Should sex tourism be viewed as a threat for future development?

A perspective that explores the general approach of sex tourism and prostitution in the tourism industry based on historical, cultural, and traditional aspects.

Louise Jonsson, Matilda Nilsson

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Should sex tourism be viewed as a threat for future development?

A perspective that explores the general approach of sex tourism and prostitution in the tourism industry based on historical, cultural, and traditional values in The Gambia.

Authors: Louise Jonsson & Matilda Nilsson
Supervisor: Tomas Nilson
Examiner: Ralf Rönnqvist
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Abstract

This bachelor thesis describes the component of society which sex tourism descends from in Gambia. Sex tourism is an emerging sub-industry to tourism that affects several different social spheres in communities that are characterized by tourism. It is a phenomenon that unfortunately not only affect adult’s even minors enter however, rarely by choice. The origin of sex tourism in Gambia dates back to the early 70s when the tourism started to blossom. The tourists arrived in the country with different cultures that collided with the indigenous and in combination with the master-servant relationship from the colonial era and the exotification of the country as a holiday destination, sex tourism derived.

Keywords: Toubabs, Bumsters, Sex Tourism, Child sex tourism, Prostitution, Sustainable development, Tourism, Sex, Undeveloped countries, Gambia, Africa, Europe, Colonialism, NGO’s, Family values and Islam.
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Lexicon and acronyms

**Bumster**: The term originates from the English word bum, a person that is begging. Most of the *bumsters* in Gambia are known to be harmless. Many of them are unemployed young men since *bumsterism* pays more generously than many other professions. *Bumsters* normally tries to hassle tourists into give them their money.¹

**ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes)**: An international organisation who is functioning as a worldwide linkage between organisations and people working in aim to combat child sex abuse, such as child prostitution, child sex tourism or trafficking.²

**FSI (Fragile State Index)**: An index founded by the Fund for Peace, which annually rates 178 nations and their levels of stability. It is used as a critical tool in assessment of future risks and early warnings of conflict.³

**NGO (Non-Governmental organization)**: Generally, it is part of the private sector and is usually a non-profitable organization that contributes to, or participates in, projects that includes education, training, or other humanitarian exercises. Many of them collect donations to hand out to disadvantaged people others are a part of the UN.⁴

**Sex tourism**: A phenomenon that occur when tourists travel to another country for the purpose of purchasing sexual services.⁵

**Sub-industry**: An industry that makes up for a small part of a greater industry.⁶

**Toubab**: The meaning of the word is a Caucasian person. Different theories exist from where the word derives from, one theory is that the word is inherited from the time when Gambia was colonised by Great Britain and they used the expression “two bob” which means 2-shilling while handing out money to the natives. Nevertheless, the general view of a *Toubabs*

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⁶ Standard and Poor’s, Global Industry Classification Standard (GICS) Methodology, 2006, 3.
in Gambia is tourists with light skin and money, children are taught to shout “toubabs” in hope of gaining money or minties (candy). 

**UNWTO (United Nations World Tourism Organization):** An agency responsible for promotion of sustainable and responsible tourism all over the world by demonstrating how tourism can affect economic growth, development, and environmental sustainability.

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8 World tourism organisation Network. Who we are. World Tourism Organization Network. 2016.
Chapter One – Introduction

1.1 Purpose and Aim of the Study

The purpose of the paper is to highlight society's view of sex tourism in Gambia focusing on coastal destinations in the Tourism Development Area (TDA). Gambia is an established tourist destination; however, in the Western world, it has a poor reputation due to its association with sex. From a European view, this considered as a negative by-product of tourism. We wanted to see if people, organisations, and the government employees who are working in, or close to the tourism industry, consider it as an attraction and welcome the phenomenon, or overlook it. The aim was to see how Gambia works with and view the phenomena of sex tourism; both from a political and from a social perspective as well as how locally based the sex tourism is. Could it be that there is a difference in the views in the sex industry between the people in the West and Gambia?

Gambia is a small country located in West Africa, bordering the Atlantic Ocean in the west and otherwise surrounded by Senegal. The country was named after the river that runs through it, The Gambia River. In 2014, the population was around 1.9 million people and it is divided of various ethnic groups, where about 50 percent belongs to the Mandinka. Other ethnic groups include Fula, Wolof, and Diol. Every ethnic group has their own language but English is spoken by 50 percent of the population. The tourism industry is constantly growing and has become one of the largest industries worldwide and therefore an instrument for countries and societies to develop. In Gambia, more commonly known as Gambia, the industry comprises of 13 percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and expects to rise, in total, five percent by 2020. The development of tourism in the country is for that reason a significant source of income. However, it is currently limited to tourists who are looking for sun and beach activities. The majority of the holidays are packaged as all-inclusive which are operated by non-national workers. This contributes to a 75 percent leakage of the total tourist income for the country. Responsible for the tourism in the country is the Ministry of tourism and culture with the support of the Gambian Tourism Board.

11 Ministry of tourism and culture, Welcome, 2016
The aims of this bachelor thesis are to show how the society in Gambia views this phenomenon of sex tourism. Our thesis will culminate in a paper that will be of use for both, the society in Gambia, as well as for European enterprises that want to learn about society. Our purpose is also to highlight the growing sex-industry in order to teach and to broaden the view of incoming tourists. We hope it also can be used by the Gambian society in their work in reducing their developing sex industry. Incoming tourism is growing and so is the sex trade, both bumsters and toubabs are increasing in numbers and contribute to labelling Gambia as a paradise for older women looking for sex/love. This reputation might prevent other tourists who are planning to visit Gambia for other purposes, but become looked up on as sex tourists. A country that is so dependent upon the incoming tourism is vulnerable. This bachelor thesis gives the reader a different understanding since the researchers have experienced the phenomena on site. Even though the researchers can describe a more insightful picture, the time limit of eight weeks in the field can prevent the understanding, on the other hand, a longer stay can give too much depth, which could prevent the reader from understanding the phenomenon.

Before we arrived to Gambia, we had the impression that the country was a destination where older women come to seek, not only sex, but also love. This perspective of the phenomena is European and has its substance in marketing. When looking for information on google in Sweden about Gambia, you will find pictures of the country maps, the beaches, the flag, and, a bumster also known as beach boy with his arms around a woman. Different media sources that present and confirm this general view in e.g. a television documentary made by a Swedish commercial television channel (Kanal 5) called The Outsiders in 2012, where the viewer follows three sisters from Northern Europe in their 60’s in their search for younger boys.12 Prior, in 2004, another Swedish commercial television channel where dealing with the same subject in their programme, Tv3 reportage.13 These programmes have been reported in the tabloids, and new stories have been published in different Swedish newspapers, as well as in web television channels, e.g. in Aftonbladet TV in 2013 called Kvinnliga sexturister i Gambia (women sex tourists in Gambia).14 These small clips of information send a message of the country as a sex destination. For that reason, we were interested to visit Gambia to

12 Ekstrand, Peter, Outsiders – kärlek i Gambia (documentary), 2012.
understand the phenomena and to identify the general opinion about sex tourism in the country. The research questions for this thesis are therefore:

1. How does Gambian tourism industry as well as people who work with the consequences of sex tourism view the phenomenon?

2. Which key factors have contributed to the exploitation of sex tourism in Gambia, and who is responsible for the social development in the destinations where, to a certain extent, sex tourism is a part of the attraction?

3. What impact does sex tourism have on the community?

Chapter Two – Theoretical Framework

2.1 Sex tourism

UNWTO, describes sex tourists as domestic or international persons visiting a destination in purpose of engaging in a sexual relationship with a local resident. The sex tourism industry is a large sub-industry to tourism, contributes with multibillion-dollar revenues yearly, and benefits several different segments, such as taxi companies, hotels, and restaurants. The growth of tourism all over the world has contributed to the appearance of different kind of issues but new opportunities have also been created. According to UNWTO, the main causes for the increased activity, when it comes to sex tourism, are e.g. the acceptance from the powers to be or high academics.\(^\text{15}\)

The sex tourism industry increased during the World Wars, when the exploitation of humans accelerated. The phenomena started to grow alongside conflicts and research shows that it increased where and when soldiers had their recreation.\(^\text{16}\) On the other hand, sex tourism has occurred ever since humankind started to explore the world.\(^\text{17}\)

In the article “Conceptual Framework of the Nexus between Tourism, Romance and sex” female sex tourists in the seventeenth century was considered unusual; but on the other hand, it was also explained as liberation. Women could explore their sexuality in ways that they

\(^{15}\) Chilcaca, Renata, Sex Tourism, World Tourism Organization, 2012.

\(^{16}\) Yea, Sallie, 2003, 142.

could not do at home and the phenomena emerged due to exotifying the black man in a way that the white female tourist view the native with admire, curiosity or even with envy. The big change began after the Second World War, when mass tourism started and the female sexuality was liberated. Women from northern Europe could now afford to travel by their own and travelled to southern Europe where the native men played an exotic role. It was first in the 1990s the research about the female sex tourists started and where then described as romantic unlike the male sex tourists, who were viewed as sexual predators. However, facts show that women are travelling to countries such as Gambia, Kenya, Ecuador, Barbados, and other developing countries with the purpose to have sex and in some cases seek for love.\textsuperscript{18}

For as long as people have travelled and explored the world they have been seeking for something different; which includes sexual experience which may not be as easily available in more developed countries. Sexual encounters can be the primary purpose of the journey nevertheless; it can also occur along the way or not be included at all. While on vacation, certain sexual activities are socially accepted e.g. travelling on a honeymoon. However, other trips such as traveling with the purpose of engaging in sexual activities or seeking for love affairs outside the current relationship are not social accepted.

There are some places in the world that are strongly associated with sex or love, both in positive and negative aspects. Destinations that have a positive association are promoted as love paradises and this type of tourism is seldom frowned upon, despite its association to sex. However, the other side of sex tourism includes exploitation of adults as well as children. One of the most famous destinations where this type of exploitation takes place is in the South of Asia. Most of the destinations, which today are marked as sex destinations, have their roots in an already existing local sex industry.\textsuperscript{19}

Previous research has shown that sex tourists in general are associated with older men going on holiday to Thailand or other notorious sex destination. Trevon D. Logan acknowledges in his article. “Personal Characteristics, Sexual Behaviours, and Male Sex Work: A Quantitative Approach” that according to the male sex workers on internet the average customer is a heterosexual married man.\textsuperscript{20} Despite that, the sex buyer can as well be a woman. In the article “Romance tourism or female sex tourism?” the author Irmgard L Bauer describes the initial

\textsuperscript{18} Bauer, Thomas G & McKercher, Bob, 2003, 3-4.
\textsuperscript{19} Bauer, Thomas G & McKercher, Bob, 2003, 3-4.
female sex tourists, in the Caribbean. The phenomenon does not include women who actually are falling in love on the same grounds that they can do at home.\(^{21}\)

Both women and men can be defined as sex tourists; however, in general, their behaviours are poling apart. When females travel, the sexual encounter occurs depending, more than males, on accidental happenings or influences by other traveling companions. These situations often arise when native men are seeking for opportunities to get a better life with the foreign woman, where little or no money exchange is taking place.\(^{22}\) Edward Herold, Rachel Garcia, and Tony DeMoya are explaining this phenomenon in the article “Female tourists and beach boys - Romance or sex tourism?”. Their study takes place in the Caribbean, where they have done interviews with both sexes who had relationship with locals. However, the focus was on females who had relationships with native men. During the interviews, the women confessed that they were never asked to give the native men any money in exchange for sex. On the other hand, the study showed that they did pay for necessities e.g. food and clothes. The men turned out not to have the same romantic expectation of the relationships as the women. On the other hand, the males were not so overenthusiastic about admitting if they bought sex or not. The author did explain that the underlying purpose behind this could be to protect the native woman from social shame.\(^{23}\)

Hillary and Dominique Du Cros imply in “Romance, Retsina, and Reality in Crete” that the woman is a victim, complaining about men who tricked her into the relationship or the sexual exchange. To contradict this, they argues that women from developed countries with low self-esteem gets addicted to this kind of relationships because the men are giving them romance they have been desired for a long period.\(^{24}\)

Susanne Dodillet has wrote about the differences between female and male sexuality in “Is sex work? Swedish and German prostitution policy since the 1970s”. She explains the phenomena; the female combined sex with love more than the male. In that sense Dodillet, highlight that women have love as their week spot and the patriarchal society is the one to blame. On the other hand, the male sex tourists are not combining sex with love, it is more frequently a way for instance to reduce tension. In this sense, the author explained that


\(^{22}\) Du Cros, Hilary & Du Cros, Dominique, 2003, 52-53.


prostitution among men is less harmful and argues that the reason why teenage boys become involved in prostitution is due to curiosity and the believe that it can help increase their confidence. A central key in sex tourism is to point out that the sex tourist almost never sees him or herself as a buyer of a prostitute. If the native still spends time with him/her after the sexual meeting and if there is no financial transaction directly after the meeting, it is not prostitution. The sex tourists will pay them, but in a different way, as the money transfer are imbedded into other expenses, therefore, not directly connected with the sexual encounter.

2.2 Difference between prostitution and sex tourism

Martin Oppermann explains the difference between the terms prostitution and sex:

Both terms - prostitution and sex tourism - are easily understood but very difficult to define in their fullness of meaning. Commonly, prostitution is considered as the exchange of sexual activity for payment. Yet, such a meaning exclusively relates to sexual-monetary exchange where one person’s sells his or hers body to receive financial benefit.

Chris Ryan and Michael C. Hall explains in “Sex tourism: marginal people and liminalities” that sex tourism are travellers from developed countries visiting an undeveloped nation with the purpose of purchasing sex. It is important to point out that any part in this relationship can be male or female, research shows that male prostitutes and women who are buying sex have emerged. A female sex tourist is often described as a romance tourist, even if the result is comparable to the man’s behaviour.

Sexual encounters while travelling is not a new phenomenon and many tourists share this experience, Oppermann claims; “it is simply because the opportunity arises or because they meet like-minded individuals”. Loneliness while traveling can be a key factor in this situations and the possibility of being a stranger makes it easier for many to purchase sexual services. However, who classified as a sex tourist? Is a person who travels with no intention to have sexual encounters, and unexpectedly happen to find her/himself in this specific situation, without previously planning it, a sex tourist? Oppermann argues that if these

26 Oppermann, Martin, 1999, 251-266.
30 Oppermann, Martin, 1998a, 11.
persons where asked if they see them self as sex tourists, no one would answer “yes”. He makes an example out of the “Spring break phenomenon” where American student’s travels with the motives to drink and party, which may lead to sexual encounters, are they then sex tourists.  

2.3 Different perspectives of prostitution  

Various countries view the phenomenon of prostitution differently. The most inflexible view of prostitution is a totally prohibition where the act is therefor considered a criminal offense, both morally and legally. This applies for example in Russia. In other nations e.g. Sweden, the act of buying prostitute is illegal however, only penalized with rehabilitation. This means that the prostitute is a victim and the buyer is viewed as a criminal offender. Other countries have a more tolerant view of prostitution. The most open view of regulating is total legalization, which means that prostitution is a genuine work. This applies for example in Germany, where the state controls the prostitutes. Prostitution and the general view on it are consequently affected by the society and the country’s cultural history. The understanding of the prostitute’s act is in the sense a process combined with history, economy, and norms. The underlying motive to why people sell sex is therefore inconsistent and depends on which country the research is made.  

Ine Vanwesenbeeck claims in her article “Prostitution push and pull: male and female perspectives” that the majority of the researchers argue that young men, especially, end up in prostitution because of the experience combined with the economic benefits and unemployment. Even if the male sex industry is increasing, the female is more comprehensive. The research about the male prostitute is in the initial stage and the literature is focusing on comparing the male and female prostitution. The general research claims that most men find themselves in the industry due to the fascination with sexual adventures and will find greater pleasure unlike the females, who considered more emotional and vulnerable.

31 Oppermann, Martin, 1998a, 11.  
2.4 Child sex tourism

Child sex tourism is a term used to describe exploitation of children when people are on vacation. On a global scale, the exploitation of children started in Philippines and Thailand during the Vietnam War in the 1960s, when soldiers took recreational trips. When the war ended in 1975 was the child sex tourism already established. Furthermore, in Thailand, the government began to market the country as a destination and the image “the brothel of Asia” spread quickly. However, the government did not do anything to stop this image to spread it was actually encouraged. According to ECPAT International, during this time both Philippines and Thailand became destinations for fugitive paedophiles, who invested in houses and tourism industry. In the beginning of the 1990s, the prostitution in Cambodia rose after peacekeeping forces travelled to the country and raised the demand. During the war, the business increased from including 6,000 girls to over 20,000, with the majority of 12-15 years old. When the peacekeeping forces left, the girls were sold to brothels in Thailand and Vietnam.

Today, child sex tourism is a global phenomenon that takes place wherever people come for vacations. The sexual perpetrators get in touch with the children by taxi drivers, waiters, or anyone that is willing to make money of it. Often this type of tourist makes contact with children by themselves on the streets or on the beaches. In some cases, the perpetrators even contact the parents in order to finance the child’s education and in that matter get permission to have sex with the child in exchange. Some child sex tourists who have vacation rentals let the child live there when he or she is not around and provides the child with money and shelter in exchange for sexual services.

ECPAT Internationals research shows that the perpetrators often are men in the age 20 to 70 years old but with no other aspects in common, for example level of educational, attainment or ethnic origin. However, a research done on Gambia, in 2003, shows that all the interviewees believed that the perpetrators are men over 45 years old with European background. Regardless, most of the perpetrators have in common that they are free from society’s obligations and that they typically would not do it in their homeland. This shows

that the importance of moral aspects disappears when the vacation starts. Child sex tourist is often a coincidental act and unlike the paedophile act, it is not planned before take-off. The reason why child sex tourism occurs depends on various factors, e.g. lack of government action or because tourists are tempted to behave differently on their vacation. Other main factor to why the phenomena of sex tourism continue to increase is the economic advantage between the participants. When tourists travel from a developed to an undeveloped country, they often get economic gains because of currency differences, which contribute to receive a position of power. In most of the cases, the families are supporting and accept the actions as a way out of poverty. Several times reports are been withdrawn because the family have been paid to keep their silence.38

2.5 Marketing of destinations which are characterized by sex

Exotic destinations have been using sexual images to market specific destinations for a long time and in the last decades it has increased in the broad spectrum. Nevertheless, there is no industry where it is more evident than in tourism. Brochures is packed with alluring images of naked skin, often represented by models pictured by the pool in bikinis, happy couples walking along the beach and locals in native costumes. This type of promotion in the tourism industry is common. The images are meant to give a perception of the destination that could influence a certain behaviour that is not normal for the tourist. The images are supposed to give the tourist ideas and beliefs about a destination.39

Cultural attributes as well as historical buildings and pictures of landscapes are of high importance for marketing of destinations. However, promotions of special destinations are to some extend still emphasizes sex.40 Oppermann argue that the tourism industry uses three levels of forwarding a message. First, there is the typical “Sun, Sea, and Sex” promotion and the second level speaks to the customer’s self-image and almost never shows any real images of the destination. The third level tries to send us “the image of ourselves in a reality and fantasy world of meaning”, which means that sexual images portray an imaginary picture of the destination as a sexual fantasy.41

38 Karlén, Helena, 2009, 31-34.
The two pictures below are two cartooned postcards bought in a hotel souvenir shop in Gambia. Postcards signed by Bob Collins and was found in almost every hotel and souvenir shops in the TDA. This is an example of making humour out of the sex tourism but likewise contribute to an image of Sun, Sea, and Sex.

To understand why tourists are travelling to undeveloped countries Stefan Jonsson and Josefin Syssner means that it is important to acknowledge the colonialism and the development of the relationships through the years. From the European perspective Africa, among other undeveloped areas, have been for a long period described as something that is violence but also erotic and exotic. The conception is applied when travel agents are marketing different destination.42

2.6 Why sex tourism exists in developing countries?

The study “Sex tourism in Africa: Kenya's booming industry” written by Wanjohi Kibicho deals with the rise of sex tourism in Kenya. After Kenya became independent in 1963 from British rule the economy was characterized by an unequal distribution of resources, high unemployment and poor living standards of the indigenous population.43 Most of the country's economic activities was controlled mainly by expatriate citizens that compared with the local population had relatively high standard of living. The resident Europeans and the colonial government established many of the first tourist facilities developed. Kenyans of African origin where only employed to work in simple positions such as security guards, gardeners, cleaners, waiters, entertainers and so on. It was a textbook example of a master-servant

42 Jonsson, Stefan, & Syssner, Josefin, 2011, 228-229.

43 Kibicho, Wanjohi, 2009, 57.
relationship. From a general point of view the initial development of tourism in Kenya was colonial in orientation, and served an expatriate lead socio-economic interest.\textsuperscript{44}

Wanjoh Kibicho argues that the development of the tourism industry in Kenya since independence, aimed to attract as large numbers of tourists i.e. mass tourism. However, Kibicho claims that the government did fail to develop an institutional strategy for tourism as it currently threatened by current development, chronic underfunding, and lack of political coordination between various state institutions. Kenyan tourism is a strategy that can help to increase the local participation in the tourism industry in order to remedy the current dominance of transnational capital in the industry. To reach a future state of a balanced sustainable development, the most realistic way is to take measures that are sensitive to the different stages of the destination areas in the destination life cycle.\textsuperscript{45}

A destination is never dynamic rather is the visitor. The visitors demand and desire alongside with the main attractions is constantly changing. The main attraction is the visiting purpose and the component that makes the destination attractive, for instance the environment or the culture. If this changed radical and the authentic have disappeared, when this occurs the destination have transformed from a unique and exotic to trendy and crowded. Consequently, the visitors who first laid their eyes on the destinations magnificence has disappeared and soon are the rest to follow. The upraise of the destinations life cycle is for that reason distributed in an S-curve which is upraised in five parts; (I) exploration, (II) involvement, (III) development, (IV) consolidation, (V) stagnation. In the last step stagnation, the destination has reached their carrying capacity, which means that visitors are to voluminous and it start causing environmental, social and economic difficulties. The destination still has visitors however, is no longer trendy which means that the image must change and in many cases the geographical environment is lost, it become a destination for the organized mass tourist. In the stagnation stage the s-curve has peaked, the destination now has to take actions. This could be developing in new attractions, take advantage of unused environmental sources and in combination with investing in selling day-trips or weekends. The curve can start for a second time from the exploration, however with a modification to the carrying capacity otherwise it will continue to grow but in the same speed so it will maintain overusing their resources and eventually the tourist will seek for other destinations. As a final point, the visitors can

\textsuperscript{44} Kibicho, Wanjohi, 2009, 57.

\textsuperscript{45} Kibicho, Wanjohi, 2009, 78.
instantly decline from a destination in case of fear for instance deceases such as the Ebola Virus.\textsuperscript{46}

Kibicho’s conclusion is that the sex trade has long been a means of funds governments in a number of developing countries, in order to get an increased amount of foreign income from international tourists. Some cases, however, presentations of government’s official data on the sex trade as lower than the real figures, probably because they can cause an embarrassing discussion of the government's system and indeed politics. In Kenya, the proliferation of the sex trade in some tourist areas is underpinning the overall growth of tourism.\textsuperscript{47} After UNICEF released a report on child sex tourism in 2006, the government could no longer deny the fact that sex tourism was a significant part of the national tourism industry.\textsuperscript{48}

The article “The idea of African men: dealing with the cultural contradictions of sex in academia and in Kenya” Rachel Spronk explains the African man as a symbol of someone who has quite a lot of sexual relationships. In literature, Africa often is described as a homogeneous group, something that would never be applied to for example Europe. In this homogenous picture, the male ability of living in monogamy is questioned. This means that African men are generally seen as promiscuous. Spronks research shows that a man who is to marry a younger second wife is not questioned, unlike a woman who wants to marry a younger man. In this sense, the male sex is viewed as stronger and for a man to have numerous sexual experiences is a representation of his masculinity. A man is not a “real man” until he has several erotic relationships.\textsuperscript{49}

In the article “Holiday package tourism and the poor in Gambia”, Jonathan Mitchell and Jojoh Faal analysed the tourism value chain from manufacturing to consumption in aim to understand and encourage the growth of the tourism sector in Gambia by reaching tourists who are interested to benefit the poor people in the society. A key discovery is that nearly fourteen percent of the tourism value chain in Gambia immediately ended up in the hands of the poor people in the community, this for example by local guides, fruit sellers, and taxi drivers. This was a significantly greater proportion than the authors had expected but limitations in the tourism industry are still existing due to the highly money leakage to other

\textsuperscript{46} Butler, Richard, 2006, 3-10.
\textsuperscript{47} Kibicho, Wanjohi, 2009, 96.
\textsuperscript{48} Kibicho, Wanjohi, 2009, 96.
\textsuperscript{49} Spronk, Rachel, 2014, 504-517.
countries. Nonetheless, there is potential for tourism to accelerate economic growth and reduce poverty in less developed countries.\textsuperscript{50}

**Chapter Three – Method**

### 3.1 Method

This bachelor thesis base itself on empirical data from Gambia, collected from interviews and observation in the field. During our field work, our aim was to conduct at least ten interviews with people living in the country, whom at different levels and in various positions are involved in the tourism industry or relatedly affected by it in his or hers work. All the interviews were conducted in English. The empirical material in the research are built on twelve persons in a total of eleven interviews, this because one involved two individuals at the same occasion. Before the interviews, we had constructed a guide with thirteen different questions (attachment 1). Questions related to community, development and tourism, mainly sex tourism.

During the interviews, the method was qualitative for the reason that the answers would be more detailed. This method was applied because it allows the respondent to lead the interview.\textsuperscript{51} The methodology that focused on qualitative interviews gives an insight in social culture and the way tourists effect the society. During the interviews, the respondents shared their perspective of culture and customs by broadened and deepened their answers due to the chosen method.\textsuperscript{52}

During the interview, the respondent can change their point of view and detect different context, which can contribute to a learning process for both parts. This interaction can also cause feelings of anxiety and in certain cases induce defence reactions. For that reason, it is important that the researcher have knowledge about ethic violations to avoid these kinds of situations.\textsuperscript{53} If the respondent is lower in authority than the interviewers are, there is a chance that the choice of words could be more selected. Nevertheless, the interviewer can in return


\textsuperscript{51} Bryman, Alan, 2011, 412-413.

\textsuperscript{52} Kvale, Steinar & Brinkmann, Svend, 2009, 42-48.

\textsuperscript{53} Kvale, Steinar & Brinkmann, Svend, 2009, 42-48.
provokes their answers. In this case, we were not from Gambia and therefore not belonging in the society. However, as strangers we got the advantages because of the respondents were willing to learn us more about the phenomenon and the society. During the interviews, we preferred to sit undisturbed with the respondent in order to get an individualized image of the phenomenon, not coloured from another part.  

3.2 Qualitative ethnographic fieldwork

The conducted research has an ethnographic ground, which implies that the thesis is based on observations. A ground that helps to construct relevant research questions about the sex tourism. It is the most natural method used to produce a written description of, for example a specific group or a local culture. Ethnography is a term often used in the case of sub-cultures in the society, in this context, bumsters in Gambia.

It is controversial to commercialize and exploit sex and the majority believe that this kind of tourism is unethical. However, that does not make it illegal. This thesis addresses a controversial subject and because of that, the entire respondents are anonymous. The anonymity can provide more insight information on the subject, authentic answers contribute to a deeper foundation of the thesis. If the respondents have not been offered the anonymity, this could contribute to superficial answers due to the complexity of the subject.

3.2.2 Observation

The first task during the fieldwork was to observe around the TDA where the bumsters appears, commonly outside the tourists guards. A white person or tourists can come and go as she or he likes but a Gambian cannot. To enter the TDA they have to have permission in some way or have company with a tourist. They even have tourism security patrolling along the beaches. Further, the researchers were observing on a distance, for example by eavesdropping at the beach or in restaurants. The observations took place primarily during the first week in purpose to get to know the phenomena in real life. The observation took place in Gambia’s TDA, primarily from Senegambia to Kuto and later in the Bakau area, to see how locals

54 Thurén, Torsten, 2013, 37-40.
57 Kullh, Frida & Söderberg, Annelie, 2007, 12.
interact with tourist and to gain an understanding of the country's social structure. It is important that the researchers constantly remind themselves that they are there as observers, not as tourists. This often happens in ethnographical research when the observations are located in the same area for a period, in this situation eight weeks.\(^59\)

The first day was the most important day of the study as this is when we got the first impressions and we saw the phenomenon more strikingly than any other day. To a researcher who previously visited, this can be a problem because his or her first impressions are no longer current. Fredrik Aspers implies that the first impression is what makes a good field study especially when it comes to phenomena that happens every day and merge with the society. In the field, we observed the interaction between the *bumsters-toubabs* relationships.\(^60\)

Various researchers are recording the situations or taking notes immediately. However, because the observation method is by eavesdropping and observing on a distance we did not wanted to been seen as observers but blend into the environment. The observations were focused on sex tourism and made the ground of the research questions. However, with an open view on other factors similar to the phenomena such as exotification.\(^61\)

The observations did not obstruct the work; instead, it assisted to understand the cultural and environmental patterns, a knowledge that later was applied in the interviews. However, if the respondent would notice an uncertainty, it will immediately create a bigger distance and make it harder for the researchers to gain their trust. As a result, it is essential to observe in the early stage of the study to create a knowledge about the structures in the society that were useful in the interviews.\(^62\)

During the observations, we were eavesdropping around the restaurants and along the beach. It often occurs situations of exotification of the native staff. A typical example of this is was, a British woman about 50 years old sitting on the beach with what is assumed to be her daughter and her boyfriend, both approximately around 20 years old. With them sat another white woman and two children of young age with dark-skin. The woman shouted this

\(^{59}\) Bryman, Alan, 2011, 390.
\(^{60}\) Aspers, Patrik, 2011, 121-122.
\(^{62}\) Aspers, Patrik, 2011, 16-33.
sentence to the lifeguard on the beach "You are such a sexy lifeguard". This constantly happened. However, the opposite situation likewise occurs to us during the whole stay in Gambia. We observed but for each person we were tourists. The native people constantly burst out: “champion lady”, boss lady”, “toubab”, “you looking smart” as you go near the TDA. Meanwhile, the main part of the tourists seems to enjoying it. After we were sunburned, we noticing that they were very determined of getting to be your friend and go on about adding you on Facebook, even after several turndowns. This means that the life on the Tourism Development area is a game from both sides.

3.3 Semi-structured interviews

To survey the country's needs to develop a sustainable society from the native residents, organisations, and politicians point of view, the researchers have to acknowledge their opinions as the truth. The goal was to see a mutual pattern, not an individual, and to remain a neutral starting-point.63 To encourage the respondent to lead the conversation, the interviews were qualitative and semi-structured.64 In the semi-structure interviews, the researchers have the capacity of asking following-up questions to the respondents answers, which were not included in the structure of questions (attachment 1). The structured questions were not always follow in systematic order. Nonetheless, the questions were at all times kept close to the context. Furthermore, the semi-structured interviews contain histories from the respondent’s life and therefore the questions have to be flexible. However, a certain amount of structure is necessarily for the reason that the interviews have to be comparable to each other in the analysis.65 For the reason, the researchers had to keep in mind that the contents of the interviews were linked to the research questions in the thesis.66

The qualitative interviews were recorded, as long as the respondent approved. The reason for this is that the researchers had to understand what the respondents are saying and how they said it. For this bachelor thesis, one of the researchers took charge of the interviews by asking the main questions and the other respondent were added necessarily following-up-questions. Eight of the eleven interviews were recorded and the remaining documented immediately.

64 Gillham, Bill, 2008, 73.
Even if the respondent does not agree to be recorded, which we have taken into consideration, the interview should still proceed because the answers are just as important. When the recording was not approved, one of the researchers were holding the interview and the other documented the respondents answers by with taking notes and in occasions put in followed-up questions. Generally, when the semi-structured interviews are recorded, two main problems can be noticed. First, a certain fear of disclosed anonymity, and secondly the fact that the recorder itself, can make the respondents uncomfortable.67

The conversations lasted between thirty minutes up to an hour, depending on the respondent. The time it takes to hold an interview is not the most essential, however, if it is shorter than thirty minutes it indicate a lack of dedication and considers in this thesis not useful for the research. In the thesis, respondent 12 had agreed to be interviewed however, when we arrived, we got the impression that the respondent was just curious of our work and did not want to contribute with trustworthy information. Furthermore, the respondent is not a part of our empirical material. Either the interviews were documented immediately or were transcribed later from the tape recorder however, the material was divided evenly between researchers. The problems with the documentation of the interviews are that it is intensive and it takes time to analyse the material. However, the numbers of participants are in this thesis twelve, as too many will give us a result that is unmanageable when the time limit is a main factor.68

Out of the documentation from the interviews, different categories appeared based on the collected material from the respondents’ answers. The categories did develop gradually as the work progressed, and titled only after the interviews were completed. The categories were divided in *Bumsters* and *toubab* relationships, sex tourist, child sex tourism, marriage, religious impact, tourists threats, marriages, government, tourist impact on the community, different way to solution and who to blame for sex tourism.69

3.4 Criticism of the sources

The aim of the interviews was to understand how tourism interacts with the society, primarily in case of sex tourism. To develop an understanding for the local culture we had to interact with the society, in this case through observation. By traveling in the country and observe the

68 Bryman, Alan, 2011, 429-430.
phenomena by being part of the society, the outcome of the interviews will be understood and interpreted out of personal experiences.

The respondents were selected based on their work and the interest in the thesis reason. We searched for respondents around the hotels, restaurants, and organisations close to the TDA in Gambia by visiting and talk about the thesis. In this way, we got advice of whom to talk to and help with eventually applications concerning interviewing interests. In this thesis, the respondent’s answers are the foundation of the empirical material and in this case, we had to be critical of what was said and not touched upon. At the arrival, the approach was to combine the semi-structured interviews with smaller questions to create a picture of the Gambian opinion, mainly based on views held by people close to the TDA-area. After a period in the country, we noticed that their answers were secondary sources because the events that they were telling us about had not happened to themselves. Furthermore, we noticed that people are kind and want to help but unfortunately with a motive of getting money or friendship out of it in addition to not expressing get their full opinion. However, the answers from the mentioned group are not relevant in this thesis because furthermore, they give an idealistic image of the tourism, maybe because we are foreigners and for that reason not part of the society.70

As previously mentioned, the issue of anonymity arises in the semi-structured interviews and indications of fear for their own safety because of the country’s political situation. In Gambia, there is generally little trust in the political system and for that reason the democracy is not reliable which means for our sake that people we meet can feel fear for their own individual just by expressing their opinions. This is why respondent number 12 is not in the empirical material. In these cases, the respondent would not choses to be recorded and the observer must have in regard that the answers could have been refined, in a situation of fear. Other respondent that chose not to be recorded were willing to talk about their opinions and not only in positive responses because of fear.71 However, in those cases the researchers must consider their reliability and if the responses are credible for this bachelor thesis.72

70 Thurén, Torsten, 2013, 45-46.
71 Thurén, Torsten, 2013, 34.
### 3.5 The Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Job title</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Non-government organisation employee</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Non-government organisation employee</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>General Director for a school</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>General Manager at a hotel</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Destination manager, Tour operator</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tour guide</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hotel Food and beverage manager</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Government employee</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Government employee</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hotel Front-office manager</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Non-government organisation employee</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Non-government organisation employee</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As introduced in the respondent list above, two of the twelve respondent are from European countries. Respondent four and five have different cultural background. However, the two respondents are at the time (2016), living and working in Gambia and in this context, knows the society and have an understanding for it. We have interviewed the respondents for the reason that we wanted to have a second aspect of the phenomena than a Gambian, something to put in a European context of the phenomena and with a deeper understanding than our own. However, the respondent we searched for have to work in the tourism industry, have knowledge of the country and Gambian culture, with an underlying demand of being a resident for at least six months. Nevertheless, people from different countries have different views and values of life. George R Franke and Scott S Nadler is referring to Geert Hofstede, which explains culture as a collective value system, which includes everything from personal ethics, family values, and opinions on the nation, and to thoughts on religion. Geert Hoffstede started to analyse different dimension in countries all over the world in the 1960s and is well
known for this research. However, he explains four different dimensions and one of them are individualism and collectivism. To describe the differences, Sweden is a country with strong individualism, which means that the individual takes responsibility for him or herself and his or her own family. In contrast, Gambia is a society with a high collectivism; they are from birth integrated in a strong and solid group that protects the individual throughout life in exchange for loyalty. Since the two countries have different system of value, it is central to the thesis to understand and acknowledge the different angels and in that matter; we have two respondents with a European perspective but an insight and understanding for the Gambian culture.

Chapter Four – Background

4.1 Gambia

Gambia is one of the poorest countries in Africa and one of the smallest. The former British colony attracts many tourists, mainly from Northern Europe. Tourism was, in the beginning, a strategy to improve the socio-economic development of the country. From the arrival of the first tourist entrance in the 1960s, the number of incoming tourists has grown from 300 to more than 100,000 visitors annually in just forty years.

Gambia is a country with patriarchal structures in society and where traditionally the man rules the family. Traditionally families often arrange marriage for their daughter when she is in her teenage years. Approximately 40 percent of Gambian couples live in polygamy. A marriage in Gambia is a status symbol and commands respect, which means that financial capital, is not enough to assert oneself in society. To be an adult with dignity requires, therefore, that the man is married and in addition provides for his wife or his wives. Because of the poverty conditions due to lack of income, many men delay their marriage until they are over the age of 40.

74 Hofstede, Geert, 2007, 1-10.
77 Sylvia, Chant & Evans, Alice, 2010, 353-367.
4.1.2 The Master plan

The African Development Bank and the Department of state for tourism and culture, republic of the Gambia came together in 2004 and started to design a masterplan that would develop tourism in Gambia both short term and long term. It was completed in 2005 and the goal was to increase the net foreign exchange earnings, from US$40 million in 2004 to US$130 million by 2020. Before 2020, they also attempt to increase tourism generating employment.© Vision 2020, defines incoming tourism as a way "to make The Gambia a tourist paradise and a major tourist destination through product innovation, quality improvement, improvement of investment returns and diversification of The Gambia's tourism product". Nonetheless, the Masterplan also includes a vision for the country as a destination, “A distinctive tourism destination that offers a high quality of experience for our visitors that is sustainable and where strong economic and social benefits are provided for Gambians”.© Customer satisfaction survey done at the international airport showed that 95 percent would recommend Gambia as a holiday resort however in the same survey 70 percent of the respondents were displeased about the bumsters to be realised.© The government is working new ways to change the behaviour of bumsters, for example, they started to collaborate with the UK Travel Foundation whom are assisting bumsters to find and an alternative, they have assembled a plan including needs assessment as well as training and skills development. The government are also working on a plan on where the bumsters should be allowed and not.©

4.2 The legacy of colonialism

From the beginning, the Europeans arrived in Africa to exchange ideas and trade goods but the trade later developed from goods into slavery which lasted for over three hundred years. A trade that until today deeply have influenced the continent in a tragic way. The word colonial means "area under foreign rule" or "foreign settlement". In the nineteenth century, for the
most part, the United Kingdom, Germany, and France divided the continent of Africa into colonies. Nevertheless, several other European countries were also involved. The struggle for freedom was slow in many countries and the African people suffered. However, the African people tried to fight back against the Europeans during the colonial period, but the Europeans were much superior when it came to the organization and technologic development. Once the European empires fell, the aftermath was that many countries were left with nothing. Both tribal leaders and local politicians had to collaborate with the former colonial governments, which contributed to a continuation of indirect control where the African people were considered inferior. Despite the fact that the colonists were a minority, they had great influence and quickly gained political control. This was a dark period of time, marked by white supremacy, racism, and exploitation.82

David Perfect describes the evolution of policy in Gambia during its two post-colonial leaders, Sir Jawara Dawada 1965-94 and Yahya Jammeh 1994- onwards. He describes the overall performance of the state in terms of economic and social development and human rights. There are different sections dealing with the political system in Gambia, independence during Jawaras governance as well as economic-social development and human rights. After the military coup in 1994, during Jammeh's government, economic and social development and human rights were political priorities.83

The article “The illusion of capitalism in contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa: a case study of the Gambia” with the purpose to critically evaluate the petitions that there is no alternative to capitalism. This is based on the emergence of post-structuralism, although it has begun to deconstruct the discourse in relation to the economies of the Western world and the post-Soviet societies. The article extends further criticism to Sub-Saharan Africa by examining the degree to which the inhabitants of Gambia is depending on the capitalist market economy. The information was developed through interviews with 80 households, which included over 500 people and points out that only a small number of households in the contemporary Gambian society rely on a formal market economy to secure their living conditions.84

The article “Developing a Multi Ethnic Ethos: How Colonial Legacies, National Policies, and Local Histories converged into a Gambian Village Charter” is based on a case study of the

government’s local reforms in Gambia. Which confirms a generalization of colonial strategies by indirect rule in Africa in general. The article also discusses the logic behind the development, intertwined with local models for political legitimacy to generate communities which actively choose to define themselves as multi-ethnic. For that reason, a thorough accepting exists in the society, the general vision is too outwardly accepting all people, even if they are of different opinions.\footnote{Thomson, Steven, 2012, 286-287.} The author believes that specific institutions should be introduced as a Gambian version of indirect rule in the post-colonial period to reach sustainable development.\footnote{Thomson, Steven, 2012, 286-308.}

### 4.3 Economy and assistance

The country has always depended on international trade and the main export goods today are groundnuts (peanuts) and tourism. At the Declaration in 1965, almost two-thirds of the country's income was declared to be tax from European imports, and peanut export. Until 1980, peanut exports were the main source of income in foreign currency but after the 1980s, the export of consumer goods, and income from tourism increased. During the 1980s, the country’s economy was close to bankruptcy when it was faced with debt and rising inflation. Because of this, the Government was forced to implement an economic recovery program and a representative structural adjustment program in order to reverse the situation. During the 1990s, the Government's attempts to rebuild the country's economy failed, largely because of corruption and maladministration. These financial problems originally gave the motivation to 1994 military coup, led by Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh, elected as president in 1996 and at the time of writing (2016), still is the President of Gambia.\footnote{Perfect, David, 2008, 426-427.} The Government of Yahya Jammeh has launched a major development of the economy called Vision 2020, which aims to transform Gambia into an enterprising middle-income country before the year 2020. The strategy is to develop the country as a financial centre, a well-established tourist destination and that Gambia will become established as a successful nation in the agricultural and manufacturing exports.\footnote{Perfect, David, 2008, 434.}
4.4 Financial aid in Africa

Is financial aid a contributing factor or have the Africa continent developed in spite of the aid? Financial aid is a good thing that is at least what most people think but is sustainable in a long-term perspective. The aid is a political tool and supposed to promote human rights, democracy, and freedom of speech among others. In the establishment of financial aid relations, the aid must have some persistence and should not be formed on the basis of the contributing country's foreign policies at the time.

The donors' generally have homogeneous approach in regards to the countries of Africa; filled with prejudices that reflects the continent. There has been a fear among donors in order to identify and recognize the continent's historic distinctiveness. Several countries on the African continent have not had the opportunity to develop their own social motivations to encourage development, this due to colonialism. The development process has been determined elsewhere and that is the reason why many African countries today are in need assistance.

Aid critics believe that the financial aid might help to preserve the unequal society in Africa. This because, as long as billions of dollars are being pumped into the society from foreign donors the African leaders can avoid their own response of living up to the demands of the population. To make financial aid sustainable the money should come with the condition that the donors will have full transparency in the country's budget and see where their money finally goes.

4.5 Religion and family values

The Islamic religion can be explained as a social construction where marriage is a form of duty. To have sexual desires outside the marriage is not socially accepted. However, as long as you are married, sex tourism is not associated with shame as long as you are faithful to your partner. Sexual experiences outside the marriage are according to the Koran forbidden and one of the worst crimes a man can commit against Allah. Different traditions have their own way to prevent intimate encounters between individuals and in the Islamic faith; there is

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89 Bjerström, Erika, 2013, 234.
91 Hydén, Göran, 2010, 201.
a separation between the man and the women. In many societies with patriarchal structure it is common that the female takes care of the household and the man the income. On the other hand, when it comes to sex the female desires is just as valuable as the male is, as long it is inside the marriage. Sexual intercourse is a gift from Allah and if the man is impotent or not satisfied his women for months, it is a ground to divorce. However, in that sense the women can never deny the man sexual intercourse, exception of sickness and pregnancy. Furthermore, non-heterosexual actions or sexual desires who are exclusively from the marriage are according to the Koran forbidden. Because of this, relationships or an action that are homosexual, pornographic or prostitution is shameful, sometimes illegal, and combined with heavy penalties.

Chapter Five – Empirical Data

5.1 The tourism impact on the society

Tourism is an industry that includes relationships between strangers and the tourist is considered to be free of obligations, however, the hosts who have to serve them, are not. This clarifies the objectification of the individual participants in the relationship and magnifies the fact that one or both of the participants stands to gain financially. Depending on the gap between the participants when it comes to development and the awareness of culture, the possibilities to understand each other decrease. In places where sex tourism has deep roots in history, children and young persons could believe that it is ordinary tourist behaviour and considers it normal to be a part of the industry. Three of the respondents saw the phenomenon that Christine Beddoe described, and argues that tourist with the intention of purchasing sexual services exploit people because of their poverty. Respondent number two discussed: “Due to the previous lack of education, people think it is normal to engage with tourists in this manner. For the tourist it is entertainment but for the local person it is

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93 Samuelsson, Jan & Brattlund, Åsa, 1996, 28-34.
95 Beddoe, Christine, 1998, 43.
reality”. Two of the male respondents reacted strongly on the fact that due to tourism the young population choose to dress less traditional, a development they considered very negative for culture. They also argued that, 30 to 35 years ago, Gambians were not allowed to kiss and hug in public as it was against the traditional norms. However, today the western culture has penetrated the social fabrics.

5.1.2 Gambia, a fragile country

Since Gambia is a very small country with limited income from export, they depend on tourism and as written in chapter four, the number of incoming tourist has increased a lot over the years. The living standard in the country is slowly decreasing and the fact that the country has developed for the worse on the FSI scale, may harm the incoming tourism flow.

At the same time, the growing wealth in Africa leads to new conflicts, due to the growth of social media and expansion of the internet in Africa, today, the younger generation is aware of the material opportunities they are missing out on. The gap is widening between the rich and the poor, which brings tension to the social communities. According to political scientists, African countries loses more in tax loss than they receive in financial aid, and generally the blame is put on the ruling governments. Erika Bjerström, correspondent and international reporter on Swedish television argues that factors such as, unemployment, capital and tax loss, climate change and Islamization are all current issues in Africa and how the leaders manage the risks will determine their future development. Tourist taxes covers a lot of the leakage and brings social benefits for the employees as well as the government, and some of the respondents fear that negative impacts, like bumsters, political instability and poverty for instance, are over shadowing the positive ones. Which could lead to decreasing tourism, and if the tourists are nowhere to be found, they fear what is going to happen to the economy. The belief among three of the respondents is that they will be left with nothing if the negative impacts remains. No work, no employment, and principally they can only blame themselves.

100 The Fund for Peace. Country & data trends; Gambia in 2015, 2015
101 Bjerström, Erika, 2013, 324-325.
For the reason that, at the moment, the unemployment rate is very high and the government do not have the capacity to provide jobs for everyone.\textsuperscript{102}

The tourism industry, as an employment sector, is very well respected by the locals in Gambia, because, 30 years ago, lots of people got the opportunity to work in the sector and ever since, they have been able to make a living and provide for their families.\textsuperscript{103}

A survey made on Australians travelling to Thailand in 1993 shows that 23 percent of the men who took part in it intended to engage in sexual activities while in Thailand and only six percent of the female respondents travelled there for the same reason. Nonetheless, this does not mean that all tend to purchase sexual services. Depending on the situation, 46 percent of the men and 29 percent of the women asked answered that they might intend to engage in sexual contact. This means that not all sex tourists travel with the purpose of engaging in sexual activities, however, depending on the situation it might happen. Which concludes, as long as\textit{ bumsters} are looking for relationships strolling around on the beaches, sex tourism will exist.\textsuperscript{104} The general director explains that because some natives in the past engaged in sexual activities with older European ladies, the view of Gambia as a sex tourism destination has spread. European ladies who are looking for something exotic that is not available in their home countries get tempted to initiate a relation with the \textit{bumsters}.\textsuperscript{105}

After the interviews, we got the impression that several of the respondents were aware of sex tourism and the exploitation of the society. Nevertheless, they do not see it as a severe problem because the government have expressed that they do not accept it. They distinguish themselves from countries, such as, Thailand, were they believe it exist due to government acceptance. In comparison with the existing fear that sex tourism might eradicate all tourism in Gambia, this can be seen as slightly contradictory. This is how one of the respondent described the extent of sex tourism: “I think in Thailand they accept it, where’s here the

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\textsuperscript{103} Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.
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\textsuperscript{104} Oppermann, Martin, 1998, 12.
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\textsuperscript{105} Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.
\end{flushleft}
government have decide we don’t do it, in Thailand they accept it because they know that the tourist is coming spending money”.

As previously mentioned a destination life cycle is never dynamic and the visitors can instantly disappear from the area, because of fear or displeasure. Media has a powerful influence on the image of a destination; a short negative headline can have a massive impact on the incoming tourism flow. An example of this is the Ebola virus, western media let the world believed that it spread in West Africa, however it only affected three countries. Consequently, it affected Gambia’s GDP even if the country did not have any reported cases. One of the respondent argued: “it was unfair that it was painted out West Africa, when it was only three countries”. Another aspect is the political situation in the country and the fact that it is illegal to be homosexual, one of the respondent explains:

The political situation could be a big threat. Because you have a government were, probably rights is not very much respected. Even some of the authorize from the state. It could be very frightening, so when the state speak so badly about homosexuals or lesbians. Wanting to kill them, really I think that is frightening. Because they made people think, it is a very safe country they go to. So I think, that is for me, it is serious, it could be a serious threat. Some people also argue that the bumsters could be a threat. Because some people don’t like the way they got harassed. A few years ago the situation on the beaches became a threat to the tourism. Cause the water of the sea was eating to the beaches. So this, I think it could be some threats.

5.1.3 The contribution of financial aid

The "Colonial Development and Welfare Act" was declared in 1929, this was the first of many acts and it implied that British tax money should be lent to promote development in Africa. This was the first type of financial aid for development on the continent, distributed to develop Africa for people’s best. This type of financial aid was seen as an opportunity to develop the colonies so that the Europeans could benefit from them. The investments were mainly made in mines and equipment to develop them which in addition would create a great wealth but instead of contributing to African development the money were sent back to

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106 Respondent 4: General Manager at a hotel. Individual interviews Interview 2016-02-29.
Europe. However, a major problem with financial aid today, is that the recipients in several cases lack interest in making an effort because they earn more by only deliver the minimally required. According to previous research, the attitude among many countries receiving financial aid is that the donor will continue to deliver the aid anyway wheatear they make the effort or not.

The nation’s citizens consider tourism incredibly significant for Gambia. Nevertheless, during the interviews, the majority of the respondents mentioned a common positive feature, brought by tourism, and that was the NGOs impact on the country's development. NGOs considered to contribute to the country's development positively and the population speak very well of them. Charity organizations are considered to exist in Gambia due to the growth of tourism. Various of them, founded or sponsored by tourists who had a desire to make a difference in Gambian society by supporting poverty reduction interventions. This was the opinions according to four of the respondents when discussing the benefits of tourism. One of the respondents expressed it in this way:

Because of the tourism we have a lot of NGOs from Scandinavia who are helping to make sure most Gambian children goes to school and also we have a lot of families who are depending directly from the tourism industry so this is why when the Ebola situation happened we had a very tuff time in Gambia.

5.2 Poverty and financial temptations

One of the respondents working directly in tourism described how a very young Gambian woman followed an old European man, a man old enough to be her grandfather. The respondent was sure that there was no love between the two, it had to be about sexual services in exchange for money. Temptation is a key word in understanding the emerging sex tourism industry in Gambia. The marginalized members of society are handling the poverty by trading goods in the TDA, which create an atmosphere that camouflage sex tourism. Many

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112 The Association of Non-Governmental Organizations in the Gambia, About Us, 2016.
113 Hydén, Göran, 2010, 112.
of the persons who are engaged in this kind of activities, most likely want to upgrade their livelihood. Based on the interviews the reason why seems obvious, they want to marry a person living abroad to gain a financial advantage in society. From a European perspective, one of our respondents had noticed that the average Gambian tourist was approximately around 50 years old. A country like Gambia with high unemployment, were the populations see the tourists spend money in a way that is not possible for them, they start dreaming about a different lifestyle. Young people, see the benefits their friend’s gets from trading sexual services for money and suddenly more and more people want to enter this market. However, for most part they are unaware of the negative impact it has on tourism and the country. Sex tourism is a national issue and tourism industry is very important for the national economy. However, people involved in the industry do not understand or care that tourism is fragile and the effects it can have on the economy in the future. Jealousy and the desire of a better life might be the driving forces from which sex tourism in Gambia descended. One of the respondents did put it this way:

>You know young girls, you know, are force to another form of dress code, that is alien. You know some people will tell you to our own culture. You know they put on very tight you know very short dress codes, you know, to expose themselves. To make themselves more attractive to the own local’s and particular tourist.

When young individuals see what their friends are gaining from selling sex, an envy based on greed is created and the only quick solution is to start selling sexual services. They influence each other and the change is very rapid.

Two other Gambian respondents shared this view, a general manager, and a tour guide who explained that sex tourism occurs due to temptation and it is a consequence of the current problem with unemployment. Both of them felt it was unfortunate for the reason that it exploited the female population as well as the young ones. The perception was that a big part of the population believes that in order to get the opportunity to live in Europe they have to

118 Respondent 4: General Manager at a hotel. Individual interviews 2016-02-29.
120 Respondent 2: Non-government organisation employee. Individual interviews 2016-02-09.
121 Respondent 7: Hotel Food and beverage manager. Individual interviews 2016-03-15.
engage in the sex tourism industry. The general manager in particularly, mentioned that this could bring huge negative impacts on society and break apart many marriages between locals because the desire of a better life is more important than finding genuine love. Respondent six explained further:

Not actually, it is from my experience I am talking about you see problem between people. For example, I have a girlfriend from my village for a long time and maybe in one day or two a tourist meets that person and fell in love. I have a problem simply because the tourist is giving more than I am giving. So that is one thing. Like I mentioned earlier even marriages are going apart because of sex tourism.

5.2.2 The roots of desire

Poverty and temptation of gaining a better life is the foundation of this issue which dates back to the colonial period, when society was divided into new groups or classes. The colonial system was a tool of suppression, conquest and restructuring of society. The changes in society occurred due to colonial needs and the Africans had to adapt to the new system. The majority of Gambian households, in the TDA, primarily depend on other sources of income than the formal economy. Which means that they live in a precarious informal economy without laws and agreements. The reasons why people choose this type of work is often assumed to be rooted in capitalism. However, in terms of Gambia more than half of the cases assumes to be based on non-profit actions due to collectivism. When working, the motives are rather helping relatives, friends and acquaintances, as well as strengthen social relationships than gaining financial income. The Gambian population is depending on the formal economy to secure their livelihoods however, combined with other economic earnings. The gap between the rich and the poor is increasing although the economy in general is growing. The informal sector has fallen into oblivion and for many years it has not been prioritized because the government did not feel that it was significant in economic development. Instead, the

124 Davidson, Basil, 2001, 36.
government has focused on purchasing socio-economic growth and sustainable social development via economic globalisation.\textsuperscript{126}

### 5.3 The origin of \textit{Bumsters/Beach boys} in Gambia

There have been many studies on young men who chose to become \textit{beach boys (bumster)} in countries such as Gambia and Barbados. A \textit{beach boy} is a young man who is a member of the host community and frequently visits the beaches to interact with tourists. \textit{Beach boys} are traders, selling sexual services to tourists in exchange for money or other benefits. However, if a \textit{beach boy} is considered a boy or a young man differs by culture. Christine Beddoe, claims that: “the context in which age is discussed is relevant to the society and, therefore, the grey area between childhood, adolescence and adulthood is much more than a legal concept”.\textsuperscript{127} Based on the context of post colonialism it be can be explored by the word boy reflecting the master-servant relationship, which emphasized this era. \textit{Beach boys} originates from the neo-colonial society which, as previously mentioned in the chapter “The legacy of colonialism”, was a dark period of time, marked by white supremacy, racism, and exploitation. Beddoe describes how \textit{beach boys} in a tourism setting, represented by white tourists, overstep racial boundaries and breakthrough to the modern world, from a local perspective it is considered as a triumph.\textsuperscript{128} In African the man symbolises sexuality, author Rachel Spronk explains that the continent of Africa is often described as homogeneous, were the male ability of living in monogamy is questioned and the male sex is considered promiscuous.\textsuperscript{129} Other authors describes the \textit{beach boys} in Caribbean as a spread out phenomena where the boys are looking for visitors who are overweight and pale, as it signs of a woman who is unattractive among men and who recently arrived. The \textit{beach boys} are looking for women who can provide for them and their families financially. They get involved in pursuit of a more comfortable lifestyle. In this sense, they are viewed by the public as non-commercial and voluntary sex workers.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{126} Sallah, Abdoulie & Williams, Colin, C, 2011, 54-55.
\textsuperscript{127} Beddoe, Christine, 1998, 44.
\textsuperscript{128} Beddoe, Christine, 1998, 44-45.
\textsuperscript{129} Spronk, Rachel, 2014, 504-517.
\textsuperscript{130} Ryan, Chris & Hall, C, Michael, 2001. 60-63.
All the respondents have an opinion about the *bumsters*; one of them describes the influence in the society:

> This is something growing in our society, and it is making a lot of people drop of school, because they think going to school is a waste of time. When they can go to the beach, and stay, and keep having friends, upend friends, until at the time that they are lucky to find someone, you know, an old woman of 60-65 years that may not be able to have a husband, or even a boyfriend in Europe.\(^\text{131}\)

By children living in the tourism area the *bumsters* could been seen as role models and by using bits of language skills the children start to beg for money or small gifts, such as, pens or t-shirts. In undeveloped countries, characterized by unemployment, children play an essential role in bringing the family important articles which they received from tourist by begging. However, little by little the children start to abandon their families. Children that live in the TDA also tend to develop behaviours that are influenced by the tourists, like using drugs or drink alcohol. The more exotic the tourist behaviour seems the more likely is it that the children try to adopt it. Finally, they will start to be confused about their own traditional values. This change in behaviour could create tensions, both within the family and in the society.\(^\text{132}\) One of the NGO-employed respondents, mentioned:

> People may think that the job they have, the work they are doing as bumsters is an easy road to richness. To taking a family out of poverty, they will not be remodels because some of them, I know, cannot be remodels. So, but that probably maybe there. [...] You can have a tourist, a paedophile that is a friend of the family. Okay, like groom the family, so to speak. Promise scholarship for the child, okay and so. In that way they can have access to that child or those children. So you can get there. So I do not think, honestly, I do not think bumsters are good, are remodels. That is mine opinion I do not think so.\(^\text{133}\)

### 5.4 Sex tourism, a phenomenon that does not only affect adults

The author of the article “*Beach boys and Tourists*” argues: “The anonymity of freedom of movement provides an ideal situation for child sex tourists to use relative wealth and power to exploit children and their families. The children become a part of the tourist product”.\(^\text{134}\)

When a destination starts to be recognized for the phenomenon of sex tourism, sooner or later

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\(^{131}\) Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.


\(^{134}\) Hansson, Jody, 1998, 172.
children will be affected. Not only men demand this type of sex tourism, cases with women have been reported, however, documentation is hard to find. During the interviews, it appeared that several of the respondents knew about the existence of child sex tourism in the country. However, only few knew how it affected to the involved children and society. The general belief appeared to be that this type of tourism, often included the family of the child, who saw it as a way out of poverty. Unfortunately, those who are actively working in tourism have not had the opportunity to undergo preventive training in the matter. The only known fact was that tourists with native children were for the most part not accepted in the hotels in the tourism area. If they were, the children had to be accompanied with at least one of their parents. In regards to minors, we found that the opinions by the respondents did not differs by culture. Both the Europeans and the Gambians believed it to be a serious problem that should not be tolerated, contrary to adult sex tourism they felt hopeful that the government could combat the problem.

5.5 Short-term and long-term beneficiaries

Normally the prostitute is the one who is exploited in a customer-prostitution relationship because their body is the tool for pleasure. Is it only women or do men also look for love in this kind of relationship? Oppermann argues, that perhaps male sex buyers visit developing countries to buy sex in hope of getting more than just sex, even men can look for a girlfriend-boyfriend experience. Although, there are often social and personal reasons that make certain women candidates for prostitution, many simply discover that working in an illegal market makes good economic sense. Throughout history, prostitution has provided a solution to the problem of economic hardship. Simply put, men are willing to pay more for sexual access than for almost all other forms of female labour. "We are not saying too much about

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135 Beddoe, Christine, 2003, 197-199.
139 Oppermann, Martin, 1998a, 7.
it because here it is a bit delicate as well because how it is it is hard to say where you put the difference between boyfriend-girlfriend”.\textsuperscript{140}

Today Gambia is something exotic and promoted with the three S’s: Sun, Sand, and Sex. Overall this spread picture is not created of the undeveloped countries nonetheless, by international professional agencies and are generally the only picture that people outside the country know about Gambia.\textsuperscript{141} The population is well aware of the importance of tourism and have been taught to promote the country as “the smiling coast of Africa”, a holiday destination. Nevertheless, one of the respondents was aware about the three S’s. Which in the eyes of the respondent represented an unfair image of the country, an image that was unfortunate for tourism.\textsuperscript{142} Another respondent discussed the western image that was circulating on the internet and other media outside Gambia:

You know, you are telling people that come to the Gambia and have sex between and young man and an old woman or between an old man and a young lady. That is how you are selling because the pictures go a long way to, to, take…I think this is an area that the government needs to look at.\textsuperscript{143}

According to respondent number seven, does an aspiration to be sustainable in tourism exist but due to negative impacts such as sex tourism, they have encountered a difficult challenge. One respondents explained that sex tourism do not portrait a good image of Gambia but there is not much to do about it now, sex tourism is definitely being portrayed in media because a lot of elderly people are coming to Gambia, in search of seduction and love. Further on, the respondent mentions that there is an awareness about the exploitation, nevertheless, the population does not consider the exchange of favours a major problem for future development.\textsuperscript{144} The respondent who was working in the tourism industry, as a government employee, had experienced an increase in sex tourism but then added that the majority were women travelling to Gambia in the search for younger men, ordinarily above 18 years old.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{140} Respondent 5: Destination manager, Tour operator. Individual interviews 2016-03-10.

\textsuperscript{141} Jonson, Stefan & Syssner, Josefin, 2011, 229-230.

\textsuperscript{142} Respondent 11: Non-government organisation employee. Individual interviews 2016-03-25.

\textsuperscript{143} Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.

\textsuperscript{144} Respondent 7: Hotel Food and beverage manager. Individual interviews 2016-03-15.

Facts shows that some women actually are travelling to countries such as Gambia and other developing countries with the purpose to have sex and in some cases seek for love.146

In terms of beneficiaries, the bumsters normally receives a small part of the income from sex tourism, there is a long chain of operator who also benefits from the phenomena, such as, taxi drivers, bar owners, night clubs, pimps, brothels, polices and hotels among others.147 As Hillary and Dominique Du Cros argued in chapter two, low self-esteem can be a contributing factor of prostitution. If bumsters give women with low self-esteem romance, they start to get addicted and rash in to this kind of relationships.148

The government benefits from sex tourism in the sense that the prostitutes who end up getting married and move abroad send money back to his or her family and the state receives taxes of the remittances.149 The government employed respondent explained that the tourism industry had improved since the establishment of the Gambian Tourism Board (GTB), an organisation under the ministry of tourism and culture.150 However, when the interview questions involved the subject of sex tourism, the answers became very limited. The respondent mentioned that the GTB had created standards and policies in regards of the subject and the introduction of the tourism military who monitored the beach had produced results. There are no regulations about the relationships and it considers hard to tell the difference between love and prostitution. One respondent who is a government employee explain that they have added a tourist security unit to prevent the bumsters from going to the beach, nowadays they have to report themselves before they have access to the TDA.151

The Gambian Tourism Development Masterplan from 2006 showed that the GTB had a budget of 300,000 US Dollars to construct and implement action plans to help the bumsters find an alternative income within ten years.152

150 Ministry of tourism and culture, Welcome, 2016
151 Respondent 9: Government employee. Individual interviews 2016-03-23
152 African Development Bank: Department of state for tourism and culture, The Gambia Tourism Development Master Plan, 2006, 28
The plan was conducted to raise the income levels from tourism and encourage the tourists to spend more money in the country which would contribute to create new jobs. By receiving more incoming tourists, the government would gain supplementary tax revenues which was supposed to be used to enhance resources that addressed the issue of poverty.\textsuperscript{153}

When reviewing the interviews, several of the respondents seemed to be aware of the policy’s and standards created by the government. However, none of them had received any material or information directly on the subject or the masterplan but they knew that brochures existed.\textsuperscript{154}

5.6 Family perspective – the significance of having a financial advantage

In Gambia, based on our interviews, the family opinion is very important. There is a huge difference in the community structure comparing to the western world and individuality goes totally against the traditional values. Gambia is a society that in contrast to Sweden is a collectivistic culture which means that group harmony is more important than the individual achievements.\textsuperscript{155} The patriarchal structures in the society enhances the male sex and females are treated as inferior. It is important for a \textit{bumster} to have a relationship with a woman who has high socio-economic opportunities because it gets him access to geographical mobility.

To initiate these sexual relations is a choice that allows both Gambian men and women to supplement or support themselves with one or several partners.\textsuperscript{156}

Respondent five, born in Europe and raised within an individualistic society, explained how the collectivistic culture in Gambia is depending on group belonging:

They are raised in a way so they have to take care of each other. Like I said in a compound, if ten people live in the compound and only two have work. Those two will be supporting the rest of the compound. By buying all the food and the rest of their need and this social habit of protecting each other of that is for some disregarded way also infect when you talk about protecting people in their workplace. They will never tell on each other. So if I had an employed in here that will not doing his work properly the others will not tell me. But I can see it and then when I tell them


\textsuperscript{155} Franke, George, R & Nadler, Scott, S, 2008, 254 – 264.

\textsuperscript{156} Sylvia, Chant & Evans, Alice, 2010, 353-367.
afterwards they will say, “Yes that is correct”. But they will never come and tell me.157

5.6.2 A controversial phenomenon in a society with a deep religious belief

The marriage according to the Islamic believes are necessary if you want to be a part of the society and divorces are rare. The families do often consist of several generations that live together under the same roof and the man of the family can have several wives. He is even aloud to marry someone from another religion, such as a Christians. However, a female Muslim can only marry a Muslim man.158 Respondent number three describes the connection between religion and infidelity: “The Gambia, you may know is a religious country, more than 90 percent of the Gambians are Muslims, and in the Muslim religion people should not have sex outside marriage”.159

According to the Koran, the woman has to be a virgin when she gets married. If the woman shows not to be a virgin the marriage can, in some societies, be invalidated. This is not only a shame for the woman but also her family.160 Another respondent explains further the vulnerability of the virginity:

In our tradition, the families have that believe, they believe on this virginity, very well. Virginity is a pride of the family. If your girl child is married and the husband found that the child is a virgin the entire family is very happy. But whenever your daughter got married and not found to be a virgin in our certain view, you know, it will embarrass the whole family. So if you lose your virginity the general view is that you are a woman.161

A different view of the negative part of sex tourism according to the religious beliefs is that prostitution and the fact that young people are ending up in alcoholism. Muslims are not supposed to drink but that is just by word, due to the tourism they can afford alcohol during the high season.162

157 Respondent 4: General Manager at a hotel. Individual interviews 2016-02-29.
158 Samuelsson, Jan & Brattlund, Åsa, 1996, 57-60.
159 Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.
5.6.3 Marriages between toubabs and bumsters

Respondent number three is raising the issue about young boys leaving school in favour of having an old woman as their girlfriend.\textsuperscript{163}

It is easy to see the phenomenon only from European perspective and believe that the toubab-bumster relationships are only of economic interests. However, Sylvia Chant and Alice Evans claims that research documenting this type of exchange in some cases miss a close connection between emotions and material exchange. An impression that feelings cannot be associated with sexual exchange brings the researcher further away from the subjects and creates an attitude of them and us. A bumster is respected in society because he has a toubab on his side, a woman that generates economic gains and social respect.\textsuperscript{164} Already during the first interview, the traditional aspects came up, in regards to how tourist generates a desire. The general director mentioned that the young generations develop a desire for this kind of marriages by tourists showing them a different picture of reality that challenges ancient traditions and norms of society.\textsuperscript{165}

It is well known that marriages between older Europeans and younger Gambians are not based on genuine love, but the financial benefits compensate for the human needs of love and attraction. However, if Gambians who are attracted to exotic cultures would meet a genuine love aboard it would still be questionable. One of the respondents, working within the hotel industry argued that these kind of relationships often were categorised as purely financial arrangement by other people, so this is of cause going to affect some people who think that;

I want to marry a wife from Sweden, I want to marry a wife from morocco, I want to marry a wife from based on your needs and your thoughts, because people have different things to think about so if you want to have that, you have a problem. Because, you cannot find a woman that will know that you want to have a genuine relationship. You want to have a relationship that will end in a marriage.\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{163} Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.
\textsuperscript{164} Sylvia, Chant & Evans, Alice, 2010, 353-367.
\textsuperscript{166} Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.
The blame game

The UN collaborates with the Gambian government to prevent stagnation of the country’s development, however, the implementation of UNDP programs activities to reach the MDG’s and SDG’s is often carried out by partners such as NGO’s. The UN supports several African countries with financial aid, which for many years has been the predominant method for transferring resource between rich and poor countries. The big issue in Africa is that the leaders are equally part of both the problem and the solution. The question is if the donors will be confident enough to give the countries bigger responsibility to handle the financial aid. For countries to achieve self-sufficiency the donors have to give the beneficiary parts full control even though weakness in democracy and corruption among other factors even today, to the highest extent still exist. The beneficiary governments should have to deal with this kinds of concerns as a condition to receive financial aid, however, there are no guaranties that cutbacks would encourage the governments to improve.

In order to change the situation several of the respondents believe that government have to handle the current situation of high unemployment. If the government cannot provide formal work, the population will be forced to go in to the informal economy and it might be necessary for people to enter in to sex tourism. As Vanwesenbeeck claimed in chapter two, young men have a tendency to end up in prostitution due to the possible economic benefits and the current issue with unemployment. She argued that further research on the subject of sex tourism, especially male prostitution is essential to comprehend and combat the issue.

The tour guide described that it is up to the department of tourism to make sure that the operators realise all the standards. However several of the respondents seems pleased by the establishment of the GTB and described that they can see a change, nevertheless, there is much left to deal with. The master plan, designed by the ministry of tourism and culture, is supposed to include a vision for a sustainable tourism. Information that would be essential for

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the operators to receive and information regarding the subject is requested. One of the respondents mentioned a future possibility to catch tourists that have committed a crime in the country: “Now we are taking actions to start a 24-hour tribunal, which will help people take their time to witness. The progress used to take up to two months but now the whole process can take progress in 24 hours”. The respondent mean that the Gambians are scared of conflict and might change their minds if the trial take too long in order not to break the structure of society, if the government speed up the process hopefully more tourists will get convicted for crimes like prostitution and paedophilia.

During the interviews the respondent blames the sex tourism for the negative image differently depending on work and political stance. Respondent eleven, who is a NGO-employee, think that the number one obligation of the state is to protect, respect and fulfil human rights, however, the respondent also highlights the responsibility of the hotels as well as the individual obligation. According to the respondent the hotels have an obligation to communicate with each other in the case of sex tourism, if a gust is not welcomed in one hotel the others should be aware of that fact. The government employee had a different point of view that points out that sex tourism have to be licensed and in Gambia they do not have prostitution nether brothels: “For us we do not accept sex tourism but it is hard to see who are coming here with that kind of intentions”.

Other respondents, with direct connection to the tourism industry, mentioned that: “the sex tourism has not reached an alarming issue” and does not see any problem but are pointing out that “raising awareness is the key”. If prostitution or sex tourism is happening in the hotel, they are blacklisting this kind of individuals but “it is has occasionally happened, not frequently”. This point of view is rather unique and in comparison to respondent number

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175 Respondent 8: Government employee. Individual interviews 2016-03-23.
177 Respondent 8: Government employee. Individual interviews 2016-03-23.
six, means that the sex tourism has increased and that it ends in marriages and that it is exploiting the female population especially the young ones: “it is bringing in a concept to some woman that they must be involved in it in order to make it to Europe”. In addition, the respondent blames the unemployment rate in the country and that the government cannot provide job for everyone. From a European perspective, both respondents pointed out the tourist’s economic advantage:

We see the European coming on holidays spending every night like monthly salary in the restaurants. […] People are seeing another, another kind of lifestyle, which creates that people wants to make money but in Gambia, I think, it is kind of still small because it is not organised. If we take for example Thailand were it is organised and this girls they do not have anything to say, here actually, I think all the girls and boys they have chosen it themselves, and some of them are having wives or husbands in the villages that are okay with this as well.

I already thought about it before coming down here, because I heard that this country is little bit like Thailand is for men, but here is not only men, it is also women. So the exploitation may go the other way around. Older women come down here and find young boys, that even be that way around. The exploitation is possible because they are so poor and maybe even in the family they say, I accept it. Because they are poor and they can get money out of it.

Further, the two Europeans respondents, both in the hotel business, are describing the phenomena as a standpoint against the phenomena and it is up to each hotel to make the regulations:

we are not saying to much about it because here it is a bit delicate as well because it is hard to say, where you put the difference […] I have done my own guidelines. that I have given to the hotels to guide them that prevent this kind of one night “having fun situations”. So I said do not have the one night charge for the extra guest in the room, one week or nothing. If it is a girlfriend, they will pay.

If I see, a grown up European woman pick, even if it is a bumpster that is in his 20-years old. If he is 20-years old, he is old enough to know what he is doing. I cannot prevent that and as long as they are doing it discreet and not bothering other guests. She can take him to her room. I will not be against that. There will be charged for being two in the room but that is normal convenient in the hotel.

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180 Respondent 5: Destination manager, Tour operator. Individual interviews 2016-03-10.
181 Respondent 4: General Manager at a hotel. Individual interviews 2016-02-29.
182 Respondent 5: Destination manager, Tour operator. Individual interviews 2016-03-10.
183 Respondent 4: General Manager at a hotel. Individual interviews 2016-02-29.
5.8 Future possibilities to reduce sex tourism

Today the availability of cheap flights has opened up for tourism in many of the countries that once where closed due to war or political crisis, the easy access combined with the “on line-revolution” has opened up new opportunities for tourists who are travelling with the purpose of sex. A scenario that previously took part in certain areas of Asia, is now beginning to spread to other developing countries in Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. One of the affected countries is Kenya where the tourism industry has specified upcoming problems. Foreign people sunbathing on the beaches or walking around the mall specially built for them. The local people who previously lived in extreme poverty are beginning to acknowledge that tourism is a decent or only source of income. However, tourism employments can only be imposed to a few residents and therefore will exclude most of the native’s which will bring them to seek other ways to take advantage of the industry, for instance by selling sex.184

Two of the respondents said that a good start would be to educate people in school about sex tourism and which alternative opportunities are available in Gambia. Nowadays regular sexual education exists, but the respondent believes that there is room for improvement. However, according to respondent number six and nine, they do preach about sex tourism during Islamic preaching, since the religion is against it.185

There have to be a general change in attitudes among the Gambian population. Money do not grow in people’s backyards, there have to be a change in the mind-set of the younger generation when it comes to sex tourism. They have to learn about the negative impacts, how their actions can destroy the image of the country.186 Respondent number ten argues that children are the future and in a culture so strongly characterized by family values, collectivism, and solidarity, the children will grow up to provide for the society. Family members, acquaintances and neighbours have to look out for each other to prevent the young generation from growing up and become involved in the industry.187 The country has to continue on to educate about awareness and responsible tourism both towards the population

184 Kibicho, Wanjohi, 2009, 97.
and the international market. The operators, responsible for the holiday have to be sensitised and the European countries must accept their involvement and help to prevent the situation.\textsuperscript{188} Researchers have to acknowledge colonialism in order to understand why tourists are travelling to undeveloped countries and how the relationships develop. The African continent is often described as violent, erotic and exotic in the Western world. In this matter, the Western world claims power by exotifying the African cultures.\textsuperscript{189} By applying the destination life cycle on Gambia, the country need to be aware of the main attraction and which component that makes the destination attractive. However, if these were to change the authenticity would disappear and the destination will convert from unique and mysterious to popular and crowded and at this stage the destination has reached the phase of stagnation.\textsuperscript{190} The ministry of tourism should be concerned about the image of Gambia. Since sex is very common in tourism marketing and it is widespread all over the world, it also occurs in the country. However, there are not much literature of the subject but how common are the sexual images, is there an identical representation of sexes and a certain descriptions more shared than others did?\textsuperscript{191} As mentioned in chapter two, this type of marketing is classic and tourist promotion have for many years been packed with both exotic and erotic pictures to allure and attract visitors.\textsuperscript{192}

Four out of twelve respondents felt that the image portrayed of the country abroad in many cases were negative.\textsuperscript{193} To quote the general director:

\begin{quote}
You know, and this was as a result of negative press. But the other one is off course also a lot of press is also talking about child sex tourism that is happening here I have seen some stories. I have seen some stories that you know are talking about this sex tourism, selling the Gambia as a sex destination. And even some hotels, are trying to sell their destination as a sex tourist destination because if you look at the hotel brochure where you have you know a lady lying on a sun bed on the beach and you have a
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{189} Jonsson, Stefan & Syssner, Josefina, 2011, 228-229.

\textsuperscript{190} Butler, Richard, 2006, 22-27.

\textsuperscript{191} Oppermann, Martin, McKinley, Shawna & Kye-Sung, Chon, 1998, 25.

\textsuperscript{192} Beddoe, Christine, 1998, 57.

However, one of the European respondent thought that the marketing of Gambia as a sex tourist destination was humorous and meant that it could be viewed as offensive. The picture of Gambia was not serious, and it was just presented in a funny way.  

Chapter Six – Conclusions

The underlying assumptions that (1) in Gambia the sex trade is viewed as a factor that contributes to social and economic development, and (2) that from Gambian position it is not the tourists that exploit Gambians but in fact the opposite, these are the prejudices that initiated this thesis. Prejudices that originates from our previous knowledge based on impressions of the general image promoted of Gambia in Western media.

When cultures collide, sub-cultures are created and in the case of Gambia, it has a lot to do with the history and that European tourists may consider themselves superior of Africans. Tourists tend to request modernity, however, they chose to travel to Gambia in search of the exotic and authentic experience. This leads to misunderstandings about traditional values in society which mostly influence the younger generations. The culture along the coastline, TDA, differs from the rural because it is affected by the Western world since this is where the tourists are to be found. In the 80s the first signs of this cultural changes appeared due to tourism and today the traditional values have been revalued and modernized, e.g. nowadays, it is more accepted to engage in physical relations with the opposite sex in public. Because of new modernity’s the society is aware of which possibilities they are missing out on, the technological development, among other things, have contributed to different demands. Lack of research on how to prevent sex tourism in society have made it difficult to develop tourism in a sustainable manner in destinations characterized by the phenomenon. However, in combination with lack of interest the Gambian sex tourism industry has developed on its own. Since tourism is a very important industry, powers that be, have to acknowledge the contributions that the industry brings both for the population and the national economy and use this information to develop the country further. The sex tourism in Gambia is a recognised

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194 Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.
195 Respondent 5: Destination manager, Tour operator. Individual interviews 2016-03-10.
issue. However, the public accept it, then again, they do not take any responsibility, since the government claims not to condone it. Reasons that possibly could prevent tourists from visiting Gambia, besides sex tourism, are the islamization and negative images portrayed in western media.

A positive factor that originated from tourism is the establishment of NGO’s, which have contributed to the development and helped to reduce the poverty rate. Due to the NGO’s the social welfare system, including healthcare and education have improved. The country cannot rely on financial aid to succeed in order to be socially, financially and environmentally sustainable, the first step is to be self-sufficient. It is unsecure to depend on the informal economy, most of the participants chose to focus their business towards the tourism industry. However, the demands in tourism can change rapidly. To secure future employment for the youth, in Gambia, the government have to create various work opportunities in the formal sector. They have to expand the spectrum of tourism and explore other possible employment industries by changing the attitude and break boundaries. Long-term thinking is substantial for future sustainable development, both the population and the government have to be sensitised of the issue.

When the colonizers left Africa, the neo-colonial era started and the population was left with an unfamiliar structure of society. They were left discouraged with the belief that African people were inferior to the white man. Because the economy was inherited by the colonizers it was difficult for the new leaders to stabilize their countries and they had to start over from scratch. When tourism started to blossom in Gambia, during the early 70’s, the government realized that they could gain important revenue. The tourism flow did not go by unnoticed by the Gambians who also noticed the advantages it could bring e.g. as guides or fruit sellers in the TDA. During the colonial time, African people became aware that they were considered exotic. When the white people returned to the continent for leisure, the African man who was objectified as a sex symbol, began to fascinate the European women and sex tourism began. Some African men took advantage of the exotification and began to sell sex in exchange for money or other benefits. A phenomenon that both the state, NGO’s, the population and European tourists are aware, however the effects have been overlooked.

Sex tourism in Gambia have developed out of envy and desire for a better life. The temptation of the monetary gains, in this sub-industry, encourage several young Gambians to enter in to this kind of relationships. After the interviews our perspective of the situation is that the
Gambian people in general are not aware of the effects their actions might have on the society and the future of the country. Despite the fact that the Gambian society is characterized by collectivism, were they care about the closest group of family and friends and they overlook the bigger picture.

A negative effects of sex tourism is that the exploitation of minors has emerged, this is an alarming issue. The white persona uses his or her financial power to gain control in this kind of relationship which not only affects the child but also his or her family, a power they do not possess. The children are victims of prostitution but the predator often gets away with the illegal act, due to the absence of police reports. The family stands to lose their financial gains, from the paedophile, if they report him or her. However, reported cases of abuse often get withdrawal because the family is scared to lose their income.

The GTB have established the tourism military unit in order to control the issue of bumsters on the beaches, nonetheless, we believe that it is more important to sensitise the society of the effects and how to prevent sex tourism and prostitution from happening. There are no real regulations or policies of how the operators in the industry shall work to combat child sex tourism, they have to come up with their own, which implies that no rules are the same. Child sex tourism is not accepted in any part of the world however, in Gambia little has been done to prevent it. The society do not want to be involved, they rely on the anticipation that anyone else will deal with the issue. Nonetheless, when the participants in sex tourism are above 18, the opinions differed because it is hard to separate love and prostitution. Some of the respondents are blaming the phenomenon on immigrants from the neighbouring countries, some on the culture changes because of Western influences and others blame the current issue of unemployment. Sex tourism is a fragile issue that brings negative influences to the tourism industry, it is a threat against sustainable tourism development.

6.1 Suggestions for Further Research

After finishing this bachelor thesis, we believe that further research that could complement the field of sex tourism in developing countries must be acknowledge by the powers. It is a field worth exploring, especially due to the impact the phenomenon has on the society and because the developing countries are undergoing structural changes and without statistics the issue can develop for the worse. If the phenomenon is free to proceed without control by authorities, there is a risk that the tourist will leave the destination for other holiday resort that
offers the same range of activities and sought after environment. Sex tourism is in fact a threat against social development and negative influence by media can destroy the image of a destination before people even see and acknowledge it as a tourism destination.

Suggestions for further research are: Gender differences in prostitution and education of gender equality and the emergence of female sex tourism, why it is not considered unethical.
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World tourism organisation Network. Who we are. 2016. 
http://www2.unwto.org/content/who-we-are-0 (Accessed 2016-05-18)
Personal communication

Respondent 1: Non-government organisation employee. Individual interviews 2016-02-09.


Respondent 3: General Director for a school. Individual interviews 2016-02-22.

Respondent 4: General Manager at a hotel. Individual interviews Interview 2016-02-29.

Respondent 5: Destination manager, Tour operator. Individual interviews Interview 2016-03-10.


Respondent 7: Hotel Food and beverage manager. Individual interviews 2016-03-15.


Attachment 1- The Structure of Questions

- What is your experience of working in the tourism or hospitality industry?
- In your opinion, what characterizes tourism in The Gambia?
- In what way have tourism in The Gambia developed the last decade?
- What is your view on sex tourism?
- Do you notice any specific trends within the sex tourism industry?
- According to you, what are the positive and the negative aspects of sex tourism?
- Can you describe if there are effects of sex tourism in the community?
- How would you work to combat sex tourism?
- To change the perception of sex tourism, where should you start?
- What is your opinion on the government’s action against sex tourism? Do you have any directions from the government that you need to apply in the studies regarding sex tourism?
- What would you say tourism has done for the country?
- In your opinion which are the greatest threats to tourism development in the country?
- Do you have an opinion of how the media outside the Gambia presents the country and in such cases what do you think of the image they represent?
Matilda Nilsson

Louise Jonsson