

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

MANAGING EXPECTATIONS ON OIL EXPLORATION TO MAINTAIN
PEACE IN THE ELLEMBELLE DISTRICT, GHANA

BY

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Peace Studies of the School for
Development Studies, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of
Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master
of Philosophy Degree in Peace and Development Studies

NOVEMBER 2020

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's signature.....Date.....

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Supervisors' Declaration

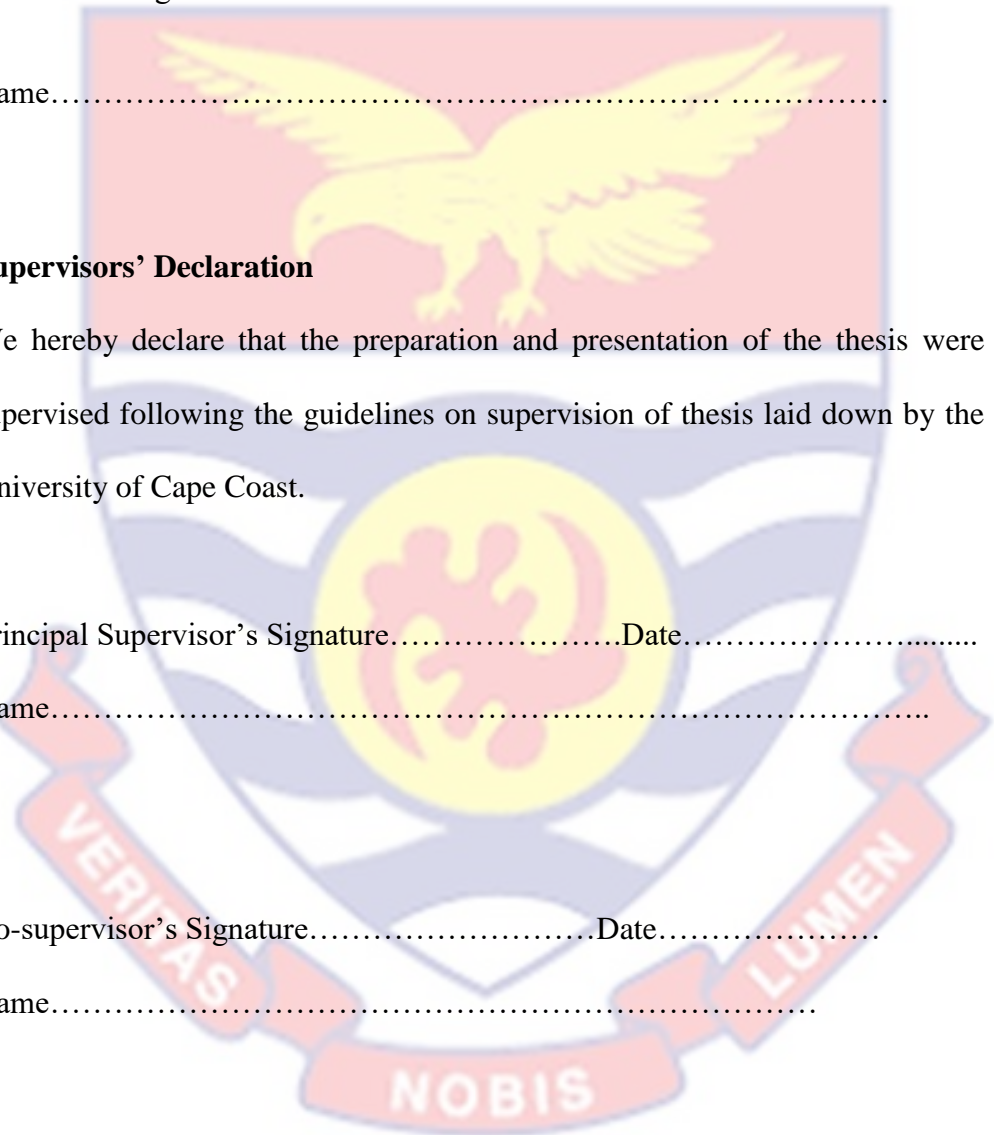
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ABSTRACT

Oil as a natural resource generally requires that good practices be adopted both for its exploration and governance with reference to the use of its revenue. The supposition that oil exploration generates rents that are enough to quicken growth and ensure sustainable development is central to the evolution and growth of expectations and heightened excitement by citizens when oil is discovered. This was the case in 2010 when Ghana first commercialized oil. This research examines the various expectations that inhabitants in the exploration area, Asemnda, Nkroful, Anochie, Esiam, Atuabo and Sanzule, have from the oil exploration; assesses how institutions directly involved in the oil governance are managing these expectations of the inhabitants. Finally, the study assesses how the management of these expectations translate into peace. The study employs the qualitative research methodology. This will further add to the discourse that there are various expectations among the people which are influenced by factors such as age, education, etc. Again, the study seeks to first explore the expectations of stakeholders with respect to the oil exploration and establish that the indigenes in the research area hold great expectations with respect to development. Also, the study assesses the capacity of oil-related institutions to manage expectations and again establishes that most of the institutions are not adequately resourced to have adequate capacity for effective management. Additionally, the study evaluate how the management of expectations translate into 'positive' peace, and then further establish that, so far there is the existence of peace in the area though the management of the expectations have not been very effective. The study finds that inhabitants in the research area are not fully engaged to seek their views on projects and facilities that meet their needs. In respect of this, the researcher seeks to recommend that government enhances the frontiers of transparency and accountability in this regard.

KEYWORDS

Ellembele District

Expectation

Governance

Oil exploration

Peace



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My inmost appreciation goes to the giant scholars on whose shoulders I stood to reach this height. Indeed, this work would not have been completed without the support, guidance, and directions of people who believed in me and offered unflinching love and support.

First, I thank my supervisors; Prof. Stephen B. Kendie and Dr Patrick Osei-Kufour all of the School for Development Studies for their direction, patience, and guidance towards the writing and completion of this thesis.

I am equally thankful for the true Ghanaian hospitality and inputs into this research from the authorities and people within my study areas. Also, to the selfless research assistants who prefer to remain anonymous, I am indebted to you.

I owe the completion of this thesis to the opportunity given to partake in a writing bootcamp organized by the DAAD. To the sponsors, facilitators, and team members, I am truly grateful. I hope that many more of such opportunities are given to students and academics as it presents the fertile grounds for triple productivity.

Finally, my heartfelt gratitude goes to my father; Mr Cosmos Kwakye Awuah, Mr Kow Kwegya Amissah Abraham, Kojo Kwegya Amissah Abraham, Dr Sabina Appiah-Boateng and the Ogah family for their unflinching love, support, and motivation throughout this journey.

DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my father and mentor Mr Francis Opoku.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS



ABFA	Annual Budget Funding Amount
ACEP	Africa Centre for Energy Policy
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DA	District Assembly
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHF	Ghana Heritage Fund
GNPC	Ghana National Petroleum Company
GPF	Ghana Petroleum Fund
GSF	Ghana Stabilization Fund
IOC	International Oil Companies
LCP	Local Content Policy
LI	Legislative Instrument
MoEn	Ministry of Energy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PHF	Petroleum Holding Fund
PIAC	Public Interest and Accountability Committee
TEN	Tano Enyire Ntomme
TOR	Tema Oil Refinery
WAOFCCO	West Africa Oil and Fuel Company

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is dedicated to providing a birds-eye view of the management of expectation from petroleum exploration in Ghana. It is further to assess the extent to which the management of such expectation will maintain or translate into peace. Generally, the oil exploration in Ghana attracted expectation from Ghanaians across the geographical divide. Central among these were the quickening of development and growth as well as improved living conditions. This chapter seeks to give a general view of the expectations of people, the management of the expectations and how the management translates into peace.

Background to the Study

Natural resource exploration and use of its accrued rents have been central to the provision of funds and the general macroeconomic growth of countries endowed by it. Indeed, natural resources have long been thought to be an important factor in economics, politics, and development; thereby having a notable influence on the fate of countries endowed with it (Aryeetey & Ackah, 2018). The discovery of a resource presents an opportunity for a country to strategically invest in key areas such as agriculture, education, health, and infrastructure (Graham, Ackah & Gyampo, 2016). Many countries in sub-Saharan Africa are well endowed with mineral and energy resources which increase their potentials for social and economic development (Buur, Therkildsen, Hansen & Kjær, 2013).

Natural resource-driven development in Africa has become a topical issue in recent years; hence gaining the attention of several academics and

international organisations. The discussions hinge on the conjecture that foreign revenues, job creation, and economic growth can all be derived from such resources. Indeed, the resource endowments may speed up economic transformation, economic diversification and poverty alleviation (Ayelazuno, 2014) in countries that are endowed with it. Central to natural resource exploration to aid in improved growth is the exploration and governance of oil as a natural resource.

Oil resource, otherwise known as the black gold, has become one of the strategic and important commodities that affect the world economy (Nwokolo, 2013; Rogoff, 2006). It continuously offers unique opportunities that can be harnessed if the institutional quality is set right (Dobler, 2011). With the wealth it accrues through rents and royalties, oil resources are expected to open up considerable opportunities for the acceleration of economic transformation and sustained poverty alleviation. This can be done through industrial policies that promote linkages between rents from oil resource sector and the rest of the economy, through increased revenues to spend in productive and social sectors, and through governments' greater room for manoeuvre in pursuing their policies as aid dependency declines (Ayelazuno, 2014).

The positive effects derived from good management of oil exploration cannot be doubted. According to Abraham (2019), revenue derived from oil exploration accounts for almost 60 per cent of the total revenue of countries engaged in exploration in Sub-Saharan Africa. This means that the accrued rents are substantial in undertaking development projects to better the living conditions of citizens. Ghana experienced its highest growth of 14 per cent between 2010 and 2011 as a result of oil exploration. Indeed, the successes of

countries such as Norway, Canada, Libya (before the regime collapse of Gadhafi), Saudi Arabia and Iran are crucial in establishing that better management of oil revenue ensures sustainable economic growth and improvement in the living conditions of the people.

The success stories seen in countries which are considered as better managers of oil resource exploration also account for the excitement and heightened expectations that citizens develop when a country discovers oil. Thus, since exploration generates sustainable and huge revenue, there is the increased expectation that such revenue will be substantial to better living conditions. This accounts for why when Ghana went into the commercialization of the general euphoria, joy and expectation was very high, especially as witnessed in the media (Abraham, 2019).

Nonetheless, there is evidence of poor management of oil exploration, which has resulted in negative receptive actions such as armed conflict, poor environmental conditions and increased poverty. To this, countries such as Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea, Angola and indeed most Sub-Saharan exploration countries have and continue to witness such incidence. The collateral effect of bad management of oil exploration accounts for the improved discourse in theories such as resource curse and Dutch Disease with Nigeria being a case in point. Again, poor oil exploration management is also a lesson to new exploration countries of which Ghana was included. To this, countries had a model to use and another model to avoid.

It is important to note that people sometimes feel agitated when their expectations are not met. Even more, when activities which seem to have an

adverse effect on livelihood does not in turn produce and increase better living conditions in another facet, then there is the tendency of agitation and rebellion.

However, observations of underdevelopment and inequality in some oil-rich countries (Philips, Hailwood & Brooks, 2015) have evoked accounts in which the presence of oil resource is seen as a 'curse'. Therefore, as more and more discoveries are made in a number of African countries (Basedau, Rustad & Must, 2018), it triggers high expectations regarding the benefits to the population. As has been already established, the expectations stem from the notion of the multiplier effects oil rents have particularly on economic fronts.

This has caused practitioners and scholars to add 'expectation management' to the resource curse debate within the extractive countries. Some arguments back the idea that expectations matter. According to the resource curse theory, if institutions managing the resource do so to make economic growth evasive, the risk of violent conflict can increase. Alternatively, the relative deprivation theory (Gurr 1970, 2000) also makes known that when expectations do not materialise it can create frustration that increases the risk of violent conflict (Collier, 2013; Norwood & Null, 2013). Traub-Merz and Yates (2004) rightfully asserted that the mere possession of a natural resource does not translate into automatic development. The stories of Norway, Trinidad, and Tobago among others, give positive indications of the extent to which oil can facilitate development.

Current peacebuilding strategies focus on violence reduction and non-violent conflict transformation (Boutros-Ghali. 1992). In actual sense, peace is a multidimensional concept that can be understood through the concepts of "positive peace" and "negative peace" (Kurtenbach, 2017). Negative peace is

the absence of violence or the fear of violence whereas positive peace refers to the attitudes, institutions, and structures, that when strengthened, lead to peaceful societies. It is therefore prudent that the expectations citizens nurture from an oil resource, be managed so as not to get a ‘false sense of peace’ that often comes as a result of unmet expectations.

The commercial discovery of oil in the Ellembelle District of Ghana in 2007 was greeted with optimism across the political divide, the international communities, other relevant stakeholders and the general populace of Ghana. Upon discovery, former President Kuffour was noted to have had hopes that the oil will contribute up to six percent of gross domestic product (GDP) and kick-start wider industrialization that would enable Ghana ‘to fly’ and become an ‘African tiger’ economically (BBC 2011; Gary, Manteaw & Armstrong, 2009; Mohan, Asante & Abdulai, 2018). Asafu-Adjaye, (2010) predicted that Ghana’s economy would grow at 14.7 per cent in 2011 to be one of the world’s fastest growth rates, boosted by oil production. This generated high hopes and raised the level of expectations across the country.

With comparatively stronger arms of government that is regularly changed through a generally free and fair electoral means (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009), it is therefore not surprising that there are variant expectations on how institutions ought to govern Ghana’s oil (Gyimah-Boadi & Prempeh, 2012; Kopinski, Polus & Tycholiz. 2013). For these scholars, the very existence of the ‘right’ institutions is seen as sufficient to stave off the resource curse in Ghana. In other words, where there is accountability through good institutions, revenues are translated into social, political and economic development. The need for proper management of citizen’s expectations is necessitated by

lessons of how some oil-rich countries have had their resource exploited without benefits, leading to the ‘resource curse’ phenomenon. The study area is the Ellembele district, which is located in the Western region. The district has predominantly fishing and crop farming inhabitants. The reason for the selection of the district is mainly because the district has a direct experience of the exploration activities.

The exploration of oil in Ghana dates back to more than 120 years (Osei-Tutu, 2012). The West Africa Oil and Fuel Company (WAOFCO) was the first to pioneer oil exploration in the Gold Coast now Ghana (Dickson, 2011). Ghana’s history of hydrocarbon exploration began in small quantities dating back to the late 1890s. The Tano basin was among the first few places where onshore oil was discovered in 1896 (GNPC Report, 2016). Although the exploratory activities were not in large quantities, there was the establishment of the Tema Oil Refinery (TOR) (McCaskie, 2008). Later in 1970, another oil field (offshore) was discovered by a Signal Amoco company at Saltpond. It was not however until 1985 that production started (Gyimah-Boadi & Prempeh, 2012). At the time, though Ghana was an insignificant player within the global league of oil producers, foreign investors saw the country to be promising and attractive.

Kosmos announced the discovery of a significant accumulation at a drill depth of 3,826 meters in its Mahogany-1 well and Hyedua well in June 2007. The oil was found offshore along Cape Three Points in the Western Region of Ghana (Aratuo, 2012). The discovery has been estimated by Tullow to be about 600 million and 1.8 million barrels of oil and an estimated 800 billion cubic feet of gas (Gary, Manteaw & Armstrong, 2009). The discovery

which unitized two production wells in the Deep-water Tano block and the West Cape Three Points block was named Jubilee Field in commemoration of Ghana's 50th anniversary as an independent nation.

Since the discovery of oil, the Government of Ghana has made efforts aimed at boosting its capacity to effectively manage the resource. These activities include the formation of committees and subcommittees to develop a draft petroleum policy and the Upstream Petroleum Authority Bill (Benin, 2017). The Upstream Petroleum Industry involves the exploration, development and production of petroleum resources whilst the Downstream refers to the refining, processing and distribution of petroleum products. The Midstream sector involves transportation (by pipeline, rail, barge, or truck), storage, and wholesale marketing of crude or refined petroleum products.

Ghana has a legal and regulatory framework (Acts/Laws) governing its upstream petroleum operations. These include the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, Petroleum Exploration & Production Act (2016), GNPC Law (PNDCL 64), Income Tax Act, 2015 (ACT 896), Petroleum Revenue Management Act, 2011 (Act 815) – Amended in 2015, Petroleum Commission Act, 2011 (ACT 821) and the Local Content and Local Participation Regulation. The Petroleum Revenue Management Act calls on the government to set up a number of funds, including a Petroleum Holding Fund (PHF). This fund is designed to receive and disburse all petroleum revenues.

Each year, the government estimates its “benchmark” revenues after disbursements for the functioning of the Ghana National Petroleum Company (GNPC). Up to seventy percent of those benchmark revenues are allowed to go to the government's annual operating and investment budget; this is called

the Annual Budget Funding Amount (ABFA). The rest is to go into the Ghana Petroleum Funds (GPFs), consisting of the Ghana Heritage Fund (GHF), a type of endowment to support development for future generations, which is to receive at least thirty per cent of this remainder, and the Ghana Stabilization Fund (GSF), a kind of savings account to sustain public expenditure capacity in case of shortfalls in petroleum revenues (Armah-Attoh, 2015).

Structure of the Oil industry and its Sector Policies in Ghana

Institutions involved in the exploration and production of Ghana's oil has been structured into three groups which are Government/state, investors/operators and the people/society (Lahn, Stephen & Preston, 2013). Under the government, the Ministry of Energy is headed by a substantive Minister who is tasked with the duty of developing, formulating, implementing, monitoring and evaluating energy sector policies. The Local Content Policy (LCP) is a governmental initiative to front the use of Ghanaian local expertise, goods and services, business and financing in oil and gas activities (Petroleum Law Policy, 2010).

In 1985, the GNPC was established to promote the exploration and development of petroleum resources (Owusu & Nyantakyi, 2011). The Law that established GNPC (PNDC Law 6) and the Exploration and Petroleum (E & P) Law (PNDC Law 84 as well as its successor Act (919) both enjoin the Corporation and its Contractors and subcontractors to ensure that petroleum operations are conducted in such a manner as to prevent adverse effects on the environment, resources and people of Ghana (GNPC, 2016). The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is the body established by EPA Act 490 (1994). The agency is mandated to manage, protect and ensure compliance

with any laid down environmental impact assessment procedures in the planning and execution of development projects. Civil society plays a very important role in national development. Their participation manifests at the various levels of information sharing, consultation, collaboration and empowerment. The Africa Centre for Energy Policy (ACEP) is an energy policy think tank which was established in 2010 as a non-profit organisation. The Public Interest and Accountability Committee (PIAC) is an independent statutory body mandated to promote transparency and accountability in the management of petroleum revenues in Ghana.

In line with the 1988 decentralised system of government, the highest political office in the district is the office of the District Chief Executive (DCE). As a representative of the central government in the district, he is responsible for the administrative role of co-coordinating the activities of all the 11 decentralised departments (created by LI 1961) in the district. The Assembly has seven sub-committees namely; Finance and Administration, Development Planning, Social Services, Agriculture, Works, Justice and Security, and Mines and Environment.

On the traditional front, the Ellembele District has one Paramount Chief - the Eastern Nzema Traditional Council - which is situated at Atuabo and headed by Awulae Amihere Kpanyinli III. The people celebrate the 'Kundum' traditional festival in all the communities of the district between the months of August and October each year (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). Under the paramountcy are Divisional Chiefs and below them is Odikros. These Traditional Authorities command the respect of large numbers of people within their communities. Most of them are dedicated to the development of their

areas, the education and enlightenment of their people. They have a part to play in facilitating government policies and mobilising their people for development. Traditional Authorities can, therefore, be regarded as part of the decentralization process.

Statement of the Problem

The available literature reveals considerable research done on the correlation between oil resources and conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002; Ross 2004). Philips, Hailwood & Brooks (2016) concede that oil politics in Africa have generally been reduced to a deterministic relationship with negative outcomes. Ordinarily, like any natural resource, oil production should transform a country's economy since its revenues can be invested in infrastructure and the non-oil sector (Graham, Ackah & Gyampo, 2016).

Indeed, a general conception of the management of oil resources is that it is either a blessing or a curse. There was the fear of the resource inhibiting institutional development, causing perverse economic development, leading to corruption and rent-seeking tendencies and finally to conflict (Collier & Hoeffler 1998; Gylfason, Herbertsson & Zoega, 1999; Mehlum, Moene & Torvik 2006; Gylfason, 2001). Studies have been produced and conferences held on strategies for preventing the natural resource curse in Ghana (Cavnar, 2008; Moss, 2011; Okpanachi & Andrews, 2012). In preventing it from being a curse, oil wealth ought to be transformed through the political structures of good institutional governance. This legitimizes the call for oil-exporting countries to proceed with caution in order not to fall into the resource curse trap (Debrah & Graham, 2015; Gyampo, 2011).

Meanwhile, as the promises of job creation look gloomy (Osei-Tutu, 2012), farmers and fishermen within the catchment areas have complained of the loss of access to land and sea following the establishment of oil rigs and subsequent restrictions on the catchment areas for fishing. The Western Regional chiefs organised press conferences requesting that 10 per cent of the oil revenues be allocated to the region solely for development projects. However, such views were rejected on constitutional grounds specifically, Chapter 21, article 257, clause 6 of the 1992 Constitution which provides that every natural resource is the property of the Republic of Ghana and shall be vested in the president on behalf of the people of Ghana.

Presently, there seems to be a creeping challenge (disconnect) between politicians and citizens who carried the euphoria by maintaining the illusion of plenty (Aryeetey & Ackah, 2018). The management of expectations is now proving to be a hard game (NRGI, 2018) as expectations are amplifying pressure on the government to prioritize short-term financial gains over a longer-term commitment to developing the sector effectively. If unmanaged, these expectations can contribute to mistrust and suspicions that damage relationships between citizens, governments and private companies (Essel, 2013). Perhaps most troublingly, it can contribute to a need for visible developmental benefits that belie more fundamental economics, in some cases contributing to the kind of excessive indebtedness that plagues many resource-rich countries.

For Ghana to maintain its image as a relatively peaceful and stable country within the West African sub-region, the situation necessitates scrutiny and assessment of how expectations have so far been managed in the wake of

oil discovery; particularly within the local districts where the resource is extracted. The task of the researcher is to ascertain the extent to which the institutions tasked with oil governance in Ghana can transform the existing situation into positive peace. This is based on the view that the prevailing institutional environment to manage expectations determines the likelihood of resource-related conflict both within the directly affected districts and the country at large. This problem is necessitated by the slow rate of development in the study area even after commercialization of oil in 2010. This has been central to aiding in the objectives to which the study seeks to achieve.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to assess how the management of expectations can translate into positive (sustainable) peace within the Ellembelle District in the Western Region. The specific objectives are to:

1. Explore the expectations of stakeholders with respect to the oil exploration.
2. Assess the capacity of oil-related institutions to manage expectations.
3. Assess how the management of expectations translate into peace.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding the study include the following:

1. What are the expectations of stakeholders from the oil exploration?
2. Do the oil-related institutions have the capacity to manage expectations?
3. To what extent can the management of the exploration lead to the maintenance of 'positive' peace?

Significance of the Study

A study of the literature on natural resources and oil resource reveal that they are largely responsible for intra-state conflicts. As a result, both national and international measures like development programmes and transparency initiatives have been suggested to oil-rich countries to aid them to avert the resource curse phenomenon. However, empirical studies on the impact of the proposed measures such as legislative and regulative framework, particularly on conflict prevention is continuously needed to safeguard Ghana against any looming danger (conflict) and this research hopes to help in that direction.

Scholars have been preoccupied with the resource curse theory with little attention being paid to the management or otherwise of expectations unfolding in Ghana. Hence, earlier works barely glance at how proper management of citizen expectations can aid in averting a possible social conflict thereby ensuring ‘positive’ peace. It will also serve as a database for further research if published. This knowledge would help an oil-exporting country like Ghana put in place proper measures and strengthen (where necessary) its oil governing institutions in managing the citizen’s expectations to ensure peace. It is against this backdrop that this thesis undertakes a historical overview of oil discovery in Ghana and delves into the resource curse and other conflict theories to drive home its points.

Limitation of the Study

This study left out the role of International Oil Companies (IOCs), labour unions and the media and limited itself to organisations like the Ministry of Energy, traditional authorities, civil society and the roles they play in the

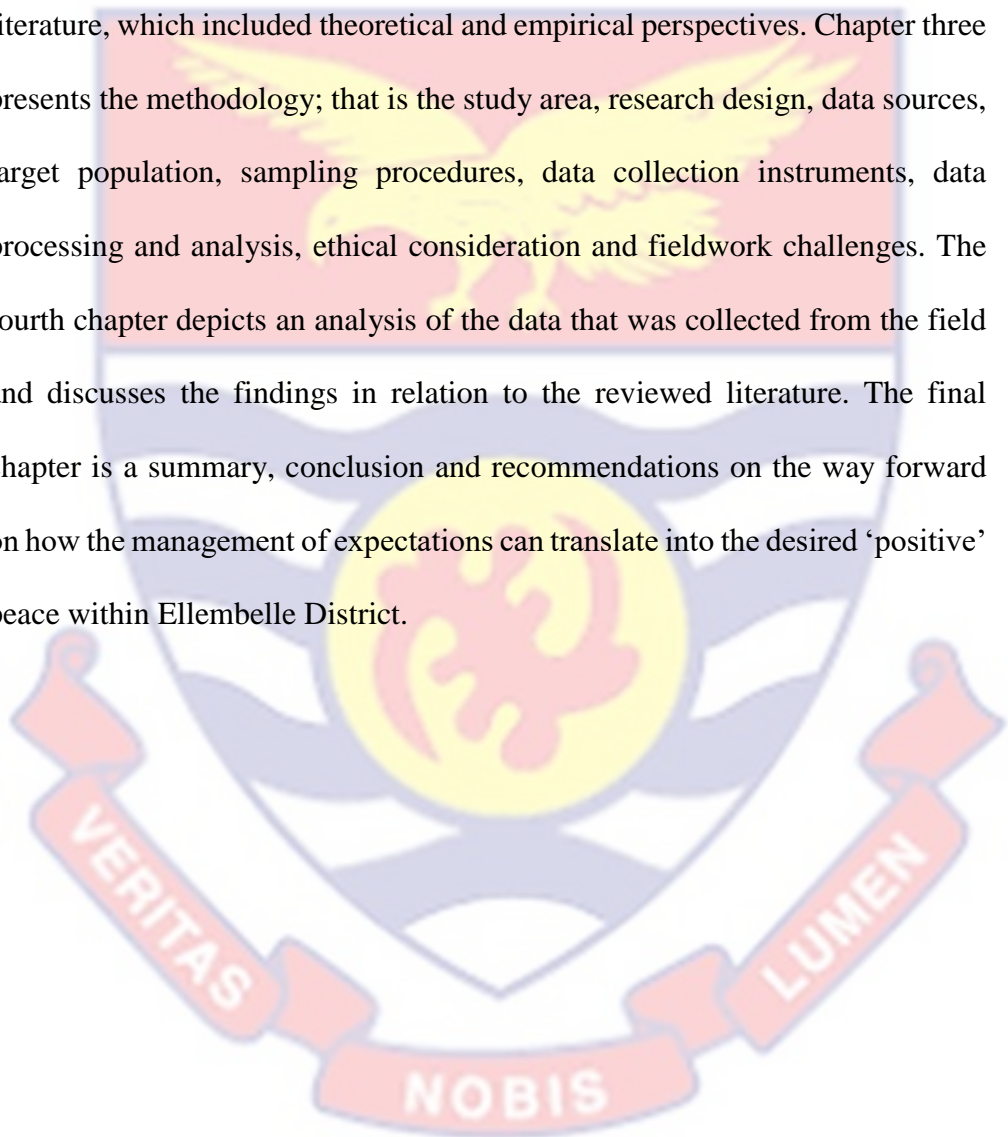
management of the oil resource and hence expectations within the Ellembelle District. Despite efforts made, key institutions like GNPC and Petroleum Commission could not be included in the study though they had firsthand facts and figures on exact projects and numbers of people employed in relation to Ghana's oil exploration. The associated effects were mitigated through the use of publishing documents the GNPC and Petroleum Commission. Most organisations contacted saw the exercise as a medium to project a good image of their offices and to make pressing demands on stationeries they needed. This could have led to some exaggerations which will affect the narratives (to some extent) as opposed to the reality on the ground.

Delimitation of the Study

The key actors within Ghana's oil industry are the Government {the Ministry of Energy (MoEn), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Ghana gas and District Assembly (DA)}, Oil Companies (National and international) and the citizens (which consist of traditional rulers, civil society organizations, the media, labour unions, farmers and the youth groups). The study examined the role these institutions play in managing the people's expectations through policy formulation and implementation, the extent to which the management of expectations can induce development in the affected areas and ineffective management can perpetuate 'negative' peace and eventually lead to a potential conflict. Geographically, the study was carried out within the Ellembelle District in the Western Region.

Organisation of the Study

The study has five chapters. The first chapter is an introduction that gives a bird's eye view by detailing the research proposal. It comprised the background to the study, problem statement, objectives, research questions, significance and scope of the study. Chapter two was a review of relevant literature, which included theoretical and empirical perspectives. Chapter three presents the methodology; that is the study area, research design, data sources, target population, sampling procedures, data collection instruments, data processing and analysis, ethical consideration and fieldwork challenges. The fourth chapter depicts an analysis of the data that was collected from the field and discusses the findings in relation to the reviewed literature. The final chapter is a summary, conclusion and recommendations on the way forward on how the management of expectations can translate into the desired 'positive' peace within Ellembelle District.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical perspectives and the concepts relevant to the study. The study draws inspiration from three theories, namely: the Resource Curse theory, the Relative Deprivation and the Frustration-Aggression theories while explaining the concepts to elucidate how peace can be maintained if the expectations of citizens within Ellembelle district are well managed in the wake of Ghana's oil resource exploration.

Theories Reviewed for the Study

A theory is a distillation of reflections on practice into a conceptual language to connect with past knowledge (Pieterse, 2001). The paragraphs below give a detailed review of the theories used in this study which include the resource curse theory, relative deprivation theory and frustration aggression theory.

Resource Curse Theory

The resource curse theory which is sometimes called the paradox of the plenty has been advanced by many scholars such as Papyrakis (2017), Frankel (2010), Karl (1997), Carneiro (2007), Rosser (2007), Larsen (2006), Ross (2003; 2015), Sachs and Warner (1995; 2001), and Auty (1993) among others. The theory refers to the possible negative impacts of resource wealth on a country's socio-economic development, its institutions and social stability (Collier & Hoeffler, 2005; Le Billion, 2014; Mehlum et al., 2006). Put rather simply, Soros (2007) defined the theory as the failure of countries to benefit

from their resource wealth. Although the idea of the negative effect of natural resources on an economy had been discussed at length by earlier scholars.

Earlier, proponents of the resource curse theory had a strong focus on the macro-level. Owing to the fact that scientific research does not support a deterministic cause-and-effect relationship between resources and conflict, scholars have moved from macro-level analysis to other intervening variables such as the level of resource dependency (Basedau & Lay, 2009), the geographical location of the resource, the characteristics of resources (Le Billion, 2014; Lujala, 2010; Ross, 2003), state capacity (Milder, Lauster & Wodni, 2011), and the governance of the resources itself (Alao, 2007; Saad-Filho & Weeks, 2013). Today, the literature includes studies conducted across different academic disciplines that explore how the ‘curse’ affects the onset and duration of violent conflicts at the regional, and community levels (Papyrakis, 2017; Ross, 2004).

Affirming the resource curse theory and Auty’s work, Sachs and Warner (2001) concluded in their research that countries (with few exceptions) with vast natural resources, like oil, tend to experience slow growth and development as compared to countries that have no or less resource. Lay and Basedau (2009) looked at the theory and affirmed that oil plays a central role in increasing the risk of violent conflict, poor economic growth and generally acting as a disincentive for peace. In a resource cursed country, there can be high GDP-growth rate but amidst that could be rising inequality and poor human development (African Panel Progress Report, 2013). The scholarly writings explain three mechanisms through which the resource curse works:

the ‘Dutch Disease’ mechanism, the expansive spending mechanism and the ‘rentier state’ mechanism.

From the economic perspective, the Dutch disease is one of the key explanations that have been given to explain the slow growth in some resource-rich countries. The name “Dutch Disease” originates from the problems experienced by the Netherlands during the 1970s. The Netherlands experienced a recession after the discovery of large natural gas deposits in the North Sea. Following this model in the Netherlands where it originated, there was an absence of competition in all other sectors of the economy apart from the resource sector (Elsgård, 2014). The Dutch Disease focuses on missing competitiveness in non-resource sectors, particularly the manufacturing sector as experienced in the Netherlands during the 1970s.

From the works of Sachs and Warner (1997), the shift in focus from the manufacturing sectors to a booming sector (like oil) negatively affects the economy. It does so by first causing a shift in the labour sector, appreciating currency as a result of rents from the booming sector (oil). This leaves adverse consequences for local industries as export of goods to become uncompetitive and therefore expensive (Ayelazuno, 2014; Okpanachi and Andrews, 2012). In other words, the effect of the Dutch disease on a resource economy manifests in the country’s failure to pursue export-led growth because of high prices of goods and lack of exports promotion. It leads to the marginalisation of vital sectors like the manufacturing or service sectors and focuses on the resource sector. This harms the economy to the extent that it leaves the country less productive, more exposed to sudden commodity price changes and with a significantly lower number of jobs than before (Roll, 2011; Ross, 2013).

The second mechanism through which the resource curse works is the expansive spending mechanism. This has more to do with excessive borrowing in the hope against expected future oil income. In an oil resource endowed country, the political elites usually go on a spending spree. Whether the money is invested in infrastructure or public services or on luxurious prestige projects, money is being spent on a large scale than they ordinarily would have. This sudden behaviour negatively impacts on the exchange rate and increases the rate of inflation in the country. It may also lead to a massive accumulation of debts as soon as the terms for the repayment of the loans turn less favourable (Yergin, 2011).

A commonly proposed solution to the economic impact of the resource curse is economic diversification (Kolstad & Wiig, 2011). The revenue accrued from the oil resource (booming sector) can be invested in other parts of the economy like the manufacturing or service sectors. The spread of rents across other sectors of the economy simultaneously decreases the country's dependence on the booming sector and also decreases the economic power of the state. This introduces some competitive economic management of the rent in the country thereby making it less motivating for incumbent governments to hang on to power. A critical assessment of the Dutch Disease reveals its suggestion of a negative correlation between natural (oil) resources and economic development. The story of some of the successful countries points to an important pre-condition to escaping the resource curse and it rests in the institutional capacity of the resource endowed country.

Others also explain the slow growth of resource endowed countries from the governance perspective. The third mechanism leans more towards the

effects of the income from natural resources on politics and political institutions. To them, the magnitude of the effect of a resource on a country is largely dependent on the country's institutions and governance (Soros, 2007). Brunnschweiler and Bulte (2008) and Stijn (2005) for instance, held the view that resource abundance positively affects institutional quality and growth. Ross (2001) nonetheless has argued that resource abundance inhibits democracy. The effects of a resource endowment on a country's governance institutions manifest itself through the rentier state and patronage models.

Rentier state model has proponents like Ross (2001) and Rosser (2007). Basing on the World Bank classification, rentier state theorists refer to rentier economy as that which has resource (oil) constituting at least 10 per cent of gross domestic product and where mineral exports comprise at least 40 per cent of total exports. The model argues that a country's over-dependence on oil rent increases the possibility of ignoring domestic tax collection and other policy initiatives to generate revenues internally.

Rentier state leads to instances where the huge revenues from the booming sector lead to the imposition of lower taxes on the citizenry (Rosser, 2007). Obeng-Odoom (2013) for instance observes that the rentier model has an outcome of citizens evading the payment of taxes or paying lower taxes. This creates the condition which will make citizens incapacitated in holding public officers accountable for their action. It inadvertently affects the government's accountability to the citizenry. Put in simpler terms, when rents from oil resource constitute a significant share of a government's revenue, the state relieves the population of the need to pay tax. This "taxation effect" is

said to reduce citizens' interest in government accountability, and thus democracy (Aytac, Mousseaub & Orsun, 2014).

In explaining the behaviour of the political elite and other power groups, the rentier state scholars argue that when rents exist in abundance, it causes a shift in agents pursuing productive activities in other sectors of the economy to rather maximizing access to the resource rents. The focus of state action shifts from service delivery to allocation tussles and consumerism. Conflict, corruption and other symptoms of bad governance often thrive in such an environment. This behaviour of agents tends to happen in a country where the institutions in existence promote the culture of over-production (Mehlum et al., 2006).

The patronage model or the “spending effect” also helps in explaining the slow growth phenomenon. Patronage practices are also closely linked to rent-seeking activities. The literature reveals the likelihood of oil-rich countries channelling resources into suppressing alternative political voices (Busse & Groning, 2013), or into national security at the expense of economic growth and democratic consolidation (Kumah-Abiwu, 2011). In oil-rich countries where governments fund themselves through natural resource rents, they are likely to have more at their disposal to buy off and or to repress the opposition. This does not only set a country on a slow growth trajectory but also puts the country at risk of experiencing conflicts and possible state collapse. Ross (2001) gives a concise account of how countries like Nigeria, Angola, Libya, Venezuela degenerate into armed conflicts and civil wars due to the patronage of political leaders from oil revenues.

The rentier and patronage effects are not mutually exclusive; they could be happening simultaneously. The practices of the rentier and patronage explanations show how the resource curse theory negatively impact on an institution in particular and governance issues in general. The argument is that resource abundance inhibits democracy (Ross 2001) by generating “a breakdown of democratic regimes due to a combination of incumbency advantage, political instability, and political repression” (Wantchekon 2002: 43); leads to armed conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2005); engenders corruption (Leite & Weidmann 1999); leads to failure to invest adequately in education and human capital (Gylfason, 2001); worsens corporate transparency (Durnev & Guriev 2011) and leads to failure to invest adequately in education and human capital. Hence, the institutional features in a country determine the capacity of the state to address challenges caused by resource abundance.

Resource curse: A Reflection on the Study

The issue of corruption has dominated scholarly works on oil governance and its poor link to development such as Abraham (2019). The loudly trumpeted mode was oil rents ending in individual pockets instead of the public purse. This brought the bridging of the gap between oil resource and development in doubt as the resource continued to be over-exploited. Vernon (1971) recommended that leaving the resources in the ground will be the easiest cure for the ‘curse’. An extensive and critical review of recent theoretical and empirical evidence suggests that the resource curse is not an automatic condition that befalls resource-rich countries (Cavalcanti, Mohaddes & Raissi, 2011). In line with the works of Sachs and Warner (1997), other scholars have argued that the extent of the “curse” in the resource curse theory

is contingent on the institutional framework available in the country (Karl 1997; 2007; Mehlum, Moene, & Torvik 2012) as well as the policy choices made (Auty, 1993).

Empirically, based on his 26years of research in 113 countries, Ross (2001) demonstrates that oil impedes democratic advancement in some countries in Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. Karl (1997) suggested that institutions are central in explaining the resource curse. According to him, the fate of oil-exporting countries must be understood in a context that economies shape institutions and vice versa. Supporting this view, Mehlum et al., (2012), in their incisive study, establish a strong correlation between quality institutions and resource blessing. For them, the resource curse occurs in countries that have weak institutions. They accounted for why countries that are rich in natural resources constitute both growth losers and growth winners. According to these scholars, the main reason for these diverging experiences is the differences in their institutional capacities. Based on their regression analysis of 42 countries, the authors concluded that the variance of growth performance among resource-rich countries is primarily due to how resource rents are distributed via the institutional arrangement.

From another perspective, the resource curse theory has not gone uncriticised. It has had its unanimity questioned in several other research works. The whole idea of a resource curse is challenged by several pro-free market scholars. They contend that resources provide development opportunities and so it is undesirable to envision “one uniform policy” towards all resource mining countries in the developing world. Davis and Tilton (2005) highlight the instance where resource endowment (oil) provides developing

countries with opportunities; some of which have been used to promote development, while others have been a misused to adversely affect development.

Stijns (2005) fails to accept one uniform (resource curse) for all oil endowed countries. He presented evidence to support the fact that effects of resources on an economy can be both positive and negative and that the ability of a country to exploit its resources positively depends largely on the nature of the learning process involved. With this, he held the view that it is not right to predict a single policy for all resource-rich countries in the developing world. If not, it will only increase the chances of plunging the countries into chaos. Instead, the focus should be on how to “ensure that the resource (oil) contributes as much as possible to economic development and poverty alleviation” (Davis & Tilton, 2005: 31).

On another front, leaving the resources in the ground as the easiest way to prevent the curse (Vernon, 1971) is too drastic and an unsupportive solution as the curse is not with the resource itself but with the institutional capacity that manages its extraction and usage. In all, most scholars agree that institutional capacity determines how a resource may impact on the development of a country. It is the kind of institution in existence that determines how resource transforms wealth toward improving the well-being of the populace, as well as the “nature of the state-society relations and the linkages between the local–national–global” in resource-rich countries (Obi 2010: 491). That is to say, if there are strong and efficient institutions, be it formal, informal or hybrid in the management of a country’s oil resource, the instances of conflicts associated with oil resources could be averted. At the

stage of Ghana's oil industry, the management of it through robust institutions will determine the extent to which the "oil curse" will be annulled for maintenance of peace to prevail.

Aside from solving the resource curse phenomenon through institutional means, some other approaches have been proposed; prominent among them are the macroeconomic, the Corporate Social Responsibility and the transparency approach. The macroeconomic solution is a cause the Norwegian government is championing across new natural resource exporting countries through their "Oil for Development" programme (Kolstad & Wiig, 2008).

From the 1990s onwards, oil companies adopted the provision of services and infrastructure as a Corporate Social Responsibility to communities that experienced the direct impact of their activities. Corporate Social Responsibility gives room for the oil companies to look back at the structural, economic and environmental damages caused to their host communities and undertake counter projects to mitigate the effects. The transparency approach popularised as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) emerged around 2002 in the context of the international anti-corruption movement. Their position is that revenue flows from international oil companies to governments should be made transparent so that they can be monitored and corruption be reduced. It is an approach that has been endorsed by all actors involved: governments, oil companies, donors, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and organized civil society at large.

Expectations from Oil Exploration

The conception of the resource curse becomes very crucial when the negative effects of exploration activities begin to outweigh the accrued benefits. This is very much experienced by indigenes and inhabitants of the exploration areas. It explains why such people tend to have high expectations as compared to the rest of the citizens in the country. Aryeetey and Asmah (2011) observed that the expectations that people hold in oil exploration are basically from their background as to whether they are educated, indigenes. According to Quartey and Abbey (2018), the dominant expectations that inhabitants hold is the creation of jobs. When such an expectation is not met, it tends to make evident the effect of the resource curse conception. Further, Osei-Tutu (2012) had earlier conceived that discussion and projection of the perceived change that exploration activity will bring is very much held by the youth. Thus, such people hold the strongest of opinions especially when they consider themselves as the generational beneficiaries of the resource. To this, Mwabu (2018) was interested in the role that gender plays in oil exploration using Kenya as a case study and observed that women ought to be given a more direct role in oil governance and not the indirect benefit that emanates from trade boom which comes with population growth in such exploration areas.

It is generally important to note that expectations on oil exploration, specifically with inhabitants are the creation of jobs. This is mainly because such exploration areas are far removed from the centre of business activities since oil exploration is predominantly done offshore. Then again, coastal settlements in Ghana predominantly have development problems especially when many infrastructures get eroded by the climatic conditions. As a result of

these, such settlements, more often than not, experience deficits in the provision of amenities. This fuels the predominant expectation that jobs will be created by exploration activities in such areas. According to Buur et al (2018) the most dominant of expectations on exploration is the creation of jobs. This has earlier on been asserted by Kuma-Abiwu (2017) and Marcel (2016). Bategeka, Kiiza and Ssewanyana (2009) focused generally on the expectation of infrastructural development. To this, the mass interest of citizens in oil exploration and the accrued benefits is the implementation of infrastructure which in the end better the living conditions of the people. Further, Obeng-Odoom (2014), conceived that in addition to the creation of jobs is the need for technology transfer. This is because oil exploration is technology-intensive and requires high skill labour, indirect employment and as a result, the assurance of direct employment is the transfer of skills to the local population.

Additionally, Abraham (2019) focused on the impact of revenue utilization to manage expectation. He observed that oil exploration generates a steady income for economies reliant on this and this actualises the citizen expectation that exploration will promote the development and better the living conditions of the people. By this, he distinguishes between localised expectation which is that held by inhabitants of the exploration areas and general expectation which is that held by general populace across the demography of the country. In their contribution, Ayeetey et al (2016) used the case of mining areas and the deplorable living conditions of the inhabitants as a case study and proposed that this has to change with reference to inhabitants of oil exploration areas through the use of the oil revenue to improve the lives of the people. Graham, et al (2016), were particular with the benefits to be

derived from oil exploration to benefit the inhabitants. For them, the communities in the exploration areas must be prioritized in the use of the oil revenue to undertake development projects.

Furthermore, expectations in exploration are a general feeling. According to Gary, Manteaw & Armstrong (2009), in Ghana, even politicians such as the President then had high expectations of economic improvement as a result of the exploration. Zehe (2012) agrees that a major part of Ghanaians, one way or the other, held various expectations from the exploration. To this, ISODEC and Oxfam America (2009) observe that management of expectations and the need for the youth to benefit from the production of oil is explained by the need for national and personal development.

The Relative Deprivation Theory

Many scholars hold the opinion that human beings are innately deprived, instinctively aggressive, nasty, and evil (Baron & Richardson, 2004). Among the explanations for conflicts, one of the most influential has been the relative deprivation theory. It is a term used in social sciences to describe feelings or measures of economic, political or social deprivation that are relative rather than absolute (Ahiave, 2013). Relative deprivation became an influential theory because social judgments are shaped not only by absolute standards but also by standards set by social comparisons (Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin & Bialosiewicz, 2012). Many social scientists have cited relative deprivation as the potential cause of social deviance, rioting, terrorism, civil wars and other instances of crime (Merton, 1938).

The concept of Relative Deprivation was first articulated by Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star and Williams (1949) to describe series of

unexpected relationships; feelings of satisfaction and one's position in the then US army during World War II. Other scholars enlarged the idea to cover the concept of fair exchange, distributive justice, equity theory, social comparison theory (Blau, 1964; Festinger, 1954; Merton, 1957; Homan, 1961; Walster, Walster & Bersheid, 1978). Runciman and Runciman (1966) broadened the theory by distinguishing between deprivation on a personal and on group levels. Within the next decade, Crosby (1982) proposed personal Relative Deprivation as (1) wanting what one does not have, and (2) feeling that one deserves whatever it is one wants but does not have. Folger (1987) also proposed that a person's current situation forms a narrative or story to which different alternative stories can be compared. People will evaluate their current outcome negatively and feel resentful if they can imagine (1) better alternative outcomes, (2) more legitimate procedures that could produce better outcomes, and (3) the current situation seems unlikely to improve in the near future.

The 1990s saw the rediscovery of the Relative Deprivation theory and its integration into theories of collective behaviour (Ellemers, 2002; Smith & Ortiz, 2002). The theory considers conflict to be intrinsically linked to human existence and relations in all societies (Singer, 1992). The theory agrees that a sense of collective deprivation could be as a result of social relations and other factors. Therefore, issues such as inequality and social exclusion are major causes of grievances in many societies and can cause violence spearheaded by the deprived group (Alesina & Perotti, 1996; Brunnschweiler & Butley, 2009; Gurr, 1970). Social identity research shows that people will experience group relative deprivation if the intergroup situation is viewed as illegitimate,

unlikely to improve without collective challenge and group boundaries are seen as impermeable (Mummendey, Kessler, Klink & Mielke, 1999).

In a contemporary sense, relative deprivation is a term used to denote tension that develops from a discrepancy between the “ought” and the “is” of collective satisfaction and disposes men to violence (Gurr, 1970 p. 23). It can also be said to be the “conscious experience of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and present actualities” (Abeles, 1976; Peng, Chen & Wang, 2016). Relative deprivation is considered to be a major cause of civil war. In Nigeria, the lack of development in the oil communities has fuelled the insurgencies there (Murshed, 2007). People are more likely to revolt when they lose hope of attaining their societal values.

The original works on the relative deprivation focused more on the economic inequality within a community (Schock, 1996). Here, economic inequality factors account for the gap between the poor and the rich, the rich and the extremely rich as well as the poor and the awfully poor (Mzumara, 2012). Douma (2006) emphasised the element of poverty in economic inequality. It must, however, be noted that poverty has no direct linkage to conflict. Conflict only comes about when a group tagged to be poor suffers some discrimination and as a result revolts against the people or institutions they believe to be responsible.

In other words, when people perceive a gap between their present possession and what they think they deserve, it creates within them the feeling that society owes them. That feeling where their expectations do not meet their attainments raises the tendency of confronting the powers that be for depriving them of their ambition (Box-Steffensmeier, Boef & Sweeney, 2005). The

feeling of deprivation can develop from personal judgment (subjective) over circumstance and status in a community. The extent of emotions attached to it depends largely on the individual's assessment of the situation (Bernstein & Croshy, 1980).

As much as this theory holds sway to an extent, it appears to be silent on an objective assessment of individuals. One can assess how he/she is doing in a community from an objective lens. That is to say, if one is poor, it could be that it is as a result of the fact that, the person is not developing skills relevant to the communal needs or the skills developed are no longer relevant to society with changing times (Mzumara, 2012). There is absolute deprivation where deterioration of living conditions prolongs over a period. This situation is less influential because as it spans over a long period, the people become accustomed to their situation. Relative deprivation, on the other hand, manifests itself in a variety of forms and has higher tendency of sparking conflict as any individual can easily look to his rich neighbour and realise the richness gap or the poverty gap and get aggressive (Nafziger & Auvinen, 2002).

The research works of Sigelman and Simpson (1977) confirmed the correlation between relative deprivation and conflicts. The authors concluded their research with a note about the importance of examining different types of inequalities. Again, they observed that inequalities across cultural and political divides can foster conflicts. The vulnerability of a population reaches its highest peak during the phase of relative deprivation. A case in point is the Igbo people in Nigeria who were fighting for the freedom in what has come to be known as the Biafra war in 1964. They felt a sense of deprivation on

economic, political and religious fronts which drove the country to a state of complex humanitarian emergency (Auvinen & Nafziger, 1999). The Hutu-Tutsi conflict for control of the central state institutions in Rwanda and Burundi is also another case in point (Auvinen & Nafziger, 2002).

Across Ghana, inequality exists in almost all societies but one does not witness women who earn less than their male colleagues getting angrier (Crosby, 1982). Within the oil affected region, chiefs in the region are clamouring for 10 per cent of the resource revenue (Gyimah-Boadi & Prempeh, 2012) and the youth are also requesting for educational opportunities to enable them to get good-paying jobs. There is the need to make sure that there is no feeling of deprivation among the people who are directly affected by the exploration while some few individuals use the revenues to enrich themselves.

In Ghana, the discovery of oil and accompanying media reportage raised the expectations of some citizens. The media through the political gimmicks created the thinking that the discovery of Ghana's oil resource automatically translated into high financial gains. Thereby, many people had hoped for employment, poverty reduction, better infrastructure and higher incomes. Meanwhile, the intensity of the feeling of 'deprivation' is determined by the height of expectations. As already explained above, Gurr (1970) links the disappointment from not having an expectation fulfilled as a ripe avenue for conflict to erupt. Admittedly, not all cases of unfulfilled expectations in societies automatically lead to violence so the study looks out to know how the expectations have been managed so far within the Ellembele district of Ghana.

Frustration-Aggression Theory

In 1939, Dollard, Doob, Miller, and Sears published a monograph which has come to be known as the frustration-aggression theory. This theory impacted on western thinking for more than three decades as it was widely accepted and adopted to explain why humans get aggressive (Zillmann, 1979). Principally, Dollard et al (1939) posited that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression. The term frustration used in this context refers to the act of preventing a person from attaining a goal and or the reaction of the person to the prevention. In Feierabend and Feirabend (1972), frustration-aggression theory is conceived to mean that “aggression is always the result of frustration”. According to Freud’s early psychoanalytic theory, much of human actions are determined by instincts. When expressions of these instincts are frustrated, an aggressive drive is induced (Hall & Lindzey, 1957).

Deductively, whenever a person’s effort to reach any goal is blocked, an aggressive drive is induced. This aggressive drive motivates the behaviour to injure the obstacle (person or objects) causing the frustration. One recognizes from the initial position of the theory that (a) aggression is always based on frustration and (b) that frustration leads to aggression. This brought to itself the famous critique of the theory making frustration both a necessary and sufficient condition for aggression (Dennen, 2005). Following the assertion that frustrations do not cause hostile or aggressive outbursts by necessity, Miller (1941) retracted and rephrased the second part of the hypothesis that frustration produces instigations to a number of different types

of response, one of which is an instigation to some form of aggression. In other words, frustration is not sufficient, but a necessary, condition for hostility and aggression (Zillmann, 1994).

Aggressive situations could result from conditions in which levels of social expectations, aspirations and needs are raised for many people yet unmatched by equivalent levels of satisfaction. Faleti (2006) views this formulation as the “want-get-ratio”. The frustration-aggression theory can aptly give a theoretical explanation of oil and other resource-related conflicts and disturbance across countries particularly within the African continent. Clear examples can be seen from the Nigerian, Ugandan, Sudanese, Gabonese, and Equatorial Guinean among other cases. This is in line with the saying that a hungry man is an angry man. The argument here is that people will become angry when they do not get what they want or are prevented from getting what they want or are deprived of what they have or of the opportunity of getting it. In other words, aggression is not a natural reaction but an outcome of frustration. In a situation where the legitimate desires of individuals are denied either directly or indirectly as a consequent of the way society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead to such a person expressing anger through violence.

It should, however, be noted that not all acts of aggression can be explained by this hypothesis, neither does aggression follow all frustrations. Individuals who become aggressive when frustrated do not do so on every occasion; they can find alternative ways to deal with their frustration. Again, there are individual displays of aggressions even when there is no obvious obstacle to cause frustration. And some aggressions can also be learnt

(Berkowitz, 1989). Despite these criticisms, compared to other theories at the time, the frustration-aggression theory appeared uncomplicated, well-structured and clearly articulated for easy comprehension. The theory also does not involve overly abstract concepts; it seems to have been founded on common sense. Also, it appears to justify human aggressions (Selg, 1971). The theory makes room for ready-made excuses to be drawn in uncontrolled and even premeditated hostile or aggressive actions (Zillmann, 1994).

In the case of Ghana, the experiences from the agitations from mining communities who are virtually made to rely on Corporate Social Responsibilities should cause the nation to sit up. The oil discovery in the Jubilee fields at west cape three points poses a great challenge to the nation, as it is anticipated that the oil revenue would positively impact on the lives of Ghanaians. The resource communities expect a sudden change with the discovery by way of good road links to their communities and other major cities, good schools to provide their children with employable skills, good hospitals to cater for their health needs, etc. To maximize the gains from the oil industry, good institutions ought to be in place to implement sector policies that will ensure the country does not become engulfed in the resource curse' already described above.

To help maintain the relative peace enjoyed in the oil affected communities, particularly, the Ellembelle district, the capacity of the institutions involved should be built to meet the expectations of the local communities and as well combat the challenges the exploration has brought on the people. Promoting effective institutional management practically calls for the need to take into account the specifics of the local context (Böge, 2007;

Böge & Krieger, 2007). It requires being cognisant of and avoiding enhancing asymmetries between small local firms and large and multinational corporations. It also requires avoiding “a ‘gold-digger mentality’ which yields short-term profits and devastates large tracts of the country” (Bleischwitz & Bringezu, 2007 p. 152).

The literature review has unearthed the observation that institutions are vital in determining the outcome (blessing or a curse) of resources (Karl, 1997; Rosser, 2004). It has also looked at instances that can result in conflict especially by those who may be adversely affected by oil exploration. Ghana seems not to be immune to rent-seeking behaviours (Mbaku, 1994). The commercial discovery of oil offers a test to the institutional capacity to contain patronage and rent-seeking behaviours and channel it into development in order to prevent a possible conflict which could stem from the feeling of deprivation and or frustration. It also rests the solution away from conflict and the escape of the resource curse trap in the capacity of institutions to effectively manage the oil resource.

Oil Resource

Oil resource, otherwise known as the black gold, is a natural resource found beneath the earth. It is also known as petroleum resource or crude oil. Oil is one of the strategic and sought after commodity in global markets (Nwokolo, 2018). The global petroleum industry is usually divided into three major components: upstream, midstream and downstream. The consensus on oil literature reveals some paradox for developing countries that engage in its production. Collier and Hoeffler’s (2000) research indicated that oil-producing

countries are twice as likely to have a civil war compared with non-oil producing countries.

Ross (2001) draws attention to the effects of oil resources in fueling and sustaining authoritarian rulers and bad governance, involving corruption and lack of transparency at the state and corporate business level. Accordingly, oil fuels grievance or greed amongst local oil communities, as they suffer from poverty amid abundant resources (Cramer, 2006; Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). Other negative social effects of oil resources are the changes they bring to the political and economic situations in such areas.

The observations are contrary to the generally held assumptions that oil resources should contribute positively to host communities. The picture of where there is economic growth and development such as a reduction in poverty and infrastructural development to hosting communities are painted but realistically not always the case. For instance, there are instances where extractive industries can generate sizeable revenues, create jobs and business opportunities, and often bring new roads and access to water and power to isolated rural areas in which they are typically located (Mcphail, 2017). There equally are other places where the oil resource plagues the host communities with social vices.

Institutions and Institutional Capacity

Institutions have been defined and conceptualized differently by various scholars. Knight & Jack (1992) defined the concept as a set of rules that structure social interactions in particular ways. Aoki (2007) describes institutions as the equilibrium outcome which arises through repeated interactions between agents. This thesis relies on the definition given by Ashraf

and Galor (2013) who picture institutions as the formal and informal rules, monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, and systems of meaning that defines the context within which individuals, corporations, labour unions, nation-states and other organizations operate and interact with each other.

Knack and Keefer (1995) conceive that institutions may differ because a given set of formal institutions are expected to and do function differently; for example, they may differ between two societies that are democratic because the distribution of political power lies with different groups or social classes. Thus the posture of a dictatorial government in managing oil resources through institutions will be different from how a democratic regime will approach it. Many reasons have been given to explain the failure of certain countries in maintaining peace and development in the wake of oil resource abundance. Djankov, Simeon & La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes & Shleifer. (2003) adduced that many measures are different across countries. For Mauro (1995) the most potent reason is corruption. Here many developing countries are not able to better manage their oil resources because the revenues accrued end up in individual pockets.

Institutional capacity refers to the qualities that are critical for developing and implementing effective and equitable policy measures to mitigate the impact of any crisis. Institutional capacity is the foundation of the state's ability to manage the oil resource for the benefit of all and sundry particularly those directly affected by the drilling activities. The capacity of institutions is measured by their performance, adaptability and stability. It rests on the main governance principles of participation/inclusion, non-discrimination/equality and rule of law/accountability (De Vries, 2011). The

qualities and principles are mutually supportive: the governance principles set the overall enabling environment and drive the capacity of institutions to perform better, adapt to changing circumstance and setting priorities as well as sustaining results (Sepulveda, 2015).

Performing institutions are measured by effectiveness and efficiency. They are expected to have the capacity to achieve the required development goals by, for example, checking loopholes to ensure resource rents do not end in individual pockets. Oil governing institutions also ought to be capable of being innovative, anticipating, adapting, responding to changing needs and priorities. Such capacity gives an institution the foundation to build long-term resilience. Institutional stability takes care of risk identification, analysis and holistic approach to its management. To say of an institution that it is effective is to mean that such institution is responsive to the performance of its duties.

Additionally, Hickel (2012), observed that accrual of utmost benefit in oil production is also ensured by the management and governance it and so when good governance practices such as transparency, capacity building of institutions, etc, are prioritised then more benefits will be realised. Cantoni (2017) in agreement to this position, added that since exploration entails huge cost and ready availability of revenue as a result of the instant market, it is always important to ensure that stakeholders who are involved in the exploration have gone through the requisite training, especially the national companies that hold the carried interests of governments. NRG (2018) posit that capacity building is central to better petroleum governance.

Conceptual Framework

This framework seeks to explain the connection between the management of oil-related expectations and maintaining peace within the study communities. It goes on to show the relationship between how management of expectations can ensure peace.

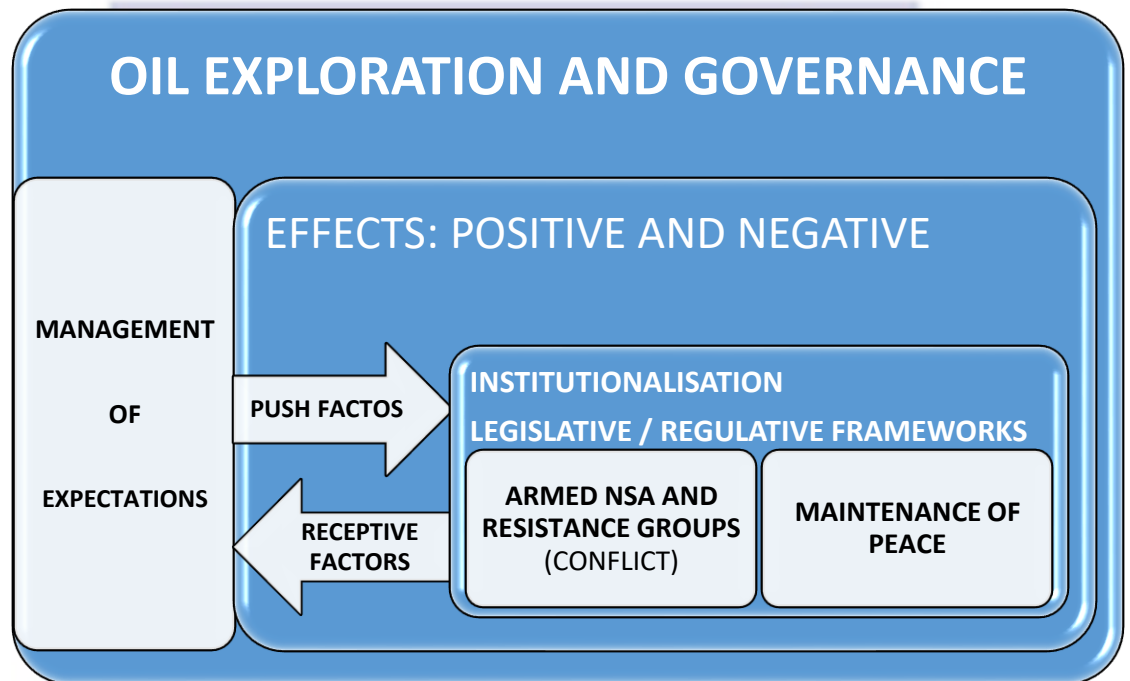


Figure 1: Managing Expectations to Maintain Peace Conceptual Framework

Source: Amissah (2014) (Adapted)

To the extent that these expectations can lead to conflict if not managed well, we adapted the model by Amissah (2014) to explain this potential phenomenon. Here, he posited that the management of oil-related expectations has two main impacts: the *push factor* and the *receptive factor*. We conceive of the push impact here to mean the various institutional decisions that have to be implemented as a result of the oil find. Here, we generally see that the country has positively responded to the push impact of oil exploration only in terms of

the regulatory establishment.

This is legitimate especially when there was a rejection of the request by traditional rulers in the Western Region, the region where oil exploration and production is done, for a 10% royalty of the accrued revenue for development projects and also to help the youth in the region since they will be much affected by the exploration operation. Indeed the researcher does not legitimize the call by the traditional rulers or a possible future violent receptive factor, but we analytically propose that it places more responsibility on the government and the oil managing institutions to institute development projects that will promote better living conditions.

The current receptive factor as far as Ghana's oil exploration is concerned is the development of civil society groups and community organisations to partake in various civil activities concerning exploration in Ghana. For instance, there are committees and policy think tanks like the Public Interest and Accountability Committee and African Centre for Energy Policy which has been very much involved in research, analysis and advocacy as far as the extractive operations are concerned. This presents the fertile moment for the government to institute better development projects from the revenue realised. Again, it also presents the opportunity to better strengthen institutions to adequately respond to the changing trend associated with countries that become oil exporters.

Conceptualizing Peace

In the early years of peace studies, it was assumed that peace is the opposite of war. Peace was defined as the absence of war because the early peace studies were strongly motivated by the reflection on the tragedies of the

Second World War (Matsuo 2005). In the conceptualization of peace as the absence of war, it narrowed the concept to a zero-sum relationship. Peace is defined as the presence of conditions for a just and sustainable peace, including access to food and clean drinking water, education for women and children, security from physical harm, and other inviolable human rights (Galtung, 1996).

The term “Peacebuilding” later emerged in the 1970s through the work of Johan Galtung who called for the creation of structures that address the root causes of conflict to promote sustainable peace (Galtung, 1996). In his *Agenda for peace*, former Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali 1992 defined peacebuilding as an action to solidify peace and avoid a relapse into conflict. Also, Porter (2007) defined peacebuilding to involve all processes that build positive relationships, heal wounds, reconcile antagonistic differences, restore esteem, respect rights, meet basic needs, enhance equality, instill feelings of security, empower moral agency and are democratic, inclusive and just. Furthermore, Mazurana and McKay (1999) emphasised that peacebuilding involves personal and group accountability and reconciliation processes which contribute to the reduction or prevention of violence. It must be noted however that the concept has moved its primary focus on post-conflict reconstruction to preventive diplomacy.

Conflict

As conflicts are inescapable in human affairs, they occur frequently in both public and private lives. They may occur within and among groups, communities, or nations. Their escalation can sometimes lead to unproductive results or can be beneficially resolved and lead to quality final products (Nnoli,

1998). Coser defines conflict as the struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the opponents aim to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals (Coser, 1956). Coser contends that conflict is instinctual for humans and as such is inevitable and somewhat necessary for social cohesion. For him, no group or society can be entirely harmonious; it will lose process and structure. Conflict is normally assumed to have occurred when individuals fail to live according to their values, or when their values are threatened (Kendie & Akudugu, 2010). Thus, social life is characterized by conflict, and its inevitability is due to the fact that norms and values are not evenly distributed or accepted by all members of the given society (Tonah, 2007).

It is a founded assertion that there is a strong correlation among natural resources, social instability and violent conflict, particularly in the developing world. Oil has been recognised largely as a potential source of conflict, which usually turns it into a curse (Johannes, Zulu & Kalipeni, 2015). There are numerous scholarly records on how the discovery of oil has bred corruption, strife, poverty, eroded governmental institution, reduced employment opportunities and brought about conflict within the drilling communities and countries at large (Koppel, 2006). These have been possible because rents from the oil resource can be a motivation for violence or can be used to finance the violence. The rents are also used to weaken existing state institution and jeopardize developmental efforts (Collier & Hoeffler 2004; Fearon & Laiton 2003; Ross, 2006).

From the literature, many oil-endowed countries became disappointed in their expectations that oil exploration would lead to rapid improvement in

development indicators. Realistically, some oil endowed countries have not benefitted much from their resource because the management and distribution of the resource have been less transparent and dismal (Asamoah, 2013). It has led to the formation of resistance groups aiming to take control of, and or cede the oil-rich territory from the country. For Amissah (2014), analysing conflict and its potentiality in oil exploration can be divided into push and receptive factors which entails what governance of the oil will produce as to whether it will lead to armed non-state actors fighting over the resource with government or growth in activism taken over by civil society organisations.

Peace and Development

Generally, oil exploration requires good governance and management skills in ensuring that positive effects are always realised. This is so because the exploration requires highly skilled labour, huge capital, relational interaction with transnational oil companies which are sometimes richer than countries endowed with the resources. Further, exploration and commercialisation result in huge revenue for states and as a result, such governments receive income which is substantial to better the living condition of the people. Such accrued revenue for governments is conceived as enough resource to undertake developmental projects (International Alert. (2009). It must be noted therefore that oil exploration and development are conceived together on the bases of the sustainability and the amount of rents that commercializing countries gain from the exploration. In this vein, when citizens and even stakeholders in the exploration industry nurture high expectations from an oil find, it is to the effect that the accrued rents will be used to undertake development which will, in turn, better the living conditions of the people.

The kind of conceived development is in two-fold; infrastructural and human development (Dah & Sulemana 2010). It is important to note that, central to the duties of a government is the distribution of the assets and burdens of the state. Through this, the government undertakes to deliver public good which is non-excludable in use so that citizens can have access to them. This feeds into the provision of infrastructural development such as roads, schools, hospitals, etc. it is note that crucial to the expectation of positive effects on oil exploration is the implementation of a development project. The second kind of development is human development. This is where human capacity and resource are developed to meet the employment needs of the country. Here, the government implements social programmes such as access to free education, vocational training, apprenticeship, in-service training, etc to equip citizens to acquire the needed skills not only in the petrochemical industry but also all the facets of the economy (Maphosa, 2012). Thus since these can be undertaken when there is substantial revenue, commercialization of oil which produces such amount of revenue is seen to play a pivotal role in ensuring such development.

The nexus between development and peace is not far-fetched with respect to oil exploration. It is noted that a major eruption of violence and sometimes armed resistance had been when expectations from the use of oil revenue are unmet. Thus, when inhabitants and citizens perceive that oil revenue has created elitism whereby accrued benefits only inure to politicians without any benefit to the ordinary citizen, then there is the tendency for the disruption of peace and the prevalence of violence. Thus, where development is rigorously pursued with the accrued rents, there is the maintenance of peace. To this extent,

it is conceived of peace as the absence of violence, resistance and armed confrontations. The existence of better oil governance practice^{4s} such as transparency, accountability, judicious use of revenue and, etc, are central to the maintenance of peace.

Empirical Review

Empirically, the work of Zehe (2012) ushers readers into the dangers of having high expectations in the wake of resource discovery. Situating his study in Ghana and being guided by Tedd Gurr's Relative Deprivation theory, the author draws attention to how relevant expectations of people are, especially when natural resources like oil and gas are discovered. He argues that the scholarly writings on the negative correlation between oil and development should have guided people not to think that the "black gold" automatically translates into wealth. He attributed the high expectation to the unrealistic media coverage on the oil find and associated revenues. Based on the relative deprivation theory, he described the rise in expectations and the consequential disappointment in a given society as a trigger for conflicts.

This was affirmed by the work of Kaleem & Guohua (2015) whose survey sought to inquire if the expectations of Ghanaians on the oil and gas are real. From the study, it became bare that the expectations of the people within the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolis were attainable. The roadmap to attaining the expectations rested on the level of participation which was minimal if not non-existent at the time of the study. They added that free flow of information can be added to the principle of transparency and accountability while encouraging participation from the youth to ease tensions on the "huge expectations of many Ghanaians.

When conducting a similar study among Ugandans, Bategeka, Kiiza & Ssewanyana (2009) touched on the expectations amidst oil exploration and discovered that there were expectations/interests among the various stakeholders (government, industry players and the people). It was found out that the interests of the central government, the local governments, the oil companies and the owners of the land where oil has been discovered appear to have been adequately taken care of. The interests of those in the Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom and the local communities had not been taken care of. It was also evident that some of the expectations that bred anxieties (such as the marginalization of Bunyoro-Kitara) were accurate; others (eg. press reports of land grabbing) inaccurate; while certain expectations were exaggerated (as is the claim that aid dependence will end immediately once the oil revenues begin flowing). Hence, the call for different expectation management strategies to be implemented in Uganda.

The research work of Kuma Abiwu (2017) uses the agenda-setting theory to draw the attention of scholars to the need to also gear literary writings on not just democratic governance of a country but also on the resource (oil) governance principles as it takes the duality to avoid the curse. According to the work done, the convergence and or equal attention or importance is given to oil sector governance. In that vein, Ghana will be more likely to escape the resource curse syndrome that plagues resource-rich countries.

Assessing the petroleum revenue management amidst high expectations in Ghana as espoused by Abraham (2019) looks at the existing institutions that manage the revenues accrued from the exploration activity. The writer reveals that the legislative checks and procedures on their own would not translate into

sustainable development. He, therefore, proposes that the epoch of expectations calls for the need for commitment, checks and balance procedures as well as strong institutions to enforce the relevant regulations that have been brought into being but have been made redundant.

Graham, et al (2016) share similar findings in their study on politics of oil and gas in Ghana. They went further to state that politics in the industry needs to be managed well. If not, it can lead the country to some unrest and potential violence. Hence the need for utilisation plans on how to spend so the oil revenue to prevent wasteful spending.

The case of Nigeria comes to mind as it is one of the most cited cases that dominates the literature. As the sixth largest oil-producing nation in the world, 92 percent of Nigeria's foreign exchange comes from its oil exploration. That notwithstanding, the country is in a pitfall due to the government's inability to equitably distribute its resource wealth (Olawuyi, 2015). A large percentage (90%) of the country's oil comes from the Niger Delta region alone. Yet, the region is saddled with poor living standards, unemployment, environmental degradation, poor and inadequate social amenities (Bloomfield, 2008; Mbah, 2013; Olawuyi; Ikelegbe, 2005). Also, gas flaring has led to a decline in livelihood from farming and fishing activities. Additionally, jobs in the oil industry mostly go to expatriates, whilst the inhabitants face destruction of farmlands, pollution of water bodies, ill-equipped hospitals, schools without teachers and books, poor road infrastructure and lack of electricity (Olawuyi).

Following the execution of Ken-Sarawiwa a writer and an environmental activist, who wanted to bring the mismanagement and loot of revenues from oil resources to the attention of the government, various militant

groups emerged. One of was the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), a militant group which resorted to acts of criminality by pillaging, bunkering and also kidnapping workers of the multinational companies operating in the country (Olawuyi, 2015). The state's rent-seeking interest is what has subsequently run into conflict with the interest of the affected communities. The effect has been an intractable cycle of local resentment and state repression.

Contrary to the above stories on the misappropriation of resource wealth as well as weak institutions paving way for corruption, the case of Botswana is a success story. It is an African country that has exhibited by far effective management of resources. Botswana is a small country in Southern Africa with a population of only two million; yet the largest diamond producers in the world by volume. Botswana was a British protectorate until its independence in 1966. It was the second poorest country in the world, next to Bangladesh (Manatsha & Maharjan, 2009). Conditions were not considered favourable for economic growth according to previous studies (Bloom & Sachs, 1998). The country relied heavily on foreign aid. In 1966, 50 per cent of government expenditure was paid for by Britain (Acemoglu et al., 2002). After the discovery and rapid diamond-led growth, Botswana was classified as an upper-middle economy by 1998. They developed their institutional capacity to seal misappropriation and other vices. According to Mehlum et al. (2006), the mining sector has consistently contributed to around 40 per cent of GDP since 1980.

Presently, diamond mining fuels Botswana's economy with very little support from other mineral resources like copper, gold and coal. The country

has been able to manage its resources for the benefit of present and future generation. Guided by the policies of economic diversification and avoidance of external debts, the country sought to “...conserve their resources wisely and not to destroy them, for those who happen to live in Botswana in the twentieth century are not more important than their descendants in the centuries to come” (Sarraf & Jiwanji, 2001 p. 79). The diversification, in particular, helped reduce pressure on the resource rent while creating employment opportunities at the same time. Compared to the situation in 1966, infrastructure, education and healthcare have improved significantly (Acemoglu et al., 2002).

Exploration for offshore oil and gas in Norway in the mid-1960s and from the 1970s, policies were implemented to protect the interests of communities and the economy at large. Among the good policies has been the introduction of legislation necessitating companies using natural resources to contribute to economic development. The Norwegian local content policy has been held up as one of the good practices for other countries. The country required and encouraged oil operators to form research and development partnerships and joint development programmes with Norwegian companies and institutions (Norwegian Petroleum Sector, 2014). The government through its Ministry of Petroleum and Energy also aimed at awarding a licensing contract to Norwegian bidders and overseas firms when they proved to be competitive in terms of price, quality, delivery time and service. This led to the development of the competencies and technological expertise of the country winning the country a strong position within the international oil industry (OECD, 2016).

Trinidad and Tobago house one of the largest natural gas processing facilities in the Western Hemisphere. The country is a high-income country, rich in natural resources with a well-developed globally competitive oil and gas industry. Being by far one of the wealthiest economies, oil and gas make up about 40 per cent of gross domestic product and 80 per cent of exports (Van Der Ploeg & Poelhekke, 2017). Trinidad and Tobago is home to an increasing number of independent oil producers with national companies competing directly with international oil companies. This paves way for maximum revenue returns on its proven crude oil reserves of 800 million barrels, alongside natural gas reserves of around 400 bcm.

From the above, one can notice that while some authors used just one theory, other authors did not use any theory in their study. This makes this research distinct since not only the resource curse theory was used, it was combined with some conflict theories and the analysis was based on the theories used.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has focused basically on the relevant literature to be employed by the research. The necessity has been to find out the trend of academic discourse in the exploration sector and its relation to conflict and maintenance of peace. Further, it is to indicate the needed sources for further analysis of the data gathered in the research area. To aid in the final analysis of the study, the chapter has sought to introduce the various theories to be employed which are the frustration aggression theory, the relative deprivation theory and the resource curse theory. The in-depth exposition made therein will help in the strengthening and explanation of the data to be gathered.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter covers a description of research philosophy, study design profile of the study area, research population, sampling procedure, data collection instruments, data collection procedures, data processing and analysis. It also includes some ethical considerations, challenges encountered during the fieldwork and implications for the study.

Research Philosophy

Research philosophy represents the “master plan” for a study and serves as a guide in collecting and analysing data. It is said to be the process that enables a researcher to develop and execute a research agenda, including topic selection and answering questions of, how a problem will be scientifically investigated to its logical conclusion.

The underlying philosophy for this research is the interpretivist epistemology. This philosophy best fits the study because this position allows for the “world” to be seen from the eyes of the people under study (Silverman, 2013). Relatedly, this position will allow for citizens at Elembelle to make sense of the oil exploration based on their individual experiences, memories and expectations. Given the subjective nature and strong emphasis on the language of this philosophy, it is associated with qualitative approaches to data gathering.

Therefore, a qualitative method was adopted for this study to allow for the inclusion of data that will enrich the understanding of managing expectations to maintain peace in the Elembelle District. The application of

this method was to construct meaning using the inhabitants of Ellembelle's perceived reality. According to Merriam (2002), the researcher under qualitative research builds a complex holistic picture, analyzes words, reports, and detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting.

Specifically, the qualitative design was used to solicit the views of oil governing institutions as well as some other stakeholders to provide a deeper understanding of the expectations, challenges and mitigations from the oil exploration. It was also used to seek firsthand experience from the communities closest to the exploration activities.

Study Design

This study adopted the case study design which aided to obtain extensive data to develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study. Based on this design the researcher gained deep-insights into the perceived expectations of the stakeholders as it uncovered trends in thoughts and dived deeper especially into not just the expectations of people but how the management of these expectations are undertaken (Merriam, 2002). The case study design was adopted based on features such as adequate timeframe, background, etc, which were used to collect data simultaneously. These features coupled with the fact that the study required to know how the expectations of the people at Ellembelle has been managed so far made the researcher see this approach as appropriate. The choice for Ellembelle is informed by the fact that the inhabitants in the district have direct contact and effect of the exploration activities. As a result, their expectations and how it is managed will be crucial to understanding the study.

Study Area

Ellembelle District is one of the 22 in the Western Region of Ghana. It is located on the southern end of the region between longitudes 2°05' and 2°35' West and latitude 4°40 and 5°20 North (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The District shares boundaries with the Jomoro District to the west which separates the district from its mother district, now called Axim Municipality, Wassa Amenfi West District to the North, Nzema East Municipal to the South–East, Tarkwa–Nsuaem Municipal to the East and a 70 km stretch of sandy beaches to the south. Its administrative capital is Nkroful, the original birthplace of the first president of the Republic of Ghana, Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah and Atuabo as the traditional paramountcy.

The population of the district according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census stands at 87, 501 with 42, 317 males and 45,184 females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). The population of the district is projected to rise from 87, 501 to 111, 118 inhabitants before the next census are taken. This figure gives no great pressure on the land but other resources. The District is largely rural (79.4 %) while 20.6 per cent reside in urban centres. Much of its towns within the district lie along the coast. The district is currently noted for its oil and gas operations as it houses Ghana's Oil and Gas Processing Plant and Ghana Oil and Gas Freeport Service Terminal Complex Projects. The district experiences a considerable degree of people migrating in and out of it. This could be largely attributed to seasonal fishing activities, migrant farm labourers, the influx of people to secure jobs in the oil and mining sectors and as well as the refugees the district hosts (Ghana Statistical service, 2010).

The study was situated in the Esiama, Atuabo, Anochie, Asemda, Nkroful and Sanzule communities within the Ellembelle District. In terms of education, the district has 73.8 per cent of the inhabitants being literate and thus can read and write in both English and at least a Ghanaian language while 26.2 per cent have never attended school. About 58.8 per cent of the population aged 15 years and older are economically active. For those who are economically not active, a larger percentage of them are students (46.1%), 24.6 per cent perform household duties and 5.2 per cent are disabled or too sick to work. About 44.8 per cent of households in the district are engaged in agriculture. Of those in agriculture, 92 per cent are into crop farming and 22.4 per cent are into livestock rearing.

Fishing is the major activity along the coastal belt of the district. Along the coastlines, there are Chief Fishermen and Konkohene who are the traditional Heads (Leaders) of the fisher folks. The high rainfall pattern and the long periods of the rainfall have resulted in the presence of many rivers like Ankobra and Mufre in the District. Tree crops grown in the area include cocoa, oil palm, rubber and citrus. Major food crops are cassava, plantain, rice; vegetables such as garden eggs, pepper, and tomato.

The institutions found in the district include, among others, the District Police Command, District Assembly, Ghana Gas, etc. the infrastural development in the district is not very high. The district has serious infrastructural deficits such as poor roads, dilapidated classrooms, source of potable water, among others.

The Ellembelle District was chosen for this study because it is one of the districts that surround the Jubilee Field and so is affected by the exploration

activities. Another important point that informed the researchers' choice of the area is the fact that the two largest oil and gas fields (TEN Project and Sankofa Gye Nyame Project) are located within the district. The specific communities considered for the study were those with useful characteristics. For example, it hosted and surrounded the only Gas Processing plant (Ghana Gas Company) in the country. Hence, the link between the perceived expectations from the oil and actuality/reality can be accessed from this district. In other words, the participants could potentially offer useful insights based on their experiences of their expectations and how these expectations are being managed. A reconnaissance was conducted in Bokazo as a step to familiarize with the issues on the ground and also minimize projected challenges before the actual data collection begins. Bakazo is one of the communities in Nzemaland and shares some striking similarity with the study population. An interview took about 20mins to complete as a result of the need to sometimes allow participants to express themselves in a local language conveniently. The reconnaissance allowed the researcher to check the appropriateness of the data collection tools on cultural grounds, completeness and comprehensibility. The structure and content were no different from the one that was used. It must be stated however that it became necessary for the instruments to be revised for clearer understanding to avoid ambiguous and unrelated responses. Owing to the reconnaissance, it became necessary for some indigenes to be recruited to aid in boosting participation.

The chosen communities were those that are close to the offshore operational activities and the national gas plant site and so are deemed to be more affected by the exploration. These selected groups of people within the

communities are believed to have in-depth knowledge on the subject matter and double as stakeholders in the oil and gas exploration.

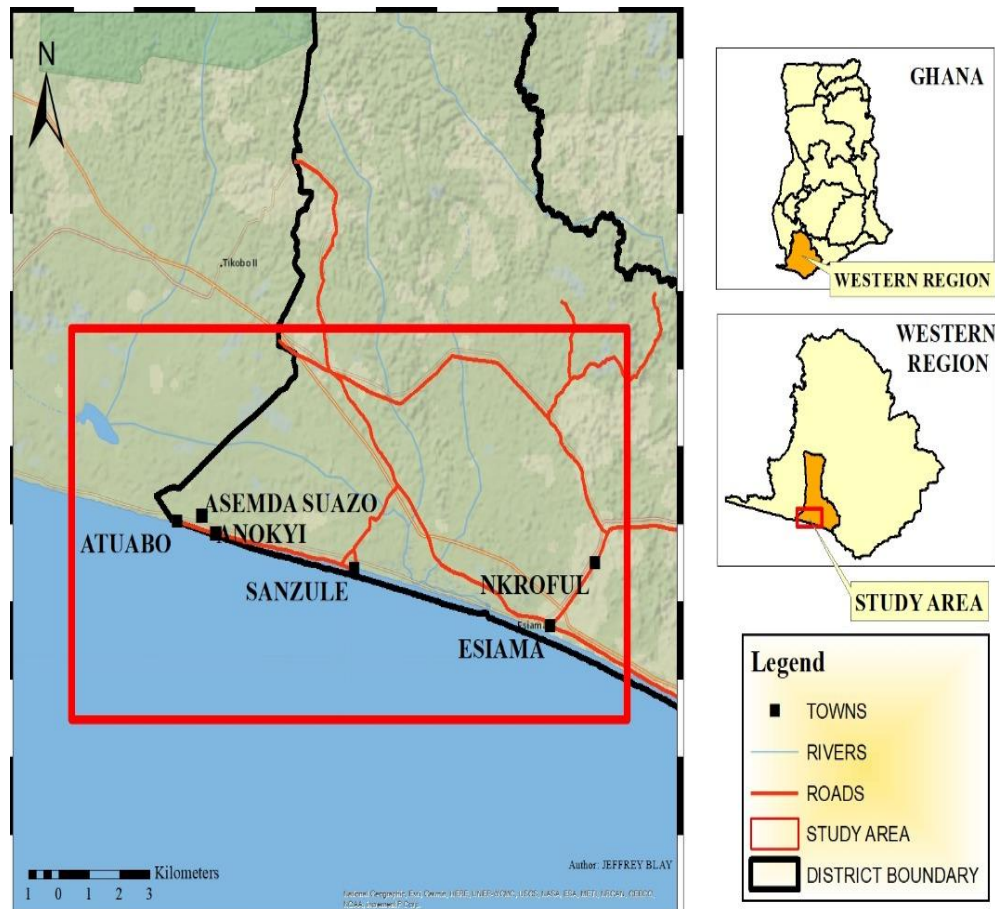


Figure 2: Geographical map showing the study areas in the Ellembelle District

Source: Geography Department, University of Ghana, 2017.

Study Population

A population is a unit of data a researcher intends to study. The population for the study was limited to members of the selected communities within the district. Though there are over fifty communities within the district, six of them were selected. As the district capital, Nkroful has a population of 3,421 while Esiama inhabits 7,874. Atuabo which is the hub of the National Gas processing plant has a population of 1,326 whereas its surrounding communities of Asemda, Anochie and Sanzule have populations of 1,506,

1,326 and 1,326 respectively (Population and Housing Census, 2010). This brings the total study population to 17,037.

Sampling Procedure

Unarguably, it is practically impossible to collect data on an entire population. Researchers are therefore advised to adopt a sample to represent the whole population. In this study, a non-probability sampling technique was used.

A total of 30 purposively selected participants were arrived at. Purposive sampling leads to a greater depth of information from a smaller number of carefully selected cases (Patton, 2002). Kumar (1999) also observed that the primary consideration in using purposive sampling was to enable the researcher to determine who could provide the best information to attain the objectives of the study. Five participants were selected from the following offices some of which are directly situated in the districts whilst others those do not have offices in the district, undertake intermittent activities in the district: Ministry of Energy (MoEn), Ghana Gas, Environmental Protection Authority (EPA), Public Interest and Accountability Committee (PIAC), African Centre for Energy Policy (ACEP). Other relevant stakeholders that were selected included the District Chief Executive (DCE), District Police Commander, and 3 Assembly members from 3 out of the six communities (Esiama, Nkroful and Atuabo). These stakeholders were chosen because they were involved in one way or the other in the management of expectations of the people within the study areas.

There were also two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) for the six communities with three communities constituting one session. Men and

women with various economic backgrounds as well as a representative of a traditional authority constituted both FGDs. The first FGD was an eleven (11) member group from Nkroful, Essiama and Sanzule. The session took place at Essiama. The second FGD which took place in Atuabo constituted a nine (9) member representatives from Anochie, Asemnda and Atuabo itself. This strategy was utilized to respond to the times of participants; and most importantly, to achieve balance and multi-consultative stakeholder overview of the phenomenon under consideration. The focus groups were constituted using the purposive sampling method. The variables used included age, education, employment, etc. in each of the groups there were equal numbers of males and females..

Table 1: Sample Distribution of Respondents

Respondents category	Sample
Ministry of Energy	1
Ghana Gas	1
Environmental Protection Authority	1
Public Interest and Accountability Committee	1
African Centre for Energy Policy	1
District Chief Executive	1
District Police Commander	1
Assembly member	3
Focus Group 1	11
Focus Group 2	9
Total sample size	30

Source: Field data (2017)

Sources of Data

Data for this study was generated from primary and secondary sources. The primary data was obtained from individual respondents in selected organisations, key informants such as District Chief Executive (DCE), District Police Commander, assembly members as well as members that formed the FGDs. Secondary data were obtained from both published and unpublished materials. Others included newspapers, journal articles, textbooks, and written dissertations.

Data Collection Instruments

This section concentrates on the instruments that were used in the collection of data. The primary source made use of two instruments. These instruments were the semi-structured interview and focus group discussion guides; these guides aided the researcher in knowing the expectations as well as the impact of oil resource on selected communities within the Ellembelle District. The sessions were such that the local dialect was used and so participants were able to contribute freely and significantly to the discussions. This rendered the information that was collected very rich.

In line with the research questions for the study, sections/themes were developed to guide the interview and focus group discussion processes so that core issues in the research will not be missed out (Silverman, 2013) while allowing participants to express themselves naturally (Parker, 2003). The guide had five sections made up of: A: Background information of institution; B: Expectations from the oil industry; C: Capacity building within institutions; D: Managing Peace/Conflict within communities; E: Policy recommendations. In all, a total of ten in-person interviews were conducted. Although this number

was not predefined, it was deemed sufficient as virtually all the participants were saying the same thing (Baker & Edwards, 2012).

The FGD guide followed the key themes and sections as that of the interview. The views of the people in the communities are important as it will help achieve balance and also serve as validation or otherwise of what the managers of the resource (institutions) say. This was to aid in knowing whether indeed, the peace enjoyed there can be maintained. Unlike individual interviews, which aimed at obtaining personal attitudes, beliefs, and feelings, focus groups elicit a multiplicity of views and emotional processes within a group context. In the focus group discussion, I was interested in such things as how people respond to each other's opinions to derive some conclusions from the group interactions (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues in social science research such as informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality were adhered to in the study. Informed consent was first sought from the management of each institution and community for permission of entry. For the institutions, the purpose of the study was explained to management giving them the assurance that the study was not to undertake the appraisal of their work and upon that a copy of the instrument was requested and examined by management before authorisation was given. On the part of the participants, the purpose of the study was made known to them and in some cases; questions about possible benefits to them were asked. Under no circumstances was any participant coerced to be part of the study.

On the ethic of anonymity, it was arrived at by ensuring that names, as well as other identifications of participants, were not written. This aligns with what Sarantakos (2005) implied that the data collected by the researcher should not be related to names or other forms of identification.

Lastly, participants were assured of the confidentiality of any information that was given. Further assurance was given to them that the information given was going to be used by the researcher only and just for the study. In all, the researcher ensured that the integrity of the participants was not harmed in the process.

Data Collection Procedure

As a norm, the data collection exercise was preceded by an ethical clearance from the District Assembly and the Ministry of Energy. The period for the collection of data spanned over a period of three months from March 2017 to June 2017.

Some stakeholders like MoEn, ACEP and PIAC were interviewed in their respective offices in Accra while Ghana Gas, EPA, DCE, District Commander and the three assemblymen were interviewed in their respective communities within the district. Focus Group Discussions were conducted in two sessions as it was impossible to converge members of all six communities at once. Based on proximity members of Essiama, Nkroful and Sanzule constituted one group. Atuabo, Asemda and Anochie also constituted another. The first session which took place at Esiamama had an eleven (11) members with representation across members of the communities. The other session was held within the Atuabo community and had nine (9) members. In both instances the traditional rulers were represented, the fisher folks were also represented;

assemblypersons, miners and the youth. Following the informed consent of the participants, all interviews and engagements were tape-recorded and there were notetakings.

Unfortunately, all efforts to reach GNPC proved futile as management saw the exercise as a check on their activities. Even an employee we had an unofficial discussion with at GNPC was unwilling to grant me an interview on the grounds of job security. A letter was then sent to the Petroleum Commission because they oversee the activities of GNPC and could make up for their gap but they also refused to grant the researcher an interview session. Without any options left, the research was carried and analysed without input(s) from either or both institutions.

Regarding the whole data collection process, four research assistants from four different communities were recruited and trained. Thus, they were tired of explaining their predicament over and over again. Another challenge had to do with the unwillingness of some people to partake in the study.

Fieldwork and Related Challenges

The conduct of the research was vitiated with some challenges. First was the difficulty in getting interview times fixed by some of the institutions under study. Unfortunately, the data collection coincided with the early period of a change of government in the country and so the study was deemed as a check on the activities of the institutions. As a result, the researcher had frequent excuses of “go and come another time” which overly delayed the duration for the data collection. The researcher had to make hotel reservations for the frequent trips to Accra and still endure traffic jams to conduct interviews. While some participants conditioned their interactions with us in

exchange for “envelopes” or handouts, others also demanded lunch. The researcher overcame these challenges in some instances by consistently assuring participants of the strict purpose of use of the information, taking some months to create rapport amidst gifting of airtimes and offering of lunch packages and sometimes actually giving money as compensation for times spent on the interviews.

There was also the reluctance of participants to partake in the study without any visible or audible reasons. This made getting some participants for the FGD discussions a herculean task. To overcome this problem, communities’ entries were paid (money and schnapps) to five communities except for Atuabo. Research assistants from the respective communities were engaged and paid daily to help in the mobilisation of the participants. Their involvement made participants less reluctant to offer the information required. Aside the reluctances, the researcher had to take some security precautions to ensure safety as her life was endangered in the process of transporting herself to Atuabo to interact with the research assistants. The solution rested on the fact that, with the help of the head of the community relations office at Ghana Gas Company Limited, the researcher was made to join the company bus to and from Atuabo. Adding to the challenges, during the course of interviewing, researchers were almost attacked physically, verbally abused and driven out of the Atuabo community. However, because proper community entry was sought, authorities came to resolve the issue as our identities were mistaken for workers at the Gas processing unit. The matter got settled when authorities explained our identity and mission to the participants concerned. We must admit that the incidence and resolution won us the sympathy of the people and

so there was massive participation in that community. At the point of saturation, the researcher had interacted with thirty (30) people- ten (10) individuals and twenty (20) who were participants of the two FGDs.

Data Analysis

The data analysis followed the suggestions available on Bryman, (2008) in which the following is recommended. As already mentioned, the data for the study was obtained from both the interviews and the focus group discussions. The recordings and notes made were properly transcribed and translated into English in the participants' own words as closely as possible. It was also checked for correction of errors and completeness; to wit, the researcher had to revisit the data severally to strongly represent the participants' views under themes. Adding to the above, the researcher set out to triangulate the different data collected by directly comparing for confirmation and validation purposes. The data was manually analysed and thematic analysis was performed. I did this by familiarizing myself with the data, assigned preliminary codes to the data to describe the content, searched for patterns or themes in the codes across the different interviews, reviewed the themes, defined and named themes, and produced your reports. This made it easier to use direct quotes, where relevant. The analysis was also corroborated by the available literature and theories which strengthened the discussion.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the methodological issues. It adopted the qualitative research approach using the case study design. The study addressed the profile of the study areas as being Ellembelle district in the Western Region

of Ghana. Within the district, the study selected Esiama, Atuabo, Anochie, Asemda, Nkroful.

The chapter subsequently touched on the study population and sampling procedures. The study population covered selected individuals from selected organisations. It also included stakeholders such as the DCE, District Commander and the three assembly members. Groups made up of men and women were formed for focus group discussion. The study area as well as the respondents were all purposively sampled for the study.

Data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The instruments used for the collection of the primary data were interview and focus group guides. The ethical procedure was the next issue captured in the chapter. This encapsulated seeking informed consent of respondents and ensuring confidentiality and anonymity.

During the data collection exercise, the principal researcher and research assistants employed note-taking and tape recording. The chapter also touched on fieldwork challenges and how they were resolved. The study employed thematic analysis and quotations from respondents were stated where necessary. The next chapter looks at the presentation of data, analysis and discussion of findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected and a discussion of the results. Mostly dwelling on primary data, the results and discussions were done per the objectives of the study. The study aimed firstly at exploring stakeholders' expectations from the oil. The second objective was to examine the capacity of the oil managing institutions to meet the expectations of stakeholders. There was also an attempt to know how the management of expectations can ensure (continuous) peaceful coexistence. Based on these, policy directives were recommended.

Background Characteristics of Participants

There was a conscious effort to seek the socio-demographic characteristics of all participants in the study. Information on their community of residence, length of stay in the respective community, educational background, type of occupation; age and sex were collected. The argument here is that according to Aryeety and Asmah (2011), the development of expectations to oil exploration is conceived in several strands such as it being implicit, explicit, realistic or unrealistic, evidence-based or opinionated, etc. They allude that these categories are so perceived based on the backgrounds of the people directly affected by the impacts of the exploration.

Generally, the background information of the participants enormously impacted on the perspectives and views they developed about the exploration. In other words, it helped put to light the level of expectations all participants had as well as how the management of the oil impacts on their persons. For

instance, indigenes may likely lookout for permanent immovable structures whilst non-indigenes such as those in search for jobs may appreciate efforts at mass recruitment even if it is done outside of the community. During the study, 21 of the participants indicated that they were indigenes of their respective communities while six (6) others indicated that they found themselves in the communities in search for jobs, by virtue of marriages and to school while some others have been posted there to teach. Three (3) of the participants also indicated that they were neither indigenes nor residents of the study areas.

For the indigenes, this was their home and this may account for their prolonged stay there. As a result, most of them were not in rented accommodations. For the migrants, they had moved into the communities either in search of jobs, to join their spouses, to school and or to teach. Thus, the closer a person lives to the area of the exploration, the more likely such person will be affected one way or the other by exploration activities and its attendant effects. We note that for Asare Brobbey (2013), the relationship between oil exploration and conflict also reveals that it is indigenes and individuals who hail from exploration areas who are more likely to resort to conflict. As a result, any assessment of the expectation of the people from benefiting from exploration activities must place the indigenes and individuals with a long stay in the area at the centre. This view speaks to the general observation of the researcher during the period because it was realised that indigenes in the research areas expressed stronger expectations that migrants who had only resettled in these areas.

The level of education of an individual is equally important as it influences how an individual talk, behaves and reacts to things happening

around him/her as well as his/her general perspective about issues of concern (Husbands, 1989). That is to say, higher educational attainment promotes a culture of peace; it encourages political participation and channels conflicts of interest through peaceful political institutions (Ostby & Urdal, 2011).

Being employed has to do with being engaged in an ensemble of activities, and or having some capabilities and resources needed to organize and maintain a living. As being employed invariably means having a means of livelihood, USAID (2005) defined livelihood as how individuals and households obtain and maintain access to resources for survival. From the background characteristics, twenty-three (23) participants had something economical doing while seven (7) were not working at the time of the study. The economic activities the other participants were engaged in ranged from farming, fish mongering, teaching, hairdressing, tailoring, plumbing to storekeeping. Others were also typists, soccer bet cashiers, auditors, cleaners, mobile money agents, sale officers, herbalists, and barbers.

Mention must be made of the fact the study made conscious effort to solicit the views of both genders about the phenomenon under study. All 10 interviewed participants were males whereas both sessions of the FGDs indicated that eight (8) of the participants were males while twelve (12) were females. This gender proportion is close to the 2010 population census for the district which gave the gender proportion to be 48.4 percent males to 51.6 percent females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010).

Again, when it came to the gender of the participants, I also realised that the male participants held much higher expectations in terms of direct creation of jobs whilst the female participants generally looked at the indirect

benefits such as the booming of economic activities, particularly in buying and selling or petty trading. This observation was also detected by Quartey and Abbey (2018) with the position that since the perceived jobs created by oil exploration is predominantly technical and perceived to entail higher risk, there has mostly been the observation that the economic expectation of males is direct participation whilst that of women is indirect participation through trade activities. In his contribution, Mwabu (2018) opined that one main challenge in the extractive industry is the issue of inclusivity and safety of women, which is even reflected, in the local content policies of exploration countries, for instance, Kenya. This position supports the research observation that such lack of sub-structural inclusivity affects the very expectations of women in the exploration areas as far as their direct participation in the exploration activities is concerned.

On the age of participants, the sample was under four (4) broad categories. This was to enable us to examine whether or not age brackets affect expectations that an individual will have. The age distributions were as follows; 18-25 years (7), 26-35 years (9), 36-60 years (10) and above 60 years (4). Participants within the age brackets of 18-60 are expected to work and earn an income to cater for themselves and their dependents (if any). These age distributions agree with the working-age population of 15-64 as cited by OECD (2017). This position was evident in the responses given during the FGD sessions. For instance, it was generally realized that indigenes who were within the age brackets of 18 years to 35 years voiced explicit expectations. They were opinionated but the evidentiary nature of their opinion was linked to their educational backgrounds. Thus, the more educated a participant was seen to

be, for instance, a teacher, the more it was realized that their expectations were evidence-based, mostly citing examples of other countries to buttress the justification for their expectations.

Furthermore, Osei Tutu (2012), emphasises the point that it is the youth who are very much opinionated on issues of expectation. The basic reason is that they had hoped for increased jobs to be created as a result of oil exploration. Much as this position speaks to the responses, the researcher got from the participants. It was also realized that increased expectations were not only informed by the age brackets of the participants but also as to whether they are indigenes or not. For instance, the youth who were indigenes had higher expectations and were more opinionated than those who did not consider themselves as indigenes of the place.

Expectations from Oil Exploration

Most countries where oil has been found have often experienced rising and overstated expectations of what the wealth acquired from the resource can do to their lives (ADB, 2009). This has been amplified in a statement by UNCTAD that “activities of the extractive industry, can have both political and social impacts by enhancing job creation and infrastructural development such as roads, electricity, health and education” (UNCTAD 2012:15). In line with objective one of the study, the paragraphs below discussed the issue of expectations.

Expectations of the participants were sought on the discovery of the oil in their communities. The study revealed that all the discussants had one expectation or the other from the oil discovery. This supports the work of Davis and Tilton (2005) who highlighted that resources provide development

opportunities. These expectations are in line with the responses given when participants were asked about how they felt when the oil was discovered. On the National level, there were the expectations of “Ghana changing overnight because we have seen the cases of Saudi Arabia, we’ve seen that of Norway too...” (Local Content Policy Unit, MoEn 2017). There was also the expectation of “fuel, petroleum, diesel, kerosene, and premix being cheap. Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) will now get to play its rightful role. Tema Oil Refinery (TOR) will now be free to function because we have oil for them to refine; therefore, we will not spend so much to import crude to come and refine in our own country” (PIAC, 2017).

When it came to the Focus Group Discussants, there were the feelings and expectations that the region is going to change in terms of development especially when it has been one of the most neglected regions in spite of the fact that it produces cocoa and minerals.

From the data, participants were asked to rate how they felt about the discovery on a scale ranging from extremely happy, happy, not happy to normal. The results showed that on the whole, happy feelings rated highest with twenty-five (25) participants expressing happy and extremely happy sentiments in the wake of the discovery followed by four (4) participants who said they had normal feelings and one (1) person representing who admitted not feeling happy in the wake of the discovery.

Evident from figure 4, a good number of people were happy in the wake of the oil discovery. This happiness was as a result of an array of expectations participants had from the discovery. These expectations ranged from employment avenues, provision of social amenities, expansion of trading

activities due to high patronage, scholarship opportunities, development of the communities, a proliferation of businesses, reduction in the prices of LPG gas and 10% royalty (FGDs 1 and 2, 2017).

It must be noted however that the expectations that residents in affected communities have from the exploration are influenced by their perception of ownership. Whether erroneous or substantial, they become facts over time (Zandvliet Pedro, 2002). The people's perception of who owns the resource influences whether or not they will support the activities of the production (Aratuo, 2012). It is that same mindset that determines the relationship that will exist between the inhabitants, the government and the oil companies. It was evident among discussants that some inhabitants think the resource belongs to the community and so expect to have the direct and indeed maximum benefit from it.. This is in line with the expectations stated earlier where a larger share of the revenue from oil is expected to go into developing these communities. This statement also feeds into the demand from the Western Regional Chiefs for 10% of oil revenue for the region (African news, 2011). However, as stated in Article 257(6) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana,

“Every mineral in its natural state in, under or upon any land in Ghana, rivers, streams, water throughout Ghana, the exclusive economic zone and any area covered by territorial sea or continental shelf is the property of the Republic of Ghana and shall be vested in the President on behalf of, and in the trust for the people of Ghana” (Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992).

This makes it imperative for the community to be made to understand that indeed the discovery has been within their area of habitation, though it is offshore, the constitution vests the resource in the state. On that basis, no person, community, district or region can make an exclusive claim over the oil resource. However, matching the stated expectations to its fulfilment from the time of discovery to the present day, while some have been fulfilled, a lot more is yet to be fulfilled. Addressing the issue in general terms on why some expectations have not been fulfilled, a participant from the Local Content Policy team explained that when a discovery of this nature is made, people are not aware of the other pertinent issues before exploration especially the financial commitment that government has to make. Since government is handicapped, it has to invite oil companies who come with their capital to do the exploration. In the end, they need to recoup their investment in the form of production cost before even the profit from the exploration is shared. (10th June, 2017).

Furthermore, the participant from the EPA also asserted that, to a large extent, expectations are not being fulfilled. For the government to be able to fulfill the huge expectations of the people, there has to be a concerted effort by all stakeholders including the people themselves. (12th June, 2017).

Moving to the specifics, in the wake of the discovery, many Ghanaians for which inhabitants of Ellembelle district are no exception held the view that Ghana would change for the better. For some, this expectation was realistic because the quantity of oil to be explored was a lot and so converting it to revenue leaves the country with more income for development projects. From the period of 2010 when exploration started to the 2016 election in Ghana,

the talk of how to put to better use revenue from oil dominated the political discussions and heightened during election seasons. Others also believed we could have effected the changes we wanted to see if we were determined to channel all revenues accrued from the exploration into a project at a time. This was what an a participant from the Ministry of Energy had to say:

“The expectations were realistic looking at how we heard of the oil; we were influenced by the politicians. We didn’t know about oil and what goes into it but all of a sudden they (politicians) said we were going to explore oil and there will be money and other things so we said they are the big men so if they say so then that is it” (MoEn rep, 2017).

Additionally, a participant from PIAC observed that,

“Some of the expectations were realistic. One was that Ghana will change. It was realistic. The reason why I am saying so is that we could have decided as a country to dedicate petroleum revenue, treat it as a special kind of revenue because it comes from a finite resource to do something. We are dedicating petroleum revenue for education so all petroleum revenue goes into education. Or all petroleum revenues, we are going to accumulate it for this number of period and use it for this. There is one thing that in this country everybody agrees on, which is a national railway project. If any government today decides to accumulate petroleum revenue for the next 5 years and use it for a national railway system, nobody will say no. It’s something everybody agrees on and so you see, that would have brought

about a change. Because right now as we are all sitting here, we don't seem to know where or when we will revolutionize our railway system.” (2017).

Countering this claim, the representative from ACEP Ghana explained that the expectations were not realistic. This is because, considering the barrels of oil Ghana produce, the country does not make enough money to effect the drastic change that people expect. He stated that

“The expectations expressed by the citizens and politicians alike in Ghana changing overnight were and still are not realistic. The reason is that we are not producing that much. Nigeria is producing 2.6 million barrels per day. Ghana produces around 100,000. Saudi Arabia is producing 9.6 million barrels a day. So they are the oil producers” (2017).

It can be inferred from his statement that compared to Nigeria and Saudi Arabia, the quantity of oil Ghana produces is minimal and so cannot bring us the revenue expected to bring the drastic change in the economy and lives of Ghanaians. Adding his voice to the unrealistic nature of the expectation of Ghana changing overnight, a participant from the LCP team, MoEn stated that:

“The expectations...it's like you are with your wife and you tell her you will buy her a car when in reality you know your salary cannot afford you one. So that expectations should not have come in the first place because realistically we have just a portion of the oil” (2017).

There was also the expectation of employment. Following the educational (formal) level of participants, it was not out of place to have employment expectations in the sector. Education as it provided people with employable skills which equips them for jobs in the formal sector while limited access to formal education translates into limited job opportunities in the formal sector. Collier (2000) postulates that educated people have better income earning opportunities than uneducated men. Taking the upstream activities into consideration, “some Ghanaians have been engaged in the industry in the form of petroleum engineers. In the service sector too, we have Ghanaians (indigenous service sector companies) that are in the industry” (PIAC, 2007).

Explaining the employment situation, the participants accused industry players of hiring those outside the district and region. Admitting to some inhabitants being employed in the sector, they lamented that “they want bribes to be given before they consider us because we don’t have the means, we sit here and watch them bring people outside the region to come and work there” (FGD 2). Questioning if the people within the study areas have developed the skills required to move into effect the LCP, a participant from PIAC stated:

“Looking at the Local Content Policy, the question is have we (members of study areas) actually developed that skilled force? Because as I said it is a highly technical environment you can’t just go and do 1st degree from probably KNUST and say you are a skilled person to be employed” (PIAC, 2017)

Expressing his view on the employment situation, a participant who is an indigene and an inhabitant of Asemnda explained that so far as employment is

concerned, there is a quota system in place for those in the district, its environs and the region at large but one ought to have some qualification. He stated:

“I have the qualification, I am from here and I have been employed. If you are from here and you don’t have the qualification, how do you work? It’s a National Gas and not Ellemelle Gas”(Ghana Gas, 2017).

In line with this, the institutions involved shared the view that, due to the technicalities involved in the industry, it makes it difficult if not impossible to employ people without the needed qualification. They highlighted the need for members in the district to focus and harness the opportunities offered by the industry’s associated services; which doesn’t require skills or technicalities. Services like catering, medical supplies, water, cleaning, security could be sourced from within the surrounding communities. Speaking during the interview with a representative of ACEP, it was recounted that:

“...and even I remember when we started production Tullow was importing tea bread from Cote D’Ivoire because they were not getting people who can supply them that much bread they needed. So with some of those places, we should have identified them earlier but somebody will say that tea bread is not oil and so they would rather go into the oil”. (ACEP Ghana, 2017)

Thirdly, there is the expectation of educational scholarship packages. From the period of discovery through to the exploration, there have been attempts at sponsoring/enrolling some people on scholarship packages to go offer courses (secondary school/MSc/MBA) relating to the exploration. Such packages have been offered by the Government of Ghana, and oil institutions like Tullow,

Kosmos and Eni Ghana. There is the call for effective scholarship packages for brilliant but needy students in the district (FGDs 1 and 2). Confirming the institutionalization of scholarship programs, the participant from EPA office at the district who also happens to be from the district said that “on scholarship, I know Tullow has some MSc scholarships which people have benefitted”.

However, there is a need for skills gap analysis to be done to determine the areas and expertise needed at any point in time. This will help make the packages more relevant to the industry and the country. On political interference that prevents scholarship recipients from putting knowledge acquired to use, a participant recounted:

“between 2011 and 2013, Ghana Education Trust Fund sent more than 270 Ghanaians to the United Kingdom to study oil-related courses but 90% did MBA in Oil and Gas Management at Coventry University... if you do MBA in oil and gas, you are expected to be employed as a manager but because the oil sector is technical, you need experience and you don’t have it. So you will go and come and you can’t be employed. When they came, some are here (ACEP), some are working in restaurants, some are working in banks and not where they were expecting to be”
(ACEP, 2017).

Infrastructural development is the foundation of a sustainable economy. As such, the provision of basic services such as roads, schools, hospitals, water, electricity, etc, is critical to governance, economic development, social well-being and security (Mashatt, Long & Crum, 2008). Most of the road networks within the study communities are good.

A Participant from Ghana Gas explained thus,

“When it comes to road infrastructure, it has been very good. When you (researcher) were coming, you used asphaltic road; those days; about six years ago the roads to this place were all dusty. It was very difficult to get a vehicle plying this road even within a 3-hour interval from one point to the other. All the roads you see in there plus those in the communities are referred to as the oil and gas enclave roads” (Ghana Gas, 2017)

All the communities except Nkroful commended the oil governing institutions for ensuring they have a better road network. The people of Nkroful expressed dissatisfaction about the deplorable state of their main road network and indicated that they only become important to the government when they are celebrating an occasion involving Dr Kwame Nkrumah (of blessed memory) and also during general elections. They commented that the few good roads within the town were done not as one of the oil projects but as a way to lure them into voting for a particular party during the just 2016 general elections (FGD 1).

Aside from the road network, other facilities like schools and hospitals were of importance to the people. Education and healthcare provision are very vital in human existence. As the people spoke of their plea for better health facilities falling on deaf ears, they commended Ghana Gas for aiding in the commencement of the construction of nursery block and teachers’ quarters. Summarizing the infrastructural development within the district, a participant from the DCE’s office lamented that:

“When it comes to infrastructure development we have done a lot. For example, in terms of portable water (borehole), toilet facilities, classroom blocks, chp compounds (health facilities). When it comes to road construction that is where we are lurking behind. Most of the roads are feeder roads so when you do reshaping now, in the next 3-4 months it will be like you have done nothing”.

Training is an integral part of an establishment. In the case of training unskilled labour, it creates the platform for unskilled labour to be integrated into the technical process while the task of the skilled shifts towards maintaining, coordinating and controlling this process (Beer, 1997). There is the expectation of the unskilled labour being trained for the oil industry (FGD 1 and 2). As much as some admit they do not have the requisite qualification to get robed into the industry, others are of the view that they can be given some intensive training to equip them for tasks in the industry. A participant thus said:

Being aware of the welfare expectations from the industry players, Ghana Gas has been in the business of providing some welfare services like registering members of the surrounding communities on National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), provision of plastic chairs etc. (Ghana Gas, 2017)

As participants admitted to the provision of the aforementioned welfare services, they also requested for price reduction/free supply of LPG gas, payment of electricity bills and the provision of better fishing equipment.

The expectations that participants showed concerning the oil exploration was predominantly about the direct positive impacts that the exploration will have on them. This means that the main concern was basically about the extent to which the accrued interest will inure to the benefits of the participants. After individual personal benefits, the researcher also observed a community direct benefit in terms of provision of public goods for non-excludable use. Generally minimal was any indication of a nation-wide direct enjoyment of the benefits that goes with oil exploration. The researcher realized that participants within the age brackets of 18-35 years had more individualistic direct benefit expectations from the oil exploration.

To these, there were other observations that discussants who found themselves within the age bracket of 18-35 had a more egoistic thought and posture in their expectations. This was contrasted from participants who were between the ages of 36 – 60 years. The researcher noted that though participants between the ages of 36-60 years had a somewhat expectation of direct benefit, their expectation was much more relative rather than subjective. By this, they proposed that they expected the exploration to create jobs and led to the development (infrastructural) in the area so everyone can live a better life.

The phenomenon where the youth predominantly had more egoistic expectations as compared to those in the age brackets of 36-60 years has been explained by Abraham (2019). According to him, expectations of individuals with reference to the enjoyment of resource rents can be localized or general. The localized expectation is either subjective or relative whereby a person justifies her position through his dispositions or that of her society or community, whilst general expectation is where one has an objective more

universalized or nation-wide justification for her position. These perspectives are influenced by various variables such as education, economic status, gender, etc. in this research it was observed that the variant expectation was very obvious with age differences.

Furthermore, one of the most dominant expectations that were observed in the study from the participants especially in the focus group discussions was the creation of jobs. According to Kumah-Abiwu, (2017) central to citizen response to oil exploration is the creation of jobs especially for individuals in the exploration areas. For Buur, Therkildsen, Hansen & Kjaer (2013), although the most predominant expectation in oil exploration is the accrual of rents to the state, it has not necessarily conform to the expectation of inhabitants in the exploration areas. Thus for most individuals, the expectation is basically about the creation of jobs be they direct or indirect jobs. Bategeka, Kiiza & Sarah Ssewanyana (2009), direct benefits connotes a situation where inhabitants either gain direct employment or infrastructural development either by the exploration companies through social responsibility projects or the government by using revenue accrued from the exploration. Even more, Marcel (2016) the central policy directive in local content policies in oil exploration is to encourage participation in terms of employment and job creation in the industry. In Obeng-Odoom, (2014) proper management of oil resource in Africa also requires that governments pay attention to the gradual job participation and take-over of the exploratory activities through gradual technology transfer. These sources establish that job creation is crucial in oil exploration.

It was observed from the participants contacted that one of the most predominant expectations from the oil exploration was job creation and

acquisition. This expectation however varied based on the variables under which the participants were sampled. It was noted that participants within the age brackets of 18 – 35 had job acquisition as the priority among their expectations.

It was also realized that participants who are already working in the formal sector like teachers, district assembly, etc, did not have a strong expectation with reference with job acquisition, rather it was on job creation. This was the same as most of the participants between the ages of 36 -60 years. Additionally, those who have had formal education up to the tertiary level had a stronger expectation of job acquisition than those who were below the senior high school level. These observations in terms of job creation speak to the scholarly discourse on the centrality of job expectation in oil exploration. The issue, however, is that participants who expressed strong job acquisition expectation had little or no idea that oil exploration is a technical area and so require some specific and highly skilled individuals.

It was also observed that all the participants also had various expectations for the implementation of infrastructural development. Also crucial to the expected benefits from oil exploration is the establishment of infrastructural development. The centrality of infrastructure has led to a plethora of analysis on the extent to which revenues from exploration have been used to build infrastructure. In their contribution, Aryeetey, Osei and Quartey (2014) observed that aside concerns about Ghana's inability to use revenues from the extractive sector to finance its development agenda properly, there is very visible deterioration in the social and economic infrastructure in some of the most prominent mining communities such as Obuasi and Prestea. In their

assessment of the use of exploration rent for infrastructural development, Quartey and Abbey (2018) admonished that there is the need to consciously use oil revenues to develop an auxiliary industry since oil is a non-renewable resource, and sooner or later, it will be effectively depleted. For Abraham (2019), the epochal period of expectation from using oil revenue for development was between 2010 to 2013. During this period, citizens and inhabitants of the exploration areas were extremely expectant of improved living conditions through the provision of non-excludable public good for the benefits of everyone.

It was observed during the research that strong expectations were expressed about infrastructural development. The researcher noted that participants within the age brackets of 36 – 60 years, then from 60 years and above were particularly interested in the extent to which they expected the exploration activities in the area to translate into infrastructural projects such as roads, schools, clinics, etc.

Thus it was evident from the Nkroful discussion group that, it was for the provision of road infrastructure which will benefit every person in the locality and also make life easier for everyone since Nkroful is a branch town off the main Elubo road.

In furtherance, general economic improvement both at the macro and micro level has been used to measure whether or not there has been better governance of their oil exploration industry. Thus there the general economic posture is very crucial in understanding the expectation that people will hold. It was realized that most of our participants across the variables of age, education, gender, employed (working), etc, shared strong expectations on improved

economic activities and the general economic situation from the oil exploration. For Graham, et al (2016), the exploration must improve the economy of the areas where the exploration take place basically because the interest of the young people in the exploration communities has been shifting from fishing to the seemingly booming oil industry. Also, due to the location of the rig offshore, most of the fishes in the area move to the rig since they are attracted to light, and the fishermen and fishmongers in the community keep complaining about it since they have been banned from going a certain distance to the rig to fish, making it difficult for them to make ends meet.

It was realised during the research that participants who fell within the variable of females, between the ages of 22 to 25 years, have an educational background from senior high school and below, shared strong expectations of improved economic activities in the exploration area. This the researcher observed was because most of these participants were petty traders or engaged in retailing. To this, the researcher still recognized that such an expectation fed into the general expectations of economic improvement both in the localities and national.

Capacity of Institutions to Manage Expectations

With reference to the second objective, which is to evaluate the capacity of oil managing institutions to meet the expectations, the following analyses are made concerning the data collected. Indeed, best practices by successful petroleum-producing countries represent the international ‘gold standard’ for many emerging producers who are known to have the weak institutional capacity and limited knowledge of the petroleum sector (Marcel 2016). Capacity-building efforts have helped to coordinate activities in petroleum

governance, strengthen involvement and build the knowledge and skills of all sector stakeholders, including government, media, and the private sector (NRGI 2018).

Some of the institutions the study looked at were in existence before the discovery of the oil resource. Looking into the structural changes made as a result of the explorations, the Ministry of Energy, for instance, has created several internal divisions like the petroleum department, local content unit, health, safety and environment unit to specifically address issues related to the exploration. Also at the ministry, efforts are geared towards extending operations to the Western Region by opening an office there. This was clearly explained by a participant as follows:

“There have been some structural changes which include the departments within the petroleum sector. Then also we tried to extend our operations to regional capitals where oil and gas activities exist. For example that is where if you could remember, our current president said he was going to move a whole ministry to the Western region. So when we find oil in the Volta region, we create something there so that is what actually we are trying to do” (MoEn, 2017).

On that same trajectory, the office of Ghana Gas Company Limited has been replicated in Atuabo since 2012 with offices for operation, construction and community relations operating from the fields. ACEP as an entity commenced in 2010 with Ghana’s oil and gas activities playing a central role. The District Executive Office indicated that the exploration of oil and gas has led to the creation of offices like Environmental Protection Authority,

Magistrate Court, Fire Service Unit and Electricity Company of Ghana all in the district. While PIAC is seeking to recruit more experts to help with their workload, the security sector (District Police) has embarked on some internal transfers within the district all in lieu of enhancing security measures in the wake of the discovery.

On the account of training and programs instituted, at the ministry, aside some training sessions organised for members within, they also engage in advocacy particularly with the Western Regional House of Chiefs. Ghana Gas, on the other hand, has not only encouraged its staff to take up online courses but has, in addition, created space and an office for a learning and development manager. As a civil society organization, ACEP more often than not engages organised groups like fisher folks and traditional leaders through conferences and seminars. A participant from EPA at the district recounted countless training programmes staff of the unit have undergone and still undergoing. Without leaving out the security sector, it was explained by a representative at the District Police division that;

“We have been going for conferences especially where we hear that something is going on somewhere. Our superiors from Accra together with other security institutions write to us and hold sessions to educate us on how to go about the situation. From the time of discovery to this year (2017) we have had about 6 of such sessions and I think they are enough proof that we are abreast with security issues in the district. As the year has not ended, I know more will come up in this year and subsequent years. (District police, 2017)

However, when it comes to internal training at the Ministry of Energy, the participant from the Ministry of Energy admitted that there were some sessions held but not all-inclusive training. He further explained thus:

“Internally, there are training sessions but normally it is done outside the country so NOT everybody gets the opportunity to go. Sincerely there isn’t much advocacy and training among us. You know the problem in Ghana; they see us as small boys with no brains. But we look of some of their decisions and right away we know it won’t succeed. They employ us and we just go waste here”. (MoEn, 2017).

Explaining what more could have been done to enhance the capacity of staff at Ghana Gas, the participant explained that the company, though wanted to cannot go further than it is currently doing (for instance, organizing training sessions abroad) due to financial constraints because institutions they supply gas to are still indebted. A participant from the office of the DCE stated that there were no training sessions for them. No capacity building initiative has been made since the commencement of exploration and their plea for one has fallen on death ears. His lamentation was quoted thus,

“Though we are the first point of contact of the people yet we have had NO training or seminar to address pertinent issues or even to understand first-hand information about the exploration. All we have been doing is to be working around things our way. I wonder where the amounts quoted by Petroleum Commission and GNPC goes when they claim to have built capacity”. (2017).

Funding, transport, logistics and staff numbers are necessary for ensuring institutional tasks are well executed. Though necessities, ACEP and EPA spoke of sufficient funding, transport logistics and staffing to undertake their activities. However, MoEn, Ghana gas, office of the DCE, District Police office and PIAC complained of woefully insufficient funds. On the issue, a participant from MoEn explained thus,

“Not enough funding to cater for what we are supposed to do. This is as a result of the fact that the money that comes has been split to provide for other equally important needs. All we rely on is that which comes from the government...On vehicles, we ought to have o but the poor maintenance of these vehicles makes it difficult to say there is enough. Right now if we say we need 40 cars to go to Ellebelle now, we might not get it. Logistics too are woefully inadequate. When it comes to human resource and staffing, we have and we train them but we are not training them to the extent that they can come and manage expectations. So that one too is a NO. We have a lot of people coming in to do their attachment and even National service here. What they basically do is to run errands and make copies where necessary. Nothing relating directly to the job to talk of expectations”.(MoEN, 2017)

In responding to the capacity of institutions especially Ghana Gas, a participant said that,

“talking of funding, I must confess that indebtedness of people is crippling us. For transport, there are vehicles but the challenge is

that they are very old at the moment. On human resource and staffing, we were being given accommodation by the company but now we are all required to move out to look for our own accommodation and it has been a bit challenging” (Ghana gas, 2017).

Additionally, the District Chief Executive was also contacted to share his view and this is how he expressed it,

“Funding is not enough. Even in Flagstaff House where they have the key to BoG office, they need money. Transport and logistics are not adequate. Aside from our cars, there are 4 officials vehicles; one for the Director, another for the DCE, one for water and sanitation and the last one for Revenue. There is a Ford vehicle but it is not strong. Human resource and staffing are okay. The director is supposed to have 2 secretaries but at the moment he has one. Some offices too not have much but generally, it’s normal. (DCE, 2017)

Further, a participant from the District Police shared his concern regarding the availability of resources to enable them to perform their additional duties that have arisen as a result of the exploration activities and he said that,

“Funding is not enough. Vehicles are faulty including the one we use for our night patrols and logistics are not enough. On the vehicles, we have written to Accra and waiting to hear from them. As the divisional and district headquarters, the staff capacity here

is low. Hmmm...we are doing a sacrificial job here” (District police, 2017)

Collaboration with other stakeholders is vital in aiding to realize the ultimate goal of the various institutions responsible for managing the resource. From all indications, there was effective communication between the offices of the oil governing institutions. The MoEn, for instance, collaborates with the Petroleum Commission. The institutions the study covered spoke of their collaborative efforts amongst them in the management of the exploration and the expectations that arise from it. To this, the researcher solicited the view of a participant from Ghana Gas and he intimated that,

“for collaboration with other stakeholders, I will rate it to be perfect. We collaborate with GNPC, Petroleum Commission, EPA, District Assembly, Unit heads, Chiefs, Security agencies etc.” (Ghana gas, 2017)

The District Chief Executive also affirmed the view shared above when he observed that,

“There is an excellent collaboration between us and other stakeholders in this district, whatever one does, we try to inform others. So whatever we do, we inform the others and vice versa” (DCE, 2017).

Equally vital was the information shared by the participant from the environmental protection agency that,

“We do collaborate with others. Before a permit is issued, we collaborate with Town and Country Planning from the District

Chief Executive's office to make sure that everything they are doing conforms to the land use of the area. There is also the Water Resources Commission, Petroleum Commission and the District Assembly that we collaborate with” (EPA, 2017).

The District Police was also contacted to ascertain the extent to which they have been incorporated into the activities of the other stakeholders and institutions and the participant observed that,

“when it comes to collaboration with other stakeholders, there is a smooth collaboration between our office and the marine police, military office, other governmental offices and private securities working for Ghana Gas, Eni Ghana and other companies” (District police, 2017)

Even more, a participant from the ministry of energy further confirmed the existing collaboration among the institutions by saying that,

“ oil exploration is a very intensive and skilled activity which also has diverse effects on people, the environment and the general fabric of the society. So no government will be successful in such an activity without collaboration. We at the ministry take any existing collaboration and cooperation among the institutions engaged in the exploration very seriously. For instance, here, we collaborate with the petroleum commission; whatever they will do, they bring us a letter, and we advise them on what to do. We collaborate well too with GNPC, Tullow and other partners” (MoEn, 2017).

Corporate Social Responsibilities are activities/projects undertaken by institutions to benefit and or mitigate the effects of their operations on the directly affected people. Within the district, some individuals and communities have benefitted from projects such as safe water projects, scholarship/ sponsorship packages, among others. Speaking to the issue of CSRs, the participant from ACEP explained thus

“Aside giving talks and printed materials to University students and other organized groups, ACEP as an institution plans on embarking on Renewable Energy Fellowship. With the fellowship, we are going to train 200 Ghanaians on how to repair and manufacture solar so that we don’t import from China. Another social responsibility is Media fellowship. We train media houses for about a month and in fact even pay them, give them food and teach them” (ACEP, 2017)

Many participants expressed their dissatisfaction even though they did not deny that there were some pieces of evidence of CSRs in the communities such as the renovation of basic school classrooms, CHPS compounds, construction of boreholes, etc. Their concerns were however on how inadequate the CSRs were and how they were not tailored to their needs. To this, all the FGDs confirmed that the CSR undertaking by the companies were very inadequate and not responsive to the needs of the people. This was because they thought that CSR is not done on consultative bases to ensure that the actual and immediate needs of the people are catered for.

Management of Expectations to Maintain Peace

The third objective of the study was to examine how the management of expectations can ensure peace in the Ellembelle District. Here, our focus is that when expectations that arose from the exploration are well managed, then there will be the maintenance of peace. To this, the data gathered revealed an interesting phenomenon. Beliefs that the youth will benefit from the oil and gas production can be explained by the need for national and personal development (ISODEC and Oxfam America, 2009). With respect to expectations, in a survey conducted by Zehe (2012), the vast majority of participants (81%) in Ghana had positive expectations towards oil, which is connected, to the hope for jobs. The hope for jobs seemed to stem from the assumption that the oil industry will stimulate other sectors to grow as well.

Former President John A. Kufuor named the oil directly after its discovery “black gold” and said to BBC: “With oil as a shot in the arm, we’re going to fly“(Gary, et al, 2009: p. 5). Thus, some of the expectations were raised in unreasonable heights through political statements; wrong connotations and clichés that were communicated about the oil industry (Zehe, 2012).

We note that there exists an inextricable relationship between the development and maintenance of peace. Indeed, oil exploration is deemed to give sustainable revenue for exploring countries, as a result, citizens are more inclined to have heightened expectation for the translation of these revenues into development (Abraham, 2019). Participants in the study also expressed similar views as the bases for their expectations. Thus for some of them, the oil exploration ought to be managed in a way that would bring profound impact on all aspects of their communities in particular and the Ghanaian society in

general. As evident in other countries, oil has had effects on development outcomes which in most cases determine the nature of state-society linkages (Acemoglu, 2010; Ashraf & Galor, 2013; Ayelazuno, 2014). This means an assessment of oil industry-related impact is very necessary for ensuring the continued success and sustainability of the oil exploration projects (Diedrich & Garcí'a-Buades, 2009). Observations and results from the research have been used to assess the associated benefits and costs and detailed in the paragraphs below.

In line with the developmental expectations, thirteen (13) of the total number of FGDs admitted to benefitting or being positively impacted on by the oil exploration in one way or the other; others also held the view not to have had any positive impact. From the research carried out, it was revealed that the various participants had not had many benefits (s). These observations were confirmed as seventeen (17) of all the participants acknowledged that neither themselves nor their communities had benefited from the exploration activities. Again, the majority (24) of all the participants were of the view that the oil exploration had negatively impacted on them. Some of the range of the negative impacts are reduction in fish harvest, fear of gas explosion, rise in temperature, some floods owing to the laying of gas pipelines at some places, noise from the flaring of the gas at night, air pollution, road destruction as a result of a lot of heavy trucks on the road, high cost of living (increase in rent and other basic commodities), restriction on the sea, fishing business down, protocol enlistments to ill-equipped schools and hospitals.

Despite some unfulfilled expectations, the participants stated categorically that they have on countless occasions tabled their challenges to

executives of the Ghana gas company, the chiefs, elders, Assembly members, unit heads, Kosmos energy, the DCE, the media persons and some researchers like myself but nothing has been/is being done about their plight. Evident from their reluctances in partaking in this study, the participants lamented that they were tired of talking about their issues time and over again.

According to Mannigel (2008), there are different levels of participation ranging from simple sharing of information to a full transfer of power and responsibilities. Contextually, the power of the participants to influence decision making as well as policy-making depends, largely on the level of participation in the operation. The responses gathered from participants with reference to their expectations informed us to examine the extent to which individuals in the research area has been involved or directly benefitted from the exploration activities. Twelve (12) discussants of all the focus groups highlighted that they had not been involved in any oil-related job/activity in their respective communities hence they don't play any role in the oil industry while eight (8) admitted to been involved and are playing some roles in the oil industry.

Detailing the level of participation, 18 of the total participants indicated that they have at one point in time or another been invited to some forums where they discuss the challenges the oil sector and neighbouring communities (sometimes) are facing or likely to be facing. In sharp contrast, twelve (12) of the participants indicated that they have not had an opportunity to interact (heard or be heard) with any of the institutions to table their grievances.

In addressing the issue of expectations and how it can be managed, there should be proper communication channels for indigenes will know what is being undertaken for them. This aids in distinguishing between projects from the government through the common fund and that initiated and sponsored by an oil institution. Again, they can equally engage with the people to come up with some alternative livelihood systems that are closer to what they were already doing. For instance, fish farmers could be taught and guided to store as well as refine (where necessary) their catch.

Transparency and accountability are indicators of good oil governance (NRGI, 2018). Its presence or absence greatly influences the perception of corruption in existence within the resource territory and the country at large. Soliciting the perception participants had on issues of transparency and accountability among governing institutions, participants from the institutions argued that there has been transparency in their activities. On the side of the focus group discussants while some held the view that the oil industry players are not transparent in their dealings in the study communities; others also argued that they have been transparent.

Contrary to the views of some participants from the FGDs, a participant from Ghana Gas insists on there being an excellent engagement with the people thereby fostering transparency and accountability. The revenue accrued from the oil industry is published in the brochures and websites of the Ministry of Finance, ACEP and PIAC. These institutions move a bit further to indicate where the government spreads the money. However, realistically, not many people (especially those in the study areas) have access to the internet or are even aware of the information the above-mentioned institutions give

concerning the oil revenue. Be it real or perceptive, issues of transparency and accountability must be worked on because it is secrecy in these areas that can bring about some grievances.

To ensure transparency, the government of Ghana established the Public Interest Accountability Committee (PIAC), which has been tasked to monitor, publicize and ensure the judicious use of resource revenues for the benefit of all citizens (PIAC Report, 2013). Moving forward, some information on the revenue and areas the revenues are spent on can be broadcasted in the indigenous languages especially for those in the study areas and by extension all the affected areas. This will enable the people to understand how much is made and which areas/projects the revenue has been spent on.

There should also be the institution of specific projects. For instance, on the 1st of September 2017, the free Senior High School policy was set into motion and the funding has been stated to be from the oil revenue. This makes people understand and come to know that they, their ward(s) or relative(s) have benefitted from the exploration in one way or the other.

Touching directly on the issue of peace and its maintenance, the offices of the DCE and MoEn mentioned that there were some grievances. The offices of the DCE and MoEn witnesses withdrawal from engagements because people think their concerns are not being addressed.

Narrating the existing need for better management of the expectations of the people through development, the District Chief Executive said,

Yes, when it comes to the development being accelerated by the exploration, though some people trust us, sometimes they have their doubts. When I went round for the needs assessment, most of

the people said they were not ready to come because the office does not implement what they tell us. The various views they expressed seems to establish that they feel neglected by the institutions including government” (2017)

The Ministry of Energy also shares its view by using an instance to explain the extent the ministry is cautioned in managing the exploration in order to maintain peace. The participant from the MoEn said,

“One major issue has to do with the lands that are acquired for the projects. When you go to Bonyere, it shares a boundary with some towns in Jomoro and shares boundary with Ellembelle. Initially, the place was acquired for Eni Ghana but later they changed the place and moved it to Ellembelle (so more like moving it from Jomoro to Ellembelle). It created a lot of problems with some accusing that it was moved to Ellembelle because that is where the (then) minister hails. Truthfully the resentments are still there but undertone and they are fighting it themselves. Hmmm if something is not done one day it might escalate...the people are obviously not happy; if we take things for granted, the peace enjoyed there will be disrupted; it could even be the next generation to do it who knows” (2017)

In their contribution, the participant from the office of the District Police said,

The effectiveness of the exploration institutions to manage the expectations of the people is very vital for peace and security in the area. This is because when people are frustrated by the

activities of the exploration companies, it has serious security implications. For instance, when proper compensations are paid no one will even care about what the explorers are doing. If not, the indigenes will end up stealing, kidnapping and engaging in a lot of crimes against the sector and its workers. They may not have the peace to work. (Office of the District Police, 2017).

In sharing their view, ACEP was more concerned with building the capacity of the inhabitants especially the youth in the area who are mostly either unemployed or engaged in menial jobs and so have a lot of leisure times. An ACEP representative said,

You see, they have to build the capacity of the local people. Giving them 1 GH a day is better than allowing them to go and sit under a tree and plot against you. You see, just engage them because the idle mind is the devil's workshop. If they are 10 and 8 are engaged, 2 people cannot plot a successful coup but if you allow all of them to talk together there will be doom. (2017)

Still related to the issue of peace and its maintenance, owing to continuous engagement with the people within the study areas, there was a very strong conviction that there is peace and that the peace can be maintained. Participants from ACEP, EPA and Ghana gas held the view that violent conflicts as witnessed in other resource countries are far from Ghana. Among the views expressed included that by the ACEP representative who was positive that the management of the exploration and expectation has not gotten to the stage of arousing violence;

“In terms of conflict, I think that matching the expectations to project implementation by the institutions, progress has been quite slow but they are doing something. I tell you, we (Ghana) are nowhere near a time where the people will agitate; going on demonstrations and all that” (2017)

In this vein, the participant from Ghana Gas was also of the impression that,

“There is an excellent engagement and that is our job in this office. So far, we have not done anything and do not intend to do anything that will incite the people into violence. We are a young company and we work on improving our key stakeholder strategy. There is peace in the communities we operate in and it can be maintained” (2017)

The participant from the EPA is of the impression that agitations will escalate when there is a break in communication between the managing institutions and the people. He used a specific example to explain his point;

“It wouldn't get to that extent (chaotic) because of the continuous engagement with them. There is also this NGO; Western Coastal Foundation (WRCF) which I am a member. They provide a platform for people to share their concerns. I remember during our last meeting, people were complaining that the gas pipelines at Atuabo were causing an increment in temperature. We took time to explain to them that the temperature at which the gas comes is very low and besides there is global warming. Most of the time, it goes down well

with some of them. You know that we can't please everyone. When people complain, I see it as human nature and not a problem. Even in Norway, it is not rosy with them as the fishermen have problems. So such platforms help to cool tempers down. (2017)

The optimism of better management being implemented was also expressed by a participant from the Ministry of Energy. He said,

“On Peace front, I think they are enjoying peace. The total peace in the area will not be disturbed looking at the efforts being put by the ministry and other institutions to ensure that the exploration will not have a negative impact on the people. However, one thing also is that you cannot satisfy everybody but you need to ensure that at least there is no adverse effect on those who are not satisfied” (2017).

From the above there is a clear indication that there has not been an outbreak of vice in the study areas. However, it does not eliminate the possibility of a negative peace which fronts the need for care to be taken to avert an open confrontation. This is because a mere absence of war does not mean there is peace; the concept goes deeper than that. The need to deal with the expectations of the people can truly be actualized through development. This can avert any overt acts of confrontations and violence, which in itself builds up slowly without initial recognition. Thus evidence of soft aggression and frustration could be seen in the line of expressions of the inhabitants.

A participant from the Ministry of Energy who has written an assessment report of the research area said this,

“The people are NOT happy. The same thing is going to happen along the coastal areas. Once they are not employed in there, they will have issues. Funny enough, the workers live in their midst, the local folks see the workers go to work every day, they see them in big cars and in nice dresses and that can be painful, you know” (2017).

For a participant from Ghana Gas, the unhealthy reactions perceived among some of the inhabitants are politically motivated; he said,

“The faith the people have in us goes in line with what is happening in the entire country (politicization). So while some will say they do have faith in Ghana gas, others will say they don't, depending on their political perspectives. But to the best of our knowledge, there is an excellent engagement... transparency comes with probity and accountability though affected by perceptions I will say we have been transparent” (2017)

We conceive then that it is crucial to understand that common-thread reasoning in all the expectations shared by participants in the research area are general to various expectations people will have when natural resources are discovered in their area of habitation. Even more important is that, these participants across the variables considered lay the solutions to their expectations at the doorstep of government. Thus for almost all of them, it is

the government who should ensure that jobs are created for them, infrastructural developments are instituted and indeed living conditions are improved. This position is not extrinsic to the reality and what must be the case. Indeed, the government ought to seek for economic improvement, environmental protect, etc. the resource curse phenomena is basically as a result of a linear focus of the government. This also explains why in our research we paid much attention to state institutions such as Ghana Gas, District Assembly, Ministry of Energy, Environmental Protection Agency, Police Service, etc.

With reference to the literature on the resource curse theory, some scholars have given strong evidence on its correlation with poor economic growth, poor governance and high rate of corruption (Collier, Hoeffler & Rohner, 2009; Cramer, 2005; Knack & Keefer, 2009). However, from recent research, causes of poor performance in resource-rich countries have shifted from economic to political explanations (Kolstad & Wiig, 2011). All things being equal, rents obtained from oil increases the value of being in power therefore, if the institutional environment is not responsive enough, governments will consolidate power through political patronage. It is noted that Conflict is another symptom of the resource curse as a result, oil-producing countries spend three times more on their militaries than developed countries and ten times more than underdeveloped countries on a global scale (Hickel 2012). Further, studies have shown that countries in which resource exports constitute 33 per cent or more of GDP have a 22 per cent risk of conflict, compared to 1 per cent risk for countries with no such exports (Collier and Hoeffler, 2000).

In a centralized state like Ghana, the emphasis is on government and how it spends the revenue accrued from our oil resource. In the absence of a strong institutional environment, the government can choose to spend the oil revenue unproductively for personal or political gains. For Mehlum et al. (2012), responsive institutions promote production/growth-enhancing projects over grabbing or rent-seeking behaviours, hence the absence of resource curse. Unless urgent measures are put in place to control government spending, ensure greater transparency and accountability over the use of oil revenue, it will lead to the economic crisis which may ultimately inflict war and violence on an exploring nation (Deng, 2015).

Even though Ghana's oil has not made it an economic growth winner, the time of discovery allowed Ghana to learn and correct the misdeeds of countries that were into oil exploration (Amissah, 2014). In line with that, Ghana has put some measures in place to help mitigate the ills associated with the exploration. These include the various departments created to take care of some aspects of the exploration. For instance, there is a local content unit which came up with an Act (LI 2204) which at the moment has been modified and operationalized. There have also been responsive institutions to take a look at environmental issues despite it being an offshore exploration. Drawing from the institutional models of Bostwana and Norway, Ghana has to do a lot more to decrease the level of corruption be it perceived or actual.

When it comes to averting the resource curse, civil society organizations have been noteworthy in helping Ghana manage its oil resource comparatively better. A civil society organization like ACEP enjoys total independence from government to focus on shaping oil policies and providing

alternatives. With external or non-governmental funding, ACEP has been able to push for more transparency and continues to re-enforce state-society linkages which are crucial in ensuring developmental outcomes. The participant from ACEP thus explained,

“Normally we are sponsored by DFID. OXFAM and other international donors. They pay for almost everything we do. To be frank, the Government has tried in the past to help with some of our things but we rejected it. Every year we do oil governance summit at Labadi beach. Through this, normally we bring oil and gas ministers across Africa. So last 2 years, the government brought a cheque of GH 30,000 and we sent it back so it doesn’t compel us to do the government’s bidding. We don’t take anything from the government; whether NDC or NPP, CPP.”

We note that, in relation to the unfulfilled expectations, violence becomes more probable, if the frustration is consciously steered by certain agents through propaganda to blame the government. If this works efficiently and the attainment of higher value positions through violence has functioned before, the probability of the frustrated to use violence rises.

The relative deprivation theory is in agreement that issues such as inequality and social exclusion are major causes of grievances in many societies and can cause violence spearheaded by the deprived group (Brunnschweiler & Bultey, 2009). As described by Bayertz (2005) the theory refers to the discontent people feel when they compare their positions to others and realise that, given the same opportunity, what they have is less than what

others seem to have. Given the conditions within the district, the people expected to have better job opportunities, working conditions, better amenities, more money in their pockets among others. Juxtaposing non-resource endowed areas to themselves, they believe they have less than what they deserve. This feeling, according to the theory poses a security threat as someday, the people might revolt and rebel against those they feel are responsible. This can lead to abductions where they hold people to ransoms and or some obnoxious killings. In simpler terms, the feeling of relative deprivation makes fertile the ground for conflict entrepreneurs to exploit the situation.

However, owing to some developmental projects witnessed in the communities, it can be stated that there has not been some sharp inequality and exclusions to cause grievances that will propel people to agitate. Contrary to what Mummendey et al (1999) posited, the study communities stand a chance to gain more from the exploration as time goes on. As institutions are aware of the expectations, there will be a conscious bridge between legitimate expectations and actualities within the affected areas.

Suggestively, it is the expectation of the economically active participants that the industry will provide job opportunities and social infrastructures to foster their material wellbeing. Though the residents expect to work directly within the industry, however, considering the limited employment opportunities within the sector, it is only prudent that some have taken advantage of the related job opportunities the industry has presented. With more room for improvement, the percentage of economically sound participants is encouraging to aid promote peace within the affected areas.

Again, the institution and further implementation of the local content and participation policy helps to address the feeling of deprivation. As explained earlier, the policy seeks the inclusion of local expertise in the areas of goods and services. In other words, it calls for the use of Ghanaian local expertise, people, businesses and financing in the oil and gas activities (LI 2204). This policy ensures that oil rents are not repatriated abroad but trickled to a larger majority of Ghanaians including members of the resource affected communities. Primarily, the policy focuses on developing local capabilities, achieving maximum local employment and fostering local entrepreneurship. Speaking to the success of the policy, the participant from the LCP unit stated that:

“The success of the LCP is been in terms of implementation and luckily for us, the International Oil Companies is abiding by the tenets of the agreement. It is really working. It will even interest you to know that because of the success chalked, other sectors want to replicate... looking at the level of success in its implementation, we have to accelerate our training regime. Once we accelerate the training regime where a lot of Ghanaians acquiring the oil and gas-related field then we can tweak the policy to get the requisite numbers and accelerate our level of participation (2017)

The frustration-aggression theory explains human actions to be driven by instincts. Hence when these instincts are frustrated, an aggressive drive is evoked (Hall & Lindsay, 1957). In reference to the theory, when people in the affected areas get frustrated through unmet expectations, aggression is likely

to be resorted to. Within the study areas, challenges experienced have been tabled yet nothing has been done (FGDs 1 and 2). This can bring about some frustrations. For instance, the decision by most participants not to partake in this research study gives away some frustrations the people are bottling up. When challenges such as rise in temperature, increment in transport fares, high cost of living, and some deteriorated roads among others fall on deaf ears, there is the likelihood of those affected causing some mayhem out of frustration.

More often than not, affected communities fail to see the benefits of oil exploration because of the challenges the exploration causes (Butler, 2012). In Ghana, according to a study conducted by Armah et al, 2007, fish is the single most important low-cost animal protein source and accounts for about 60-70 percent of the total animal protein intake by the average Ghanaian. As a coastal community, some participants have had their source of livelihood from fishing and farming activities. Nonetheless, while some participants complained over the claim of their farmlands without compensations, others also lamented on the reduction in volumes of fish they catch due to the over 500m radius restriction on the sea. Having tempered with their means of survival, restrictions on fishing closer to the FBSO can breed frustration which could translate into some form of resistance or aggression to breed insecurity if not well managed. Put simpler, “in destroying livelihoods, seeds of conflicts are created (Zandvliet & Pedro 2002:1 p. 10).

Chapter Summary

With respect to expectations from the oil exploration, it was realized that at the National level, stakeholders such as PIAC were of the view that Ghana will not change overnight; rather growth will have to be progressively

steady. At the community level, expectations ranged from employment, provision of social amenities, expansion of trading activities due to high patronage of goods and services, scholarship opportunities development of the communities, a proliferation of businesses, reduction in the prices of LPG gas, 10% royalty, among others.

On institutional capacity, individuals with direct employment in the exploration sector indicated that there are internal training sessions though they are not enough. Most concerns were about the fact that very intensive trainings were rather organized outside of the country which allowed for a selected few to attend. Further, the logistics and funding are not enough to take care of all the necessary responsibilities to be performed. It was also realized at the community level that some of the participants confirmed corporate social responsibility projects being undertaken just that most of such projects were not undertaken with the consent and concurrence of the people.

Finally, about the management of expectation to maintain peace, grievances such as lack of transparency and the non payment of compensation to individuals whose properties had been directly affected by the exploration activities were shared with me. There were other grievances on high cost of living, lack of good amenities, etc. the observations I made was that if the grievances shared are made to linger for a long period, it can degenerate into violent conflict.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Introduction

This chapter looks at the summary of the findings, conclusions and policy recommendations. This thesis set out to examine the state of Ghana's oil after 10 years of exploration. It focused primarily on the expectations of people and how institutions concerned are working on managing these expectations. With the Ellembelle district of the Western Region as the research area, this thesis employed the qualitative method research approach in finding the extent to which the management of Ghana's oil can maintain peace or lead to a potential conflict.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the oil exploration has its challenges that go without saying. Resource curse is not an automatic phenomenon, and so strengthening the good governance principles within the oil management framework pushes Ghana further away from the resource curse theory. It is of utmost importance for institutions managing Ghana's oil to continue managing expectations amidst sensitization, infrastructural development, effective dissemination of information as well as ensure transparency and accountability.

Again, for a resource to have a meaningful impact on the lives of citizens, it has to be managed along with the good governance principles. It is of utmost importance for institutions managing Ghana's oil to continue managing expectations amidst sensitization and infrastructural development, effective dissemination of information as well as ensure transparency and accountability to guarantee the sustenance of peace within the affected areas

and the country at large. This is essential in that protracted grievance can bring about some agitations.

Finally, it is evident from the study that oil resource entails both wealth and woes (Mbah, 2013). Indeed, the resource curse is not automatic therefore; strengthening the good governance principles within the oil management framework pushes Ghana further away from the resource curse theory. It is imperative therefore that the institutions involved in managing Ghana's oil, do so prudently for the benefit of all and sundry and not a selected few.

Just as stipulated in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, governments through institutions are to manage resource(s) on behalf of the citizenry. The best is to make sure good governance principles are adhered to. This is because, like every resource owner, Ghanaians want to know how much they are getting from the oil and what the revenues are channeled into. If people do not understand the industry and the industry is also not going to the people, there will be chaos.

With respect to the first objective which is about the expectation from the oil exploration, it found that the expectations were predominantly about the direct positive impacts that the exploration will have on them. Again, the most dominant expectations that were observed to be the creation of jobs. On the second objective which is the capacity of institutions to manage expectations, it was realized that some training was organised for members of staff who are directly involved in the exploration. However, most of the institutions indicated the lack of inadequate funds to be able to sufficiently discharge their duties. Finally, about the third objective, which is the management of expectation to maintain peace, it was realized that there are several instances

when governing institutions have invited the members of the community to an open forum to discuss the challenges being faced and possible solutions to them. Also, it was found that there was no proper communication channel between the indigenes or inhabitants and the institutions and this leads to instances when projects have been developed but does not respond to the actual needs of the people for whom it was made.

Recommendations

The study therefore recommends the following;

- That the government should enhance the frontiers of transparency and accountability already in existence.
- That revenues from oil and projects invested in should be made known through the media using local languages which the people understand.
- That the institutions within the communities come up with another road map to manage people's expectations and then give them career guidance and more education on how they can take advantage of the promises in the LCP.
- That the District Assemblies should help in actively sensitizing the populace on activities within the oil sector. This will help correct certain false and erroneous notions about the sector and go a long way to reshape the expectations from the sector.

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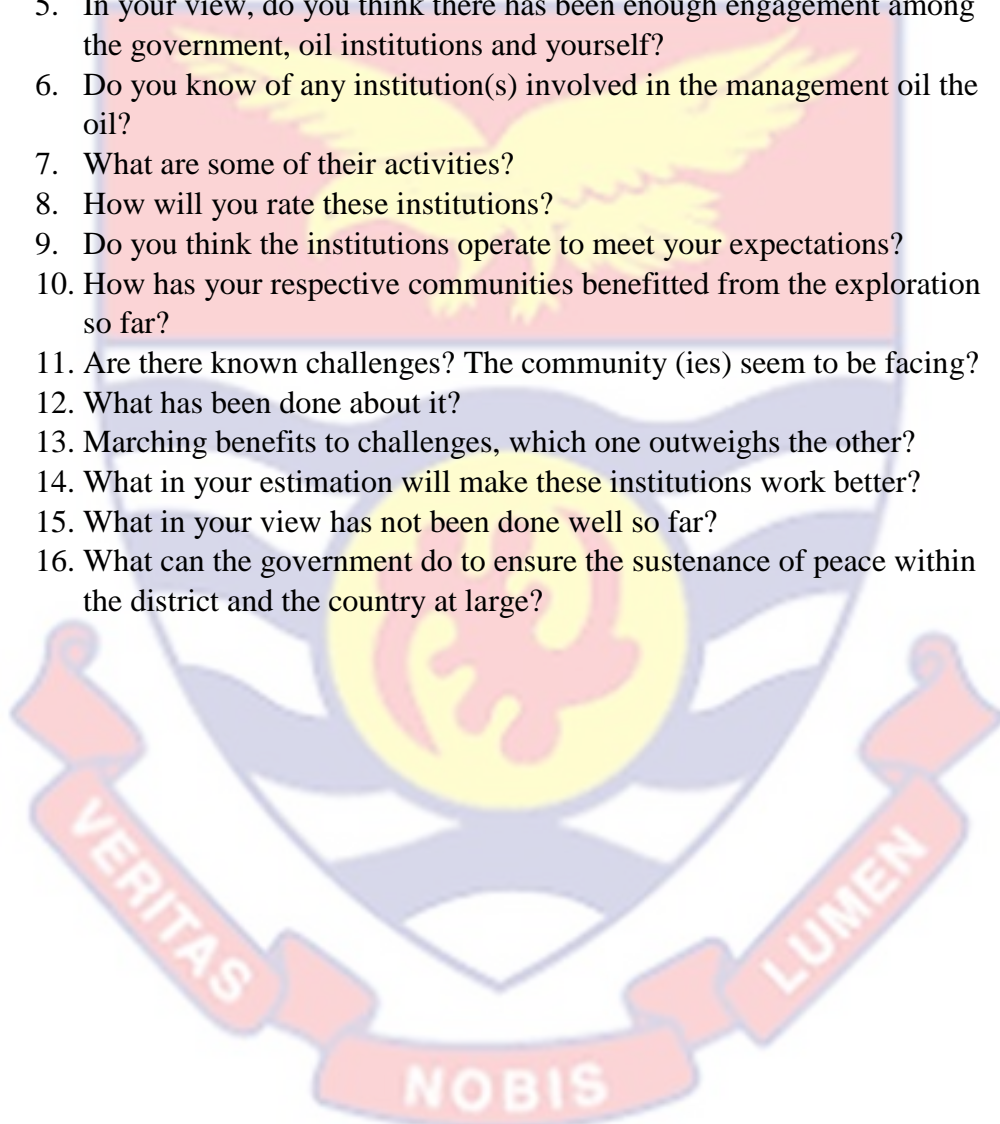
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APPENDIX A

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

1. How would the feeling you had when oil was discovered in commercial quantities?
2. Do you think there are benefits to oil exploration activity? What are they?
3. What does your community expect from the oil exploration?
4. Are you involved in any form of negotiations within the oil industry?
5. In your view, do you think there has been enough engagement among the government, oil institutions and yourself?
6. Do you know of any institution(s) involved in the management oil the oil?
7. What are some of their activities?
8. How will you rate these institutions?
9. Do you think the institutions operate to meet your expectations?
10. How has your respective communities benefitted from the exploration so far?
11. Are there known challenges? The community (ies) seem to be facing?
12. What has been done about it?
13. Marching benefits to challenges, which one outweighs the other?
14. What in your estimation will make these institutions work better?
15. What in your view has not been done well so far?
16. What can the government do to ensure the sustenance of peace within the district and the country at large?



APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR AFRICA CENTRE FOR ENERGY POLICY (ACEP)

A. BACKGROUND

1. When was your organization set-up?
2. What are your main activities?
3. What is the major motivation for the establishment of the organization?
4. Do you have offices/representatives in the exploration area?

B. EXPECTATIONS

5. What were your expectations when the oil resource was discovered?
6. Do you know of the expectations the people in the exploration communities had/has about the oil discovery?
7. In your view, are these expectations being met?
8. What is the relationship between your office and the rest of the oil managing institutions?

C. ACTIVITIES

9. Are your activities influenced by the expectations of the affected communities and Ghanaian in general?
10. What are some positive outcomes of your activities?
11. Are there any challenges in the exploration?
12. What has been the reaction of people to these challenges?
13. Would you consider your roles as that which seeks to manage the citizen expectations of the oil resource?

D. CAPACITY BUILDING

14. Do you think the institutions managing the exploration are up to the task?
15. What would you have wanted to be done differently to aid institutions increase output?
16. Would you say the masses have faith in the managing institutions?
17. To what extent has the issue of transparency and accountability been brought to the fore in the oil industry?

E. EFFECTS AND OUTCOMES OF INSTITUTIONAL OPERATIONS

18. What are some of the benefits enjoyed from the oil exploration?
19. What challenges do the people face as a result of the offshore exploration?
20. What has been the reaction of the people to these challenges?
21. Would you say the benefits are enough to soothe those adversely affected by the exploration?

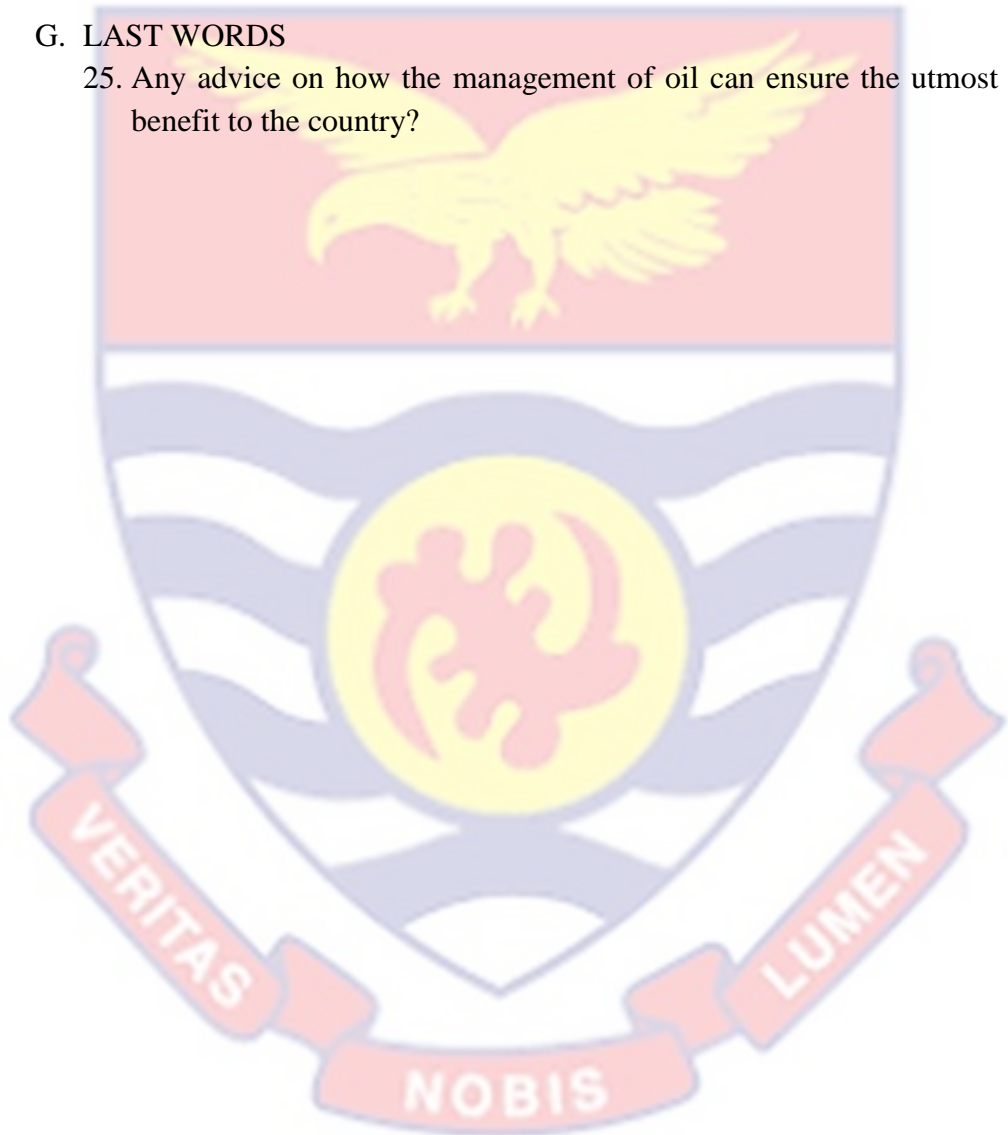
22. With what has been done so far, do you foresee the maintenance/denigration of peace in the near future?
23. What specific role has your office played (if any) in preventing a potential violent conflict?

F. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

24. What will be your recommendation to ensure the maintenance of peace in the district while exploration is on-going?

G. LAST WORDS

25. Any advice on how the management of oil can ensure the utmost benefit to the country?



APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ASSEMBLY PERSONS

A. BACKGROUND

1. What are your duties as an Assembly person?
2. How long have you occupied this office?
3. How would you describe the relationship between your office and the people in the community?
4. Has the discovery and exploration of oil affected the relationship in any way?

B. EXPECTATIONS

5. What were the expectations of your people when the oil resource was discovered?
6. What are their current expectations on the oil exploration?
7. In your view, are these expectations being met?
8. Are you aware of the institutions managing the oil exploration? List those you know
9. What is the relationship between your office and the rest of the institutions?

C. ACTIVITIES

10. What are some of the activities of the institutions engaged in the offshore oil exploration?
11. Do you think the activities of the managing institutions are influenced by the expectations of the inhabitants of Ellembelle and Ghanaians in General?
12. Are there any challenges to community participation in the oil management at the district level?
13. What has been the reaction of your people to these challenges?

D. CAPACITY BUILDING

14. Do you think the institutions managing the exploration are up to the task?
15. What would you have wanted to be done differently to aid your office increase output?
16. Would you say the people have faith in the managing institutions?
17. In your view do you think there has been enough engagement among the chiefs, government and oil companies?

E. EFFECTS AND OUTCOMES OF INSTITUTIONAL OPERATIONS

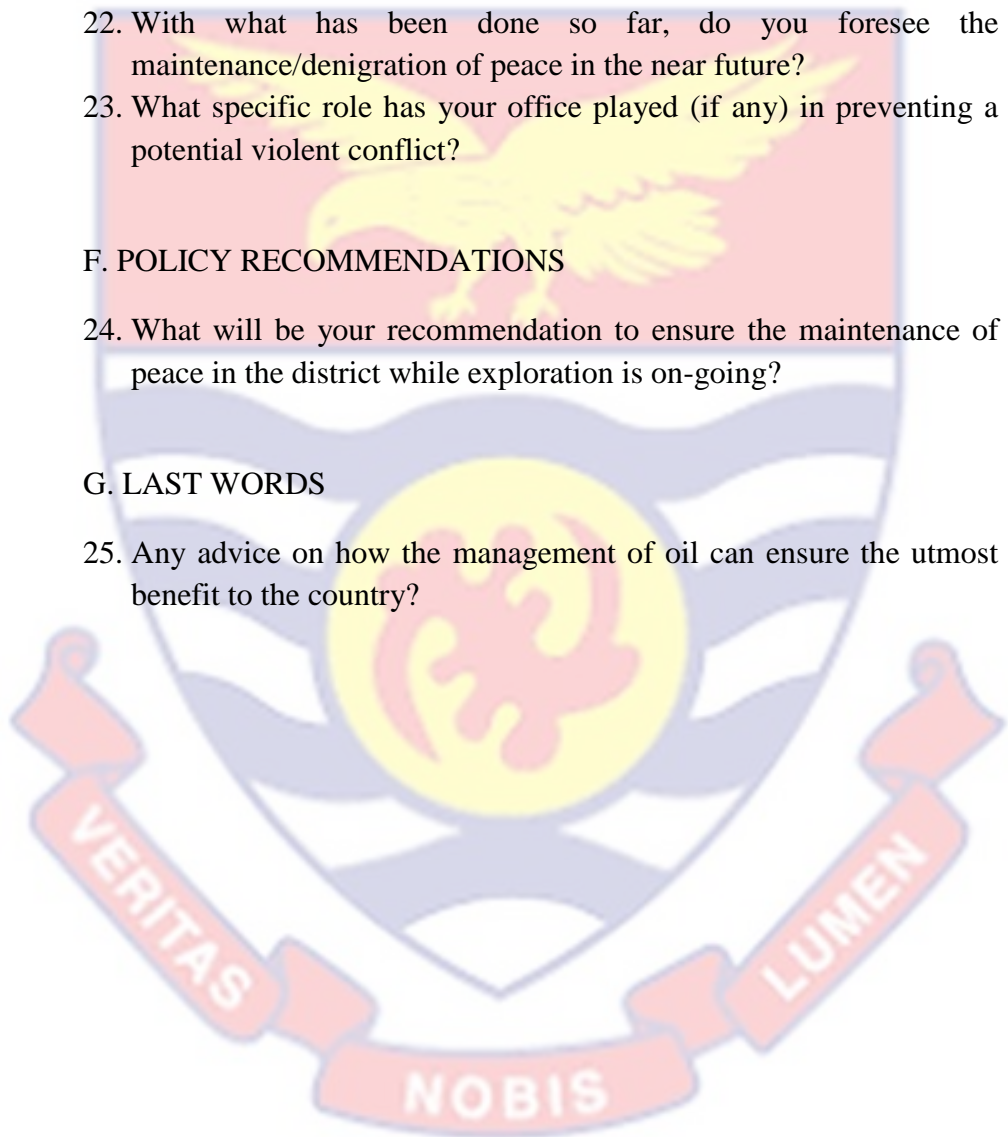
18. What are some of the benefits the district has enjoyed from the oil exploration?
19. What challenges do the people face as a result of the offshore exploration?
20. What has been the reaction of the people to these challenges?
21. Would you say the benefits are enough to soothe those adversely affected by the exploration?
22. With what has been done so far, do you foresee the maintenance/denigration of peace in the near future?
23. What specific role has your office played (if any) in preventing a potential violent conflict?

F. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

24. What will be your recommendation to ensure the maintenance of peace in the district while exploration is on-going?

G. LAST WORDS

25. Any advice on how the management of oil can ensure the utmost benefit to the country?



APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DISTRICT ASSEMBLY

A. BACKGROUND

1. How long have you occupied this office?
2. How would you describe the relationship between your office and the people in the communities?
3. Has the discovery and exploration of oil affected the relationship in any way?

B. EXPECTATIONS

4. What were the expectations of your people when the oil resource was discovered?
5. What are their current expectations on the oil exploration?
6. In your view, are these expectations being met?
7. Are you aware of the institutions managing the oil exploration? List those you know
8. What is the relationship between your office and the rest of the institutions?

C. ACTIVITIES

9. What are some of the activities of your office in the offshore oil exploration?
10. Are your activities influenced by the expectations of the inhabitants of Ellembele and Ghanaians in General?
11. In your view, do you think there has been enough engagement among your office, the oil companies and the people?

D. CAPACITY BUILDING

12. Do you think your office is up to the task when it comes to its roles related to the oil exploration?
13. What would you have wanted to be done differently to aid your office increase output?
14. Would you say the people have faith in your office? Why?
15. To what extent have issues of transparency and accountability been brought to the fore in your activities?

E. EFFECTS AND OUTCOMES OF INSTITUTIONAL OPERATIONS

16. What are some of the benefits the district has enjoyed from the oil exploration?
17. What challenges do the people face as a result of the offshore exploration?
18. What has been the reaction of the people to these challenges?

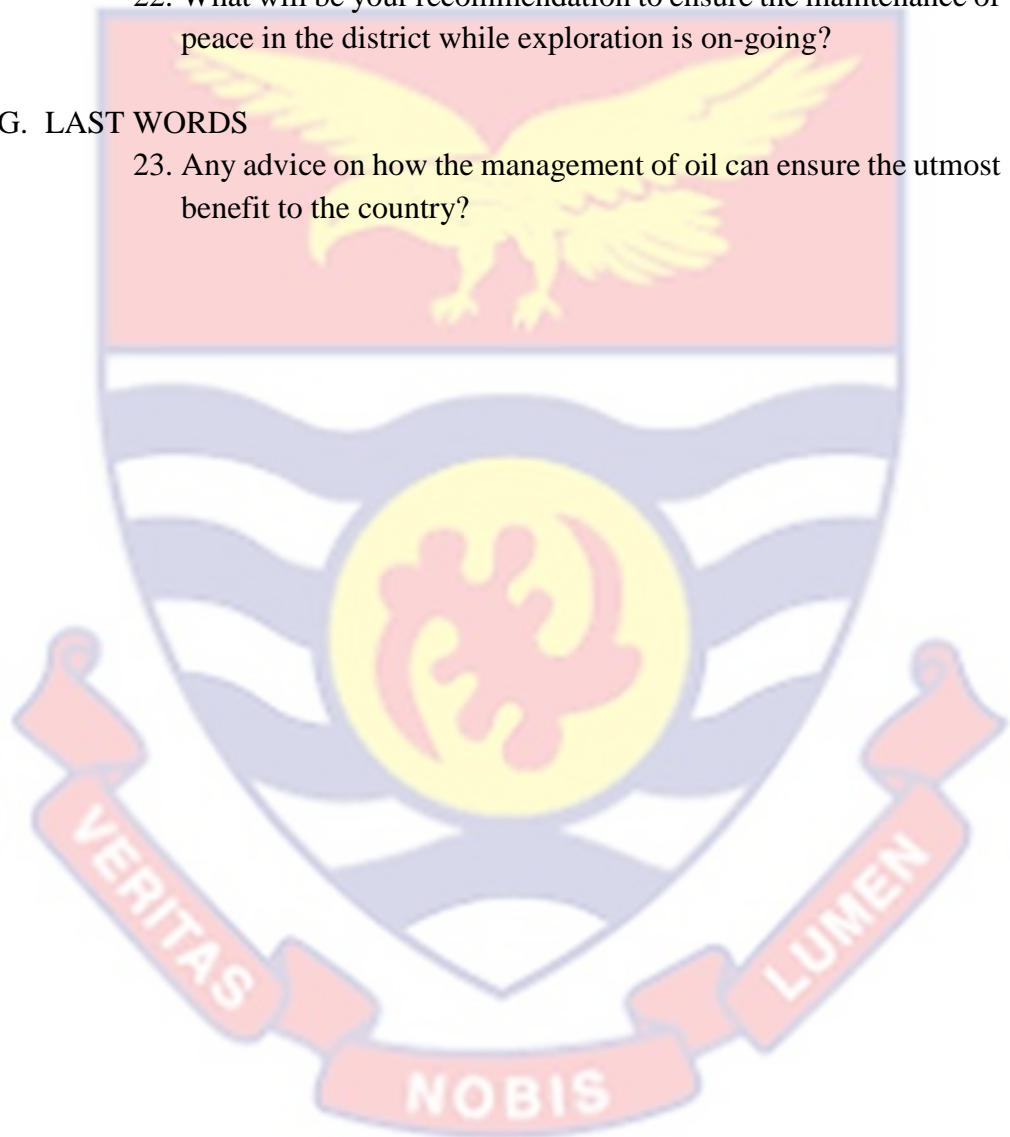
19. Would you say the benefits are enough to soothe those adversely affected by the exploration?
20. With what has been done so far, do you foresee the maintenance/denigration of peace in the near future?
21. What specific role has your office played (if any) in preventing a potential violent conflict?

F. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

22. What will be your recommendation to ensure the maintenance of peace in the district while exploration is on-going?

G. LAST WORDS

23. Any advice on how the management of oil can ensure the utmost benefit to the country?



APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY (EPA)

A. BACKGROUND

1. What are your duties as an Environmental Protection Agency?
2. How would you describe the relationship between your office and the people in the communities?
3. Has the discovery and exploration of oil affected the relationship in any way?

B. EXPECTATIONS

4. What were your expectations (as a body) when the oil resource was discovered?
5. What are your current expectations on the oil exploration?
6. In your view, are these expectations being met?
7. Are you aware of the institutions managing the oil exploration? List those you know

C. ACTIVITIES

8. What are some of the activities of the EPA in the offshore oil exploration?
9. Are your activities influenced by the expectations of the inhabitants of Ellemabelle and Ghanaians in General?
10. In your view, do you think there has been enough engagement among the government, oil companies and the people?

D. CAPACITY BUILDING

11. Do you think your institution is up to the task when it comes to its roles?
12. What would you have wanted to be done differently to aid your office increase output?
13. Would you say the people have faith in your office? Why?
14. To what extent have issues of transparency and accountability been brought to the fore in your activities?

E. EFFECTS AND OUTCOMES OF INSTITUTIONAL OPERATIONS

15. What are some of the benefits the district has enjoyed from the oil exploration?
16. What challenges do the people face as a result of the offshore exploration?
17. What has been the reaction of the people to these challenges?

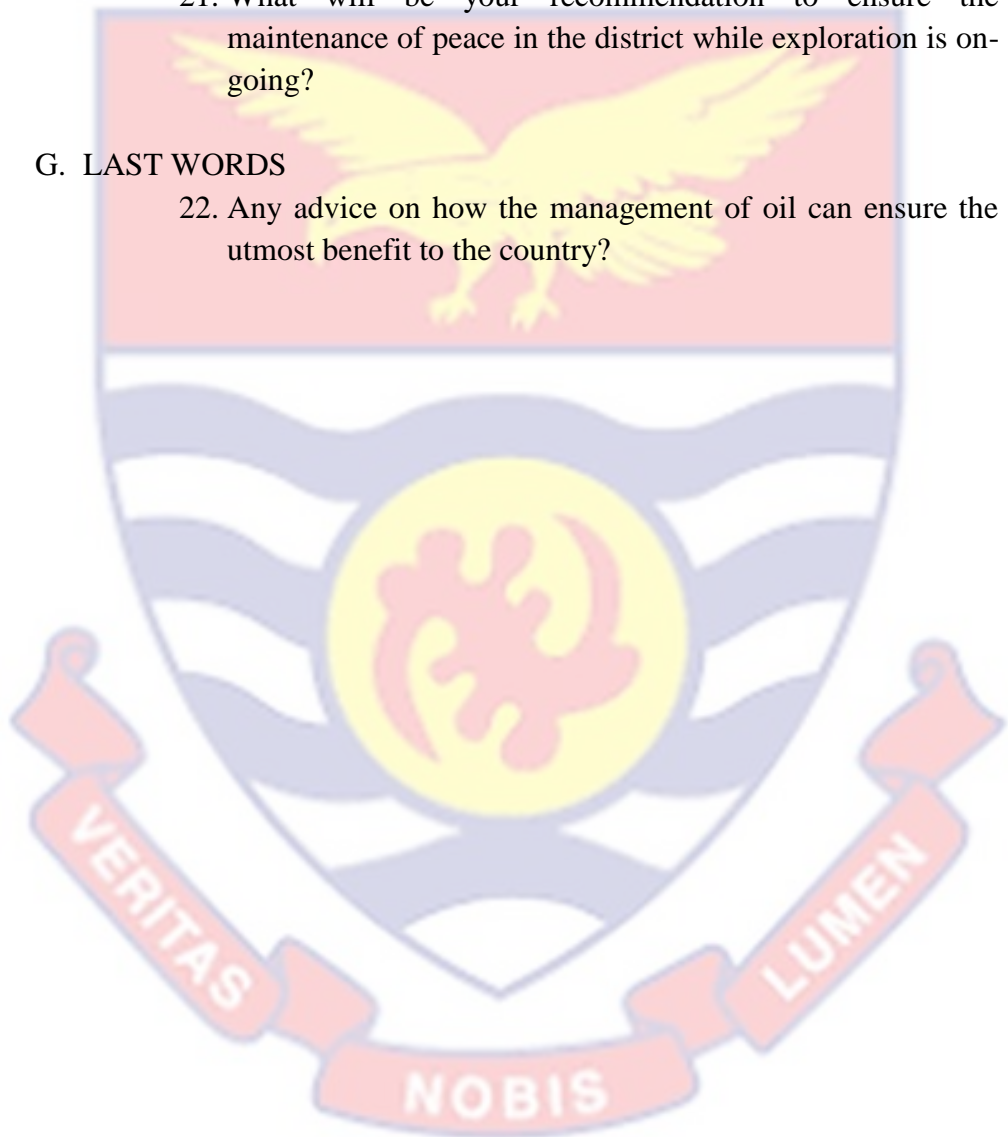
18. Would you say the benefits are enough to soothe those adversely affected by the exploration?
19. With what has been done so far, do you foresee the maintenance/denigration of peace in the near future?
20. What specific role has your office played (if any) in preventing a potential violent conflict?

F. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

21. What will be your recommendation to ensure the maintenance of peace in the district while exploration is on-going?

G. LAST WORDS

22. Any advice on how the management of oil can ensure the utmost benefit to the country?



APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GHANA GAS

A. BACKGROUND

1. What are the governing institutions of Ghana's oil?
2. What is the role of Ghana Gas in the oil industry?
3. What is the relationship between Ghana Gas and the other governing institutions?
4. With the value of oil produced so far, does Ghana stand to gain?

B. EXPECTATIONS

5. What has been your expectation(s) from the oil industry? Have they changed?
6. How would you describe the citizen's euphoria surrounding the discovery of oil in Ghana? Has it changed in any way?
7. What were/are the expectations of the people in the communities that are directly affected by the exploration?

C. ACTIVITIES

8. Do you think citizens have been central in all negotiations within the industry?
9. Are those in the affected areas engaged enough in the management of the oil industry?
10. Are your activities influenced by the expectations of the affected communities in general?
11. What are some of the challenges the exploration have brought on the communities directly affected?
12. What has been the reaction of the people to these challenges?
13. How have you/are you overcoming them?

D. CAPACITY BUILDING

14. How will you evaluate the institutional infrastructure in place now?
15. Would you say Ghanaians have faith in the institutions? Why?
16. What do you propose should be done differently?
17. To what extent have issues of transparency and accountability been brought to the fore in your activities?

E. EFFECTS AND OUTCOMES OF INSTITUTIONAL OPERATIONS

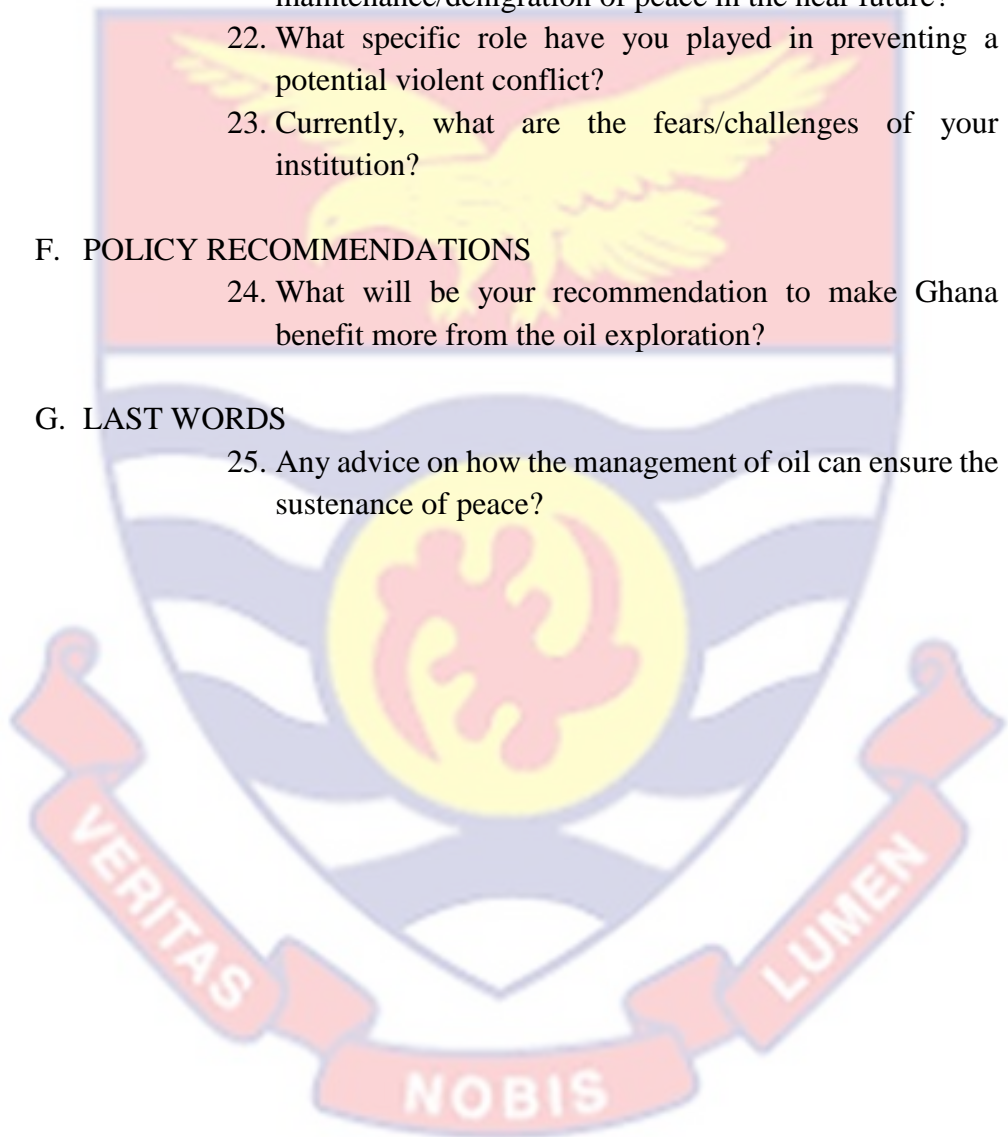
18. What are some of the benefits enjoyed from the oil exploration?
19. What has been the challenges brought about by the offshore exploration?
20. Would you say the benefits are enough to soothe those adversely affected by the exploration?
21. With what has been done so far, do you foresee the maintenance/denigration of peace in the near future?
22. What specific role have you played in preventing a potential violent conflict?
23. Currently, what are the fears/challenges of your institution?

F. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

24. What will be your recommendation to make Ghana benefit more from the oil exploration?

G. LAST WORDS

25. Any advice on how the management of oil can ensure the sustenance of peace?



APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MINISTRY OF ENERGY

A. BACKGROUND

1. What is the main focus of the Ministry?
2. What are the specific departments under the ministry that are involved in the oil exploration?
3. What is the agency through which the ministry works at the regional level (Western Region)?
4. What are the oversight roles that the ministry exercises over its regional office?

B. EXPECTATIONS

5. What in your view are the general citizen expectations on the oil exploration?
6. What are the expectations of the in the Ellembelle District?
7. Are you aware if these expectations have been fulfilled or not?
8. What do you envisage to be the resultant outcomes of the management of the growing expectations? List them

C. ACTIVITIES

9. What are your main activities concerning managing oil exploration?
10. Are your activities (award of contracts/licenses) influenced by citizen expectations?
11. What are some potential setbacks (in what areas) in managing the oil exploration?
12. Are there specific activity/activities directed at the local communities? Provide some of them.

D. CAPACITY BUILDING

13. When did the ministry get involved in oil exploration management?
14. What are some of the major achievements the ministry has attained in the exploration management?
15. Could the achievement (if any) be attributed to capacity building? How?
16. What are the major structural changes within the ministry since the discovery of oil?
17. Can you mention any capacity building activity/activities the ministry has undertaken in its management of the exploration?
18. Has the regional office benefitted from such improvement, if any?

E. EFFECTS AND OUTCOMES OF INSTITUTIONAL OPERATIONS

19. Would you say the role played by the ministry has been successful in managing general expectations?
20. How effective has building the capacity of the ministry helped in better management oil the oil resource?

21. Has the ministry received any incentive that has helped the local communities in their expectations?
22. What are the successes of your roles in managing expectations in the local communities?
23. What other outcomes do you wish to achieve?

F. LAST WORDS

24. What in your view can the ministry do in the management of the oil resource in order to avert conflict and maintain peace?



APPENDIX H

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PUBLIC INTEREST AND ACCOUNTABILITY COMMITTEE (PIAC)

A. BACKGROUND

1. What is the major motivation for the establishment of the committee?

B. EXPECTATIONS

2. What were your expectations when the oil resource was discovered?
3. What are your current expectations on the oil exploration?
4. Do you know of any expectations Ghanaians had on the oil exploration?
5. Do you know of the expectations the people in the Ellebelle district had/have?

C. ACTIVITIES

6. Are your activities influenced by the expectations of Ghanaians in general and the affected communities in particular?
7. What are the positive outcome(s) of your activities?
8. Are there any challenges? Provide major setbacks
9. Would you consider your roles as managing citizen expectations in the wake of oil exploration?

D. CAPACITY BUILDING

10. Do you think institutions managing the oil exploration are up to the task? How will you rate them?
11. What would you have wanted to be done differently in making the institutions increase output?
12. Would you say the masses have faith in these institutions? Why?
13. To what extent have issues of transparency and accountability been brought to the fore in your activities?

E. EFFECTS AND OUTCOMES OF INSTITUTIONAL OPERATIONS

14. What are some of the benefits enjoyed from the oil exploration?
15. What has been the challenges the people face as a result of the offshore exploration?

16. What has been the reaction of the people to these challenges?
17. Would you say the benefits are enough to soothe those adversely affected by the exploration?
18. With what has been done so far, do you foresee the maintenance/denigration of peace in the near future?
19. What specific role have you played in preventing a potential violent conflict?

F. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

20. What will be your recommendation to ensure the maintenance of peace in the district while exploration is on-going?

G. LAST WORDS

21. Any advice on how the management of oil can ensure the utmost benefit to the country?

