



**EXPLORING ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
THE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN  
IN TOURISM AND TRAVEL  
ALONG THE COAST OF KENYA**

*Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART) is a Kenyan non-governmental organisation dedicated to fighting human trafficking in Eastern Africa. HAART was founded on the backdrop of the growing crisis of human trafficking that has seen Kenya become the main hub for trafficking in Eastern Africa. Founded in 2010, HAART is the only organisation in Kenya that works exclusively to eradicate human trafficking and has acquired extensive knowledge about the multi-dimensional nature of both cross border and internal human trafficking in Eastern Africa. HAART has conducted hundreds of grassroots workshops, reaching more than 40,000 people and has also identified, rescued and assisted more than 300 victims of trafficking.*

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# Exploring Attitudes towards the Sexual Exploitation of Children in Tourism and Travel along the Coast of Kenya

Mario Schulze

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## ABSTRACT

This paper is dedicated to exploring attitudes concerning the commercial sexual abuse of children in the context of tourism and travel along the Coast of Kenya. Members of Coastal communities and child prostitutes working and living in the region were asked to share their opinions and insights in order to explore the reasons why the sexual exploitation of children in the context of tourism (SECTT) is prevalent and travel could thrive. The main finding of the research is that while a large scale approval of SECTT in the Coastal communities could not be identified, there appears to be a culture of silencing around SECTT as well as a resulting reluctance to make interventions when the issue pertains to children from other families. Another issue lies in the fact that a considerable amount of children in prostitution do not appear to hold a negative attitude towards their occupation, and that continued financial security forms an essential precondition for their willingness to leave prostitution behind them.



## PREFACE

Since its beginning, Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART) - a non-governmental organization devoted to fighting human trafficking in Kenya - has made considerable contributions towards research and trainings on issues related to human trafficking.

Human trafficking is a significant problem in Kenya as well as in the whole region of East Africa. However, little is known in regards to the complexities of this phenomenon and in particular on the tactics employed by human traffickers. This study intends to clarify some misconceptions on sexual exploitation of minors at the Coast in Kenya that occurs due to tourism.

Specifically, this research attempts to examine the socio-cultural aspects of sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism at the Coast in Kenya. The study starting point is UNICEF report on the SECT in Kenya that was made 10 years ago. The study then compares the report findings with the current status quo, notifying both improvements and challenges.

The intention of this research is to provide reliable information that can guide response, and thus ensure better counter trafficking protections for children who are exposed to trafficking. The publication of this research will hopefully enable government institutions and civil society address the negative effects of tourism, so while tourism will continue being major contributor to Kenyan economy, it will not affect the local population at the Coast.

The publication of the research study contributes to the fulfillment of the vision and mission of Awareness Against Human Trafficking (HAART) – an organisation that is focusing on eradication of all forms of human trafficking in Kenya. HAART wishes to thank and acknowledge the support from Mensen met een Missie that supported carrying out the research.

Radoslaw L. Malinowski

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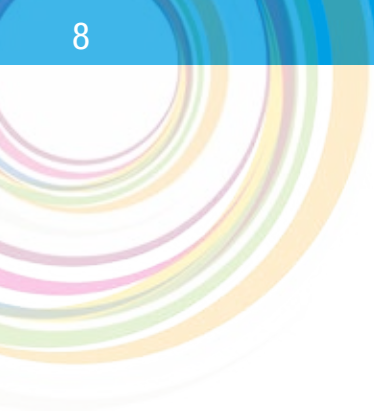
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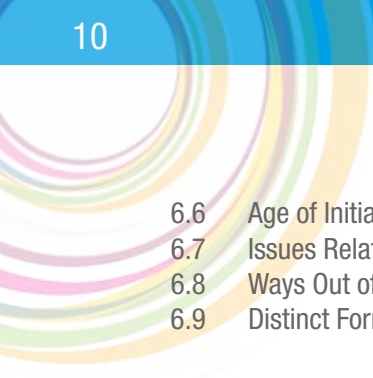






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# 1. Definitions

## 1.1. Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism

SECTT, sexual exploitation of children in (the context of) travel and tourism, is a relatively new term which was coined after another label, “Child Sex Tourism” (CST), was deemed to trivialize the aspect of commercial sexual exploitation that actually defines the practice. It constitutes a descriptive term, created to conceptualize a phenomenon, but it does not present the name of an offence in criminal law, even though individual states have indeed already introduced extraterritorially applicable legislation to prosecute the sexual exploitation of alien minors through their nationals. The term SECTT has the advantage of explicitly expressing that the sexual abuse of children through a non-local can also occur outside the context of leisure, for instance, on business trips or through posted workers and that abuse and exploitation can additionally be perpetrated through local actors close to the traveler rather than just the traveler him- or herself. The ECPAT network and the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) recommend the usage of the term in academia (Terminology and Semantics Interagency Working Group on Sexual Exploitation of Children, 2016).

Nevertheless, current definitions are often still based on the somewhat simpler terminology CST, and two of them shall be examined here:

*Child sex tourism is the sexual exploitation of children by a person or persons who travel from their home district, home geographical region, or home country in order to have sexual contact with children. Child sex tourists can be domestic travellers [sic] or they can be international tourists. CST often involves the use of accommodation, transportation and other tourism-related services that facilitate contact with children and enable the perpetrator to remain fairly inconspicuous in the surrounding population and environment.*

– ECPAT International, 2008

While this general definition is fairly encompassing, it lacks precision in two key points. Firstly, it does not define the term child as either a person under the age of 18, or as a person defined as a legal minor under the corresponding national legislation. Secondly, the phrase “in order to” implies intent on the part of the perpetrator, although the reality is that the sexual engagement of a child can occur coincidentally, meaning without a previous express desire to have sex with a minor. As of the date of writing, this appears to be the most widely cited definition, however, ECPAT has since adopted the term SECTT instead of Child Sex Tourism. There are, of course, alternative characterizations of the phenomenon:

*The commercial sexual exploitation of children by persons who travel from one place to another and there engage in sexual acts with children. Often, these people travel from a richer country to one that is less developed, but child sex tourists may also be travellers [sic] within their own countries or region. Some child sex tourists (also referred to as preferential abusers and paedophiles [sic]) target children specifically. Most child sex tourists, though, are situational abusers who do not usually have a sexual preference for children, but take advantage of a situation in which children are made available to them. They may try to rationalize their actions by claiming sex with a child is culturally acceptable in the place they are visiting or that money or goods exchanged benefit the child and community.* – UNICEF Pacific, 2006

This definition relates to the rationales behind the abuse and categorizes perpetrators according to their motivations. It also points out the frequent economic discrepancies between the country of origin of the tourist and that of the child, while conceding that SECTT also occurs outside of an international context. It is, however, phrased in such a way that it puts too much subjective emphasis on the sex tourist, which in turn underestimates the relative impact that the tourism industry and

other actors have on the occurrence of SECTT. Both definitions moreover fail to factor in the sexual exploitation of minors through locals in the context of tourism and travel.

A main issue of these examples consists of describing a complex issue within just a short paragraph. In the absence of the necessity to do so, past publications have indeed already provided far more encompassing characterizations of SECTT. The following list, for instance, is derived from a 2008 ECPAT release that was submitted as a contribution to the 3rd World Congress against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents. It shall serve to conceptualize SECTT for the purpose of this research:

- I. The common definition of a tourist that relates to a person who is temporarily frequenting a location outside their usual place of residence for the purpose of leisure does not cover the whole spectrum of perpetrators that can be identified in SECTT. Amongst potential sex offenders must also be counted: business travelers, posted workers (for instance: NGO workers, caregivers, teachers) and stationed military personnel. Furthermore, the list includes international, national and regional travelers.
- II. The tourism industry can be a major driver of sexual exploitation of minors in developing countries, where their share in national services exports can reach up to 70 percent, thereby creating dependencies and accumulating huge power on the demand side of SECTT. "Sex tourism is a type of sexual exploitation which relies on an ideological concept of the consumer market as one based on money and pleasure, without respect for values or ethics" (O'Briain, Grillo, & Barbosa, 2008, p. 7). Therefore, anything can be bought as long as the price is right. Sex tourism is further facilitated by a high local demand for sexual services, which provides an adequate infrastructure for the tourist and which also serves to balance out fluctuations in foreign and national demand for prostitution.
- III. Offenders can come into sexual contact with children for a number of reasons. Opportunism has been named as an influential factor with many men who normally do not show sexual behavior towards children, but within a changed cultural context rationalize it as acceptable due to such conduct being perceived as a common occurrence in the host country. Some may also presume or have persuaded themselves that a child is older than it initially appears and to be doing them a favor by alleviating their poverty. Others engage children sexually as a risk-minimization tactic as they believe them to be less likely to either carry diseases or resort to criminal behavior such as stealing. In addition, there are pedophiles that seek out pre-pubescent children and normally already travel with intend of engaging in sexual relations with children. They feel empowered to act with impunity when they can move about with relative anonymity within communities in distress. Such perpetrators are furthermore likely to create pornographic material of their endeavors and to share such media with other pedophiles, which in turn may incite the viewers to do the same. Offenders who are long-term visitors to places abroad can furthermore facilitate access to children for other abusers. Contrary to popular believe, most offenders are not middle-aged men, but on average are closer to thirty years old, and in about ten percent of cases, female.
- IV. On part of the victims, the dire economic situation of the whole family or of just the children themselves as well as lack of social integration within and coherence amongst the community are seen as root causes of minors engaging in prostitution. Compensation for sexual services may not always be given in the form of cash money, but can also include meals, electronic gadgets, clothes, perfume, services and other benefits. Parents and relatives may

expect children to contribute to the family income through prostitution, especially in areas where sexual services are already in high demand by locals.

- V. Demand for sexual services is usually met through supplementation of non-local supply, meaning that children are trafficked across city districts, from rural into urban areas, across the country or even internationally. While in some contexts criminal organizations are behind the trafficking, children are in many other contexts deceived and exploited by family members and friends they trust. Sexual trafficking in children is a highly lucrative business and thus has a strong pull factor for potential offenders on the supply side.
- VI. SECTT furthermore occurs predominantly within communities in which awareness of human rights, especially of children, is low and where law enforcement and other state services are unable to enforce laws to protect these rights. In such environments, the bodies of women and children are seen as a commodity to be used, and the communities that the victims live in see it as normal to profit from them.
- VII. As a phenomenon, SECTT is morphing constantly and technological advances make it increasingly difficult to detect the sexual exploitation of children, as perpetrators are able to coordinate their action remotely both amongst each other and with their victims. (O’Brian, Grillo, & Barbosa, 2008)

For the purpose of creating a pinpoint definition of the phenomenon, however, the author proposes to characterize SECTT in the following way:

*The term ‘Sexual Exploitation of Children in the context of Tourism and Travel’ (SECTT) describes, within a predefined space, an intentional or hazarded involvement of either a local resident or an external attendant in any form of commercial*

*sexual activity performed through a legal minor within the context of tourism and travel.*

## 1.2. Human Trafficking

Human Trafficking constitutes a criminal offense in many national contexts and is defined in legally binding documents such as the Palermo Protocol, the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings and the UNTOC Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons. The Palermo Protocol stipulates that the act is to be defined as:

Article 3(a)

*The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.*

Human trafficking thus consists of three elements: the act, the means and the purpose of exploitation. It moreover constitutes an umbrella term for describing a whole body of different punishable offenses rather than a single corpus delicti.

## 1.3. Trafficking in Children

Trafficking in children is defined differently than trafficking in adult persons. In the case of children, the means used by traffickers become irrelevant for determining whether an act of trafficking has occurred because it is presumed that a minor does not have the agency of an adult to begin with. As is stipulated in the Palermo Protocol:

Article 3(c)

*The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation*

*shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article.*

This provision for trafficking in children is also statutory in Kenyan criminal law, more specifically within the Counter-Trafficking in Persons Act.

As this paper predominantly deals with the supply side of human trafficking, when looking at the cases of children who were sexually abused in the context of travel and tourism, the term "trafficking" will usually be used for instances in which the access to sexual services performed through a child was known to be sold or facilitated through another person.

This could give the wrong impression that the perpetrators of the sexual abuse on the demand side are not defined as committing a trafficking offence. Therefore, it shall be clarified that in all cases in which a minor has been sexually engaged for monetary or other compensation, even in the absence of an intermediary who acts as a supplier, the offense constitutes trafficking in children by virtue of the perpetrator receiving the child for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

SECTT and trafficking in children are thus intersectional phenomena. Granted, not all acts and purposes that are defined in section 1.2. occur within every instance of exploitation. For instance, some cases may not involve a recruitment of a child. However, this certainly does not mean that recruitment cannot easily be identified across a spectrum of cases as the results will show.

## 2. Introduction

Within the Kenyan context, the sexual exploitation of children in tourism and travel (SECTT) is an issue that only relatively recently gained noteworthy interest in academic circles. While other areas of the globe, particularly the Asian-Pacific region, have seen a vast amount of publications on the issue since at least the mid-1980s (Fernandez Vibal, 1984; Grjebine, 1984), research on African countries has been relatively scarce for a long time, with the first notable publications emerging only between the mid-1990s and 2000 (Lalor, 2000; O'Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1995; Molo Songololo, 2000). These early research projects unfortunately were limited in their scope and put too strong an emphasis on the sexual exploitation of street children. While street children are of course a particularly vulnerable group in the context of almost any crime, the current state of research shows that shelter is in no way a disqualifying factor for children to become victims of sexual exploitation.

With regards to Kenya in particular, country specific and comprehensive research started to surface only another 5 to 6 years later. This is somewhat surprising considering that SECTT in Kenya had been covered in both popular media and academic reports with a regional focus on Africa since as early as the start of the 1990s (Miles, 1995). Hence, two of the most comprehensive studies that specifically targeted the topic of SECTT in Kenya so far only date back to the years 2006 and 2015. These two reports by UNICEF and ANPPCAN explored the phenomenon in the context of the small coastal communities of Eastern Kenya and of metropolitan Nairobi respectively (Jones, 2006; Otieno, 2015).

Albeit in the absence of reliable numbers, both organizations portrayed the phenomenon as a grave issue within the localities they had explored. One major difference between the results of the papers was the role attributed to organized crime in conjunction with SECTT. While the ANPPCAN study, for instance, pointed towards an involvement

of criminal gangs in the slums of Nairobi (Otieno, 2015, pp. 12, 23), in the UNICEF study there was little to no evidence to suggest that organized crime had played a major part in the commercial sexual exploitation of children. This is, however, not to say that the issue was not determined to be systemic. Indeed, in the apparent absence of organized crime, surveying of the local populations along the Coast of Kenya revealed a disturbingly favorable attitude towards and large scale awareness of the issue amongst informants, which led to the coastal communities being defined as a major driver of SECTT.

That result in particular has since become the starting point of this paper. Ten years after the UNICEF report, the researchers set out to revisit the issue of SECTT along the Coast of Kenya by addressing some of the same, but also new issues related to the topic, in order to explore whether there is more to be learned, and whether some dynamics have maybe changed or simply been overlooked before.

As was the case with the UNICEF paper, this research will predominantly concern itself with the coastal communities and the child prostitutes that live amongst them. It is therefore a paper that deals almost exclusively with the supply side issue of SECTT. In particular, the project is centered on the topic of current community attitudes towards children performing sexual services. Using a comparative analysis format, the collected primary data evidence will be contrasted against the results of UNICEF's 2006 report, which will henceforth also be referred to as the "reference paper". The geographical focus in comparison has shifted to the more central and northern regions of the Coast spanning from Mtwapa to Malindi. Data on Kwale County in the South Coast could unfortunately not be gathered due to logistics and time constraints. Research Question:

In 2016, what are the obstacles to ending the sexual exploitation of children in the context of travel and tourism (SECTT) along the Coast of Kenya and how does the situation compare to the one 10 years ago?

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In 2016, what are the obstacles to ending the sexual exploitation of children in the context of travel and tourism (SECTT) along the Coast of Kenya and how does the situation compare to the one 10 years ago?

**Sub-research Questions:**

- How aware are the communities along the Coast about SECTT occurring in their area?
- What are the attitudes of child prostitutes and the communities they live in with regards to the practice?
- Which factors are known to cause children at the Coast to take up work in prostitution?
- What conditions need to be fulfilled for children to stay out or get out of prostitution?
- What are the main obstacles in terms of law enforcement?
- Where do the child prostitutes originate from and can a trafficking background be established for their entry into the business?



### 3. Background: Tourism, Local Economy and SECTT

As in the reference report, the author wants to provide some background on the tourism industry along the Coast of Kenya. The UNICEF paper described tourism as an important pull factor of children's involvement in prostitution (Jones, 2006, p. 13) and named 4 key components that presented the preconditions for the existence of a rampant and exploitative sex tourism business:

- I. A weak local economy; more specifically an undiversified economy with strong dependencies on single sectors, largely agriculture and tourism.
- II. No noticeable trickle-down effect of tourism into the local economies.
- III. High unemployment and frequent household poverty.
- IV. Beach tourists striving to engage in sexual encounters with locals.

Most of these points still appear to hold true 10 years later, but they ought to be looked at in more detail where this is possible. A major problem of investigating this part of the paper is a general lack of sources. The tourism ministry, for instance, did not offer publications for download at the point of writing between October and November 2016. It was furthermore not verifiable from where Jones, the author of the UNICEF report, had obtained the economic performance data of her paper.

#### 3.1. Economic Development

One of the weak points of the reference paper is that it does not sufficiently address and reflect upon the economic preconditions that condition the region's reliance on the tourism sector as a driver of economic growth. In Kilifi County, which makes up the main portion of the area explored in this report, agriculture and tourism to this day represent the only sectors that create a notable amount of wage labor, albeit most of the job opportunities constitute

casual jobs. Together the industries accounted for 8.8 percent of employed persons, a group that is small to begin with only 40.5 percent of the total eligible employed work force (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 22). This begs the question of how the region ought to move forward in order to overcome the poverty levels that the County Government put close to some 72 percent of the population as of 2006 (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 27).

The options for overcoming poverty appear very limited. The County Government's first integrated development plan for the region laid bare a number of systemic issues that easily explain the continuously low rate of employment in the region. The results of the report suggest that Jones' notion of the beach tourism sector failing to create enough jobs is not wrong in itself, but still appears to be rather simplistic in the light of the number of problems that Kilifi County faces in developing its economy. These include:

- I. Sharply increasing public sector expenses that inhibit government spending on economic development. These are caused by:
  - a. Unsustainable demographic developments. The region's massive population growth at an average of 3.05 percent between censuses surpasses the already substantive national rate of 2.9 percent (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 27)
  - b. High treatment costs in the medical sector as the population rejects preventative measures for HIV/AIDS and malaria. This is exacerbated by widespread primary reliance on "traditional" medicine (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 28).
  - c. Educational services and utilities provision have to be massively scaled up to account for unsustainable population growth (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 27).
- II. Already existent demographic issues: A high share of the population is ineligible for the legal work force. For instance, around 47 percent of

the population is under the age of 15. Moreover, large parts of the population lack even the most basic education (Kenya National Bureau for Statistics, 2013, p. 27).

- III. Many economic sectors cannot be further enhanced without incurring effects detrimental to overall development.
  - a. Increased exploitation of natural resources such as fish, minerals, timber and cash crop could potentially cause extinction of stock, aridity, floods and contamination through chemicals. (Kilifi County)
  - b. Climate change patterns are likely to reduce the already scarce amount of available natural resources, thereby not providing a long-term solution to development. (Kilifi County Government, 2014, pp. 27, 36)
- IV. Technological impasses that inhibit growth
  - a. Formerly profitable small businesses such as internet cafes are rendered redundant by national technological advance as mobile data service penetration has increased massively. (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 38)
  - b. Low distribution rate of technical gear for the reception of commercial broadcast services makes the region unattractive for service providers. (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 38)
- V. Gender based discrimination
  - a. Women's access to land titles is strongly restricted as inheritance normally goes to male family members. (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 37)
  - b. Retrogressive practices, such as early marriage, which often serve the purpose of quick poverty mitigation, create a vicious cycle of dependence for women. (Kilifi County Government, 2014, p. 28)

Thus, looking at the huge number of base factors of poverty in the region, Jones' criticism that tourism's

impact in the development of the region has played too marginal a role appears rather excessive.

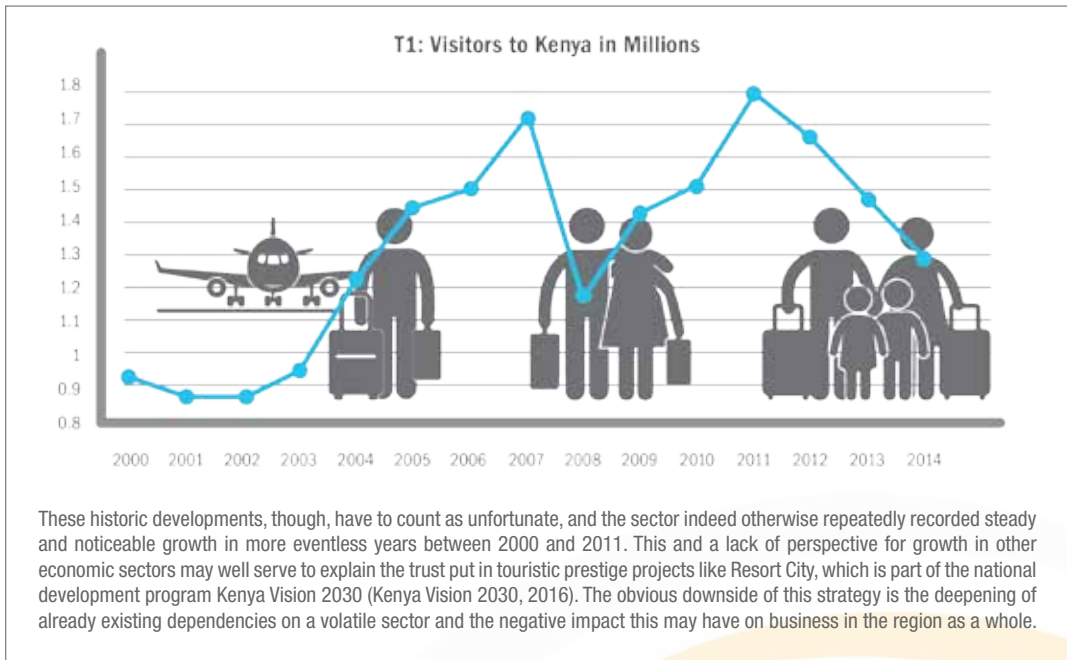
### 3.2. Sector Volatility

Having asserted a lack of options, this is not to say that reliance on tourism is without its risk. The sector reacts very sensitively to internal and external factors, especially to worsening security, which must be seen as an Achilles' heel in the case of tourism in Kenya. In recent years, 5 major political events damaged Kenya's ambitions to become a tourist destination of choice. The first two of these incidences included the bomb attacks on the US embassy in Nairobi in 1998, as well as a simultaneous bombing of an Israeli-owned hotel and a ground-to-air missile attack on an Israeli aircraft in Mombasa in 2002 (Gikunda, n.d.). This was followed more recently by post-election violence in 2007/2008 (Human Rights Watch, 2008), which in turn triggered travel warnings for the country worldwide. Following the simultaneous onset of a worldwide financial crisis, declining international visitor numbers, especially from Europe, stifled growth and made a recovery even more difficult for the sector, regardless of all efforts to turn the wheel around (World Bank, 2010, pp. 14-15). Only in 2013, Kenya was hit by an attack by the Somali terrorist group Al Shabaab on the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi, which left 68 dead, 19 of them foreigners (Kajilwa, 2016). Even during the two years preceding the event, though, sporadic small-scale attacks on tourists by the same group already heightened the caution of travelers and caused many to look for alternative destinations.

Numeric data shows that especially the post-election violence and the Al Shabaab terrorism hit the coastal tourism sector hard. In the wake of the unrests in 2008, many tour operators refrained from offering travel to the region altogether, while others had to drastically reduce prices to stay competitive vis-à-vis destinations that were considered safer at the time (2010, p. 53). Prior to the event, hotels at the Coast still operated close to full capacity and at more than 85 percent occupation even during low

season (with 65 percent occupation for 7 months required to break even) (World Bank, 2010, p. 121). Many businesses had to take out loans in order to shoulder past collapses in visitor numbers, and not

all managed to pay them back as profits plummeted as a result of the small margins made of low priced all-inclusive-packages (World Bank, 2010, pp. 83-84).



### 3.3. Impact on Local Business

Another major criticism of the reference paper was that the local economy along the Coast of Kenya did not sufficiently profit from the tourism business, as the biggest part of the tourists' holiday expenses were already mopped up through all-inclusive packages in their countries of origin (Jones, 2006, pp. 13-14). The statement once again cannot be said to be either completely right or wrong; it rather constitutes a generalization of a relevant issue.

The World Bank, for instance, generally supported this sentiment and warned as early as 2010 that "[...] value chain analysis suggests that stakeholders in the Coastal tourism segment need to reconsider the way mass-market, mass-tourism products are packaged and sold so as to improve the potential for local wealth retention" (2010, p. 23).

More specifically, however, World Bank data also shows in this context that all-inclusive tourists, whose main purpose of travel was beach tourism, normally spend considerably more on the local

economy than Safari and Wildlife tourists. Indeed their out-of-pocket expenditures on average accounted for the second biggest position within their budget and on average even exceeded the daily amount spent on accommodation (World Bank, 2010, p. 88).

In return it was conceded that there were slight exceptions to this rule, such as when hotels advertised themselves as all-inclusive, only to rake in additional money through hidden and additional costs, for instance, for amenities such as air conditioning or second servings at the buffet (World Bank, 2010, p. 116). Hotels which offered a true full-board, on the other hand, attempted to encourage tourists to spend time outside the hotels, because this could drive down their operating costs (World Bank, 2010, p. 114).

An issue that perhaps deserves more attention is the question of who retains the most value from

the tourists' stay. In the example of full-board and all-inclusive beach packages, approximately 50 to 60 percent of tourist expenses could be retained in Kenya, with the rest going directly to offshore accounts, for instance for the payment of travel fares and foreign travel agents. The data thus does not suggest that Kenya and the Coastal region in particular just do not profit from the tourists' presence in the country.

One true danger for local wealth retention, however, consists in vertical integration of the value chain. This simply means that "one operating company owns and operates everything from the foreign tour agency, airline, and local hotel in Kenya, as well as a local tour operation, restaurants, souvenir shops, and destination activities." In such cases up to 80 percent of the value chain volume can be lost in so-called "export leakage" (World Bank, 2010, p. 114). "Import leakage" on the other hand occurs when goods that are sold in tourism are imported from abroad to meet tourists' quality standards and to make them feel more at home. Some evidence suggests that this occurs in the context of tourism in Kilifi County as well (World Bank, 2010, p. 57), however, there appear to be no statistics with regards to the integration of local businesses in the tourism sector to date. Thus, in the absence of numerical data, any statement with regard to the impact on the local economy would in the end amount to pure speculation.

### 3.4. Intersectionality of Tourism Sector and SECTT

High volatility and small margins indeed create a climate in which sustainable economic growth through tourism alone is difficult to achieve. However, as was outlined above, there are also many structural problems that prevent the tourism sector from having a more positive impact on the local economy. Thus, even given that the tourism sector is aware of its social obligations and therefore establishes local value chains and opportunities for employment, the impact of that alone is unlikely to ever wipe out the effects of underlying causes of

poverty. Considering that, it appears unfair to view the sector as a culprit of impoverishment in the context of the Coastal economies.

This is not to say though that the existence of the tourism sector has not negatively impacted the local communities. In the end, in developing countries, tourism may bring together people who possess vastly different amounts of buying power. As a consequence, when official employment options are limited, some locals may be keen to look for alternative ways to mitigate already existing poverty through direct business with the wealthier tourists. This puts the travelers in a position in which they can dictate not only the types of services offered, but also who should provide them.

As a result, persons of any age, female and male, who sexually appeal to a tourist can then become cheap objects of their desire for sex, and those who do not, instead become solicitors of sexual services. In such a buyer's market, children are an easy target for those looking to exploit them sexually. Moral aversions to such practices are soothed through monetary incentives, but are often not strong to begin with in areas where prostitution, transactional sex and child sexual abuse are already commonly-place for members of the local population.

In such scenarios, the tourism sector could play a valuable role by preventing tourists from using hotels and other accommodations as a safe haven for the sexual exploitation of children. Exactly this, however, frequently has not happened in the past and for a long time, hotels were indeed complicit in SECTT by looking the other way. The evidence collected through interviews with hospitality sector informants and civil society organizations strongly suggests that this has changed since the publication of the reference report. Regardless, the issue remains acute as SECTT has moved underground and children continue to be sexually abused on unregulated private premises.

Maybe the biggest shortcoming of the tourism sector

in Kenya these days instead needs to be seen in not attracting the right sort of tourists. Much of the problem could probably be avoided by attracting, for instance, more family and honeymoon vacationers as well as eco- and sustainable tourism. However, much of the tourism offer along the Coast of Kenya is still geared at visitors that travel alone or in same-sex groups and include, for instance, sports fishing vacations as well as leisure and business travel cross-sell-combinations (World Bank, 2010).



## 4. Methodology and Methods

The secondary data collection phase of the research started in mid-June 2016 and concluded at the end of the third calendar week in August and after slightly more than two months. Furthermore, starting August, the team simultaneously endeavored the

creation of questionnaires for the sample groups, which were in large part inspired by the findings in the reference paper. Two weeks ahead of the primary data collection phase in the fourth week of August, the research plan was drawn up and was approved only a week later.

### 4.1. Selection of Research Sites



The research sites selected for the paper were almost the same as in the reference study. Their relevance lies in their status as hubs for sex tourism and SECTT (Mtwapa, Kilifi and Malindi), on the one hand, and as location of mobilization of child prostitutes (Tudor, Bombolulu), on the other hand. However, the decision was made to exclude the South Coast area around Diani and Kwale from the project. This was due to two main reasons: Firstly, the project's budget would have incurred much greater expenditures for accommodation and travel. Secondly, the networked partner organizations all had their offices in the area north of Mombasa, which meant there was little support to rely on in terms of mobilization of informants.

## 4.2. Sampling

The mobilization of participants was achieved through a snowballing system involving two partner organizations in the Coastal Region. As far as the researchers' observation goes, child prostitutes do not operate out in the open anymore and direct engagement therefore appears impossible. Furthermore, adult prostitutes who could have given observational information were both anticipated and experienced to be either unwilling to engage in interviews at all or (understandably) only willing to take part in the research in exchange for substantial monetary compensation. Since the project's budget did not allow for the latter, the mobilization through the partner organizations was deemed the only option to find research participants. Community member interviews, on the other hand, were initially intended to be carried out at random, however, participants who could express themselves fluently in English were not easily found and Kiswahili speakers from the partner organizations were not always readily available to attend.

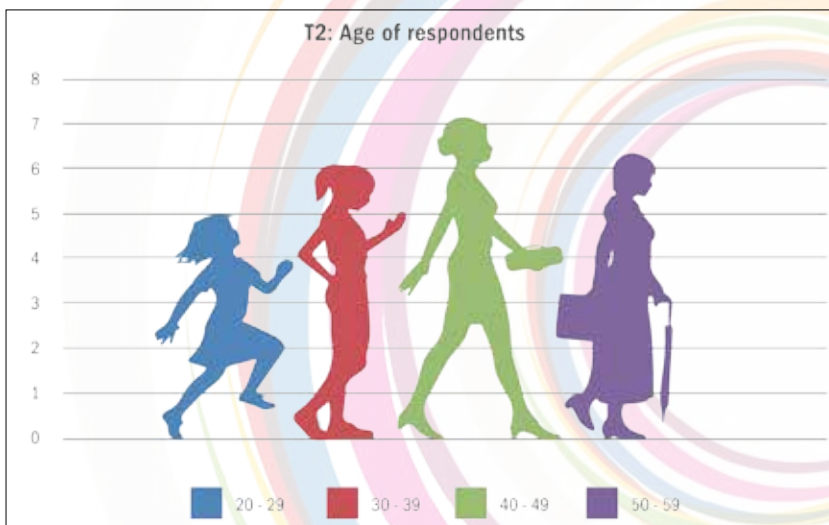
## 4.3. General Characteristics of Community Respondents Sample

The twenty community member respondents that took part in this research project originate from two select places in the Malindi region: Gongoni and Kisumu Ndogo. They were recruited by a faith based organization that assisted the research team in mobilization. Therefore, the participants in

the sample may not necessarily be representative of the population in the entire geographical area covered in this paper, which is the Coastal Region between Malindi and Mtwapa. While the researchers concede a certain homogeneity among the members of the groups in terms of their place of origin, efforts were made to create a diverse group in terms of age, gender, occupation and family status. The interviews were carried out in the native language of the participants (normally Kiswahili). They followed a structured interview guideline, but interviewees were (with one exception, see section 4.2.2.) not prompted with options to reply to but were supposed to answer freely, so as to prevent the team from collecting predetermined results. Outlined below is some additional information on the characteristics of the participants.

## 4.4. Age and Gender of Community Respondents

As the respondents were preselected through the Catholic Diocese in Malindi, gender parity amongst the research participants could be easily achieved, so that 10 male and 10 female respondents formed part of this research group. With regards to the age range of the participants, there were slight discrepancies in relation to the number of representatives of each age bracket. Overall, however, opinions of all age groups except for people over sixty years could be covered.

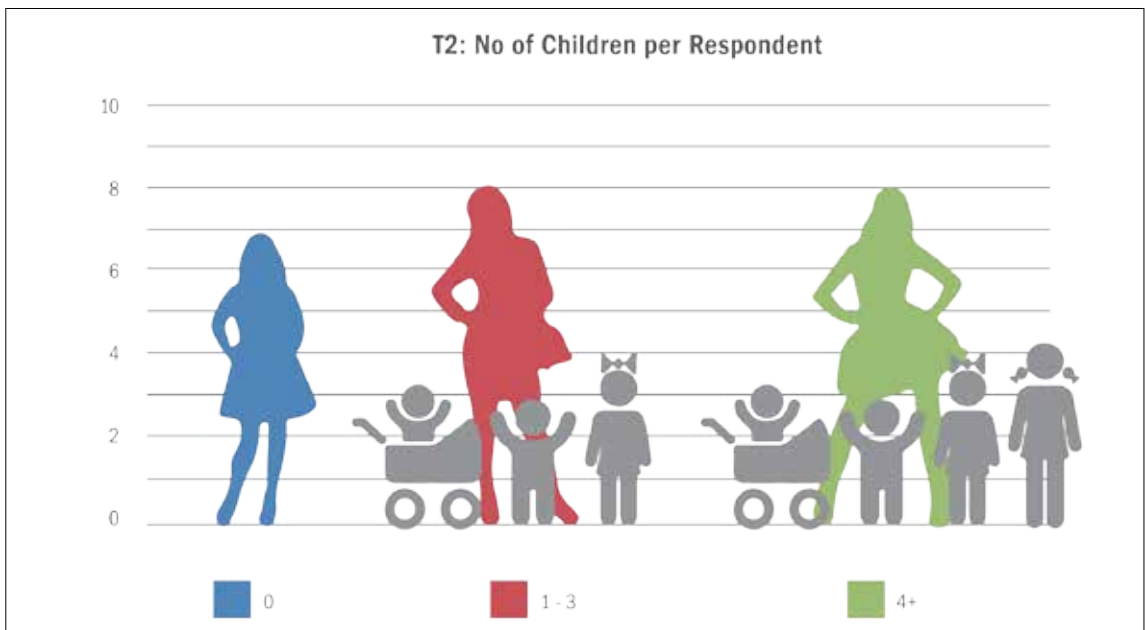


#### 4.5. Family Background of Community Respondents

In order to explore whether attitudes towards SECTT changed according to family status, the interviewees were furthermore asked about the number of children they had and whether they were bringing up these children by themselves or with a partner or spouse. The aim was to determine whether a higher number of children, and therefore, potentially greater economic pressure would lead to more favorable attitudes towards SECTT, and whether rearing children as a single parent would further amplify such an effect. Unfortunately, however, these factors could not be further explored, because a partner organization's research assistant in charge of questioning the participants did not succeed in retrieving sufficient data for an analysis. The decision was made to still publish the available data in order to add more background to the results.

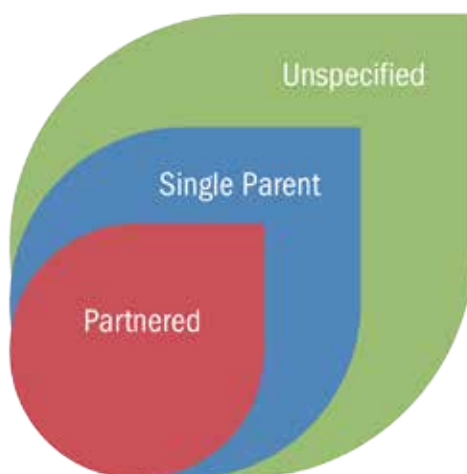
#### 4.6. General Characteristics of Child Prostitute Respondents Sample

As is the case with the sample of community respondents, the 10 current and former child prostitutes interviewed for this research were mobilized by a partner organization; in this case by a non-faith based player (CSO) in Mtwapa. All of the prostitutes interviewed were female (as a matter of circumstance, not choice), and they were mobilized in the areas of Bombolulu and Tudor in the Greater Mombasa region. Note that a number of participants had an internal migration background as specified in section 4.4. Once again, due to the small sample size of only 10 persons, some of the results collected may not necessarily be representative of the entire geographical area covered. However, they should give a fair enough indication of the issues that child prostitutes are affected by as well as provide a fairly average profile of minors affected by SECTT. As was the case with the community member interviewees, a relatively structured interview style was chosen to retrieve information, and questions and answers were given in the participants' mother tongue.





## T2: Participants' family status



### 4.7. Age of Child Prostitute Participants

The majority of interviewees was not under 18 years old at the time of data assessment. Regardless, since work diaries and similar time-sensitive data was, unlike in the reference report, not yielded for this research, overage prostitutes with a past as a child prostitute were welcome to participate in the study. The underage prostitutes were 13, 15, 16 and 17 years old at the time of interviewing, the overage prostitutes each included participants of 18, 19, 20, 23, 25 and 29 years of age.

### 4.8. Limitations of the Study

There were certain limitations with regards to the budget, time frame and the team size that from the start prohibited an effort of the scale seen in the reference paper. The team, consisting of only two researchers associated with the organization HAART Kenya at the time of writing, therefore set out with the still ambitious aim of gathering data from twenty community members, ten current or former child prostitutes, ten hospitality sector informants and ten key informants. Amongst the latter we counted current and former staff of organizations directly dealing with communities and children affected by SECTT. They include child

protection officers, leading NGO staff, a teacher, social workers, nuns and a lawyer. The numerical targets were largely met for each category, however, with a few exceptions, the hospitality sector showed widely hesitant to cooperate with the research team. While hotels and guest houses were reluctant, but still somewhat approachable interview partners, owners and managers of villas and private premises were either untraceable or may have falsely presented themselves as “staff not in charge”. In Malindi, a further difficulty consists in the fact that a number of foreign business owners in the hospitality sector, who appear to be mostly Italian, are unable to communicate in either English or Swahili. Similar problems were already reported by the research team around the UNICEF study (Jones, 2006, p. 54). A clear weak point of the study must be seen in the lack of representation of male victims of SECTT. Where sex specific knowledge on boys emerged from interviews with organizations it was included in this report, however, the amount of data gathered was not sufficient to warrant a dedicated section on the topic.

#### 4.9. Research Ethics

None of the interviewees that took part in this research was paid for his or her participation. However, in order to account for travelling expenses, they were compensated in the amount of a fixed fee which was previously determined to be in line with the costs typically incurred for public transport in the area. All participants took part on a strictly voluntary basis and were informed of their right to decline a response at any point without having to provide a reason as to why. None of the questions which were geared towards exploring the social background of child prostitutes required the participants to revisit sexual episodes of their work. Furthermore, they were generally phrased with the intention of creating as little emotional discomfort as possible. All current and former child prostitutes were interviewed in the presence of a female interviewer only. The research team acknowledge that prostitutes – particularly underage prostitutes – are an extremely vulnerable group in- and outside the performance of their work and should be treated accordingly. That being said, the researchers believe that exploring the life reality of vulnerable groups is a key condition for improving their lives, as well as of those who are at risk of following in their footsteps. The information in this report, and even in the raw data compiled, is anonymized to the furthest degree possible. Should any of the participants, against all odds, find offense with any of the accounts of his or her person in this report, the researchers extend their pardon and stand ready for correction via the contact information provided.

#### 4.10. Research Validation

The research validation, carried out in February 2017 in Malindi and Mombasa, aimed at testing the results collected during the primary data collection phase 5 months prior. It was carried out with the respondents listed above, but also hosted a number of additional guests, who learned of the event through one of the organizations which participated in the study, and who mostly presented professionals in the field. During the half-day

sessions, the participants first received a lecture on human trafficking, after which the findings of the presentation were shown to them. In the end, they were given the opportunity to discuss the main findings of the study within a group setting, which served to further refine some of the aspects that had previously remained unclear, as well as adding some new insights to the mix.

## 5. Theoretical Framework

Since the main research question concerns itself with the attitude of communities along the Coast of Kenya towards SECTT, this section shall look at two relevant theories in relation to the subject.

### 5.1. Delinquency Theory – Techniques of Neutralization

Delinquency theory is usually used to explain the behavior of perpetrators in committing crime. In the instance of the original paper, the theory attempted to explain how juvenile delinquents rationalized their own criminal conduct as righteous; a behavior that is referred to as neutralization. The theory was previously recognized as a suitable tool for analyzing the behavior of offenders in SECTT in a report by

the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) (Aronowitz, Theuermann, & Tyurykanova, 2010, p. 31). It was developed by Gresham Sykes and David Matza, and has its roots in the school of Sociology (1957). It appears, however, that Neutralization Theory is not only well suited for explaining the behavior of the main perpetrators, but with some adaptation can also aid in explaining a lack of interference by confidants and bystanders in SECTT. Based on the base model, there are a total of 5 neutralization techniques that may be used to explain the behavior of community members who witness the occurrence of SECTT and choose not to step in. Mind that this conceptualization of Neutralization Theory in the context of bystanders is a personal adaptation and is therefore untested.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Denial of Responsibility</b></li> </ul>	<p>Denial of responsibility has multiple dimensions by which a witness may rationalize not to step in to prevent a crime.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The occurrence of the crime lies outside the scope of control. In effect this means that the bystander does not interfere because he or she feels that his or her noncontributing to the occurrence of the situation does not warrant a personal interference.</li> <li>2. The person may even see him- or herself as a victim of the situation due to not having chosen to become a witness of the situation.</li> <li>3. Inaction that leads to harm is in most social contexts not equally sanctioned as involvement. A witness may use this to guard against later judgments by others who might see him or her as responsible, too.</li> </ol>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Denial of injury</b></li> </ul>	<p>A witness of SECTT may deny that a minor has even incurred a (noteworthy) injury from his or her lack of interference.</p> <p>Even though the witness is aware of the illegality of the practice he or she is observing, intervention is seen as not absolutely necessary, because there are supposed mitigating factors: common arguments include, “there are worse crimes”, the child is “almost an adult” or “at least he or she will be paid handsomely.”</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Denial of the victim</b></li> </ul>	<p>In this case the bystander may lower the status of the victim to rid him- or herself of responsibility for what happened. This especially occurs when the person knows that his or her behavior is actually wrong and personal guilt needs to be mitigated to save face.</p> <p>For example, he or she may argue that the child brought the situation onto him- or herself by “offering oneself to the tourist”, by “dressing provocatively” or by getting him- or herself in a vulnerable position (e.g. through intoxication).</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Condemnation of the condemners</b></li> </ul>	<p>This too, serves to talk down the personal responsibility of the onlooker. He or she will for instance argue that guardians and family failed to bring up the child with values or point to the fact that there were others who did not interfere either. The witnesses’ conduct consists in suggesting to him or herself that anybody who criticizes his or her behavior is a hypocrite because they could have risen up to the occasion as well.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Appeal to higher authorities</b></li> </ul>	<p>In this case, the witness may use his or her relationship with and loyalty to other persons and groups as a reason not to act. For example he or she may feel it was not possible to interfere because dragging the issue out in the open would “bring shame” to the child, the parents or the community as a whole.</p>

## 5.2. Diffusion of Responsibility Theory – Bystander Apathy

Another theory that may in part explain why people do not interfere in the context of SECTT is Diffusion of Responsibility Theory. The possible applications, however, appear to have their limit in the sense that, for the most part, Diffusion of Responsibility Theory only seems to apply in cases in which SECTT occurs relatively out in the open and for many people to see. The theory differs from Neutralization Theory in that a bystander refrains from acting not out of a perception of hypocrisy of other witnesses, but mainly because of a diffusion of responsibility among all onlookers. This means that in a situation where there are a number of witnesses, bystanders are aware of the presence of other onlookers, but are unclear about who of them should be calling for help and who may have already taken action. Since all of them are able and responsible for helping, not only is the responsibility diffused amongst them, but also the potential blame for not helping. The authors describe the dilemma in the following manner:

*Finally, if others are known to be present, but their behavior cannot be closely observed, any one bystander can assume that one of the other observers is already taking action to end the emergency. Therefore, his own intervention would be only redundant—perhaps harmfully or confusingly so. Thus, given the presence of other onlookers whose behavior cannot be observed, any given bystander can rationalize his own inaction by convincing himself that “somebody else must be doing something.” (Darley & Latane, 1968)*

The authors concluded that in situations where a large group of people remains inactive in the face of emergency, it was less the result of individual personality traits, but the issue was rather rooted in the group size, in which each individual was both able and responsible of helping (Darley & Latane, 1968). Drawing on the results of a related study, the authors held that there were both rational and irrational fears that held back individuals and which could override all sense of social responsibility. Amongst them they counted “fears of physical

harm, public embarrassment, involvement with police procedures, lost work days and jobs, and other unknown dangers” (Darley & Latane, 1968; Milgram & Hollander, 1964, pp. 602-604).



## 6. Findings

### 6.1. Awareness of SECTT and other forms of Exploitation

Awareness of SECTT among community members was almost universal with 19 out of 20 participants stating that they had either encountered the practice in their private lives or had at least second hand knowledge of it. Some participants, in addition, mentioned the occurrence of different forms of labor exploitation such as begging and employment of children as domestic workers around the beach areas. All but one participant reported that they had experienced children suddenly possessing things such as expensive mobile phones and clothes, when they had not been able to afford such things before. Moreover, 3 out of 19 participants believed that these items were given by friends and relatives or earned through child labor, but a majority of 16 thought that the children actually received the gifts from foreigners in order to groom them for sexual exploitation.

In order to explore how aware people were of children engaging in prostitution, outside the sample of community members that we had interviewed, child prostitutes were asked if they had told anybody of the work they were performing and whether they believed that somebody had taken notice of changes in their earning capacity. They were furthermore requested to inform the interviewer about any people they supported financially, and whether these persons had ever addressed them about the way they could afford to be of help.

With regards to the first question, none of the current or former child prostitutes reported having confided information about their job to a person who at the same time was not a recruiter or profiteer of their business. The definition of recruiter in this case involves both persons who introduce the child for personal monetary or other gain, as well as persons who introduce the child, for instance, because they work in the business themselves and thereby serve as a sort of role model even if they do not profit from their actions in the process.

None of the participants believed that somebody had taken notice of an increase in their earning capacity, even though 5 of the 10 interviewees who responded to this question clearly indicated that their financial situation had improved. One of these girls even claimed that her income had increased to a point where she was able to support her parents in buying what she perceived to be high standard real estate. A total of 3 interviewees, however, also indicated that their income fluctuated strongly depending on the number of clients that were around, with one of them clearly pinpointing it to an increase or decrease of foreign tourists in the area. A total of 4 of the participants working in prostitution indicated that they voluntarily supported family with their income. Another girl issued that she was forced to support her mother in paying for her school fees. Otherwise, 3 of the 4 interviewees who willingly supported family reported that the benefactors of their business showed no vested interest in the source of their income. In the other case, the family believed their daughter to be working as a domestic worker. Different explanations were offered as to why family did not further inquire about the sources of the girls' income. One girl explained that her family was content with the explanation of her having a well-paying job. Another suggested that the poor economic status of her family did not put them in a position to ask about how she raised that money, thereby practically waiving their moral obligation to do so. In her own words: "They don't ask because of the family is poor." The third girl did not offer a detailed explanation, simply stating that her parents

### 6.2. Attitudes with Regards to the Practice of SECTT

#### 6.2.1. Amongst the community members interviewed

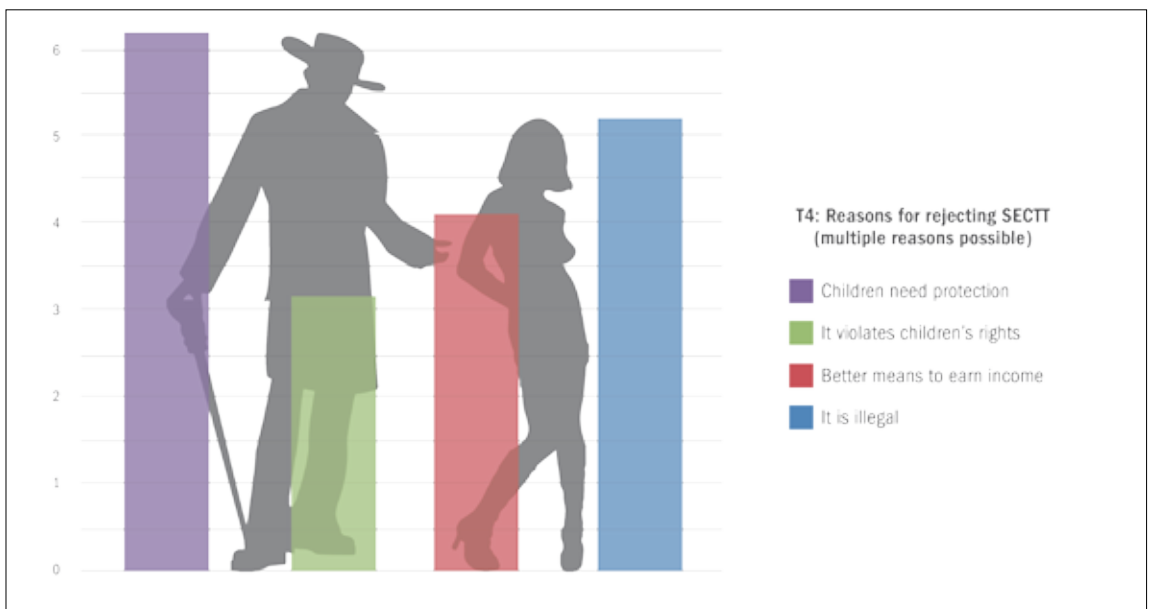
The participants' attitudes towards SECTT were explored along 3 different parameters: Firstly, they were asked whether they would put a stop to the practice given that they had learned that their own child was involved in sex tourism. Secondly,

disregarding their own children, they were asked whether they thought children in general should be allowed to work in sex tourism, also given the situation that this could help the children's families. Thirdly, they were asked whether they would report any incidents they had learned of or take other steps to intervene.

With regards to the first question, 13 out of 16 participants who positively responded to having children, answered that they would put an end to their child engaging in sex tourism. One participant did not give a straight answer to the question, instead stating that "the elderly [adults, the author] are working, but cannot support the issue". Another respondent did not appear to have understood the question or the concept of SECTT when saying "No. Mine are still in school." Lastly, one woman stated that her children were already overage, the question thereby not applying to her case.

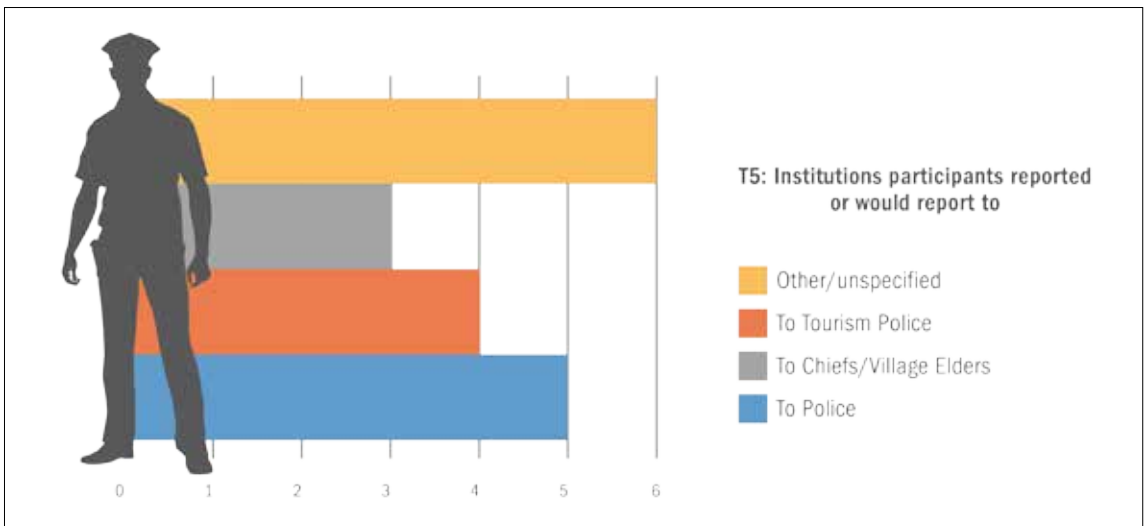
Moving on to the second question, the participants largely agreed that children should not be allowed to engage in prostitution, however, reasons as to why somewhat differed across the spectrum, and

the rejection was not always equally outright. For instance, one respondent said: "Below 18 years should not work or rather find other means of making money", thereby indicating that he did not so much take offense with child labor and legal, young people engaging in the practice, but just specifically with underage children in prostitution. There were other interviewees who likewise responded in a more weighted fashion. One stated: "It depends with the family. There are those parents that encourage and those that are against it." Another one expressed his believe that the practice was not right, but added "it depends on the situation at hand." Lastly, one responded equally showed dismissive of allowing SECTT to happen, but added that he thought many children made the decision of engaging in sex tourism on their own. Looking at the reasons why interviewees rejected SECTT, 4 and 6 persons respectively mentioned child rights and the need to protect children from sexual advances as their reasons, but 3 indicated that there were merely better options for earning money. Another 5 persons indicated their disapproval was mainly based on the illegality of the practice.



With regards to the third question, only one person showed somewhat reluctant to report any incidents. She showed a resigning attitude about what she perceived to be a losing battle: “Dealing with such cases is difficult because parents encourage it and police are not supportive.” However, most other participants appeared more positive about reporting cases, although the preferred means of reporting potential cases differed across the board. A total of

3 respondents, for instance, mentioned that they would report incidents to a village elder or chief rather than the police. This, too, may be connected to a lack of trust in the capability or willingness of police to help. Another 3 participants furthermore indicated that they had actually already reported cases of sexual exploitation that were perpetrated through tourists in the past.



## 6.2.2. Within the Communities of the Interviewees

The participants were then asked to evaluate how their communities thought about SECTT. They were given 3 possible answers: supportive, indifferent or dismissive of the practice. They could furthermore give a differing answer to specify how they thought about their community's general attitude. Overall, only one participant thought that his community took a supportive stance with regards to allowing SECTT to happen. On the other hand, 3 participants thought that their community was largely indifferent to the occurrence of the practice, while an overwhelming majority of 12 participants experienced their community's attitude as dismissive towards SECTT. However, even amongst those who believed that their community rejected SECTT, 3 respondents qualified their statement by either hinting that some

parts of society may still support those parents who saw SECTT as a last resort against poverty within their family or by acknowledging that certain parents and family may simply disregard public opinion on the matter. An interesting discrepancy, in this context, emerged between the accounts of two community members from Kisumu Ndogo. Even though the only opinion with regards to a supportive attitude came from a man from this area, a woman from the same community explained that she believed SECTT to be non-existent within Kisumu Ndogo due to the strictly dismissive attitude of the chief in charge.

This contrast in opinion was addressed again during the validation of results. A staff member of the Catholic Diocese in Malindi who had previously not participated in the study, but lived in Kisumu Ndogo, gave her impression that rejection of SECTT

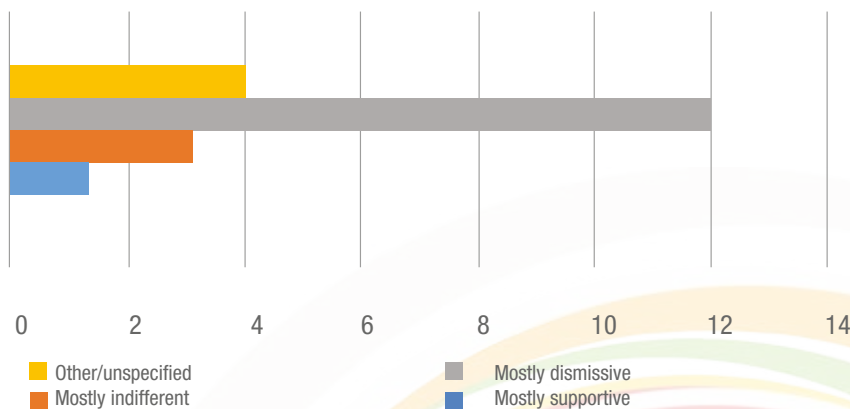


within her and other communities was indeed often just the result of social elites protesting such practices. In the process she agreed that parts of the community in Kisumu Ndogo could be characterized as supportive of SECTT, regardless of calls to end the phenomenon.

Presented with the results of the study, the majority of the community member participants of the study initially maintained that their communities were rather dismissive of the practice as displayed above.

Upon the intervention of one of the Catholic Diocese staff members who had previously participated in the study, however, opinions started to shift towards more persons agreeing that communities' attitudes could be seen as supportive or indifferent. In the end, there was agreement that support for the practice mostly depended on the question of how many individuals within a given community could personally profit from SECTT or not.

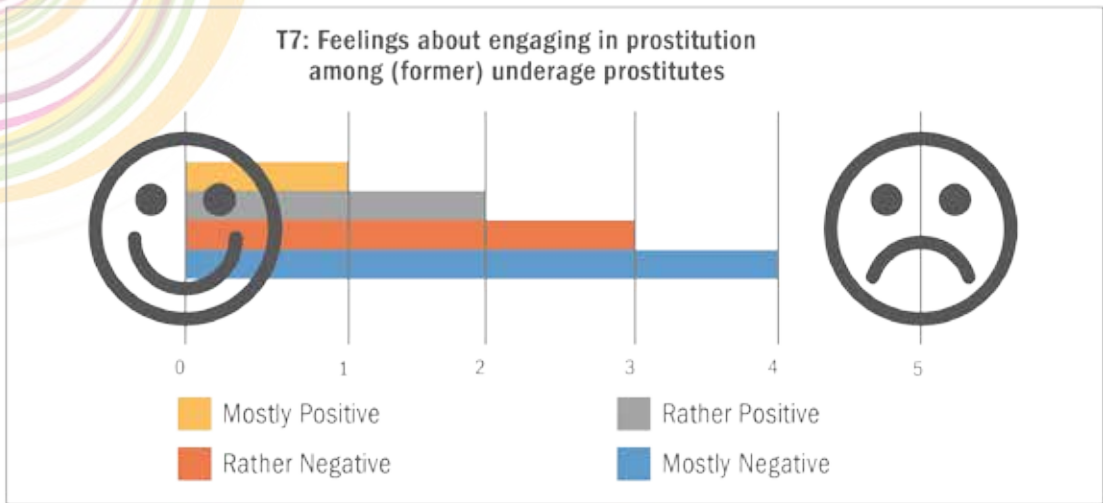
**T6: Community attitude towards SECTT as perceived by participants**



### 6.2.3. Amongst the Child Prostitutes

Current and former child prostitutes were asked about their feelings about their job and if they would opt for a different life given that there were other circumstances. They were furthermore asked whether they took their decision freely and on their own, or if other persons had a stake in their decision to engage in prostitution. At a ratio of 7 to 3, most interviewees felt very or somewhat negative about the work they were performing. Among those feeling rather negative about it, arguments for staying involved a good income on one occasion and simply having coped with the situation on 2 occasions. Where feelings about the job were rather positive, interviewees once again mentioned good and easy pay as their arguments. One respondent also felt it was an improvement over her situation in a former job. Somewhat

surprisingly, all 3 of those respondents who did not feel negative about their job stated that they would likely not take up another occupation even given that the circumstances in their lives were different. As a reason 2 of them mentioned the financial security the job had brought them, with one of them pointing to having to support her family and child. Lastly, exactly half of the participants felt that they had made the decision to enter prostitution entirely on their own.



#### 6.2.4. From an Institutional Point of View

The researchers asked organizations in various areas along the Coast to present their views on the practice of SECTT within the Coastal region.

##### *Kilifi*

World Vision accounted for a positive change in attitude of the communities at the Coast with regards to SECTT in recent years. Two factors were seen as the drivers of a newfound attitude to reject the exploitation of children: Firstly, it was established that organizations in the area that were working on a grassroots level had counteracted the practice of SECTT through awareness campaigns about the negative effects of prostitution on minors and their communities. While the existence of SECTT was already well-known at this point, the effects it had on the children were often not. The start of the information campaign coincided with the time of publication of UNICEF's 2006 report on SECTT at the Coast. Secondly, World Vision argued that the increasing popularity of social media and app-driven mobile phones (smartphones) in the past years has marked an increase in awareness creation on the community level by giving people a platform to speak out about abuse. At the same time, social media was also seen by the organization as a possible cause of the problem, as it was believed to enable perpetrators to strike arrangements related to the exploitation of children in secret. An additional problem that enabled the

longevity of SECTT was seen in an increasingly nuclear societal setup of the towns. According to the interviewee, in effect this meant that people were less likely to speak out about child abuse because the fate of another person's child was no longer seen as one's own concern or because those who did speak out were actually reprimanded for not minding their own business. Kesho, a legal entity in Kilifi working with child prostitutes and other young victims of sexual abuse seconded the notion of the child traditionally holding a more important role in a community context and took up a more critical stance with regards to the Coastal communities' role in SECTT overall.

According to the informant, the organization observed that in relation to SECTT, locals and other nationals have since the start of 2015 increasingly filled the void left by the decrease in foreign visitor numbers. Thus, while sexual exploitation through foreign tourists was maybe on the decline, there was increased involvement in commercial sexual abuse by community members and national tourists.

*Kesho's account of growing numbers of locals and national tourists getting involved in commercial sexual abuse appears highly relevant in the context of a finding in the reference paper, which yielded that already in 2006 38 percent of perpetrators in SECTT were of Kenyan origin (Jones, 2006, p. 45)*

The informant furthermore determined that while the community should normally serve as a safety net for children who find themselves in abusive situations, community members usually only spoke up when things had already spiraled out of control, for instance, when a child had gotten assaulted by a customer or when abortions had occurred as a result of unprotected sex with clients.

### *Mtwapa*

The informant from Trace Kenya issued that regardless of tourists' involvement in prostitution of minors there was a culture of silencing and re-victimization of sexually abused girls by means of labeling them instigators. Perpetrators were not trialed because it was said to bring on collective shame and loss of face to the community at large. Communities were also said to exhibit certain double standards, such as condemning prostitution but condoning transactional sex at the same time. He seconded the notion of the Kilifi informants, who held the opinion that communities often discouraged or shamed individuals who spoke out about the commercial sexual exploitation of children who were not their own, on the basis that they were interfering with other peoples' lives. Furthermore, he mentioned that in the past, when police raided private property after having a lead, local communities had heavily opposed them for their actions. Pahali pa Usalama in Mombasa, on the other hand, did not speak of communities discouraging people to speak out, but like World Vision, saw the problem in a lack of awareness and once again in a lack of sense of responsibility for other community members' children.

### *Malindi*

One former and two current staff of the Catholic Diocese in Malindi had differing opinions regarding the role of the communities in SECTT. One current staff held that little had changed in recent years and the attitude with regards to the practice was described as largely indifferent by him:

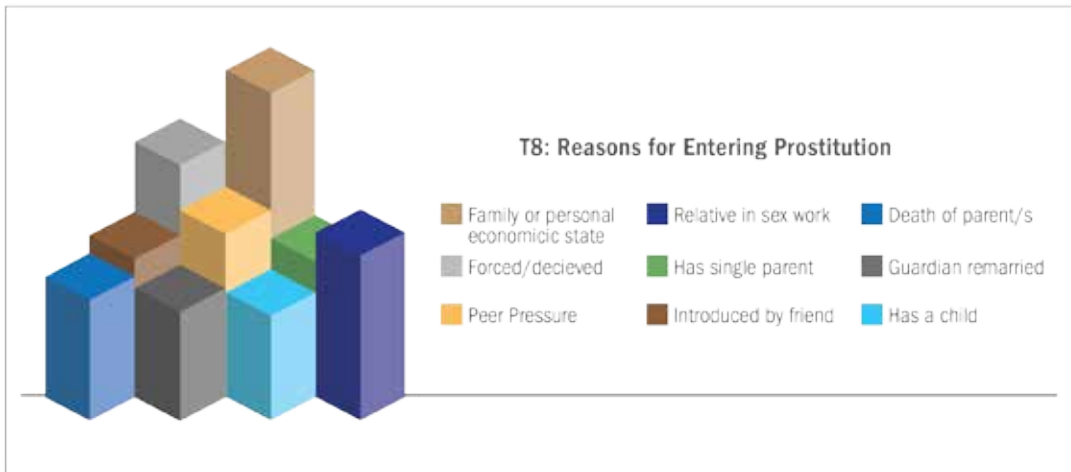
*To interfere with Child Sex Tourism they can speak*

*out. Because people in the community know that this is happening. Sometimes the tourist will not hide, because they go with children around the streets, they go to the supermarket with the children. The community sees that but no one can see what is wrong.*

The other current and one former staff, however, interfered as they felt that much progress had been made: They recounted how until approximately 2010, child prostitutes were still freely walking around in the presence of tourist clients without the interference of bystanders and told about children missing classes because their 'sponsor' was in town. This was now, however, said to be a thing of the past. They also mentioned that efforts to engage their communities with their own child protection policy had let to a strong impact in the sense that individual members of society were now more educated more schooled about child rights and about their responsibilities to protect not only their children, but also those of others. Alternative Desk Initiative (ADI), a young social work organization, however, seconded the notion of communities deploying a 'culture of silence' around the topic of child abuse and reported that entities such as theirs had often been threatened over their work in the past. Chiefs and village elders, who were frequently engaged in place of police when child abuse happened, organized for extrajudicial settlements that they themselves financially profited from instead of seeking imprisonment for perpetrators. Muslim boys and girls were at extraordinary risk according to the organization. In the case of the girls this was attributed to a loss of worth when a girl had premarital sex and had therefore lost her virginity. Perpetrators would even target Muslim girls to increase their chances of finding a virgin girl. In the boys' case, homosexual sex was not just discouraged but abhorred among Muslim families. Male children affected by SECTT would consequently bring shame onto their families, which would see them being rejected by their communities at large.

### 6.3. Factors Leading to Children's Involvement in Prostitution

#### 6.3.1. According to Current and Former Child Prostitutes



The reasons that were named for being drawn into prostitution were diverse among the interviewees. An overarching factor that was repeatedly named was a personal or domestic bad economic situation. However, economic considerations did not mark the sole factor for an involvement in prostitution. Trafficking as part of the initiation process was existent in at least 3 cases, and in 2 of these, family members were already actively engaging in prostitution, forcing or at least instigating the child to perform sexual services. In the third case, a family member deceived the child by suggesting that the victim would receive education at her destination. On 2 occasions, the trafficker accompanied the minor to her destination, while in one case, the victim was sexually exploited in her place of origin. An involvement of the wider social circle of the child is also quite predominant. Children were encouraged, compelled or even coerced by other

child prostitutes to start working in prostitution. Overall, 2 respondents respectively reported having been convinced to engage in prostitution by a friend or having been forced into it by peer pressure. The family situation of the child can be said to have an influence as well. Having no, or just a single parent, respectively must count as a risk factor for children. For one, it normally constitutes a driver for a bad or worsening financial situation. On the other hand, there is certainly also an emotional component to the decision to start engaging in prostitution, when for instance, as in one case, the guardian of the child finds a new partner that the child rejects or is rejected by, thereby driving the child's decision to move out of the house. In addition, in many cases the interviewees reported acting out of a sense of obligation of having to support siblings or parents.

### 6.3.2. According to Local Institutions

Among the reasons for children to be drawn into prostitution, World Vision named two factors in relation to the involvement of the family: Coercion and neglect. While it was not uncommon for families to actively drive their children into prostitution, it was established that neglect had an equally negative impact on them. In the perception of the interviewee, especially children of single parents were at risk of being victims of sexual exploitation, because their guardian would spend most of the day generating income, thereby leaving the children to themselves for prolonged periods of time. An informant of the Catholic Diocese confirmed this impression. The chances of a child ending up in prostitution would further increase if the single mothers were engaged in prostitution themselves, World Vision added. Trace Kenya elaborated on this point by saying that while it was positive that hotels barred tourists from bringing underage prostitutes to their premises, they would now often also prohibit overage prostitutes from performing their business there. This led to the situation that prostitutes took clients back to their homes, where their children and family witnessed the mothers engaging in sex with the men, thereby normalizing the practice for minors and opening them up to sexual abuse. Kesho added that early pregnancy was another risk factor in children becoming involved in SECTT. As girls were too young to form a strong emotional bond with their offspring, they would have an emotionally detached attitude from their children, which would later increase the chances of exploitation happening.

The organizations interviewed furthermore confirmed the results from the child prostitute findings, which suggest a participation of children in prostitution out of a sense of obligation. This sense of obligation may also be the result of subjection to authoritarian family hierarchies within certain communities. As was issued by the Catholic Diocese in Malindi:

*We also need to train them [the children] to report when their rights are being betrayed. We need to empower them so they can say no to whatever they're not comfortable with. Because the culture in this area, a child cannot say no to a parent. And a child cannot say no to an elder sister.*

Kesho seconded this notion and warned that children were subjected to pressures to generate income for the family at an early age. In order to enforce this, boys and girls were denied food and a place to sleep by their parents. Girls were furthermore denied sanitary products in order to force them to work. Another tactic, according to Trace Kenya, consisted in leaving the children to themselves for prolonged periods of time without an adequate amount of money, thereby forcing the older children of the family to seek for alternative sources of income until the return of the parents from, for instance, a lengthy funeral ceremony. An informant of the Catholic Diocese added that a high count of child laborers in the communities, regardless of the profession they carried out, led parents to demand the same from their children, who would in turn feel obligated to take up any job that came their way.

Kesho clarified that not all ways directly led children to become prostitutes, but that that they often transitioned into the business from other exploitative jobs. Especially domestic workers were seen as being at risk of ending up in underage prostitution. As these girls were mistreated by their employers, they would turn to other women they got to know through their jobs and be introduced to prostitution through them. ADI and the Catholic Diocese expanded on this aspect by mentioning that boys in Malindi were drawn into prostitution in the same manner, as they were recruited by foreigners as house helps and then being groomed into prostitution, also with the intend of later using them to recruit more boys.

#### 6.4. Place of Origin and Prevalence of a Migration Background Amongst Child Prostitutes

An internal migration background was existent among 3 of the 10 child prostitutes within the sample group. One child came from Machakos, with the other 2 originating from otherwise unspecified locations in the Western and Central regions of Kenya. The local children originated from Kilifi and Bombolulu on 2 occasions each, and one child respectively came from either Likoni, Diani, or Morotto.

Pahali pa Usalama in Mombasa confirmed the evidence of migration playing a relevant part in SECTT at the Coast. In response to where the children she worked with normally came from, the interviewee responded:

We get from all over as far as farthest West of Kenya. We get from Eastern, we get from neighboring countries with Tanzania, Uganda. So I cannot say specifically is this region, because we get one or two, but we're getting from all over.

She was at the same time the only respondent to talk of international migration, whereas other organizations either had no knowledge of a connection or tended to reject it.

Staff of the Catholic Diocese in Malindi, and of World Vision in Kilifi, were the other organizations to put particular emphasis on the prevalence of "upcountry" (interregional) migration in trafficking for both sexual and non-sexual purposes:

Around the Coastal region there are many children from upcountry who are brought here. When they come here they are promised they'll get good jobs or they'll go to school, but when they get to they are forced to do casual jobs for relatives or other people. Also there are some children who are trafficked from upcountry to come here for sexual reasons.

Kesho did not emphasize as strongly on interregional migration but likewise reported having experience with cases from other parts of the country, especially the Central region. ADI added the Ukambani region and Machakos, as well as the Nyeri region to the sites of extra-regional supply points of SECTT at the Coast.

Trace Kenya and ADI were the organizations to make specific mentioning of places of origin in relation to intraregional migration at the Coast in connection with SECTT. Trace named the above mentioned Bombolulu area as a frequent place of origin of child prostitutes who worked in the hotspots of exploitation, whereas ADI named Margarini, Shela and the wider Lamu region.

Considerable involvement of local children was identified in the context of Mtwapa and Malindi, but not Kilifi. In addition, the Catholic Diocese recognized a link between the place of origin of local child sex prostitutes in Malindi and those of the Boda Boda (motorcycle) drivers and hotel staff: Most of them are from Malindi and also from Mue village and Nantani village. In Malindi there are those two villages where beach boys and people who work in the hotel industry come from.

It has thus been suggested that Boda Boda drivers and hospitality industry staff in Malindi recruit children directly from within the smaller village communities they live in.

#### 6.5. Hotspots of Exploitation

World vision saw Malindi as the most notorious place for the sexual exploitation of children. Especially the Watamu area was named in this context. The Catholic Diocese furthermore added the town's district Casuarini to the list of places where children were frequently sexually exploited by tourists.

A strong prevalence of child sexual exploitation through tourists in Kilifi was doubted by World Vision because of the low number of villas in the area,

which the organization implied would effectively mean a lack of locations to carry out abuse in secret. Kesho, did not explicitly make a verdict with regards to the prevalence of SECTT in Kilifi, but ruled that Malindi and Mtwapa were the predominantly affected areas.

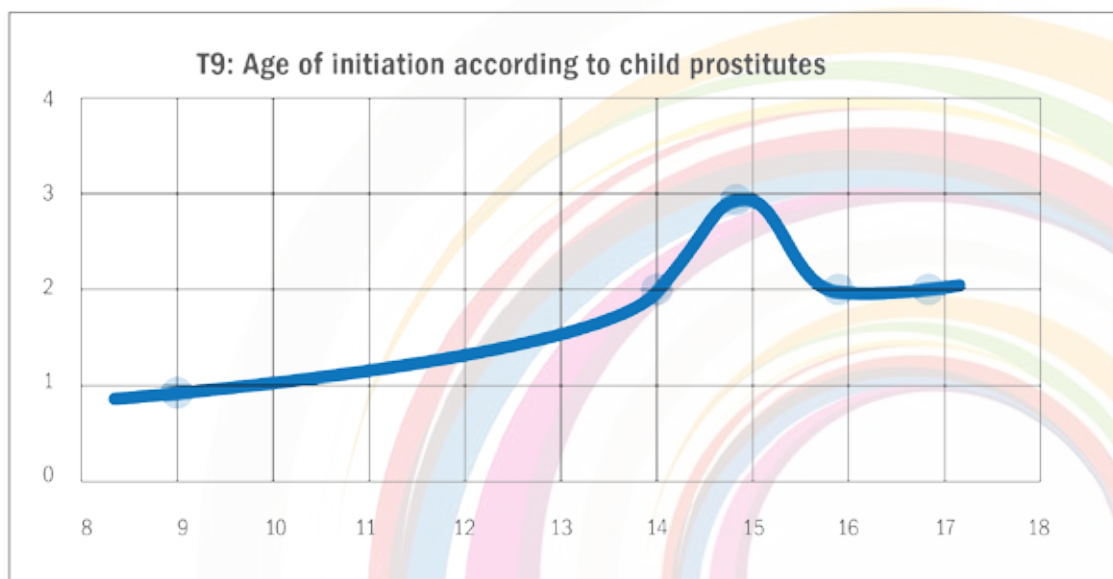
Trace Kenya on the other hand partially refuted World Vision's notion by saying that they had knowledge of young children in Kilifi moving out of their parents' house at an early age, after which they rented single rooms together. In order to account for their costs of living, to contribute to the family income, and to be able to continue their education, they would then resort to survival sex. It was, however, not perfectly clear in retrospective if Trace Kenya was talking of abuse in the context of tourism or not in this case.

Lastly, according to ADI, Lamu should be seen as

a hotspot for the exploitation of specifically male child prostitutes by foreign tourists.

## 6.6. Age of Initiation

The average age of initiation in the sample was 14.8 years. The general age bracket lies between 14 and 17 years, although there was one strong exception of a girl forced into prostitution by her mother at only age 9. This corresponds with the information given by organizations taking part in this research, who generally perceived the victims to be minors of 14, or sometimes 13 to 17 years of age. However, the single and very apparent exception to the general age range found in this project's sample was given further credibility by Trace Kenya and Pahali pa Usalama, who reported that their youngest cases of commercial sexual exploitation involved girls of only 9 and 8 years respectively.



## 6.7. Issues Related to Law Enforcement

There are two dimensions in relation to law enforcement's failure to prevent SECTT at the Coast: one side involves the detection, the other the prosecution of cases.

With regards to the first issue, Pahali pa Usalama, for example, held that children are often not directly paid by the tourist, but rather by one or more middlemen. When payment through the client occurred directly, it was normally just a small amount that would not raise suspicion even in the hands of a child. Middlemen can be persons close to the child, the perpetrator or both. According to the Catholic Diocese, Boda Boda (motorcycle) and Tuk Tuk (tricycle) drivers as well as staff in the hospitality and gastronomy sectors, who work closely with tourists, may – depending on if the child is acting independently or not - directly solicit sex with minors they know personally or have agreements in place with parents, siblings or other family members of a child. At the same time, they were said to exploit those children themselves, either financially, or sexually, as part of transactional sex agreements. Trace Kenya even suggested the involvement of organized crime in SECTT. Affluent perpetrators in particular could count on a long chain of logistical support to avoid detection through law enforcement, starting from the moment of their arrival at the airport.

Another issue around the detection of SECTT concerns the brokerage of villas: Tourists who booked this type of accommodation were said to usually already do so in their country of origin. Thus, all records regarding payment and personal information of travelers that could serve in the identification of perpetrators lies with offshore travel agencies, banks and private entities. The popular online booking platform Air B'n'B hosted over 300 entries for villas and cottages in Malindi at the time of writing.

Informants in the hospitality sector as well as civil society organizations at the Coast furthermore

suggested that villas were indeed frequently rented out as part of private agreements between the owner of the villa and a foreign renter of the same nationality during times when the owner did not want to make personal use of the accommodation. A business license was said to normally be non-existent in such cases, meaning that villa owners were not subject to legal scrutiny in the same manner as is already the case for regular hotel businesses, which have to ascertain the age and identity of all their visitors.

In order not to leave the premises unattended, most home owners then engaged care takers who managed the compounds during their absence. It was suggested that the income of these care takers was normally so low that they would consequently seek additional sources of income, with one of these sources constituting the solicitation of sex with minors to foreign visitors.

As is the case with both private and commercial accommodation, compounds are normally enclosed by high brick or concrete walls within sparsely populated areas. Consequently, there are rarely witnesses when children are taken to their abusers' homes. Even given that this was the case though, it is highly unlikely that any bystanders could observe a conveyance, given that a trafficker would only have to smuggle the child in the space behind the compound's gate in an enclosed, and maybe obscured, vehicle.

With regards to the second issue, it has to be constituted that both law enforcement and judiciary appear either unable or unwilling to go to great lengths to convict perpetrators. Trace Kenya said that police did not investigate a case unless it was brought forward by a close relative of the child, and according to Kesho, World Vision and ADI, suspects have frequently managed to bail their way out of a trial in the past. It was suggested that police moreover often did not know about the correct legal procedures to take a case to court.



A further problem is that, in the past, it has occurred that children refused to make statements when a case actually attracted enough evidence and attention to go to trial. Cases related to SECTT are unlikely to generate durable physical evidence, because struggle on part of the victim and excess violence on part of the perpetrator usually do not occur as is the case when rape occurs.

Kesho noted that while there have been successful convictions for defilement, also of tourists, in the past, it took six months to one and a half years in court to process each of these cases, which would hinder the chances of a successful outcome. Equally long periods were observed by ADI in Malindi. In proceedings in which children made statements about having shown fake identity cards, judges tended to throw out these cases right away. Moreover, Kesho held that there were legal loopholes related to the different statements of facts related to child abuse, which meant that if a judge followed the law by the letter, a case could be dismissed because an underage child was not of precisely the same age that was stated in the legal text.

Lastly, it was criticized that the law had not caught up to the changed situation of SECTT increasingly moving from regular hotels to the villas. Many of the institutions interviewed stated that it was not legally possible for police to search the private premises of villa owners in the same manner as it was the case for the commercial premises of the hotels.

## 6.8. Ways out of Prostitution

Although, as stated above, 3 of the child prostitute participants noted that they would not like to exit prostitution, the majority of 7 interviewees answered in the affirmative. With regards to what they would like to do, 2 girls, who were forced into prostitution by their mother and a close relative respectively, said they would like to fully take up their education again. Another girl mentioned that she would like to take up a form of self-employment outside prostitution. A majority of 4 child prostitutes, however, said that in order for them to consider giving up their job, they would have to find a profession that was even better paying than prostitution. Lastly, 6 of the 10 current and former child prostitutes reported that they had been discouraged by NGOs to continue their work, with one of them adding that a friend had also discouraged her.

## 6.9. Distinct Forms of SECTT

There was still unconfirmed evidence about the existence of forms of SECTT that differ from the average case of tourists paying for sexual intercourse with minors. For instance, according to Mombasa based organization Pahali pa Usalama, children have also been known to be exploited in strip clubs in Mtwapa where they have to dance for both locals and tourists in an at least semi-nude state. It remained unclear if the children were performing additional sexual services in these locations, and three days of covert observation of premises in Mtwapa did not give any additional leads as to which clubs may employ or engage these children.

## 7. Analysis

In order to evaluate what has and has not changed since the publication of the 2006 report by UNICEF this section shall look at some of the points of the reference paper that relate to this project's main findings.

### 7.1. Awareness of SECTT within the Communities

In terms of awareness of SECTT, both studies found comparable numbers of respondents who knew about the practice. Awareness was almost universal with 19 out of 20 respondents (95 percent) issuing that they had knowledge of it. The reference paper accounted for 99.1 percent awareness of SECTT (Jones, 2006, pp. 31, 32). Other than in the UNICEF research, respondents were not asked to specify the source of their knowledge, although a number of them indicated that their encounters with SECTT were first hand. In order to ascertain whether the community informants had indeed observed telling signs, they were asked whether they had noticed children suddenly accumulating goods such as expensive clothing and mobile phones. Again, 19 out of the 20 respondents answered in the affirmative. Interestingly though, regardless of the high number of supposed awareness of SECTT among the respondents, a fraction of 3 of them still did not attribute the sudden increase in buying capacity to commercial sexual abuse. Instead, some thought those items to be gifts from friends or the result of other types of child labor. While it cannot be established if this assumption is correct, it may well constitute a misconception of the interviewees or a white lie of the children to cover up their business. After all, all current and former child prostitutes that were interviewed said that they did not confide their source of income to anybody who was not involved in their business. What is furthermore remarkable, is that while the community members interviewed all had knowledge of children working in prostitution, the child prostitutes themselves claimed that neither profiteers nor bystanders had ever questioned sudden increases of earning

capacity on their or their profiteers' part. It appears to remain a sad reality that even if family members do not force or coerce children into prostitution, they still appear to turn a blind eye to telltale signs such as sudden and rapid wealth accumulation, given that they profit from the situation economically.

### 7.2. Attitudes Regarding SECTT within the Communities

This being a central point of the study, it was interesting to see how much contrasting information was accumulated in the process of collecting data for this research. The UNICEF study, which raised initial curiosity about the issue, held that 76.3 percent of their respondents had a favorable opinion about girls' and 58.2 percent about boys' involvement in prostitution in the context of tourism (Jones, 2006, pp. 34-35). Even though the sample in this follow-up research was much smaller, the results could in no way be replicated. Indeed, none of the participants, who were all interviewed separately, expressed approval of the practice. Overall, 4 participants rejected it explicitly for violating children's rights and 6 for the reasons that children ought to be protected from sexual advances. In addition, 5 cited legal concerns, but did not explicitly mention moral concern and 3 said there were better ways to make an income, although it was sometimes unclear whether they were talking about the parents or the children themselves. The remaining two participants answered in an evasive manner, but did not give any clear indication that they were in support of the practice either.

The views of the key informants, of course, should be factored in here as well. On average, the organizations that were interviewed held the opinion that the communities they worked in acted negligent and indifferent when they encountered SECTT. Such an attitude, however, is not necessarily the result of support for the practice, but it is likely the result of a conduct that has generally been described as people staying out of each other's business. There is likely no single reason why this is the case. For one, some people appear to be disillusioned about

what is being done when they take action. It has been mentioned by several actors in this context that police do not accept charges brought against an accused by anybody but the parents or a close relative of the child. In addition, it may also be the result of normalizing sexual abuse in general, as women and children who were abused by locals were re-victimized instead of being compensated and taken care of. Then there are clearly also those who directly profit from SECTT such as the Boda Boda (motorcycle) riders who are often said to sexually abuse underage girls themselves or who at least gain financially when they are paid for transportation and for soliciting business with clients. These people may exert pressure against those who speak up and silence them to protect their business.

Next, theoretical considerations should be accounted for. Although most respondents thought that their communities rejected SECTT, it was also suggested that they may exhibit an understanding attitude towards cases in which the family was severely afflicted by poverty. This somewhat intersects with the denial of injury and appeal to higher authorities neutralization techniques described in Delinquency Theory. Although the injury on part of the child is maybe not completely denied, it is still minimized for the purpose of justifying the exploitation of the child for “the greater good”, which is the survival of the family. Failure to interfere is then justified by not wanting to see the family, who an observer may have a personal relationship with, suffer financially. This apologetic sentiment was mirrored by the personal account of two respondents who rejected SECTT as a practice, but still stated that the situation of the family needed to be taken into account or that opinions on the matter simply differed amongst society. Denial of injury was also present in the context of child labor in the statement of a man who rejected SECTT, but argued that if children had to work, they could at least do so in another trade. Here too, child labor is negotiated as the lesser of two evils even though it constitutes a denial of child human rights. Denial of victim and

responsibility occurred on one occasion, when an interviewee pointed out that children took the decision to engage in prostitution by themselves. The interviewee thus ridded himself and other community members of responsibility in a situation in which nobody else directly contributed to the exploitation of the child. Moreover, since the child freely chooses to perform the work, it loses the right to claim a victim role in the eye of the observer. Such victim blaming attitudes also played a part in the research validation, as participants for instance suggested that free exchange of digital information and content of a sexual nature amongst same aged peers would corrupt children and should ultimately be seen as one of the reason for them entering prostitution. Lastly, condemnation of the condemners also occurred in one instance, when the respondent hinted she would not intervene in a situation in which she witnessed SECTT because she saw others in charge of interfering – the parents and police – as complicit and unsupportive. She thereby minimized her responsibility as a witness through the complicity and apathy of others.

While the application of Delinquency Theory works fairly well in the context of SECTT along the Coast of Kenya, it is difficult to integrate Diffusion of Responsibility Theory in this report, because the accounts of the community members did not produce any knowledge with regards to social group dynamics. The organizations that were interviewed, on the other hand, seemed to suggest that the theory may have been more relevant during times when SECTT at the Coast was still taking place out in the open. In other words, as the practice only just emerged, it is possible that many observers of SECTT did not interfere because they were unwilling to bear the social costs of reporting the crime, which in turn emboldened those who wanted to profit from the practice.

Another overarching issue in today’s context appeared to be that the main focus of 25 percent of the community member informants was very much on the question of what is legally permissible in the

context of SECTT. The main reason for their concern thus did not appear to be that an involvement in prostitution may be potentially damaging for the physical and mental health of a young person even above the age of 18, but rather that somebody was simply not playing by the rules.

Regardless of the issues presented above, developments were reported to have taken place in a number of places between 2006 and 2010. The organizations interviewed issued that children were far less likely to be seen openly walking around the beaches or streets with international tourists, following awareness campaigns by civil society organizations in the area. A healthy portion of the campaigns was aimed at the hospitality industry, which was given a code of conduct to abide by, and there is reason to believe that most of them comply. Communities in the region were furthermore addressed through awareness campaigns about child rights and the negative side effects of SECTT. This seems to have had an impact as well, as people in Malindi, for instance, were reported to have taken to the streets to demand change from local

government. This cannot be said to be the conduct of a community in large support of SECTT, but as was addressed above, some members of society can still show apologetic sympathies in relation to SECTT even if they fundamentally take offense with the practice.

Lastly, the validation of results showcased a more general challenge in capturing an accurate picture of attitudes within groups: being addressed about a controversial social issue concerning their communities, respondents gave slightly different answers depending on the setting in which such questions were posed. In the case of this study, the comments issued by a social worker, who saw the community members' role in SECTT in a more critical light, seemed to compel a number of respondents to give a more nuanced answer instead of just maintaining that there was a strictly dismissive attitude about the practice.

### 7.3. Attitudes of Child Prostitutes and Factors Leading to SECTT

T10: Persons involved in initiation and autonomy in decision to engage in prostitution			
		Reference paper	This paper
Sample Type	Perceptual account: NGO/FBO/Commercial/Civic		Child prostitute sample/ First-hand account
Influencers	Friends and peers	38%	40%
	Siblings	12%	10%
	Parents	14%	20%
Level of autonomy	Full	24%	50%
	Coerced (Peer pressure)	58%	20%
	Forced	No data	30%

When it came to exploring the factors leading to minors becoming victims of SECTT, both papers produced remarkably similar results in some aspects, even though they were derived from different data sources. In the example of the reference paper, results were completely based on the opinions of a large set of various organizational, commercial and civic respondents, whereas this

paper relied on a mix of first-hand accounts from child prostitutes as well as on informants of local organizations.

Both papers put the numbers of friends and peers being involved in the initiation into prostitution at 40 (primary data) and 38 percent (reference paper) respectively (Jones, 2006, p. 36). Peer pressure, on

the other hand, only occurred in half of the cases in which friends were involved within this paper's sample, and the overall share was therefore determined to be at 20 percent. This rejects the notion of the reference paper that over 50 percent of children were subject to peer pressure ahead of their decision to engage in prostitution (Jones, 2006, p. 37).

Furthermore, out of the 2 respondents in the primary data set who answered that they had a relative in prostitution who had introduced them to the job, one was initiated by her sister. This accounts for a 10 percent share of the total and once again corresponds with the 12 percent figure the reference paper put on the involvement of siblings in the initiation of child prostitutes. The figures with regards to parents' involvement are still quite similar as well, at 20 percent in this paper's sample and 14 percent in the reference paper's sample.

The biggest discrepancy could be seen with regards to the share of children who reported to have started engaging in prostitution completely on their own accord. While the share in the reference paper stands at 24 percent, it amounted to 50 percent in this research's primary data set. It should also be mentioned in this context that a total of 30 percent of the overall child prostitute sample group felt at least rather positive about engaging in prostitution because it had provided them with greater economic freedom, and that one of them felt that this job was actually less abusive than the one she had performed previously. A transition from abusive domestic work into prostitution appears frequent according to the information given by organizations in this research. However, prostitution does not necessarily replace the former occupation, but can in a number of instances just be an extension of the scope of exploitative work performed.

The above result sheds light on the problem that a number of minors in SECTT apparently do not feel victimized and therefore are unlikely to seek help. Above that, even among those who said

they were ready to leave prostitution, a rather dominant position was that a new job would have to generate even more income than prostitution to be attractive. A somewhat shocking result of this research, therefore, is that even among the victims of SECTT, constant enhancement of the personal income capacity eventually takes precedence over working conditions and health considerations. This self-abusive attitude with regards to the practice is certainly connected to the economic situation that the child prostitutes have found themselves in before taking up their work. 90 percent said they came from a poor family background, with most of them saying that even basic needs were not met. This even exceeds the respondents' estimate of 77 percent of children being drawn into prostitution because of poverty that was stated in the reference paper (Jones, 2006, p. 36). As was outlined in section 3, the weak and undiversified economy at the Coast offers very little in terms of job market opportunities, and it is therefore unlikely that earning expectations and job market realities will meet. Organizations striving to help minors exit prostitution will hence find themselves fighting an uphill battle, also because affected children are not likely to acquire marketable academic or professional skills while still engaging in prostitution. An added obstacle to ending SECTT, which did not find mentioning during the main data collection phase, but which was prevalent during the validation, concerned the issue that proximity to tourists was generally associated with success within the Coastal communities. Leaving prostitution would thus mean to forfeit an opportunity, however slim, to quickly uplift one's social status through a sponsorship or long-term partnership with a tourist.

Two risk factors, which were not sufficiently addressed in the reference paper, are the issues of single parenthood and early pregnancy, both of which were represented in the child prostitute sample of this paper. These two factors were also emphasized by 3 of the organizations that were interviewed for the purpose of this study. The reference paper, however, only mentioned that

40 percent within the child prostitute sample had lost one or both parents. While this is an important finding, death is of course not the sole reason for orphanage and single parenthood. A last important finding from the key informant interviews was that children are apparently more likely to be forced into

prostitution through deliberate or circumstantial neglect rather than direct threat, coercion or violence.

## 7.4. Affected Children's Origins

<b>T11: Migratory backgrounds</b>			
		<b>Reference paper</b>	<b>This paper</b>
	<b>Sample Type I</b>	Child prostitute sample/ First-hand account	Child prostitute sample/ First-hand account
	<b>Sample Location I</b>	Kwale District, South Coast	Bombolulu/Tudor, Mombasa
	<b>Sample size I</b>	24	10
<b>Migration Type</b>	<b>Interregional</b>	10 (41%)	3 (30%)
	<b>Intraregional</b>	4 (17%)	5 (50%)
	<b>None/Local</b>	10 (41%)	2 (20%)
	<b>Sample Type II</b>	Perceptual account (numeric): NGO/FBO/Commercial/Civic	Perceptual account (non-numeric) NGO/FBO
	<b>Sample Location II</b>	Malindi, Kilifi, Mombasa	Malindi, Kilifi, Mtwapa, Mombasa
	<b>Sample Size II</b>	230	8
<b>Migration Type Relevance</b>	<b>Interregional</b>	Highest	Highest
	<b>Intraregional</b>	Second Highest	Second highest
	<b>None/Local</b>	Lowest	Lowest

In terms of affected children's origins, parts of the results of this research are not easily comparable to those of the reference paper due to the way in which the samples were created. The organizations interviewed for this project were not asked to provide numerical estimates about migration related factors and thus their answers were weighted according to the migration topic they put particular emphasis on. The results of the reference paper ought to count as more valuable in this regard, but as the comparison of the first-hand account of child prostitutes shows, they still need to be treated with caution.

The UNICEF paper (Jones, 2006, p. 42) held that the perceptions of their respondents group were valid, as data collected from their child prostitute sample appeared to confirm similar numbers with regards to the origin of the victims of SECTT. This data was, however, only collected in one sample location (Kwale), and the statement that

the "perception is supported" thus has to count as somewhat optimistic. The results of this paper, drawn from a smaller sample of child prostitutes, but in two different locations (Bombolulu/Tudor), at least offer an alternative view. At the very least this discrepancy should reaffirm the necessity of diversifying samples in terms of the interview locations in which they are collected before making bold assertions about wider regional phenomena.

## 7.5. Age of Initiation

The findings of this report somewhat differ from those in the UNICEF reference paper with regards to the child prostitutes' age of initiation. Although it has to be noted that the reference paper's sample was bigger (24 compared to 10 participants), the data that the researchers collected through organizations working in the area confirmed the findings gathered from this paper's interviewees

rather than UNICEF's results.

While Jones, the author of the report, issued that the average age of initiation of children into prostitution was set at 12 to 13 years (2006, pp. 32, 56), the current and former child prostitutes that took part in this study reported an average age of initiation of around 15 years.

There may be at least three possible explanations for that: firstly, Jones' study involved male child prostitutes which could not be mobilized by partner organizations for the purpose of this research. Possibly, if boys get engaged by pedophile perpetrators at younger ages in greater numbers, this could have had an impact on the average age recorded in Jones' sample. Unfortunately, she did not make a distinction between the age of initiation of girls and boys respectively. Secondly, another possibility is that the profile of the average perpetrators has changed over the past ten years and that more opportunistic offenders as compared to pedophile offenders are active in the area today than in 2006. Lastly, the difference between and homogeneity within the sample groups in terms of the location in which they were mobilized could have had an impact as well.

## 7.6. Law Enforcement Issues

SECTT along the Coast of Kenya has changed in recent years. As was described in the UNICEF paper, tourists in the past often presented themselves as sponsors of children, who they engaged sexually during their stay in the country in exchange for monetary incentives for the child's family. The beneficiaries frequently and proudly paraded this fact around their communities (Jones, 2006, pp. 57-58). The connection would thus become apparent immediately, for instance, when a tourist appeared at a school and took the child with him, after which the minor would miss classes to spend time with the alleged sponsor. Other children were seen walking hand-in-hand with a tourist around town or the beach areas undisturbed. This picture has strongly changed since at least 2010. Hotels, for example, now require registration of all guests, and tourists who attempt to bring minors to their rooms

are at high risk of being reported to authorities. The hotel sector persists to be very reluctant to be interviewed; however, all the interviewees in the business that agreed to take part in this study confirmed that it was now common practice to follow ethical guidelines as stipulated in a code of conduct. Even though this was addressed in many interviews with hotel informants and local organizations alike, it remained unclear what code of conduct exactly had been deployed. The organization interviewed indeed reported that they had never gotten insight despite numerous attempts to find out where the document could be sighted. If not the same, it appears at least likely that the document was derived from another code that was created and successfully disseminated by ECPAT, according to the information that could be gathered on the subject. As a consequence of this actually positive development, SECTT appears to have moved entirely underground, which may have played into the hands of criminal organizations. Villas have therefore become an increasingly important hiding point where perpetrators can apparently act with relative impunity. In the reference paper, it was estimated that 30 percent of sexual activity already occurred in the villas and other private residences. This figure has likely increased, as hotels and lodges came under increased scrutiny to prevent SECTT from occurring, and as a number of the beaches were increasingly patrolled by tourist police. Regardless of increased monitoring of the situation, however, judiciary and law enforcement continue to let children down. The problems resemble largely the same as 10 years ago. Tourists continue to bail their way out of trials (Jones, 2006, p. 66), the local population does not report cases to police due to lost trust in law enforcement (the notion was not as strong in this paper's community member sample) (Jones, 2006, p. 68) and perpetrators hide in private premises behind thick walls. It therefore has to be constituted that a large issue remains to be that the owners of villas and other private estates act without the standards of accountability that the rest of the hospitality sector is held to.

## 8. Conclusion

The results in this report frequently corresponded with those in the reference report, but at times they differed strongly. The main difference between the situation in 2006 and 2016 appears to be that the biggest challenge is not posed by the communities' attitudes anymore, but rather by the increasingly clandestine nature of SECTT. The list below shall outline the differences and similarities of both reports according to their degree, as perceived by the author:

### Main differences

- The reference study had reported that a large majority of community members at the Coast in Kenya was in favor of children's engagement in prostitution. This result could in no way be replicated though as none of the interviewees in this study showed a favorable attitude. This is not to say though, that supportive attitudes do not exist within parts of the Coastal societies. The validation of results suggested that some participants may have had a hard time admitting to themselves and others that their communities were not as dismissive about SECTT as they would like them to be. It therefore seems appropriate to constitute that neither outright approval nor dismissal of the practice presents a realistic picture of the situation, and that any attempts of quantifying such data will ultimately always yield conflicting results.

The available data suggest that the main issue with regards to the attitudes of the local population likely lies in apologetic sympathy towards those in dire need of money and in reluctance to bear the social cost of getting involved in other persons' private lives. Bystanders in SECTT probably exhibit neutralization behavior similar to that of the perpetrators to justify behavior which they know is otherwise wrong. However, even though most interviewees mentioned

child rights and children's need for protection as their primary concern, sympathy for the plight of the child appeared to not always play the primary role in rejecting the practice but may at times rather be the result of submission to the rule of law.

- At 50 to 24 percent, this study accounted for a much higher share of children who were said to have started engaging in prostitution entirely voluntarily as opposed to those who were coerced or deceived. While all children are victims of trafficking in the context of SECTT, trafficking as a criminal act of establishing access to child prostitutes could only be established to have played a part in 3 cases. In two other cases peer pressure was involved, but that too stands in stark contrast to the more than 50 percent recorded in the UNICEF paper.
- The age of initiation was considerably lower in the reference study at 12 to 13 years compared to around 15 years on average in this paper. While the reference study's sample size was bigger, civil society organizations that were interviewed for the purpose of this research also named ages closer to the result in this study.

### Minor differences

- An interregional migration background was established among a sizeable amount of children in both studies, but the recorded shares somewhat differed at 30 percent of children in the sample group having migrated from counties outside the Coastal area and at 41 percent in the reference study. The results of both studies need to be seen as somewhat inconclusive in this regard due to the issues described in section 5.4.
- Poverty was established to be a more influential factor compared to the reference study, with 90 percent of child prostitutes naming it as an influential reason. The UNICEF paper, which recorded 77 percent, however, derived the data from perceptual rather



than first-hand accounts and the results are not directly comparable as a result of that.

### Main commonalities

- There was strong consistency with regards to the numerical representation of types of persons that were involved in children's initiation in SECTT. In both cases friends (40 to 38 percent) were established to have played the main role in the initiation of child prostitutes, followed by parents (20 to 14 percent) and siblings (10 to 12 percent).
- Almost universal levels of awareness of SECTT were measured in both studies at 99 and 95 percent respectively.

### Minor commonalities

- In the reference study it was reported that 38 percent of clients of child prostitutes were Kenyan. Within this study there is no numerical output to confirm or reject this result, but organizations that were interviewed for this research reported an increase of abuse through Kenyan nationals following collapses in international tourism.
- Perpetrators do not present themselves as sponsors of the education of particular children anymore. SECTT has increasingly moved underground and offenders can easily evade detection behind solidly walled and widely available private accommodation as hotels and resorts appear to have completely shut their gates on them. The reference report had already indicated that the villas in the region played an important part as a location for sexual activity, however, the situation appears now aggravated as even adult prostitutes were reported to have been denied access to certain hotels.
- As already noted in the reference report, children working in prostitution carry out their work in complete secret and do not disclose information about their source of income. It does not stop there, however. Communities and the social circle of the child do take

notice even as the child thinks that nobody has given their increase in earning capacity a second thought. Regardless, confrontation appears to occur neither inside nor outside the social circle of the children.

### New findings

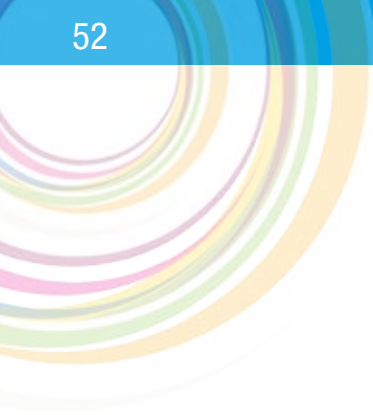
- The reference study did not produce findings with regards to some of the risk factors that were established through interviews with current and former child prostitutes as well as civil society organizations. Amongst those were family members in prostitution, the new partner of the guardian, single parenthood and early pregnancy.
- According to NGOs in the region, a frequently used means to force children into prostitution is to leave minors to themselves temporarily to enforce a situation in which the children are required to find sources of income for the family upkeep until the return of the guardian.
- The exploration of attitudes amongst the child prostitutes revealed that 30 percent of them did not view their job in a negative manner, and that even those who did tended to give monetary gain precedence over other factors such as health, education and security. Since such attitudes reduce the chances of children seeking help, they are also less likely to receive support in the form of exit programs and sexual and mental health counseling. It may also potentially have implications for the attitudes these girls have about their own children engaging in prostitution at a later point in their lives.

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