car bomb killing 13 and injuring 80, at the same time two surface-to-air missiles were fired at an Israeli charter plane which it very fortunately was able to avoid (Dunn, 2004; BBC News, 2002). The 2007 post-election violence severely damaged Kenya's reputation as a tourist destination, numbers fell dramatically and the situation was exacerbated by the 2008 economic downturn resulting in a drop of 50% in tourist numbers (Tourism Review, 2009).In 2011 Somali pirates and Al Shabaab (radical Al Qaeda linked Islamist group) were responsible for the kidnapping, and resulting death of a French woman and the earlier kidnapping of a British couple resulting in the death of the man. These high profile news stories further compromised the tourism industry (Malalo, 2011).

In spite of all these security and economic factors revenues from the tourism industry have jumped from Ksh. 52.7 billion in 2008 to Ksh. 97.9 billion in 2011 (Kenya Nation Bureau of Statistics, 2012). In 2011 travel and tourism contributed 13.7% of Kenya's GDP (All Kenya News, 2012). Today tourism is a major industry in Kenya and a key driver towards the Vision 2030 goals. It has made major contributions towards the country's GDP over the past few years and has thus contributed toward the economic development of the country. In addition, tourism has contributed to the employment of a large number of people in Kenya. Moreover, the hotel industry has flourished as a result of the growth in Kenya's tourism industry (Kuria, Wanderi and Ondigi, 2012).

3.2 Haiti

It is almost impossible to refer to the period of the slave trade in Haiti without referring to Toussaint L'Ouverture, also called the 'Bonaparte of the Antilles' who set free all Haitian slaves. Despite the fact that he recognised the sovereign rights of France, in 1801 Toussaint L' Ouverture was seized by the French in Cap-Français and put on board a ship and ferried as prisoner to France in 1802. In 1803 he was found dead. In 1804, Dessaline declared the independence of Haiti. Haiti became the first black republic. Dessaline then ordered the massacre of most of the whites who had remained on the island (Hector and Hurbon, 2009 cited in Gilles 2012).

However, despite the abolition of slavery, the spirit of slavery remains in the form of a systematic pillaging of the public funds by those in office which has kept the people in poverty (Thomson, 2004). Haiti was once the richest French colony. It was even called the 'Pearl of the Antilles', but today it is one of the poorest countries in the world. Indicators witness a very poor level of human development: Life expectancy (62 years), infant mortality (80%), maternal mortality (523 per 100000 live births), and adult illiteracy (50%), unemployment among the active population (around 60%), etc. The vulnerability of the Haitian population is very high with 65% of the population living below the poverty threshold (Roc, 2008). Between 1800 and 2009, the service sector moved from less than 5% to 60% of the GDP of Haiti. The move from the primary sector as being the main sector of the economy of the country to the service sector is mainly due to a change of activity of a huge part of the population (Benedique et al, 2010).

Tourism is often described as one of the world's largest industries (Cooper and Hall, 2008: 252). When it comes to the Caribbean most people think about sunny, white beach paradise islands, colourful cocktails and lively music. Because the region is very diverse, not all the islands are 'vested in the branding and marketing of paradise' (Sheller, 2004: 23). For instance, Haiti and the Dominican Republic have two different images. On the one hand we have one of the most visited island of the Caribbean (The Dominican Republic), on the other hand, Haiti, branded as an insecure destination (Higate and Henry, 2009), is perceived as a place where the worst is always likely to happen (Bonnet, 2010). Haiti used to be the most popular tourist destination in the Caribbean between 1940e – 1960e (Séraphin, 2010) and as such attracted an international jet set. Mick Jagger, Charles Addams, Jackie Kennedy, etc. were among those who popularised Haiti (Thomson, 2004). In fact, in 1951, the island received 10,788 visitors and in 1956, 67,700 tourists visited the island. The number of tourists had multiplied by 6 in 5 years (Jules and Laplanche, 2006).

In 1957, the dictatorship and the atmosphere of terror organised by Francois Duvalier and his Tontons Macoutes, crippled the tourism industry of the country. When Jean Claude Duvalier became president in 1972, the situation of the island improved slightly. In the late 1970s and 1980s things changed drastically for Haiti. During this decade the destination went through a severe economic crisis which developed into a socio-political crisis. Between 1987 and 2004, the number of tourists went from 239.200 in 1987 to 108.868 in 2004, which represents a decrease of more than 54% of the number of visitors in 17 years. Nowadays, Haiti is one of the least visited islands for three main reasons: The political instability; the climate of insecurity and last but not least, the lack of facilities for tourists (Séraphin, 2011).

4. Kenya / Haiti: differences and similarities

4.1 Representation

Social representations are built on a shared knowledge and understanding of a common reality (Moscovici, 1961). The key point is that social representations constitute collective systems of meaning which may be expressed, or whose effects may be observed in

values, ideas and practices (Duveen & Lloyd, 1993). They are embodied in habitual behaviour, in formal and informal communication. In other words, social representations are products of interconnectedness between people and processes of references through which we conceive the world (Deaux & Philogene, 2001). Tourism development appears to be an interesting topic for the attention of a social representation framework (Meliou & Maroudas, 2010). Subsequently, social representation can be used to understand how different groups think about tourism (Pearce et al. 1991). Africa is a continent characterised by diversity on several dimensions that reflect the European colonisation legacy (Adeleye, 2011; Dunn, 2004). It called for the freezing of African spaces and the control of African movement both of which were essential to the realisation of the colonial project and impositions of hegemonic systems (Dunn, 2004). Travel brochures depict natural vistas, wildlife or Masaai in traditional dress, rarely do they portray images of urbanised or industrialised spaces. The 'modern' Africans are only presented in terms of humble servers and personal attendants employed on the basis of racial stereotypes. Locals are excluded from the tourist venues (Crick, 1989). Haiti is a former French colony (Thomson, 2004) inhabited by former slaves from sub-Saharan Africa who had been exploited (Pulvar, 2006). It therefore shares with Kenya (Africa) a common European colonisation legacy. Social representations can be part of what Haiti (and even the Caribbean) and Kenya have in common.

Tourism in third world countries is strongly associated with servility, which this paper contends harks back to hegemonic legacies left by slavery, breeding resentment. Unofficially the extent of this servility also embraces prostitution and exploitation on all sides. Whilst the focus of this paper is on the effects of the slave trade on the tourist industry the tourist needs to be mentioned beyond their ideas of stereotypes. When on holiday in a world of play and freedom rather than work and structure, the tourist can unshackle himself from his normal life. He can be indulgent rather than responsible, promiscuous rather than chaste, spend rather than save (Crick, 1989). Whilst perpetuating and reinforcing stereotypes, tourism creates a damaging image of the third world that could be detrimental for development (Idem).

Nunn and Wantchek on (2011) have indicated that individuals whose ancestors were heavily raided during the slave trade are less trusting today. They have also pointed out that most of the impact of the slave trade is through factors that are internal to the individual, such as cultural norms, beliefs and values. Thus, Ian Thomson, in 'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti' (2004) explains that tourists in Haiti are not just tourists, they are white people: 'Blanc'. They are constantly referred to by their skin colour. In the tourism and hospitality sector this can be an issue particularly when it comes to customer service. Jacques Maillot, ex CEO of Nouvelles Frontieres (a French T.O) explained that in the French Caribbean, locals perceived tourism as a re-enactment of slavery, hence the poor customer service and the complaints from customers (Perri, 2004). It is highly likely that the situation depicted in Haiti/Martinique (Caribbean) is the same or similar in the tourism sector in Kenya.

Our objective in this section is to establish if there is a dilution in terms of resentment to serving white people in a tourism and hospitality context in Africa (original point) and Caribbean (extension)? This paper makes a unique contribution of the representation of tourism for countries that have been through the slave trade by an exploration of two different destinations. In a way this paper also contributes to the meta-literature related to black culture and identity with an application to the tourism and hospitality sector. Based on the fact that on the one hand, the tourism and hospitality sector in Haiti is essentially owned and managed by Haitians (Séraphin, 2011, 2012), whilst on the other hand most tourism enterprises in Kenya (hotels, T.O, Travel agencies) are foreign

owned, controlled or managed (Sindiga, 1994) We can already expect some differences in terms of perception of tourism, as in Haiti there is probably a greater sense of ownership of the sector than in Kenya. African elites are complicit in this representation of Africa, as tourism has become an important part of the economy or rather the elite's own benefit (Dunn, 2004; Crick, 1989). These local elites have become lynchpins enabling foreign interests to secure their hold in poor countries (Crick, 1989) comparable to the African slave raiders. Local and foreign elites gain at the deprivation of the masses who just have to grin and bear it (Crick, 1989). It is no wonder that resentment builds up.

In order to understand how locals perceive the tourists we are to use respectively for Kenya articles about the local/'Mzungu' interaction, and for Haiti, we are going to analyse the travel writing 'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'. In both cases we are going to use secondary research. Once this step is accomplished, in the following section (section 5: Comparative analysis and findings) we are going to compare the results of Haiti and Kenya to identify the similarities and differences to discover if there is a dissolution of the impacts of the slave trade between the centre (Kenya, Africa) and the extension (Haiti, Caribbean).

4.2 The 'Mzungu' in Kenya

'Mzungu' is the Swahili word for white man or European, it classes someone simply by the colour of their skin. This one word fits all does not differentiate between white tourists and white residents. Generally the spaces the mzungu occupies such as game lodges, airports, quality hotels and restaurants, gated homes, gated shopping malls accessible only to those who can afford to spend, are not accessible to the majority of the locals many of whom are under 25. Air conditioned vehicles, with closed windows and locked doors, whisk the mzungu from one destination to another and it is during the hours spent in traffic jams that the mzungu can see the chaos that is Africa through the closed glass. It is when the mzungu is in public spaces, rubbing shoulders with the ordinary Kenyan such as on beaches, in markets, on the streets of Nairobi, or walking on a public path that the constant cry of 'Mzungu! Mzungu!' follows his trail. There will usually be street boys or beach boys following him and showering him with offers or demands. Items such as shells, cheap Chinese electronic gadgets, hand painted cards, carvings or greasy, much folded letters with heartbreak in gstories of death, disease, hunger and lack of school fees all pleading for cash donations, are insistently thrust onto the mzungu. No-one cares if you are a tourist or local, any mzungu will do. It is noticeable that the sleek Mercedes with tinted glass and sophisticatedly dressed African gentleman is not approached, the mzungu is the preferred target. 'Mzungu! Give me Baksheesh', 'Mzungu! Buy this shell', 'Mzungu! Help me with my school fees', 'Mzungu, I'm an orphan and I'm hungry'. In the eyes of the poorer Kenyan the mzungus are rich beyond imagining and relatively speaking they are, but so too are the middle class and elite Kenyans.

The locals may only have the descriptive 'mzungu' but generally they are quick to pick up on the tell-tale signs that locate the origins of the mzungu. Is this a mzungu resident or mzungu tourist? Is he tanned, can he speak some Swahili, is he wearing or using well worn Kenyan made items such as safari boots or kikapu (Kenyan basket). If a tourist, age, clothing, behaviour, fairness of skin, hair colour and language will divulge more about their culture, needs and level of wealth. Many mzungu first time visitors from Europe, feel uncomfortable in the 'black man serving white man dynamic' and tend to 'fall over blackwards' which is fully exploited by the wily locals who have no compunction in milking these very naïve, very

white people.Whilst travelling with a black Kenyan acquaintance on a local taxi (matatu), very much a Kenyan public space, Strauhs (2013) and her companion were made to pay triple the price, not only was there a mzunguprice for the mzungubut also for the mzungu's local friend. Mere association with a mzunguwas enough to churlishly overcharge a fellow compatriot. Strauhs (2013) relates the incident of a mzungu couple who went on safari with a Kenyan couple, and a Kenyan guide and his son. The Kenyan couple were charged half the price for transport and accommodation compared to the mzungucouple, and the use of the swimming pool was free for the Kenyan couple while the mzungu couple had to pay Ksh. 500.

The tour guide and taxi driver had a sharp eye for a 'business' opportunity; the mzungucash cow which can be milked on an ongoing basis. Their fair skin is synonymous for money and the older and more dressed like a tourist (safari gear or sensible, neat, inoffensive clothes) and the more their lack of local knowledge, Swahili and willingness to please appears, the better the pickings to be had (idem; Travelling Forward, 2013). Strauhs warns that the mzungu cash cow will go and graze somewhere else if they are treated in this discriminating manner, after all it is trust and mutual respect which will build solid relations and healthy cash flows. Business is killed by distrust, corruption and discrimination, there can be no place for a two tier society, this is blatant racism. However, for Kenyans it seems racism only flows one way from the mzungu to the African (ibidem). Strauhs advises Kenyans to stop taking revenge on black and white imbalances in the world whenever they see a white skin and exploit the situation.

Not all relations with the mzungu are at the mzungu's cost, there is an established sex trade which works on a transactional basis in which both parties 'agree' on the transaction, referred to as 'bangaishana mzungu'. Bangaishais a Sheng word (language of the youth a mixture of Swahili and English) meaning soliciting for business (IRIN, 2007). Commercial sex tourism is growing steadily on the Kenya coast and becoming a valid way of earning a living. In a UNICEF survey 76% of the girls participating felt that commercial sex was acceptable (IRIN, 2007). How valid is the consent in this transaction when there are so few job opportunities and educational options for the young men and women who choose to join the sex trade? Some of the young women are forced into prostitution by their own family but others want the relatively higher income to buy consumer goods (IRIN, 2007). Old, mzungu men go with pretty, young, black girls and handsome, young, black men go with old mzungu women. Bergan (2011) found in her study of Malindibeachboy youth that their transactions with older mzungu women carefully play on the insecurities and desire for love and affection of these women, and that it provided an opportunity to migrate out of poverty and start up a business of their own. The mzungus are the preferred clients as they pay more (IRIN, 2007). Who is exploiting who?

Africans must realise there are different kinds of people under the mzungu brand, and that the boundaries of the spaces that are only mzungu or only African are beginning to blur. Equitable treatment in all spaces for all people can only be achieved through respect and trust from all parties.

4.3 The 'blanc' in Haiti

Séraphin (2012b) established that 'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti' is a good travel writing book as it weaves a lot of information, raises the reader's emotions and energy and gets people on their feet. It gives a vivid insight into a narrative of a way of life which is relatively in balance punctuated by terrible disaster, where balance is sometimes restored. It

is full of opposing forces - Thomson often expresses many contradicting or even mixed feelings about and for Haiti and the Haitians. It deals with fundamental conflicts between subjective expectation and cruel reality, and displays the struggle between expectation and reality in all its nastiness; it looks behind the mask. This journey through Haiti also appeared as a quest for the 'Grail'. The 'Grail' for Thomson is the quest of the true nature of Haiti. To find the object of his quest he went all over the country talking to different people. At the end Thomson achieved his objective. 'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti' is a remarkable achievement giving wonderful vignettes from Haitian culture and history beyond CNN's reach.

Ian Thomson spent most of his time interacting with locals who were either Haitian born (Enoch, the guide; Richard Morse, owner of the Hotel Oloffson; etc.) or foreigners who have been living in Haiti for a long time (Aida from Italy and owner of the cafe Napolitan; Eleanor Snear, American born and head of the Haitian-American Institute; etc.). So, his universe can be described as cosmopolitan.

Thomson got the most out of the locals. They are depicted in 'Bonjour blanc' as the one conveying all the information Ian Thomson needed to write his travel writing. Séraphin (2013) even compared the locals to tour guides. But what did the locals get from Thomson? How did they perceive Ian Thomson? Based on the fact that there is not a balance between the number of visitors (coming to Haiti) and the number of locals (Haitians) going to the country of the visitors, the relationship is a de facto relationship where locals and visitors are not on the same level with one dominating the other (Michel, 2000). Thus, Ian Thomson was always referred as being the 'blanc' (white man). In other words, Ian Thomson's presence in Haiti can be considered as being an allegory of the slave trade period with Thomson being the 'wealth sucker' and the locals 'the providers'. Ian Thomson was also perceived as the 'cash cow', a source of potential income for the locals. Many times he was asked for money by the locals: 'Blanc, blanc, Ba moin un gourde blanc' (Thomson, 2004 : 141); 'Blanc, blanc, dollar ! dollar ! for egg ! (Thomson, 2004 : 143) ; 'eh blanc, gimme a dollar' (Thomson, 2004). At no point in the travel writing was a relationship of friendship described despite the fact that Thomson almost spent a year in Haiti. But as Thomson clearly highlighted, 'A Blanc can never really get to know the Haitians. Not deep down, anyway' (Thomson, 2004: 221).Korstanje (2012) also argued that the degree of hospitality or hostility is often circumscribed to two major factors one of them being a previous history of disputes between hosts and guests but also as previous history.

4.4 Diaspora and emerging middle class as the vanguards of change?

it is interesting to examine how the emigrant Kenyan tourist and the modern Africans, position and negotiate their ideological narratives within Dunn's colonial ideology of freezing African spaces and controlling African movement. Thome (2012) reports that social media communications made public, claims by African Kenyans, that they had been denied access to hotels and resorts in both the private and public sector, on a racially discriminating basis. When Mohammed Hersi in his capacity as elected representative of the tourist industry went to visit the places mentioned, he too was denied access to some of these resorts. Kenya is hoping to reach a 50:50 basis between domestic and foreign tourists. Equality in hotels and resorts is mandated by their terms and conditions of business as licensed by the government (Thome, 2012). The gatekeepers and managers of these hotels and resorts would most likely be African Kenyans themselves, who position African Kenyans only as servers or personal attendants and not consumers of Kenyan tourist resorts,

buying into the historical control of African spaces and peoples. This is in marked contrast to those African Kenyans seeking access to these places as tourists, they see themselves as the consumers not as the 'servers or personal attendants' and are proof that a new narrative is challenging the old.A similar situation occurred in Martinique (1980s-1990s) where the locals were denied access to the Club Med. Now with decreasing numbers of tourists visiting the destination and the fact that the resort is locally owned, the access policy has become totally inclusive.In Haiti the limited access is mainly due to the lack of financial resources more than anything else. Desse (2005) also mentioned that when there is a big disparity between the standard of living of visitors and locals it creates enclaves. Gay (2009) supports this idea. In addition he considers denial of access to any public or private areas as encouraging enclaves. The resort Labadee in Haiti is a perfect example of an enclave.

5. Comparative Analysis, Results and Discussions

5.1 Comparative profile
Based on our findings from section 2.1: 'Slavery and its legacy', we come to the conclusion that Kenya and Haiti have many similar characteristics when it comes to the factors that can be considered to be barriers to the development of the tourism industry.

Table. 1 Factors affecting growth of Tourism in Kenya and Haiti

Factor	Internal (attributable to the agency of the people)	
	Haiti	**Kenya**
Security	Political instability, reign of terror by dictatorship, high levels of corruption, weak legal institutions	Political instability, authoritarian rule, high levels of corruption, weak legal institutions
Corruption and bureaucracy	Modern leaders today reflect the selfish, all powerful, asset stripping attitudes of bygone African slave traders	Misuse of power through bribes, diverting of revenues by police, customs, immigration, park officials
Economy	High levels of poverty feeding into socio-political insecurity.	
Infrastructure	Lack of infrastructure	State of infrastructure (unmaintained roads, power shortages, water shortages)
Disease pandemics	AIDS Cholera	AIDS Malaria
Competition (close competitors)	Dominican Republic (and other islands of the Caribbean)	Other African countries

From section 3: 'Profile of studied countries' and section 4: 'Kenya / Haiti: Differences and similarities' we have generated the following two tables:

Table. 2 Ups and downs of the tourism and hospitality sector in Kenya and Haiti

	Kenya	**Haiti**
Beginning of the tourism industry	1950s	1940s
Drop of the number of tourist due to political instability	1990s	1960s
Recovery of the tourism industry	2011	2011

Table. 3 Synoptic table of the tourism and hospitality sector in Haiti

	Similarities	**Differences**	**Haiti**	**Kenya**
Importance of the tourism / Hospitality sector	/		Major contribution to GDP	Major contribution to GDP
Colour still a factor	/		Blanc	Mzungu
Perception of the tourist	/		Cash cow	Cash cow
Ownership of the tourism hospitality sector		/	Sector owned and managed by Haitians	Foreign and Elite owned, managed and controlled
Ownership of the national parks and marine parks	/		State owned and controlled	State owned and controlled
Development of tourist industry to present		/	Wonderful start in the 50s but slow growth to present	Steady overall growth since independence in spite of periods of decline
Negative factors affecting growth of tourism	/		Mainly internal, some external	Mainly internal, some external
New profile of tourists	/ (Diaspora)		Diaspora and white tourists (mainly from Canada and USA)	Middle class Kenyans, diaspora and white tourists interacting with locals

5.2 Results and discussions

Both Kenya and Haiti share a history of 'big men' politics where the all-powerful ruler is concerned only with his self-aggrandisement and not the development of his country and people, resembling the megalomania enjoyed by the African slave raiders. People's lives

and livelihoods were totally inconsequential in the decision making of these big men. The figures for life expectancy, infant mortality and access to water for both Haiti and Kenya demonstrate the low level of state investment in its people. Moreover, the infrastructure such as roads, water distribution, power and sewage are vital not only for the locals but also for the tourists. Tourists expect certain standards for their safety and comfort or they won't come. This exploitation by the 'big men' of a whole country and its peoples, condemns them to poverty and further reinforces the low levels of trust. All these factors feed into the internal political insecurity which has plagued the two countries which according to Nunn (2010) could be connected to their histories with the slave trade.

Tourism in both countries has been severely impacted by internal security issues which are ultimately mostly attributable to high levels of mistrust internal to the people themselves. However, Hispaniola being an island, Haiti only has one close neighbour, the Dominican Republic which is relatively more stable than Haiti. Kenya has 5 neighbouring countries some of whom have been quite unstable politically at varying times with their troubles overflowing across borders into Kenya, as demonstrated by the recent Somali pirate and Al Quada linked Al Shabaab issues. Kenya has also been the target for high profile Al Quada terrorism attacks on the US embassy in Nairobi and attacks on Israeli tourist operations in Kenya. Whilst these attacks are from external sources, Kenya is a somewhat soft target as the porous borders, easily bribed officials and weak legal institutions lend themselves to facilitating dissident acts of terror. These have had devastating effects on the tourist numbers in Kenya. Perhaps, if Kenya had have less corruption and stronger institutions it would have been far more difficult for external troublemakers to operate within Kenya's borders. However, even superpowers like the US are targeted. Events such as 9/11 and the Tsars epidemic affected all tourism globally.

Tourism and the hospitality sector contribute hugely to the GDP of both countries. Not much of this revenue however, has been used to develop the country. As a result the Haitian owned and run tourism industry suffered severely, whilst ironically the Kenyan foreign and elite owned hospitality industry was able to survive as it was not dependent on the local economy. However, this did mean that the local Kenyans received little benefit from this arrangement, apart from low paid jobs.

Both countries share a common perspective of the 'Blanc' or 'Mzungu' as a cash cow. There seems to be a common premise that a white skin is equal to wealth which they are obliged to hand over merely on demand. It is interesting that this is not expected from moneyed black people. It appears that outside of either the traditional role (Masaai in red traditional dress) or in a serving capacity in the tourist trade, when the Kenyan and Haitian are not frozen in their space or controlled in their movements, they break out to exploit the mzungu or blanc, just as the black man has been exploited before by the white man. Equally, the black middle class Kenyan is being turned away from the hotels and lodges formally only frequented by the mzungu (Thome, 2012). In Haiti, the tourism and hospitality sector created some enclaves (Desses, 2005) like the resort named 'Labadee' where the locals are excluded. Whilst these attitudes are extremely negative, they could indicate the pushing of boundaries which are part of the natural process of the omnipresent changes that cultures are subjected to (Greenwood, 1982); the vanguard of the cultural shedding of the shackles of slavery.

The above tables show that despite the fact that slavery goes back a long time, it still has some impact on the tourism and hospitality sector in Kenya and Haiti. Moreover, despite the fact that both destinations are far away from each other they share a common past. Because of this shared legacy, the tourism and hospitality sector in both destinations seem to have developed quasi similarly in terms of factors impacting on the performance of the

sector. The similarities are also chronological. Therefore, based on those findings our first conclusion (C1) is that there is no dilution in terms of slave trade impacts on the overall tourism and hospitality sector in Kenya and Haiti. However, when it comes to a topic more specific like customer service in the sector, in the Caribbean customer service is certainly an issue substantiated by some academic research. In Kenya, there is a dearth of research about the perception of the 'white' tourist by the local, never mind research about the impact of this situation on customer service. There is therefore a gap to fill. The research about the tourism sector in Kenya mainly focuses on:

Table. 4 Academic research in the field of customer service in Kenya

Academics	Topics
Mshenga and Owuor	Entrepreneurship in tourism
Singiga	Training in the tourism sector
Kuria et al	Career in the hospitality sector
Irandu	Impacts of the tourism sector
Onyango et al	Performance indicators in the hospitality sector
Petzer	Customer retention practice

It is therefore difficult using published research only to establish whether there is dissolution between the centre and the extension in terms of issues related to customer service. However, if our starting point begins with Korstanje's (2012) research which argues that the degree of hospitality or hostility is often circumscribed to two major factors one of them being a previous history of disputes between hosts and guests but also as previous history, we can subsequently come to the conclusion that customer service is affected by the history of slavery of Kenya and Haiti. Moreover, if we consider hostility as a consequence of mistrust, we can argue that Kenya and Haiti are at the same level, therefore if customer service is an issue in the Caribbean (and Haiti) it is the same in Kenya. Research from the Afrobarometer survey (2011) shows that Kenyans have a low level of trust in society:

Table. 5 Trust in society in Kenya

Trust in fellow citizens	Must be very careful	88%
	Most people can be trusted	9%
	Don't know	1%
Trust in other people you know	Not at all/just a little	9%/40%
	Somewhat/A lot	39%/12%
Trust in members of other communities	Not at all/just a little	18%/44%
	Somewhat/A lot	29%/8%

Source: Round 5 Afrobarometer survey in Kenya, 2011, Afrobarometer.

A survey from a research group (URD) in Haiti comes to the same conclusion of low level of trust of Haitians in society:

Table. 6 Trust in society in Haiti

Trust people (in general)	Low / Not at all	71.9%
Trust in leaders	Low / Not at all	72.8%

Source: Broudic, C. (2012). Security in Haiti: an impossible dialogue? Groupe U.R.D

The more heavily raided during the slave trade the people were, the less trusting descendants are today. Weak institutions and low levels of trust heavily impacts on human transactions (Nunn, 2011; Williamson, 2011, 2012). Customer service being a transaction between the one offering the service (staff/locals) and the one paying for the service (tourists/customer), we can come to our second conclusion (C2) that customer service is an issue in both Kenya (Africa) and in Haiti (Caribbean) and that distance has not diluted the deeply rooted consequences of slavery. Ogude (1981) contends that the common shared racial memory of slavery has defined and continues to shape black people today; slavery is the fate of an entire race, unfinished business. Despite being shipped to the Caribbean as slaves, the African continent has been etched in the consciousness of its Caribbean descendants (James, 1980).

6. Conclusion

As can be seen in the former sections, the dynamic between these high levels of mistrust in the tourist host countries and the dominant ideology of a social system which is reproduced and reinforced through travellers as the freezing of African spaces and controlling of African movement, have a profound effect on the tourism industries in Haiti and Kenya.

From this it would appear that there is not much dissolution of the impact of slavery between Kenya and Haiti, but Kenya's tourism sector has fared better on the whole largely due to positive policies supported by the government, and foreign ownership of operations which protected the tourist operations financially. However, new boundaries are being pushed by both new types of white tourist who want to move in the local spaces, and new types of black tourist who want to see the parks, the beaches and use the hotels formerly only visited by white tourists.

Michel (2000) claims tourism can fully benefit a destination, only if the locals are fully involved in the planning and development of the industry. For Manyara and Jones (2005), micro and small scale enterprises can increase the participation of the poor in the tourism industry. In this paper we are adding that entrepreneurship in post-colonial countries can be a way for the locals to take gradual control of the different sectors of the industry that used to be in the hand of the 'masters'. Also tourism in post-colonial countries is also a way for the locals to exorcise the pain of the past and move forward. Using and turning places with tortured and bad memories into tourist attractions can be a way to get over the past and move into the future using legacies of the 'masters' to their own benefits. It is also important for post-colonial destinations to understand their own history, not only for pragmatic reasons as it is impossible to move forward if we don't understand where we come from, but also for mercantile reasons as visitors are quite keen to learn about the destinations they are visiting.

Some T.O like Henderson in the USA is specialised in the history of black people and destinations with a colonial past. But despite the fact that Africa and the Caribbean are far

apart geographically, the link between the departing point and the extension point is still very strong due to the concept of Pan-Africanism. By the 1930s, a new and highly politicised Caribbean conception of Africa emerged as exiled West Indians and Africans came into close contact with one another in the metropolis as they sought to reclaim their humanity in the face of colonialism at home and racism abroad (Said, 1996). No doubt that the problem the Caribbean tourism industry is experiencing in terms of the point of view that tourism is an enactment of slavery with a concomitant impact on customer services, is the same Africa and Kenya are going through. However, if in the Caribbean and particularly in the French Caribbean the question is well discussed and researched, in independent Islands of the Caribbean and Africa, there is no literature in the area. Being a colony probably keeps the past vivid hence probably those customer service issues in Martinique and Guadeloupe, two islands still under the control of France. In independent countries like Haiti or Kenya people seem to be done with those issues or those are probably to come as both destination are developing countries therefore not established destinations.

The diaspora can play a major change in terms of perception of tourists in both Kenya and Haiti. Ghai (2005) contends that Kenyans in the diaspora can contribute to tourism by promoting Kenyan culture (food and art) and tourism in their host countries in addition to visiting Kenya as tourists themselves. In Haiti, with the new package holiday offered by Air Transat, and the constant solicitation of the current government, the country has witnessed an increase (even if minimal for the moment) in the diaspora returning with their children (the 2nd or 3rd generation of Haitians).

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