

**Displacement by the Displaced:
Perceptions From Farm Owners in Resettlement for Airport Expansion Project. Dar es Salaam,
Tanzania**

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Abstract:

This paper analyses the resettlement process and procedures followed during the displacement of communities from Kipawa and Kigilagila settlements to pave way for the expansion of the Dar es Salaam International Airport in Dar es Salaam city. The paper is based on findings of a PhD research project carried out between 2010 and 2013 that explored procedures and process which caused displacement of the receiving community while resettling the displaced residents from Kipawa and Kigilagila. The Airport expansion project caused total demolition of two settlements of Kipawa and Kigilagila in the city and displaced more than two thousand property owners to Pugu and Chanika wards within the same city. The resettlement process resulted into the hosting communities in Pugu and Chanika Wards to lose their farms which were converted to residential land uses and subsequently also losing their sources of livelihoods.. The methods used in data collection were in-depth interviews with farm owners who were the hosts of the displaced people; and official interviews with local leaders as well as project officials, politicians and local authorities within the Ilala municipality. Also the procedures used and regulations which guided the process of resettlement were reviewed. This was acquired through “process documentation” of stages each category of displaced went through. The findings show that the receiving community did not gain from the resettlement process as they were least compensated and some of them lost their sources of livelihoods. Findings also indicate that farm owners were further displaced by the displaced from the airport expansion project site. The paper finally concludes that among reasons for displacement by the displaced were poor planning consideration, less involvement of the affected people, negligence to follow compensation procedures and amount provided and lack of resettlement policy framework to guide the process. This paper also provides lessons to be learned in other resettlement projects in order not to repeat the mistakes from the previous projects. It then recommends for proper planning and designing of resettlement areas, participation of the affected community, and application of government regulation in the process and formulation of resettlement policy framework.

Key words: *Urban development projects, peri-urban, compensation, Kipawa*

1. INTRODUCTION

Population displacement can be defined as the process of dislocating people from their long-time and permanent residences through

acquisition of land to be used for a different activity. Many major urban development projects in the developing countries have caused the involuntary displacement of large populations (Robinson (2003:32). In India for example,

during the period of 1947 and 1997, 21.3 million people were displaced. The same was experienced in China. The country's rapid urbanization and economic growth created high demands on electrical power within its major cities and towns. For example, the construction of dam reservoir which covered an area of 23.6 square kilometres impacted 8 townships near Beijing and Shanghai cities and it displaced the population of about 7, 260 people (Tilt *et al.*, 2008:5). Tanzania being among the developing countries also implements urban development projects which displace large number of population. For example, Dar es Salaam city, which is the largest and fastest growing city in the country, has displaced people through different categories of projects. In 1980s, projects such as the National Sites and Services and Squatter Upgrading Projects, displaced hundreds of households which were involuntarily resettled due to upgrading programmes. A total of 7,450 plots for resettlement purposes were made available (Materu, 1994). The Ubungo-Kimara Highway Widening Project displaced about 303 households in 1997 (Ndjovu, 2003). In 2001 there was harbour expansion project which displaced 16,000 households from Kurasini Ward. And in 2010, more than 2,000 households were displaced from two settlements close to Julius Nyerere International Airport for airport expansion purposes (Magembe-Mushi, 2014). This project is the concern of this paper and it seeks to analyse factors which made the receiving community to suffer displacements as well.

1.2 CONCEPLTUALIZING URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

In implementing urban development projects there are three processes which can happen as a result of land acquisition and changes of its use.

These processes include displacement, resettlement and in some cases gentrification. These processes have relationship to one another as indicated in the conceptual framework in figure 1. The relationships were assumed to occur one after the other in the process of implementing the projects. Depending on how the urban development project was implemented, consequences of this process are likely to be felt by the affected population; either the displaced or the receiving ones.

Implementing urban development project without considering participatory approaches, allowing democracy and being just may increase negative effects of these three processes. Also lack of policies and guiding regulations can lead into more negative changes to the project implementation. These interactive processes if well guided and apply recommended planning approaches will culminate in effective urban development projects that are less oppressive for the displacees but also create a win-win situation for the government that is pursuing public interest goals (Magembe-Mushi, 2014:60)

1.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDY AREA

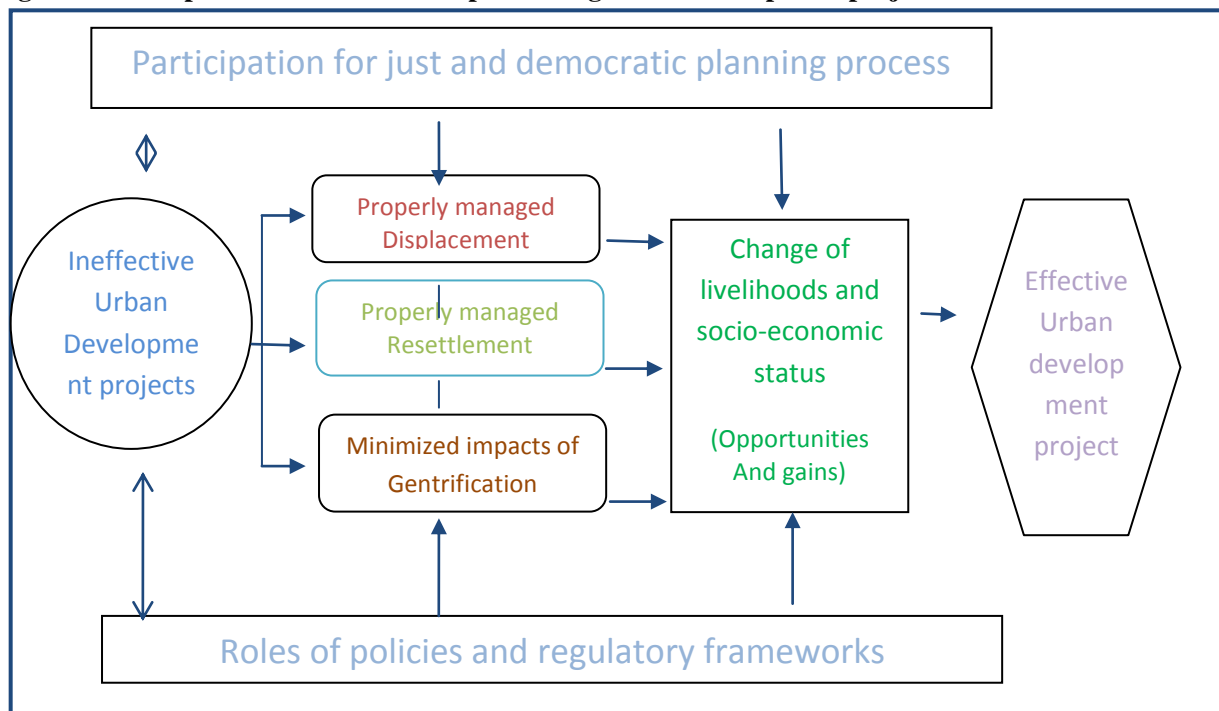
In 1995, there was an announcement for demolitions of the two informal settlements of Kipawa and Kigilagila near the international airport of Dar es Salaam city, Tanzania (*See map 1*). The expansion of the airport was expected to increase capacity of the airport to handle traffic, from the then 11 planes per hour up to 30 planes per hour after the expansion. This meant that air traffic was expected to almost triple with the implementation of the expansion project. By 2013; the airport had a capacity to cater for an average of 1.5 million passenger arrivals annually (Magembe-Mushi, 2014:19). According

to information obtained from Project officials, the airport has experienced more than 15 percent annual growth in air traffic. In the next decade, the annual arrivals are expected to grow to 5 million. Such an increase will contribute to the economic growth of the country and which explains why the expansion was thought to be needed at all costs (*ibid*).

Due to the expansion of the airport, two neighbouring settlements of Kipawa and Kigilagila had to be demolished. The affected property owners had to be resettled in peri-urban

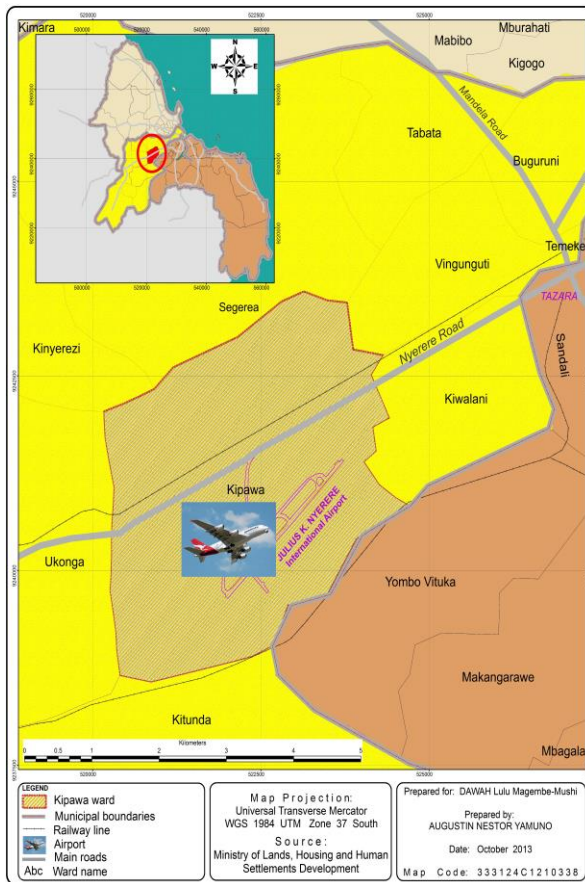
areas of Kigogo Freshi, Kinyamwezi, Zavala and Nyeburu (*See Map 2*). These settlements were mostly used for farming and residential to some of the farm owners. The resettlement project was implemented in these settlements because the Ilala Municipality had plans to expand development to those areas. Together with resettlement project, another project concerned with plot subdivision known as 20,000 plots project had already been implemented and had a subdivision plan in place in areas closer to the ones used for expansion project.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework for implementing urban development projects

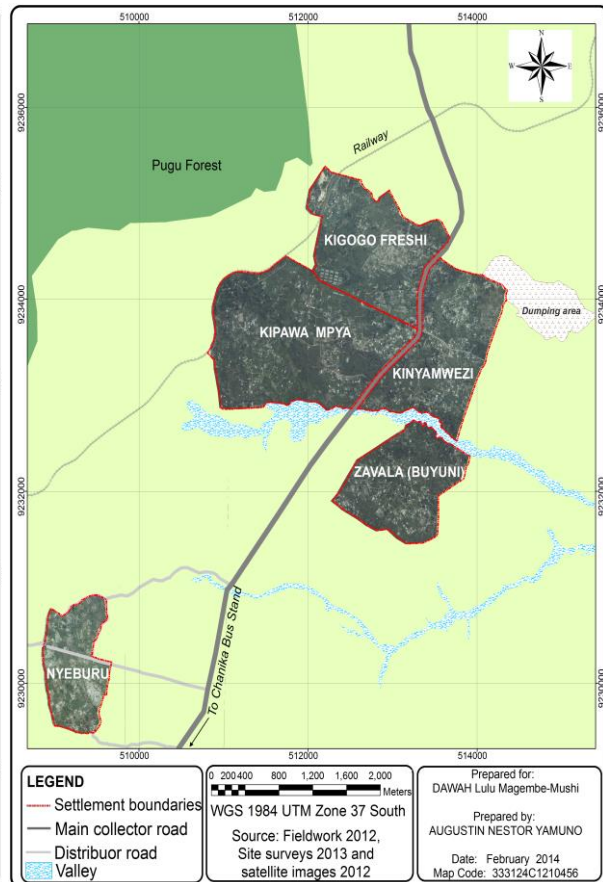


Source: Magembe-Mushi, (2014:60)

Map 1: Location of the Airport in Dar es Salaam city



Map 2: Location of resettlement areas in Dar es Salaam city



Source: Magembe-Mushi, 2014

2. METHODOLOGY

Research which provided data for this paper applied a case study strategy whereby different data collection methods were used in obtaining primary and secondary information (Yin, 2004). The methods used in collecting data included; documentary reviews of past projects reports, documents and articles related to the airport expansion project. In-depth interviews with the affected farm owners and displaced property owners provided qualitative data as Ten Have,

(2004) and Merriam, (2002) explain such methods are useful in studying common properties within a relative small area. A total of 13 affected farm owners and 24 displaced property owners were interviewed. While household interviews provided trend data on which challenges of displacement were described. Officials and key informant interviews were conducted to corroborate what was obtained from households and in-depth interviews and cross check information gathered from project officials, Municipal Council

Officers, Local Leaders within the resettlement areas and individual residents who had a role to play in both displacement and resettlement processes.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Actualization of resettlement process

The displacement of farm owners at Pugu Kinyamwezi began at the end of 2010, five years after the notice to acquire land from the two settlements of Kipawa and Kigilagila for the Airport expansion. The Tanzania Airport Authority(TAA), the project implementer and the Ilala Municipal Council (ILC) had selected four possible areas for resettling the displaces. These were Zavala, Kinyamwezi/Kipawa Mpya, Nyeburu and Kigogo Freshi (*see map 2*). These were new planning areas that the ILC had been working on and as hinted before, it was an area where the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development was implementing the 20,000 Plots Delivery Project. However, farming was still the dominant occupation in these settlements.

From December 2010 onwards, the displaced property owners from Kipawa and Kigilagila started accessing their allocated plots in the five peri- urban settlements of Kinyamwezi, Kipawa Mpya, Zavala and Nyeburu) and begun to construct their new houses. At that time the original settlers most of whom were farm owners realised that they were going to lose their farms which were converted into plots to be allocated to the new comers. Some of the farm owners had already lost their houses in the planning process to provide for social facilities and services for the incoming population. More than 2,000 displaced property owners from the airport area were relocated to these new areas and as a result

farmland was changed into residential neighbourhoods.

Due to these changes, there was a need to provide for access roads, health facilities, more schools and other social services to be available within the neighbourhood.

Table 1: Distribution of displaced property owners in the resettlement areas

SN	Place of origin ↓ Resettlement areas	Kipawa →	Kigilagila	Remarks
1	Kigogo freshi	✓		12kms away
2	Kipawa mpya	✓		14kms away
3	Kinyamwezi	✓		16kms away
4	Zavala		✓	19kms away
5	Nyeburu		✓	22kms away

Source: Magembe-Mushi, (2014)

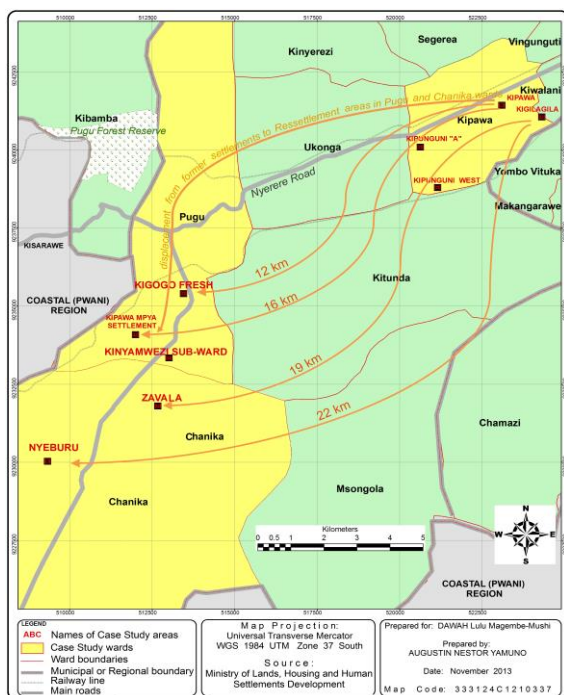
In order to prevent the loss of their farm lands, the original settlers, individually and sometimes in groups, started to confront the displaced property owners who were accessing their plots for construction purposes. The farm owners were not ready to lose their properties for the resettlement of the displaced property owners. The Tanzania Airports Authority had to arrange for police escort for the Plot Allocation Committee to protect the committee members from agitated original settlers. One of the original settlers summed up the mood of the time well with the following words (translated):

“The Allocation Committee knew that what they were doing was not right, that’s why during allocation they came with an armed police force to scare us away. That is stealing other people’s properties! But we did not agree with that easily, that’s why

there were confrontations between farm owners and displaced people when they came to start construction.... Who can allow someone from nowhere to come to your farm, take your farm and in other cases with a house on it! We had to chase them away from our farms.” (In-depth interview with Respondent Number 20, Zavala, 12th November 2012).

confrontations eased away. It was only after the compensation of the farm owners that the displaced property owners had the opportunity to start constructing their houses.

Map 3: Location of Displacee’s Settlement and Resettlement Areas



Source: Magembe-Mushi, (2014)

Although some coercion was used in the allocation procedures, still it was not easy for the displaced property owners to access plots for construction purposes. Original settlers had resisted partly because they had not been compensated. It was not until March 2010, when the Government allocated TZS 2.1 billion, (equivalent to USD 1.3 million at that time) to compensate the farm owners, that the

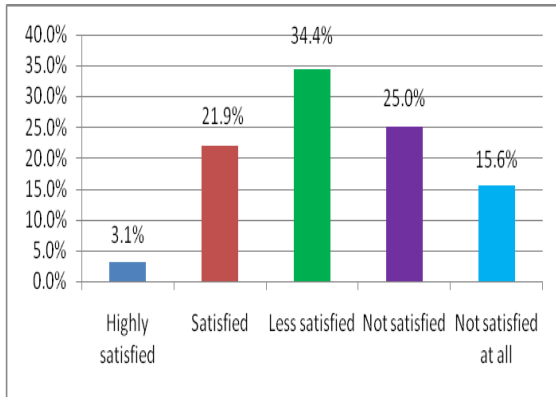
4.2. The compensation: amount and mode of payments

The Government paid compensation to the farm owners so as to make it possible for the displaced property owners to relocate. The farm owners were not happy with the amount they were paid, nor the way in which it was paid as it was narrated by one of the respondents of in-depth interviews below:

“There were announcements from the Mtaa Office that we should go to Ukonga Magereza Hall and receive our compensation cheques. Strangely the cheques did not have vouchers which specify what amount was for what, as we were entitled for the value of land, transport and disturbance allowances, compensation for crops within our farms and other improvements on it. There was also the issue of further development which took place in 2005 when other farm owners sold pieces of their farms to other people!” (In-depth interview with Respondent Number 7, a farm owner in Zavala, 12th November 2012).

The farm owners were unable to understand what was being compensated for each compensable item and they were unsatisfied, unhappy and considered it to be unfair (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Level of satisfaction on compensation for acquired farms



Source: Magembe-Mushi, (2014).

The amount was considered lower than what the farm owners had expected from their acquired land and developments on it. Therefore, affected farm owners continued to resist the presence of the displaced property owners on their farms. Indeed, 93 out of the 337 original farm owners persisted and refused to even accept their compensation cheques (JMT, 2011).

Table 2: Compensated items and amount as in Schedule of Compensation (Figures TZS'000)

SN	Ref. No. VAL/DIA/	Owner	Crop value	Land		Building	Allowances				Total compensation
				Acre	Value		Disturbance	Accommodation	Transport	Loss of profit	
48	KINY/P2/256	W. T. K.	262.08	0.44	440.0	-	170.6	-	-	-	720.0
49	KINY/P2/272	A.P.	172.26	0.08	83.0	-	3.32	-	-	-	259.0
50	KINY/P2/048	S. A. M.	9.88	2.04	2,035.0	-	81.4	-	-	-	2,126.0
51	KINY/P2/042	C.L	53.17	0.08	81.0	-	3.24	-	-	-	137.0
52	KINY/P2/265	J.I.	1,170.16	1.17	1,166.0	672.0	46.64	26.88	360.0	250.0	3,692.0
53	KINY/P2/011	W.D.B.	317.86	1.32	1,322.0	-	52.88	-	-	-	1,693.0
54	KINY/P2/315	P.W.	1,7728.91	2.66	2,656.0	-	106.24	-	-	-	4,491.0
55	KINY/P2/753	K.M.S	81.64	0.11	108.0	-	4.32	-	-	-	194.0
56	KINY/P2/830	I.J.L.	264.37	0.35	353.0	-	14.12	-	-	-	631.0
57	KINY/P2/830	M.K.S.	247.01	0.28	275.0	-	11.0	-	-	-	533.0
58	KINY/P2/589	M.W.	37.96	1.48	1,478.0	-	59.12	-	-	-	1,575.0
59	KINY/P2/849	M.Z.K	293.8	3.65	3,648.0	-	145.92	-	-	-	4,088.0

Source: Project documents accessed during official interviews April, 2013

All the farm owners that were interviewed complained about how small the amount of the compensation was and that it did not follow the

provisions made by Section 9 of the Land Act No. 4 of 1999 which guided the compensation process. According to Respondent Number 6,

(who is in number 51 in Table 2), a farm owner in one of the resettlement areas, lamented that the compensation was insufficient to pay for the value of land or the crops grown on it. This respondent narrated that:

“I had an acre (70 by 70 metres) of farm with about 15 coconut trees and 5 mango trees. My farm, as you can see, is along the Chanika–Pugu road, but I was paid compensation amounting to TZS 137,000 (TZS 137,000 is equivalent to USD 86/=) and only retained a quarter an acre, a 20 by 49 meters’ plot, on which my house is. Later the same plot was allocated to another person and I was told to relocate to Zavala settlement. Up to today my case is still in the District Councillor’s (DC) office. Unfortunately, there is a new DC but he seems to understand the situation. I and my family are literally displaced, given that my name is not on this plot, and on paper the plot belongs to someone else, though am still living here” (In-depth interview with Respondent Number 6, a farm owner in Kinyamwezi, 15th November 2013).

Taking the case of Respondent Number 6 above, it is clear that the compensation did not cover everything that was supposed to be provided by the guiding Act and that is why the farm owners reacted negatively towards the displaced

property owners. The compensation schedule as provided by the Government’s Chief Valuer (*see table 3, 4, &5*) shows types of crops and their compensation rates.

According to Respondent Number 6, he had 15 coconut and five mango trees. Given that this was the case, for coconut trees alone he was supposed to be compensated with TZS 429,000/= (USD 268/=) and he should have been given TZS 104,000/= (USD 65/=) for his mango trees. Altogether, the compensation payable to Respondent Number 6 was supposed to be TZS 533,000/= (USD 333/=), according to provisions on tables 2, 3, 4 and 5; instead he received only TZS 137,000/= (USD 86), which was short by TZS 396,000/= (USD 247) of what he deserved.

Another farm owner, in the same resettlement area of Zavala, was complaining on the same issue of compensation, that it did not consider land value. The farms were acquired at a very low compensation rate, as low as TZS 100,000/= (USD 63), without considering the crops growing on them, the value of the land and the transport and disturbance allowances as provided in table 2 and 3 was not provided. The informal land market in the resettlement areas indicated that the same plot was being sold by as much as TZS 8,000,000/= (USD 5,000), almost 80 times the compensation amount paid to the affected farm owners.

Table 3: Price list for crops, land and house structures as provided by Chief Valuer

SN	Name of crops	Price per crop (Tshs)
CASH CROPS		
1	Coconuts (Minazi)	28,600
2	Cashew nuts (Mkorosho)	18,980
3	Sugarcane (Miwa)	1,040

SN	Name of crops	Price per crop (Tshs)
4	Oil palm (Michikichi)	15,600
5	Clove (Mkarafuu)	36,400
6	Msufi	6,500
FRUITS		
1	Avocado	16,900

SN	Name of crops	Price per crop (Tshs)
	(Mparachichi)	
2	Tangerine (Mchenza)	16,900
3	Orange (Mchungwa)	18,200
4	Lime (Ndimu)	6,500
5	Lemon (Mlimau)	6,500
6	Mango (Mwembe)	20,800
7	Guava (Mpera)	7,800
8	Jackfruit (Mfenesi)	15,600
9	Banana (Mgomba 6)	14,300
10	Pineapple (Mnanasi)	780
11	Pawpaw (Mpapai)	5,200
12	Mikweme tree	15,600
13	Pomegranate (Komamanga)	2,600
14	Mistafeli	5,200
15	Palms (Mitende)	2,600
16	Passion tree	6,500
SPICES		
1	Cardamom (Iliki)	9,100
2	Cinnamon (Mdalasini)	2,080

Table 4: Land

SN	Land	Value per acre (Tshs)
1	Bare land	1,000,000

Table 5: Rates for Building

SN	Type of Building	Price per sq meter (Tshs)
1	Single storey building with thatched roof, mud and wattle walls, compacted earth floor	20,000–40,000
2	Single storey building with corrugated iron sheet roof, mud and wattle walls, compacted earth floor	50,000-60,000
3	Single storey building with corrugated iron sheet	130,000-150,000

SN	Name of crops	Price per crop (Tshs)
3	Black pepper (Pilipili manga)	2,600
4	Ginger (Tangawizi)	1,950
TREES		
SN	Name of the crop	Price per crop (Tshs)
1	Gum (Mgundi)	6,500
2	Pepper (Mpilipili)	1,040
3	Chrismass (Mkrismasi)	6,500
4	Grape (Mzabibu)	6,200
5	Lady's fingers (Bamia)	650
6	Lucina tree	6,500
7	Mitufaa	6,500
8	Ashok tree	6,500
9	Cassava (Mihongo Shina)	390
10	Mbaazi (Shina)	390
11	Michongoma	320
12	Misonobari	6,500
13	Gravelia	6,500

	roof, concrete blocks walls, not plastered, compacted earth floor	
	Single storey building with corrugated iron sheet roof, concrete blocks walls,	100,000-200,000

Source: Project documents accessed during official interviews, April, 2013

4.3 The actual displacement by the displacees

Apart from anomalies in estimating the amount of compensation, some of the farm owners' houses were supposed to be demolished. This triggered displacement of farm owners in the resettlement areas. The actual displacement of the farm owners occurred when plots which included their houses were allocated to displaced property owners. Such a situation happened to the same Respondent Number 6. His house was not compensated, but his land had been allocated to another person and he was required to resettle in a neighbouring area distant from the present settlement. According to an in-depth interview with Respondent Number 6, he was given a resettlement plot in Zavala. But he was not compensated for his house, as he narrated:

"I have not seen the new plot which they allocated me in Zavala, what can I do with it? With the TZS 137,000/= (equivalent to USD 86/=), can I construct a new house? after all they did not compensate for my house." (In-depth interview with Respondent Number 6, a farm owner in Kinyamwezi, 15th November 2013).

Another incident of the farm owner's plot and house to be allocated to a displaced property owner from Kigilagila was that of Respondent Number 3. Fortunately, the displaced property owner refused to accept a plot with a house on it and was allocated the next plot which was also on the former farmlands of Respondent Number 3. The farm owner also explained the fact that he still felt displaced, given that in the allocation list which was used by the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development to provide title deeds for the plots, his name did not appear. This omission led him to consider himself

to be a trespasser. Respondent Number 3 added that:

"As we are now, my house is like it has been demolished, as I am not on the list of the people to be allocated plots and yet my house is on the plot of a displaced person. I am not sure whether I will get a title to this plot. The owner of the plot will claim this plot and property. As you can observe, farm owners are poor compared to the newcomers, there is nothing good with us, our farms have been taken and we have been left poorer than before. You can even see the standards of our houses compared to the new comers'." (In-depth interview with Respondent Number 3, a farm owner in Zavala, 16th November 2012).

Respondent Number 3, who was also a former *Mtaa* Leader in the settlement, was complaining about the fact that farm owners were made poorer than before by the implementation of the resettlement project.

The allocation of land for basic facilities within the resettlement areas caused further displacement of some of the affected farm owners. Among the displaced farm owners identified as Respondent Number 22, a female farm owner who happened to be staying within one of the resettlement areas for over 20 years and was displaced during the resettlement in Kinyamwezi settlement. Respondent Number 22 was interviewed previously before she was displaced, and she narrated that;

"I inherited this farm from my father who was living here and died here in 1995. In 2000 we were told that the farm was taken and allocated to people from Kipawa. I was also told that my house is within an area for a health centre; for

this reason, I was given another plot in Zavala. But the plot in Zavala is uninhabitable, because it is within the valley area, no one can build a house on it. Now I am waiting, any day I will be chased away from my house and become

completely homeless.” (In-depth interview with Respondent Number 22, a farm owner in Nyeburu, 14th November 2012).

Plate 3. Housing conditions for some of property owners from Kipawa and Kigilagila compared with those of farm owners in the resettlement areas.



Source: Magembe-Mushi, (2014).

This lady was living in a two-roomed house (Plate 4) with her 13-year-old son and her mother, who was very old and mentally disturbed. During the interview with Respondent Number 22, the old lady, the mother of the respondent was trying to explain how long they had been in the settlement: She said:

You see this big Mango tree here; it was planted by my late husband, so how come these newcomers are chasing us away! (In-depth interview with the mother of Respondent Number 22, a farm owner in Nyeburu, 14th November 2012).

Plate 4. The house of Respondent Number 22 before demolition and the empty plot after demolition

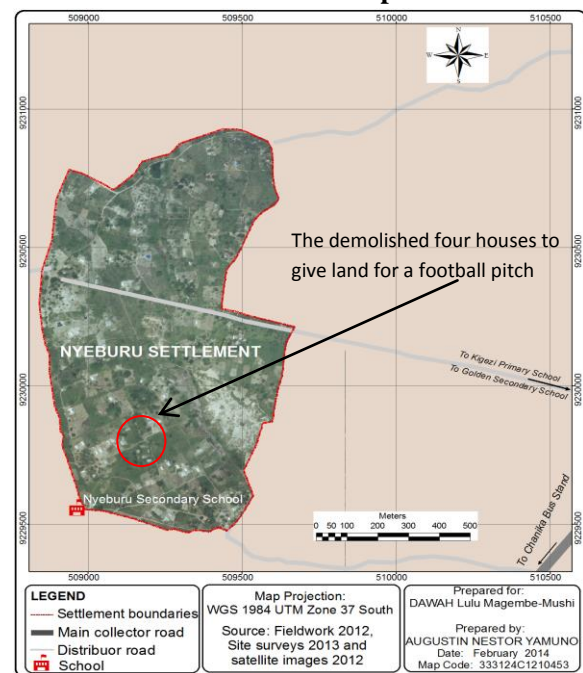


Source Magembe-Mushi, (2014)

It was later observed that the house of Respondent Number 22 was demolished and she and her mother and son, who were living in that house, did not remain in the settlements. Unfortunately, it was not known by her neighbours where she resettled, but the field studies done at that time confirmed that she did not go to the allocated plot in Zavala.

Further displacements of farm owners were observed during data collection within the resettlement areas. Four more houses which were within two resettlement areas (Nyeburu and Kinyamwezi) belonging to farm owners were demolished and the owners were displaced out of the settlements. The demolished houses were those which were within the areas allocated for a football pitch. These four houses happen to be within the land allocated for a football pitch (see Map 4). Those houses were demolished and the land was acquired for a football pitch.

Map 4 Demolition of four houses within a plot of land allocated for a football pitch



Source: Magembe-Mushi, (2014).

From the fieldwork observation, there were more houses to be demolished for the same reason. There were those which were identified as being within access road reserves and others on sites designated for a school. All the houses marked for demolition were marked with red X sign, some of them were yet to be demolished since the access roads and other social facilities like schools, health centres were not yet in place. In the course of the official interviews with the Head of the Town Planning Department in Ilala Municipality, he admitted that:

There are few genuine cases of demolition which the planning process could not avoid. One of them is the house of one lady in Kinyamwezi which was demolished to give land for a health centre (Official interview with the then Head of Town Planning at Ilala Municipal Council, 12th December 2012).

This explanation sounds unjustifiable because the respondent was so attached to the settlement, having been raised there and had her father dying in the same settlement. This family was very much attached to their place, but that was not considered and they were displaced and paid pantry compensation.

5. Discussions

In the result section a number of issues were raised, one of them being the fact that the regulations provided for displacement and resettlement were not followed. The Land Act No. 4 of 1999 provides that the compensation has to consider crop values, land area by acreage, land value, disturbance allowance and building value as indicated in tables 2, 3, & 4 in the results section. All these were not adequately

considered in compensating the affected farm owners. Compensation cheques were not accompanied by payment vouchers which would have shown details of what was being compensated for and rates that were used. Comparing with Section 1 sub-section 9 of the Land Act, No 4 of 1999, that fair, full and prompt compensation should be paid to any person whose right of occupancy is revoked; the Chief Valuer's compensation price list and what was actually received by the affected farm owners, shows that the amount given was not according to the provided categories which were supposed to be compensated for. Thus, it is clearly evident why the farm owners felt displaced by the resettlement process.

The displacement by the displacees came when among others, Respondent Number 22 and her family were subjected to demolition of their house in which they had lived for more than 20 years. The incidence shows that the planning and design of the resettlement areas was not sufficiently articulated to avoid further displacement of the host community. It also shows how planning did not sufficiently observe participatory approach, especially with the receiving community, that is the original farm owners. If proper design and participation had been considered, the incidences of allocating facilities to land which was developed with houses could have been avoided. Nevertheless, both newcomers and the host community could have been accommodated together with no confrontations, grudges or further displacements had careful design and planning been observed.

Also the issue of sentimental value by the affected people was not considered in the guiding regulation. For example, that farm owner who lived within the settlement for more than 20 years, grew in the settlement and buried her

deceased father in the same settlement was not considered in compensation. This family did not only lose their house but also all the sentimental values attached to it. Unfortunately, all these were not compensated although they cannot be compensated by anything. Had the planning process been conducted in a participatory way, such incidences could have been avoided. After all, the settlement was not developed enough to really require further displacements. Such being the case, the farm owners were more likely to be subjected to impoverishment (Cernea, 1996) and other serious risks, like food insecurity, joblessness, violation of human rights, etc, even more than the displaced property owners as they were few and less participated in the resettlement process.

6. Conclusion

This paper has analysed displacement of original settlers, farm owners who were made poorer and some of them displaced by receiving displaced property owners from the Airport Expansion project in Dar es Salaam. It shows how legal provisions might not be considered in a sufficient way in planning for resettlement areas so as to harmonize the resettlement process. As a result, unnecessary further displacement of population and resulting relocation was observed. Affected farm owners within the resettlement areas; suffer more harm than benefit from the resettlement process. The farm owners lost their source of income and food in terms of farms, crops and trees. Six households had lost their place of habitation.

The compensation given seemed to be unfair, being both considerably less than what the farm owners had expected and which they considered to be lower than the market value. In the end the original farm owners considered the aim of the

resettlement project was to take away their farms and give them to the displaced property owners. Unexpectedly, the Airport Expansion Project took possession of the farms for resettlement purposes prior to compensating the farms. This created tensions and conflicts between the displaced property owners and farm owners. Similarly, the Project's organisers failed to ensure original farm owners would also draw benefits from the common good of a higher level of development in their area.

Planning for resettlement was poorly done. As revealed by the guiding regulations, in order to avoid such experiences in other resettlement projects, the followings are suggested: consider public participation and transparent procedures, compensation to consider opinions from the affected groups, application of government rates in valuation, careful design and planning of resettlement areas, and preparation of National Resettlement Policy framework.

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