

Lund University
Department of Political Science

STVK12
Spring 2024
Supervisor: Magdalena Bexell

Local and global forces at play on the Kenyan beaches

An intersectional study of power dynamics in sex tourism

Alexandra Leijonflycht



LUND UNIVERSITY

Abstract

This research aims to provide an analytical framework to bring awareness to the complex nature of sex tourism and the actors involved through the analysis of the many power dynamics at play, both at an interpersonal and structural level. It looks through the lens of intersectionality, while utilizing concepts from debates in feminist theory on sex work and critical tourism studies. This to further conceptualize it and put it in the interconnected and complex setting it lives in. This study is a qualitative content analysis of the reporting on the issue from the local Kenyan media. The findings show that the different power dynamics at play are heavily connected with each other and form a web of forces one must navigate through. The most dominant power of all was found to be the financial incentive, whether in the context of the individual or the societal.

Keywords: Sex tourism, Tourism, Globalization, Intersectionality, Agency, Prostitution, Power dynamics, Kenyan media

Abstract.....	2
1. Introduction.....	6
1.1 Globalization and its effect on tourism.....	6
1.2 Tourism as a development strategy.....	7
1.3 Sex tourism in developing countries.....	7
1.4 Sex tourism in Kenya.....	8
1.5 Definitions of concepts.....	10
1.5.1 Tourism.....	10
1.6 Research aim and question.....	11
2. Theoretical framework.....	11
2.1 Intersectionality and uneven power positions.....	11
2.2 Sex work or prostitution? A question of agency.....	13
2.3 Critical tourism studies.....	15
3. Methodology.....	16
3.1 Research design.....	16
3.2 Research method.....	17
3.3 Data collection.....	17
3.3.1 Finding material.....	17
3.3.2 Selection of material and criterias.....	18
3.3.3 Validity and reliability.....	19
3.3.3 Limitations.....	20
3.3.3.1 Political media landscape in Kenya.....	21

3.4 Data analysis.....	22
3.4.1 Reflexivity.....	23
4. Analysis.....	24
Analysis part I; Categories of power.....	25
Race.....	25
Age.....	25
Country of origin.....	26
Education.....	27
Gender.....	27
Economic.....	28
Agency.....	28
Status.....	29
Family pressures.....	29
Structural.....	30
Analysis part II; addressing power dynamics in relation to each other.....	30
The intersection of agency and dependency.....	31
Desperation and demand, local and global economies at play.....	32
5. Conclusion.....	33
6. References.....	35
7. Appendices.....	39
7.1 Appendix I - Final data sample.....	39

1. Introduction

Sun, beaches and sex. A quick flight and you are vacationing in paradise, away from home and the societal norms start to fade in the face of the many opportunities to engage in sexual relationships with the locals with little chance of facing any repercussions (Kibicho, 2016, p. 20). The lesser known sex tourism destination of Kenya is a hotspot for both male and female tourists, engaging in sexual relationships with local people. This is where this paper will turn to, power dynamics at both individual, local, and international levels interact in a global system in which they are connected which eventually funnels down to the phenomenon sex tourism where many power dynamics interact in terms of financial, cultural, and social differences.

1.1 Globalization and its effect on tourism

The continued advances made in technology and communications has enabled us to experience a world that seems much smaller and more accessible than ever. Video calls can be made across the globe and one can travel and be on a different continent in a matter of hours. Globalization has enabled international trade, and in 2021, global trade accounted for 56% of the world's GDP (World Bank) .

Most of the world is in the palm of your hand by the press of a button and a swipe of a credit card. The cost of this accessibility in forms such as air travel has continued to decrease and is now only a fraction of the price compared to what it used to be (OECD Economic Outlook 2007; ICAO, 2019,12).

A reduction in plane ticket prices has resulted in an increase in air travel (ICAO, 2019,12). Between the years 2000 and 2019, the total number of international trips made increased 120%, from 816 million to 1,8 billion, a one billion increase (UNWTO, 2023). Newfound accessibility in air travel has unraveled terms like 'air travel democratization',

referring to the increased availability of air travel to the middle class (ICAO, 2019,13), highlighting the ease one moves throughout the world.

The global tourism sector was valued at over US\$ 9 trillion in 2019, accounting for 10% of the global GDP (World Bank, 2022).

1.2 Tourism as a development strategy

Organizations and agencies often praise the economic benefits of tourism in developing countries (UNWTO, 202; World Bank, 2022) and many African governments use tourism as a development strategy (Britton 1982, p.331; Kibicho, 2016, p.97). The positive effects of tourism in developing countries are often highlighted in metrics of employment opportunities, supply of foreign exchange, development of infrastructure which in turn helps stimulate local economy, and high trickle-down effects (The World Bank, 2022; Kibicho, 2016, p. 16).

However, in the shadow of all the benefits of the tourism industry, there is inflation, unbalanced economic development, cultural and natural degradation, along with the increase of crime, alcoholism, drug taking and trafficking (Kibicho, 2016, p.16; Akama & Kieti, 2007, p.741; Hope, Sr., 2013, p.533).

1.3 Sex tourism in developing countries

Moreover, the development of mass tourism in developing countries has been associated with the expansion of sex trade (Kibicho, 2016, p. 17; Hope, Sr., 2013, p.533;). A common reason for tourists to seek out sexual relationships with locals have often been attributed to sexual and gendered validation they might not be able to find back home (Lu et al., 2020, p.1; Kibicho, 2016, p.100 Taylor, 2001, p.760). The demographic of people who engage in sex tourism with local partners are men of any age and older women, younger women reported having a preference for expatriates and other tourists as sexual partners (Lu et al., 2020, 2). While the definition of a 'sex tourist' is used in research to describe a person who

travels with the intention to engage in sexual activities, interviews conducted with people who would be categorized as a 'sex tourist' show that they do not define themselves as such (Kibicho, 2016, p. 102; Rivers-Moore, 2015, p.397).

Some criticism has been brought up in the realm of sex tourism in developing countries, specifically on how the structural disadvantages women face in sex tourism as sex workers in developing countries makes them to be framed as victims and there is a neglect to recognize that some make an active choice to join the sex trade (Rivers-Moore, 2015, p.394).

1.4 Sex tourism in Kenya

Increased restrictions in countries like Thailand, have pushed a lot of sex tourists to leave Asia and come to Africa instead (Hope, Sr., 2013, p.538). The Kenyan coast has over the years become a hotspot for sex tourism. Sexual access is cheaper than its Asian counterparts and you can buy sex for the price of a bar of soap (Kibicho, 2016, p. 83). Sex tourism in Kenya comes in different forms. Prices for sex with a sex worker on the beach can be negotiated in a highly transactional matter between seller and buyer, or it can take form in a way that may question the tourist whether a sexual transaction was ever made. It is common for female sex workers to construct herself as to appeal to the western man, to reaffirm his sense of masculinity, in ways such as being able to 'take care of his woman' as shown by Kibicho (2016, p.83). This along with the man who may not see himself as a sex tourist enables both parties to give and receive money in exchange for sexual access which constructs the act as 'helping out' or simply a gesture of appreciation.

Within the realm of sex tourism is the case of sex tourism involving children. It is not unusual for tourists who engage in the exploitation of children to rationalize their behavior by arguing that they are helping the child and its family financially in a way to avoid their guilty conscience (Kibicho, 2016, p.20) Children are often lured into the industry under guise of a work contract as a domestic worker. Some are 'socialized' into sexual relationships, but most

frequently are they threatened or under the impression that the contract includes satisfying the sexual 'needs' of their employer (Kibicho, 2016, p. 19)

Sex tourism is not exclusive to men to engage in. The terms 'romance tourism' (Pruitt & LaFont, 1995) and the 'shirley valentine' phenomenon (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p.52) emerged as a way to distinguish the phenomenon of female tourists engaging in sexual relationships with local men . Although, the idea to separate men and women within the phenomenon of sex tourism has faced some debate whether women should be included in the definition of sex tourism or kept separate as part of the romance tourism (Jeffreys, 2003; Taylor, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 1997, p.52).

In most cases are the women who travel to Kenya with the purpose to engage in sexual activities over the age of 60 while the men they have sex with are usually between 25-30 years old (Hope, Sr., 2013, p.538). A small study from 2006, interviewing female tourists in Kenya showed that 66% had the intention of engaging in sex with local men, but neither of the women identified themselves as a sex tourist, nor seeing the men they were having sex with as sex workers, despite 60% of the women admitting to a certain economic element. Some were under the impression that they were helping the local men and the economy (Kibicho, 2016, p. 102). A similar study was conducted on female sex tourists in the Caribbean with similar results (Taylor, 2001). The men who women encounter on the beaches are often not exclusively working as a sex worker, but involved in a multitude of activities, acting as a pimp, procuring girls for foreign men, being one of them (Hope, Sr., 2013, p.540; Taylor, 2001, p.757)

1.5 Definitions of concepts

1.5.1 Tourism

The common notion around tourism is the kind where people take time off from work to go on vacation for a week or two, which is the most common depiction of tourism in this paper as well. There are other cases which might be questioned to be included in the realm of tourism, and I find it necessary to introduce a definition of tourism to broaden this notion of what tourism entails and the different ways it could look like. The definition used is from United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO):

“a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes” (UNWTO, 2022)

Kibicho (2016) reflects on the many realms tourism operates within in an attempt to conceptualize the term and thereafter identifies four global parties involved: (1) Tourists, (2) Tourism operators, (3) Tourist host communities, and (4) Government. The description sees tourism as part of activities, services and industries which provides a tourist experience/product (Kibicho, 2016, p. 15)

The quoted definition above from the UNWTO (2022) constitutes what makes a tourist, while the description from Kibiocho (2016) provides the setting in which tourists operate and involved parties and stakeholders have an interest, showcasing the complex interrelationships between everyone involved.

1.6 Research aim and question

The research aims to explore how different power structures within the sex tourism industry in Kenya is mirrored through local media to gain further insights into the phenomenon. Through the lens of intersectional thought, it explores the different power structures in place within the phenomenon of sex tourism in Kenya. Intersectionality enables the research to be put in a context beyond interpersonal relationships and conceptualize it in a globalized world. It aims to contribute to the understanding of the many layers and forces a phenomenon could be understood through.

The research question is the following:

How are power dynamics within Kenyan sex tourism mirrored in local media and conceptualized?

2. Theoretical framework

To reach the aims of this research, I adopt intersectionality as the primary theoretical framework, while also borrowing from feminist theory on sex work and critical tourism studies to conceptualize the setting in which sex tourism operates within.

2.1 Intersectionality and uneven power positions

Intersectionality has its roots in black feminist activism and since the conception of the term 'intersectionality' by American critical legal scholar Kimberly Crenshaw (1989), it has over the years evolved and split off into different branches and approaches of the term (Collins, 2019, p. 35; Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.414). It was originally used as a metaphor to describe the phenomenon of overlapping forms of discrimination black women

face in society. Crenshaw (1989) gave the example of a black woman who applied for work but was denied. The woman claimed the organization was unwilling to hire her because she was a black woman. The court decision upheld the organization’s claim that it did not discriminate against her for the reason that they hired black people and they hired women.

A theory of interconnected social and structural power structures has since emerged, seeking to unveil the intermeshed social categories that goes beyond race and gender. It now includes categories such as nationality, geography, disability, social- or immigration- status among others, (Collins, 2019, p. 50; Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.409; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.195) while additionally integrating them with broader historical and global contexts such as neoliberalism, colonialism, and geopolitics (Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.409).

Critics of the theory argue that due to its origin in structuralism, intersectionality frames identities and subjectivities as static (Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.414). This is true to some scholars (Collins, 2019, p.43) while others find it difficult to implement (Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.416). However, many scholars and intellectual activists use intersectionality as a theory of identity, which it is not (Collins, 2019, p. 50). It is often within intersectionality as a theory of identity where it becomes static.

This paper adopts intersectionality as a critical social theory and utilizes key constructs and guiding premises of the concept as presented by Collins (2019, p.43) below

Core constructs	Guiding premises
Relationality <u>Power</u> Social inequality Social context Complexity Social justice	(1) Race, class, gender, and similar systems of power are interdependent and mutually construct one another. (2) Intersecting power relations produce complex, interdependent social inequalities of race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, ability, and age. (3) The social location of individuals and groups within intersecting power relations shapes their experiences within and perspectives on the social world.

	(4) Solving social problems within a given local, regional, national, or global context requires intersectional analyses.
--	---

(Collins, 2019, p.43)

In the specific terms of power which is the construct in focus of this paper, Collins (2019) describe power in the context of intersectionality as:

“Intersecting power relations produce social divisions of race, gender, class, sexuality, ability, age, country of origin, and citizenship status that are unlikely to be adequately understood in isolation from one another.” (Collins, 2019, p. 59)

Applying an intersectional theoretical framework to the phenomenon of sex tourism will enable an analysis that goes beyond static notions of identity and mono-categorical systems of power and discover how the categories interact with each other.

For the reason that this paper is put in the context of both local and global relations, intersectionality cuts through these multiple levels of analyses and conceptualizes them in relation to each other. How these power dynamics and systems of oppression are perceived are also dependent on the person experiencing them.

2.2 Sex work or prostitution? A question of agency.

In the context of power relations involving sex tourism, how are power relations of sex work approached theoretically? There are two feminist paradigms regarding sex work with both of its roots in activism. The most prominent one in today’s society is ‘sex-positive feminism’, or also called ‘sex radical feminism’.

Sex-positive feminism won the so-called ‘sex wars’ taking place in the mid 1980s and became mainstream feminist thought in society, politically, and legally. The feminist debate was in regard to the depiction of women’s sexuality and focused a lot on the regulations of pornography, where the ‘pro-pornography party’ or ‘sex-positive’ feminism eventually won

(Abrams, 1995, 308). Pornography has since become mainstream. The overarching arguments of the sex-positive feminism during the 1980s promotes the idea of women as sexual subjects with agency, able to make a rational choice (Glick, 2000, 20). This argument and movement has evolved and branched out to the current movement of the support of sex workers' rights.

The sex positive feminist paradigm, here represented in NSWP, Global Network of Sex Work Project (Community Guide: Sex Work as Work, 2017), puts forward a few basic criterias to support the benefits of a labor approach connected to sex work and workers. The statement that sex workers are in fact workers that earn their wages and not people who are either victims, engaged in criminal activity or performing a sin is essential in the labor approach. Furthermore, the decriminalization of sex work must also be viewed as part of a bigger aim in securing equal civil and labour rights just like any other worker, regardless of their occupation. The urgency to decriminalize is viewed in the light of the safety for the workers. If they are granted equal labor and social rights in society, they are better protected and can safely proceed with the occupation they have chosen. The statements above are also a call for action for governments and legislative departments to collaborate with sex worker organizations to end all forms of exploitation of children, women and others, in the commercial sex industry.

Whereas the sex positive feminist paradigm is focused on agency, the other feminist paradigm has a central viewpoint in the victimhood of the people engaged in prostitution or those exposed to trafficking. At first glance, the viewpoints of the two paradigms can be seen both as similar while also contradictory to one another. Similar in the way they both argue for decriminalization of the prostitutes and how they both advocate for governments and departments to adopt progressive domestic laws that correspond to international standards to end sexual exploitation of children, women, and others. Where they differ is how they view all persons involved in sex work as either prostitutes or victims of trafficking making organizations like The Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution advocating for the urgency to

deliver protection for the subject in the form of support and exit options as well as help to reintegrate survivors of sexual exploitation into society (About - CAP International, 2016).

The two paradigms use different terms for selling sex in exchange for money or other goods of value. The sex positive feminism seeks to destigmatize and decriminalize, as a way to normalize it as a legitimate trade and hence uses the term 'sex work'. A woman's agency and capacity to make a rational choice for herself is in focus and a lot of terminology used by sex worker's rights organizations has its origins in neoliberalism. The other paradigm uses the term 'prostitution' as a way to highlight the unequal character of the women in the industry, often focusing on sex trafficking and the abuse many women face. Sex work can be viewed as a path to empowerment and financial liberation, or it can be seen as a dark road filled with abuse, exploitation, and victimhood.

2.3 Critical tourism studies

Different power dynamics between countries in the context of tourism is conceptualized within critical tourism studies. Critical tourism studies has no accepted definition (Morgan & Pritchard, 2014), but two distinct subgroups are defined in the paper by Bianchi (2009), as "the unquestioning embrace of the market"(Bianchi, 2009, p. 484) and the "questions of discourse, culture, and representation" (Bianchi, 2009, p. 484). It is the second branch of critical tourism studies that is relevant to this paper. It undertakes power inequality within the tourism industry as well in the context of international development (Bianchi, 2009, p. 484; Kibicho, 2016, p. 16). Several scholars (Britton, 1982, p. 331; Akama & Kieti, 2007, p.746) criticizes the tourism industry, as it is carried out in developing countries. They argue that the international tourism industry is a product of metropolitan capitalist enterprise, enabling domination of many developing countries' tourist destinations by the commercial power of foreign industries. Britton (1982, p. 333) traces this domination back to imperialism and colonialism, attributing it to the global expansion of European mercantilism which later

became capitalism. Power structures presented by Britton are in the forms of dependency, and economic power.

Developing countries are employing tourism as a development strategy to generate foreign exchange, increased employment, and attract development capital. But the economic disparities between the developing country and the foreign industry quickly ensnares the developing country in a global system for which it has very little control over, fortifying its dependency, and vulnerability to developed countries (Britton 1982, pp.331 & 355).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

The research is constructed as a qualitative content analysis study, aiming to explore the different power dynamics present within the Kenyan sex tourism industry, as it is mirrored in the Kenyan media. It is important to highlight that this research is framed in the context of a social and economic problems. Thus, the framing of this research will influence many areas such as category development and analysis (Williamson & Johanson, 2017, p.464). Due to the specific framing of the issue, a qualitative approach is deemed the most fitting (Mayring, 2021, p. 110; Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.417). Time and resources constraints make it hard to access first hand contact with the chosen environment. A content analysis is therefore a good choice as it enables access to the subject from afar, although in a different format (Halperin & Heath, 2020, p.174).

3.2 Research method

As the goal is to uncover different kinds of power structures, there is a need to categorize and analyze underlying meanings, it makes qualitative content analysis suitable for this research, as rigorous categorization permeates the method (Williamson & Johanson, 2017, p. 460; Mayring, 2021, p. 63). Newspaper articles from Kenyan media outlets make up the empirical material, an important source of material in social research, which furthermore makes qualitative content analysis an appropriate method (Mayring, 2021, p. 32) Considering the format of the empirical material, it becomes a document analysis within the qualitative content analysis.

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Finding material

Initial goals for this research was to find reports of sex tourism in Kenya through international reports and national briefs on the topic. I found very little material on the topic of sex tourism to my disappointment, even less so in the context of Kenya. When searching for material on sex tourism within international organizations such as the UN and its corresponding 'world tourism organization', the only mention of sex tourism found was in the context of the exploitation of children, or the issue of illegal trafficking of women and children. While the sexual exploitation of children within tourism is a big part of the industry, it is not the sole focus of this paper. Hence, making the material inconsistent with the goal of this research.

Moving away from the lack of information and insights in the reports of international organizations, I moved closer. I looked through national reports from the Kenyan ministry of tourism and wildlife. No mention of sex tourism there. I made the assumption that sex tourism

is an issue possibly too delicate and sensitive for a government to address, trying to promote tourism.

I moved even closer. I searched through Kenyan news outlets with the hope of finding articles on sex tourism, shedding some light on the more casual interactions compared to the issues brought up by larger organizations. This is where I found a variety of articles, discussing the issue of sex tourism.

3.3.2 Selection of material and criterias

Six different media outlets were found through online searches. The search engine function was used on each media outlet website to find relevant articles. The initial keywords used were 'tourism' and 'sex tourism'. When reading the articles, it was clear that there were some local terms used to describe people in the sex tourism industry which I was previously not accustomed to. In addition, it inspired me to also include the word 'prostitution' to investigate whether there were any mentions of sex tourists in a more local setting. I searched through each media outlet a second time using the added keywords; 'prostitution', 'beach boy' (sometimes slang for male sex worker) and 'mzungu' (Swahili term for 'white man' or 'foreigner'). The searches resulted in a total of twenty-nine articles.

Purposeful sampling was conducted to filter down the articles. Articles older than 10 years were excluded to maintain relevance as the paper is looking at a contemporary issue as well with articles that did not directly approach the subject of sex tourism. One media outlet only had one article which later was deemed to not be relevant. The final sample of data consists of 20 articles from five different Kenyan media outlets. The articles are distributed over a table below for a clear overview:

Table 1. Final data distribution

Media outlet	total	Nation	The East African	The standard	The elephant	Debunk Media
Articles per source	20	9	2	6	2	1

3.3.3 Validity and reliability

The final collected material comes from five different outlets with an uneven distribution. The choice to include several news outlets despite the uneven distribution was to introduce heterogeneity to the data (Mayring, 2021, p. 126). Moreover, a variety of sources increases the reliability of the data (Halperin & Heath, 2020, p.175)

An additional layer of heterogeneity was introduced in the form of political diversity. The two news outlets with the most articles had a political affiliation associated with the paper. It was found through the website Ground News where political affiliation is put on a scale of three different degrees off from the center (Ground News - Rating System, 2024). The two outlets were leaning, meaning they were in the first degree from center. Although, a total of five articles did not have a political affiliation attached to them that could be found, they are all valid in the sense that they are all journalists working within the Kenyan societal debate, giving them interpretive priority.

The distribution of the articles along with each media outlet's political affiliation, if found, is presented in the diagram below:

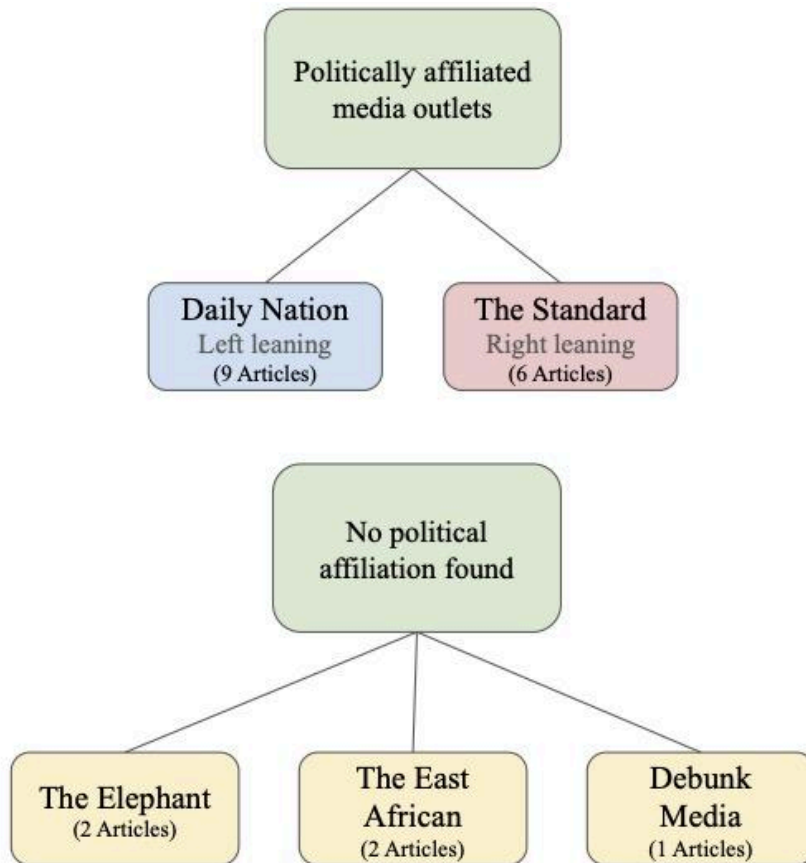


Table 2. (Daily Nation | Ground News, 2024; The Standard | Ground News, 2024)

3.3.4 Limitations

In the absence of reports from sources such as international organizations and government agencies to provide insights into the phenomenon of sex tourism. Media outlets were the place where data could be found and opened up the possibility to conduct research in this subject without collecting data in the field, making it cost-effective. The limitations of choosing this method is the finite amount of data available for analysis while in addition creating fewer opportunities to check for bias (Morgan, 2022, 70). Two articles found on sex tourism were behind a paywall that I could not get through. I tried to get access by paying, but my bank blocked the payment.

English is one of the two official languages in Kenya. The data collection is limited to the newspapers which are in English. No articles in Swahili were included due to lack of knowledge of the language. While English is one of the official languages, Swahili is the more spoken language. In terms of power structures, it may give a picture from those who speak English in Kenya which could be seen as an ‘elite’ as it is used more within higher education and government structures.

3.3.4.1 Political media landscape in Kenya

While the Kenyan broadcasting sector is rich and diverse, the print media is less so with only four daily newspapers on the market, *Nation Media Group* being the largest one (Kenya | RSF) which is represented in the distribution of articles in the diagram above. It is additionally an independent media outlet, although they continuously face a lot of pressure from the government (The Year since Kenyan President’s Election Marked by New Hostility towards Media | RSF, 2023).

William Ruto’s election in 2022 marked the start of a strenuous period for all media with a lot of political pressures. Senior executives of *Daily Nation* got fired within months of William Ruto taking office in September 2022. This did not ensure control of the produced content of the media outlet. The trade and industry secretary Moses Kuria called journalists working for *Nation Media Group* ‘prostitutes’ and accused them of being biased and corrupt while also threatening to fire any government official who provides the *Nation Media Group* with advertising. The statements were in response to an investigative report on corruption within his ministry (The Year since Kenyan President’s Election Marked by New Hostility towards Media | RSF, 2023).

The election brought on increased violence and persecution of journalists. A journalist from *The Standard* was beaten and arrested by the police in July in 2023. When the Inspector General of Police was questioned regarding the increased violence, the response given was that they were ‘occupational hazards’ for the media (The Year since Kenyan President’s Election

Marked by New Hostility towards Media | RSF, 2023). Thus, reports on issues relating to national security, terrorism, religion, arms, and human trafficking are very sensitive.

Journalists who have covered these subjects have sometimes had to ask for protection (Kenya | RSF).

Yet, with all the pressures from the government, many articles covering sex tourism, including human trafficking, were still found, and many articles are from before William Ruto got elected for president.

Awareness of these pressures are crucial when reading through the material. Some issues within the phenomenon such as critique of the government may be downplayed in fear of facing scrutiny. This is a power structure, necessary to be taken into consideration before diving into the material.

3.3.4 Ethical considerations

The material used are news articles from Kenyan media outlets. The empirical material creates the possibility for a document analysis. The motivations for doing document analysis in this case are the fewer ethical concerns, as it is an unobtrusive research method (Williamson, Given & Scifleet, 2018; Mayring, 2021, p.37). The authors of the written articles are publishing the text, knowingly aware of the public content they have produced which also reduces the ethical concerns with the data (Morgan, 2022, 69).

3.4 Data analysis

Identification of categorizations of power structures will be done through inductive coding. The discovered categories will be recorded into a structure as shown by Krippendorff (2019, n.p). The coding process will be conducted simultaneously while working through the text in a step-by-step process (Mayring, 2021, p.64) while documenting emerging key

concepts (Williamson & Johanson, 2017, p. 465). This is to ensure meticulous and organized analysis so it also enables the possibility to reconstruct the analysis (Mayring, 2021, p.63).

The coding will be done in a mix of priori and grounded codes (Halperin & Heath, 2020). The priori codes are based on previous research on sex tourism and intersectional theory and will include 'race', 'gender', 'age', and 'country of origin'. Other power dynamics that are emerging will be coded inductively. Possible interrelationships between the developed categories will thereafter be investigated (Punch, 2013, p. 170), for the sake of a deeper analysis, but also for the sake of staying true to the intersectional framework I have adopted, as interconnectivity and interrelationships are an essential part of the theory.

3.4.1 Reflexivity

In this paper I use the term 'sex work' and 'sex worker' to describe a person exchanging sex for money or other goods or services of value. This is the general term that is most commonly used today and does not reflect my own political standpoint.

Working through this paper through the lens of intersectionality demands reflexivity of me as a researcher. I am using the paper by Rice, Harrison & Friedman (2019) to guide me through the reflexivity to ensure the application of intersectionality stays true to the theory in how it should be applied in a respectful and ethical manner.

While Rice, Harrison & Friedman (2019, p.418) argue that there is no ideal method for undertaking intersectional research, they highlight the necessity of researcher reflexivity while being aware of power relations at all levels.

I am reminded that the categories presented can change over time and place (Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.417) while also being aware that I as a researcher am a white woman from a high-income country who has never been to Kenya. Not to say that that excludes me from conducting intersectional research (Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.414-15). I am undertaking this research from said high-income country and my personal

experience with oppressive systems is minimal compared to many others. But I am committed to address historical and contemporary social forces through a political lens (Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.416) and conceptualization. This knowledge-making project embraces social justice (Rice, Harrison & Friedman, 2019, p.414-15) through the awareness of unequal distribution of power, money, and opportunities.

4. Analysis

Below I analyze the different power dynamics at play within sex tourism in Kenya as shown by local media. Throughout the coding process, many other positions of power emerged. Apart from the priori codes, six other codes were added while conducting the research which are; (1) Education, (2), Agency, (3) Status, (4) Structural, (5) economic, (6) family pressures. Many different kinds of power were found to be present. However, the financial aspect was the overarching force which had the capacity to influence locals to engage in sex tourism and other categories were often associated with someone's potential financial status. The question of agency is a power dynamic that fluctuates throughout the analysis, especially viewed through the lens of intersectionality.

The majority of the articles discussed involve children under the age of eighteen, which is the age of what constitutes becoming an adult according to the UN convention on the rights of the child (UN, n.d), while also being the legal age of consent in Kenya (UNFPA, 2020, p.4). This creates a legal framework, making it legally impossible for a person under the age of eighteen to consent to any sexual activities in Kenya. However, the reports of the underage kids were often combined with people of age. This made it hard to separate the data, but I have done my best.

Firstly I discuss the different categories of power in order of the coding protocol whereas I later discuss how they correlate to each other while putting them in a bigger context of discussion.

Analysis part I; Categories of power

Race

White men and women are seen as catalysts to a better life by the locals in Kenya. It is common for the sex workers to have a preference for the 'mzungu'. Parents urge their children to marry a 'mzungu' for the chance of financial security for the child and the rest of the family. One article reported that some women purposely have sex without protection in the hopes that they will get pregnant and then get married, or get some sort of financial arrangement from them. Often when whiteness was mentioned in the articles, it was in relation to what financial prospects the white person could ensure the [black] local.

One article discusses the power of the media and how white men are portrayed on TV, often being 'victors' and how this could influence the perception of them.

A female politician had urged 'Mijikenda'[a group of nine related Bantu ethnic groups] women to go topless to attract tourists. African women are here sexualized and exoticized to attract foreigners. This is also shown in a report discussing how there is always dancing women at the international tourism fairs representing Kenya, using the allure of Kenyan women to attract tourists.

Age

Age is a big factor in terms of older people exerting their power as elders onto the younger population. This was mostly prominent in relation to adults exerting power over children as the majority of the articles dealt with the issue of sex tourism in the context of sexual exploitation of children. There were many ways in which adults used their power as older to gain sexual access to children. Accounts of foreign tourists taking children out on a boat, away from prying eyes, where they then molest them, and sometimes throw them overboard when they are done. Other accounts are where adults go to orphanages, acting as

volunteers, where they pay the administrators a 'volunteer fee', but in reality, paying for sexual access to the children. One article reported that six orphanages were under investigation for promoting child sex abuse and labor.

The articles disclosed that often there is an adult acting as a gatekeeper to the children, allowing sexual access to them. Although some are tricked and lied to for them to hand over the children. False promises of education for the child are common. But many guardians are aware of what the children are exposed to. Several articles reported that parents encourage their kids to get with foreigners, one article reported that the father of the child did not care for her education, only that she will marry a 'mzungu'.

Age differences between adult sex tourist and sex worker is also very common, which increases the chance of getting taken advantage of.

"John [75 years old], who has never married, said he comes to town for the girls, some as young as 20."

"In her early days, two clients took advantage of her age and refused to pay her. When she insisted , they threatened to strangle her or beat her up."

Country of origin

Most of the articles did not mention from where the "mzungu" come from nor how that correlates in terms of power. Some articles mention three nationalities as the more frequent visitors, namely Italian, German and Swiss. However an interviewed man mentioned that some nationalities are not worth engaging with because they are perceived to be racists. Nationalities mentioned here are Italian and Polish.

Education

There is often an incentive in the transaction between the local and the foreigner, the question of affording education. Therefore education becomes a powerful factor in the dialogue between local and foreigner. In the case of the sexual exploitation of children, guardians are often overwhelmed by the financial generosity of the tourist. Tourists who sometimes even pay for school tuition.

Gender

Gender becomes an advantage and disadvantage for both men and women in the realm of sex tourism. The frequency of which young boys are involved in sex tourism is underrepresented due to the fact that boys don't report it as much. This is in the context of underage boys.

A gendered issue which makes women particularly vulnerable to sex work is not being able to afford period products such as pads or tampons. Several articles discuss how girls and women have sex in exchange for money to be able to afford said products. Period poverty becomes an added layer to the vulnerability young girls and women face which may lead them to sex work, and further into the realm of sex tourism.

The difference between male and female sex tourism according to the articles is that female sex tourists tend to go for adult men compared to the male sex tourists who are often seen with underage girls. Not to be mistaken with that both women and men seek sexual partners much younger than themselves.

Economic

"We struggle to put food on the table. If I do not go out and look for money, we will sleep hungry"

The underlying factor in the influence of much of the behavior regarding sex tourism in Kenya is the economic discrepancies between the local and the foreigner. It was evident from all of the articles that poverty was the underlying motivation for starting a career in sex work and look for foreigners. It is established from the material that foreigners pay much more compared to local buyers of sex. It is thereafter common for the family of the sex worker to become financially dependent on them. The articles are putting it in a bigger context in terms of other actors benefitting from the industry. From taxi drivers and hotel operators to families and friends. Thus, the foreigner holds an immense financial power over the local sex worker.

Agency

An important aspect found in the material was the sense of agency coming from the reports of the sex workers. In terms of them seeking out foreigners, portraying the foreigners as shy or in accounts of British soldiers being taught how to 'politely decline' their advances.

"The job needs a lot of courage since some tourists are too shy to approach an African lady to ask for sex, forcing us to make the first move"

There seems to also be less stigma in regard to sex work with foreigners because of their skin color and in the setting in which they operate in.

"They do not see these practices as sexual exploitation but as a legitimate trade - a form of prostitution but with less stigma because the men and women who buy them are white and because they do not operate from seedy brothels"

Agency is an important aspect to include in this research as it can determine how the power dynamics between the local and foreigner is perceived. This concept is explored further below.

Status

Status was brought up in the material in the context of power dynamics influencing a foreigner to engage in sex tourism. This was visible in an article reporting on soldiers of the British military, conducting military exercises in the country and to what extent they engage with sex workers. There were also reports of the purchase of sex from Kenyan women as part of an initiation ceremony, where the choice of using a condom or not was determined by the flip of a coin. It was reported that it had been senior soldiers who had pushed other soldiers to engage in the purchase of sex.

Family pressures

As previously mentioned, a lot of articles focused on children involved in the sex tourism industry. It was highlighted in one article, in two different cases, that it is the parents and caregivers that grant sexual access to the children. There is a difference between those who grant access knowingly and those who do unknowingly. Those who grant access knowingly can push their children to go out and 'find mzungu to marry', or dress their children in suggestive clothing and take them to hotspots themselves. In other cases, such as the orphanages mentioned above, where guardians knowingly grant access to children in their care.

The unknowing parents and guardians are approached by hotel employees, beach boys and girls who then introduce the parents to the tourist who passes as a philanthropist. In other instances it is relatives who lie to the parents and promise them a better life.

The unknowing guardians can later turn to knowing, but then there is often financial dependency on the sexual exploitation of the foreigner, making it harder to exit.

Structural

Structural issues within local and global agencies, which potentially enable and exacerbate sex tourism, are mentioned throughout the articles. In one article it was reported [also mentioned above] that a female senator had urged ‘Mijikenda’ [a group of nine related Bantu ethnic groups] women to go topless and to wear only a ‘Leso’ [traditional printed fabric] around their hips. The senator argued that foreigners have stopped coming because the women have started to cover up themselves.

It is also reported that dancing women are displayed at international tourism fairs, showcasing the Kenyan beauty available.

One reporter retold how she had previously written an article on sex tourism, highlighting Italian consumers, and was later reprimanded by both the Italian consul in Kenya and the Italian ambassador. Their response was that “Italians in Malindi were not in the seaside resort to have sex with local women or children, but they had made significant investments in the town and were also contributing to charitable causes.”.

In the context of the sexual exploitation of children, there has been a blame game. Tourism stakeholders have blamed the tourism police unit in Kenya for inaction, while the tourism police blamed the tourism sector for hiding pedophiles to protect the industry.

Analysis part II; addressing power dynamics in relation to each other

In the second part of the analysis, the power dynamics presented above are put into a bigger context of interrelation and discussion to further conceptualize the intricate web they all interact within. Two overarching themes of discussion came up while working through the material which are presented here below.

The intersection of agency and dependency

Power is subjective in many ways and sometimes hard to reach consensus on due it being highly contextual and relative. Agency changes the perception of power in this phenomenon, in relation to how much agency the both individuals involved are perceived to have. Therefore i problematize this question;

How do very unequal relationships, in terms of financial and social power, affect the validity of agency and consent?

The large income discrepancies between the foreigner and the local have shown above to create a financial dependency on the foreigner. How is consent therefore conceptualized within this phenomenon? It could be argued in this specific context that *consent* is the legal term, equated to the socio-economic *dependency* sex workers navigate their *agency* within. Sex workers negotiate their own agency in relation to their dependency on external factors such as the most prominent in this material, financial.

"When I go to my hotspots, I only look for white men; they pay better compared to Africans. If I do not get a white man, I would rather go back home"

This is a difficult argument to make in the light of the foothold the politics of sex worker's rights organizations have in today's society, that sex work is real work and should be treated as such, that we should respect people's rational choices and let them earn money like in any other job. But in this context, I would argue that the debate on sex work boils down to one of the most fundamental philosophical questions; do we have a free choice to make?

Powers and forces from many directions have been presented in this paper and the question is if there is a choice left to make when all is done? The neoliberals might say that there is always a choice to make, the rational man [or woman], the *homo economicus*, making a calculated choice based on individual profit maximization. Or are 'sex workers' or 'prostitutes' simply victims of a morally gray globalized capitalist world?

Desperation and demand, local and global economies at play

Economic hardship permeated the material and influenced many aspects and choices made within the sex tourism industry. Parents sell their children's bodies to afford school tuition or food and the financial opportunity given by the foreigner seems often hard to pass up on. In the light of agency, can the choice of better economic prospects be applied to states influenced by large corporations? Is the relationship between the foreigner and the local similar to the relationship between developed and developing countries in the bigger context of tourism? Do states make a rational choice when ignoring the many social consequences associated with the increased influx of tourists?

In this case we connect this back to Bianchi's description of the two branches of critical tourism studies, where according to the articles, governments and states are very much leaning towards the branch of "*the unquestioning embrace of the market.*" (Bianchi, 2009, p. 484). Despite the scrutiny independent Kenyan media outlets are facing from the government, there was still criticism present in the articles, directed towards regional and national agencies and politicians, accusing them of inaction because of the financial incentive they are faced with by ignoring the problem of sex tourism, mostly in the context of the sexual exploitation of children.

5. Conclusion

Many African governments have adopted tourism as a development strategy where the prospects of economic growth overshadow many social consequences. Kenya has over the years become a hotspot for male and female tourists, seeking to or in a more opportunistic manner engage in sexual relationships with the local population. A large portion of the locals involved in sex tourism are underage. This research has lifted up the many complexities and approaches that are needed to be brought up when researching social phenomena as such. The many agencies and framing of the issue can create vast variation in the analysis.

By applying the intersectional theory as well as the critical tourism studies theory the thesis has shown that there is no such thing as one final conclusion. Rather a delicate web where gender, age, nationality, financial status and family pressure interplay with one another making the person engaged in the sex act and the enabler (parent, guardian) capable of experiencing both agency and victimhood.

6. References

- About - CAP International. (2016). *Www.cap-International.org*, Available Online:
<https://www.cap-international.org/about/#ethicalpolicies> [Accessed 20 May 2024]
- Abrams, K. (1995). Sex Wars Redux: Agency and Coercion in Feminist Legal Theory, *Columbia Law Review*, vol. 95, no. 2, pp.304–376
- Akama, J. S. & Kieti, D. (2007). Tourism and Socio-Economic Development in Developing Countries: A Case Study of Mombasa Resort in Kenya, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 15, no. 6, pp.735–748
- Atewologun, D. (2018). Intersectionality Theory and Practice, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Business and Management*, Available Online:
<https://oxfordre.com/business/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190224851.001.0001/acrefore-9780190224851-e-48>
- Bianchi, R. V. (2009). The ‘Critical Turn’ in Tourism Studies: A Radical Critique, *Tourism Geographies*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp.484–504
- Britton, S. G. (1982). The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World, *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp.331–358
- Collins, P. H. (2019). *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*, Durham: Duke University Press
- Community Guide: Sex Work as Work. (2017). *NSWP*, Global Network of Sex Work Projects, Available Online:
https://www.nswp.org/sites/default/files/community_guide_sex_work_as_work_nswp_-_2017.pdf [Accessed 16 May 2024]

Crenshaw, K. (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8. Available at: <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>

Daily Nation | Ground News. (2024). *Ground.news*, Available Online: https://ground.news/interest/daily-nation_4582ef#bias-ratings [Accessed 15 May 2024]

Glick, E. (2000). Sex Positive: Feminism, Queer Theory, and the Politics of Transgression, *Feminist Review*, vol. 64, no. 1, pp.19–45

Ground News - Rating System. (2024). *Ground.news*, Available Online: <https://ground.news/rating-system#biasRating> [Accessed 15 May 2024]

Halperin, S. & Heath, O. (2020). *Political Research: Methods and Practical Skills*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hope, Sr., K. R. (2013). Sex Tourism in Kenya: An Analytical Review, *Tourism Analysis*, vol. 18, no. 5, pp.533–542

ICAO. (2019). Aviation Benefits Report, Available Online: <https://www.icao.int/sustainability/Documents/AVIATION-BENEFITS-2019-web.pdf>

Jeffreys, S. (2003). Sex Tourism: Do Women Do It Too?, *Leisure Studies*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp.223–238

Jeffreys, S. (2009). *The Industrial Vagina : The Political Economy of the Global Sex Trade*, London: Routledge

Kenya | RSF. *Rsf.org*, Available Online: <https://rsf.org/en/country/kenya>

- Kenya Annual Tourism Sector Performance Report 2022. (n.d.). , Available Online:
<https://www.tourism.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/ANNUAL-TOURISM-SECTOR-PERFORMANCE-REPORT-2022-2.pdf>
- Krippendorff, K. (2019). Recording/coding. In *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Fourth Edition ed., pp. 128-156). SAGE Publications, Inc.,
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071878781>
- Lu, T. S., Holmes, A., Noone, C. & Flaherty, G. T. (2020). Sun, Sea and Sex: A Review of the Sex Tourism Literature, *Tropical Diseases, Travel Medicine and Vaccines*, [e-journal] vol. 6, no. 1, Available Online:
<https://tdtmvjournal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s40794-020-00124-0>
- Mayring, P. (2021). *Qualitative Content Analysis : A Step-By-Step Guide*, Los Angeles: SAGE
- Morgan, H. (2022). Conducting a Qualitative Document Analysis, *The Qualitative Report*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp.64–77
- Morgan, N. & Pritchard, A. (2014). Critical Tourism Studies, in J. Jafari & H. Xiao (eds), *Encyclopedia of Tourism*, [e-book] Springer International Publishing, pp.1–2, Available Online: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-01669-6%E2%82%841-1>
- Pruitt, D. & LaFont, S. (1995). For Love and Money, *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp.422–440
- Punch, K. F. (2013). *Introduction to Social Research : Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, Los Angeles, Calif.: Sage Publications
- Rice, C., Harrison, E. & Friedman, M. (2019). Doing Justice to Intersectionality in Research, *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, vol. 19, no. 6, pp.409–420

Rivers-Moore, M. (2015). Imagining Others: Sex, Race, and Power in Transnational Sex Tourism. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 10(3), 392–411. Retrieved from <https://acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/904>

Taylor, J. S. (2001). Dollars Are a Girl's Best Friend? Female Tourists' Sexual Behaviour in the Caribbean, *Sociology*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp.749–764

Taylor, J. S. (2006). Female Sex Tourism: A Contradiction in Terms?, *Feminist Review*, vol. 83, no. 1, pp.42–59

The Standard | Ground News. (2024). *Ground.news*, Available Online: https://ground.news/interest/the-standard_538dc4 [Accessed 15 May 2024]

The Year since Kenyan President's Election Marked by New Hostility towards Media | RSF. (2023). *Rsf.org*, Available Online: <https://rsf.org/en/year-kenyan-president-s-election-marked-new-hostility-towards-media>

UN. Children, *United Nations*, Available Online: <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/children#:~:text=The%20Convention%20on%20the%20Rights>

UNFPA. (2020). HARMONIZATION of MINIMUM AGES and ADOLESCENT SEXUAL and REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH RIGHTS, UNFPA, Available Online: https://esaro.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/lates_technical_brief_harmonization_2.pdf

UNWTO. (2022). Glossary of Tourism Terms, *Www.unwto.org*, Available Online: <https://www.unwto.org/glossary-tourism-terms>

- UNWTO. (2023). Tourism's Importance for Growth Highlighted in World Economic Outlook Report, *W*www.unwto.org, Available Online:
<https://www.unwto.org/news/tourism-s-importance-for-growth-highlighted-in-world-economic-outlook-report> [Accessed 16 May 2024]
- Wanjohi Kibicho. (2016). Sex Tourism in Africa, Routledge
- Williamson, K., Given, L. M. & Scifleet, P. (2018). Research Methods: Information, Systems, and Contexts., edited by K. Williamson & G. Johanson, Cambridge, Ma Chandos Publishing
- World Bank. (2022). Tourism and Competitiveness, *World Bank*, Available Online:
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/competitiveness/brief/tourism-and-competitiveness>
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and Feminist Politics, *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp.193–209

7. Appendices

7.1 Appendix I - Final data sample

Daily Nation

- Atieno, W. (2020). Child Labour, Prostitution Still Thriving at Kenya's Coast, *Nation*, Available Online:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/counties/mombasa/child-labour-prostitution-still-thriving-at-kenya-s-coast-1034296> [Accessed 14 May 2024]

- Atieno, W. (2022). Campaign against Child Sex Tourism Gets Boost, *Nation*, Available Online:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/news/gender/campaign-against-child-sex-tourism-gets-boost-3975666> [Accessed 23 April 2024]
- Kiage, N. & Wako, A. (2023). Preying on Innocence: Is Kenya Turning into a Playground for Paedophiles?, *Nation*, Available Online:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/news/preying-on-innocence-is-kenya-turning-into-a-playground-for-paedophiles--4291228> [Accessed 20 April 2024]
- Lwanga, C. (2020). Poverty Forces Children into Prostitution in Watamu, *Nation*, Available Online:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/counties/kilifi/poverty-forces-children-into-prostitution-in-watamu-64874> [Accessed 14 May 2024]
- Munene, M. (2020). How Sex Tourists Beat the Law in Coastal Havens, *Nation*, Available Online:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/business/how-sex-tourists-beat-the-law-in-coastal-havens-911384> [Accessed 14 May 2024]
- Obiria, M. (2022). Normalising ‘Mubaba’ Culture Fosters Child Sexual Abuse, *Nation*, Available Online:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/news/gender/normalising-mubaba-culture-fosters-child-sexual-abuse-3983626> [Accessed 24 April 2024]
- Obiria, M. (2023a). Sex Slavery: The Living Hell of Underage Girls at the Coast, *Nation*, Available Online:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/news/gender/sex-slavery-the-living-hell-of-underage-girls-at-the-coast-4084374> [Accessed 20 April 2024]
- Obiria, M. (2023b). Easy-Peasy: For Just Sh300, I Sealed Sex Trade Deal for Three Underage Girls, *Nation*, Available Online:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/news/gender/easy-peasy-for-just-sh300-i-sealed-sex-trade-deal-for-three-underage-girls-4102032> [Accessed 20 April 2024]
- Raballa, V. (2024). British Soldiers in Nanyuki ‘Having Unprotected Sex with Prostitutes’ as Part of Initiation, *Nation*, Available Online:

<https://nation.africa/kenya/news/british-soldiers-in-nanyuki-having-unprotected-sex-with-prostitutes-as-part-of-initiation-4582532> [Accessed 20 April 2024]

The Standard

Agutu, R. (2023). Sex Tourism: Malindi Girls Brave Assaults, STIs, *Standard Entertainment*, Available Online:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/entertainment/features/article/2001474862/sex-tourism-malindi-girls-brave-assaults-stis> [Accessed 23 April 2024]

Exposed: Female Tourists Who Travel to Kenya to Get Laid by Local Men. (2021). *Standard Entertainment*, Available Online:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/entertainment/news/article/2001392361/exposed-female-tourists-who-travel-to-kenya-to-get-laid-by-local-men> [Accessed 24 April 2024]

Iraki, X. N. (2019). Sex Tourism: Is There More to ‘Mombasa Raha’ than Beaches?, *The Standard*, Available Online:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2001319304/sex-tourism-is-there-more-to-mombasa-raha-than-beaches> [Accessed 14 May 2024]

Oketch, B. S. and W. (2015). Call for Tough Laws amid Rising Child Sex Tourism, *The Standard*, Available Online:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/kenya/article/2000122327/n-a> [Accessed 23 April 2024]

Sanga, B. & Ongala, M. (2019). Sex Tourism, Western Philanthropy and Widespread Child Sexual Abuse in Coast, *The Standard*, Available Online:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001281874/sex-tourism-western-philanthropy-and-widespread-child-sexual-abuse-in-coast> [Accessed 24 April 2024]

Wesangula, D. (2020). Culture, Greed and Poverty Fuel Sexual Abuse on Underage Girls, *The Standard*, Available Online:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001354058/culture-greed-and-poverty-fuel-sexual-abuse-on-underage-girls> [Accessed 14 May 2024]

The Elephant

Ogada, M. (2023). Kenya: No Country for Women, *The Elephant*, Available Online:
<https://www.theelephant.info/analysis/2023/03/11/kenya-no-country-for-women/>
[Accessed 22 April 2024]

Warah, R. (2019). Bodies for Sale: Sex Tourism in Malindi, *The Elephant*, Available Online:
<https://www.theelephant.info/reflections/2019/01/25/bodies-for-sale-sex-tourism-in-malindi/> [Accessed 22 April 2024]

The East African

Anything Goes in Coastal Mtwapa. (2020). *The East African*, Available Online:
<https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/magazine/anything-goes-in-coastal-mtwapa--1341016> [Accessed 21 April 2024]

Child Sex for a Dollar on Kenya's Palm-Fringed Beaches. (2020). *The East African*, Available Online:
<https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/child-sex-for-a-dollar-on-kenya-s-palm-fringed-beaches-1396084> [Accessed 21 April 2024]

Debunk Media

Warah, R. (2023). Sex Tourism in Kenya's Coast: A Form of Neocolonialism, *Debunk.media*, Available Online:
<https://debunk.media/sex-tourism-in-kenyas-coast-a-form-of-neocolonialism/>