

Understanding Causes Of Dissatisfactions Among Compensated Landowners' In Expropriation Programs In Tanzania

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Abstract: Dissatisfaction of Project Affected People (PAPs) has been a common phenomenon worldwide and in most of the land acquisition programs carried out in Tanzania. The implementation of such programs has sometimes been delayed due to PAP's negative attitudes as a result of dissatisfactions. This has negative consequences for communities, acquiring authorities as well as program financers themselves. This study was aimed at finding out the causes, nature and levels of PAPs' dissatisfaction in land acquisition programs executed at Kurasini area in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The study explored methods used to deal with compensation complaints and evaluated the reactions of PAPs towards the said programs. Through interviews and a review of documents submitted to the ministry responsible for land acquisition regarding their dissatisfactions, it was possible to undertake the analyses. It was evident from the study that inadequate compensations, non-adherence to the laws, unfavorable resettlement practices, use of force by governments and acquiring authorities in making PAPs accept compensation, and lack of PAPs' involvement in the acquisition processes were identified as the most critical sources of discontent. Interviews also revealed that there were some dissatisfied PAPs who did not lodge complaints for a number of reasons but were equally dissatisfied for the same reasons. The study concludes up by recommending among others, that the government and the acquiring authorities should adhere to legal procedures governing compulsory purchase and compensation, ensure that negotiations are done with all parties involved in the acquisition programs, provide alternative plots besides monetary compensation, but after all recommendations, a plan for peaceful and agreeable resettlement of the PAPs is an initiative which would reduce or eliminate their resentments.

Keywords: Compensation Expectations, Expropriation Complaints, Expropriation Laws, Good Governance, Landowners' Dissatisfactions, Project Affected People.

1 INTRODUCTION

For the years the amount of legally acquired land in Tanzania through compulsory acquisition for public purposes and use, has been increasing. With government's policy on investments in mining, energy and agricultural sectors, on roads, water, drainage system, electricity transmission lines, hospitals, schools, housing estates, railways, shopping centers projects such trends are likely to rise at an increasing rate. Generally, it can be said that the importance of land in realizing the basic necessity of life is indispensable (Salil, 2009) and more important in ensuring sustainable development (Mpogole and Kongela, 2008). This scenario brings governments in most developing countries under increased pressure to provide land for public facilities and infrastructure (FAO, 2009). Unfortunately, these facilities, infrastructure and investment activities sometimes have to be provided in areas which are already occupied and have a growing demand for land (Katundu et. al 2013) but sometimes rural land has been converted for urban use as is the case with China (Ji, 2012). As a result of these conflicting interests land has to be acquired through expropriation because people are, normally, reluctant to surrender their lands for public projects. Although compulsory acquisition needs to be accompanied by the awarding of compensations to the dispossessed land owners, this does not entice people to sell nor surrender their lands despite being compensated or resettled, but instead cause resentments and dissatisfactions (Martin, 2010; Ji, 2012; Guo, 2001).

To some expropriation is a way of shifting land from use in rural use to an urban one (Ho and Lin, 2003) or from one group of economically, politically and socially disadvantaged segment of the community to a richer and more advantaged one. Land acquisition displaces families from their homes, livestock keepers from their good pastures, farmers from their fields and businesses from their neighborhoods (FAO, 2009), urban renters from housing units they had leased for years and house owners from homes they have lived in or land they have developed painstakingly for so many years. Many times these exercises have left many people homeless and landless especially where such processes are not done satisfactorily nor efficiently due to poor preparations causing numerous sufferings and dissatisfactions (Anzela et al, 2007) with trauma of physical dispossession for their most indelible memory of the process (Ghatak and Moorkherjee, 2011). Although it is apparent that expropriation dissatisfactions are many, their causes and sources are still unaccounted for.

2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Dissatisfactions and objections are the main problems in compulsory land acquisition programs worldwide and in Tanzania because to many such acquisitions affect their lives for good. Land is an invaluable resource to the lives of many people and their future generations (Kombe, 2010, Mpwehuka, 2012). Sometimes, these dissatisfactions have resulted into delays in the implementation of many proposed projects leading to increased administration overheads as a result of extended project durations and hence payments of salary and wages to the staff, transport and other operational costs. Dissatisfactions cause waste of resources in terms of time and money whereby the parties concerned spend time in courts of law and money for consultation professional charges. Similarly, dissatisfactions in land acquisition processes result into reduced revenue collection in form of various taxes due to failure or delays in project implementation. These have often resulted into instability especially where such objections are

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not settled timely and jeopardize local peace and harmony, leading to fights between the acquiring authorities or government and the citizens. But on the other hand complaints in land acquisition create a bad image for the governments in power. This work therefore focus on exploring the nature, causes and levels of dissatisfactions in land acquisition programs in Tanzania.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Compulsory land acquisition is the process in which the government through legal powers vested onto it, compulsorily takes individuals' or communities' property for public purpose. In this process, the dispossessed people are "forced to sell" their properties for public use against their will and in so doing transferring land ownership from private individuals or communities to the government or its agency or authorized organizations in return for compensation. Compulsory land acquisition as a process therefore, goes together with the payment of compensation to cover losses incurred by landowners who surrender their lands in favor of a public project. It must be noted that not all acquisitions have to be initiated by the government but private companies, institutions, corporations and individuals can also acquire land through the government for their various development activities but which serve the public (Denyer, 1985). The principles governing compulsory land acquisition and compensation are principally those of equivalence, good governance and protection of due process and fair procedures as explained by (FAO, 2009). This exercises is legally, economically, socially justified as explained by many scholars including Miceli and Segerson (1999 as cited in Ndjovu, 2003), Kalbro, et al (2008). Article 24(1) of the Constitution of the Tanzanian of 1977 says that every person is entitled to own property and has a right to the protection of his or her property held in accordance to the law. It provides land for economic and social development projects such as housing estates, hospitals, schools etc. through wealth redistributions necessary to benefit a big number of community members (Msangi, 2011). Even in socialist Tanzania where land was public property for decades Nyerere (1967) justified land acquisition and compensation. So, compensation is done in order to reinstate the affected person to their original condition as if the acquisition had not taken place which is reinforced by the constitutional Article 24(2) of the 1977 Constitution of the URT. Fairness and justice in compulsory acquisition is vital to avoid violation of the constitutional norms and ensures good governance standards (Hoops, 2014), they ensure project acceptance (AfDB, 2003),

3.1 PAPs' REACTION AGAINST DISSATISFACTIONS

Studies in expropriation shows that dissatisfactions among the PAPs still remains a prominent phenomenon (Famuyiwa and Omirin, 2011). Compulsory land acquisition programs have always gone together with the reactions from PAPs that indicate dissatisfaction such as violence, demonstrations and seeking media coverage in order to send messages to acquiring authorities regarding their dissatisfactions (Kombe, 2010). However, other dissatisfied communities resort to violence and litigation (Kakulu, 2008). Reasons for lodging complaints in compulsory acquisition are many but Kironde (2009) noted that the major reason had been non-transparent land compensation rates used in property valuation which are not transparent nor transparently determined. International experience indicate that sometimes the use of legal force is

often applied in implementing proposed projects before addressing PAPs' dissatisfactions, especially where individuals ask for reasonable compensation which the government cannot afford (Miceli and Segerson 1999 as cited in Ndjovu, 2003). Unfortunately, most of the complaints on compensation do not succeed and the projects proceed even without resolving dissatisfactions or the cases pending in courts of law. Occasionally, PAPs have shown their dissatisfactions and anger against proposed land acquisitions during sensitization meetings by not collecting nor filling in Land Form No.69 as required by the law or by setting ablaze government vehicles.

3.2 COMPENSABLE ITEMS

According to the laws and the Tanzanian constitution, the affected people are entitled to compensation when their properties are acquired. Such compensation is paid in favor of the physical properties i.e. the exhausted improvements in favor of losses suffered or costs to be incurred as a result of such an acquisition. Other compensable items that are enumerated in the laws include compensation for land and buildings taken and includes any other structures permanently attached to land, payment of different allowances as per Land (Assessment of the Value of Land for Compensation) Regulation, 2001 to cover different losses suffered or costs to be incurred by interest holders in form of Disturbance Allowance, Accommodation Allowance, Loss of Profit and Transport Allowance. Crops and trees acquired are compensated as per Section 156 (1) of the Land Act No.4 of 1999. Graves found on land acquired are compensated for the sake of respectful relocation as per Section 9 (1) of the Graves (Removal) Act of 1969. "Other costs" are the costs paid to an affected person to cover costs that were incurred by the landowner in improving his property before acquisition. This type of costs include costs like survey fees, if the land was surveyed by the landowner, reclaiming the land, site preparation costs, leveling costs, development of access roads, electricity connections to their site and water connection to their site. Satisfactions as a concept has many definitions. Kotler et al. (2002) defines customer satisfaction as a person's feeling of pleasure or disappointment resulting from comparing a products or services perceived performance in relation to his or her expectations. It is a function of perceived performance and expectations. Thus, if the performance falls short of expectations it means customer dissatisfaction ensues and if the performance matches the expectations, it means the customer is satisfied. However, if the performance exceeds expectations, the customer is highly satisfied and vice versa. "Dissatisfaction" is the opposite of "satisfaction". In land acquisition, "dissatisfaction" is the condition or feeling of being displeased or unsatisfied or discontented with the exercise itself or procedures applied. It represents the state of being unhappy with the processes of compulsory land acquisition. Parties with interests in land being compulsorily acquired can be dissatisfied with a number of issues on the proposed acquisition. The issue of satisfaction or dissatisfaction is critical in service delivery among private or public service sectors. The consequence of not satisfying customers in service delivery is severe. Hoyer and MacInns (2001) argued that if the customer is not satisfied with the service delivered it is easy for them to discontinue purchasing the service but in land acquisition programs PAPs can create considerable resistance by refusing to surrender the lands, taking cases to the courts of laws, all of which are detrimental

to the project proposed. Determinants of customer satisfaction are various. Zeithaml and Bitner (2000) identified determinants of customer satisfaction as customer emotion, product or service features, perception of equity or fairness, attributions for success or failure of the service, and product performance. First, customer's satisfaction can be determined by positive emotions such as happiness, pleasure but also negative emotion such as sadness, sorrow or guilty can lead to dissatisfaction. Undiplomatic acquiring authority which does not involve PAPs in expropriation creates unprecedented emotions reflected in levels of dissatisfactions sometimes with specific procedures involved. Secondly, product or service features influence satisfaction or dissatisfaction levels especially where the expected features are not found. If one expects to benefit from a typical expropriation program through generous compensation and less involving procedures, any contrary experience could influence the customers accordingly. Thirdly, attributions for success or failure of the service are the perceived causes of events developed by a customer after being surprised by the outcome of a service. Under these circumstances customers tend to find the cause or reason for failure of the service or product. If the reasons revealed prove that the service provider did mistakes, the situation can influence their dissatisfaction or satisfaction. When acquiring authority or his agents cause problems in expropriation programs this creates dissatisfactions among the PAPs. Fourthly, perception of equity or fairness by the customer on a service or product received when comparing to others determines either satisfaction or dissatisfaction. One asks himself if he/she has been treated fairly compared to others or if others received better treatment than him/her. When the customer finds that he/she was treated fairly compared to others, he becomes satisfied and vice versa. Lastly, product performance as argued by Tse and Wilton (1988, cited by Zeithaml and Bitner, 2000), satisfaction or lack of satisfaction can be assessed by examining actual performance of a product or service. A customer is satisfied by a product or service which performs at his or her desired level of performance and is dissatisfied by the product which performs below the desired level of performance.

3.3 SATISFACTION THEORIES

Satisfactions or dissatisfactions are issues that have been extensively used in commerce and trade. Theories on satisfaction have been developed and these include Assimilation Theory (Anderson, 1973), Contrast Theory (Hovland, Harvey and Sherif, 1978), Negativity Theory (Carlsmith and Aronso, 1963), Disconfirmation Theory (Ekinci and Sirakaya, 2004), Cognitive Dissonance Theory (Festinger, 1957), Adaptation Theory (Solomon and Carbin, 1974), Expectancy Disconfirmation Theory (Oliver, 1980), Equity Model; (Smith, 1969 quoted by Xinliang, 2012) and Hypothesis Testing Theory (Deighton, 1983), and many more. Although, there are no proofs that satisfaction theories have been used in expropriation studies, Assimilation-Contrast and Expectancy Disconfirmation Theories and Equity Model could somehow explain satisfactions and dissatisfactions in land acquisition more adequately. The Assimilation-Contrast, a combination of Assimilation and Contrast theories developed by Anderson (1973), attempted to explain the occurrence of customer satisfaction by suggesting that if the performance is within a customer's range of acceptance, even though it may fall short of expectation, the discrepancy will be disregarded and

assimilation will operate and the performance will be deemed as acceptable. If performance falls within the range of rejection, contrast will prevail and the difference will be exaggerated, this situation means the product or service deemed unacceptable. Another theory explored here is the Expectancy Disconfirmation Theory which deals with size and direction of disconfirmation experience that occurs after doing some comparison of the product performance with the expectations. This theory was developed by Oliver (1980), who observed that customer's level of satisfaction is the outcome of the difference between the expected and perceived product performance. In a typical land expropriation, the satisfaction level with the acquisition programs can result from comparisons made by PAPs between the values they have in their minds for their properties and the actual consideration paid by the acquirer.

3.4 EXPROPRIATION DISSATISFACTION: WORLD EXPERIENCES

Dissatisfactions in land acquisition projects is a worldwide experience. In Ghana, land acquisition is often associated with complaints such as non-adherence to the rules and procedures governing private property expropriation, inadequate payment of compensation and non-involvement of landowners (Gyamfi, 2012; Odame, 2008). It is argued that land owners are not involved from the first day of acquisition (Kotey 2002 cited by Gyamfi, 2012) creating dissatisfaction among the PAPs. Dissatisfactions in land acquisition have also been reported quite extensively in India where all persons having interests on land to be acquired for public interest are allowed to lodge their dissatisfactions against governments' intention to acquire land as provided by the 1894 Land Acquisition Act of India. Dissatisfactions in the Indian context are considered valid if the purpose for which land is proposed for acquisition is not a public purpose, if the land is not or less suitable than another piece of land for the said purpose, if the area under acquisition is excessive and if the acquisition will destroy or impair historical or artistic monuments or will desecrate religious buildings, graveyards and the like. In China where there is extensively land expropriation for economic development, dissatisfactions are many. Xinliang (2012) has attempted to measure dissatisfaction among Chinese peasants. Earlier Chinese satisfaction researches focused on studies on industrial services such as in retail domestic and bank services but little satisfaction studies were done in expropriation cases and for government services like land acquisition were not covered. However, later researches on satisfaction focused on government services including land acquisition. Studies on land acquisition has revealed four factors namely compensation standards, modes, distributions and procedures are the main factors that influence peasants' satisfaction in land acquisition and represent the most dissatisfied group in the country. In general, there is no any preset mechanism for resolving complaints in this country rather, there are recommendations on how the problem could be reduced or dealt with.

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This work used a case study approach with Kurasini in Temeke Municipality as case study area. The study, heavily dependent on secondary data collected by reviewing various records including appeal forms and letters from PAPs Kurasini lodged with the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development and visiting the municipal offices

collecting ministerial information available. Using 2014 data and information, Kurasini project had 2,907 PAPs of whom 819 had complained representing 28.2%. Although it was not possible to review all the cases only 64 cases were, representing about 7.8% of all complaints lodged. On the other hand it was possible to get hold of only a few of the displaced PAPs because many of them had already disappeared from the site. Although 54 PAPs were identified as being reachable only 33 of them made themselves available for interviews in this category of PAPs that were traced. Due to limitations of resources, time and logistics in contacting PAPs, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were adopted because it enabled the researcher to reach targeted respondents quickly even if they had moved away already and investigate the units which fit the desired research objectives. For the respondent to qualify, one must have been a PAP who owned land legally within the project area to ensure that first-hand information obtained was reliable. However, some landowners who were the affected, compensated, and accessible but did not lodge complaints, these were not considered despite being resettled in Dar es Salaam as well. Data from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHHS) and Ward Executive Officers and Street Leaders from the study areas were also used and were quite useful. Document review and analysis, complaints categorization, and content analysis technique were applied in the overall analyses made. The summary of those interviewed are seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Respondents interviewed in Kurasini Land Acquisition Program

Type of Respondent	Project Affected Persons	
	Identified	Accessed
Landowners (PAPs)	54	33
Program Leaders - MLHHS	2	1
Complaint Section Officers MLHHS	2	2
Local Leaders	3	1
Total	61	37

Source: Fieldwork (2014)

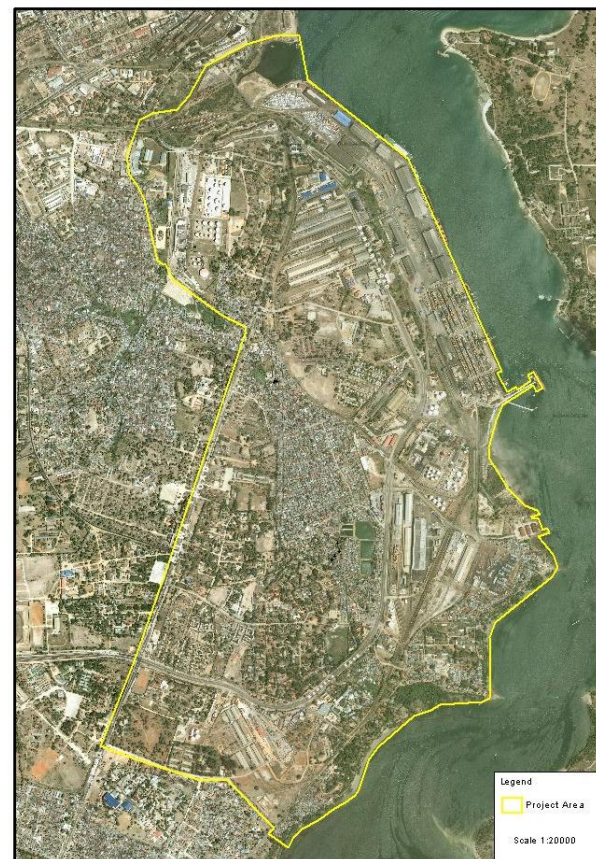
Measurement of PAPs Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction

PAPs satisfaction was measured by assessing the gap between PAPs expectations and the realized compensation considerations using an approach suggested by Oliver (1980) in the Expectancy Disconfirmation Theory. A gap had to be expressed as a percentage of total expectation against what was realized. This "satisfaction barometer" indicated though crudely the level of PAPs' satisfaction. A scale was designed comprising of different levels of dissatisfaction expressed as percentages of total satisfaction. It is argued that estimated levels of satisfaction similar to dissatisfaction, ranged from 0-100% later computed and mapped onto a format easily interpreted and inferred. In assessing the presence of either satisfaction or dissatisfaction the use of nominal data enabled the establishment of either the presence (100%) or absence (0%) of satisfaction among the affected people. Satisfaction levels for those who did not lodge complaints Likert Scale similar to the one used by Bhattacharjee (2012) was adopted. A five-point scale from "very fair" to "very unfair" arranged from those reflecting least satisfaction to most satisfaction, from which PAPs had to identify their levels of satisfaction.

5 KURASINI PORT REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Kurasini Redevelopment Project (KRP) was a result of Dar es Salaam Port Expansion Program earmarked to serve the landlocked countries of southern and central Africa (Mero, 2012). These initiatives necessitated the acquisition of more land surrounding the port totaling to 670 ha i.e. 1675 acres within Kurasini Ward (MLHHS, 2009). Kurasini project affected 8.5% of the entire population i.e. 2,907 land owners out of 34,370 people living in the area (Tanzania National Census, 2002). Land uses within the expansion area comprised of residential land (30%) in both planned and unplanned settlements, port operational areas (35%), institutional and open spaces (16%) and circulation areas i.e. land for roads and railways (19%) (Ndezi, 2009).

Map 1: The Kurasini Port Expansion Project Area



Source: MLHHS (2006)

As seen in Table 2 the MLHHS budgetary estimation for the implementation of Kurasini project in 2006 was Tshs. 1b/= which turned out to be a gross underestimation of the real requirements, for in Phase I alone TZS. 2,783,227,000/= were actually used (Mero, 2012) which was a 278.3% increase over the estimated budget. Similarly, it was estimated that actual compensation bill would take 83.7% of the total funds to be expended in the project, but the sum was so minute that it hardly sufficed the acquisition of the land. Due to inadequacy of funds, the MLHHS decided to implement acquisition project in 8 different phases as shown in the Table 3 where various phased disbursements for the project is vivid. As (2009) observed, the proposed Cost Recovery Mechanism used to raise funds for compensation payments in the subsequent phases by selling surveyed plots through

tendering, was not very successful due to delayed payments for the plots. The MLHSD had to pay compensation for the first five phases while it failed to pay Tshs. 1b/= for 323 PAPs, while the seventh and the eighth were paid by the Economic Processing Zone Authority (EPZA) and Temeke Municipality respectively. In the final analysis, total compensation disbursements were undertaken in phases as shown in Table 3. It is clear that judging by the amount contributed EPZA with 67% was the biggest share followed by the MLHSD with 22% and lastly Temeke Municipality which contributed 11% of the funds collected.

Table 2: The 2006 Budgetary Estimates for Implementing of Kurasini Land Acquisition Program

Activity	Amount spent
Initial preparations, Purchase of project materials and equipment	36,175,000
Public notification	9,838,500
Valuation of properties	20,820,000
Plot survey	9,222,926
Plot allocation	9,840,036
Project administration	38,380,000
Compensation	837,262,000
Contingency	38,461,538
Total	1,000,000,000

Source: Mero (2012)

Table 3: Implementation Phases of the expropriation program in Kurasini (2006-2013).

Phase	Year	Area Acquired (in acres)	People Affected
1	2006	11.24	191
2	2007	46.00	668
3	2008	7.00	72
4	2008	14.7	246
5	2009	15.84	191
6	2009	1,509.12	323
7	2013	60.00	1155
8	2013	11.10	161
Total		1,675.00	2,907

Source: Ministry of Lands (2014)

Besides financial problems, land acquisition program was well prepared. Public awareness was highly promoted through sensitization meetings which took place during all phases. The majority of the PAPs accepted and blessed the project before it commenced (Mero, 2012). Land Forms No.69 was issued and filled by all affected people who and signed them before Authorized Land Officers from the MLHSD. However, Land Forms No. 70 was not issued to the affected people due to problems learned from 20,000 Plots Projects whereby PAPs had unreasonably overvalued their properties. During sensitization meetings PAPs from the project were promised to be resettled. According to the MLHSD (2012) all the affected people from phases I to V were given alternative plots at Kibada, Chamazi and Buyuni areas, located approximately 6, 17 and 40 kilometers away from the project area respectively. There were 160 PAPs who were reallocated to Chamazi, 1,259 to Kibada areas in Temeke Municipality, 2 to Buyuni area in Ilala Municipality while the remaining PAPs relocated themselves wherever they thought it was convenient but within Dar es Salaam city. However, no alternative land was prepared for affected people in Phases VII to VIII due to lack

of funds. Like many land acquisition project, Kurasini project faced a number of challenges and problems some of which caused project delays. MLHSD as the main project implementer admitted the existence of a number of challenges. Few landowners filed court cases against the intention of the government to acquire the said land. This seriously affected the speed of implementing land acquisition program. Also there were 8 families which had not vacated the project area by the time the project was about to commence. These had filed court cases against low compensation. Similarly, delays in purchasing alternative lands by the affected people as a result of delayed and inadequate compensation fund which would have enabled the affected people to pay for these alternative plots. In total there were 819 official complaints i.e. 28% of people affected made formal complaints while many others complained "silently".

6 DYNAMICS OF EXPROPRIATION DISSATISFACTION

Dissatisfactions in land acquisition programs are closely associated with the complainants' expectations and politics of resistance in expropriation. Where there is a violation of basic or legal rights by the state or any other personality, legal or otherwise, there exists a right of the affected to ask for a redress as per provisions of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1977 because people are "forced" to receive what they did not expect. And since expropriation is a constitutional issue, complaints are also addressed through a constitutional machinery which ensures that they are properly and timely redressed by the responsible authorities notwithstanding the politics of expropriation and resistance for expropriation itself. On the other and there are politics of expropriation. Lasswell (1968) defines politics "who gets what, when and how" and Bernstein (2010:22) extends this definition by saying that it entails "Who owns what? Who does what? Who gets what? What do they do with it?" All these are relevant to expropriation for public use or purpose for they have some implication on the reactions and levels of dissatisfactions shown by PAPs. Normally when customers are dissatisfied with the "product" they either "show", "exist" or "voice" behaviors (Hirschman, 1970 as quoted by Ji, 2012) reflected in "neglect" or "loyalty" reactions. According to the Exit-Voice theory it is evident that in expropriation it is not easy to escape through "exit" behavior so that the only option for PAPs' resistance is to "voice" and here the authority will give space for PAPs to voice as a way to maintain "governance." It is clear therefore that between "ineffective voice" and "impossible exit" option some people choose to boycott. Categories of PAPs' reactions and hence their ways of dissatisfactions are interesting to identify according to Jin (2012). PAPs who benefit from expropriation will help the acquiring authorities to accelerate land expropriation process as advocates of "everyday compliance" but also convincing PAPs who are neutral to comply and not to complain. PAPs with negative attitude can decide to quietly move out of the acquired area without even complaining openly especially if they do not have a possibility of changing the existing situation. The other group are those who would make their claims heard as a result of the loss suffered but are ready to effectively and actively support but resist where there is insufficient compensation or severe cheating or corruptions. These PAPs are likely to create rightful resistance in making their claims public and open if they are knowledgeable with the laws and policies, though most of whom are not. When

complaints are lodged, PAPs have their own expectations. It is argued that customer expectations for a service or product can be influenced by his or her needs, objectives and past experiences. In compulsory land acquisitions, PAPs' expectations from the complaints they lodge may have been influenced by similar factors. Table 4 appended at the end, containing data from Kurasini land acquisition program, indicate varied PAPs' expectations out of an expropriation issue for which one had lodged a complaint. It is a wish that PAP expect to get from the acquiring authority.

6.1 CATEGORIES AND CAUSES OF COMPLAINTS

6.1.1 Registered Complaints

A total of 63 complaints from Kurasini were lodged with the Ministry of Lands containing a total of 275 issues that were complained against. The main causes of complaints were critically analyzed by themes after having been collapsed into six broader categories seen in Table 4 for a meaningful analysis, summarization and discussion. It was evident that of the total number of complaints lodged, inadequate compensation (51.64%), non-adherence to the legal provisions (42.18%), poor data management and storage (2.55%), lack of transparency (2.18%), unfavorable resettlement practices (1.09%) and technical problems (0.36%) were vividly seen as being the major sources of these dissatisfactions in the Kurasini project. From the analysis it was also clear that the two leading causes for dissatisfactions included inadequate compensation and non-adherence to the expropriation laws. Observations made in Kurasini seem to be supported by Kironde (2009) who alleges that the major reason for complaints in the Tanzanian land acquisition programs was non-transparent or transparently determined compensation rates and values which are relatively low. The inadequacy of compensation which is observed through unrealistic compensations reflected in real cost of living, economic hardship, increased prices of building materials, high operating costs and inflationary trends. The other source of dissatisfaction is the problem caused by technical mistakes committed in compensation calculations. Some unexhausted improvements were not included in the final value assessments and at times, depreciation rates applied were unreasonably high. Kakulu (2007) identified lack of transparency, lack of professional standards, bad governance and an underlying fabric of corruption as being accountable for inadequate compensation assessment and payment in Nigeria. It is apparent that many PAPs' expectations regarding compensation values are normally higher than the legally assessed values for compensation, a phenomenon explained by Oliver's (1980) Expectancy Disconfirmation Theory. Also, non-adherence to laws was noted several times by mainly when delays in compensation payments were not paid interest for compensation payment delayed. It was apparent that some compensations assessed in June 2006 had not been paid by May, 2014, where compensation was paid no interests was included and further more PAPs were ordered to collect their compensation cheques without verifying them first. Generally, non-involvement of the PAPs in the main and sub processes was another major area of resentments. In Kurasini, some of the complainants expressed their dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of the 30 day time frame given for surrendering and vacating the acquired lands. The laws and procedures governing land expropriation seem to be conveniently silent

especially on issues related to specific time frame for vacating such lands following compensation payment. These claims show that there were serious problems in the administration of land acquisition program contrary to the principles of good governance as per FAO (2009) specifications.

6.1.2 Unregistered Complaints

In order to capture dissatisfaction information from PAPs, it was thought that besides the registered records of complaints, it was also important to interview PAPs who did not register their complaints. About 54 respondents were identified but 33 interviewed using "snow ball research technique". However, the ordinal data type gathered showing levels of satisfaction was measured by using Likert Scale. There were two types of dissatisfactions which were noted among the Kurasini PAPs who had not lodged their complaints officially. Among those who did not lodge formal complaints in Kurasini, 33 of them were interviewed and these identified a total of 182 issues which they thought were for consideration. This means that many of the 33 complainants had several complainants with them and probably more complaints on average than the ones who officially lodged their complaints. Certainly, many of these complainants had more than one issue raised. The outcome of this inquiry were similar to the officially lodged ones. Out 182 complainants 56 out of them were dissatisfied with lower compensation amount, 51 on non-adherence to the laws by the acquiring authority, 27 on lack of transparency and 27 on unfulfilled promises, shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Issues raised by 33 un-registered Kurasini PAPs

Nature of Complaint	Kurasini Complaints	
	Number	Percent
Low compensation amounts	56	30.8
Lack of transparency	27	14.8
Non-Adherence to the law	51	28.0
Unfulfilled promises	27	14.8
Unfavorable resettlement practice	14	7.7
Technical problem	7	3.9
Total	182	100.0

Source: Field Data Collection and Analysis (2014)

6.1.3 Compensations versus PAPs Expectations

In understanding PAPs' compensatory expectations, it was imperative to measure the levels of satisfaction among respondents who had not registered their complaints. These people were asked to compare the amount paid to them and what they had expected. Table 7 shows that 21 respondents (63.64%) observed that the amount of compensation received was not what they had expected while 12 respondents (36.36%) were indifferent i.e. they had no comments to make because they did not know what they were supposed to receive. It was evident that these PAPs could not access hence interpret the information in the valuation sheets nor could they tell the exact amounts payable to them against each item. None of these respondents found compensation meeting their expectations.

Table 6: PAPs' assessment of fairness levels for compensation paid

PAPs Response	PAP's Ranking						Total
	Very Fair	Fair	Some how	Unfair	Very unfair	Unsure	
Number	0	0	1	8	12	12	33
%	0	0	3.03	24.24	36.36	36.36	100

Source: Field Data (2014)

Table 7: PAPs' responses on whether compensation matched their expectations

Answers	Respondents / PAPs	
	Number	Proportion (in %)
Yes	0	0.00
No	21	63.64
Indifferent	12	36.36
Total	33	100.00

Source: Fieldwork Data (2014)

Among the Kurasini residents represented by 84.82% of all respondents who were interviewed had a general feeling that there were a few items which ought to have been compensated but were not. As seen in Table 8 about 8 out of 33 PAPs felt that if resettled, they were likely to suffer in terms of being far from their future workplace say Kibada (6 Km) or Chamazi (17 Km) or Buyuni (40 Km) causing them indefinite expenditure in transport costs in undertaking activities like taking children to school or hospital etc. Although expropriation laws allow compensation payments for the actual cost of transporting 12 tons of luggage within the distance of not more than twenty kilometers of road or rail, their complaints were outside what the laws covered. This was a big challenge to many PAPs had no alternative land to settle within a legally accepted distance of 20 km. Kurasini residents supported themselves with numerous income generating activities. Since, only 33 of the residents representing those who had not formally complained were interviewed because others could not be traced, it is assumed that whatever picture is being displayed represents a general picture regarding occupational engagement of many of the affected PAPs.

Table 8: Lost or destroyed items which were not compensated in Kurasini

Items Lost	Project Affected People			Unpaid (in %)
	Deserved Compensation	Paid	Unpaid	
Transport Costs	8	0	8	24.24
Loss of business	8	0	8	24.24
Loss of tenants	25	0	25	75.76
Improvements	18	0	18	54.54
Loss of employment	1	0	1	3.03

Source: Field Data (2014)

In Table 9 it is evident that out of all residents that were interviewed, 63.63% of them felt that the compensation assessment and payments were inadequate with some unfair elements while 36.36% were "unsure" of whether it was "fair" or "unfair", "right" or "wrong" due to poor information. None of the respondents confirmed that compensation made was fair. With regard to the publicity and sensitization procedures undertaken during the exercise, it was noted that the initiatives taken by the acquiring authority were satisfactory. About 25 respondents (75.76%) out of 33 felt that the publication of acquisition notices was satisfactorily done, similarly 28 respondents (84.85%) observed that sensitization exercise

was also very satisfactorily undertaken as shown in Table 10. It was evident that, all PAPs were well informed about the exercise and the purposes for which it was being done. Seminars were conducted and PAPs were informed of their rights and obligations in the entire exercise. Compensation rates to be used in the exercise were also declared though the majority of them felt that "promises" like getting alternative plots for free or a timely payment of compensation were later not fulfilled by the acquiring authority as promised. The hearing of appeals and the actual entering into possession by the acquiring authority, property valuation and compensation assessment, lack of transparency during the exercise and the way allocation of alternative plots to the PAPs was done dissatisfied many as seen in Table 10. Acquisition and compensation procedures used in the exercise were said to be unsatisfactory causing significant dissatisfaction. The lodging and hearing of appeals dissatisfied 96.97% of PAPs interviewed, entering into possession (96.97%), allocation of plots (96.97%) and lack of transparency (87.88%). These issues seem to have been very serious and PAPs considered them very unsatisfactory. However, these responses demonstrate that PAPs were equally dissatisfied with the taking or possession and the hearing and the lodging of appeals procedures. Measurement of PAPs satisfaction with the acquisition procedures in Kurasini show that generally, the PAPs were not satisfied with the exercise because a large number of the respondents, 157 testified their dissatisfactions with various aspects of the exercise as compared to 74 who testified some satisfactions shown in Table 10. Interviews with 20 out of 33 respondents in Kurasini area revealed issues which dissatisfied PAPs in relation to the procedures used, and these include:

- No complaints were entertained immediately after the receipt of the compensation cheques,
- PAPs were "forced" to accept compensation before they could verify what was being paid,
- Instructions were not given on how, where and when to lodge complaints if they were aggrieved,
- The lodging of complaints was bureaucratic,
- Time for relocation was inadequate,
- Inadequate compensation did not reflect real life situation for compensation values were low but purchase costs were high,
- Inconsistencies in values that existed among similar properties indicated some degree of unfairness,
- Existence of errors in taking property measurement and in the calculation of values, and
- Incorrectly recorded property details like property attributes, names of the owners etc.

The study noted that some PAPs never registered their complaints for a number of reasons. Some of the valued properties had court cases for inheritance purposes and nobody was personally responsible for these properties which were under severe pressure of being sold because family members were scared that submission of official complaints would affect the inheritance processes. Others could not read Compensation Schedules and unfortunately they were not assisted and therefore had no reasons to officially contest against for they were uninformed and did not know. Thirdly, lengthy procedures in registering a complaint discouraged some respondents from registering them. Fourthly, the acquiring authorities and local leaders had deliberately

discouraged potential complainants from lodging them after receiving the compensation because they will not be entertained. Lastly, threats purported to be produced by Government Officials discouraged many PAPs from formalizing their complaints and where they needed assistance they did not get it.

6.2 EVALUATION OF LANDLORDS' DISSATISFACTION

It was observed when measuring dissatisfaction levels of lodged complaints in the acquisition program that for case of ratio type complaints PAPs were moderately and highly dissatisfied. There was no complaint for which the PAPs were less dissatisfied as reflected in Table 11.

Table 11 Evaluation Levels of Dissatisfaction Issues in the Kurasini program

Level	Meaning	Issues for Dissatisfaction	Evaluation Level
High	Not Satisfied	Lack of compensation	•
		Wrong ownership records	•
		Inadequacy of compensation	○
		Smaller plot allocated	○
		Higher price for new plot	○
Average/ Moderate	Somehow Satisfied	Partial compensation	○
		Compensation payment delays	○
		Inadequacy of compensation	•
		Partial compensation	•
Low	Satisfied	Discrepancy between assessed and payable compensation	•
		None	○

Key: •- Presence of the dissatisfied issue, ○- Absence of the dissatisfied issue

Source: Analysis of Fieldwork Data (2014)

Table 12: PAPs' assessment of fairness levels for compensation paid

PAPs Response	PAP'S Ranking						Total
	Very Fair	Fair	Somehow Unfair	Very Unfair	Don't know		
Number	1	1	0	4	10	0	16
Perc. %	6.25	6.25	0	25	62.5	0	100

Source: Fieldwork (2014)

6.3 REACTING TO DISSATISFACTIONS

Mode of complaints submission used in the study are seen in Table 13 where the most popular mode of complaint submission is direct written adopted by 73.3% of all complainants. And 21.6% used the committee which were established for that purpose.

Table 13: Modes used to lodged complaints in Kurasini Acquisition program

Mode	Total PAPs	
	Number	Proportion (in %)
Direct-Written	34	53.13
Indirect through legal firm	4	6.35
Representative Committee	25	39.68
NGO	0	0.00
Others(Including online)	0	0.00
Total	63	100

Source: Field Data (2014)

Dissatisfied PAPs indicated their discontent by lodging their complaints for considerations by the Ministry of Lands. About 54 complaints were received out of 63 in Kurasini for

consideration while 8 filed their cases with the Land Division of the High Court. There was a small proportion of the PAPs who had misdirected their complaints to other authorities unconcerned with the project. Local leaders revealed that some compensated PAPs, refused to surrender their lands because compensation was thought to be too low. At the time of research 5 PAPs in Kurasini were still living in houses that had been acquired already. In June, 2013 there were a few PAPs who blocked Kilwa Road as a way of making their voice heard by demanding prompt and fair compensation payment by the government. However this did not bear fruits nor did it change the existing situation. Although Public Service Commission (2011), provides an official framework for submitting complaints against services delivered by a government department including expropriations. Official complainant must fulfill a number admissibility standards including having interests on the issue being complaint against and the signing of a submission form where he or she is the one who prepared a complaint, unless power of attorney is appended where a representative like a legal firm is involved. Inadequate compensation seemed to be a serious but also a common problem causing severe dissatisfactions among PAPs in many land acquisition projects worldwide. Observations made by Oladapo and Ige (2014) indicate that one of the causes of dissatisfactions is the comparison being made by PAPs between compensation paid and with the worth of the property and the degrading effect of the acquisition on their living standards thereafter. These findings are in line with what Alias and Daud (2006), Nuhu (2009) and Omar and Ismail (2009) observed. Studies undertaken by Ndjovu (2003), Kironde (2009) and Msangi (2010) pointed out to compensation inadequacy as the major problem of dissatisfaction in land acquisition in the Tanzanian programs they had examined.

7 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Main causes of PAPs' dissatisfactions in Tanzanian programs are many, the most outspoken of them all is the inadequacy of compensation. Many landowners had lodged numerous complaints over low and inadequate compensation because payments made were said to be minute which could not restore PAPs to their original social and economic positions. This problem was aggravated by the use of low compensation rates which were not discussed nor accepted by the affected people nor the acquiring authorities. Lack of accountability and seriousness among valuer's and adjudicators in collecting, estimating and analyzing data collected during site inspections was said to another source of undervaluation. This situation was exacerbated by the refusal to verify compensation payments before they were received by PAPs who were implacably threatened and intimidated by compensation payers. Secondly, non-adherence to the legal provisions by the acquiring authorities caused serious discontent especially on the laws which governed compulsory purchase itself. PAPs were not issued with Land Forms No. 69 nor 70 as per Section 179 of the Land Act No. 4 of 1999 with no apparent reason. But also, no payments were made as interest despite the delays of over 6 months in paying compensations since they were assessed, as required by the law. However, some PAPs were not compensated because they were not "officially" recognized and hence were regarded as people without interests in lands to be acquired. Thirdly, unfavorable resettlement conditions which PAPs were exposed to were

expensive, unaffordable and relatively unattractive. Although there were promises by the acquiring authority to provide alternative plots for the PAPs' resettlement at reasonable prices, many of these displaced people found the plot prices unaffordable. While their land was compensated at Tzs. 2,000/= per square meter during the acquisition, the same land was priced at Tzs. 6,000/= per square meter when they were purchasing as "alternative plots" meant to resettle them. These prices were unaffordable and unacceptable to the PAPs because these initiatives disregarded family needs and economic affordability levels of the PAPs. Lastly, it must be said that there were immense dissatisfactions with regard to a number of non-compensated losses as raised mostly by PAPs who did not officially lodge their complaints. In Kurasini 42.42% of PAPs were not compensated for their other developments like water wells, rooms, septic tanks, verandahs but at times parts of their land or buildings while 24% of them who had lost their businesses due to the acquisition were not compensated. Besides these dissatisfactions other causes noted were subsidiary ones which included poor management of the data and records, lack of transparency, numerous technical problems and unfulfilled promises intended for the area. Immediate reaction or implications for such dissatisfactions were many and included official lodging of complaints against government as the acquiring authority, boycotting the collection of payment cheques, refusing to surrender lands they had occupied and protesting openly in the news media, filing cases in the courts of law while others blocked motor vehicles on roads so as to put pressure to the acquiring authorities to respond to their claims. According to Oladapo and Ige (2014) Nigerian PAPs tend to exhibit negative and uncoordinated responses when they are removed, fail to realize the full economic benefits from their properties and suffer trauma of physical dispossession of their most indelible memories. The main objective of this research was to find the nature and causes of expropriation dissatisfaction among the landlords. Kurasini Port Redevelopment Project was taken as a case study. Whereas the acquisition program was fairly successful it created challenges to the acquiring authority and most of the people affected by the program who were uncertain of their future which created negative attitudes among the PAPs raising dissatisfaction levels. The study revealed that in the case study area, PAPs were not satisfied with the acquisition program generally mostly because of the inadequacy of compensation, non-adherence to the legal procedures and the existence of unfavorable resettlement practices as discussed above. Despite the dissatisfaction, some PAPs did not register their complaints. Definitely there is a need of finding a more effective way of satisfying PAPs whenever the governments acquire land regardless whether dissatisfaction of the affected is shown through "protests" or not and in so doing facilitating the timely implementation of projects meant for the public.

8 DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Data analysis, discussions held and observations marshalled so far regarding landlords' dissatisfactions in the Tanzanian expropriation programs, it is befitting to make recommendations. Such recommendations must focus on reducing these dissatisfactions though it is almost impossible to eliminate all of them according to many expropriation experts. The usefulness of land and the intimacy developed with its owners over generations makes such a severance

through acquisition rather painful and initially unacceptable to most PAPs. Land touches various aspects of human life from economic, social, cultural and religious as well. In order to avoid and reduce complaints that are normally raised mainly due to inadequacy of compensation, a number of initiatives need to be done to improve compensation packages. Formulation of legal framework which will encourage voluntary sale of individual's property to government or acquiring authority whenever there are cases that require acquisition of land for public purposes. Powers of eminent domain should only be used where voluntary initiatives have failed. Due to this, the government should encourage and undertake negotiations between acquiring authorities and PAPs every time land is taken especially on the amounts to be paid as "sale price or compensation" as required by Section 11 (1) of the Land Acquisition Act of 1967. PAPs should be allowed to hire external consultants or valuers who would value their demised assets so that they could challenge compensation values determined by Government Valuers working for the acquiring authority. This should allow both valuers to reach a compromise by settling at an acceptable compensable value. Similarly, valuation methods and procedures used in the valuation for compensation must be capable of reinstating the PAPs onto their original economic conditions. As recommended by Oladapo and Ige (2014) valuers should not only stick to statutory methods provided by the laws, but rather maintain some defensible flexibility. It is hereby suggested that the cost method of valuation should be adopted where no market comparisons exist and comparative approach be used where there are enough comparables and market data for such valuations. The Replacement Cost Approach, especially where properties are highly dilapidated and hence highly depreciated, hinders total reinstatement of the affected persons onto his or her original economic position. Due to this, such an approach should only be used as a last resort after being properly adjusted to reflect this fact. Introduction of a maximum depreciation threshold in compulsory acquisition valuation, as applied in property taxation in Tanzania could be useful. Underpayment of compensation is sometime dictated by lack of adequate funding particularly when local authorities are involved in such exercises. So, there is an urgent need of effectively establishing the Land Compensation Fund as stated under Section 173 of the Land Act No.4 of 1999, from which compensation could be made before it is collected from the acquiring agency. This fund will ensure that adequate funds for land acquisition programs are always available on time when projects are to be undertaken and will reduce the number of projects delayed due to untimely payment of compensation. In order to reduce unnecessary complaints especially those related to procedural breaches, PAPs need to be involved in the planning and implementation of such programs as suggested by Oladapo and Ige (2014). The timing of main processes and events during the implementation of the program ought to be agreed to and thereafter adhered to by both parties. This participatory approach to acquisition will give some assurances to PAPs that their interests and welfare are properly considered and protected. As part of involving the public in the process, central and local governments, acquiring authorities and civil societies should educate general public on the constitutional and expropriation rights of individuals. PAPs must be legally coerced to attend expropriation sensitization meetings and awareness campaigns as part of the legal procedures that must be followed before programs start. Legal

and project awareness on individual land rights helps PAPs to be more realistic with the acquisition process. In this regard advocacy assistance to the affected individuals must be provided during the acquisition process as proposed by the UN Habitat Agenda (1996). Unnecessary mistakes that arise due to lack of seriousness or professional competence need to be ironed out. There is a need to improve skills and performance of valuers when undertaking value assessment for compensation purposes. This would guarantee the accuracy and soundness of arguments and judgement in valuation analyses as a result of improved data accuracy collected during site inspection. When required data and information is properly collected and analyzed, efforts to arrive at a fair, full and adequate compensation would be realized. In order to achieve these accuracy levels, valuation standards and ethics ought to be maintained when doing valuation. During land acquisition and compensation processes MLHSD should establish some means of supervising the quality of work performed by its expropriation valuers it supervises or private valuers that have been subcontracted. Since expropriation problems and losses differ significantly, there ought to be some adherence to the expropriation laws and procedures at the same time allowing legal flexibility within the statutes, especially in channeling appeals for dissatisfied PAPs for whatever issue they think fit. Acquiring authority should be required to compensate losses by the courts or tribunals if such losses are reasonable and justifiable for such a flexible system will take care of unpredictable losses suffered by PAPs. Successful expropriation needs "good governance", an initiative which covers a labyrinth of issues in effecting both procedural and substantive justice. One of the thorny issues requiring good governance is post displacement resettlement. In avoiding unfavorable resettlement practices acquiring authorities should be required by law to abide to the "conditions and promises" initially agreed between the acquiring authority and PAPs. Promises like of allocation of free alternative plots or at affordable prices to PAPs becomes a serious issue for dissatisfaction if not fulfilled. Where an acquiring authority intends to sell plots to PAPs at market price or any other price levels set by the authority, this must be explicitly known long before the exercise takes off to avoid future misunderstandings. However, acquiring authorities must provide affordable alternative resettlement land for PAPs who deserve. The study noted numerous problems that mushroomed due to lack of proper project management skills. A lot of aggrieved PAPs were either not attended or simply neglected due to blunders they made which could have been avoided, if they had been properly informed, advised and involved in the expropriation exercise. Some dissatisfied landlords registered their complaints in the wrong offices, others rejected cheques for compensation money, others refused to surrender their lands, and others filed cases in the courts of law while a few people blocked roads as methods of pressurizing the government to yield to their numerous demands. Stakeholders in land acquisition programs must promote good governance in expropriation. Since PAPs are usually weak in the face of expropriation as seen in China, mainly because most of their actions can only be taken "ex-post" (Cai, 2003 as quoted by Ji, 2012) it is high time that efforts be made that "ex-ante" preventive actions be taken because these seem to be more effective in resisting the predatory behavior of acquiring authorities and rectify a lot of mishaps.

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APPENDICIES

Table 4: Complaints and Expectations of PAPs in Kurasini Land Acquisition Program

Category of Complaint	Complaints' Details	PAPs' Expectations	Complaints	
			No.	Total (%)
Inadequate compensation	Amount payable is lower than the real life	Revalue properties to get higher values	20	142 (51.64)
	Some improvements were not assessed nor compensated	Asses and pay compensation for improvements not assessed	10	
	High depreciation rates used	Apply low deprecation rates to get high values	1	
	Indiscriminate use of Reduced Floor Area when valuing properties	Outbuildings to be separately valued	1	
	PAPs forced to collect cheques without verifying payable compensation	Open verification of payable compensation before cheques are collected	1	
	Low compensation due low budgetary allocation contrary to the reality	Compensation ought to be realistic so more consideration in the amount paid	53	
	Non adherence to the statutory formula for calculating compensation as stated in Section 3(g) of the Land Act of 1999	Revalue properties following the legally accepted procedures and formulae	56	
Non-adherence to the law	Delay in paying compensations	Payment of interest for delays	57	116 (42.18)
	Not compensated	Pay compensation	1	
	Not involved in the valuation process	Revaluation of properties by involving the owners	54	
	Not recognized as the land owners although they have legal proofs of their ownership	To prove ownership and be recognize them as the owner and compensate.	4	
	Inadequate time given to PAPs to demolish and vacate the acquired land	Allocate adequate time for vacation more than 60 days	2	
	Non-provision of Land Form No 69	provide Land Form 69 and be compensated	0	
Lack transparency	Destruction of PAPs properties without compensation	To be pay compensation for the damage suffered	0	6 (2.18)
	Non-provision of Valuation Summary and Valuation Form No.2 to fill in	To avail Valuation Summary Sheet and Valuation Form No. 2 to PAPs for verification	2	
	Unclear Valuation Summary Sheets which lack elaboration on amounts for each item.	Provision of clear Valuation Summary Sheet with elaborations on amounts for each item	1	
	Lack of explanation for premium charged	Provision of explanation for premium charged	0	
Poor Information Management	Use of unfamiliar language in the Valuation Summary Sheet	Valuation Summary Sheet be written and provided in Swahili also	3	7 (2.55)
	Exchanging personal particulars in the reports	Removing unrelated particulars	1	
	inspected and assessed properties but PAPs not included in the names list of compensation payees	Deserving PAPs to be included for compensation	3	
	Misplacement of compensation documents and no payments	Apply great care in handing compensation documents	1	
Technical Problem	Differences in amount shown in the cheques and in the valuation summary	To be paid as per harmonized property assessment	2	1 (0.36)
	Errors in taking measurements of property units	Revaluing PAPs properties by taking correct measurements	1	
Unfavorable Resettlement Practice	Reallocated plots had smaller size than previously owned	Plots of same or bigger size to be allocated as alternatives	0	3 (1.09)
	High price for new plots but low price for acquired land	Reducing the price for new plot or increasing the price of land to be acquired	0	
	Lack of alternative land	Provision of alternative land	3	
Total			275	100.00%

Source: Ministry of Lands (2014)

Table 10 PAPs Ranking of Procedures in Land Acquisition Processes

Procedure	Satisfactory		Somehow	Unsatisfactory		Totals of those who ranked			General Assessment
	Very	Ordinary		Ordinary	Very	Satisfaction	Somehow	Dissatisfaction	
Public notification	20	5	0	6	2	25	0	8	Satisfactory
Sensitization	19	9	0	4	1	28	0	5	Satisfactory
Valuation assessment	5	3	6	13	6	14	6	19	Unsatisfactory
Lodging & hearing of appeals	0	1	0	14	18	1	0	32	Unsatisfactory
Entering into possession	0	0	1	16	16	1	1	32	Unsatisfactory
Allocation of alternative land	0	0	1	15	17	1	1	32	Unsatisfactory
Transparency	1	4	0	13	16	4	0	29	Unsatisfactory
Total	45	22	8	81	76	74	8	157	

Source: Analysis of Field Data (2014)