



Money Makes the World Go Down

Child Sexual Abuse and Child Sexual Exploitation in Tanzania

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May 2009

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Executive Summary

Child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation is widespread and growing in Tanzania. Although no nationwide statistics currently exist, certain observations strongly indicate widespread sexual exploitation. This report is based on a literature review and key informant interviews. Tanzanian police, specialized local and international NGOs and victims of abuse and exploitation were interviewed during the field work. Below is a summary of the empirical findings that are subsequently supported and discussed in the body of the report.

Research conducted in six areas of Dar es Salaam revealed that 40% of children from poor families are being sexually exploited. Other commercial areas in Tanzania, including mining and fishing areas, are known locations for child prostitution. Anecdotal information confirms that a large number of children travel to these areas on payday to solicit sex. Child sexual abuse is rampant among street children; it is estimated that 30 to 40% of boys are abused by older boys and market vendors and 90% of girls are abused and generally end up in prostitution.

The clients of child prostitutes' range, from tourists, business men and NGO workers for the more expensive girls, to locals and teenagers exploiting the children that charge the lowest rates – sometimes asking only for food. Child prostitutes interviewed related stories of violence from clients and big mama's (pimps) and the desperation they feel from not having any options. Child sexual abuse within the family goes mostly undiscovered because family honor prevails over the rights of individual children. Boy prostitution is a phenomenon that occurs primarily in Zanzibar.

Child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation are often linked. Child sexual abuse is defined differently than child sexual exploitation – namely that there is no commercial transaction or negotiation taking place – but in practice there is a gradient scale from abuse to exploitation. Sexual abusers often introduce an aspect of commercial transaction that further exploits the vulnerability of the victim.

The police do not see it as their task to investigate or prosecute men having sex with child prostitutes, even though sex with a minor is a grave offence, carrying up to 30 years imprisonment as well as corporal punishment. The police arrest the underage prostitute, not the man who is also breaking the law by engaging in child sexual exploitation. The police are in fact known to exploit child prostitutes by arresting them and then giving them the opportunity to pay their way out of custody with sexual favors.

Trafficking routes run from Tanzania and other East African countries to Europe. Information from the Tanzanian police lists the Netherlands as a likely location for victims of trafficking, even though there are few reports of women in The Netherlands trafficked from Tanzania.

Two important root causes of child sexual abuse and exploitation that need to be addressed are poverty, which pushes children towards the city where there is no work, and broken homes emanating partly from social stress. Income-generation and family-support programs can improve this situation.

The capacity of civil society to act and react, to the above named phenomena of culture and economy that are harming many children, needs vast expansion. There are few organizations in Tanzania that protect the hundreds of thousands of extremely poor and vulnerable children from the deceptive methods of traffickers. Money meant to address the problem often flows into ineffective organizations.

The Tanzanian government may require outside help to put more effective prosecution mechanisms into place against those that abuse and exploit Tanzanian children. The Tanzanian police need to take the sexual abuse and exploitation of children more seriously. This will require better police training and improved response to complaints. The Tanzanian government will need to allocate funds to ensure that the sharp rise in exploited children is stemmed.

Useful and necessary support can be given by states like The Netherlands, a development partner; UN organizations already involved in this sector; and NGOs to improve services. European states and Interpol should investigate the allegations of trafficking routes leading from East Africa to Europe.

Acknowledgements

The researchers wish to extend their sincere gratitude to the many people who took the time and effort to share experiences and expertise essential to the production of this report. Our requests for information often came at the last minute, and the graciousness with which most people answered these requests is highly appreciated.

We would like to especially thank Ms. Anke Groot, Ms. Justa Mwaituka, Ms. Eddah Kawala and Ms. Jeovitha Mlay for all the energy they put forth in planning large parts of the research.

The research would have been impossible without your effort; thank you!

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I. Introduction and objective

Child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation are among the most terrible crimes committed against children. Both crimes appear to be on the rise, impacting the lives of millions of children annually.

This report was written in order to address the problem of child sexual abuse and exploitation in Tanzania. It is a consequence of two recent developments surrounding this issue. The first development spotlights the rapid growth of child sexual exploitation in East African countries. One of the initial steps in fighting against this expansion is to expose the enormity of the problem. The second development regards a fresh criticism of existing research on this topic. Recent analysis asserts that past studies have focused predominately on child sexual exploitation, while disregarding the sexual mistreatment of children, including sexual abuse, which is, in reality, the much larger problem. Those disapproving of this one-sided emphasis suggest that sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children are, in fact, linked and need to be explored and tackled together. This report attempts to highlight some of these links, as well as to bring both issues to the forefront in order that they can be combated more effectively.

This investigation will also look into options for the Tanzanian government in its fight against child sexual exploitation, as well as examining the type and scope of assistance Tanzania may need to advance its struggle.

The objective of this report is to improve the fight against child sexual abuse and exploitation in Tanzania. This will be accomplished by estimating the extent and context of child sexual abuse and exploitation and analyzing the capacity of the Tanzanian authorities to prosecute those who abuse and exploit children, as well as the capacity of other organizations to reduce this exploitation and abuse. The above objective has been fleshed out into four questions.

Question 1:

What data about the scope of sexual exploitation and abuse of children in Tanzania exists and does this data indicate that the problem is growing?

Question 2:

What are the causes of child sexual abuse and exploitation?

Question 3:

What challenges, opportunities and examples of best practice are present for the Tanzanian authorities and other interested parties in the struggle to reduce child sexual abuse and exploitation?

Question 4:

Can international bodies, such as states, the European Union or the United Nations, make sensible and acceptable contributions in the fight against child sexual exploitation in Tanzania?

Although an effort has been made to provide as full a picture as possible, in reality there is still little knowledge about child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation in Tanzania and the data presented here must therefore be seen as tentative. The field work for this research was carried out in less than three weeks, which limits the number of observations made. On the other hand,

the authors are confident that this report contains valuable information that reflects the current situation regarding child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation.

II. Four Children

Mayasa (not her real name) enters our car. She is a beautiful girl and fully made up. She is a prostitute and she is almost 18 years old, although she started this work when she was just 15. Mayasa's home life had become unbearable by this time. She was living with her father's second wife, a woman who had her own children; Mayasa had become superfluous. Her stepmother mistreated her, she was often hungry and she eventually became desperate. Mayasa ran away from home and went to Mwanza. It was a very long journey, much of it by bus, but she also walked for days on end at times.

Mayasa was approached by a woman in Mwanza who said she could find Mayasa a place to stay. She gratefully accepted. Since this time, she has lived with four other girls in a small room. The other girls forced her to become a prostitute and she gives most of the money she earns to them; if she does not, they will throw her out. Mayasa is earning well and can make between 20,000 and 30,000 shillings (US\$ 12 – 18) a night. Her customers are usually foreigners, primarily Indians, Chinese and Europeans.

Mayasa does not like her job, she thinks it is bad and she wants out. She gets arrested and has to buy off the police. She gets raped in the street. However she needs the work to survive and to support her real mother. Mayasa hopes that some day she will be able to get out of prostitution.

“My name is Asha (not her real name) and I am 16 years old. One day, I went with a man who took me to a restaurant. People came to this restaurant and promised us jobs. We were happy to be able to work and help support our families. But we had to work very long days. The man said, ‘You did not get here to go to school, you came here to work!’ I hardly got food, never got paid and so I decided to run away. I walked 850 kilometers to get to Dar es Salaam.

I felt very bad when I was working on the streets, because I had no place to sleep. A man took me into his house. This man was harassing me when I was staying in the house. He abused me; then he beat me because I became pregnant. He said he was not responsible for my pregnancy. I felt it was too much; I ran away. I went back to the streets.

One night I met a lady. I told her about my problems and she took me home. It was a brothel. There were many other girls brought in. Many were involved with sexual relationships with the men. At that time I was still pregnant. I am not sure if I got a disease because most men refused to wear a condom. I had sex with many men from Tanzania, but also with white men.”

Asha is now at a recovery center for girl prostitutes.

Hadija (not her real name) is 13 years old. She was born in 1995 and is in class five. She has left her mother and two other siblings. While she was at school, the teacher was beating her up. She ran away and her mother also beat her up. She was picked up by two people from a girls' center. Hadija stayed at the center for some time. She was then taken back home to her family. She was reintegrated.

After being back home for one week, Hadija was sexually abused by a man. She was locked in the house by him and he forced himself on her. She managed to escape and returned to the girls' center. She finds it very difficult to talk about her experience. At first she didn't admit it to anyone, but when the people from the girls' center asked her what was wrong, she told her story.

The social worker from the girls' center: "We rescued Hadija; she was sexually abused by the boyfriend of her mother. We do individual counseling with her. When they get assistance they open up. They have to go back to the community, they have to speak out. After a lot of counseling they are able to discuss their situation. The girls are very vulnerable because they are seen as minors. The culture does not allow them to say something in order to stick up for themselves. Hadija was taught to say no. She is able to say, 'This is not what I like.'"

Noreen (not her real name) was brought up in a rural area. Her parents did not look after her. Her father did not support her or her brothers and sisters and her mother could not earn enough for all of them. Noreen had little to eat, usually one meal per day, but sometimes she would go all day without food. If she got sick, her family could not afford a doctor. There was a lot of pressure on her to start earning money and to move out of the family.

Noreen started having many relationships with different men. Sometimes they would pay her money and she would earn a small amount, usually between 1000 and 5000 shillings (US\$ 0.75 - 3.75). With this money Noreen could buy some food for her family or some clothes for herself. The men refused to wear condoms, even if she asked them.

Noreen became pregnant at 17. Her parents were furious and beat her. Her parents are now ready to take her back, but say she must help provide for the family. She wants to learn a trade – it doesn't have to be formal schooling – so that she can earn money without being involved in the sex business.

III. Methodology

In order to answer the aforementioned questions, data from a variety of sources, including articles and reports, as well as interviews with victims, caretakers, the authorities and policymakers, needed to be accumulated and integrated. Preliminary desk research showed that child sexual exploitation does exist in Tanzania and resulted in a list of causes. This information was used to guide the initial research questions.

Several groups of people were contacted and questioned; a list of those interviewed can be found at the end of this report under *respondents*. The key informant interviews took place in three areas of Tanzania:

1. Dar es Salaam was chosen because it is the commercial center and comprises the most government ministries. The places known for prostitution and child prostitution were visited on several occasions and a number of interviews were held with prostitutes. Relevant NGOs were visited to find out about the legal possibilities for prosecution, the facilities available to protect vulnerable, abused and exploited children and the scope and nature of the problem of child sexual abuse and exploitation. Police officials responded to our questions concerning prosecution policy. Several ministries were visited, for talks with high-level civil servants, regarding the government's policy for fighting child sexual abuse and exploitation. The Dutch Embassy was also visited at this time, to take note of its local activities to promote child welfare.

2. Zanzibar is a well-known tourist destination. In order to see whether tourists make use of child prostitutes, several locations where children solicit customers were visited. NGOs active in the field of child protection and sexual health were consulted, people working with children at schools were interviewed and the victims of abuse and exploitation were spoken to in the effort to gather information. Police, politicians and civil servants were queried about both the official policy in place and the actual steps being taken, to control these crimes.

3. Mwanza was the third area selected, as it is the single growing commercial center, in the largely rural area, of West Tanzania. Child victims of sexual abuse and exploitation were interviewed and their stories inventoried. Some of the child prostitutes were accessed through NGO's, while others were approached as they worked the street. The police, legal workers and policymakers described their strategies and activities to combat child sexual exploitation and abuse.

IV. Findings

IV.1 Nature of Child Sexual Abuse and Child Sexual Exploitation

IV.1.1 Child Sexual Abuse

Child sexual abuse, for the purposes of this research, is defined as non-commercial contacts or interactions between a child (under 18) and an older person (power disparity) where the child is being used for sexual gratification. The abused child is under pressure and is tricked, bribed or threatened into cooperation. (NGO group CRC: 45)

The information about the incidence of rape among girls still in school shows that the problem is widespread and involves adults¹. Recently, school pregnancy became a national political issue when President Kikwete publicly showed concern over the high rates of pregnancies in primary schools. (Daily news, October 16, 2008: 2) An earlier report showed that girls in the second grade, as young as seven-years old, were becoming pregnant. (Education Sector Development Committee: 33) The president does not appear to believe that the problem is 'being addressed', as the report claims. (p. 11) The president's proposed solution is to prosecute rapists using DNA tests as evidence. (Daily News, October 17: 1) The Tanzanian area of Mutuara has high levels of girl and teenage pregnancies, a fact known by the Ministry of Community Development². Various evidence reveals, that while some of the 'perpetrators' are peers, many are teachers or other adults³ (LHRC, 2008: 65) that are in a position of power over the children and, ironically, in a position of trust.

Abusive adults take advantage of the dependent and vulnerable position of the children they abuse. In Tanzania, many girls and boys are sent to work in places far away from their familiar surroundings, where they have no social network and are entirely dependent on the employer. This practice opens the door for the possibility of abuse in the work environment. Girls that are employed as domestic servants are frequently abused by their employers⁴ (LHRC, 2008, 76)

Street boys are reported to be abused by their peers as a method of initiation and by older boys for sexual pleasure. Furthermore, many are abused or exploited by male market vendors, who give them food in return for sexual favors.

IV.1.2 Causes of Child Sexual Abuse

In general there is a lack of clarity about what motivates adults to abuse children. There are however two influencing factors worth mentioning. The first factor is that 95% of abusers were themselves a victim of abuse. This statistic, revealed through research done on men convicted of sexual abuse in New Jersey, (all about counseling.com: 1) was substantiated by research done by the Kenyan-based Gender Violence Recovery Center. (GVRC: 9) The second factor influencing abusers is the power the perpetrator gains over the victim. The abuser wants to feel control, a feeling apparently missing in his life. This need for power is underscored by social workers in Tanzania, who state that victims of abuse are known to want to avenge their abuse later in life.

The social workers have come across this cause of abuse in cases they have been involved with in court⁵.

Several risk factors were identified through a study by the World Health Organization (WHO) that sought to expose the cultural background of abuse. People abusing children may do so to strengthen their male identity, which includes successful partnership with young girls, something akin to the power issue described above. This notion may, in turn, be a consequence of their poverty. (WHO, 2002: 159-163) The communities that they live in may not tolerate certain forms of abuse outwardly or directly, but rather implicitly, through indifference to them. In some cases, this may lead to rape occurring in public places without intervention. Complaints coming from impoverished communities may not be treated seriously. (WHO, 2002: 161) These same risk factors were also confirmed by the Gender Violence Recovery Center in Kenya. (GVRC: 9)

Child sexual abuse in Tanzania is often committed by relatives and close family friends, making it comparable to the crime of sexual abuse all over the world. (Department of Health, Britain, 1999) In Tanzanian culture, a great number of people are considered to be a relative, even though their relationship may be distant, increasing the number of adults that children must obey. It is very common for families to place children with relatives without ever questioning their trustworthiness.

Child marriages are a common phenomenon and are legal under Tanzanian law. (Marriage act 1971) A 15-year-old girl is officially permitted to marry and have a sexual relationship. Children often marry men that are much older, for example, girls of 15 are known to marry not only men of 35, but also of 75⁶.

IV.1.3 From Abuse to Exploitation

Child sexual abuse is defined differently than child sexual exploitation – namely that there is no commercial negotiation taking place – but in practice there is a gradient scale from abuse to exploitation. For example, street children are sometimes abused and then rewarded with food; they are victims of both abuse and exploitation at the same time. The same applies to girls who are abused by their employers; as they are being sexually abused their vulnerability is also being exploited. Furthermore, domestic work is known to be a precursor to sexual exploitation. Information from victims interviewed confirms that domestic workers are not only made to work long hard hours, but they are often sexually exploited as well.⁷ (LHRC, 2006: 76)

There are, in fact, numerous examples where child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation overlap and link together. Children that leave home before the age of sixteen are often reacting to problems with their parents. *Conflicts, maltreatment and sexual abuse within the family account for nearly half of the reasons given by girls for leaving home.* The other motives commonly stated are poverty, job opportunities and peer pressure, accounting for most of the rest of the reasons. (ILO: 18) Another link between child sexual abuse and exploitation, often cited in interviews with caretakers and children, is that abuse teaches children to believe that transactional sex without mutual consent is acceptable. Finally, abuse and rape may lead boys and girls to disrespect their own bodies and resort to prostitution because they no longer value their bodies and do not expect intimacy.

IV.1.4 Child Sexual Exploitation

In this study child sexual exploitation is defined as a commercial or transactional form of sexual activity or interaction of children for the sexual gratification of adults. It includes the commercial sexual exploitation of children, child sex tourism, child prostitution and child pornography.

Child Prostitution

Child prostitution is ranked by the status of the girls. The highest in social standing operate in expensive hotels and bars; their clients consist of the richest tourists, businessmen and politicians and their rates are around 150 US dollars per sexual encounter. The middle-status' girls will operate in the less expensive districts, though they may have similar clients to the high-status' girls, as well as clients in the middle-income bracket. Their rates are between 10 and 25 US dollars and they are found by the road or in the cheaper bars. Girls that have a low status operate on the street, and have sexual intercourse in the street, for the lowest prices. Their rates are roughly one to one-and-a-half US dollars. They cater mostly to locals and teenagers, but will take any client. These rates are common in larger cities such as Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza where there are rich clients. In small towns, or towns that do not have a local industry or specific source of wealth, girls are paid less for sexual intercourse. The prostitution business, including girls, moves around from area to area according to the availability and wealth of clients. For example, girls travel to areas based on mining around payday, or to the capital Dodoma when parliament is in session.⁸

The ages of child prostitutes we encountered ranged from 13 to 17 however many girls enter the business even younger. They enter as street children, at anywhere from 5 to 12 years old, sometimes being abused or forced into prostitution by people who are employing them. When girls begin soliciting customers on their own, they have difficulty bargaining for a good price and often end up having sexual intercourse for less than a dollar, a plate of food or something to drink.

Sex Tourism

Tourists are among the most important clients for all prostitutes, including child prostitutes. Tourists are believed to pay more than other clients. The girl that can solicit a tourist, especially a white tourist, is believed to be amongst the best. A tourist in a public place can stir up a reaction from every prostitute in the area. In Zanzibar, where child prostitution, especially involving Zanzibarians, is strongly denied, child sex tourism can be readily observed and both child and ex-child prostitutes will acknowledge their activities. (TOMRIC News Agency, Dar es Salaam, 5 April 2000)⁹

Zanzibar is a place frequented by men looking for boys for sex. There are certain locations that are well-known places for finding boy prostitutes.¹⁰ The discotheques, culture houses and social clubs, that are informally and formally known to facilitate child prostitution, are accessible to all and are not apparent places of criminal activity.¹¹ Women that are known to seek sexual services from men do not appear to target underage boys for this.

Foreigners involved in the mining industry and other industries that exploit natural resources have a dubious reputation because of their association with paid sex, including children.¹² Another group of rich foreigners frequently associated with prostitution are NGO employees. (Save the Children, 2008)

Child Pornography

Child pornography is produced in Tanzania. Europeans are disproportionately represented in child pornography statistics by the international section of the Tanzanian police¹³. The nature of child pornography ranges from nudity to gruesome acts of bestiality. During this investigation an incident that shocked many was uncovered through by Kivulini Women's Rights Organization, a local NGO working for child rights.¹⁴ This particular case involved mining personnel; a specially trained dog was used to rape a girl being held down by one of her girlfriends and a boy responsible for picking up the girls.

IV.1.5 Causes of Child Exploitation

An important aspect in the commercialization of young girls' bodies is economic. For girls working in prostitution, poverty is the prime reason for leaving home in thirty percent of cases. (NGO forum, 2000: 9; ILO: 3, 18; Mdungu and Mhagama: 5) Poverty makes children extremely needy and therefore vulnerable to prostitution as a means of survival. Their family may be involved in this process by sending them to work. More than a third of the population, 12 million people, is unable to meet their basic needs. (NSGRP: 4) They frequently go hungry; have no money for clothing, housing or transportation; and receive insufficient medical care. The poor have little chance of improving their own situation, as the current unemployment level is high and rising. (Guardian, 21 December 2005) Employment does not always alleviate poverty either, for wages are often too low – for example in the informal sector - where unemployment rates are less than half that of urban areas. (Guardian, 21 December 2005)

There are other reasons children are poor and deprived of basic needs. The HIV/AIDS epidemic has forced many children to fend for themselves or move in with other families, who have subsequently had to spread their income over more dependants!¹⁵ Another cause is the high divorce rate in Tanzania which, according to one estimate, is around 50%.¹⁶ (World Prout Assembly) Divorced women generally keep the children, but often do not have work or other sources of income to take care of them. Overall, poverty is the single most-named cause for children to end up in prostitution!¹⁷ Child prostitutes tell stories of hunger and deprivation at home.¹⁸

In addition to poverty, many children feel the effects of relative deprivation when faced with tourists, businessmen and foreign and national military personnel, who are comparatively wealthier. (News from Africa, Sex Tourism Thrives Unabated, 31 March 2006; ILO, 2001) Professor K. Lalor (2004: 836-837) writes about outside influence that foreign cultures emanate onto the youth, while UNICEF (2006: vii) reports that, rather than meeting basic needs, children may be engaged in paid sexual activities for the sake of extra pocket money.

A number of observations related during the key informant interviews support the theory of relative deprivation. First of all, children are often motivated to leave their rural area by stories from visitors about luxuries, such as electricity and running water, and the excitement of the city.¹⁹ Secondly, it is apparent that not all girls engaged in prostitution lead lives of dire poverty. For example, there are well-educated girls involved,²⁰ who are well aware of their value and are able to earn a lot of money as prostitutes.

The drive for girls and boys to escape poverty and the lack of basic needs is very great. It is general knowledge that farming does not earn much; as a result rural children migrate in large numbers to the city to make a better living. Once in the city the children soon discover that there is no respectable way to make a living there either.²¹

The fact that prostitution is a way to earn, at times, a considerable amount of money, does not necessarily make it a logical choice for girls, since sex is also an intimate experience. There are nevertheless cultural factors that make prostitution a viable option for young girls:

- 1) Tanzanian society does not bestow an overriding value on the intellectual and spiritual qualities of women. They are expected to adjust their wishes to those of men and not hold many private ambitions.²²
- 2) On the other hand, men are expected to take care of the financial needs of women and to protect them. There is an element of transaction in relationships, obedience for protection and material care.²³ This is illustrated by the fact that around sixty percent of women feel that wife beating is justified for any number of reasons, such as burning the food or refusing to have sex. (Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey 2004-2005)

Culture has an influence on the expectation that women have for their own lives, including the quality of their sex lives. Women in Tanzania are brought up with the expectation that relationships are paired with violence, including sexual violence by men.²⁴ Men, on the other hand, are brought up with the idea that they can have both extra-marital and multiple relationships.²⁵

The nature of relationships in Tanzania encourages the mindset that a woman is inherently dependent upon the financial assistance of men, something that increases if there are children involved. Furthermore, the boundary between a woman having multiple sexual partners in return for financial assistance and prostitution is not always clear.²⁶

Taken one step further, the transactional nature of family relationships can be exploited to earn money. In Zanzibar and the mainland alike, stories were related of mothers who had coerced their children into prostitution for money or goods and services.²⁷ Whether this is seen as such by the parents is another question. There appears to be an ambivalent relationship with the children. On the one hand their innocence is closely guarded, if a girl is discovered having a sexual relationship, the parents will be dismayed and demand marriage;²⁸ on the other hand, a child over twelve is considered an adult by many and is often expected to fend for her- or himself.²⁹ Older children are also expected to contribute to the family by working around the house, rearing the younger children and earning money. This does not necessarily call into question the quality of the relationship – although several respondents did just that³⁰ - but it does put a child into a vulnerable position when dealing with adults, whom they may find difficult to disobey.

In the event of a broken family, or a family where one or both parents have died, the need for young children to earn money and fend for themselves is very real. With the current divorce rate at about 50%, more than half of families are broken. To compound this, the infection rate for the AIDS virus is about 5.6% overall, but in some parts of the country it rises to almost 60%. (ZACP, 2000) If children from AIDS-affected families do find people to care for them – generally relatives – they will probably be sent out to work, placing them in vulnerable situations that can lead to abuse and exploitation.³¹

IV.1.6 Organization behind Child Sexual Exploitation

There are several layers of organization behind the sexual exploitation of girls. One fundamental layer is the recruitment of vulnerable girls by so-called big mamas. These women make a business out of girls. They house girls and in return they earn a lot of money from them; to ensure that the girls stay and continue to work for their big mama, they are held by a financial bond or otherwise intimidated.³² The girls arriving in the city from impoverished rural areas are disoriented and highly conspicuous. They often do not last twelve hours on the street. They are picked up directly by other girls working for a big mama. These girls will exploit the new girl and force her to earn money for them.³³ The documentary *Hyena Square* portrays this recruitment scheme in Hyena square, a chaotic area of Dar es Salaam where a lot of prostitutes and beggars congregate.

A second significant recruitment layer behind the organization of sexual exploitation is internal trafficking. Although Tanzania has outlawed prostitution, every city has a 'secret' brothel known to customers. The pimp that runs it will generally have contacts in the rural areas to ensure a steady flow of girls for prostitution.³⁴ The trafficker's contacts are made through trustworthy family members; they offer stories of education or good jobs for children, who are then given over to the care of the traffickers and exploited.³⁵

The girls in the business are also organized. They know each other and make calls to pass on information about events that will attract potential customers, especially tourists, businessmen, politicians and NGO workers. Girls will travel hours and even days to be present at these events, such as conferences (Arusha), parliamentary sessions (Dodoma) or payday in mining areas (Mwanza, Geita). Traveling to these places by inexpensive modes of transportation, especially by bus, becomes difficult during these events.³⁶

A more professional layer of organization is suspected surrounding the child pornography industry. The presence of Europeans in the coordination of child pornography production and the fact that incidents have taken place at large mining industry complexes, with specially trained dogs belonging to foreigners, are indications that there is a lot of money involved. The recent occurrence of forced bestiality, mentioned earlier, brought to light similar incidents that had taken place in the community.³⁷

Tanzanians have fallen prey to large international networks of human traffickers, who embody the final layer of organization behind this atrocity. These networks collect large numbers of East African women and sell them into some form of exploitation. The most regularly used method for luring women is to promise them some sort of respectable work and then sell them into the sex industry in Europe and the Middle East. ³⁸ (US Department of State, 2008; Citizen, 7 October 2008)

The pull into European countries is potent due to the belief that once in Europe, people become rich quickly. Tanzanian girls are also attracted to international brothels. Being a prostitute in Tanzania is not nearly as profitable as being one in a European country, such as Denmark, Germany or the Netherlands. According to one Tanzanian police officer, some prostitutes marry Europeans in Tanzania in order to facilitate their migration to a country like The Netherlands.³⁹

IV.1.7 Getting Out

Girls in prostitution suffer acts of violence from men, forced and unpaid sexual activity, disease and intimidation from a big mama or pimp. The girls we spoke to, involved in street prostitution as a means for survival, wanted to get out. Some had heard of organizations that could help them, but they had not yet acted on this information.⁴⁰

Child prostitutes do not have many options and become very distrustful through their experiences of living on the streets and engaging in prostitution. When speaking to organizations committed to helping child prostitutes, it quickly becomes obvious that it takes a significant effort for a child to give up living on the streets.⁴¹ An important organization in this work, the Kiota Women's Health and Development Organization, or KIWOHEDE, no longer goes to the earlier sites it targeted to speak to girls because its name has become sufficiently well known and it understands that if a child wants to get out of prostitution, the child must act of his or her own accord to be successful.⁴²

IV.1.8 Living Conditions

Boys who are marginalized live differently from girls facing similar situations. Boys tend to spend more time, often up to a few years, living on the streets after arriving in the city. Up to the age of around seven children can survive by begging. After this age they need to start stealing and living with older children. The older boys rape the younger street children in their sleep. They take a razor and cut open their pants to undress them⁴³.

Girls generally do not live on the streets, as they are picked up by some sort of brothel, usually on the same day that they arrive in the city. More often, they are brought into a brothel by traffickers who work for a pimp or big mama. Some girls take up residence with four or five other girls in rooms of about 25 - 30 sq. ft., where they both sleep and have sex to earn a living.⁴⁴

IV.2 Magnitude of Child Sexual Abuse and Child Sexual Exploitation

IV.2.1 Child Sexual Abuse

The numbers collected for this study on child sexual abuse come from several sources: existing research material, police statistics collected directly from police stations, surveys conducted in children's homes, surveys conducted by children's NGOs and qualitative observations made by the interviewees as well as the author.

Local research done in Tanzania, in 2000, concluded that, "From the discussions, it is clear that child sexual abuse is on the increase especially with little boys and girls who are lured by people with money, including businessmen and truck drivers." (Z. Mdungi and G. Mhagama: 11) The police have affirmed that the growth of child sexual abuse and exploitation has not let up and, over the eight years since the preceding research was done, has increased substantially.⁴⁵ The growth is connected with the increase of migration to the cities, which started in the mid- to-late 1990's.⁴⁶

The World Health Organization conducted a study on violence against women and found that 10% of women were sexually abused before the age of fifteen, while 15% of women report that their first experience with sex was forced. (WHO, 2005: 2) An earlier study on children between the ages of twelve and nineteen in Tanzania, (Mwanza) concluded that 29.1% of women had sexual intercourse for the first time under duress, either physical or psychological. (WHO, 2002: 153)

The children's organization Zanzibar Association for Children's Advancement (ZACA) provides information about abuse for groups of children and adolescents. During each session, they hear a number of public testimonies from abused girls and boys. Around eight to ten percent of those present at these group meetings acknowledge that they have been abused. Those active at ZACA can all relate several examples of their own peers becoming prostitutes and of adults taking advantage of their vulnerability to pimp them.⁴⁷

In Zanzibar, the number of children suffering from abuse is deemed to be high by residents. At the same time, they express their frustration that these cases are not brought to court by the police. The statistics available to them are therefore a gross under-representation of the amount of child abuse actually taking place. In one section of the city, Stone Town, they deal with ten to fifteen cases of sexual abuse per year where the children are removed from the family.⁴⁸ The police have confirmed that in each district of Stone Town they receive about three cases per month amounting to 35 to 40 cases per district, per year; apparently only half of the abused children are taken from the family. The cases come to light when the parents find out about the abuse or when the perpetrators are caught red-handed.⁴⁹

In a Mwanza district, the police had dealt with seventeen cases of sexual violence in the previous one-and-a-half years. Less than 25% of the cases involved someone known to the victim, which lends credence to the statement that cases are generally resolved within the family. Cases where the perpetrator is not known are also not reported.⁵⁰

By analyzing police statistics in Tanzania, UNICEF found that 21% of all rape cases between June 1993 and January 1996 concerned children under the age of four. Another 50% were four to fourteen years old. (UNICEF, 1999) The sample taken from the Mwanza police portray a different picture. There are no rape victims under the age of four, 40% were four to fourteen years old and 60% were older than fourteen.⁵¹

In Mwanza the reality on the street is quite different than the one portrayed by the police figures taken from this one district. 30 to 40% of the boys on the street admit that they have been abused by older boys, male market vendors or by other detainees at the places where street boys are sometimes held by authorities.⁵²

IV.2.2 Child Sexual Exploitation

Child sexual exploitation is considered one of the worst forms of child labor. (ILO 182, paragraph 3) Statistics released by the Tanzanian Government showed that, out of approximately 16.5 million children in Tanzania, the percentage working overall has reduced from 25% to 21%; meanwhile the number of children working as prostitutes, over the same period, has risen.⁵³

Rajani and Kudrati reported, in 1996, that five percent of boys and fifteen percent of girls on the streets of Mwanza solicit customers. Girls, they found, approached prostitution informally, trading sexual favors for material gain and basic needs. This old research is however no longer valid. Recent investigations on the streets of Mwanza reveal that around 90% of street girls are actively engaged in prostitution.⁵⁴ Furthermore, an ILO study conducted in 2001 estimated that 1500 children were active as prostitutes in the Dar es Salaam region. In a 2006 report, child sexual abuse still ranked as a major problem. (US Department of State: 4)

A current investigation being conducted by the Tanzanian Women and Children Welfare Center (TWCWC) is focusing on a number of wards in Dar es Salaam. Poor families in these wards have been selected. After careful questioning, it has been found that forty percent of the children interviewed so far are victims of some sort of sexual exploitation. Poverty for these children means not having basic needs met.⁵⁵

There are no clear figures about the number of middle- and higher- income children, or those who are not necessarily forced by circumstances to engage in prostitution, being sexually exploited. What is clear is that richer children – noticeable by their clothing, accessories and hairstyles – are also working in prostitution, as they frequented bars visited during this investigation.

The above studies indicate that a significant leap in the number of children engaged in sex for money or other goods or services, from the figure presented in the 2001 ILO study, has taken place. This increase was acknowledged by NGOs and police, but none were able to provide a viable reason.⁵⁶ The most reasonable explanation for the rise in child prostitution is the increase of migration to the cities at a time when the labor market is not growing; for many of these new migrants the choice is prostitution or starvation.

IV.3 International Obligations in Combating Child Sexual Exploitation

The fight against child sexual exploitation has been a global priority since the mid-90's, when a sequence of events led to the introduction of new international legislation facilitating and encouraging international cooperation for the investigation and prosecution of people who abuse and exploit children. The following list of international agreements is not comprehensive, but does provide an indication to the scope of the number of agreements: The Stockholm Declaration of 1996; International Labor Organization's Convention 182 (C-182), in 1999, to eliminate the worst forms of child labor; the Second Protocol to the Child Rights Convention (CRC, 1989), in 2000, on the elimination of the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography; the 2001 Palermo Protocol to prevent child trafficking; the 2001 Yokohama Declaration against sexual exploitation of children; the European Council Framework decision, in 2004, against sexual exploitation; and the Council of Europe Convention against the Sexual Exploitation of Children, in 2007. This list does not include the regional conventions by the Organization of American States, the agreements within the African Union or those made in Southeast Asia.

The aforementioned conventions have three objectives. The first is to ensure that all countries criminalize all forms of sexual abuse and exploitation of children under eighteen. The second is to ensure that in international cases – involving foreigners and pedophiles that roam from place to place – countries work together to ensure that offenders can be traced, prosecuted and jailed. The third objective of these acts of European and international law, is to stimulate states that have a more advanced prosecution system and more resources to cooperate with states that are in need of technological aid and financial resources. (see, for example, Opt Prot CRC: art. 1, 5 and 10) Active cooperation between Tanzania and The Netherlands has not yet occurred because there have been no concrete cases involving Dutch citizens.

The international obligations embraced by the various conventions can be summarized as follows. Under the ILO C-182, states provide *'all necessary and appropriate assistance'* to remove children from exploitive situations, including the use of international cooperation. This is done by *'addressing the contributing factors, including underdevelopment, poverty, economic disparities, inequitable socio-economic structure, dysfunctional families, lack of education, urban-rural migration, gender discrimination, irresponsible adult sexual behavior, harmful traditional practices, armed conflicts and trafficking in children'*. The Stockholm Declaration adds, that states shall *'mobilize political and other partners'* and *'provide sufficient means'* to this end. In the Optional Protocol to the CRC, The Netherlands reaffirms its commitment *'to provide financial, technical or other assistance'* to fight child sexual exploitation. According to this protocol the purpose for this assistance is the prevention, prosecution, investigation and punishment of those responsible for sexual exploitation of children and the reintegration into society.

IV.4 Laws against Child Sexual Abuse and Child Sexual Exploitation

In Tanzania, the laws against child sexual abuse and exploitation are generally very strict. There are stiff penalties for sexual offenses against children. The Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (SOSPA, 1998) purports to *'further safeguard the personal integrity, dignity, liberty and security of women and children'*. This act has created new offenses, namely, acts of gross indecency between persons, sexual exploitation of children, grave sexual abuse, gang rape, sexual harassment, and cruelty to children. It also clarifies rape, indecent assault and defilement.

Current law in Tanzania includes the following measures:

- Verbal harassment can be punished by imprisonment and a fine.
- Gross indecency includes touching and masturbation and is punished by one to five years imprisonment.
- Grave sexual abuse is defined as anything that does not constitute rape and is punished by a sentence of 15 to 30 years with corporal punishment; a harsher sentence is given if the victim is under fifteen years of age.
- The punishment for rape is a minimum of 30 years imprisonment and the provision of compensation to the victim.
- Procurement is punished with a minimum of ten years or a fine.

- Unnatural offences are punished by a minimum of 30 years and mean a mandatory life sentence if committed to a child of less than ten years, the offence includes carnal knowledge, or the perpetrator is a third-time offender.
- Gang rape is punished by life imprisonment.
- Prostitution or exploitation, such as producing child pornography, is punished less harshly, with sentences ranging from two to ten years imprisonment or a fine of up to about 5000 dollars. (Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act, 2008: art. 4-5)

In light of the above, someone who organizes and profits from child sexual exploitation receives a lighter sentence than someone convicted of procurement or rape.

The age of adulthood has been set at eighteen, and this is also the age for consensual sex. The Sexual Offences Act was responsible for raising this age to eighteen, but makes an exception for married children who can have sexual relations from the age of fifteen. (SOSPA, sec. 130; ILO: 1; US dept of state: 11)

The relatively new labor law, enacted in 2004, criminalizes child labor. (Employment and Labor Relations Act, 2004) It has however not yet been used frequently in prosecution cases, as it took three years to implement the regulations. Still, the situation bodes well, since previously there were only local and national ordinances used against child labor and criminal charges were not possible.⁵⁷

IV.5 Police Reaction to Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation

IV.5.1 Context

The police in Tanzania are not held in high esteem when it comes to fighting serious crimes, such as child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation. Respondents labeled the police as uncommitted and ignorant,⁵⁸ corrupt⁵⁹ and involved in the exploitation of children.⁶⁰ It has been reported that rather than investigating child exploitation, the police are, at times, involved in these very activities. Furthermore, the police have been accused of both accepting bribes and ignoring commercial sexual exploitation. According to the US State Department, the government of Tanzania had not undertaken action against any police officers during the 2005 report year. (US Dept. of State: 12-14)

When enforcing the law, the dependability and effectiveness of the police and judicial system is essential. Corruption and lack of capacity within these government institutions hinders the implementation of the law. Corruption is a major problem in Tanzania, where one-fifth of the government's money disappeared in 2005, according to the country's own Ministry of Finance. (US Dept of State: 8) The level of corruption in the police force is also known to be extremely high; 72% of police are perceived to be involved in corrupt practices. (US Dept of State, 2006: 8) Global integrity scores also reveal that Tanzania has integrity issues, just like neighboring Kenya and Uganda. The following indicators were all deemed to be 'weak' or 'very weak' by key informants: elections, government accountability, anti-corruption and the rule of law. (Chikwanha: 10) The ability to effectively enforce the law in Tanzania is severely hindered by the undermining force of corruption.

Adding to the low levels of law implementation is the tendency by the police to direct cases towards reconciliation. This means that the police will suggest that the perpetrator pay the victim or that the families involved exchange proper gifts.⁶¹ This practice is in line with protecting family honor, often done at the expense of a child's rights.⁶²

On the other hand, the police that were interviewed during this investigation seemed committed. They appeared interested in convicting offenders, especially those abusing children, as well as concerned about collecting evidence and working with others to improve their effectiveness.⁶³ They did however name a number of hurdles they were up against.

Firstly, they do not have sufficient money for investigations or their work with the courts to hand out subpoenas.⁶⁴ They will ask for money before starting an investigation in order to cover administrative costs.⁶⁵ It is also interesting to note that police were paid to retrieve and categorize some of the information used in this report, as it was considered extra work.⁶⁶

Secondly, there is no special police department that deals with sexual offences. In the current situation, "everybody's responsible".⁶⁷ In Dar es Salaam, a specialized department is being planned that will include special children's desks at all police stations and police officers that are trained to take testimonies and witness accounts from children.

Finally, the Tanzanian authorities complained that they do not have access to Internet Protocol addresses, which is crucial for investigating computer criminality.⁶⁸ There are other investigative techniques that may be lacking, for example, the use of DNA testing in sexual crimes is not yet standard.⁶⁹

IV.5.2 Non-reporting

Children are reluctant to report acts of exploitation and abuse committed against them, since more often than not, they take place by people that have somehow endeared themselves to the victim. This includes parents or other relatives who have a natural relationship with the children. Abuse also takes place within organizations that are supposed to provide help, such as health care facilities and NGOs and by individuals that have donated money to the children for schooling, food or other needs. A number of organizations run by individuals have been suspected of using aid as a front for abuse. Similarly, child abusers are often known to be very kind and generous to children, making it even more difficult for a victim to report abuse. Emotionally, the children are reluctant to break the bond of trust between themselves and the abuser. (Save the Children: 1-26; Terre Des Hommes, 2007: 11)

Finances may also influence the decision about whether or not to report abuse. The abuser may have a great financial impact on the child and his family. The abuser may be donating money or material goods to the family or it may be a parent who is also the family income earner. (Save the Children: 1-26; Terre Des Hommes, 2007: 11)

Fear of the perpetrator is another possible reason not to report abuse. In all cases where children were forced into prostitution, the pimp physically and emotionally abused them at the beginning and sometimes throughout their captivity. As a rule, children fear physical or emotional reprisals by the people who abuse them. (Terre des Hommes: 11)

The lack of trust in police and the judicial system is another reason that child victims or their parents do not report incidences of abuse and exploitation. This has to do with both the ineffectiveness of the police and their vulnerability to corruption. In some areas, less than five percent of the arrests made in child sex tourism cases end up with the offender in jail. (Terre des Hommes: 11)

IV.5.3 Child Sexual Abuse

Although the law calls for stiff penalties for child abuse, this is mitigated by the fact that most child abuse cases are not even reported, let alone processed and tried. When parents or close relatives are involved in the abuse, family honor takes precedence.⁷⁰ If the abuser is someone who contributes financially to the family, it can be detrimental to the family's survival if this person is sentenced to years of imprisonment.⁷¹ As a result of the strong impediments to reporting child abuse, the majority of cases recorded by Tanzanian police are committed by strangers, even though it is broadly accepted that the majority of actual abuse cases are committed by people both known and close to the victim.⁷²

When an abuser is convicted by a court of law, the sentences are generally quite stiff. It is not unusual to be sentenced to a lifetime in jail for rape.⁷³

IV.5.4 Child Sexual Exploitation

The police do not see prostitution as belonging to their investigative tasks. They may act if they hear or see something that moves them, but generally they view prostitution as a social problem.⁷⁴ The police know the location of brothels and guest houses being used for sexual activities, despite the fact that brothels are illegal and therefore 'hidden'. They do not however invest time or money into watching these brothels.⁷⁵

A serious gap in law enforcement comes from men having sex with minors with impunity, if the minors solicited these men of their own accord. This can be taken to the extent that a minor prostitute is imprisoned for prostitution, while the man that had sex with her is not prosecuted.⁷⁶ When police are questioned, they will acknowledge that sex with a minor is a criminal offence.⁷⁷

Not only are the police accused of being part of the system that keeps the child exploitation industry running, they are also said to exploit prostitutes themselves. Since prostitution is illegal, the police will make rounds through areas known to harbor prostitutes. When they see prostitutes or those that appear to be prostitutes - they are easy to recognize in their scanty dress in the relative cold of night - they round them up into a police vehicle that can hold up to ten or fifteen people. In the van the prostitutes are often given a choice, pay the police, have sex with the police or spend time in jail. Most of the prostitutes will choose one of the first two options, since time spent in jail will prove costlier in the end.⁷⁸

The procurement of prostitutes is the sexual crime punished the least, due among other reasons, to the fact that it is covered under a different statute than sexual abuse, namely one concerning trafficking, which is punished less harshly. When pimps are jailed, it is often only for about three years.⁷⁹ (SOSPA, 1998)

IV.5.5 Recommendations for Police and Authorities

Police are requesting more training for investigative and victim interviewing techniques.⁸⁰ Knowledge of human rights is still lacking and also needs improvement through training.⁸¹ There is a need to appropriate adequate budgets for crime investigation. For example, there should be a fund from which certain expenditures – transportation, telephone, copying, etc. – can be financed during the process of an investigation.⁸² Without this financial backing, police will not investigate unless they are paid by the victim.⁸³

Although the police officially deny being corruptible, it is clear that the influence of money is immense. There is a great deal of testimony from prostitutes who have been in contact with the police, as well as from people who have aided victims and tried to induce police to investigate specific crimes, substantiating the claim that the police will use their discretionary powers to suit whomever pays them sufficient money.⁸⁴ (Afrobarometer: 33) This is one of the problems most in need of attention. There is a lot of literature about controlling police corruption, (see Bayley, 2002 for a good bibliography) but since there does not yet seem to be a concerted effort to fight police corruption, the decision to test any of the hypotheses on effective corruption control seemed untimely, and therefore was not taken.

Knowledge of the law is important for the police; several organizations speak of the lack of legal clarity about the definition of a child. It is fundamental that the police know when something is illegal. Knowledge of the law needs to be improved in the courts as well, where this is also lacking⁸⁵.

IV.6 Administrative Reaction to Child Labor

The Ministry of Labor enforces the Employment and Labor Relations Act of 2004. To this end, the Ministry of Labor employs inspectors who can impose fines or shut down businesses that employ children. To date, however, there have been no cases against such organizations. This implies that the inspectors are not yet very active. This claim has been confirmed by the Ministry, pointing to a crippling shortage of inspectors. The present budget of the Ministry of Labor has shrunk significantly, when compared to its budget only two years previously.⁸⁶ Earlier reports uphold the allegation that the Ministry of Labor is not able to meet the demands that the law imposes on it. Currently, this is due mainly to capacity and resource shortage. (US dept of Labor, 2006)

In Zanzibar, there has been little experience with the new labor law in effect since 2006, resulting in confusion about its meaning and obligations. The government defends the position, that due to the fact that child prostitution is an informal industry, it does not have an obligation to curtail it. The Zanzibarian government representative interviewed referred to the law that states that the government controls public and private sectors; the representative does not define the informal sector as being either public or private, and therefore claimed that the government is not obligated to do anything.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the government representative complained that the number of inspectors for the island, in actual fact five, is not sufficient to fulfill the obligations that the government has already taken on.⁸⁸

IV.7 Preventive and Protective Measures by the Tanzanian Government

The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare works with vulnerable groups, including children. It focuses on people living under the poverty line; several programs have been implemented that are intended to improve the financial position of families. These programs include direct food and non-food support. The budget for this support is around fifteen million dollars annually. This amounts to about two to three dollars per child living in absolute poverty, per year. The budget is also calculated inaccurately, making it seem higher than it really is; this error needs to be removed to reflect the real figure. (NCPA: IX)

The Health and Social Welfare Ministry attempts to cooperate with NGOs and international organizations in order to implement its policies. In actual fact, its operative and planning activities on sexual exploitation are all brought about by outside organizations, notably the ILO and KIWOHEDE. (NCPA: 27-30)

A representative from the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare affirmed that migration to the cities is an important contributing factor to the increase in child sexual exploitation. Unfortunately, the Ministry has been unable to prevent children from migrating. In fact, the representative remarked, it is the improved facilities for street children that are attracting more children to the city: "The problem is partly man-made".⁸⁹

The government also executes a number of programs for street children, though it is unsure how these programs are doing, since neither the coordinating Ministry⁹⁰ nor the executing Ministry⁹¹ can provide any details about these programs; there is also a distinct lack of information found in official publications. (NCAP: 24-36) The coordinating Ministry states that the work by local governments, NGOs and faith organizations should ensure that there are no street children by 2015.⁹²

There are other programs set to be introduced in the near future, but the hope that they will be successful is not high, since the representatives from the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare claim that they have no executive powers, as they are a coordinating Ministry. In effect, the Ministry is saying that children's affairs are not located in an important ministry, but in one that has little authority over other ministries.⁹³ The most important indicator, that the government has little faith in its own policies and plans, is the expectation noted in its National Children's Action Plan that the number of poor and vulnerable children will keep on growing despite all efforts. (NCAP: 59-62)

IV.7.1 Recommendations for Preventive and Protective Measures

The police have called for a general increase in public awareness.⁹⁴ This effort is undertaken by a number of different organizations, but the message has not reached a lot of potential victims.⁹⁵

The capacity of KIWOHEDE is insufficient to help all victims of abuse and exploitation; yet it is essential that ways be found to facilitate an increase in the protection of victims.⁹⁶

IV.8 NGO Response to Sexual Exploitation and Abuse

In Tanzania, there is a shortage of NGOs that deal with child sexual exploitation and abuse when measured up against the size of the problem.⁹⁷ By far the largest organization dealing with this issue is KIWOHEDE, which asserts that it has helped over 36,000 children during its nine years in existence. KIWOHEDE works in 10 of the 156 districts in Tanzania. Currently, it has 1500 children in its centers.⁹⁸ The organizations Dogodogo Centre, Amani Girls' Center and Upendo Daima offer similar service provisions. They each have outreach programs, but children also make their way to the centers themselves. Children taken in by a protected shelter are counseled and enrolled in school. The organization Kwetu Counseling is currently updating its strategy due to donor demands.⁹⁹ The centers have differing strategies about reintegration with the family. Dogodogo Center does not reintegrate, the children are put through school and they live at the center.¹⁰⁰ The other centers feel that reintegration is important in order to promote the message that the family and community have a responsibility towards their own children. However effective reintegration is not always achievable. At Upendo Daima, about 50% of the children end up staying long term.¹⁰¹

The children are taught, through a variety of techniques, how to avoid being a repeat victim of sexual abuse or exploitation. The children, through counseling, are taught to cope with their past experiences, generally by recounting and addressing the factors leading up to the abuse and exploitation. The children are educated, in formal and informal situations, increasing their knowledge and therefore their ability to negotiate their own position in society and their future salary, as well as to assert their rights. As a rule, they are given some vocational training so that they can earn a living and become less dependent on others, decreasing their vulnerability to future abuse and exploitation. Finally, the organizations involved with street children try to form a protective network around these children, comprising family, community and the organization¹⁰².

There is a series of organizations that focus mostly on service provision for abused and exploited children, including National Organization for Legal Aid (NOLA), Kivulini Women's Rights Organization, Legal and Human Rights Center (LHRC), various faith institutions, Tanzanian Women and Children Welfare Center (TWCWC) and the Zanzibar Association for Children's Advancement (ZACA). The first two of these organizations focus on providing legal services, such as representing children in court. Faith organizations and ZACA provide both guidance and the provision of services meant to improve one's situation in life, such as education and small donations and services such as health care, counseling and life skills¹⁰³.

Most of the organizations mentioned above are also involved in raising public and political awareness. The Tanzanian Media Women's Association (TAMWA) specializes in obtaining media attention on the issue of sexual abuse and exploitation of children and campaigning to change society's attitude toward children, women and sex. Another organization that operates as an advocacy organization is Haki Elimu. The donor organizations do not give direct aid to children, but along with other objectives, also work to raise awareness about the extent of the problem.

The government includes NGOs in its planning and reports because they represent the largest sector involved and have the greatest capacity to protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse. (NACP: 24-36) The government is however critical of NGOs that protect street children and child prostitutes; it claims that these organizations are attracting children to the cities, compounding the problem.¹⁰⁴ There is some evidence to support this assertion, although in light of the massive migration towards cities, this issue should not be exaggerated. To assume that all who migrate to the cities are motivated by stories of services provided by NGOs seems naïve. It is obvious that there is competition between NGOs – who do a lot of the work and want to operate in a way that they feel is most effective – and the government, which tries to both control the activity of these organizations and make use of their expertise; this proficiency sometimes appears to be of superior quality to what can be found in the ministries.

On the other hand, some local NGOs do not have a clear plan outlining how to help children that have been abused or exploited. They need to develop focus and expertise before they can make a significant impact on the circumstances faced by these children in Tanzania. Recommendations, by prominent NGOs addressing this issue entail techniques that help children become more independent of those who abuse and exploit them. As mentioned above, these techniques encompass the removal of abused and exploited children from the destructive environment, as well as providing education in life skills and the knowledge and proficiency necessary, including some sort of vocational training, to make them financially more independent.

From the legal point of view, a lot of work needs to be done to clarify the law and educate professionals, such as police, lawyers and judges, about their interpretation of, and assumptions about, rights and obligations.¹⁰⁵ Also, children and the public in general should become more assertive and strive to know more about their own legal rights. This helps people to protect themselves.¹⁰⁶

NGOs universally agree that the police have important flaws. Some organizations accuse the police of corruption, and report a serious need for tangible efforts against this corruption. One NGO, recognizing that the police lack investigative resources, provides funds to help the police get information from children for investigations. Though only one respondent pointed this out during the field work, a strong component of that NGOs' recommendations is the matter of political priority not being ascribed to the problem.¹⁰⁷

IV.9 European Connection with the Sex Industry in Tanzania

The Netherlands and other European countries are attractive destinations for Tanzanian women willing to engage in prostitution. The Tanzanian police have received intelligence that Tanzanian women have indeed been trafficked to the Netherlands, although this information has not been confirmed on the Dutch side.¹⁰⁸

The situation sketched above is underscored by the fact that Tanzania is one of the countries being named in a large ring of traffickers responsible for bringing women and children into Europe, including the Netherlands. This particular ring is responsible for tens of thousands of trafficked victims annually. (The Citizen News, Tanzania, 7 October 2008) The United Nations

have also indicated concern about the large-scale trafficking for sexual purposes that originates in Tanzania and is directed towards wealthy countries in the Middle East and Europe. (The Citizen News, Tanzania, 13 October 2008) Furthermore, the US Department of State provides accounts of trafficking for sexual exploitation taking place between Tanzania and Europe. (US Department of State: 2008)

The Dutch organization against human trafficking, Comensha, and the Dutch organization for prostitution, Rode Draad, have not reported a significant number of Tanzanians, either in the legal sex industry, or as victims of trafficking. There are also no recent Dutch police reports on trafficked women from Tanzania. This could mean that the Tanzanians have not yet entered The Netherlands' sex industry in large numbers or that they are working underground. A further possible explanation is that Tanzanians are being mistaken for Nigerians, who are quite prevalent in the sex industry in The Netherlands¹⁰⁹

The Tanzanian government does not work with The Netherlands' government, on an operational level, because there have not yet been specific cases of Tanzanian prostitutes involving Dutch citizens. The Dutch embassy made it very clear that they felt that the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation was widespread, however.¹¹⁰ This had not led to increased activity to combat it, unfortunately.

V. Conclusions

Child sexual abuse and exploitation in Tanzania are both growing rapidly. Although statistics are still scant, the results of this report indicate that cases are commonplace; in the six wards of Dar es Salaam studied, 40% of poor children were victims of some sort of sexual exploitation. According to a number of respondents interviewed during the research phase, 30-40% of boys living on the streets have experienced sexual abuse and 90% of girls on the streets end up soliciting sex for either money, material goods or food.

Economic and cultural pressures coincide to explain the growth in abuse and exploitation, providing the main linkages between the two crimes. Cultural causes include the vulnerable position Tanzanian children have when interacting with adults; fixed roles for men and women within society where girls are financially dependent on, yet undervalued by, those who provide for them, opening up the way for an abuser - victim relationship; and society's toleration for a certain level of violence by men. The increase in child sexual abuse and exploitation is further exacerbated by the fact that many children live in single-parent households. Children also leave home to escape an abusive, deprived or otherwise stressful environment. Culturally, children from the ages of twelve to fourteen are considered adult and expected to provide for themselves. The need for older children to earn a living frequently places them in vulnerable situations that adults can exploit.

A further link between the two can be witnessed by the way police react to child sexual abuse and exploitation. The police reaction to child sexual abuse is minimal, and hampered by the fact that children are not taken seriously. Furthermore, police techniques and interviewing methods are insufficient to provide worthwhile evidence. Police do not generally know how to deal with rape victims. Special desks for women and children are to be set up, but the timeframe for this remains unclear. Conversely, there are skilled and motivated police, though how many is not clear.

Child prostitution is seen by neither the Tanzanian police, nor the public, as a violation of child rights, as it is assumed that prostitutes perform their work willingly. Moreover, children are sometimes arrested for violating the prohibition on prostitution, while the men procuring child prostitutes are not apprehended. Allegations of police involvement in sexual exploitation are common, often taking the form an exchange; money or sexual favors for the prostitute's release from custody.

Government efforts, mainly through labor inspectors, are too weak to impact the situation of child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation. This is one of the factors allowing child victims to move up the scale from abuse to ever-deprecating forms of exploitation so rapidly.

Tanzania is a source country for the trafficking of women and children. These women are destined, in part, for Europe. Where precisely Tanzanian women and children end up is unclear, although Denmark, England and the Netherlands have all been named.

This paper has drawn attention to many precursors to child sexual abuse and exploitation. By studying the inextricable links between abuse and exploitation, it has also brought to the forefront two primary causes of exploitation: poverty and abuse. Consequently, exploitation cannot successfully be alleviated unless these twin roots are equally tackled. Poverty and abuse are also, in very many circumstances, intertwined. It is therefore not enough to put concrete measures into place against poverty and exploitation alone. The cultural factors behind the widespread sexual abuse of children in Tanzania need equal attention. All three of these intolerable situations, namely the poverty, abuse and exploitation of children, need to be attacked simultaneously in order to augment and maximize the results achieved from efforts already being made, as well as those planned for in the future.

VI. Recommendations

Any intervention into the problem of child sexual abuse or exploitation must address Tanzanian culture. The perception of women and children's place in society is one of subservience and adaptation to the dominant man. Children and women need to be facilitated to change their role in society; this will require learning a more assertive way of behaving and gaining a greater awareness of their rights. This change can be brought about in any number of ways, such as including sex-education and children and women's rights into the educational curriculum. Men's attitude toward women, children and support for a family should also be targeted for change. Furthermore, early marriage should be discouraged and the law altered accordingly.

Poverty is one of the major contributing factors to sexual exploitation. Programs designed to improve families' capacity to generate income legitimately should be enhanced.

The facility of NGOs that provide protection to exploited and abused children should be enlarged in urban areas, but possibly in non-urban areas as well. NGOs need to inform children and parents about the significant risk of sexual abuse and exploitation confronting children. Internationally, NGOs need to raise awareness about the situation faced by many children in Tanzania and appeal for international cooperative measures.

The police need to take sexual abuse and sexual exploitation seriously, even more so when it concerns children. More specifically, the following measures need attention:

- training in investigative techniques and interviewing skills;
- the availability of sufficient resources for the police and judicial system;
- examples of best practice within the police should be upheld and promoted;
- policing priorities should be amended to include child abuse and exploitation;
- knowledge about legal provisions should be bolstered as a means to improving law enforcement.

Europol and national police agencies should earnestly investigate the trafficking of people from Tanzania to Europe.

The Netherlands needs to encourage cooperation among the police, immigration and judicial branches on matters connected with international trafficking. An important method of increasing cooperation is through police training. The Dutch society should also take a tougher stance regarding European nationals involved in sex tourism.

Respondents

Dar es Salaam

Challi, Henri Rashaan - acting director and **Mdolla, Julius** - assistant director of children, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children

Charwe, Donald M. - assistant commissioner, Family and Children Welfare, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare

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Jones, John - child justice specialist, Dar es Salaam office, UNICEF

Kilongumtwa, Argentina - director, Kwetu Counseling, Mbagala district

Konyo, Joseph - superintendent of police, in charge of anti trafficking unit, National Police Tanzania

Mallya, William - national chief technical adviser, **Maganga, Gloria** - program officer and

Toroka, Noreen - program officer, ILO/IPEC office in Dar es Salaam for the Time Bound Program on Elimination of Child Labor

Masawe, Sabas - project coordinator, Dogodogo Center

Mbaruku, Asha Ally - social worker, Juvenile Court Tanzania

Mloka, Nestory - head, Child Labor Unit, Ministry of Labor

Mwaituka, Justa - executive director and **Kawala, Eddah** - coordinator, Kiota Women's Health and Development Organization (KIWOHEDE)

Mwangosi, Peter - African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANNPCAN) Tanzania

Ngonyanyi, Inspector Lucy - desk officer, antitrafficking, women and children, Interpol

Nkya, Judge Eva - Magistrate, Juvenile Court Tanzania

Peruffo, Monica - International Organization for Migration (IOM)

Sangawe, Prosper - assistant project coordinator, Tanzania Women and Children Welfare Center (TWCWC)

Mwanza

Dube, Sikhanyisiwe - Amani Girls Home for Street Children

Kakolaki, Edwin - state attorney in charge, Lake Region, Tanzania

Kallaghe, Lillian R. - Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA)

Kapungo, Father Steven - Catholic Diocese of Mwanza

Mika, Jonathan - spokesperson, Mwanza police

Mjumbe, Khalid - head, CID, Ilemala district

Mkude, Charles - program officer, research and advocacy, National Organization for Legal Assistance (NOLA)

Mlay, Jeovitha - legal officer, Kivulini Women's Rights Organization

Sungusia, Harold - acting director, Legal and Human Rights Center (LHRC)

Tarsius, Hoja A. - Upendo Daima, 19 October 2008

Zanzibar

Ameir, Ameir Ali - senior labor officer and **Khamis, Mahamed** - labor officer, Ministry of Labor

Haji, Haji A. – commander, Criminal Investigation Department (CID), Central Region
Issa, Mhboub Juma – mayor, Zanzibar Municipality
Mkadam, Mkadam – Officer in Charge of District (OCD), Stone Town district
Mr. Muthala and **Ms. Hadije** - youth workers and one beneficiary, Zanzibar Association for Child Advancement (ZARA)
Mzee, Asha Aboud – director, Catalyst for Women Organization in Zanzibar (COWPZ)
Salim Ali, Mayasa - acting director, Ministry of Social Welfare

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- ² the named rate of pregnant girls going to school “was 25%”, Mr. Challi, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, 21 October 2008.
- ³ Ms. Rijaal, teacher, 13 October 2008.
- ⁴ Ms. Mlay, Kivulini, 16 October 2008.
- ⁵ Ms. Mbaruku, 23 October 2008.
- ⁶ Ms. Rijaal, teacher, 13 October 2008.
- ⁷ examples from documentary, Dogodogo Center, 2007
- ⁸ Ms. Mlay, Kivulini, 16 October 2008.
- ⁹ KIWOHEDE, 8 October 2008; Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Zanzibar, 13 October 2008 and Ms. Kilongumtwa, Kwetu Counseling, 9 October 2008.
- ¹⁰ KIWOHEDE, 8 October 2008 and Taxi driver A. who operates as middle man for prostitutes and clients.
- ¹¹ a report at the Ministry of Labor revealed that CCM Social Hall, Burudani and Bwawani were known by the police to be places of child prostitution. The taxi drivers also knew these places and some would take customers to them if they requested a place where they could procure children for sex, Mr. Ameir, Ministry of Labor, 13 October 2008.
- ¹² Ms. Mlay, Kivulini, 16 October 2008.
- ¹³ Inspector Ngonyanyi, Interpol, 22 October 2008.
- ¹⁴ Ms. Mlay, Kivulini, 16 October 2008.
- ¹⁵ for example, Ms. Kilongumtwa, 9 October, 2008 and Mr. Charwe, 22 October, 2008; many others related this as well.
- ¹⁶ Mr. Sangawe, TWCWC, 20 October 2008.
- ¹⁷ all respondents referred to poverty, including governments, UN organizations, private persons and NGO's.
- ¹⁸ prostitutes interviewed in Dar es Salaam and Mwanza.
- ¹⁹ Dogodogo Center, Masawa, 21 October 2008 and Ms. Mbarukua, probation officer, 23 October 2008.
- ²⁰ observations, Stone Town district, 12 October 2008.
- ²¹ KIWOHEDE, 8 October 2008.
- ²² for example, Ms. Rijaal, teacher, 13 October 2008 and Ms. Dube, Amani Girls Home, 17 October 2008.
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- ²⁴ Ms. Dube, Amani Girls Home, 17 October 2008.
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- ²⁶ for example, one of the women interviewed was not a full-time prostitute, but she would ‘accept’ men occasionally to support her child, Zanzibar, 14 October 2008.
- ²⁷ Zanzibar Association for Children's Advancement, 13 October 2008 and Ms. Dube, Amani Girls Home, 17 October 2008.
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- ²⁹ Ms. Peruffo, International Organization for Migration, 20 October 2008; Ms. Dube, Amani Girls Home, 17 October 2008 and Ms. Kallaghe, Tanzania Media Women Association, 15 October 2008.
- ³⁰ commenting on preservation of family honor being “more important than children's rights”, Ms. Dube, Amani Girls Home, 17 October 2008 and Ms. Mlay, Kivulini, 16 October 2008.
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- ³⁴ Mr. Mallya, ILO/IPEC, 10 October 2008.
- ³⁵ Mr. Mloka, Ministry of Labor, 11 October 2008.
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- ³⁷ Ms. Mlay, Kivulini, 16 October 2008 and Inspector Ngonyanyi, Interpol, 22 October 2008.
- ³⁸ Superintendent Konyo, National Police, 22 October 2008.
- ³⁹ Superintendent Konyo, National Police, 22 October 2008.
- ⁴⁰ prostitutes were not asked whether they wanted to get out in Dar es Salaam; protective homes do not exist in Zanzibar, but the girls all indicated they were on the island for a short while to earn money and will then go back to their homes and a girl in Mwanza indicated that she wanted out and knew the organization that could help her, but had not yet undertaken action.
- ⁴¹ Mr. Masawa, Dogodogo Center, 21 October 2008; Mr. Hoja A. Tarsius, Upendo Daima, 19 October 2008 and Ms. Dube, Amani Girls Home, 17 October 2008.
- ⁴² KIWOHEDE, 8 October 2008.
- ⁴³ Mr. Hoja A. Tarsius, Upendo Daima, 19 October 2008.
- ⁴⁴ Mr. Jonathan Mika, Mwanza police, 17 October 2008.
- ⁴⁵ Mr. Jonathan Mika, Mwanza police, 17 October 2008.
- ⁴⁶ Mr. Hoja A. Tarsius, Upendo Daima, 19 October 2008.
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- ⁴⁹ Mr. Mkadam Mkadam, Officer in Charge of District, 13 October 2008.
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- ⁵⁹ Ms. Kilongumtwa, Kwetu Counseling, 9 October 2008; Ms. Mlay, Kivulini, 16 October 2008; Catholic Diocese, Kapungo, 17 October 2008 and LHRC, Sungusia, 15 October 2008.
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- ⁶³ Mr. Mkadam Mkadam, Officer in Charge of District, 13 October 2008 and Superintendent Konyo, National Police, 22 October 2008.
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- ⁷⁴ Mr. Jonathan Mika, Mwanza police, 17 October 2008 and Superintendent Konyo, National Police, 22 October 2008.

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- ⁷⁶ some of the offenders being investigated by police were minor prostitutes, while men were not jailed for procuring a minor prostitute. Ilemela district police, Mwanza, 17 October 2008; Judge Nkya, 23 October 2008; Mr. Mkadam Mkadam, Officer in Charge of District, 13 October 2008 and Mr. Jonathan Mika, Mwanza police, 17 October 2008.
- ⁷⁷ Superintendent Konyo, National Police, 22 October 2008.
- ⁷⁸ Ms. Kilongumtwa, Kwetu Counseling, 9 October 2008 and taxi driver who acted as a middle man to prostitutes and clients in Dar es Salaam, 11 October 2008.
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- ⁸⁰ Superintendent Konyo, National Police, 22 October 2008 and Mr. Kakolaki, State Attorney in Charge, 17 October 2008.
- ⁸¹ Mr. Mkadam Mkadam, Officer in Charge of District, 13 October 2008.
- ⁸² Mr. Kakolaki, State Attorney in Charge, 17 October 2008.
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