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Human Rights Challenges for Sexual Minorities in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania

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Abstract

Sexual minorities in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania face significant human rights challenges in critical areas. Based on a survey conducted with Dar es Salaam-based organizers, this article finds that sexual minorities face challenges in obtaining protection against physical harm, face dangers from arrest and detention, and experience barriers to accessing basic services such as health, education, and public transportation. Widespread hostile or discriminatory attitudes towards sexual minorities are also reported to remain. Practical steps that can assist LGBT organizers in Tanzania include supporting non-discriminatory funding streams through Tanzanian or regional organizations that assist sexual minorities.

Introduction

Using interviews with sexual minorities as well as discussions with community organizers and leaders, this article reports on human rights issues faced by sexual minorities in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in key areas, including discrimination, harassment, physical safety, family relationships, access to health and education, and protection by authorities. Sexual minorities in Dar es Salaam face threats to their safety such as sexual violence, vulnerability to engaging in survival sex, and discrimination from authorities. However, many respondents expressed optimism about the integration of sexual minorities in Tanzania in the future.

Optimism on the part of some respondents as to the future of sexual minorities in Tanzania is promising. That Tanzania has not experienced the same degree of political hostility towards gays and lesbians that has been seen in other countries might also suggest a possible improvement in attitude from the government and public. However, homosexuality continues to be criminalized.[i] In order to improve the climate for LGBT advocacy, I argue that aid donors should try to ensure that assistance to civil society supports advocacy and assistance for sexual minorities.

Background

Dar es Salaam is the largest city in the United Republic of Tanzania. Homosexuality has been criminalized in Tanzania and its predecessor state of Tanganyika since at least 1954, when the Penal Code was amended to criminalize "unnatural offences" and "acts of gross indecency."[ii] In 1998, the penalties for these offences increased.[iii]

At present, the Tanzanian Penal Code penalizes a person who "has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature" or "permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature." Penalties include life imprisonment or a term of imprisonment of not less than thirty years.[iv] Attempts to commit an "unnatural offence" or to have an "unnatural offence" committed against oneself carry the penalty of imprisonment of not less than twenty years.[v] Applying specifically to acts between males, Section 157 of the Penal Code imposes a penalty of five years imprisonment for acts of "gross indecency", whether in private or public, or attempts to procure an "act of gross indecency" by a male or between males.[vi] The penalties provided in the Tanzanian Penal Code are among the highest in the world.[vii] They are rarely directly applied, but organizers and activists have been arrested on charges of prostitution and vagrancy.[viii] In 2012, one gay activist with connections to LGBT NGOs was found killed in his home—though government involvement does not appear to be suspected.[ix]

To my knowledge, there have been no efforts at the national level to introduce amendments to current laws either to relax the penalization of homosexuality or to expand prohibitions on homosexuality to include the "promotion" of homosexuality, as has been enacted in some countries.[x] While Tanzania is currently undergoing a process of drafting a new constitution, the revised constitutional draft does not refer to sexual orientation.[xi]

Some government policies, namely those produced by or under the auspices of the Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS), address strategies to reduce rates of HIV/AIDS, and have called for the inclusion of men who have sex with men (MSM) in prevention and treatment strategies.[xii] Prevailing government attitudes towards sexual minorities nonetheless appear negative. The present administration of President Jakaya Kikwete responded negatively to reports that British foreign aid could be linked to LGBT rights, with the foreign minister stating that, "[h]omosexuality is not part of our culture and we will never legalise it."[xiii] In May 2013, allegations that an opposition party held views in favor of tolerance of homosexuality led to an outraged denial on the part of that opposition party.[xiv] An official of the Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG)—the national focal point for human rights—told Human Rights Watch that sexual minorities are not included in its work.[xv]

At the level of civil society, while Tanzania has prominent national human rights NGOs, the Legal and Human Rights Centre—one of the most prominent of these NGOs—has publicly taken the position that homosexuality is contrary to Tanzanian culture.[xvi] Accordingly, the main annual human rights report published by the Legal and Human Rights Centre does not contain specific language on violations of human rights of sexual minorities.[xvii] To my knowledge, other established human rights and legal aid organizations in the country, while providing assistance to vulnerable populations, do not assist or advocate for sexual minorities.

For the purpose of this article, I spoke with persons representing five registered or unregistered organizations in Dar es Salaam that work with sexual minorities. Of these, two organizations were part of a network of organizations that addressed issues

pertaining to sexual minorities, prostitution, and drug use.[xviii] Another organization indicated that it had established a coalition of smaller community-based groups and was engaged in advocacy towards the inclusion of sexual minorities in the process of Tanzania's ongoing constitutional review.[xix] Established organizations stated that they did not officially register themselves as organizations working with sexual minorities.[xx] Under Tanzanian law, non-governmental organizations or other social groups must officially register with the government.[xxi] Registration is also usually a prerequisite for funding from local non-governmental and international sources.[xxii] As a result, civil society organizations seeking to register and obtain funding usually operate with careful attention to their public profile.

Prior research on sexual minorities in Tanzania exists, but has tended to focus on responses to HIV/AIDS.[xxiii] Research in this category usually focuses on health risks associated with HIV/AIDS among MSM. In 2009, one Tanzanian and two international NGOs submitted a shadow report, primarily citing news reports, on the rights of LGBT persons in Tanzania in relation to Tanzania's periodic report to the UN Human Rights Committee.[xxiv] In 2012, Human Rights Watch released a report on sexual minorities, prostitutes, and drug users in Tanzania.[xxv] Focusing primarily on Dar es Salaam, the Human Rights Watch report documented egregious instances of maltreatment of sexual minorities and other vulnerable populations by government authorities, including physical abuse, rape and other forced sexual acts by police against sexual minority men, and refusal by police to address complaints by sexual minorities about crimes perpetrated by private persons.

Methodology

The primary research for this paper was conducted between July and October 2012. During this period, I was working for a small legal aid NGO in Dar es Salaam. The primary purpose of the research was to obtain more information on the status of sexual minorities in Tanzania given the absence of information on sexual minorities and the continued criminal prohibition of homosexuality in the country. I partnered with a small community-based NGO that worked with sexual minorities to conduct a survey with gay and lesbian respondents. The survey was first piloted with five respondents, with the assistance of another organizer.

The survey instrument was drafted to address human rights issues in certain key areas: physical safety, access to public services, abuse by government authorities, and employment discrimination. Discussions with activists and organizers informed the selection of areas of focus. Identifying whether sexual minorities had suffered abuse, discrimination, or mistreatment by private parties in areas like education, safety, and housing was designed to provide further information on the level of protection afforded to sexual minorities by the government. Authorities can be responsible for human rights violations when they are unwilling or unable to protect individual human rights.[xxvi] Questions about mistreatment by government authorities in the areas of arrest and detention more directly addressed whether sexual minorities were subject to direct human rights violations by authorities.

Although the pilot survey in July included questions on sexually transmitted diseases and testing, I removed these questions because of their intrusiveness. Other questions relating to safe spaces and social networks were also removed to facilitate

the efficient administration of the surveys. One question on public transportation was added as a result of a focus group with LGBT respondents in July and August 2012 at the office of the partner organization, which identified discrimination and safety in public transportation as an issue for sexual minorities.

All respondents referred to in this article self-identified as MSM, gay, lesbian or bisexual. A total of thirty-six surveys were usable. The partner organization referred persons who were invited to participate in the survey. Consequently, the survey is not necessarily representative of all sexual minorities in Dar es Salaam.

A minority of respondents were women. All respondents in the survey provided oral consent, and the purposes of the survey were explained at an initial focus group at the office of the organizational partner. Respondents were reimbursed approximately USD 6.00 each for their time and transportation costs. Interviews were conducted in English with Swahili interpretation where necessary.

Discussion

1. Self-identification as sexual minorities

Of respondents, 83 percent identified as male and the remainder as female. There were no active organizations that worked primarily with women, and some organizations, including the main partner organization, worked primarily with men. No respondents identified themselves explicitly as transgender.[xxvii] Throughout this article, the term “sexual minorities” is used in place of “LGBT” as respondents did not necessarily self-identify specifically as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. Several respondents self-identified as MSM, which is not necessarily synonymous with

homosexual.[xxviii] A few respondents also described their sexual orientation as including "top" or "bottom." Overall, about 69 percent of respondents identified as gay or MSM, eight percent identified as lesbians, and 19 percent as bisexual.

The median age of respondents was 28. Half of respondents described themselves as not currently being in a relationship. 28 percent were currently in a relationship and 11 percent were married to persons of the opposite sex. One respondent described himself as being married to another man as a result of having lived together for a long time.[xxix]

2. Socioeconomic status and sex work

Only a minority of respondents indicated that they were employed, or engaged in work in the informal sector, outside of sex work. This leaves more than 70 percent of respondents stating that they were either unemployed, engaged in sex work, or dependent on others for support. 47 percent of respondents stated that they continued to live with family members, though not necessarily with parents, and were dependent on family members for their survival.[xxx] In some cases, respondents reported staying with or being supported by family members other than their parents as a result of their sexual orientation.[xxxi]

The percentage of respondents engaged in work in the formal and informal sectors is below the national average, according to which more than 60 percent of Tanzanians are engaged in regular or casual employment.[xxxii] Lower socioeconomic status can also be inferred from respondents' places of residence such as Vinguguti and Mwanyanyamala, which are less developed and have poor infrastructure.[xxxiii]

Because of the low percentage of respondents engaged in formal or informal employment, few respondents were asked questions about employment discrimination. The few respondents who were asked about employment discrimination generally replied that their sexual orientation could have resulted in loss of employment, with one respondent describing his sexual orientation as being an "automatic disqualification" for employers.[xxxiv] One respondent stated that his sexual orientation was an advantage for his hair-dressing position because customers associated his sexual orientation with skill.[xxxv]

More than one-third of respondents stated or indicated later that they had engaged in sex for pay. Reasons provided for engaging in sex for pay included the need for income, lack of financial support from families, as well as, in the case of one respondent, having become accustomed to sex work.[xxxvi] In some cases, respondents connected their engagement in sex work with social attitudes towards homosexuality.[xxxvii] "We cannot be employed," said one man, "We just look for men."[xxxviii] Another said friends advised him to engage in sex work after he could not find other employment.[xxxix]

Some respondents spoke about friends or acquaintances who had suffered threats or had been arrested in connection with sex work.[xl] In addition to arrest, persons engaging in sex for pay may be vulnerable to disputes with persons soliciting sex.[xli] One respondent described having been hit by a person who sought a "relationship" and consequently having to seek medical help.[xlii]

3. Relationships with family

Questions about relationships with family members were included since family members' attitudes towards sexual minorities can play a significant role in the protection of sexual minorities.[xliii] Results from this survey indicate that family members can be sources of support, but are frequently unsupportive or reject respondents when respondents are discovered to be sexual minorities. 64 percent of respondents indicated that they had been ejected from the family home as a result of their sexual orientation. One woman explained that her father ejected her from her family home after she tried to explain that, "[t]hat's the way I am. It's inside me. I feel like I don't want to have sex with a man, but I have feelings for a woman."[xliv] Another respondent described family members attempting to change him "into a masculine person using local medicine" before he left his family.[xlv]

At worst, family members subjected respondents to significant abuses. One respondent described going to a hospital with his father "to be tested."[xlvi] The doctor then checked his semen for "chemicals" and asked him to disrobe in front of the respondent's father, who happened to be a police officer. The doctor examined the respondent for signs of anal sex. According to the respondent, the father subsequently threatened him with a shotgun and had him detained at a prison where the father directed inmates to have sex with the respondent. Among respondents who reported being threatened with harm or of having been physically assaulted, respectively 23 percent and 13 percent of incidents were attributed to family members.

Of respondents who disclosed whether family members knew of their sexual orientation, slightly less than 15 percent indicated that they purposefully disclosed their sexual orientation to family members. Many respondents described having been

involuntarily “outed” by neighbors, relatives, or teachers.[xlvii] One respondent described having been expelled from his school after engaging in relationships with other men.[xlviii] Because he could not explain the reason for his expulsion to his uncle, with whom he lived, the uncle contacted the school, which informed him of the reason for the expulsion. The uncle subsequently beat the respondent and expelled him from his home.

Relationships with family members could be critical for respondents in terms of access to education.[xlix] Respondents who were expelled from their family homes sometimes described discontinuing their education as a consequence of the loss of family support.[l]

Not all respondents described their family relationships negatively. A few respondents described family members as maintaining relationships with the respondents, or even becoming supportive, after the disclosure of their sexual orientation.[li] One woman described being permitted to remain in the family home after “begging for forgiveness.”[lii] Some respondents described living with other family members who were more accepting of them.[liii] However, only 13 percent of respondents described family attitudes towards sexual minorities as being either neutral or positive.

4. Cultural attitudes toward sexual minorities and physical vulnerability

General attitudes towards sexual minorities in Tanzania were overwhelmingly described as negative. Several respondents described sexual minorities as not being treated as people.[liv] Several others referred to sexual minorities being perceived as

shetani (“Satan”), *lana* (“cursed” or “abomination”), and *haram* (“forbidden”).[lv] Some described a cultural attitude in which homosexuality was seen as foreign or un-African.[lvi]

A small number of respondents expressed more optimism about prevailing cultural attitudes. Some stated that attitudes were mixed,[lvii] or that greater exposure to sexual minorities had begun to effect a change in cultural attitude: “I think they consider it normal now because it is practiced in so many places in Tanzania. It is normal now.”[lviii] Another respondent expressed a similar view:

> In the past, the situation was worse because we didn’t have a chance . . . The other problems we had in the past are less. They are trying to understand that these people are also human beings.[lix]

Nonetheless, a majority of respondents reported experiencing verbal harassment or insults, threats of physical harm because of their sexual orientation, and having experienced a physical and/or sexual assault because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.

	Yes	No
Verbal harassment/insults	28 (85%)	5 (15%)
Threats of physical harm	29 (82%)	6 (16%)
Physical/sexual assault	25 (71%)	10 (29%)

Some verbal harassment and insults came from family members such as parents and siblings.[lx] Another woman described family members threatening to kill any of her female partners.[lxi] Verbal harassment or abuse can also come from members of the general public such as “street boys” or “hooligans” (*wahuni*).[lxii] One respondent described receiving insults from classmates in school.[lxiii]

Family members of romantic partners were also potential sources of threats: “They said I was trying to mislead their son so they frightened me” and “My friend has a brother and that brother told me stop meeting his brother. If I continue seeing him, he was going to beat me.”[lxiv]

A small number of respondents explained that threats did not affect them:

> They only frighten me but they never do it. They have been doing that for some time, but they no longer do it because I’m always courageous and I’m never scared of them.[lxv]
>
> During nighttime where I’m staying, there are *piki piki* (motorcycle taxi) people who try to provoke me. One day, I stood on my feet and denounced it very strongly and up to now, nobody tries to provoke me.[lxvi]

Threats from members of the public sometimes arose when respondents were at public places or events such as clubs or traditional dances.[lxvii] In a few instances, respondents described narrowly escaping serious harm.[lxviii] All respondents were asked if there were public spaces they tended to avoid. Some spaces in Dar es Salaam were considered safer than others. Several respondents spoke of avoiding places where their sexual orientation was known.[lxix] Some places were considered generally unsafe – either

specific areas of Dar es Salaam (Kariakoo, Ubungo, Mwanyanyamala, Mbgala)[lxx] or specific types of spaces including football fields, bars, and government institutions such as hospitals and police stations.[lxxi]

71 percent of respondents reported having been the victim of physical or sexual assault. One reported sexual assault involved a lesbian woman raped by a man who "wanted to know if I am really a lesbian."[lxxii] The woman never reported the assault to anyone out of fear.[lxxiii] Another instance involved a man who engaged in sex work who was forced to have sex with four men, one of whom had drawn a knife.[lxxiv] The man also did not report the incident to anyone because he "cannot go to the police."[lxxv]

Respondents reported perpetrators of assaults as including strangers/members of the public, partners, and family members.[lxxvi] Incidents of assaults on sexual minorities included an instance where a woman's male partner beat her after hearing rumors that she had previously had female partners,[lxxvii] and beatings by family members because of the perceived sexual orientation of respondents.[lxxviii] Another instance involved a man who was beaten after refusing a "relationship" with another man."[lxxix] Other physical assaults involved attacks from strangers or members of the public – sometimes by several people at once.[lxxx] These incidents sometimes arose because the respondent was present in a public place and then attacked because of the respondent's reputed sexual orientation. Respondents were also asked if they had experienced domestic violence from either same or opposite-sex partners without reporting the incident. 47 percent of respondents indicated that they had.[lxxxi]

When asked if they felt safe from harm, 57 percent of respondents replied “yes” or “sometimes yes”, though that reply was sometimes qualified with safety in specific situations only:

> Sometimes, right now, here I feel safe. If I’m out there, I will pretend to feel safe.[lxxxii]
>
> Yes, I feel safe because I have another place where I’m staying. I don’t want anyone to know it.[lxxxiii]

For those who continued to feel unsafe, or were unsure about their safety, reasons included a lack of freedom or liberty as well as fear of the public.[lxxxiv] Respondents were also asked if they feared a physical assault occurring to them within the next five years, and whether they or any other sexual minorities ever feared for their lives.

	Yes	No	Maybe/Don’t know
Do you fear that you will suffer a physical assault within the next five years?	16 (44%)	15 (42%)	5 (14%)
Do you or another sexual minority you know fear for your life?	27 (75%)	9 (25%)	0 (%)

Respondents who did not fear physical assault in the next five years sometimes explained their belief that the situation of sexual minorities in Tanzania would improve for the better:

> For the time being, it's ok. But in the next five years, it will be safer. The world has stepped up to defend these kinds of things—human rights—we are struggling for the same rights as other people.[lxxxv]

Those who feared assault were more pessimistic:

> There's nothing in that five years to be safe. You cannot get by without being assaulted.[lxxxvi]

When speaking of fear for their or other sexual minorities' lives, some respondents referred to the current social status of sexual minorities, including low standing in the community.[lxxxvii] One respondent referred to his sex work,[lxxxviii] and another referred to an incident earlier in 2013 when a gay member of an organization advocating for sexual minorities was killed.[lxxxix] One respondent explained that he lacked the funds to "change myself to look more normal" – a reference to appearing more conventionally 'masculine.'[xc]

5. Official misconduct and availability of protection

All respondents were asked questions relating to arrest and detention, as well as questions regarding access to public amenities and services. Finally, all respondents were asked specific questions regarding education, housing, and public transport. The latter was added after the initial focus group suggested that access to Dar es Salaam's public transportation sometimes caused difficulties.

Arrest and Detention	Yes	No
If suffered a physical or sexual assault, sought assistance from authorities?	7 (28%)	18 (72%)
Ever arrested or detained because of sexual orientation or gender identity?	13 (57%)	23 (43%)
Do you know of others who have been arrested or detained because of their sexual orientation or gender identity?	26 (76%)	8 (24%)
Ever been charged with a crime because of sexual orientation or gender identity?	1 (4%)	26 (96%)

Public Services	***Yes***	***No***
If suffered a physical or sexual assault, sought assistance from authorities?	7 (28%)	18 (72%)
Ever arrested or detained because of sexual orientation or gender identity?	13 (57%)	23 (43%)
Do you know of others who have been arrested or detained because of	26 (76%)	8 (24%)

their sexual orientation or gender identity?		
Ever been charged with a crime because of sexual orientation or gender identity?	1 (4%)	26 (96%)
Ever been a victim of a crime and refrained from reporting it because of your sexual orientation or gender identity?	17 (61%)	11 (39%)
Ever refrained from accessing any form of public service because of sexual orientation or gender identity?	15 (47%)	17 (53%)
Ever experienced difficulties accessing public transportation because of your sexual orientation or gender identity?	16 (44%)	20 (56%)
Ever left an educational institution because of sexual orientation or gender identity?	11 (31%)	24 (69%)
Ever had to change residence because of sexual orientation or gender identity?	22 (67%)	11 (33%)

Respondents who reported on whether they sought assistance after having been physically or sexually assaulted generally indicated that they had not, or that turning to the authorities had been ineffective. Reasons for non-reporting were usually fear of having to disclose the reasons for the assault, or fear of the police in general.[xci] In instances where respondents had to report to the police to obtain a form that was required to receive medical treatment, some respondents reported falsifying an explanation that would not require disclosing the true motive for the assault.[xcii]

In some cases, respondents stated that turning to the police would be ineffective because of their sexual orientation or gender identity:[xciii]

> I was afraid of the police because if I go to the police it's the same thing. If you have been raped, it's ok, go home. I cannot go the police.[xciv]

Several respondents said that they had reported to the police, or had been reported to the police, and that the police responded negatively to them on the basis of their sexual orientation.[xcv] Law enforcement authorities (either the police, or the *sungu sungu* or village police) were also, in a few cases, accused of directly threatening to harm sexual minorities.[xcvi]

Reasons provided for arrests or detention, either of respondents or others, included detention at the request of family members,[xcvii] detention on the basis of appearance or the perception of being a sexual minority,[xcviii] as well as detention because of sex work or the perception of being engaged in sex work.[xcix] Detained persons were sometimes required to pay bribes for release.[c]

Discrimination on the part of health care providers was a concern for several respondents. Of those who said that they had refrained from accessing a public service because of their sexual orientation, eleven respondents explained that they had refrained from accessing health services.[ci] Some stated that they had encountered hostile or negative treatment at hospitals or health centers.[cii]

Some one-third of respondents reported having left or changed public or private schools because of their sexual orientation. Of these, slightly more than half stopped studying altogether. Reasons for change of school or having left school include the discovery of the respondent's sexual orientation by the school or by the respondent's family, resulting in the termination of financial support.[ciii]

In Dar es Salaam, "public" transportation consists primarily of a network of government-licensed private buses called *dala dala*.[civ] Half of respondents stated that transportation within Dar es Salaam can be a difficult experience, with some reporting having been refused by conductors to board the buses, or having been permitted to board but being subjected to verbal abuse.[cv]

6. Future plans

All respondents were asked if they had contemplated leaving Tanzania. Of those who replied, 79 percent said that they had considered it, with the remainder rejecting the idea. Of those who contemplated leaving the country, reasons were mixed and included an absence of freedom, discrimination and harassment, a desire to live freely with or marry a partner, and economic conditions.[cvi] One respondent, however, expressed opposition to leaving Tanzania:

> No. I don't think about leaving the country. Running away from the problem is not solving the problem. If you want to solve the problem, you have to stay here.[cvii]

Conclusion and Recommendations

Sexual minorities in Tanzania face significant human rights challenges. With homosexuality criminalized—itself a violation of human rights[cviii]—sexual minorities frequently are unable to access authorities when needed or face *de facto* penalties such as detention on the basis of sexual orientation. The inability of sexual minorities to obtain protection from authorities indicates that sexual minorities are often outside the protection of the state—a situation that can leave sexual minorities vulnerable to harm. Such harm implicates Tanzania's responsibility to protect the human rights of its citizens.

In addition, interviews with sexual minorities suggest that access to health services, education, and public transportation can be precarious, all of which jeopardize sexual minorities' rights to health, education, and an adequate standard of living.[cix] That some sexual minorities further suggest that they must rely on survival sex—which is also criminally prohibited in Tanzania[cx]—as a means of survival also indicates a failure to permit sexual minorities to work in satisfactory conditions.[cxi]

Despite sexual minorities' rights to freedom of association and assembly, the ability of sexual minorities to organize freely to support each other is limited by the inability of LGBT organizations to operate openly or to register formally as LGBT

organizations.[cxii] While smaller organizing efforts to assist or advocate for sexual minorities exist, all non-governmental organizations are required to register with the Tanzanian government. Conversations with LGBT organizations suggest that direct registration as an organization for sexual minorities would not be permitted. Since registration is a prerequisite for obtaining funding from non-governmental sources,[cxiii] difficulties with registration can inhibit mobilization or assistance with social and other needs.

While conditioning international aid on support for LGBT advocacy may foster a hostile reaction from the Tanzanian government and civil society, practical measures are available to assist sexual minorities in Tanzania. Organizers expressed concern about being able to fund activities such as outreach or legal assistance, or pay for basic needs such as rent for office space. Respondents to this survey suggested other programs that they believed would be beneficial to sexual minorities: several respondents called for efforts to "educate" the public on sexual minorities[cxiv]; a few called for the establishment of a platform or website for sexual minorities to be able to engage in discussions, report problems, or seek assistance.[cxv] One practical step that donors may take is to require locally-based distributors of funds to adopt non-discrimination policies when distributing funds from foreign sources or to set aside funds to assist particularly vulnerable populations. Another would be to provide further support to regional organizations that support sexual minorities, and that can serve as knowledgeable direct conduits to support for sexual minority groups.[cxvi]

Although the accounts provided indicate that the situation of sexual minorities in Tanzania remains negative, there is some reason for optimism. Several respondents expressed their belief that the situation for sexual minorities in Tanzania would improve rather than deteriorate in the near future.[cxvii] As one respondent put it, "things are changing."[cxviii] Increasing awareness of sexual minorities can foster the understanding that sexual minorities are normal.[cxix] Moreover, accounts by respondents of personal courage are inspiring,[cxx] and help to dispel a notion that sexual minorities in Tanzania are uniformly victims. Nonetheless, more work and support are needed to address major human rights challenges.

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[i] Penal Code (Tanzania) ch. 16 §§154-56 http://www.un.org/depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/TZA_penal_code.pdf
[ii] *Id.*
[iii] Sexual Offences Provisions Act (Tanzania) (1998)
[iv] Penal Code (Tanzania) §154
[v] Penal Code (Tanzania) §155
[vi] Penal Code (Tanzania) §157
[vii] Human Rights Watch, *"Treat Us Like Human Beings" Discrimination against Sex Workers, Sexual and Gender Minorities, and People Who Use Drugs in Tanzania.* Human Rights Watch, 2013, 24.
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[xv] Human Rights Watch, *"Treat Us Like Human Beings" Discrimination against Sex Workers, Sexual and Gender Minorities, and People Who Use Drugs in Tanzania.* Human Rights Watch, 2013, 19.

[xvi] Mkinga, Mkinga. "Don't legalise same-sex marriage, clerics tell govt," *The Citizen*, 15 May 2012. http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/News/-/1840392/1820232/-/view/printVersion/-/cgritz/-/index.html; Peter, Felister, "Fight external pressure to impose bad laws – don," *The Guardian* (Tanzania), 5 November 2011. http://www.ippmedia.com/frontend/index.php?l=35080; SIDA. *Evaluation of Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) in Tanzania*, 2012. http://www.sida.se/Publications/Import/pdf/sv/Evaluation-of-Legal-and-Human-Rights-Centre-LHRC-in-Tanzania---Final-Report_3365.pdf

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