

Chapter

ASSESSING DARK TOURISM AS A SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY FOR EMERGING DESTINATIONS USING A MULTI CRITERIA APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

The tourism industry only started to be considered as an economic activity in 1911 (Scutariu, 2009). The reasons why people have been travelling and are still travelling to certain places are for sport and leisure; culture; Visiting Friends and Relatives; business; health; religion; education (Barrow, 2008). These different reasons contribute to the branding of some destinations by visitors and potential visitors. On that basis, it is legitimate to wonder whether being branded as a dark tourism destination can be economically (and socially) profitable for emerging tourist destinations. In order to address this question, a qualitative

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approach based on Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA), a general term for methods providing a quantitative approach to support decision making in problems involving several criteria and choices (Botti & Peypoch, 2013: 109) was adopted. Botti and Peypoch (2013) also explained that to understand the competitiveness of a tourist destination, MCDA is a relevant tool as this method takes into consideration all the relevant factors that might typify the competitiveness of a destination. So doing, a four dimensions multi criteria framework was developed to evaluate dark tourism as a sustainable economic activity for emerging destinations. Haiti was selected as a case study because it is a Post colonial, post conflict and post disaster destination and also because the destination struggles to develop its tourism industry due to 'blind spots' (Séraphin, Gowreesunkar & Ambaye, 2016). The development of Voodoo events could enhance Haiti's tourism offer and provide opportunities for locals to embrace their cultural heritage and come to terms with their past (Séraphin & Nolan, 2014). Unless the 'blind spots' of the destination are removed, there is no empirical evidence to confirm that tourism will bring prosperity to Haiti (Séraphin et al., 2016) nor that Voodoo can play a significant role in the country's tourism sector (Séraphin & Nolan, 2014). Evidence derived from the travel writing *Bonjour blanc a journey through Haiti* (Thomson, 2014, 2004) shows that despite the fact that Voodoo is sometimes used as a commercial product in Haiti, this is only occasional and thus the religion has managed so far to keep its essence and original function.

Keywords: Voodoo, Haiti, Sustainable tourism, MCDA, Performance

1. INTRODUCTION

The tourism industry only started to be considered as an economic activity in 1911 (Scutariu, 2009). The reasons why people have been travelling and are still travelling to certain places are for sport and leisure; culture; visiting friends and relatives; business; health; religion; and education (Barrow, 2008). These different reasons contribute to the branding of some destinations by external stakeholders, that is to say visitors and potential visitors. As a result, since 1682, France established itself as a destination known for the quality of its food and luxury hotels. Also, cities like Bath (in England), Baden (Germany) and Vichy (France) became known as health destinations because of their natural water sources used to treat some conditions (Séraphin, 2012). In the 18th century, places like Ostend (Belgium) and in the 19th century, places like Miami Beach and Palm Beach (US) became known as seaside

destinations. Destination branding can therefore be considered as a long existing phenomenon. ‘Brands and branding have existed for as long as it has been possible to trace artefacts of human existence’ (Moore & Reid, 2008: 419). It is therefore important to have a good knowledge of the history of corporate brands to comprehend the current strategy or an organisation and provide guidance to management in terms of marketing and communication strategy for the future (Burghausen & Balmer, 2015; Balmer & Burghausen, 2015; Burghausen & Balmer, 2014a, b). In the tourism industry, corporate brands used for communication with the tourism market (Walter & Mair, 2012), are important intangible assets that can have significant positive effects on the performance of a destination (Park, Eisingerich, Pol & Park, 2013). On that basis, the purpose of this chapter is to investigate whether or not being branded as a dark tourism destination can be economically (and socially) profitable for emerging tourist destinations.

2. CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Tourism and Emerging Destinations

Emerging markets are those lower-income but rapid-growth countries that are using economic liberalisation as their primary engine of growth (Hoskinsson, Eden, Lau & Wright, 2000). The low socio-economic development of these countries were often due to political instability, great deal of conflicts during a short period, no sense of national identity among the people, economic crisis, natural disasters and the outbreak of diseases (Gould, 2011). The emerging countries are most of the time, post-colonial, post-conflict, or post-disaster destinations (Séraphin, 2014). They also fall into two groups: first, developing countries in Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East; and then, transition economies in the former Soviet Union and China (Hoskinsson et al., 2000). Séraphin, Ambaye, Gowreesunkar and Bonnardel (2016) explained that tourism is quite often central in the strategy for the economic development of these countries. Indeed, the fastest growing trend for international travel has been for travel to less developed countries and emerging destinations (Holden, 2013). That said, these destinations struggle to establish themselves as tourist destinations as the tourism sector is especially vulnerable to exogenous factors like political instability, economic crisis, natural disasters and the outbreak of diseases (Ritchie, Dorrell, Miller & Miller, 2004). Those factors can cause destinations to decline and sometimes

even totally disappear from the tourism map (Seddighi, Nuttall & Theocharus, 2001). In this respect tourism can be considered to be a problematic industry (Korstanje & Tarlow, 2012).

There has also 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 1960s. Many third world countries have chosen the tourism industry as a central development strategy, strongly encouraged in the 1960s by groups including the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, World Bank and the United Nations. Since the 1980s there has been a growing recognition that tourism requires more equality among all participants which has led to alternative forms of tourism where less foreign capital and more local people, food and architecture are engaged (*ibid*).

That said, the fastest growing trend for international travel has been for travel to Less Developed Countries (Holden, 2013). Taking the example of Haiti, Séraphin, Ambaye, Gowreesunkar and Bonnardel (2016) explained that tourism is quite central in the strategy for the economic development of Less Developed Countries (LDCs) despite the fact these destinations struggle to establish themselves as tourist destinations. Authenticity is the key factor of appeal of these LDCs. This authenticity is what made Haiti the most popular destination in the Caribbean between the 1940s-1960s (Theodat, 2004). The following sentences summarise the situation and key issue related with authenticity: ‘Authenticity is regarded as the most important criterion for the development of heritage tourism’ (Xie & Wall, 2003 in Park, 2014: 62) ‘What tourists experience as authentic often turns out to be staged authenticity which is carefully manufactured and promoted by the local and tourism industry’ (...) ‘Staged authenticity in tourism seems to discourage modern tourists to search for authentic experiences’ (...) ‘The search for authenticity often becomes meaningless due to strategically contrived and constructed nature of tourism settings and experiences’ (Park: 2014: 60). In such a context, Cros and McKercher (2015) explain that it is important to find a fine line between selling some aspect of a culture and keeping this culture authentic. There is a call for the tourism industry to be more ethical in the way it does business

(Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). Cros and McKercher (2015) also emphasised on the fact that the intangible heritage of a destination is a strong indicator of its authenticity.

2.2. Dark Tourism

In her third year dissertation, Dorey (2016), under the supervision of the author of this book chapter, provided in her literature review a sharp presentation of dark tourism. This section of the book chapter is a further condensed version of this literature review, with a focus on the origin of dark tourism, as a new field of academic research (Price, 2005) and on the different types of dark tourism. The term ‘dark tourism’ was first coined by Lennon and Foley (1996) to define the relationship between dark tourism attractions and a specific interest in death, the macabre and the paranormal. Other academics such as Seaton (1996) have referred to this activity as ‘thanatourism,’ ‘morbid tourism’ and ‘blackspots’ used to describe a fascination for travelling to places where death or tragedy has occurred. Dalton (2015) outlines how dark tourism sites are typically places of genocide and mass murders, locations where terrorist’s acts have been executed or places where basic human rights have been violated. Although the visitation of sites associated with death and disaster have occurred over many years (Stone, 2006), it is only recently that this growing phenomenon has been academically identified. In more detail, Uclan (2015, [Online]) describes how dark tourism has “...occurred ever since people have had the means and motivation to travel for leisure.” Since the beginning of the 11th century, individuals were travelling to dark tourism destinations such as Jerusalem to visit the location of Christ’s Crucifixion, a popular site for travelers visiting the Middle East. The fascination of death and psychological instabilities were also studied in great detail by the Victorians. For example, visits to St. Mary Bethlehem hospital were a common form of dark voyeurism, particularly amongst the wealthy middle class (Robinson et al., 2011). Other early dark tourism consisted of 19th century undertaking morgue tours in Europe, medieval executions and Roman gladiatorial games (Uclan, 2015 [Online]). Furthermore, it is important to consider the varying degrees and types of dark tourism. A central debate surrounding dark tourism relates to whether this phenomenon is supply or demand driven. Smith (2010) outlines a very simple explanation of these terms. From a supply perspective, emphasis is placed on organisations and businesses that provide or deliver the service or experience. The opposite side, demand, focuses on the consumer

seeking or participating in type tourism. However, Stone and Sharply (2008) describe how the nature of dark tourism, whether it is supply or demand driven, remains uncertain. Sharpley (2005) recognises that “based upon differing intensities of purpose with respect to both supply and demand, different ‘shades’ of dark tourism may be identified” (cited in Stone & Sharply, 2008, p. 579). Sharpley (2005) describes how this is reliant on the extent of the consumer’s fascination towards death and the degree to which the site or destination is able to facilitate this, as to whether the attraction or experience can be labelled as either pale or dark (cited in Stone & Sharply, 2008, p. 579). Following on and relating more so to dark tourism, Daams (2007) describes how educational experiences are one of the key motives for attending these types of events. He outlines how visiting death and disaster sites can raise awareness of historical events and prompt the visitor to understand the world in more clarity – ultimately creating an educational experience (cited in Niemelä, 2010, [Online], p. 16). For example, Stone (2010) describes how dark tourism genocide sites such as Auschwitz allow visitors to learn of the history and envisage the conditions and torture individuals had to endure. Whilst an educational aspect is clear, Bowman and Pezzullo (2010) describe another major motivation related to the contemplation of death, as such sites such as Auschwitz enable people to come to terms with the fragility of life. Another motivation for visiting dark tourist attractions can simply relate to entertainment factors. Stone (2010) outlines the London Dungeons as a key component to this describing how they use actors and entertainment values to exploit death and the deceased. Bowman and Pezzullo (2010) also describe how visits to dark tourism attractions can encourage a person to reflect on their own mortality. The motivations for dark tourism seem to be endless. However, there is an ethical issue related to dark tourism. Stone (2007) describes how travelling to destinations where people are known to have suffered or passed can raise issues relating to exploitation for business, education or entertainment purposes. As a result, Garcia (2012) describes how the sensitive nature of dark tourism attractions poses many challenges to practitioners. To this, Rachel Noble, a representative of the charity Tourism Concern, suggests that sites associated with dark attributes should be avoided for numerous, ethical reasons. She describes how tourists visiting counties which have suffered in any way, whether this be through natural disaster or genocide, should contemplate the appropriateness of this (cited in Stokes, 2015 [Online]). However, other dark tourism attractions such as museums are considered to provide the experience and education in a more sophisticated manner (cited in Stokes, 2015 [Online]).

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Sustainable Tourism

The tourism industry has been highlighted as an industry that can positively contribute to the economic and social development of a destination (Buckley, 2012). However this industry can also negatively impact on a destination if poorly managed (Mazanec, Woher & Zins, 2007 cited in Iniesta-Bonillo, Sanchez-Fernandez & Jimenez-Castillo, 2016). Among the noticed negative impacts of tourism are the emerging challenges for the planet; the over-exploitation of resources like water, minerals, oil, etc; over-population (Sloan, Legrand & Chen, 2013). As a result, a destination is considered to be sustainable if the tourism industry does not impact negatively on the environment, on human-environment interactions and local communities; but equally, the industry needs to contribute to cultural exchange between locals and visitors and meeting the economic needs of the populations (Mbaiwa, 2005 in Iniesta-Bonillo et al., 2016). To this list could be added: the long-term capacity of the industry to remain ‘clean’ from an environment point of view with the support of technological systems; a fair impact on all members of the population in the present and in the future; the development of policies at local, national and international level (Sharpley, 2000). The main concern of the development of tourism is for developing nations and indigenous peoples as the impacts of the industry can be either very positive or very negative (Buckley, 2012). Hence initiatives like Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty Program (ST-EP) initiated by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) taken to use tourism to reduce poverty and increase net benefits for poor people as part of their ‘Pro-Poor Tourism’ policy (Holden, 2013). Destinations now consider sustainability as a competitive advantage to attract visitors, hence the growth of ecotourism, the fastest-growing tourism sector globally (Iniesta-Bonillo et al., 2016). Consumers are ready to pay more to spend their holidays in destinations considered as sustainable (Kazeminia et al., 2016). That said, much of the tourism industry so far has failed to be sustainable (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010 cited in Iniesta-Bonillo et al., 2016), hence the reason why Sharpley (2000: 1) claimed that ‘sustainable development cannot be transposed onto the specific context of tourism.’ Twelve years later the United Nations (2012, cited in Iniesta-Bonillo et al., 2016:1) claimed that: ‘despite efforts to promote more sustainable tourist destinations, room for improvement exists in most countries.’ This seems to suggest that sustainability in the tourism industry is

very hard to achieve, despite a strong will of academics since the late 1980s (Liu, 2003) and practitioners to develop policies and practices in the area (Sharpley, 2000). The wide variety of definitions of ‘sustainable development’ (more than 70) makes it even more difficult (Sharpley, 2000). In developing countries, it is even harder to implement sustainable tourism because of the socio-economic and political context (Tosun, 2001). As a result, Liu (2003), provided a list of issues related to sustainable tourism needed to be addressed: tourist demands in terms of sustainable products have not been taken into account; sustainability is mainly analysed from the preservation and conservation angle; the repartition of the benefits among stakeholders is poorly researched; most research focused on the fact that tourism has negative impacts on culture and the social life of the locals; research has focused on determining a threshold to tourism growth; and finally, despite the fact ecotourism, alternative tourism, responsible tourism, soft tourism, low impact tourism and community tourism have proven not to be the way forward for sustainable tourism, writers and practitioners are still promoting these forms of tourism as being the way forward. Holden (2013) also added that there is little data that inform us of the beneficiary impacts of tourism development on the poor. Our research can be considered as a continuity of Sharpley (2000) and Tosun (2001) as our study is based on tourism development in developing destination. This research can also be considered as a continuity of (Kazeminia et al., 2016; Iniesta-Bonillo et al., 2016) as we are going to evaluate the potential of dark tourism (voodoo) as a factor of appeal and sustainable development for developing destinations (taking Haiti as an example). And finally, this research can be considered as a continuity of Liu (2003) as our hypothesis is that dark tourism corresponds to: (1) a tourist demand of authenticity; (2) does not impact negatively on locals’ culture but instead is shared with visitors; (3) the service providers, in general the poor people benefit directly from this form of tourism related activity; (4) this related tourism activity is an add on what is promoted by the Destination Marketing Organisation, therefore is not the main reason why people are visiting the destination, therefore, won’t impact on the carrying capacity of the destination; (5) and finally dark tourism (voodoo in the case of Haiti) is part of the way of life of some destination , therefore cannot be classified in one of the form of tourism, hence the reason we are referring to dark tourism as a ‘related tourism activity’ and not as a form of tourism. In this research paper, our main argument is that related tourism activities that are components of the daily life of the locals are the most sustainable ones. Voodoo (in Haiti) is used here as a case study to back up our claim.

3.2. Heritage and Collective Memory

Park's (2014) extensive research on heritage and more specifically on heritage tourism enables us to sketch the term 'heritage' and its surrounding satellites in the following lines. Thus, it appears that the term 'heritage' covers a wide range of areas (including culture; history; politics; religions, communications, etc.) that can be classified into three main groups: built heritage (forts, relics, etc); scientific heritage (plants, birds, natural habitats, etc); and cultural heritage (fine art, customs, languages, etc). Nostalgia plays an important role in the rising popularity of heritage as the latest appears as a secure and stable platform, hence its democratisation. On that basis, heritage can be assimilated to a re-enactment of the past. That said, it is very important to highlight the fact that despite the fact that history and heritage are quite close epistemologically speaking, within the context of tourism, both terms are totally different as heritage in this context uses the past for commercial purpose whereas history remains concern with rational explanations. As a result, the tourism industry has often been blamed for the commodification of heritage sold to tourists as products and services. Because of the commodification of heritage, authenticity becomes an issue. The form of tourism based on heritage is even referred as 'staged authenticity' and yet authenticity is considered as the most important criterion for the development of heritage tourism. 'Identity' is another key word associated with 'heritage.' Heritage in this instance enables a group to feel and remain connected to their ancestral roots. As for heritage marketing, the heart of this research paper, Park (2014) explains that this type of marketing is all about the use and very often the overuse of cultural symbols, historical values, sacred icons, images and stories in order to develop an emotional connection between heritage and (potential) tourists. Zelinzer (2008, cited in Volcic et al., 2014: 729) also explained that 'collective memory makes the past convenient with how we would like to understand the present context.' Zelinger (2008, cited in Volcic et al., 2014: 729) also added that 'collective memory is a work in progress: taking place in the present but reflecting, refracting, and re-imagining the past.'

3.3. Voodoo in Haiti

Based on Park's (2014) definition, voodoo can be considered as a form of cultural heritage. As explained by Séraphin and Nolan (2014) in: '*Voodoo in*

Haiti: A Religious Ceremony at the Service of the ‘Houngan’ Called ‘Tourism,’ voodoo derives from the West African religion Vodun and was developed (almost solely) in Haiti by the imported African slaves. The religion was used a means to cope with the degradations of slavery including being forced to convert to Christianity and to speak Créole. voodoo became a way for the slaves to keep a connection with their African roots and also to retain some of their humanity (Damoison & Dalembert, 2003). It also helped slaves to resist their master’s cultural oppression (Saint-Louis, 2000) and to adapt to their new environment. Modern voodoo is said to have derived from a mixture of the master’s religion and African Vodun (Metraux, 1958). As a religion, voodoo is based on the belief in a *Grand Maître*, a Great Master or Creator, as well as several *loa* or spirits. The practise of voodoo involves ritual celebrations led by a *Houngan* or priest. Metraux (1958) explains that a good Houngan should be able to perform many roles: priest, healer, fortune teller, exerciser and entertainer. And as such it can be argued that as a religion, voodoo is perfectible. This flexibility, combined with the origins of voodoo (a means to survive difficult conditions) – demonstrates that voodoo is perfectly able to adapt to its environment and the needs of the market and thus our first hypothesis (if tourism is to play a major role in Haiti’s economy, voodoo can form a tourism product which meets visitors’ needs) is valid. Thomson (2004) explains that when he went to Haiti in 1990, he witnessed many voodoo ceremonies being staged for tourists at hotels ‘*Friday night in the Oloffson [hotel]* was traditionally the night for a voodoo extravaganza carefully choreographed by (...) the showgirls’ (Thomson, 2004:46). During this decade Haiti received few tourists because of the political and economic situation of the country (Séraphin, 2013ab) but voodoo ceremonies were successfully staged for those it received. Although the hotel environment may have impacted the authenticity of the ritual, the Houngan were content to perform and the visitors pleased to watch. This commercialisation of voodoo described by Thomson (2004) in *Bonjour Blanc, a journey through Haiti*, has highlighted the importance of involving the locals in the tourism sector as they have contributed to the visitor experience (Séraphin, 2013c). As voodoo is an integral part of the Haitian culture, sharing this with visitors can also contribute to a better self-awareness, understanding and acceptance of this heritage.

3.3. Dark Tourism (Voodoo) as a Marketing Tool: The Case of Haiti

When talking about the Haitian identity or “Haitianity,” considering the Haitian leaders who played a major role in creating a national identity (Destin, 2014) is important. Such is the case of Toussaint L’Ouverture (1743-1803), who freed Haiti from the French domination and contributed to make Haiti the first black republic in the world. The black face of the first Destination Marketing Organisation logo (Figure 1) is a reminder of the African origin of Haitians, which leads naturally to the topic of religion and voodoo. An intimate link exists between voodoo and the culture and history of Haiti, because the Haitians are 100% voodooist and religion is the mainstay of Haitian society (Séraphin & Nolan, 2014). The first DMO logo (Figure 1) reflects this idea (Figure 1) by the black mambo, female high priest in the voodoo religion in Haiti (Séraphin, Ambaye, Gowreesunkar, 2016).



Figure 1. Old logo Haitian DMO.



Figure 2. New logo Haitian DMO.

In the same line of thought, Volcic (2008) added that media and journalists are: (a) archive of collective memories; (b) Constructor of collective memory; (c) agents to branding traumatic past; (d) adjust representation of past events to the contemporary political and social mentality and sensibility of the present. As a logo is a communication media (Park, 2014) we are arguing that it plays the same role as journalist. That said, based on the fact that the Haitian DMO changed its logo in 2012, to a logo (Figure 2) that does not give the full narrative of the destination (Séraphin et al., 2016), it is legitimate to wonder whether or not voodoo is a good branding approach for a destination.

4. METHODOLOGY

The analysis of our findings (section 2 and 3) provides information regarding the main areas or criteria to be considered for the assessment of dark tourism as a sustainable economic activity for an emerging destination:

- Sustainable tourism
- Dark tourism
- Voodoo
- Recovery strategy

The above list can also be considered as multi criteria to assess dark tourism. Multi-Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA) is a general term for methods providing a quantitative approach to support decision making in problems involving several criteria and choices (Botti & Peypoch, 2013: 109). In this research, we are opting for a qualitative approach.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The above 4 dimensions multi criteria analysis developed provide evidence that dark tourism is a sustainable form of economic activity for emerging destinations (like Haiti). Botti and Peypock (2013) explained that to understand the competitiveness of a tourist destination, Multi Criteria Decision Analysis (MCDA) is a relevant tool as this method takes into consideration all the relevant factors that might typify the competitiveness of a destination.

Table 1. Four dimension analysis of dark tourism (voodoo)

RECOVERY STRATEGY (Séraphin et al., 2016)					
SUSTAINABLE TOURISM	Leaders change of behaviour	Stepping outside comfort zone = learning	Tourism = national concern	Improvement of condition of life of locals	VOODOO
No negative impact on the environment/human interaction/local communities	X	X	X	X	Authenticity
	X	X	X	X	Tourism tool
	X	X	X	X	Flexible/adaptable
	X	X	X	X	Locals involved
	X	X	X	X	Cultural heritage
	No need for sophisticated infrastructure	Education experience	Wide variety of dark tourism	Long going interest	
DARK TOURISM					

CONCLUSION

As Haiti lacks visitor attractions the development of an authentic events programme is going to be an essential part of the on-going tourism strategy (Séraphin & Nolan, 2014). Culturally rich events are part of the appeal of a destination and can be cost efficient to organise. Furthermore it is well documented that planned events have the ability to improve communities:

They provide the means to achieve a diverse range of social outcomes, including community cohesion, educational development, support for families and regional development (Bladen et al., 2012: 379).

If the development of events can provide positive social outcomes for the Haitians, the performance of this revived community will increase (Séraphin & Nolan, 2014). O'Toole (2011) suggests that a programme of events and

festivals are crucial to increasing national pride in small developing countries in a post-colonial state of recovery. He goes on to give examples of Destination Management Organisation (DMO) led strategies that combine events and tourism objectives, and gives examples of how these have been successfully implemented in other countries. These provide both an overview and an insight into the complexities of such strategies, and reinforce the notion that both tourism and events are interdependent. Thus, the development of voodoo events will enhance Haiti's tourism and provide opportunities for locals to embrace their cultural heritage and come to terms with their past (Séraphin & Nolan, 2014). This supports our hypothesis that dark tourism can play a major role in Haiti's economy.

Unless the 'blind spots' of the destination are removed, there is no empirical evidence to confirm that tourism will bring prosperity to Haiti (Séraphin et al., 2016) nor that voodoo can play a significant role in the country's tourism sector (Séraphin & Nolan, 2014). Evidence derived from the travel writing *Bonjour blanc a journey through Haiti* (Thomson, 2004) shows that despite the fact that voodoo is sometimes used as a commercial product in Haiti, this is only occasional and thus the religion has managed so far to keep its essence and original function. Voodoo emerged through slavery, was suppressed by masters (white people) and today in a reversal of roles, the (mainly) white visitors are now paying the locals (descendants of slaves) to enact this ancestral religion. Voodoo events as staged ceremonies are now a form of servility involving a reversal of roles as the 'master' pays to watch, hence this should be called 'agreed servility' (Séraphin & Nolan, 2014).

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