

# **How did sex tourism become an important economic source in the coastal region of Kenya?**

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### **Abstract:**

This report examines the how sex tourism become an important economic source in the coastal region of Kenya by studying the commercial sex workers, sex tourists and policies of the Kenyan government. Poverty is the main problem in the coastal region of Kenya. Tourism as a tool for socio-economic development has worked partly, it only had benefiting the government and the elite. It has forced poor people to enter the sex trade due to unequal benefit distribution of tourism and due to the major demand for sexual services of European tourists a new market is developed and encouraged the sex tourism industry. Besides, the new phenomenon of romance tourism gave the market an extra boost and induces prostitution. Due to the lack of policy and ignorance of the government concerning sex tourism and an instable and fragile economic situation in the past, sex tourism has developed itself to its current size. The economic importance of (sex) tourists is large due to their spending of money in the region. This will benefit the curio shops, hotels, tourist operators, commercial sex workers and the government. Sex tourism will not easily slow down due to the economic benefits and especially not with the current enormous negative account balance. Due to poverty, sex tourism is an important economic source for the locals, region and government and will be tolerated out of needs. It is their way to tackle poverty.

## **Table of content:**

<u>Acknowledgements</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Abstract</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Table of content</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>List of Figures</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>List of tables</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>List of abbreviations</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	<u>7</u>
1.1 Research aim	8
1.2 Research problem	9
1.3 Methodology	10
1.4 Concepts	10
1.5 Structure and content of the report	11
<u>Chapter 2: What is the economic profile of Kenya?</u>	<u>12</u>
2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 Economic profile of Kenya	12
2.2.1 Population, Gross Domestic Product and Balance of Trade	12
2.2.2 Sectoral structure: Agriculture, manufacturing, import and export and service sector	13
2.2.3 Number of arrivals and national receipts of tourism	14
2.2.4 Urban population	15
2.2.5 Gini index and population living below \$1.25 PPP per day	15
2.2.6 Human Development Index	15
2.2.7 Labour force	16
2.2.8 Education	16
2.2.9 Life expectancy and HIV person	17
2.3 Summary	17
<u>Chapter 3: How did tourism develop in Kenya and its coastal region?</u>	<u>19</u>
3.1 Introduction	19
3.2 The development of tourism in Kenya	19
3.3 The development of tourism in Kenya's coastal region	21
3.4 Poverty in the coastal region	23
3.5 The economic impact of tourism in the Kenyan coast	23
3.6 The socio-cultural impacts according to the locals	25
3.7 Summary	
<u>Chapter 4: What are the characteristics of sex tourism in Kenya and its coastal region?</u>	<u>27</u>
4.1 Introduction	27
4.2 What is sex tourism?	27
4.3 Development of sex tourism in Kenya	28
4.4 Sex tourism in the coastal region of Kenya	29
4.5 The sex trade law of Kenya	31
4.6 Summary	32
<u>Chapter 5: How can we characteristics the market of sex tourism?</u>	<u>34</u>
5.1 Introduction	34
5.2 Factor of demand	34
5.3 Factor of supply	35

5.4 Health risks	38
5.5 Summary	39
Chapter 6: Conclusion and discussion	41
6.1 Summary	41
6.2 Discussion	43
Appendix 1	45
Appendix 2	46
Appendix 3	47
Appendix 4	47
References	48

**List of figures:**

1.1	Conceptual model of transactions between members of a sex trade community	8
2.1	Butler's model	19
2.2	Tourists arrivals in Kenya 1960-2000	21
2.3	Bed nights for Nairobi and beach hotels on Kenya's coast 1965-2000	22
4.1	Factors influencing Kenya's sex tourism growth – exploration through consolidation phases	28
Appendix 1	Map of Kenya and its coastal region	45

**List of tables:**

2.1	Population, Gross Domestic Product and current account of balance	12
2.2	Sectoral structure: agriculture, industry and service sector	13
2.3	Number of arrivals and national receipts of tourism	14
2.4	Urban Population	15
2.5	Gini index and population living below \$1.25 PPP per day	15
2.6	Human Development Index	15
2.7	Labour force	16
2.8	Education	16
2.9	Life expectancy and HIV persons	17
3.1	Gross Region Product (GRP) of Malindi district in 2003	24
5.1	Categorisation of commercial sex workers in Kenya's coastal region	36
Appendix 2.1	Survey items to measure the relationship between tourism and male sex trade	46
Appendix 2.2	Percentage distribution for the perceived linkage between tourism and the sex trade	46
Appendix 3	Price list for commercial sexual services, provided by the MWA	47
Appendix 4	Monthly pay by occupation in Malindi Town, 2005	47

**List of abbreviations:**

CSW	Commercial Sex Worker
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
FSW	Female Sex Worker
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
IFC	International Finance Corporation
KTB	Kenya Tourists Board
KTDC	Kenya Tourism Development Corporation
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
MCSW	Male Commercial Sex Worker
MWA	Malindi Welfare Association
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
STD	Sexual Transmitted Disease

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

*'Sex tourism is a complex, multi-faceted activity of so many hues and colours, that whatever one's beliefs about this human activity, the phenomenon will provide sufficient examples to reinforce any given prejudice.'* (Kibicho, 2009)

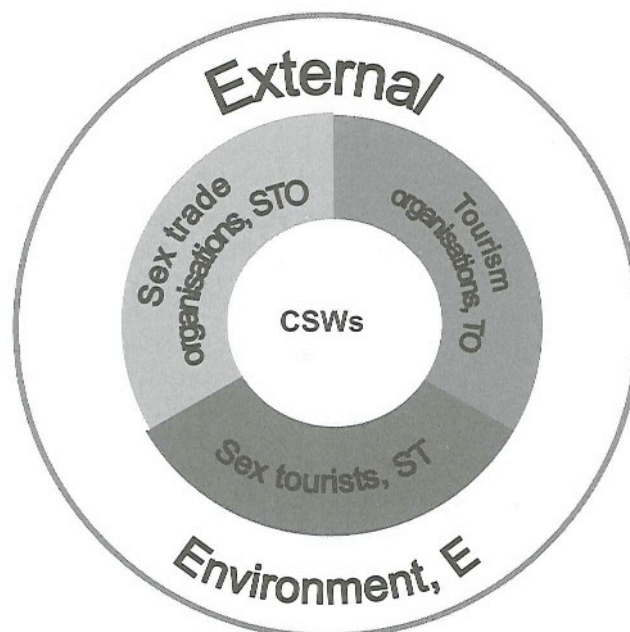
Sex tourism is a phenomenon expanding worldwide due to internationalization. Since the 1970s, it is a legitimate form of international mass tourism, where the four S's of tourism 'Sun, Sand, Surf and Sex' represent the sex tourism industry (Ryan & Hall, 2001). Sex tourism can be described as "tourism, international and domestic, for which the main motivation or part of the objective of the trip is to consummate or engage in commercial sexual relations" (Kibicho, 2009:17). Each country has its own policy towards prostitution and sex tourism. The Netherlands has legalized prostitution and is famous about their red light district in Amsterdam. Thailand is famous for their large supply of prostitution, though its officially illegal. Bangkok is also known as: "the red light capital of the world." Or like some people say: "Disney world for men". Until ten years ago, sex tourism has been most commonly understood to be a leisure activity of men who visit tourism destinations to engage in commercial sex (Enloe, 1989). But in the last decade female sex tourists are emerging and they expand to Jamaica, Indonesia, Gambia and Kenya.

The fundamental change of sex tourism is gender. Gender refers to the socially constructed roles and relations between men and women. Through modern consumer culture, gender roles have been affected by transformations of human practices and relations (Kibicho, 2009). In the past the term sex tourism was used to describe the relationship between men and (mostly) local female prostitutes. Nowadays, female sex tourists are travelling to Kenya. The relationship between female, white, European tourists and local black men is called romance tourism and is bound with local black men, generally referred to as 'Beach boys'. The gender roles in the western world have changed. Till the twentieth century, there was a traditional male-provider-female consumers paradigm. The man was considered as the one who was responsible for earning income, whereas the woman was the consumer and responsible for the household. Due to the modern consumer culture, women have increased their share of economic power, thus making them less economically dependent. Due to the economic freedom they can be a sex tourists nowadays.

To simplify sex tourism; it is an interaction between demand and supply. According to Thanh-Dam (1983) it is the commercial supply of sexual services and prostitution that is differentiated in response to the processes of capitalist development and conditioning labour relations, demand and supply. Sex tourism is mostly present in developing countries with the four S's of tourism. The development of the sex tourism industry depends on an alliance between local governments in search of foreign currency and local foreign business willing to invest in sexualised travel (Enloe, 2000). For the government and local businesses, economic benefits are in most of the cases the motivator to tolerate sex tourism. Professor Ryan has said in the foreword of the book Sex tourism in Africa of Kibicho (2009): "We can conclude that the economic gains from sex tourism for Kenya are significant, and raises a question as to whether sex workers are 'a marginal layer in the social fabric' or "a

creative and innovative force that is rightly entrepreneurial”. The economic gains are difficult to measure, but what is visible is the economic transformation in a country and region due to (sex) tourism.

The sex trade community consists of transactions between key actors, illustrated in figure 1.1. The actors are commercial sex workers, sex tourists, sex trade organisations and tourism organizations which are all embedded in the society. These actors together are the internal environment and the interactions between them are the transactions which are closely linked to the sexual services delivery process. These actors are embedded in the external environment, consisting of the global market, government policies, national/local tourism authorities, tourism trade union, local community, the job market and so on. The external environment has direct and indirect influence on the internal environment. All together they dictate the functioning of tourism-oriented sex trade (Kibicho, 2009).



[Figure 1.1 | Conceptual model of transactions between members of a sex trade community](#)

[Source: Kibicho \(2009:34\)](#)

This report describes the development of sex tourism in the coastal region of Kenya and how it became an economic source, based on the conceptual model shown in figure 1.1. The commercial sex workers, sex tourist and policies of the Kenyan government will be explored to describe sex tourism in Kenya’s coastal region. It will illustrate how these actors interact and have influence on each other.

### 1.1 Research aim

According to ECPAT (2002, taken from Kibicho, 2009), due to the combination of restrictions in former sex tourism destinations and the lack of controls in developing countries, the attendance of new sex tourism destinations is rising. The new phenomenon, romance tourism, has lead to a booming industry in Kenya. The



amount of male commercial sex workers and female sex tourists has increased over years. But, besides romance tourism, the “old” form of sex tourism still increases. Romance tourism and sex tourism is concentrated in the coastal region of Kenya where the four S’s of sex tourism are available. The presence of sex tourism and its revenues are very important for the locals, tourism facilitators and the government. But how and why becomes sex tourism important in the coastal region? The aim of this research is to explore how sex tourism becomes an important economic source in the coastal region of Kenya.

## 1.2 Research problem

To explore the research aim the research questions will be:

### **How did sex tourism become an important economic source in the coastal region of Kenya?**

With the use of a framework of four sub-questions, the research problem will be answered.

#### **1. What is the economic profile of Kenya?**

By giving an economic profile of Kenya with the use of economic variables, the current economy of Kenya will be given. By comparing these variables in time, the developments over the years are illustrated. Besides, by given an economic profile over the years the circumstances on how sex tourism has developed itself is better to understand.

#### **2. How did tourism developed in Kenya and its coastal region?**

By illustrating the development of tourism, important factors and decisions on national and regional level are given, which explains the current importance of tourism in Kenya and its coastal region.

#### **3. What are the characteristics of sex tourism in Kenya and its coastal region?**

By giving the characteristics of sex tourism in Kenya it will explain under which circumstances sex tourism has developed to its current size and economic importance for the coastal region.

#### **4. How can we characterise the market of sex tourism?**

The market of sex tourism in Kenya’s coastal region consists of male and female commercial sex workers and sex tourists of both sexes. The factors of demand and supply side will be given to show how these create sex tourism in Kenya.

These sub-questions are answered in chapters two, three, four and five respectively. Chapter two will give an economic profile of Kenya. Thereafter, the development of tourism in Kenya and its coastal region in general will also be given, in chapter three.

### 1.3 Methodology

The research consists of a literature study. The articles and books that are used for this thesis mostly have the subjects economics of tourism, tourism development, developing countries, sex tourism and prostitution.

This research is based on the shift of sex tourism and the new phenomenon; romance tourism, which encouraged the existence of sex tourism. West-European women from middle age are visiting Kenya to have a (sexual) relationship with local dark skinned men, in exchange for food, products or money. The “old” form of sex tourism, where men have sex with local women, is also present. The research population will be the national government of Kenya, the commercial sex workers and sex tourists. These actors will be used to illustrate the development of sex tourism and the current economic importance for the coastal region of Kenya.

The research area is Kenya and in particular its coastal region (appendix 1). The coastal region of Kenya is large in its provision of tourism and sex tourism. Tourism is the thriving business, where shops, tour operators and beach and luxury hotels are present.

### 1.4 Concepts

Sex tourism and its concepts can differ and be interpreted in many ways. The basic, fundamental concepts of sex tourism for this research are explained below and will be used throughout this research.

Commercial sex worker: ‘Someone who wholly or partly earns their living by providing sexual services. It represents both sexes and covers all workers in the sex industry, such as erotic actors, striptease dancers and so on.’ (Kibicho, 2009:22)

Sex tourism: ‘Tourism, international and domestic, for which the main motivation or part of the objective of the trip is to consummate or engage in commercial sexual relations.’ (Kibicho, 2009:17)

Romance tourism: ‘To describe the relationships between western female tourists (Euro-American white women) and local black men generally referred to as ‘Beach Boys.’ (Pruit & LaFont, 1995:423)

Sex tourists: ‘A sex tourist is an adult who travels in order to have legal sexual relations with other adult, often for the exchange of money or presents.’ (Kibicho, 2009:21)

Sex trade: ‘Any business transaction involving granting of sexual access on a relatively indiscriminate basis for payment either in money or goods or both.’ (Kibicho, 2009:53)

Government: ‘This includes both the central/federal and the local/regional governments. Policymakers are interested in the tourism industry for its capacity to generate foreign exchange. Tax receipts collected from tourists expenditures, either

directly or indirectly, are also of great importance for the governments concerned. In addition, many decision makers view the industry as a development tool due to its ability to create massive employment opportunities.' (Kibicho 2009:15)

### **1.5 Structure and content of the report**

This report is structured according to the framework given in paragraph 1.2. Chapter two will give an economic profile of Kenya. Chapter three discusses the development of tourism in Kenya and its coastal region. The characteristics of sex tourism in Kenya and its coastal region are illustrated in chapter four. Chapter five describes the characteristics of the market of sex tourism in Kenya's coastal region. Finally, chapter six summarises the report and concludes the findings and answers the research problem.

## **Chapter 2: What is the economic profile of Kenya?**

*Sex tourism is a sub-sector of Kenya's prosperous tourist economy. It is the major employer for many commercial sex workers, but also other sectors of the economy are indirectly related to the sex industry. This makes the tourism industry one of the most flamboyant and dynamic economic sectors in Kenya (Kibicho, 2009).*

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter will give an economic profile of Kenya. Important economic variables are described and compared in the years 1995 and 2010/2011. Together, the variables will give an economic profile. By comparing the variables in time, the change in the economic profile will become visible. Section 2.2 will give an overview of important economic factors spread over sub-sections. The chapter will be concluded with a summary in section 2.3.

### **2.2 Economic profile of Kenya**

This section will give an overview of important economics variables and will be compared in the years 1995 and 2009, 2010 or 2011. The number which were most recent available were chosen. Sub-section 2.2.1 will give an overview of the population, gross domestic product (GDP) and current account balance. Followed by sub-section 2.2.2 to give an overview of the sectoral structure and its part in the total GDP of Kenya. In sub-section 2.2.3 the numbers of arrivals and receipts of tourism are explained and its importance for the Kenyan economy. Then the amount of urban population will be described in sub-section 2.2.4, followed by the gini-index and the population living below \$1.25 PPP per day in sub-section 2.2.5. This is followed by the human development index in sub-section 2.2.6 and the labour force in sub-section in 2.2.7. This section will be concluded by sub-section 2.2.8 to give education level of Kenya and the life expectancy and total HIV persons in sub-section 2.2.8.

#### **2.2.1. Population, Gross Domestic Product and current account balance**

**Table 2.1 Population, Gross Domestic Product and current account of balance**

	Kenya	
	1995	2010
Population in million	27.43	41.61 (2011)
GDP in US\$ in billion	10.062	16.071
Current account balance (BoP, current US\$ in million)	-1578	-2512

Source: <http://databank.worldbank.org> | 24-08-2012

Over the last sixteen years the population has grown very fast with an amount of 52 percent to 41.61 million in 2011. Kenya has 0.58 percent of the world's total population, so one person in every 173 people on the planet is a resident of Kenya ([www.tradingeconomics.com](http://www.tradingeconomics.com)).

The gross domestic product of Kenya is increased with 60 percent. The GDP measures the national income and output for a given country's economy. It is equal to the total expenditures for all final goods and services produced within the country in a specific period of time.

The current account balance of Kenya was already negative in 1995. But over the last fifteen years it has become even more negative to -2512 million US\$. The current account consists of two components; the balance of payment and the capital account. It is the sum of the balance of trade (net earnings on exports minus payments for imports), services, factor income (earnings on foreign investments minus payments made to foreign investors) and cash transfers. The current account can also be seen as the changes in net foreign assets where, according to the statistics, Kenya has an enormous shortage. The negative current account balance can be due to a negative trade balance where Kenya imports more machinery and transportation equipment than its export, which are mostly agricultural products. More in section 2.2.2. Another important factor of the negative account balance is the factor income. Because Kenya has the status of a low development country it is not a safe market to invest for foreign investors. Besides Kenya does not have the money to invest in other countries. These factors have a major influence on the current negative account balance, which makes Kenya weak and fragile.

### 2.2.2 Sectoral structure: Agriculture, industry and service sector

**Table 2.2 Sectoral structure: agriculture, industry and service sector**

	Kenya	
	1995	2010
Agriculture value added (constant 2000 US\$) in million	3144	4460
Industry value added (constant 2000 US\$) in million	1896	3109
Services etc, value added (constant 2000 US\$) in million	5022	8502
Agriculture value added (% of GDP)	31.13%	19.39%
Industry, value added (% of GDP)	16.02%	13.82%
Services etc, value added (% of GDP)	52.85%	66.8%
Total	100%	100%
GDP in US\$ in billion	27.43	41.61

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/> | 03-07-2012

In table 2.2 the three sectors, agriculture, industry and services of Kenya are given. The agriculture includes forestry, hunting, fishing as well as cultivation of crops and livestock production. The value added is the net output of a sector after adding up all outputs and subtracting intermediate inputs. The agriculture is very important for Kenya because it is the main source of revenue for 70 percent of the population. The agricultural products are central to Kenya's export industry with horticultural and tea as their most important products. They trade with the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Uganda, Tanzania, United States and Pakistan. The amount of agriculture is increased, but as a percentage of the GDP it is decreased. This is due to the growing size of the GDP. But still, the agriculture is responsible for almost 20 percent of the GDP.

Kenya is one of the most industrially developed countries in East Africa in the last years, where the fast development of telecommunication and transport had a major role. Nowadays the industry it is responsible for fourteen percent of the total GDP. The industry includes mining, manufacturing, construction, electricity, water and gas. The products that are imported are mostly for the industrial sector. The products are mostly machinery and transportation equipment, motor vehicles, iron and steel, resins and plastics, which are imported from India, China, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, United States and Japan.

The service sector is the motor in the Kenyan economy. The services are increased with seventy percent to 8502 million in 2010. This major sector accounts for two-third of the GDP. The tourism sector is an important part of the service sector. Tourism has made a rapid growth over the years and nowadays it is one of the most important sectors of Kenya. The total tourism revenues were increased from K£7.2<sup>1</sup> millions in 1963 to K£3.5 billions in 2000. Besides it provided 140,000 people with direct employment and an estimated 350,000 indirect jobs (Kibicho, 2005).

### 2.2.3. Number of arrivals and national receipts of tourism

As is explained in sector 2.2.2 tourism plays an important role in the economy. When tourists are on holiday they will spend money for goods and services in the destination country. These expenditures of tourists will have influence on local, regional and on national scale.

Table 2.3 gives an overview of tourism and its earnings of Kenya.

**Table 2.3 | Number of arrivals and national receipts of tourism**

	Kenya	
	1995	2009
Number of arrivals	973.600 <sup>1</sup>	1.490.400 <sup>1</sup>
Receipts of tourism in current US dollars (in mln)	785	1,124

Source: <http://databank.worldbank.org> | 24-08-2012

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of tourism | cited by Mayaka, Prasad, 2012 | Table 2 Visitors arrivals 1995-2009

The number of arrivals is increased with an amount of 53 percent over the last fourteen years. In 2009 1.490.400 tourists were visiting Kenya. Their motivations were mostly for holiday. In 1995 the duration of stay had the averaged length of 12 days, where the expenditure was around 657 US\$ (Akama and Kieti, 2007). The total receipts of tourism was 785 million US\$ in 1995 and is increased to 1,124 million US\$ in 2009. The receipts are expenditures by international visitors and it includes payments made for goods or services received in the destination country. The share in exports is calculated as a ratio to exports of goods and services, which comprise all transactions between residents of a country and the rest of the world involving a change of ownership from residents to non-residents of general merchandise, goods sent for processing and repairs, nonmonetary gold, and services. Kenya receipts over 6% of the total international tourist arrivals to Africa in 2004 (Akama & Kieti 2007). These amounts show that tourism has grown tremendously and is currently on of Kenya's leading and most well established industries (Omondi, 2003).

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<sup>1</sup> US\$1 = K£3.8.

## 2.2.4 Urban Population

**Table 2.4 | Urban Population**

	Kenya	
	1995	2010
Urban population (% of total)	19%	22.2%

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/> | 03-07-2012

The urban population (% of total) in Kenya is increased to 22 per cent in 2010. More than one fifth of the total population lives in urban areas. Development in (upcoming) large cities attracts people from upcountry to migrate because of the difference in economic wealth. The largest city of Kenya is Nairobi with 3,500,000 inhabitants, which is 39% of the urban population. ([www.tradingeconomics.com](http://www.tradingeconomics.com)) Mombasa, the second largest city of Kenya had a population of almost one million in 2009. Mombasa is the largest city in the coastline of Kenya and is important due a major port and international airport.

## 2.2.5 Gini index and population living below \$1.25 PPP per day

**Table 2.5 | Gini index and population living below \$1.25 PPP per day**

	Kenya	
	1992	2004
Gini index	57.46	47.68
Population living below \$1.25 PPP per day	n.a.	19.7% (2005) <sub>1</sub>

<sub>1</sub>: Human Development Reports: <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/KEN.html>

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/> | 03-07-2012

The Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. Zero expresses perfect equality and hundred expresses maximal inequality, where one person has all the income of a country. The Gini index of Kenya is decreased, what indicates that the income distribution has become more equal.

The \$1.25 PPP per day indicates a benchmark to measure poverty in a country. In 2005 one fifth of the total population has less than \$1.25 to spend per day.

## 2.2.6 Human Development Index

**Table 2.6 | Human Development Index**

	Kenya	
	1990	2011
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.456	0.509
Average annual HDI growth 1990-2011	0.52%	

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/> | 03-07-2012

The Human Development Index (HDI) was introduced as an alternative to conventional measures of national, human development. It stands for broader definition of well-being and provides a composite measure of three basic dimensions of human development: health, education and income. The values are expressed

between 0 and 1. Over the last years the HDI is increased in Kenya. The development has made a small improvement, but its still very low. Kenya’s position on the HDI rank is 143, which is indicated as a low human development according to their own rank.

### 2.2.7 Labour force

**Table 2.7 | Labour force**

	Kenya	
	1995	2009
Labour force in million	12.100	18.660
Labour force female (% of total labour force)	46.3%	46.78%

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/> | 03-07-2012

The total labour force comprises people ages 15 and older who belong to the economic active population. It includes all people who supply labour for the production of goods and services during a specified period, employed and unemployed, and excludes homemakers and other unpaid caregivers and workers in the informal sector. The labour force of Kenya is increased with more than six million people over the last fourteen years. The female labour force as a percentage of the total show the extent to which women are active in the labour force. The percentage is around 45 percent and shows that the division of male and female is almost equal.

### 2.2.8 Education

**Table 2.8 | Education**

	Kenya	
	1995	2009
School enrolment primary (% gross)	90.39%	113.27%
School enrolment secondary (% gross)	39.87%	60.17%
School enrolment tertiary (% gross)	2.75% (2000)	4.03 %
Literacy rate; adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	73.61% (2000)	87.01%

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/> | 03-07-2012

Table 2.8 shows the education level of Kenya. There is a division in primary, secondary and tertiary school enrolment and the literacy rate. The school enrolment ratio is the ratio of total enrolment, regardless of age, to the population of the age group that officially corresponds to the level of education shows. That is the reason that the school enrolment for primary school is over the 100%. It is due to the fact that more people outside the official level of education has enrolled primary school. The primary education provides children with basis reading, writing and mathematics skills along with an elementary understanding. The secondary education completes the provision of basic education that began at the primary level, and aims at laying the foundation of lifelong learning and human development.



Overall, the education level and school enrolment of Kenya is improved in the last fourteen years. The gross enrollment ratio is the ratio of total enrollment, regardless of age, to the population of the age group that officially corresponds to the level of education shown. This explains why the school enrolment of the primary school is over one hundred percent. The school enrolment of the secondary school has increased more than twenty percent. A small part of the population has enrolled on the tertiary level, but the fact that there is an increase is very positive. The reason for this small amount is because students will only be admitted when they have finished their primary and secondary school. Because of the high drop out rates, caused by diseases and the shortage of money, the completions of the schools are not high. Besides, the high price of tertiary education is mostly destined for the elite population.

The literacy rate is the percentage of people ages fifteen and above who can, with understanding, read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life. The literacy rate of Kenya is increased, which shows that the level of education is increased as well. The combination of the growth in literacy rate and the increased enrolment of education shows that the education level of Kenya has made a major growth.

### 2.2.9 Life expectancy and HIV persons

**Table 2.9 | Life expectancy and HIV persons**

	Kenya	
	1995	2009
Life expectancy at birth in years	57.46	55.84
HIV total (% of population ages 15-49)	10	6

Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/> | 03-07-2012

The life expectancy at birth indicates the number of years a newborn infant would live if prevailing patterns of mortality at the time of its birth were to stay the same throughout its life. Over the last fourteen years the life expectancy is decreased. Since the nineties the life expectancy has made a major decrease, to the bottom level of 56 years in 2002. Nowadays, the life expectancy is increasing again probably due to overall improvements hygiene, sanitation, clean drinking water, availability in nutritious food, medicine and improvements in living conditions.

Hiv/aids is very common in developing countries. Almost half of the infected people are living in sub-Saharan Africa. (Tegang, Abdallah, Emukule, Luchters, Kingola, Barasa, Mucheke and Mwarogo, 2010). In the last fourteen years the amount of HIV infected is decreased to six percent of 2009. This is a positive development, but it is still a major enemy for the population of Kenya.

### 2.3 Summary

The economic profile of Kenya is illustrated by economic variables. The population of Kenya has grown very fast from 27.43 million in 1995 to a population of 41.61 million in 2011. During these sixteen years the GDP of Kenya has grown as well to US\$ 16.071 billion in 2011. Although the GDP has grown the current account balance is negative. It was already negative in 1995 but during the years it has become more

negative to -2512 million US\$ in 2010. Kenya has an enormous shortage of net foreign assets.

Agriculture is very important for Kenya because it is the main source of revenue for 70 percent of the population and accounts twenty percent of the GDP. The agricultural products are central to Kenya's export industry with horticultural and tea as their most important products. Kenya is one of the most industrially developed countries in East Africa in the last years, where the fast development of telecommunication and transport had a major role. Nowadays the industry is responsible for fourteen percent of the total GDP. The service sector is the motor in the Kenyan economy. The services are increased with seventy percent to 8502 million in 2010. This major sector accounts for two-third of the GDP. The tourism sector is an important part of the service sector. The number of arrivals are increased with an amount of 53 percent with 1.490.400 tourists in 2009. The total receipts of tourism was 785 million US\$ in 1995 and is increased to 1,124 million US\$ in 2009. These amounts show that tourism has grown tremendously and is currently one of Kenya's leading and most well established industries.

The urban population (% of total) in Kenya is increased to 22 per cent in 2010. More than one fifth of the total population lives in urban areas. The largest cities are Nairobi and Mombasi. The Gini index of Kenya is decreased, what indicates that the income distribution has become more equal. In 2005, one fifth of the total population has less than \$1.25 per day to spend. Over the last years the HDI is increased in Kenya. The development has made a small improvement, but it is still very low. The labour force of Kenya is increased with more than six million people over the last fourteen years. The division of male and female in the labour force is almost equal. Overall, the education level and school enrolment level of Kenya is improved in the last fourteen years. The combination of the growth in literacy rate and the increased enrolment of education shows that the education level of Kenya has made a major growth. The life expectancy and level of HIV infections is decreased, so the health of the Kenyan population is improved.

### **Chapter 3: How did tourism develop in Kenya and its coastal region?**

*“This new form of slavery is a result of apathetic policy, the economic greed of local privileged classes, the poverty of certain countries and the struggle for survival of some sectors of the population.”  
(The Vatican’s permanent observer at the World Tourism Organization April 2003, cited by Omondi, 2003:15)*

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter illustrates the development of tourism over the last fifty years. The development will be reflected by Butler’s model in section 3.2. Then, in section 3.3 the development of Kenya’s coastal region will be explored and also be reflected by Butler’s model. In section 3.4 the current poverty level in the coastal region will be explained followed by section 3.5, which illustrates the economic impacts of tourism in the coastal region. Section 3.6 shows the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. The chapter will be completed by a summary in section 3.7.

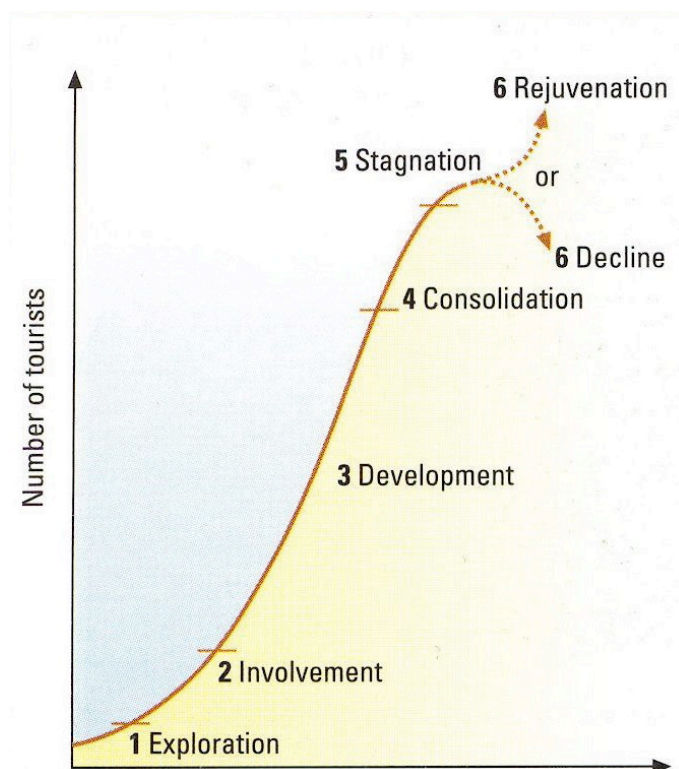
#### **3.2 The development of tourism in Kenya**

Kenya has used tourism as a tool for socio-economic development. The main goal of the government was to encourage more tourists to visit the country for generating more foreign investments. The policy was to put major emphasis on the expansion of tourism and hospitality facilities in order to increase the number of tourist arrivals (Akama, 1990).

The development of tourism went from small-scale locally control to large-scale foreign-oriented mass tourism (Kibicho, 2005). The “Butlers’s Model of Evolution of Tourists Areas” of Butler (1980, cited by Irandu, 2006:193) illustrates the development of Kenya’s tourism and for its coastal region. The model can be divided into five stages of growth; Exploration, Involvement, Development Consolidation and Stagnation.

The exploration stage for Kenya started in 1960. A small number of tourists visited the country for its nature. The game shooting safaris became popular. The tourism market was not well developed, so there was al lack of specific facilities (Kibicho, 2009).

The involvement stage was during 1963-78. Locals entered the tourism sectors and were facilitating the tourists. Besides through marketing campaigns the amount of tourists arrived. The tourists season develops and the government facilitates some important public investments



**Figure 2.1 Butler’s model**  
Source: Irandu (2006:193)

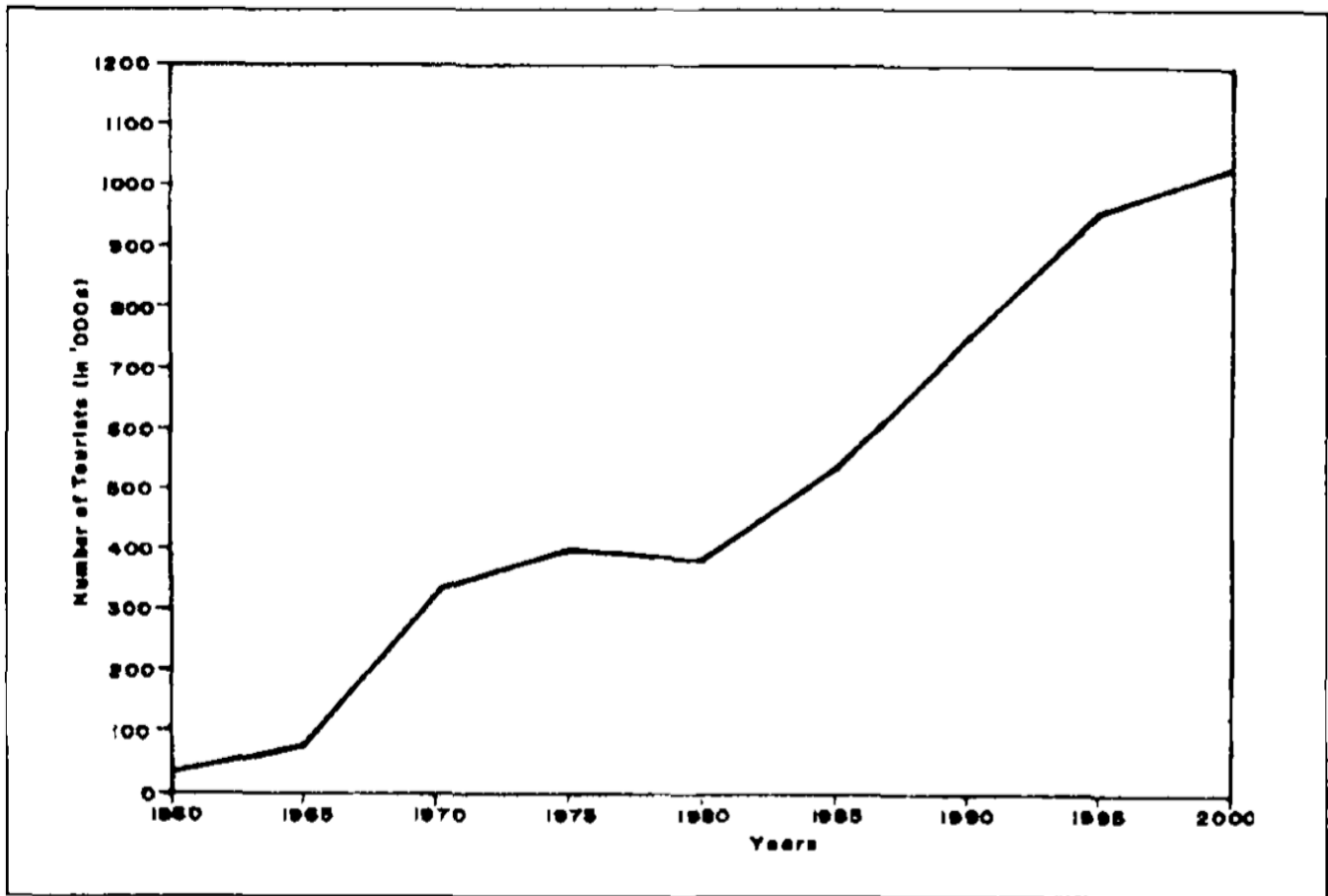
like constructions of airports, roads and hotels (Irandu, 2006) The government focused on national socio-economic growth because they assumed that direct foreign investments would decrease the scarce domestic capital and the earnings would lead to a reduce in the balance-of-payment deficits. Besides, the new employment created by tourism would decrease social inequalities and the multiplier effects in peripheral areas would lessen regional disparities (Kibicho, 2009). To establish these developments the government made a few important investments. In 1965 they established the Kenya Tourism Development Corporation (KTDC) to oversee the development in tourism, establish facilities together with the locals and granting loans. The economic importance of tourism was emphasizes by the creation of the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife in 1966. Another important investment was in 1967, when the government received a loan of three million US\$ of the International Finance Corpotion (IFC) to develop the tourism industry further (Kibicho, 2009). In summary, tourism facilities were built and destination marketing strategies were being developed.

During 1979-96 the development stage entered and is characterised by rapid tourism growth. In 1996 one million visitors arrived in Kenya and around 820.800 came for holidays (Mayaka and Prasad, 2012). By the creation of the Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) the environment was protected by the impact of tourism. The small-scale business from locals passes to the national and international companies, which included multinational corporation (Irandu, 2006 and Kibicho, 2009). Top government officials and the services of foreign consultants centralized the policymaking and there was no role for participation of local communities, local authorities and the private sector (Akama, 1990).

The consolidation stage (1997-2005) was marked by a decline in growth and other tourism related activities. Although the absolute number of arrivals of tourists increased, the rate of growth number is declining. The fall in arrivals from 1997 till 2002 was due to the political violence in Kenya (Kibicho, 2009). This is visible in the decrease in hotel bed occupancy level. In 1997 the hotel bed occupancy in all Kenya was thirty-nine percent, while in 1993 and 1996 is was respectively fifty-five and sixty four percent (Kibicho, 2009). This unforeseeable and abrupt decline lead to more policy interventions like the establishment of the Kenya Tourists Board in 1997. Their task was to promote Kenya on the tourism market in a co-ordinated and systematic way. But functioning was difficult due to the near collapse of the national economy due to unparalleled levels of corruption, cronyism and escalating political violence in the late nineties (Kibicho, 2009).

The stagnation stage has entered since 2006, where the destination was not longer attractive to tourists because of the environmental, social and economic problems (Irandu, 2006). More in section 3.5 and 3.6.

The tourists arrivals of Kenya from 1960 till 2000 in figure 2.2 has the same trend as Butler's model in figure 2.1 The five stages of Butler's model are visible in the trend of figure 2.2 and shows the similar trend of he development of tourism in Kenya.



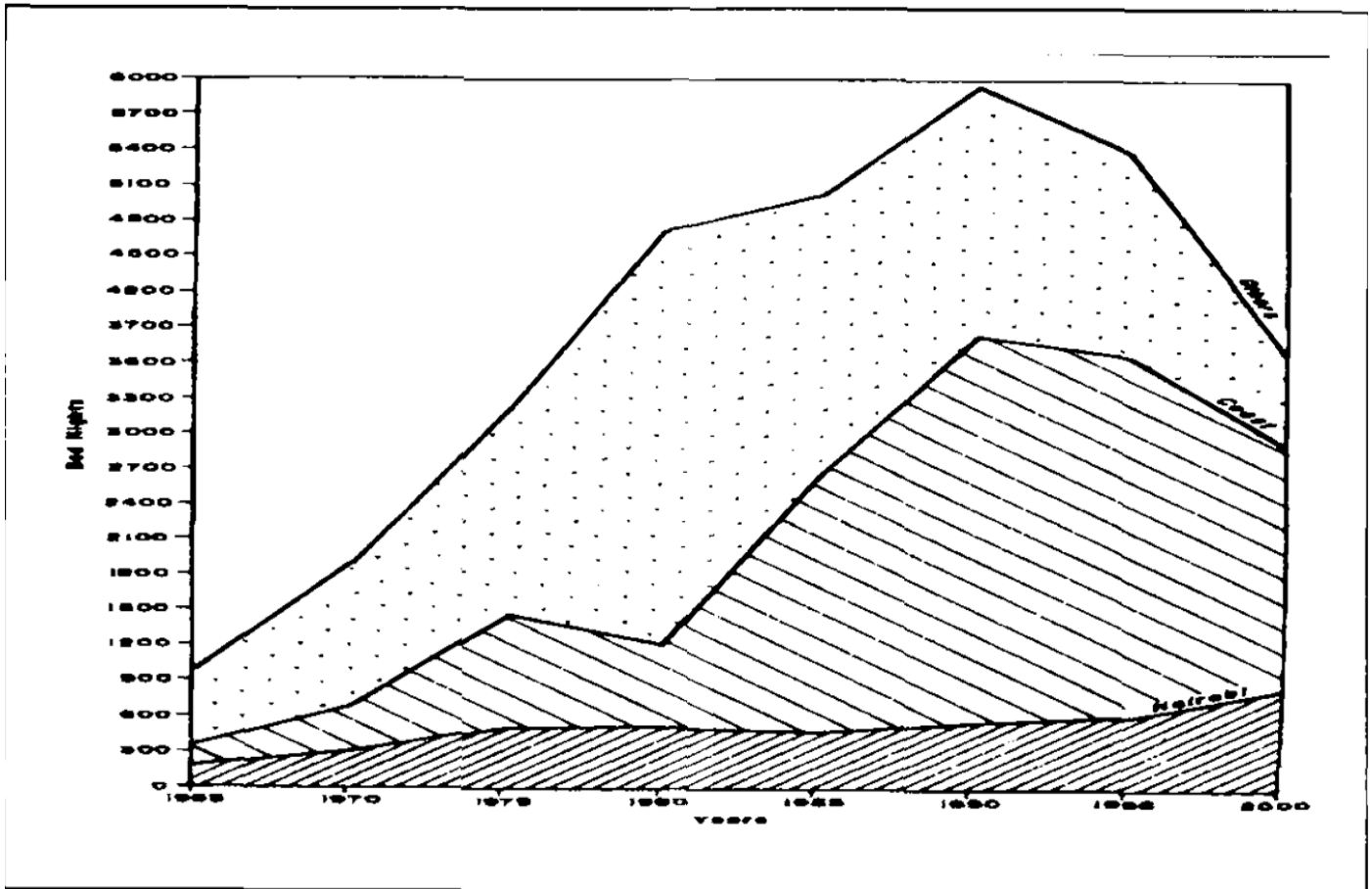
**Figure 2.2 Tourists arrivals in Kenya, 1960-2000**

Source: Irandu (2006:195)

### 3.3 The development of tourism in Kenya's coastal region

Kenya's tourism can be divided into four major forms: beach, safari, business/conference and cultural. During the years the coastal region of Kenya became extremely popular for tourists. The whole coastal region is foreseen of the important 4'S: Sun, Sand, Surf and Sex. Shimoni, Diani-Ukinda, Mombaso, Bamburi-Kisauni, Mtwapa, Watamu and Malindi are the cities at the coast for tourism, which has a total length of 640 kilometres. (Appendix 1) Mombaso is the largest city with a population of respectively one million and has the highest concentration of tourism and hospitality. It is the leading tourist centre in Eastern Africa (Akama and Kieti, 2007) It is an important city for the coastline due a major port and international airport. The city has the highest concentration of tourism and hospitality facilities and infrastructure.

The rapid and unplanned growth of tourism was especially concentrated in the coastal region. Due to the arrivals of tourists, the majority of the supply of tourism enterprises was represented here. 49 percent of the hotels, 43 percent of tour operators and 85 percent of the curio shops was in this region in 1999 (Akama, 1990). In 2002 two-thirds of the total arrivals of Kenya accounted in the coastal region (Kamau, 1999 taken Irandu, 2006). The increase of tourists was also visible in the bed nights amount. Figure 2.3 shows the bed nights for Nairobi and beach hotels on Kenyas coast from 1965 till 2000.



**Figure 2.3 Bed nights for Nairobi and beach hotels on Kenya's coast, 1965-2000**

Source: Irandu (2006:195)

Figure 2.3 illustrates the increase in bed nights, and so the tourists arrivals of Kenya during 1965-2000. It shows the same trend as figure 2.2. Figure 2.3 shows three trends; the bed nights for Nairobi, beach hotels and others. The trend of beach hotels shows a larger amount of bed nights than the Nairobi and others trend. This indicates that tourism in the coastal region has increased over the years and it has the largest amount of tourists in the country. Besides, the figure corresponds to Butler's model (figure 2.1). It illustrates the same trend in development.

The expansion of the tourists sector occurred without much planning. Many foreign investors responded to the new demand of tourists and the government also encouraged private investors and developers to participate in the development (Irandu, 2006). The ownership of foreign investors in enterprises caused an increase in arrivals from Europe. The popularity of the Kenya coast was due to successful promotion and marketing of British, Italian and Swiss nationalities who owned many enterprises. Because there was no control nor regulations by the government, the private investors built hotels along beaches whenever they could obtain cheap land (Irandu, 2006). As a consequence, most of the large scale capital tourism investments that were realised were under control and management of multinational corporations. Because the government did not had a planning policy, they rarely responded by providing an infrastructure. The result was a "ribbon type spatial structure". (Singdiga 1999:73 cited by Irandu, 2006:196).

During the years the multinationals started to offer a full travel arrangement for a complete travel package to maximize their profits. The package consisted of an air ticket, food, accommodation and recreational activities. Even the internal flights and car rentals are contracted. 40 to 70 percent of these forms of complete travel package leaked tourism receipts to overseas partners (Akama, 1990). Due to this form of businesses more power went to the multinationals and the small, local businesses did not profit of the tourism arrivals. The Kenyans were kept away of the developments in the coastal region.

### 3.4 Poverty in the coastal region

As is described in section 3.3 the Kenyan were kept away because of the excess power of multinationals. The economic advantages for the locals were minimal. People who live at or near the tourists resorts hardly had a job in the tourism sector. The jobs that were available for the locals were relatively low paid. The region hardly received any form of direct monetary benefits (Akama, 1990). According to Akama (1990), who cited from others (Bachmann, 1988; Sinclair, 1990; Akama, 1997), it has been estimated that the locals received between 2% and 5% of Kenya's total tourism.

The lack of economic benefits of tourism for locals can be seen in poverty. Mombasa and the Kenyan coast region is classified as one of the regions with a high incidence of poverty and poor living conditions of local people by the government (Akama and Kieti, 2007). 50 percent of the 500,000 residents of Mombasa live below the poverty line. Which indicates that they have to live with less than US\$ 1 per day. The Kenyan government states 'the poverty line is the level at which an individual's income does not meet a minimum standard required to meet his or her basic needs such as food, shelter, sanitation and clean water supply' (Kenya government, 2004:195 cited by Akama and Kieti, 2007). Often these people have no employment or its small and irregular. Children cannot go to school or even when they are going, the dropout rate is quite high. The consequences of poverty and social deprivation is reflected in an increased incidence of insecurity, drug-taking and trafficking, prostitution, hunger and malnutrition, an increased level of child labour, domestic violence and family breakups. Over 60 percent of the local residents and townships live in slum settlements near tourism establishments (Akama and Kieti, 2007).

### 3.5 The economic impact of tourism in the Kenyan coast

Two studies, done by Irandu (2006) and Akama and Kieti (2007), are illustrating the development of tourism in the coastal region of Kenya. The study of Akama and Kieti has a study population of 227 tourists and 227 locals who stayed or lived in Mombasa and the adjacent area. Irandu had a study population consisted of 560 hotel managers/owners and employees of the coastal region of Kenya. Both studies are showing the same developments and impacts in this region due to tourism.

Both studies reports that employment, business opportunities in the tourists sector and improvement of infrastructure are the main benefits for the locals. In the study of Akama and Kieti (2007) 96 percent of the locals think that these benefits are caused by tourism and the respondents of Irandu agreed with 61 percent. These last respondents also think, with 32 percent, that the preservation of local culture is an

important benefit. This study also illustrates the categories of jobs offered to the locals. These are mainly low skilled and low status/position occupations. 36 percent were maintenance officers and housekeepers, 31 percent as cooks and 12 percent as cleaners. This shows that the majority of locals, who have jobs in the tourism sector are mainly low paid. The well-paying jobs, at supervisory and managerial level, are taken by expatriates (Akama and Kieti, 2007). This shows their lower position in society. No prospects on well paying jobs because of the lack of skills and position of foreign migrant, locals enter the informal business activities such as hawking and vending of souvenirs along streets. The exclusion of the locals and their powerlessness due to foreign investors and migrants increases the gap between the 'fewer' rich and the 'majority' poor (Akama and Kieti, 2007). This unequal and unfair benefit distribution causes more poverty in the region.

The high poverty levels that are discussed in section 3.4 are illustrated in this study of Akama and Kieti (2007). The tourists and locals both agreed that poverty is the most serious problem they are facing in the coastal region with respectively 53 and 70 percent. Besides, unemployment and poor living conditions were large problems as well according to the tourists with 32 percent. This shows that while the coastal region is highly developed with tourism, the locals are still in poverty and that they do not benefit from tourism. According to this study the locals think that the government and hoteliers benefiting the most from tourism with respectively 36 and 34 percent and that they benefit as least with 8 percent. This confirms the unequal and unfair benefit distribution what is discussed in the above paragraph.

Another study, done by the Kenyan government but cited by Kibicho 2009, shows the size of tourism and its importance of the tourism industry in Malindi in 2003. Malindi is, after Mombasa, the largest city of Kenya's coastal towns with 345,000 inhabitants. Tourism is the largest component of the local economy and it is contributing over 64 percent of the total GDP in the Malindi district.

Table 3.1 shows the gross regional product (GRP) of Malindi district which comprises four regions:

	Margarini	Marafa	Malindi Rural	Malindi Town <sup>b</sup>	Total of the four regions	Total GRP per sector(%)
Agriculture	63,220	55,300	60,241	21,071	199,832	24
Industry	20,012	18,690	19,006	49,850	107,558	13
Tourism related services	56,830	54,481	40,610	382,806	534,727	63
Total GRP	140,062	128,471	119,857	453,727	842,117	100%
Population (%)	36	21	19	14	100	100

**Table 3.1 | Gross region product (GRP) of Malindi district in 2003 <sup>a</sup>**

Notes:

<sup>a</sup> Prices in K£ million (US\$1 = K£3.8) are as of 2002

<sup>b</sup> Malindi Town refers to the area designated as Malindi Municipality

Source: Kibicho (2009:159)



The figure shows that the agricultural sector is very high in three areas except for Malindi town. This area shares only 11 percent of the total agriculture in Malindi district and only 3 percent of the total GRP in the district. The industry is most represented in Malindi town. It accounts almost the half of the total industry of the district. Besides the industry, the tourism related services are very dominant in Malindi town. It shares 72 percent of the total tourism related services and 84 percent of the total GRP in the town. This illustrates that tourism is an important sector for Malindi town. Besides, the economic activities in Malindi town are also important for the district because it accounts for 54 percent of the total GRP. Malindi town is the core of the districts and the other are the peripheral. The agricultural and tourism related services are important sectors for the economy in other areas. But the economic activity in tourism is small compared to the size of tourism in Malindi town. Malindi town has the smallest population compared to other areas but the GRP of Malindi town accounts for 54 percent of the total. This all illustrates that tourism is the most important economic activity of the town and district. But because it is the rotary strength of the economy, its makes the town and district very dependent of this sector.

### 3.6 The socio-cultural impacts according to the locals

According to the respondents of Irandu (2006) and Akama and Kieti (2007) there are several negative socio-cultural impacts of international tourism. Lack of respects for traditions (40%), prostitution (30%), increase in crime (14%) and drugs peddling (12%) are the negative impacts according to the respondents of Irandu (2006). The study of Akama and Kieti (2007) shows the same impacts; prostitution (16%), drugs trafficking (12%), pimping and hustling (7%), undermining the social values (7%) and increased crime rates (7%). These problems all relate to the consequences of poverty and social deprivation. Poor locals, who are mostly unemployed and have less than US\$ 1 per day to spend, are trying to generate money on an illegal way to find their way out of poverty.

Because of the exclusion of the locals and their powerlessness due to foreign investors and migrants, this unequal and unfair benefit distribution causes more poverty in the region. The poor locals are trying to find their way out of poverty, even in an illegal way. But due their lower position in society it is hard to tackle poverty.

The results of the studies by Irandu (2006) and Akama and Kieti (2007) shows that prostitution is a negative socio-cultural impact due to tourism. Other studies done by Kibicho (2007, 2009) and others show that the development of tourism at the coast of Kenya is closely associated with a steep rise in commercial sex (prostitution). This encourages the spread of sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS according to Irandu (2006). Other studies like Kibicho shows that prostitution is not a side-effect of tourism but there is an market in Kenya where demand and supply of sex trade comes together. This subject will be further explained in chapter 4.

### 3.7 Summary

Kenya has used tourism as a tool for socio-economic development. The policy was to put major emphasis on the expansion of tourism and hospitality facilities in order to increase the number of tourist arrivals. The "Butlers's Model of Evolution of Tourists

Areas” of Butler (1980, cited by Irandu, 2006:195) illustrates the development of Kenya’s tourism and for its coastal region. The model can be divided into five stages of growth; Exploration, Involvement, Development Consolidation and Stagnation. This shows how the development of tourism went from small-scale locally control to large-scale foreign oriented mass tourism. The trend in the models shows a significant increase in tourism and over the years reaches a point of stagnation. This model illustrates Kenya’s tourism and also represents the coastal region of Kenya. The whole coastal region, over a length of 640 kilometres, is foreseen of the important 4’S: Sun, Sand, Surf and Sex. The rapid and unplanned growth of tourism is especially concentrated here. Due to the arrivals of tourists, the majority of the supply of tourism enterprises was represented in the coastal region. The expansion of the tourists sector stated without much planning. Many foreign investors responded to the new demand of tourists and the government also encouraged private investors and developers to participate in the development. As a consequence, most of the large scale capital tourism investments that were realised were under control and management of multinational corporations. Because the government did not had a planning policy, they rarely responded by providing an infrastructure. The result was a “ribbon type spatial structure”. The power of foreign investors increased and Kenyans were kept away of the developments in the coastal region. It has been estimated that the locals received between 2% and 5% of Kenya’s total tourism. Only the low-skilled and low status/position jobs are available for locals and the management jobs are for migrants. Mombasa and the Kenyan coast region are classified as one of the regions with a high incidence of poverty and poor living conditions of local people by the government. 50 percent of the 500,000 residents of Mombasa live below the poverty line and 60 percent of the local residents and townships live in slim settlements. The exclusion of the locals and their powerlessness due to foreign investors and migrants increases the gap between the ‘fewer’ rich and the ‘majority’ poor. This unequal and unfair benefit distribution causes more poverty in the region. The consequences of poverty and social deprivation is reflected in an increased incidence of i.a. Insecurity, drug-taking and trafficking and prostitution. The power of foreign investors and migrants, poverty and socio-cultural problems is confirmed by studies of Irandu (2006) and Akama and Kieti (2007). Besides, these studies and the study by Kibicho (2007, 2009) shows the importance of tourism in the coastal region.

## **Chapter 4: What are the characteristics of sex tourism in Kenya and its coastal region?**

*"I am assisting these young Kenyans by paying them for their services. I have helped several of them clear hospital bills for their close relatives. Additionally, I am paying school fees for two girls. Without being cynical, is this not being mindful of the less fortunate, the needy, the poor? Anyhow, I am happy my money does not disappear into the pockets of corrupt politicians and bureaucrats. It is not being spent on the senseless prestige projects. It goes straight into the pocket of the needy, the poor Kenyans. For heaven's sake, am I not helping this country?" (Kibicho, 2009:20)*

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter illustrates the characteristics of sex tourism of Kenya and its coastal region. Section 4.2 shows the differences in sex tourism and romance tourism and the role of gender. Section 4.3 described the development of sex tourism reflected by Butler's model. Then, in section 4.4 sex tourism in the coastal regions of Kenya will be described by a survey with female sex tourists as respondents. Section 4.5 illustrates the role of the Kenyan government and how their policy induces sex trade and tourism. The chapter will be completed by a summary in section 4.6.

### **4.2 What is sex tourism?**

Sex tourism already exists for centuries. For as long people have been travelling, they have sexual encounters with the opposite sex and race (Enloe, 1989). Nowadays sex tourism is a mega-industry with an insidious and uncontrollable growth, especially in developing countries (Cohen 1988). Sex tourism is: *'Tourism, international and domestic, for which the main motivation or part of the objective of the trip is to consummate or engage in commercial sexual relations.'* Due to the combination of restrictions in former sex tourism destinations and the lack of controls in developing countries, the shift has led to Kenya. Nowadays sex tourism is a booming industry in Kenya.

Trough innovations in technique and communication the limits of space and time are fade. People are in the position to travel easier to these new techniques and by their economic wealth. Ways to travel are accessible, simplified en cheaper. Besides internet is a new marketing channel in the last decades for the (sex) tourism industry, it provides information and tourists are able to enrich themselves with knowledge and exchange experiences.

Over the last two decades there is a new type of sex tourism named; romance tourism. This new phenomenon is; *'To describe the relationships between western female tourists (Euro-American white women) and local black men generally referred to as 'Beach Boys.'* (Pruit & LaFont, 1995:423) This relationship is very common in the Dominican Republic and nowadays in Kenya.

The fundamental change of sex tourism is gender. Gender refers to the socially constructed roles and relations between men and women. Through modern consumer culture, gender roles have been affected by transformations of human practices and relations (Kibicho, 2009). In the past the term sex tourism was used to describe the relationship between men and (mostly) local female prostitutes. Nowadays, the gender roles are different. Women do it too.

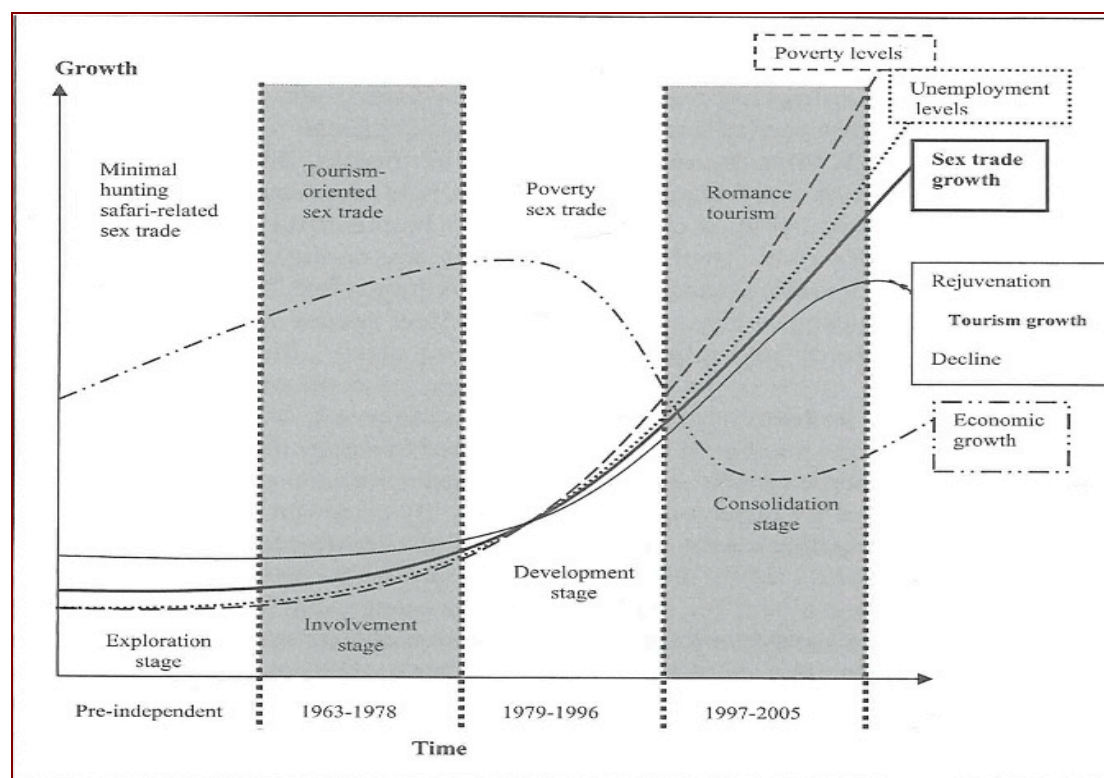
The culture gender roles in the western world have changed. Till the twentieth century, there was a traditional male-provider-female consumers paradigm. The

man was considered as the one who was responsible for earning income, whereas the woman was the consumer and responsible for the household. Due to the modern consumer culture, women have increased their share of economic power, thus making them less economically dependent. The women's share of relationship power increases (Kibicho, 2009). Nowadays, women have the freedom and money to do what they want to do.

Sex tourism was already present in the past but through romance tourism a new market has developed in Kenya which gave the whole sex tourism industry a boost. The demand for sex from European elderly women shows that there is a market in Kenya, which induces prostitution. In the section below, the development of sex tourism will be explained.

### 4.3 Development of sex tourism in Kenya

Besides the development of tourism and the coastal region of Kenya, the development of sex tourism can be illustrated by Butler's model as well. Four stages of Butler can be specified on sex tourism. Figure 4.1 relates sex trade with the development of tourism, poverty and unemployment levels and economic growth. These trends in development relates to the development described in section 3.2



**Figure 4.1 | Factors influencing Kenya's sex tourism growth – exploration through consolidation phases**  
 Source: Kibicho (2009: 76)

The development of sex tourism began before 1965, when hunting safaris made its entrance in Kenya. Exotic and erotic African woman accompanied the hunters throughout their expeditions (Kibicho, 2009). During this stage, tourism-oriented sex trade is in its infancy and is exploring.

During 1965, the national tourism strategy was developed to increase foreign exchange earnings and to generate opportunities by increasing the tourist' arrivals. The tourism-oriented sex trade is increasing and is involving. Numbers of local residents are trying to work in the tourism industry. But due the lack of required skills numbers the residents are entering the sex trade. Various authorities are showing their concerns about the socio-cultural problems due to the tourism industry, like the spread of sex trade, the increased number of youths dropping out of school and alcoholism (Kibicho, 2009). Due to the independence of Kenya and the new developments in tourism the economic growth is increasing.

In the development stage the economic growth is stagnating but the sex trade growth is developing. But the poverty and employment levels and tourism levels are increasing as well. The tourists arrivals had positive influence on the number of commercial sex workers (CSWs), which grew proportionally with each other. A secretary of the Malindi Welfare Association (MWA) quoted in Kibicho (2009:55): *'As the number of tourists arrivals increased, the number of CSWs increased proportionally. Any extra hotel opened in this period brought in about 12 new CSWs. The strong tourism wave of the 1970s attracted many Kenyans to Malindi. Those who did not have the required skills to work in the industry, ended up in the sex business. As a result, Malindi's sex industry grew in tandem with tourism expansion.'* During the eighties and especially the early nineties, Kenya was known as a cheap sex tourism destination (Singdiga, 1999 taken by Kibicho, 2009) Because of the expanding poverty levels and the stagnating economy, many rural migrants are moving to the key tourism destinations in the coastal region in search for jobs. Some tried to find work in the sex profession, where tourists and locals were the clients.

In the period 1997-2002, the consolidation stage, romance tourism was very popular. The female (sex) tourists were more present then their male counterparts (Kibicho, 2009). The economic growth made a steep decline while the sex trade growth, tourism growth and poverty and unemployment levels have reached an unprecedented height over the last fifty years. The near collapse of the national economy was close. These factors are related to each other and eventually induced the current sex tourism level. Sex organizations and workers are more professionalized and tourism enterprises are getting involved in the sex trade-related transaction. A government tourist officer of Malindi quoted: *"The best and probably the most reliable indicator of Malindi's tourism performance is the number of CSWs. The number of sex workers increases as the tourism season improves. In other words, when there are many CSWs in the streets, then there are many tourists in our country. By extension, this means that more locals are getting tourists dollars."*(Kibicho, 2009:75)

Romance tourism made its entrance in an insecure and unstable environment, where the poverty and unemployment levels have reached an unprecedented level.

#### 4.4 Sex tourism in the coastal region of Kenya

The quotes of the secretary of the MWA and the government tourist officer are both employees of Malindi and show the presence of sex tourism in Malindi. But sex tourism is not only present in this city, it has spread over the whole coastal region. The results of the studies by Irandu (2006) and Akama and Kieti (2007) are showing the increase in prostitution due to tourism in the coastal region. Besides this region

is foreseen of the four S's of tourism; 'Sun, Sand, Surf and Sex' which are determinants for the presence of the sex tourism industry, according to Ryan & Hall (2001).

To illustrate sex tourism in the coastal region Kibicho (2009) has conducted a survey with 68 female sex tourist in Malindi during March-May 2006. The majority (61 percent) of these female sex tourists were 46-50 years of age. Followed by women from the age group 41-45 years (19 percent). This illustrates that 80 percent is between 41 and 50 years old. Overall, the origins of these female sex tourists were mostly Western European, like Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway and the United Kingdom (Kibicho, 2009). This affirms that Kenya is visited by elderly women from Europe.

During this survey the reasons and thoughts about commercial sexual services were asked. 91 percent of the respondents knew that Kenya was a destination on 'romantic tours'. 54 percent knew it because of their own experiences in Kenya in the past and the other 46 per cent through recommendations by word of mouth of their friends or colleagues. According to Kibicho (2009) word-of-mouth communications play an important role in forming tourists' expectations. Tourists rely more on personal sources of information. By the time of this study, 59 percent of the respondents already had one or more sexual relationships with local men. 66 percent had the intention to have sex with local men before they went to their home country. This illustrates that the respondents have choose their tourism destination by knowing that the destination is rich in its sexual supply. And that they have the intention, before they arrive and during the holiday, to have sex with a local men.

In the same survey the thoughts about their sexual relationships with local men were asked as well. 60 percent admitted to have certain 'economic elements' in their relationships with 'beach boys'. But they do not see the relationship as a commercial sex worker (CSW)-client transaction. Almost 40 percent of the respondents who admitted to come to Kenya for the sex, believed that they were helping the local men and in some extent the economy. They gave them money and gifts. Interesting is that all 86 respondents do not think that they are sex tourists!

Besides female sex tourists, Kibicho also conducted a survey with male commercial sex workers (MCSWs). He measured the relation between tourism in Malindi and male sex trade in 2002. 73 surveys were spread in Malindi. The questionnaire and results of the survey can be found in Appendix 2. The text below will illustrate the outcome of the survey.

The outcome of the questionnaires about the perceived relation between tourism and sex trade is a positive relationship. The fast development of tourism in the recent years increased the demand for commercial sexual services and even made it dependent on the tourism seasons. According the beach boys, the sex trade improves the image of the Malindi Area as a tourism destination. These developments show how dependent sex trade is on tourism and shows a positive relation between tourism and sex trade. The effect of sex trade on the local economy is divided between the respondents. Besides of the division and the missing examples of effects, this cannot be used to measure a relationship between tourism and sex trade. But the fact that fast development of tourism in the recent years increased the demand for commercial sexual services, the dependency on

tourism seasons and that sex trade improves the image of the Malindi Area as a tourism destination are important factors to explain the positive relationship between tourism and sex trade. The questions how sex trade influences the personal situation are positive answered. Sex trade leads to an improved sexual income and increases the level of living standards in Malindi. Besides, most beach boys agree that the tourism industry creates employment for commercial sex workers. When sex trade/tourism has a positive influence on the personal situation, the attitude of people is more positive. This will lead to maintaining the current situation or even encourage the sex trade/tourism, which will increase the dependency on sex tourism. The overall opinion is that CSW have played a major role in the development of tourism in Malindi. A risk factor of being a CSW are the sexually transmitted diseases because according to the beach boys, sex trade leads to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Sex trade in Malindi is more favourable for CSWs if the tourists are clients instead of non-tourists because they pay more money for commercial sexual services. Most of these sexual services are offered within the tourism establishment. There can be two reasons why the services are offered within the tourism establishment. There is enough supply and/or demand of CSW. The given fact that most sexual services are offered within the tourism establishment shows the positive relationship between tourism and sex trade.

#### 4.5 The sex trade law of Kenya

Various laws at international level concerning prostitution have been formulated and adopted. Countries are expected to adopt these laws to criminalize prostitution and prevent several forms of sex trade (Omondi, 2003). Sex trade is officially illegal in Kenya. Although it is illegal sex tourists and workers can go their way.

The law concerning sex trade is marked by ambiguities and confusion. According to Omondi (2003:14), chapter 63 Section 153 and 154 of Kenya's constitution render sex trade illegal with the following words:

*S. 153 (1) "every male person who (a) knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution; or (b) in any public place persistently solicits or importunes for immoral purposes, is guilty of a misdemeanour.*

*S. 153 (2) prohibits ant man from living with a prostitute or to control or help a woman into prostitution with the aim of living on such earnings*

*S. 154 "Every woman who knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution or who is proved to have, for the purposes of gain exercised control, direction or influence over movements of a prostitute in such a manner as to show that she is aiding, abetting or controlling her prostitution with any person or generally; is guilty of a misdemeanour.*

*S. 156 prohibits any person from owning, managing or being the leaser of any premises to be used as a brothel.*

These laws initiate that sex trade is not illegal; but living by the earnings of prostitution is illegal. This also illustrates that "by implication therefore only loitering, pimping and ownership, management or occupancy of a brothel is illegal."(Omondi, 2003:15) The law is weak because it fails to define what a CSW is and it does not show what the phenomenon of sex trade involves. According to

Kithaka (2004 taken from Kibicho 2009:53) young CSWs who are getting arrested are not accused of practising prostitution but with loitering or vagrancy. The law induces confusion because the CSWs are the only one who are suffering and the place where the CSW operate, like entertainment establishments are rarely punished. Besides, by criminalizing sex trade a part of the industry will happen behind closed doors. There are several problems associated with criminal sex trade like child sex tourism, human trafficking, violence against CSWs, drugs trafficking and general crime. These problems are not going to be discussed in this report. But it indicates that by criminalising sex trade will lead to situations that the government can not control.

Through the lack of policy guidelines and ignorance of the Kenyan government, the sex trade has become expanding. The economic benefits have priority for the government like the scarcity of much-needed foreign exchange. According to Kibicho (2009) the government of Kenya denied for several years that sex tourism is a major component of the national tourism industry because they are embarrassed.

The lack of policy guidelines is an important determinant for sex tourist to enter Kenya. Some reports states that the shift of sex tourist destinations can be party attributes to the crackdown by respective governments. There are more factors for the sex tourists to travel to Kenya for sex. There will be explained in the next chapter.

#### 4.6 Summary

Nowadays sex tourism is a mega-industry with an insidious and uncontrollable growth. Due to the combination of restrictions in former sex tourism destinations and the lack of controls in developing countries, the attendance of new sex tourism destinations is rising. Over the last two decades there is a new type of sex tourism named; romance tourism. Sex tourism was already present in the past but through romance tourism a new market has developed in Kenya, which gave the whole sex tourism industry a boost. The demand for sex from European elderly women shows that there is a market in Kenya, which induces prostitution. Due to the modern consumer culture, women have increased their share of economic power, thus making them less economically dependent. Sex tourism has developed itself through an instable en fragile economy where the economic growth was negative and the sex trade, tourism growth and poverty and unemployment levels have reached an unprecedented height.

Several studies have showed that sex tourism is present in the coastal region. A survey of Kibicho (2009) by 68 female sex tourists shows that that 80 percent is between 41 and 50 years old. Overall, the origins of these female sex tourists were mostly Western European. The study illustrates that the respondents have choose their tourism destination by knowing that the destination is rich in its sexual supply. And that they have the intention, before they arrive and during the holiday, to have sex with a local men. Interesting is the fact that all respondents do not see themselves as sex tourists but the majority admitted to have certain 'economic elements' in their relationships with 'beach boys'. But they do not see the relationship as a commercial sex worker (CSW)-client transaction. Some believed that they were helping the local men and in some extent the economy.



Besides female sex tourists, the MCSWs are studied as well. The outcome of the 73 questionnaires about the perceived relation between tourism and sex trade is a positive relationship. The fast development of tourism in the recent years increased the demand for commercial sexual services and even made it dependent on the tourism seasons. According to the beach boys, the sex trade improves the image of the Malindi Area as a tourism destination. Sex trade leads to an improved sexual income and increases the level of living standards in Malindi. Besides, most beach boys agree that the tourism industry creates employment for commercial sex workers. When sex trade/tourism has a positive influence on the personal situation, the attitude of people becomes more positive. This will lead to maintaining the current situation or even encourage the sex tourism. The overall opinion of the respondents is that CSWs have played a major role in the development of tourism in Malindi. Sex trade in Malindi is more favourable for CSWs if the tourists are clients instead of non-tourists because they pay more money for commercial sexual services. The given fact that most sexual services are offered within the tourism establishment shows the positive relationship between tourism and sex trade.

## **Chapter 5: How can we characterise the market of sex tourism?**

*“For many people in the developing world, sex trade is one of the few realistic option for earning a decent income, particularly for young, uneducated women from rural areas. Given that the wages of factory and domestic servant jobs, the other two options open to women in this group, are so low it is little wonder that they opt for sex trade.”*

*(Agrusa, 2003:168 cited by Kibicho, 2009:160)*

### **5.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to take a closer look on the demand and supply side of sex tourism in Kenya’s coastal region. The chapter will describe factors which encourages the entrance of the sex tourism as a tourist and commercial sex worker. Section 5.2 describes the overall factors of demand of female sex tourists, but also partly applies for male sex tourists. Than, section 5.3 will explain the factors of supply. These account for male and female commercial sex workers. The factors are given in relation to socio-cultural factors, the levels of earnings and the sex trade target market. Section 5.4 will explain the health risk on the supply side of sex tourism. The chapter will be concluded by a summary in section 5.5.

### **5.2 Factors of demand**

#### *Find love and romance on holiday*

Sex tourists are looking for company on holiday. Most sex tourist travel alone and they are looking for contacts, which differ from companionship to romance and love with a local CSW. Female sex tourists in Kenya go on holiday to love out their fantasies or try to affirm their sense of ‘womanliness’ by being sexual desired by Kenyan men (Kibicho, 2009). In their home country it is hard for these woman to sexualise their bodies and to be desired by highly desirable men. On holiday they are romanced, loved and appreciated by the local CSW, were they are regarded as being more voluptuous and sexy (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995).

#### *Anonymity while away from home*

Tourists have the assurance of anonymity when they go on holiday. It releases them from the usual restraints, which determines their behaviour in their home country (Omondi, 2003) They use time-space strategies to separate their home- and sex tourist identity (Kibicho, 2009). Tourism allows people to lose their identity and live their fantasies. Besides, the company of other sex tourists makes them feel comfortable and secure about their behaviour.

#### *Stereotypical beliefs about ‘others’*

Sexual, stereotypical imagery of people of certain origins can be a reason to visit sex tourism destinations. Through stories about another race or gender made by friends, colleagues, internet or sexual imagery spread by marketers, leads to stereotypical beliefs. Male and female sex tourists from Europe are curious about ‘others’ and travel to Kenya to confirm or reject the stereotypical imagery (Kibicho, 2009).

#### *Relaxed laws on commercial sexual services*

As is described in section 4.5, Kenya has relaxed laws on sex trade. Because the country has a no policy concerning sex tourists, Kenya has developed as a favourable

sex tourists destination. Tourists who visit the country have a feeling of being uninhibited in having many sex activities that are not tolerated in their home country.

#### *Cheaper sexual services in the developing countries*

Sexual services in Kenya and mostly other developing countries are cheap compared to what the tourists may have to pay in their home countries. In Kenya they are able to enjoy a lifestyle that they never had at home because of the low prices. Here they are comparatively rich and therefore spend their money in sexual activities that they associate with rich and the famous in their home country (Omondi, 2003) The Malindi Welfare Association (MWA), an organization that contributes over the income security of CSW and assists in risk avoidance, have provided a price list for the CSWs. The prices varies from 25K<sup>2</sup> to 325K. 25K is for a single sexual contact and 325K is for a full day. In reality, the prices can be lower or higher. The price list is added in Appendix 2.

#### *Sexual adventurism*

Tourists from Europe can have the desire to try something new. Their sexual adventurism can be the reason to travel to Kenya and having commercial sexual services. Some of these sex tourists have visited other sex tourism destinations. Because they have the desire to try something new, they travel to Kenya (Kibicho, 2009).

#### *Opportunity to penetrate male domain*

According to Pruitt and laFont (1995) the nowadays socio-economic status of the female sex tourists makes them independent. This translates into power and control of their relationship with the local men of Kenya. They are claiming traditional male power to reaffirm their femininity.

#### *Impulse sexual service consumption*

Some sexual experiences with CSWs are not planned in advance. During their stay their interests can be increased and changed, which can lead to a sexual experience with a CSW.

### 5.3 Factors of supply

Reasons to enter the sex trade vary from unemployment to pleasure. The reasons are influenced by factors on macro level, but also by socio-cultural factors on micro level like circumstances and socio-economic status. The micro motives can be categorised in three levels, which are related to a three-tier trade triangle, level of earnings and the sex trade target market. These relations are visualised in table 5.1 and accounts for male as female sex workers.

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<sup>2</sup> US\$1 = K£3.8

**Table 5. 1 | Categorisation of commercial sex workers in Kenya’s coastal region**

Three-tier trade triangle		Reasons for being in sex trade	Sex trade target markets	Types of sex trade
Increase	High class sex trade	Adventure and pleasure (8%)	Local elites and tourists	Escort and call-outs
Cash-retention capacity	Tourism sex trade	Part-time job and prestige (25%)	Tourists (local and foreign)	Striptease
Decrease	Poverty sex trade	Unemployment and family problems (67%)	Locals	Street-based, brothel-based and private apartment-based

Source: Kibicho, 2009: 139)

The table is divided in three levels, which categorises the commercial sex work of Kenya’s coastal region. The centre of the table is the three-tier trade triangle and illustrates the type of commercial sex work. It is divided into poverty-, tourism- and high class- sex trade. Kibicho (2009) conducted a survey in the coastal region of Kenya. Male and female CSWs were asked about their age, origin, and reasons for being in the sex trade. Their factors will be explained in combination of the category of sex trade in the triangle and the percentages represent the study of Kibicho.

Most CSWs of Kenya are working in the bottom section of the triangle, the poverty sex trade. This group entered the sex trade for economic needs as the main motivator. They are street-based sex workers and serve all the clients who are interested and willing to pay. Their clients are exclusively domestic and are paying low prices for the sexual services. Some CSWs are working under pimps or are dependent from brothels, which results in money retention because they have to give a part of their earnings to a second party. Because of the low price for sexual services, they have to increase the number of sexual contact to have enough money. The poor status of the CSWs results in a low social position in the society and low physical and health security. The lower the triangle, the worst the living circumstances of a CSW.

Fifty-nine percent of the respondents gave unemployment as the key reason, whereas sixty-eight per cent in this category have attained at least secondary/high school level of education. In spite of this high percentage in education level, the CSWs are unable to find other forms of employment. The high unemployment rates in the country can be attributed to this. Besides unemployment family problems induce Kenyans into the sex industry. Eight percent of the respondents gave family problems as the main reason. They were victims of broken marriages or were thrown out of their parental homes after having babies out of wedlock. These CSWs,

which are mostly uneducated and jobless, feel they have no choice because they have no help of their families and enter the sex trade (Kibicho, 2009).

Tourism sex trade is the category where tourists are the principal targets for sex services. According to Kibicho (2009) the CSWs serve international and domestic tourists. They work independent or are attached to a nightclub, a discotheque or a bar. Reasons to enter the sex trade is a combination of prestige/status and extra economic needs. The earnings of the sex trade is not for their daily needs but a way to pay luxury goods. The level of earning is higher than poverty sex trade.

For nineteen percent of respondents, being a CSW is a part-time job. During the day more than the half is working as secretaries in various establishments, like tourists hotels. The low-income level of regular occupations is the reason why extra income is needed, for survival of the family or consumerism. One of the respondents says that she earns US\$146 a month with her regular occupation, while on average she earns about US\$1000 per months being a part-time CSW (Kibicho, 2009). The large amount of money, convenient and flexible working hours in relation to the occupation and its easy entry into sex trade are important factors to being a CSW as a part time job (Kibicho, 2009). Besides, prestige is also a motivation in the tourist sex trade category. Six percent of the 183 respondents thinks that being in the sex trade is a way to being associate with a white tourist, which is linked to prestigious. A white tourists from Europe is economic wealthy and linked with success and power.

The highest category in the triangle is the high-class sex trade where CSW serves local elites and international tourists. The CSWs earn money, not as a need for survival but for a more luxury life. They earn more money with less sexual contacts than the other categories. Compared to the poverty sex trade category, the circumstances of a CSW are much better. They have an increased physical and health security and their work is more professionalised.

Five percent of the respondents has entered the sex trade for pleasure. This group is seen as the elite of the sex profession, were sixty four percent went to the university and have a upper-class background. This combination indicates that they could easily enter other well-paying careers, but they choose this occupation for their pleasure. For three percent sex trade is a form of adventure. They accompanying tourists during their stay and the tourist helps him out as a 'friend' and let them stay in the hotel. Back home, tourists will keep sending them money the help in financial difficulties for theirselves of for the famlies.

Other results of this survey (Kibicho, 2009) are interesting as well. According to these results sex trade in Kenya's coastal region was exclusively high in areas with high levels of tourism activity i.a. Mombaso and Malindi. Mombaso is the favourite operation area of 30 percent of the respondents of Kibicho because there was always enough demand for sexual services. And the massive growth of sex trade in Mombaso represents an attempt by the sex industry to meet the demands of the created mass market. This corresponds to the study of Akama and Kieti (2007). This report states that prostitution is increased due to tourism. The only difference is that Akama and Kieti (2007) states that prostitution is a side effect, while Kibicho (2009) links prostitution to the demand of sexual services from sex tourists. He affirms that there is a sex tourism market in the coastal region of Kenya. Besides, the study of

Kibicho shows that the majority enters sex trade because of unemployment reasons or as a supplement of their earnings because of the low paying occupation in the tourism industry for locals. This corresponds to the study conducted by Akama and Kieti (2007) because they are stating that the majority of the locals in Mombasa live in poverty due to unemployment and there are only low status jobs for the locals in the tourism industry.

#### 5.4 Health risks

The CSWs and the sex tourists have an increased risk of health problems. They are exposed to sexual transmitted diseases (STD), including HIV/AIDS. To illustrate the relation between sex workers and HIV/AIDS, two studies of Malindi and Mombasa will be used. As already is showed, Malindi and Mombasa are popular sex tourists destinations.

Table 3.1 in section 3.5 showed that the tourism sector is the main sector of the economy in Malindi district, where Malindi town has the highest contribution. But Malindi town has also the highest number of HIV-positive cases with 57 percent compared to Malindi Rural, Magarini and Marafa in 2002 (Kenya, 2002b:33 taken by Kibicho, 2009:182). And by comparing this with the HIV-AIDS prevalence by industry of Malindi Town, it shows that the tourism sector has the highest prevalence with 43 percent (Kenya 2002b:33 taken by Kibicho:182). The CSWs are partly taken because about 21 percent of those reported to be unemployed work as CSWs, thus they also serve the tourism industry. These numbers shows that HIV/AIDS is highly present in Malindi Town, where tourism is the motor of the district economy. Besides the link between HIV/AIDS and the tourism sector of Malindi Town is visible as well.

A study done by Tegang, Abdallah e.a. (2010) has measured the sexual and substance-use risk behaviours among female sex workers in Kenya's coast province. The study is conducted in Mombasa among 297 female sex workers (FSWs) with an median age of 25 years old. Only the information concerning sexual risk behaviour will be used. 84 percent of the respondents had financial needs or problem as their main reason to enter the sex trade. Lack of education can be one of the problems for being unemployed and so have financial needs because 71% had primary level or less education. Besides 89 percent had to support someone and 45 percent had to support at least three dependents in the household. For 66 percent the earnings of sex services was their only income, while for 34 percent the sex trade is a part-time job. Other sources of income are secretarial or clerical work, domestic work, dancing, hawking or street vending. Entering the sex trade is an easy way to earn a lot of money, especially with a lack of education, having financial needs and by supporting others. A CSW can earn K£3000<sup>3</sup> a month while a housemaid and waitress, where also no education is needed, earns respectively K£50 and K£150 a month. This shows the great difference in earnings. Other occupations and income levels are in appendix 4. This study corresponds partly with Kibicho (2009). The financial reasons to enter the sex trade belongs to poverty sex trade. But the 34 percent, for who it is a part time job, belongs to the tourists sex trade of Kibicho. But this study confirms the level of poverty in the coastal region and that the majority enters the sex trade due to financial needs and problems.

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<sup>3</sup> US\$1 = K£3.8.

The sexual risk behaviour of the 297 FSWs of the study conducted by Tegang, Abdallah e.a. (2010), shows us an insight of the risk. In the past, 48 percent of the FSWs have been forced to have sex without a condom. Besides, 24 percent of the 137 FSWs, who have sex with a non-paying partner in the last twelve months, never uses a condom. 23 percent admits to use a condom sometimes. Interesting is that 55 percent of the respondents had comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS. This means that they are being able to name abstinence, faithfulness to a non-uninfected partner and condom use as the main HIV-prevention methods, while at the same time having no misconception about HIV transmission (Tegang, Abdallah e.a. (2010). This shows that most FSWs are aware of the risk of HIV/AIDS but that 50 percent of the FSWs of the 137 repetitious take the risk of getting infection by have sex without a condom. But even when FSW are aware, almost the half of the respondents have been forced to have sex without a condom. The risks of getting infected by HIV/AIDS are very large for the FSWs.

## 5.5 Summary

Sex tourists have various reasons to travel to other countries for sexual services. The first motivation is the find love and romance on holiday. Also, anonymity is an important motivation. Tourism allows people to lose their identity and live their fantasies. Also the sexual, stereotypical imagery of people of certain origins can be a reason to visit sex tourism destinations. And tourists from Europe can have the desire to try something new and travel to Kenya. Some of these sex tourists have visited other sex tourism destinations. The relax laws on commercial sexual services is an important one. Also, sexual services in Kenya are cheap. In Kenya sex tourists are able to enjoy a lifestyle that they never had at home because of the low prices. And women are claiming traditional male power to reaffirm their femininity. But the use of sexual services can also an impulsive action on holiday.

The reasons to enter the sex trade differs from unemployment to pleasure. The sex trade on the coastal region can be categorised in three levels; poverty-, tourist- and high class sex trade. Most CSWs of Kenya are working in the bottom section of the triangle, the poverty sex trade. This group entered the sex trade for economic needs and family problems, which accounts for 67 percent of the total. Tourism sex trade is the category where tourists are the principal targets for sex services. Reasons to enter the sex trade is a combination of prestige/status and extra economic needs for 25 percent of the respondents. The earnings of the sex trade is not for their daily needs but a way to pay luxury goods. The highest category in the triangle is the high-class sex trade where CSW serves local elites and international tourists. The CSWs earn money for their consumerism, not as a need for survival. They are seen as elites and work for tourists and local elites. It accounts for 8 percent.

According to these results sex trade in Kenya's coastal region was exclusively high in areas with high levels of tourism activity i.a. Mombaso and Malindi. The massive growth of sex trade in Mombaso represents an attempt by the sex industry to meet the demands of the created mass market. This corresponds to the study of Akama and Kieti (2007). The only difference is that Akama and Kieti (2007) states that prostitution is a side effect, while Kibicho (2009) links prostitution to the demand of sexual services from sex tourists. Besides, the study of Kibicho shows that the majority enters sex trade because of unemployment reasons or as a supplement of

their earnings because of the low paying occupation in the tourism industry for locals. This corresponds to the study conducted by Akama and Kieti (2007) because they are stating that the majority of the locals in Mombasa live in poverty due to unemployment and there are only low status jobs for the locals in the tourism industry.

Numbers of Malindi district shows that HIV/AIDS is highly present in Malindi Town, where tourism is the motor of the district economy. Besides the link between HIV/AIDS and the tourism sector of Malindi Town is visible as well. Commercial sex workers have sex without a condom while they know about the risk of HIV/AIDS.



## **Chapter 6: Summary and conclusion**

### **6.1 Summary**

The population of Kenya has grown very fast. During these sixteen years the GDP of Kenya has grown as well to US\$ 16.071 billion in 2011. Although the GDP has grown the current account balance is negative to -2512 million US\$ in 2010. Kenya has an enormous shortage of net foreign assets. Agriculture is very important for Kenya because it is the main source of revenue for 70 percent of the population and accounts twenty percent of the GDP. Kenya is one of the most industrially developed countries in East Africa in the last years and nowadays the industry is responsible for fourteen percent of the total GDP. The service sector is the motor in the Kenyan economy. The services are increased with seventy percent to 8502 million in 2010. This major sector accounts for two-third of the GDP. The tourism sector is an important part of the service sector. The number of arrivals are increased with an amount of 53 percent with 1.490.400 tourists in 2009. The total receipts of tourism was 785 million US\$ in 1995 and is increased to 1,124 million US\$ in 2009. These amounts show that tourism has grown tremendously and is currently one of Kenya's leading and most well established industries (Omondi, 2003).

Kenya has used tourism as a tool for socio-economic development. The policy was to put major emphasis on the expansion of tourism and hospitality facilities in order to increase the number of tourist arrivals. The development of tourism went from small-scale locally control to large-scale foreign oriented mass tourism. The rapid and unplanned growth of tourism is especially concentrated at the coastal region. The whole coastal region, over a length of 640 kilometres, has the important 4'S: Sun, Sand, Surf and Sex. Due to the arrivals of tourists, the majority of the supply of tourism enterprises was represented in the coastal region. Many foreign investors responded and the government also encouraged private investors and developers to participate in the development. As a consequence, most of the large scale capital tourism investments that were realised were under control and management of multinational corporations. The power of foreign investors increased and Kenyans were kept away of the developments in the coastal region. Only the low-skilled and low status/position jobs are available for locals and the management jobs are for (im)migrants. Mombasa and the Kenyan coast region is poor; 50 percent of the 500,000 residents of Mombasa live below the poverty line and 60 percent of the local residents and townships live in slim settlements. The exclusion of the locals and their powerlessness due to foreign investors and migrants increases the gap between the 'fewer' rich and the 'majority' poor. This unequal and unfair benefit distribution causes more poverty in the region. The consequences of poverty and social deprivation is reflected in an increased incidence of amongst other security, drug-taking and trafficking and prostitution.

Nowadays sex tourism is a mega-industry with an insidious and uncontrollable growth, especially in developing countries. The shift of new sex tourism destinations has lead to a new booming industry in Kenya where the government policy ignores sex tourism. Over the last two decades there is a new type of sex tourism named romance tourism. The fundamental change of sex tourism is gender. The demand for sex from European elderly women shows that there is a market in Kenya which induces prostitution. Through an instable en fragile national economy where the

economic growth was negative and the sex trade, tourism growth, poverty and unemployment levels have reached an unprecedented height therefore sex tourism was induced.

Several studies have shown that sex tourism is popular in the coastal region and especially for elderly women from Europe. They have chosen their tourism destination by knowing that the destination is rich in its sexual supply. And they had the intention, before they arrive and during the holiday, to have sex with local men. Interesting is that all respondents do not see themselves as sex tourists. 60 percent admitted to have certain 'economic elements' in their relationships with 'beach boys'. But they do not see the relationship as a commercial sex worker-client transaction. Almost 40 percent of the respondents who admitted to come to Kenya for the sex, believed that they were helping the local men and in some extent the economy. Besides female sex tourists, the male commercial sex workers are studied as well. The fast development of tourism in the recent years increased the demand for commercial sexual services and even made it dependent on the tourism seasons. Most beach boys agree that the tourism industry creates employment for commercial sex workers and that there is a positive relation between tourism and sex trade among male commercial sex workers.

Sex tourists have various reasons to travel to other countries for sexual services. The first motivation is to find love and romance on holiday. Most sex tourist travel alone and they are looking for contacts, which differ from companionship to romance and love with a local CSW. Besides, anonymity is an important factor as tourism allows people to lose their identity and live their fantasies. Also the sexual, stereotypical imagery of people of certain origins can be a reason to visit sex tourism destinations. And tourists from Europe can have the desire to try something new and travel to Kenya. The factors relaxed laws on commercial sexual services is an important one. Also, sexual services in Kenya and mostly other developing countries are cheap. In Kenya they sex tourists able to enjoy a lifestyle that they never had at home because of the low prices. And women are claiming traditional male power to reaffirm their femininity.

The sex trade on the coastal region can be categorised in three levels; poverty-, tourist- and high class sex trade. Poverty sex trade is most common in Kenya's coastal region. This group entered the sex trade for economic needs and family problems, which accounts for 67 percent of the total. Tourism sex trade is the category where tourists are the principal targets for sex services. Reasons to enter the sex trade is a combination of prestige/status and extra economic needs for 25 percent of the respondents. The earnings of the sex trade is not for their daily needs but a way to pay luxury goods. The highest category in the triangle is the high-class sex trade where commercial sex worker serve local elites and international tourists.

Numbers of Malindi district shows that HIV/AIDS is highly present in Malindi Town, where tourism is the motor of the district economy. Besides the link between HIV/AIDS and the tourism sector of Malindi Town is visible as well. Commercial sex workers have sex without a condom while they know about the risk of HIV/AIDS.

## 6.2 Discussion

The aim of this research was to explore how sex tourism becomes an important economic source in the coastal region of Kenya with a framework. By studying the commercial sex workers, sex tourists and policies of the Kenyan government the importance of sex tourism will be illustrated.

After the dependence Kenya needed foreign investments to stimulate the economy. By the use of tourism as a socio-economic development tool the economy of Kenya would grow. But the government was so focused on generating income that there was a lack of policy, there was no control nor regulation. The expansion of growth of tourism over the years was rapid, unplanned and especially concentrated in the coastal region. Many foreign investors responded to the new demand of tourists and the government also encouraged private investors and developers to participate in the development. As a consequence, most of the large scale capital tourism investments that were realised were under control and management of multinational corporations.

During the years the multinationals started to offer a full travel arrangement for a complete travel package to maximize their profits. Due to the already power of multinationals in tourism capital and the complete travel package, the locals in the coastal barely receive any form of direct monetary benefits from the tourism industry. People who live at or near the tourists resorts hardly had a job in the tourism sector. Locals who have jobs in the tourism sector earn little. The well-paying jobs, at supervisory and managerial level, are taken by expatriates. This unequal and unfair benefit distribution causes more poverty in the region. Mombasa and the Kenyan coast region is classified as one of the regions with a high incidence of poverty and poor living conditions of locals by the government. 50 percent of the 500,000 residents of Mombasa live below the poverty line.

The consequences of poverty and social deprivation is reflected in i.a. an increased incidence of insecurity, drug-taking and trafficking and prostitution. Various studies in the coastal region confirm this. These studies affirm that prostitution is increased due to tourism, as a side-effect. But prostitution is not just a side effect anymore, sex tourism is a booming industry in Kenya's coastal region. Due to the lack of restriction in Kenya, sex tourists have the freedom to play. The economic benefits have priority for the government. The new phenomenon of romance tourism gave the market an extra boost and induces prostitution. Romance tourism is affirmed by female sex tourist and male commercial sex workers in the coastal region of Kenya. Interesting is that most female sex tourists do not see themselves as sex tourists. They believed that they were helping the local community and in some extent the economy. The male commercial sex workers agreed that the tourism industry creates employment for commercial sex workers and that there is a positive relation between tourism and sex trade among male commercial sex workers.

The reasons to visit Kenya varies from anonymity to have company. The reasons to enter the sex trade varies from unemployment to pleasure. But the majority enters sex trade because of financial reasons like unemployment and poverty. Due to poverty in the region sex trade is an easy way to generate income and tackle poverty. The high numbers of prostitution as a part-time job indicates that most occupations for the locals in the tourism industry does not pay enough to finance

their daily needs. Besides, commercial sex workers have an increased risk to get infected and therefore increase their poverty.

This all shows that poverty is the main problem in the coastal region of Kenya. Tourism as a tool for socio-economic developed has worked partly, it only benefits the government and the elite. It has forced poor people to enter the sex trade due to unequal benefit distribution of tourism and due to the major demand for sexual services of European tourists a new market is developed and encouraged the sex tourism industry. Due to the lack of policy and ignorance of the government concerning sex tourism and an instable and fragile economic situation in the past, sex tourism has developed itself to its current size. The economic importance of (sex) tourists is largely due to spending their money in the region. This will benefit the curio shops, hotels, tourist operators, commercial sex workers and the government. Sex tourism will not easily slow down due to the economic benefits and especially not with the current enormous negative account balance. Due to poverty, sex tourism is an important economic source for the locals, region and government and will be tolerated out of needs. It is their way to tackle poverty.

To improve the situation of the poor the government should change their policy on national level in various ways. The development of sex tourism is induced through a negative economic growth and high poverty and unemployment levels. The government should work on these factors to improve the national stability of the country. The government should search to other tools to generate foreign currency and investments like invest more in the agriculture or industry sector. Nowadays, they are too dependent on the income of tourism arrivals. In the sixties they used tourism as a tool to stimulate socio-economic development, but the situation nowadays shows that the country is still in financial needs. They should try to give other sectors an economic boost to lead the economy grow. Besides, the government should change their law concerning sex trade. Now, only the commercial sex workers are in violation by living of the earnings of prostitution. But the place where the CSW operate, like entertainment establishments, are rarely punished. This holds the position of the market. In sex tourism destinations like Thailand, the restrictions of the government has lead to a decrease of sex tourism. This shows that restrictions by the government has the power to decrease sex tourism. A third advice is to generate more employment opportunities for the locals in and outside the tourism sector. Lack of educations plays a role but the majority of commercial sex workers enter the sex trade because of unemployment. They are mostly educated but because of the unemployment they have financial needs. The government should improve their job opportunities. Now, prostitution is the only way to tackle poverty for the locals. Another important advice is to invest in more hiv/aids education for commercial sex workers. By infection the commercial sex worker will not be able to work and will stay the vicious circle of poverty. By educating the commercial sex workers on the risks of HIV/AIDS they will improve their knowledge and be aware of the risks.

**Appendix 1:**

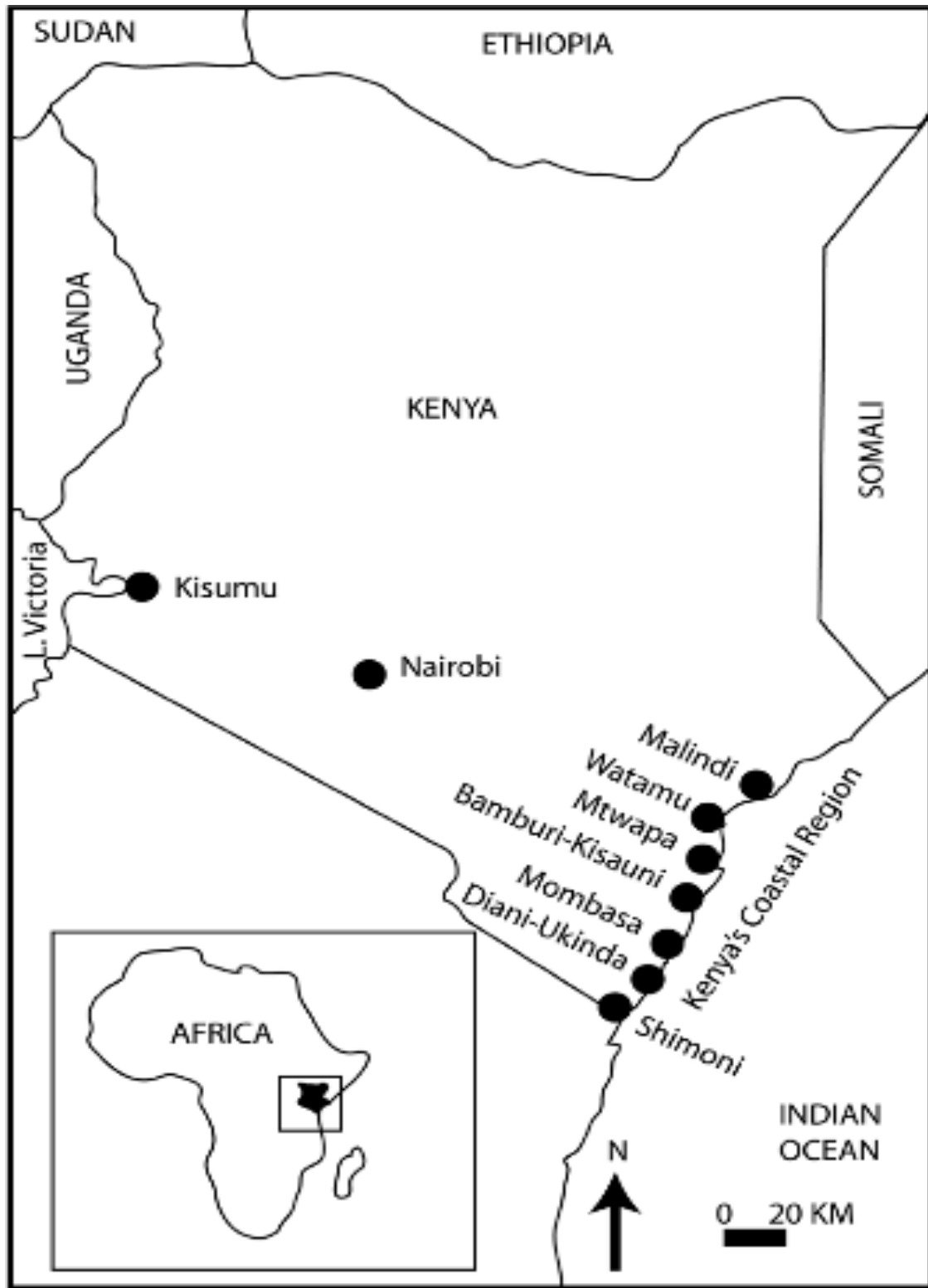


Figure appendix 1 | Map of Kenya and its coastal region  
Source: Kibicho (2005:260)

## Appendix 2:

Table Appendix 2.1 | Survey items to measure the relationship between tourism and male sex trade

1.	Demand for commercial sexual services in Malindi is due to tourism development
2.	Sex trade in Malindi depends on the tourism seasons
3.	Commercial sexual services in Malindi add value to tourists' experience
4.	Sex trade leads to an improved sexual income
5.	Sex trade leads to an increased level of living standard in Malindi.
6.	Sex trade improves the image of the Malindi Area as a tourism destination
7.	Most of commercial sexual services are offered within the tourism establishments.
8.	Tourists pay more money for commercial sexual services than non-tourists
9.	Tourism industry in Malindi creates employment for commercial sex workers
10.	Commercial sex workers play a major role in the development of tourism in our area
11.	Level of tourism activities affects the choice of area of operation by commercial sex workers
12.	Sex trade leads to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases
13.	Sex trade affects the local economy negatively
14.	Tourists do not like to visit Malindi because of commercial sex workers and their activities.

Source: Kibicho (2009:165)

Table Appendix 2.2 | Percentage distribution for the perceived linkage between tourism and the sex trade (n = 73)

Items	Mean	SDb	Strongly disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Indifferent (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly agree (%)
1	4.6	1.1	6	4	10	69	11
2	4.4	1.0	5	11	7	71	6
3	4.3	1.1	0	0	1	93	6
4	4.6	0.7	0	0	0	87	13
5	3.9	0.9	0	1	9	80	10
6	4.2	1.4	1	2	0	90	7
7	3.6	0.9	22	25	3	39	11
8	4.7	0.6	0	4	1	24	71
9	4.5	1.2	6	5	0	42	47
10	4.1	0.8	10	20	6	41	23
11	3.1	1.0	39	33	4	18	6
12	4.0	0.9	8	11	6	50	25
13	3.0	0.7	38	12	0	43	7
14	1.1	0.6	91	9	0	0	0

Source: Kibicho (2009:166)

### **Appendix 3:**

**Table Appendix 3 | Price list for commercial sexual services, provided by the MWA**

Item	Price (K£)	Item	Price (K£)
<i>Intercourse</i>		<i>Oral</i>	
Short time (= one shot)	25	Female active	50
Three shots	75	Male active	45
Over three shots (= one night)	175	Anal	175
Full day	325	Suck	15
Sex with multiple partners	200	Petting	45
		Hand/body massage	35
		Bondage and discipline	50

Note: US\$1 = K£3.8

Source: MWA cited by Kibicho, (2009:190)

### **Appendix 4:**

**Table Appendix 4 | Monthly pay by occupation in Malindi Town, 2005**

Occupation	Monthly pay (K£) <sup>a</sup>
Housemaid	50
Waitress	150
Construction labourer	375
Factory worker	450
Beauty salon	500
Clerical worker	750
Secretary	1,000
Masseuse	2,250
CSW <sup>b</sup>	3,000

Note: <sup>a</sup> US\$1 = K£3.8

<sup>b</sup>: Sex workers income range K£2,750 to K£7,500 per month

Source: Kibicho (2009:160)

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